

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI[®]



uOttawa

L'Université canadienne
Canada's university

FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES
ET POSTDOCTORALES



FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND
POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

Kata Huncik

AUTEUR DE LA THÈSE / AUTHOR OF THESIS

M.A. (Music)

GRADE / DEGREE

Department of Music

FACULTÉ, ÉCOLE, DÉPARTEMENT / FACULTY, SCHOOL, DEPARTMENT

A Liturgical-Repertorial Study of 16th Century Polyphonic Music in *Bártfa MS 8*

TITRE DE LA THÈSE / TITLE OF THESIS

Paul Merkley

DIRECTEUR (DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS SUPERVISOR

CO-DIRECTEUR (CO-DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS CO-SUPERVISOR

EXAMINATEURS (EXAMINATRICES) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS EXAMINERS

Lori Burns

Lora Matthews

Andrew Taylor

Gary W. Slater

LE DOYEN DE LA FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES ET POSTDOCTORALES /
DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

**A LITURGICAL-REPERTORIAL STUDY OF 16TH-CENTURY
POLYPHONIC MUSIC IN *Bártfa MS 8***

Master's Thesis

Submitted by

Kata Huncik

Department of Music

University of Ottawa, 2005



Library and
Archives Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file *Votre référence*
ISBN: 0-494-11298-0
Our file *Notre référence*
ISBN: 0-494-11298-0

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.


Canada

ABSTRACT

Along with the other volumes of the *Bártfa Collection*, the 16th-century *MS 8* was discovered in the Lutheran town of Bártfa (today Slovakia). While the manuscripts and prints of the *Bártfa Collection* have been somewhat neglected by Western scholars, the present study shows that this topic is worthy of attention. In examining the historical context, the role of the schoolmaster, Leonard Stöckel stands out as particularly interesting; his life-time friendship with Luther and Melanchthon directly links Bártfa to the German Lutheranism. The German link is also apparent in *MS 8* itself, as according to Murányi, it was copied in Southern Germany ca. 1555. In this research, a thorough watermark study has also been carried out, the results of which challenge the established date and may shift it to as early as 1545. Furthermore, a reportorial study focusing on the anonymous compositions has been taken into consideration along with Bártfa's unique Lutheran liturgical practice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing a Masters Thesis is 'not a big deal.' Once we are done with it. However, it can feel like a never-ending hell before we get to that point. It is true that the writing itself was up to me, but I would have not succeeded without the help and support of many people. Some of them directed me on an academic level while others supported me emotionally. I would like to thank all of the 'participants.'

My deep gratitude goes to my thesis advisor, Dr Paul Merkley, without whom none of this would have come true. He not only directed my attention towards specific aspects of this study but also eliminated transcription-related confusions and helped to express my thoughts in a more intelligent and appropriate way. Furthermore, he has been a reliable source of support in the most irrelevant cases - I shall never forget the American visa!

I am also thankful to Dr Lora Matthews for her trust (in my TA skills among others), kindness and support on all levels.

Several members of the Music Department of the University of Ottawa were extremely nice and cooperative. Among them are James Law who gave his permission to use the lab, Luc Martin who willingly showed how Finale functions, and the main Finale wizard, Professor John Armstrong, who showed even more tricks. Without their help the printed scores would probably be substituted by amateur handwritten scribbles.

*Prior to my personal examination of the original manuscript in Budapest, Herbert Kellman was so kind to mail me a microfilm copy of the **Bártfa MS 8** manuscript, which was very useful throughout the entire writing process.*

I owe my thanks to the National Széchenyi Library in Budapest and especially its Music Division. They made it possible for me to examine the original Bártfa manuscripts, which will remain a life-time experience.

During my visits to overseas I met the scholars Márta Hulkó and Ilona Ferenczi, and also a graduate student, Mónika Dorna; all of whom were willing to devote some time to meet me despite of their hectic schedule and answer my questions, which I really appreciated.

My most special thanks go to my family who were always there for me from the very beginning and will never cease to extend their unconditional love and emotional support toward me. It is especially hard to decide who goes first in line because they all contributed to this project in different and similar ways. My parents, Peter and Gabriella Huncik, who not only covered the financial costs of my education and my entire Canadian adventure, but most importantly believed in me and always encouraged me during the past two years as well as throughout my life. The last two people I would like to thank is Gábrus and Ákoska, who both have lived through all of this struggle with me, which means that they had no choice but to experience my mood changes and the frequent mess I made in the house during some of the hectic periods (and they tolerated it, too). I cannot express in words how much their care meant to me.

Finally, I would like to humbly dedicate this work with all the effort I have put into it to my parents. They deserve much more than I can ever give to them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	1
Acknowledgements	2
Preface	5
CHAPTER I: Introduction: The history of Bártfa	8
CHAPTER II: Leonard Stöckel, Rector of the Latin School	20
CHAPTER III: The <i>Bártfa Collection</i>	30
CHAPTER IV: The Manuscript <i>Bártfa MS 8</i>	43
CHAPTER V: The Watermarks of <i>MS 8</i>	58
CHAPTER VI: Analysis of Transcription	74
<i>Viderunt ingressus</i>	93
<i>Pascha quo victor</i>	119
CHAPTER VII: Conclusion	123
APPENDIX A: Concordances of Town Names	134
APPENDIX B: Scribal Hands	135
BIBLIOGRAPHY	139

PREFACE

Bártfa MS 8 with its four partbooks is one of the forty-eight of manuscripts and prints of the *Bártfa Collection* purchased by the National Széchenyi Library of Budapest in 1914 from the St. Egidius Church in Bártfa (at that time the town was part of Hungary, today it belongs to Slovakia and is called 'Bardejov' in Slovak). This manuscript mainly contains 16th-century polyphonic music by Heinrich Isaac, but other composers' works are also featured in it (e.g. those by Stoltzer, Finck, Longueval, Josquin). Besides the attributed works there is a large number of unidentified compositions, some of which only appear in the *Bártfa Collection*, and there are examples of *unicum* pieces as well, which appear in the *MS 8* manuscript exclusively. The value in studying this manuscript is twofold; first of all, it is set somewhat apart from the body of other European manuscripts of the period, and consequently it has not received the same scholarly attention as manuscripts from other countries. At the same time, this manuscript and the location at which it was used are not far from the artistic and educational activities carried out in Wittenberg, the center of Lutheranism, in the 16th century.

The examination of *MS 8* and the corresponding literature have raised two questions that guided the present study: could the newer layer of the manuscript (the addition of Anonymous pieces at the end and beginning of the main body) originate in Bártfa; and what does the repertory of this manuscript tell about the place in which it was used? In order to answer these questions, several aspects have been taken into consideration: the history and the role of Lutheranism in 16th-century Bártfa, the activities of the school rector, Leonard Stöckel, who significantly contributed to the promotion of the Reformist

ideas in Bártfa, and also his possible connection to the Bártfa manuscripts; *MS 8* in the context of the *Bártfa Collection*; a thorough analysis of two Anonymous compositions found in *MS 8* and aspects of instrumental-vocal performance practice; and a detailed investigation of watermarks and a possible clue they may provide in terms of dating and locating the manuscript.

Although I have not picked this specific manuscript deliberately, I knew from the beginning of my enrollment in the Masters program that areas of interest would be topics that relate to Hungary in some ways. The reason behind this choice was my Hungarian background that has always been an essential part of my personal identity; therefore I felt it was my duty to advocate it in any possible way.

Professor Merkley brought *MS 8* into my attention as a viable project, which seemed to be a perfect combination of my criteria: a 16th-century (Hungarian) manuscript from Slovakia (currently kept in Hungary). I sense a strong connection between my own background and the manuscript's history; *MS 8* in some ways resembles my own situation, which could be summarized as a Hungarian born in Slovakia. The present thesis therefore offered me an opportunity to explore a subject, which encloses those two cultures that I feel are both part of me: Hungarian and Slovak.

While working on this project, I made two visits to the National Széchenyi Library in Budapest, where I had the opportunity to examine *MS 8* as well as several manuscripts of the *Bártfa Collection*; one in the summer of 2004 and the second in December of the same year. Unfortunately, I was unable to organize a trip to Bártfa during the preparation of this project, which will have to be realized in the near future. Luckily, this has not

influenced the outcome of this thesis in a negative way, because the existing publications and websites on Bártfa provide almost all the essential information for a study of this kind.

CHAPTER I

Introduction: The History of Bártfa

Bártfa, the centre of the Upper Sáros region, is located in the north-eastern part of Slovakia in the downs running along the right bank of the Topľa River. It lies near the Polish and Russian borders, which countries had been important trading partners throughout the history of the Bártfa region.

Part One: Ethnic Considerations

It is important to mention that today Bártfa is in the territory of Slovakia and is officially called Bardejov in Slovak. However, during the 16th century, which is the period of interest in this study, it belonged to Hungary and was called Bártfa. Since it has always been a true multi-ethnic settlement, it was inhabited by just as many (or more) Germans as Slavs or Hungarians; it has also been referred to as Bartfeld in German.

The diverse ethnicity of the region in the past has made most historical studies somewhat problematic in that historians often ignored the co-existence of so many ethnic groups and cultures. This resulted in fierce discussions regarding the ethnic traits of its artistic and cultural development, with both Slovaks and Hungarians claiming credit.¹ In

¹ Examples of this kind are easy to find in related studies. For instance, the Slovak historian Bartolomej Krpelec in his book "Bardejov a jeho okolie dávno a dnes" published in 1935 feels that it is his duty to bring justice to the history of Bartfa and examine it objectively as opposed to the Hungarian tendency, which was inclined to present it from a purely Hungarian point of view. (p.5) Such nationalistic attitudes go way back in the history of Slovakia or Hungary (since the two countries were one and the same until 1915, called the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy or Austria-Hungary where Slavic nations formed part of the ethnic minority). Because Krpelec represents only one example of this kind and his publication is itself historical and obsolete, it is necessary to observe some more recent literature.

other words, the recent history of Bártfa has been politicized to the extent that there has been controversy surrounding the naming of the town and the identification of the political unit to which it belonged during the 16th century. For example, was it a Slovak or a Hungarian town?

My own interest is in the history and music history of this remarkable place and I am not interested in politicizing this question further. While some might accuse me of bias towards the Hungarian place name and they might attribute this bias to my own ethnic origin (a Hungarian born and raised in Slovakia), I am only speaking to the historical condition of a town within the Kingdom of Hungary inhabited by three different ethnic groups in the early 16th century.

However, the historical study of Bártfa appears in a special light for me because my own ethnic background resembles the 16th-century Bártfa situation in that I come from a multi-ethnic environment and experienced similar diversity of cultures around me as the people of the Sharish region in the 16th century. However, a major difference is that we do not know for certain whether the various ethnic groups of the 16th century defined themselves as ethnic or not. If they did, to what extent did they do so and how is this self-definition relevant and appropriate in a 21st-century study? One may find that ethnicity has not been part of their identity as it is part of someone today and therefore it should not be the focal point of studies of this nature, at least not to a nationalistic extent. An idealistic approach would be one that acknowledges the diverse population (as opposed to

While most current touristic homepages of Bártfa (Slovak) provide a brief history of the city, they do not talk about the issue of ethnicity in the past, which seems like a safe way to avoid conflict and constant self-assurance. On the Hungarian side, current scholarship is more based on historical evidences such as historical borders, Hungarian kings and their decrees toward this region.

ignoring it) and therefore the diverse contribution to the history of such a culture, which necessitates an examination of the collective attitudes.

Unfortunately, some scholars tend to disregard this significant aspect of their research and fail to look at it objectively. True, it is indeed difficult to talk about someone's own history without pride and nationalistic feelings (no matter who we are, such attitudes have been implanted in us early in our childhood, in order to raise a healthy, self-confident nation) and remain so-called *neutral*. The only way to avoid the political trap would be either an independent investigation that is not influenced by previous studies (which is almost impossible) and/or relies purely on historical documents.

Finally, as the following section will show, one must not underestimate the so-called 'third party'² in Bártfa and that is the significant German population, whose influence has been felt in the artistic development of the city even stronger than the Hungarian or Slovak influences.

Part Two: The History of Bártfa

According to a chronicle³, the history of Bártfa starts back in the time of the Hungarian conquest (896) when the conquerors inhabited this region and armed with hatchets (hatchet means *bárd* in Hungarian) served as border guards in the Bártfa region.⁴

² The term is my own.

³ Alajos Rhódy, *Érdekes adatok Bártfa szab. királyi város múltjáról* (Budapest, 1897), 2; Unfortunately the author does not specify which chronicle is he referring to.

⁴ *Ibid.*, At the end of the 19th century Rhódy was the mayor of Bártfa who was an active investigator of the town's history. As a Hungarian he represents the Hungarian point of view, which may be witnessed in this very first statement. The same opening statement by the Slovak Mihal or Mistriková on the other hand mentions nothing of the Hungarian conquest; instead these scholars focus on the Slavs and state that they came into the Bártfa territory as early as the 11th and 12th centuries. This constant struggle is extremely difficult to solve at this point and is not the purpose of this study. By giving this example (please note that

In 1206, Polish monks established a Cistercian abbey in the region. Being active farmers, the Cistercians cultivated the land in the region, which at that time was referred to as ‘terra Bardfa Hungariae’ as it appears in a document dated 1247.⁵ The Cistercian monastery along with the St. Egidius church was destroyed during the Tartar invasion in 1241-42, which left the country devastated.⁶

King Béla IV (1234-1270), in order to rebuild the nation (among the rebuilt and fortified towns was Bártfa), invited settlers from abroad, mainly from Western Europe.⁷ The newcomers were mostly German colonists, although some Germans had been living in the region prior to that.

A letter to the King is a piece of evidence showing early disagreements between native inhabitants and newcomers (Germans). Fox reports that in the 1240s the monks and the inhabitants of Bártfa petitioned the King to define “the authentic boundary line between their holdings and the properties of the German colonists”. Acting on this request, Béla IV issued a document in 1247 and settled the dispute by redrawing

there are many more similar instances), the author of this thesis demonstrates awareness and does not intend to solve the issue. Regarding the choice of literature, there is probably a lot more material on this topic than what has been used in this thesis, so the choices are limited from the very beginning. In a case like this opening statement I have taken into account two major components. The reason I followed Rhódy’s history is because he was the mayor of Bártfa, thus much of the historical evidences were at hand; and because he was active in a time when the struggles between the two major parties (Hungarians and Slovaks) had not been as sharp as they got in the 20th century. Therefore, he may have been dominated by his nationality, but not by the fierce opposition that arose from political decisions and divisions of the Hungarian-Slovak territories after WW I.

⁵ Rhódy, 2; This document talks about a border check up around the region and it includes the names of several neighboring settlements and clearly defines the Bártfa region.

⁶ Kovác and Toma, *From Samo to Dzurinda* (Bratislava, 2001), 45

⁷ Mary Bertha Fox, *A Liturgical-Repertorial Study of Renaissance Polyphony in Bártfa Mus Pr. 6 (a-d)*, National Széchenyi Library, Budapest. Ph.D. dissertation, (University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, 1977), 27

boundary lines in the place of the false German ones and he returned the lands that originally belonged to the Bártfa claimants.⁸

What seems arbitrary in this document of 1247, as Fox points out, is that Cistercian historians make no mention of a monastery, whereas the document by the King does refer to them.⁹ As Korabinsky suggests, the Cistercians were not the only order in the Bártfa area. Moreover, the mountain top near Bártfa was the home of the Knights Templar. Unfortunately he does not give additional information about their establishment.¹⁰

In 1320¹¹, King Charles Robert of Anjou (1308-1342) handed over the flourishing town to an Italian knight, Lorenzo or Laurentius filius Laurentii Miles, who is considered by some as the founder of Bártfa probably in a sense that he governed the town well, and kept its layout well organized. He was also responsible for the functioning of all the mills and he was authorized to operate a brewery. The town's administration of justice was also under the supervision of Laurentius and the collected fines and taxes made up his 'salary'.¹² The main sources of income for the population were crafts, farming and trading. In 1352 Bártfa was granted the privilege to set up an annual fair on September 1 honoring St. Egidius.¹³

By 1365 Bártfa gained further important privileges, such as the power of life and death (*jus gladii*) and the right of self-government. After the death of Laurentius, the

⁸ *Ibid.*, 27; Relying exclusively on the secondary literature makes it difficult to tell whether the two documents issued by Bela IV in 1247 are the same or not.

⁹ Fox, 27; Fox quotes Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, ab anno 1116-1786*, 1933-1941

¹⁰ Johann Matthias Korabinsky, *Geographisch-Historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn*, (Pressburg, 1786), 35 in Fox, 28

¹¹ Rhódy, 3; The date of assigning the town into Lorenzo's hand differs in Fox and Rhody. While the former uses 1312, the latter states it all took place in 1320. Furthermore, the Revai Nagy Lexikon states that it all took place in 1324

¹² Rhódy, 3;

¹³ <http://www.slovakheritage.org/Townsvill/bardejov.htm>, accessed March 10, 2005

town's prestige significantly weakened, because his successors were less devoted. Rhódy describes the scandals, which led to the resigning of the administrative staff in 1376. The benefices were placed to the town's possessions, which resulted in an increased annual royal tax for Bártfa. In the same year, Ludovicus the Great granted the town the status of a free royal city, which by that time was also granted to Buda and Kassa (Ger.Kaschau, Lat. Cassovia). As Bártfa was becoming a city of the highest rank it was also further empowered by privileges and fortifications. The document, in which Bártfa is given the status of a free royal city, mentions the town's fortified walls and bastions.¹⁴ From that time on Bártfa was only subordinate to the king, which meant that only the king's army was allowed to occupy the town, everyone else had to ask permission from the city, and the citizens fought under the royal flag.¹⁵ In his study Rhódy also mentions that the royal family was very much in favor of Bártfa and that they often visited the city and its forests.

Because of its location, in the middle ages Bártfa was an important trading center. Merchants from Russia and Poland were constantly passing through the town. The items imported from Poland were leather, fish, salt and lead that were exchanged for linen, lace, threads, wine, wax and some noble and non-ferrous metals.¹⁶ That such trade was unquestionably significant is proved by a privilege granted by the next king, Sigismund of Luxemburg, who allowed Bártfa to arrange custom-free trade. Moreover, in 1402, the town was given storage privileges for the goods brought in by the Russian and Polish merchants. The merchants of Bártfa were free to travel as far as Dalmatia without paying

¹⁴ <http://www.slovakheritage.org/Townsvill/bardejov.htm>, accessed March 10, 2005

¹⁵ Rhódy, 3

¹⁶ *Magyar Nagy Lexikon* (Budapest, Magyar Nagy Lexikon Kiadó, 1999) 313

royal taxes. The king also lengthened the period of the annual fair to sixteen days and in 1403 he added one more around the day of St. John the Baptist.¹⁷

As a ruler, Sigismund of Luxemburg waged war on many of his enemies (such as the Turks), which cost more than what the country could afford. One of the solutions the king employed in these times was the loaning of Hungarian towns and royal estates to foreigners. In this way the lessee had the right to collect the taxes and other incomes that the estate or town gained. In such a way the north-eastern part of Hungary was rented out to the Moravian counts and similarly the thirteen royal towns of the Saris region (including Bártfa) were rented out to the Polish king.¹⁸ This makes easier to understand the unproblematic trade between the Saris region and Poland. It is important to note, however, that as much as the economic situation was flourishing, the population was not always in favor of the situation, which resulted in several revolts against Sigismund.

Bártfa's guilds were also established in the 15th century; that of the weavers in 1423, that of the tailors in 1435, that of the leather-workers in 1457, that of the coopers in 1468, and that of the potters in 1485 just to mention a few.¹⁹ The town's privilege to make and bleach linen (*dealbatio tellarum*) dates from 1450.²⁰ During that time only three other cities had a larger number of guilds than Bártfa: these were Bratislava (Pressbourg), Kassa and Levoca. In the late 15th century Bártfa lost its linen monopoly, which caused this guild to gradually deteriorate.²¹

¹⁷ <http://www.slovakheritage.org/Townsvill/bardejov.htm>, accessed March 10, 2005

¹⁸ In 1770 these towns were re-purchased by Maria Theresia. Kovac, Dusan, *Szlovákia története (The History of Slovakia)*, (Bratislava, 2000), 40

¹⁹ Magyar Nagy Lexikon, 313

²⁰ Rhódy, 5

²¹ <http://www.slovakheritage.org/Townsvill/bardejov.htm>, accessed March 10, 2005

The town's economy continued to flourish in the following decades. Many buildings such as a monastery, the church of the Augustinian order, a slaughterhouse and a town bath were added²² continuing to attract tourists even in the present. Regarding its population, at that time the town consisted of about 500 houses and about 3000 inhabitants of various nationalities.

Bártfa continued to remain very useful for the royal family. King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) often asked the artillerymen of Bártfa to help him in Buda or in other parts of the country (as in 1459 he issued a letter in which he orders 'Bombardista nomine Johannes de prwscya' to assist in the defence of the royal headquarters)²³. Rhódy introduces documents that show that Bártfa not only had a well-equipped army and artillery, but also a mercenary force that was functioning under strict discipline and which was successful in defending the town from being pillaged.

Matthias himself visited the town on several occasions; he liked hunting there and during his visits he must have attended the church of St. Egidius, because he had his own oratorio above the sacristy. The legend says that he would come to Bártfa dressed as a commoner, so no one would know he was in the town. His richly carved pew has been preserved (it is currently kept in the National Museum of Budapest). Furthermore, when Matthias resided in Buda, on occasion he ordered loads of Bártfa's famous wheat beer to the royal court.²⁴

During the 15th century the city saw the construction of the two most important buildings; the New City Hall was built in Late Gothic and the imported Italian Early-Renaissance styles at the beginning of the century, and the enlargement of the St. Egidius

²² <http://www.slovakheritage.org/Townsvill/bardejov.htm>, accessed March 10, 2005

²³ Rhódy, 4

²⁴ Rhódy, 5

church was finished in 1486.²⁵ The church received a new main altar in 1466 and over the next fifty years eleven side chapels were added. Only a portion of the main altar survives today, however, the eleven side chapels remained intact.²⁶ The richness of their paintings and carvings show prosperity, sophisticated artistic skills and taste. During the 16th century the church belonged to the German Protestant community, but in the 1680s it was returned to the Catholics.²⁷

In the 16th century the town enlarged its City Hall under the direction of Master Alexander of Bártfa and Master Alexius of Italy.²⁸ Another important project in this period was the building of a new Latin School. In 1539, the city council convinced Leonard Stöckel to return from Wittenberg and take up the direction of the Latin School, which he did so successfully that students traveled there from the other parts of the country and also from Poland and Silesia. As an active member of Luther's Reformation movement, Stöckel "quietly influenced reform measures in the church."²⁹

In 1578 David Gutgesell opened the first printing house in Bártfa and three years later he printed Luther's catechism in biblical Czech.³⁰ As it is shown from the brief history above, Bártfa reached its peak point in the 16th century in terms of culture, economy, education and art. After that the town slowly lost its prominent status.

During the 17th century several events brought a relatively rapid decline. The Counter Reformation and the Turkish occupation both affected Bártfa and the whole region in a negative way. The occupation was followed by the plague in 1679 killing

²⁵ <http://www.slovakheritage.org/Townsvill/bardejov.htm>, Accessed February 10, 2005

²⁶ Fox, 31

²⁷ Fox, 31

²⁸ Fox, 31

²⁹ Fox, 31

³⁰ <http://www.slovakheritage.org/Townsvill/bardejov.htm>

2700 people (at that time Bártfa's total population was around 3500), the fire that swept through the city in 1680, and the second wave of plague in 1710. Not only did these catastrophes destroy many houses and take lives, but as a result, Bártfa also lost its control over the thirteen villages over which it had dominion.³¹ Nearly all artistic and cultural activity came to an end and some of the businesses also closed down, thus Bártfa slowly lost its position as a commercial and cultural center.

At the beginning of the 20th century the conditions in the city did not change radically; the census of 1930 shows that Bártfa still had only 7730 inhabitants. In 1950 it was declared an Urban Preservation Area after which intensive restorations began. In 1986 Bártfa was the first city in Czechoslovakia to be awarded the "European Prize – Golden Medal" by the International Board of Trustees in Hamburg for its architectural and historical monuments.³²

Today the city of Bártfa is a famous spa center attracting thousands of tourists. Its current population is ca. 77 000³³ and it is a well developed industrial and commercial center. The city's historic core exhibits the renaissance splendor and continues to attract and fascinate visitors.

Part Three: Bártfa and the Reformation

In order to fully understand the importance of the Reformation in Bártfa, it might be helpful to review the history of this religion and its arrival to the country. The spreading of Reformist ideas in Upper Hungary began with the Czech Hussite movements during

³¹ Fox, 34

³² <http://www.unipo.sk/SARIS/BARDEJOV/indexa.html>, Accessed April 13, 2005

³³ http://www.infostat.sk/vdc/pdf/prognoza_web/ang/nuts4/BJ.pdf, Accessed April 13, 2005

the reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg. As a rather weak and unpopular ruler, Sigismund was leading unsuccessful foreign affairs and finally fled Hungary. He was aiming at the Czech throne after his brother, Vaclav IV, died. However, the Hussite revolution broke out in the country at that time, and the rebels did not acknowledge Sigismund as their king. Moreover they accused him of being responsible for the death of Jan Hus. The Hussite revolts spread over to Upper Hungary as well. During the period of 1428-1432 they burnt down several villages and towns.³⁴

From the beginning of the reign of Ladislaus in 1444, the offspring of Albert Habsburg, the captain of the Czech mercenary troops, Jan Giskra, occupied a large territory of Upper Hungary and stayed there with his troops. Their number was around 15-20 000; they kept some elements of the original Hussite tenets but were always regarded as foreigners. Since the Hussites spoke Czech, which is very close to the Slovak language, one of their effects on Upper Hungary was the strengthening of the Slavic languages in that region. When Matthias Corvinus got to the throne in 1458, the influence of Giskra and his troops had gradually weakened.

During the 16th century, the ideas of the German Reformation reached the Slovak territories. In towns with a large German stet (such as Bártfa), it was the German speakers who forwarded the new thoughts. As Dusan Kovac claims, the majority of Slovak priests studied in Wittenberg, therefore they also advocated Luther's reforms. We may note that Luther's catechism translated into Czech was published in Bártfa in 1581.³⁵

Due to the weak central power and the temporary dissolution of the traditional system of the Catholic Church the circumstances were optimal for absorbing new ideas.

³⁴ Dusan Kovác, *Szlovákia története (The History of Slovakia)*, (Bratislava, 2000), 40-45

³⁵ Kovác, 63

They were supported by the nobility as well as by the laymen. In Upper Hungary the Lutheran Reformation prevailed whereas those in the more southern parts of the country followed the ideas of Calvin.³⁶

The followers of the Reformation often faced accusations of being heretics. For their own defense, the Lutherans in five towns of Upper Hungary (Leutschau, Eperies, Kaschau, Bártfa and Zeben) worked out their own codex that stated their religious principals. The codex is called *Confessio Pentapolitana* and was written by Leonard Stöckel in 1549. According to the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, the well defined religions were to be tolerated; therefore the ideas in the *Confessio Pentapolitana* became so effective that the publication was soon followed by the *Confessio Heptapolitana* and *Confessio Scepusiana*.³⁷

By the 17th century the Protestant religion was so popular that the palatine of Hungary (the highest national position) was the Evangelist György Thurzó. In the meantime the Counter Reformation gradually took its shape, led mostly by Péter Pázmány, the archbishop of Strigoniensis (Hun. Esztergom). As Kovác claims, Hungary was an ideal place for the Reformation to flourish, because the Habsburgs tolerated it. Hungary became a central migration zone; after the battle of White Mountain in 1620 many Czechs settled in Upper Hungary. Their role was particularly important in terms of the spreading the Czech literature and language that was so closely related to the Slovak.

³⁶ Kovác, 64

³⁷ Kovác, 64

CHAPTER II

Leonard Stöckel, Rector of the Latin School

If there is a single personality who significantly contributed to the development of Bártfa's religious, artistic and intellectual life in the 16th century it must be Leonard Stöckel, the rector of the Bártfa Latin School from 1539 to 1560. Although his activities were centered around the Latin School, his role in shaping the progress of Lutheranism in Hungary was also unquestionably dominant. His reputation reached well beyond the borders of Bártfa through his writings and school reforms, the latter of which soon became successful enough to be adopted by other schools.

Born in Bártfa in 1510, Leonard Stöckel began his education with Valentin Eck in his hometown, and continued it in Kosice (Lat.Cassovia) under the English humanist, Leonard Cox. Both teachers came to Upper Hungary from the University of Krakow. In Breslau, where Stöckel was studying Greek, he became acquainted with the ideas of the Reformation. His curiosity led him to Wittenberg, where he not only matriculated from the University in 1530, but cultivated a life-long friendship with Philip Melanchthon, the great Reformist leader, who was said to be Martin Luther's right hand. For a short period, Stöckel was appointed rector of the school in Eisleben, Luther's birthplace, after which he returned to Wittenberg and worked under the direction of Melanchthon.³⁸

Although Melanchthon was hesitant to let him go, in 1539 Stöckel accepted the position of rector at the Latin School in Bártfa. Shortly after his arrival he created the

³⁸ Fox, Bertha Mary, *A Liturgical-Repertorial Study of Renaissance Polyphony in Bártfa Mus. Pr. 6 (a-d)*, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, PhD diss. (University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, 1977), 81

rules by which the school was to function successfully. Most probably Stöckel was influenced by the ideas of Melanchthon, under whom several reforms took place at the University of Wittenberg in 1536.³⁹ The Bártfa Latin School was 100 years old by the time Stöckel became its rector; his rules visibly boosted the school's standard and they became so popular among the other schools in the country that Stöckel received the title "Praeceptor Hungariae", just as his teacher, Melanchthon, was called "Praeceptor Germaniae."⁴⁰ During his rectorship, Stöckel was invited to teach at other schools such as the University and Latin school of Breslau or the Latin school of Levoca, however he chose to remain loyal to his hometown and turned down the offers. His fame attracted many students from abroad as well as the most powerful Hungarian families also sent their children to study under his supervision.⁴¹

Although Stöckel's rules have never been published, a copy of his manuscript survives. Unfortunately, I have not had access to this document; therefore the following brief section on Stöckel's rules has been based on Fox's discussions. Because Stöckel's priority was to educate people in Humanism and Protestantism, the emphasis was on the elements of evangelical beliefs, Latin and Greek languages, mathematics, rhetoric and philosophy. Written work and disputation were also part of the syllabus. The language of instruction was Latin, but Stöckel encouraged the vernacular as well, demanding that the students write in Latin first and only then in their mother tongue.

On Sundays and feast days the students were required to attend the ceremonies at the St. Egidius church that was situated next door to the school. His sixth rule states that

³⁹ <http://chi.lcms.org/melanchthon/>, accessed April 9, 2005

⁴⁰ M. Szlávik, "Leonhard Stöckel," in "Zur ungarischen Reformationsgeschichte," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 16, 1894 quoted in Fox, 81

⁴¹ Fox, 81

every pupil should process to the church from the school and back after the service. The pupils were obliged to retain discipline and order, “for without order nothing can be beautiful. Anyone who disturbs the order gives evidence of the perversity of his nature.”⁴² Stöckel regarded the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacrament as outstanding ceremonies established by Christ, therefore they must be praised.

The students of the Latin school also participated in dramas that provided a sort of social activity in the town. Dramatic performances had a long tradition as the town’s account books show; the productions were frequently supported by the town council. As Fox reports, payments were made for a Christmas play in 1491, an Easter play in 1497, a Passion play in 1512 and 1516.⁴³ There are no records of such financial support between the years of 1516 and 1523, and for the period of 1523-1552 the account books are missing, therefore it is hard to know whether the drama tradition continued to Stöckel’s rectorship or he was the one reviving it. Stöckel directed at least one play every year until his death in 1560, of which the first one is recorded in an account book in 1553. As Ábel reports, there was no play in 1557 due to the plague.⁴⁴

Stöckel wrote one German play himself and dedicated it to the town magistrate of Breslau, J. Nornberger.⁴⁵ The “*Historia von Susanna in Tragedien weise gestellet zu Übung der Jugent zu Bartfeld in Ungern*” was published in Wittenberg by Hans Lufft in

⁴² Johann Samuel Klein, *Nachrichten von den Lebensumständen und Schriften evangelischer Prediger in allen Gemeinen des Königreichs Ungarn*, I. (Leipzig and Ofen, 1789), 334 quoted in Fox, 83

⁴³ Karl Kurt Klein, *Literaturgeschichte des Deutschtums in Ausland*, (Leipzig, 1939), 29-30 quoted in Fox, 84

⁴⁴ Eugen Ábel, “Das Schauspielwesen zu Bartfeld im XV. Und XVI. Jahrhundert,” *Ungarische Revue* 10, 1884, 670-671 quoted in Fox, 84

⁴⁵ Johannes Bolte, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, 1971 reprint of the 1893 ed. Quoted in Fox, 85

1559. Stöckel was remembered for this play in several dramatic history books, although modern critics do not see it as a high-ranking work.⁴⁶

On Easter Sunday of 1560, as Stöckel was directing the choir in the processional hymn, *Salve festa dies*, he was seized by a sharp pain, which forced him to bed for the rest of his life. In the spring he received the news that his mentor and friend, Melanchthon, had died on April 19. Stöckel received a letter that Melanchthon wrote before his death and exclaimed in tears that he would shortly follow him. He died on June 7, 1560.

A few words must be said about Peter Stöckel as well, Leonard's younger brother. Like Leonard, Peter graduated from the Wittenberg University in 1536 and returned to Bártfa in 1545, which is evident from a letter by Leonard to Melanchthon, in which he gives Peter's greetings. He adds that he is pleased with Peter's work and that besides his family it is his brother who is the most important to him.⁴⁷

Peter's importance in relation to the Bártfa manuscripts is that it is his name that appears in *MS Pr. 6*, which is the 1544 print of the Resinarius *Responsoria* with manuscript additions. He was also employed at the Bártfa Latin School, which according to Fox makes it quite possible that the print *MS Pr. 6*, which was sold by Peter's heirs to the church or town of Bártfa for one florin, once belonged to either Peter or Leonard. Fox hypothesizes that *MS Pr. 6* could have been brought to Bártfa from Wittenberg either by Peter Stöckel or another Bártfa student; but it could have also been ordered by Leonard, Peter or Thomas Faber, the school cantor. This print manuscript could have been used during the rectorship of Leonard, and then kept by his brother, who continued to use it

⁴⁶ Fox, 85

⁴⁷ Ábel, "Unedierte Briefe von Luther, Melanchthon und Leonhard Stöckel," *Ungarische Revue* 7, (1887), 705-715, quoted in Fox, 85

when Faber followed Leonard as a rector (1560-1592). During these years further compositions were added to the original layer of the manuscript.⁴⁸

That Stöckel's Latin School was not at all behind the German Latin schools is well demonstrated in the New Grove article by Robin A. Leaver, in which he describes – among others - the education related reforms of Luther. Leaver explains that Latin was encouraged in towns that had a Latin school, which usually followed Luther's specific educational program. The subjects of instruction were evangelic theology, grammar, rhetoric and music, the last being given a high priority. Music was taught at a theoretical as well as at practical level, which involved singing in the church to which the school was attached. The school's music teacher was none other than the Cantor, who also directed the church choir and the congregation in singing polyphonic liturgical music and chorales. Leaver also shows the network of persons responsible for the reforms: "Luther provided the fundamental theology of music and Melanchthon the pedagogical principles and curricula; Johann Walter, who in 1529 became the first Lutheran Kantor in Torgau, composed much of the repertory; and Georg Rhau, in collaboration with Luther, Melanchthon and Walter, published a steady stream of music and music theory for church and school."⁴⁹

The musical life of the Bártfa Latin School can only be partially reconstructed from contemporary accounts such as the description above. Moreover, the appendix to Stöckel's rules mentions some of the music related duties of the students; the picture can

⁴⁸ Fox, 86

⁴⁹ Robin A. Leaver: 'Lutheran church music', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed April 9, 2005), <<http://proxy.bib.uottawa.ca:2767>>

be further completed from the regulations of the school in Levoca from 1589, for these were modelled on Stöckel's.

Stöckel writes that after a new student arrived he immediately had to proceed to the cantor for a test of his musical ability. After two months new students were granted a benefice if they showed musical talent.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, a more detailed characterization of these benefices is unavailable.

The students' participation in the church services is also evident from a note containing a list of fourteen names that was found in a volume of the *Bártfa Collection*. Murányi concludes with certainty that this list contains the names of the students of the Bártfa Latin School who must have been choir members at the St. Egidius church.⁵¹ His conclusion is based on the 'Zarewutius' name, which is the last name of the famous organist of Bártfa, Zacharias Zarewutius. He was born in 1605 in Berzevice not far from Bártfa where he was appointed organist and composer from 1625.⁵² The list also tells us about the size of the choir, roughly 14 singers, which compared to the town's population of 3500 even a century later, should be regarded indeed significant.⁵³

The Levoca school rules provide further evidence regarding the role of music. It is the cantor who teaches the art of singing to both the boys and to the young men. It is his task to demonstrate how the lips must be drawn together and the vowels shaped in order to sing well. The cantor must also be present at the church whenever singing takes place.

⁵⁰ Klein, *Nachrichten*, 341 quoted in Fox, 83

⁵¹ Róbert Árpád Murányi, "Magyarország éneklő ifjúsága 1500-1650 között" ("The singing youth of Hungary between 1500-1650") in *Magyar Zene* Vol. XIV. No. 1 (Budapest, 1973), 80. The full list is the following: "Die 6 Woche 1 Joan Schmitz, 2. Balth. Czapko, Salomon Innwalt, 4. Melch. Scholtz, 5. Joan Heydenreich, 6. Joan Zarewutius, 7. Johan Reineri, 8. Merten Blatz, 9. Michel Frölich, 10. István Miskay, 11. Griger Wohlgeruth, 12. Thomas Scholtz, 13. Musca Fliege, Meretrix Ziege."

⁵² Murányi, R. Á. and Ferenczi, Ilona, "Zacharias Zarewutius (1605-1667)" in *Musicalia Danubiana* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1987), 37

⁵³ Murányi, "Magyarország éneklő ifjúsága", 80

The cantor along with the rector are to attend the processions to observe the singing and the behavior of the boys who must sing in such manner so that they can hear the others. The students must have a serious reason for not participating in the processions and they must report it both to the teacher and the cantor. They boys are required to follow the procession quietly without talking and they must repeat the sermon to their teacher.⁵⁴

One may realize from these regulations that music was an integral part of the 16th-century school systems in Hungary elevated by Stöckel. However, an even more fascinating piece of evidence is a compilation of Stöckel's own writings on the subject of music, which he specifically intended for the students of the Latin school. It is not known where Stöckel obtained his musical training – perhaps some of the contemporary theories were available for him, or he acquired some knowledge during his studies in Wittenberg, the instructions in both volumes of the *De Musica* prove that he was well acquainted with both the Lutheran and humanistic ideals of music.

De Musica Leonardi Stöckelii (DMLS)

The primary research dealing with Stöckel's musical treatise has been carried out by Frantisek Matus.⁵⁵ He divides Stöckel's work into four groups: the first two *De Musica [I]* and *[III]* are didactic writings on the rudiments of music. The third manuscript, *Quare decreverim redire* is a more subjective reflection of the author's affiliation to music, and the last manuscript, *Argumenta de Musica* is a syllogistic approach to the subject. Matus observes that all four parts of *DMLS* bear the characteristic marks of the Reformist ideas and goals. In the following section, *DMLS* will be discussed in brief.

⁵⁴ Peter Vajcik, *Nizšie školstvo na Slovensku v 15. – 16. storoci* in HRS, 118-127, quoted in Fox, 84

⁵⁵ Frantisek Matúš, "De Musica Leonardi Stöckelii", *Slovenská Hudba XVII No. 4*, (Bratislava, 1991), 360-414

De Musica by Stöckel is part of a larger compilation of different printed textbooks that have been bound together for some unknown purpose and now form *MS-KZ 139*. Among the mixture of arithmetical and musical chapters one may also find manuscript additions (such as Stöckel's work), which increase the value of this unique volume. As it appears from Matús' article, the text of *DMLS* was probably put together by one of Stöckel's student. According to the inscriptions in the volume, *MS-KZ 139* had been compiled in 1566 (6 yrs after Stöckel's death), and in it all of Stöckel's transcriptions are dated 1567 (Matús also adds that all of the used materials originate from the years 1555-1579). Despite of the fact that Stöckel's ideas had been preserved by his student and had been compiled together as a volume only after his death, his authorship is without any doubt; his name appears in the handwritten table of contents of the collection: "*De Musica Leon[arhi] Stöckeiiil.*"⁵⁶

DMLS is thus a music theory treatise made up of four manuscripts all dating from the second half of the 16th century and all of them written by Stöckel. The first two of these manuscripts are so-called dialogue treatises that consist of 39 questions and answers, all of which are formed in a very simple and straightforward manner to suit the student's ability of understanding. Among this material Stöckel selected from the contemporary music theory only those aspects of choral and measured music that he thought would be essential for the young pupil.

In his discussions, Stöckel constantly emphasizes the human voice, as it is a gift from God. To the question of what is music ("*Quid est musica?*") he answers: it is the art

⁵⁶ A complete list of the contents can be found in Matús, 361

of singing (“*Est ars canendi*”). Without any further explanation or reasoning the student must practice singing as a ‘principium.’⁵⁷

According to Stöckel the origin of music (“*Causa musicae*”) is nothing more but the human voice that was given to man by God not only for speaking but also for singing so he can arouse the soul from every side. Also, God’s gifts are meant for one reason and that is to glorify the donator with songs such as ‘*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.*’

Stöckel compares the art of singing to reciting a poem, because it is also more effective than free speech. He introduces the participating organs (the lungs, vocal cords and throat). However, in the spirit of religious singing it is not just humans who can sing, but also angels. Therefore, Stöckel finds it important to explain to the students how angels are capable of singing without all these organs. He uses contemporary religious ideas when he states that angels as ‘spiritual entities’ (“*substantiae spirituales*”) can sing without these organs.⁵⁸

Stöckel briefly explains the elements of music, which according to him are musical voice (“*vox musicalis*”), clefs (“*clavis*”), notation (“*nota*”), rest (“*pausa*”), proportion (“*proportion*”), and mode (“*tonus*”).⁵⁹ In some instances, Stöckel uses illustrations such as charts or musical examples for the sake of clarity. Also, he often turns to non-musical examples, which he draws from the everyday life. Furthermore, as will be further explored in the “Instrumental Usage” section, Stöckel devotes a brief section to instrumental music, in which he lists some of the instruments that can be used for creating ‘physical’ (instrumental) music. Presumably he listed those instruments that musicians used in his immediate environment, which provides further knowledge and

⁵⁷ Matús, 379

⁵⁸ Matús, 381

⁵⁹ Matús, 383

expands our idea of Bártfa's musical life in the 16th century. (For more detail see "Instrumental Usage.")

Leonard Stöckel's treatise is more than just a reflection of his great knowledge and passion for music. Instead of assigning this task to the cantor or the music teacher, he himself, as a school rector, selected carefully the musical topics most essential for the pupils, which shows the great role music must have played in the Bártfa Latin school under his direction and also in other schools that followed Stöckel's reforms. Moreover, *De Musica Leonardi Stöckelii [I]* and *[II]* along with the other two theoretical writings are the oldest works of their kind and provide excellent evidence of the musical practice of the Evangelic schools during the Renaissance in Upper Hungary. Their historical significance lies not only in the exploration and interpretation of musical theories, but they are also an excellent example of the humanistic approach to music that is open toward new ideas. In his writings, Stöckel also evaluates contemporary musical life and thus gives us an exceptional picture of his era's spirit and intellect. Matús claims that Stöckel not only reached the standard of similar treatises of the time in Central-Europe, but also surpassed that.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Matús, 412

CHAPTER III

The Bártfa Collection

The importance and uniqueness of the *Bártfa Collection*, to which MS 8 belongs, lies both in its origin and contents. Bártfa as a geographical location is unique from a musicological perspective because in the 16th century it was situated outside the territory of the main musical centers, which have been so closely examined during the past decades. However, as the previous chapters has already shown and the present chapter will also point it out, the secluded location should not make one think that Bártfa and its musical traditions are not worthy of exploration. The presence of the schoolmaster Stöckel and his vivid relationship with the Lutheran leaders immediately show that instead of being isolated and remote, the 16th-century Bártfa was rather open and modern in terms its intellectual and artistic life. This is further supported by the size of the Bártfa Collection, the numerous volumes of which may have come from Southern Germany or yet unidentified locations and may have circulated in the Sharish region, but for some reason they have been at some point gathered in the town of Bártfa and remained there (very probably they were continued to be used as well) until centuries later when Ábel discovered them. The present chapter will introduce not only the history of the collection but will also provide a brief overview of its contents, which will further expand our knowledge of the musical tradition and the repertoire that was practiced in Bártfa.

The *Bártfa Collection* refers to a set of 16th- and 17th-century music prints and manuscripts that, prior to 1915, belonged to the library of the St. Egidius Church in Bártfa. The negotiations between the National Museum of Hungary and the Roman Catholic Bishop about a possible purchase of the holdings of the church library began in 1914, and later that year a purchase arrangement was made for 30,000 golden crowns. World War I intervened and caused a delay in the transferring process, therefore the shipment only arrived in Budapest in January 1915.

The bookcase containing 142 volumes then was first examined by Ottó Gombosi in 1916, who arranged the volumes into twenty sets of prints and twenty-nine sets of manuscripts.⁶¹ At that time the partbooks were in a terrible shape caused by “mold, moth, moisture and men”.⁶² The pages have been misplaced and ruined; some materials could not even be saved.⁶³ The necessary repair work was done, which was followed by a complete restoration in 1970 led by Ildikó Kozocsa.⁶⁴ Currently the *Bártfa Collection* is part of the Special Collections of the Music Division of the National Széchenyi Library in Budapest and is ready for examination. The manuscript name ‘Bártfa’ comes from the town, which at the time of the purchase was still part of Hungary, hence the Hungarian name as opposed to the Slovak Bardejov or German Bartfeld.

It is not known how long the manuscripts and prints had been part of the church library of St. Egidius. The first historian to mention the collection was Jenő (Eugen) Ábel

⁶¹ Fox, Bertha Mary, Ph.D. diss. *A Liturgical-Repertorial Study of Renaissance Polyphony in Bártfa Mus. Pr. 6 (a-d)*, National Széchenyi Library, Budapest, University of Illinois, 1977, 90

⁶² *Ibid.*, 90

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 91

⁶⁴ Murányi, “Magyarország éneklő ifjúsága 1500-1650 között” in *Magyar Zene* Vol. XIV. No. 1 (Budapest, 1973), 78. Fox also mentions the restoration in detail, which in fact started in 1957 but was interrupted in 1958 and began again in 1970.

who investigated the holdings of the church library and published his findings in 1885.⁶⁵ Because his approach was a general one instead of a specifically musical approach, he gathered a huge amount of documents but only mentions the music manuscripts briefly, calling them ‘songbooks’.⁶⁶ From the historical documents Ábel concluded that the current collection had found its way to Bártfa through gifts and purchases.⁶⁷ He further observed that almost all of the encountered documents show book purchases abroad, mainly in Krakow and Wittenberg⁶⁸ and the town’s expenses that appear in the ‘rapularium’ coincide with Stöckel’s trips abroad.⁶⁹ He noted that the constant book purchasing abroad is particularly interesting if we realize that there was a book shop in Bártfa around the middle of the 16th century, which is probably a considerably older business than the one in Pressbourg.⁷⁰

As mentioned above, Gombosi was the next in chronological order to examine the manuscripts.⁷¹ He put together an inventory of the Bártfa Collection (not focusing on any single manuscript) that was further developed by Murányi’s thematic catalogue in the 1970s. As Fox describes, Gombosi’s work is “limited by not having essential reference materials at hand when he examined the books”⁷², which led to numerous errors in the citation of related manuscripts.

⁶⁵ Jenő Ábel, *A bártfai Sz. Egyed templom könyvtárának története*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 107

⁶⁷ Fox, 90

⁶⁸ Ábel., 111

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 113

⁷⁰ Ábel hypothesizes on the basis of a letter, in which Bertalan Purlamutz is trying to find the Epithets of Ravisius in Vienna. Although Ábel is not clear about the identity of this man (commissioned by a town-clerk from Bártfa), he just concludes that the fact he was looking for the work in Vienna might imply that Pressbourg at that time did not have its own permanent book business. 112

⁷¹ Gombosi’s articles date from 1929 to 1941

⁷² Fox, 91. As Fox mentions in the preface of her dissertation, Murányi did share with her the results of his work, yet it is unclear why she limited herself to Gombosi’s research when Murányi’s inventory was also accessible by that time.

The following list is taken primarily from Fox's dissertation and from the supplement to the 'Census Catalogue' compiled by Herbert Kellman.⁷³

Bártfa MS 1 (a-h). One of the eight partbooks is dated 1665. This manuscript contains 246 compositions, including 1 Sanctus, 231 motets and 14 German sacred compositions. Among the 72 identified composers are Agazzari, Bagni, Balbi, Barotius, Bianciardi, Dulichius, Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, Gatto, Hassler, Haussmann, Merulo, Philippe de Monte, Phinot, Vulpius and Wert. Twenty-eight pieces bear no attributions.

Bártfa MS 2 (a-f). The six paper partbooks contain the earliest repertory of the Bártfa Collection according to both Gombosi and Murányi.⁷⁴ It contains 3 Kyrie-Gloria pairs, 10 Mass Proper sections, 1 psalm, 2 processional hymns, and 8 motets in the first section dated ca. 1550 by Gombosi; 1 Magnificat, 12 motets, 2 Passions, and 20 German sacred pieces in the second part dated 17th century. Composers are Amon, Finck, Hahnel, Handl, Hartman, Isaac, Josquin, Lassus, Lowenstern, Obrecht/Longaval/Venture, Schutz, Senfl, Stoltzer and Walliser. Twenty items have not been identified.

Bártfa MS 6. Only the tenor partbook survived dating from the early 17th century. It contains 5 motets, 1 hymn, 1 Latin/German sacred piece, 1 German sacred piece and 1 textless composition. Composers are Agricola, Fine, Hermann, Lassus, Regnart, Resinarius, and twenty-one compositions are unattributed.

Bártfa MS 8 (a-d). Four partbooks dated ca. 1550 by Gombosi and after 1555 by Murányi, contain 2 Masses, 38 Mass Proper sections, 1 Kyrie-Gloria pair, 1 Sanctus-Agnus pair, 2 Kyries, 1 Gloria, 1 Sanctus, 4 Magnificats, 1 Passion, 10 hymns, 2 motets,

⁷³ Fox, 95-99 and Herbert Kellman, *Census Catalogue of Polyphonic Music*, 1988, vol. 4, 301- 306

⁷⁴ Fox, 92

1 German sacred piece and 1 set of responses. Among the composers are Bruck, Finck, Isaac, Josquin, Obrecht/Longaval/Venture, Rein and Stoltzer. Twenty-five items come from anonymous composers.

Bártfa MS 9 (a-d). Four partbooks date from the early 17th century, more precisely after 1614 by Murányi, containing 29 motets, 1 canticle, 1 Latin/German sacred piece and 24 German sacred pieces by Balbi, Bonomi, Dulichius, Erthel, Franck, Grimm, Gumpelzhaimer, Handl, Hartmann, Hassler, Hemmerlen, Knofel, Leoni, Praetorius, Ramella, Savetta, Verdelot, Vulpius, Weissensee and Zangius. The composers for ten items have been undetermined.

Bártfa MS 12. One (*bassus*) partbook dating from the early 17th century, after 1607 according to Murányi, contains 5 Masses, 2 Kyrie-Gloria pairs and 1 Passion, all anonymous. Composers are Handl, Lassus and Vaet; composers have not been determined for three items.

Bártfa MS 15 (a-c). This manuscript, dating from after 1619 according to Murányi, has been slightly rearranged from its original version; 15a was formerly part of MS 20, 15b and 15c were part of P15, which no longer contains a manuscript section. An inscription date appears in 15c: 1593.⁷⁵ The manuscript contains 6 Masses, 1 Kyrie-Gloria pair and 10 Magnificats by Florius, Knofel, Lassus, Philippe de Monte Scandallo and David. Composers have not been determined for three items.

Bártfa MS 16 9a-c). This rather extensive volume dates from after 1640 according to Murányi contains 346 items by 101 composers: 14 Kyrie-Gloria Masses, 7 Magnificats, 257, 2 German secular pieces, 2 hymns, 2 canticles, 3 Mass Proper sections, 1 Gloria and

⁷⁵ For a discussion of the inscription date see Murányi “Neuere Angaben”, pp. 365-366; Gombosi “Quellen”, p.336 and Fox p. 33-35 and p. 59

56 German sacred pieces. Although the manuscript comes from the 17th century, some 16th-century composers are also represented: Clemens non Papa, Handl, V. Judex, S. Klein, Knofel, Lasus, Philippe de Monte, Phinot and Victoria. Composers have been unidentified for fifty pieces.

Bártfa MS 20 (a-b). Muranyi claims this rearranged manuscript dates from after 1603. The former 20b is now 15a; the former 20c is now 20b. These include 14 Masses, 3 Kyrie-Gloria pairs, 2 Kyries, 1 Credo, 74 Mass Proper sections (some arranged in cycles), 1 Passion, 3 motets, 3 sets of responses, 1 German sacred piece, 1 Latin/German sacred piece and 1 Latin/Czech piece. Among the composers are Bruck, Brumel, Clemens non Papa, Crequillon, Sociorum Jo. Dra., Finck, Hahnel, Hombono Isaac, Josquin, Lassus, Wyrzbon and Zallamella. Thirty-three items are without attribution.

Bártfa MS 22. This single partbook dates from 1550 according to Gombosi and contains 197 items, including 3 Masses, 5 Kyrie-Gloria pairs, 1 Sanctus-Agnus pair, 1 Gloria, 4 Kyries (1 troped), 7 Magnificats, 1 Te Deum, 56 Mass Proper sections (most arranged in cycles), 4 processional hymns, 7 office hymns, 98 motets, 3 Benedicamus doinos, 2 Latin/German sacred pieces, 2 German sacred pieces and 1 Italian secular piece. Among the 33 identified composers are Blanckenmuller, Brumel, Ducis, Eckel, Finck, Grefinger, Haidenheimer, Isaac, Josquin, Kropstein, Molitor, Mouton, Othmayr, Paminger, Rabe, Senfl, Stoltzer, Verdelot and Walter. Composers have not been determined for sixty-two items.

Bártfa MS 23. A single partbook dating from ca 1550 (Gombosi) that contains over two hundred items, including 3 Masses, 3 Kyrie-Gloria pairs, 1 Sanctus-Agnus pair, 1 Kyrie, 2 Glorias, 1 Sanctus, 32 Mass Proper sections, 9 Magnificats, 2 Te Deums, 1 canticle, 11

office hymns, 1 processional hymn, 124 motets, 1 *Benedicamus domino* and 8 German sacred pieces. Some of the 58 composers are Arcadelt, Bauldeweyn, Canis, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Finck, H. Faber, Gombert/Mouton/Verdelot, Hahnel, Isaac, Jaquet of Mantua, Josquin, Kropstein, Lemlin, Mahu, Pieton, Richafort, Senfl, Stoltzer, Teuber, Unterholtzer, Verdelot and Walter. Sixty-one items have not been attributed to a composer.

Bártfa MS 24 (a-d). This manuscript consists of two parts; part I dates from after 1550 and part II from between 1584-1616 according to Muranyi. It contains 5 Masses, 13 Kyrie-Gloria Masses, 1 Sanctus-Agnus Mass, 5 Kyries, 1 Gloria, 51 Mass Proper sections (most arranged in cycles), 1 psalm, 1 processional hymn, 1 set of responses, 14 motets, 4 German sacred pieces and 1 Latin/German sacred piece. Composers are Bruck, Finck, Florius, Gosswin, Hahnel, Handl, Hassler, I.W.N.S., Isaac, Josquin, Judex, Knofel, Lassus, Lechner, Paminger, Roselli, Senfl, Stoltzer, Tonsor and Zeuner. Thirty-six items are unidentified.

Bártfa MS 31. The 68 folios of this ms, dated ca. 1570, vary in size; these are fragments not associated with any other extant volumes in the *Bártfa Collection*. Among its contents are 1 Kyrie-Gloria-Credo Mass, 1 Kyrie-Gloria pair, 1 Sanctus-Agnus pair, 2 Kyries, 1 Credo, 3 Sanctus, 1 Agnus, 7 Mass Proper sections, 10 Magnificats, 1 hymn, 20 motets, 9 German sacred pieces, 1 textless composition. The composers are: Clemens non Papa, Figulus, Forster, Handl, Josquin/(Gombert), Lassus, Rein, Wert and forty-eight pieces are by anonymous.

Bártfa P1. Forty paper folios have been added to the discantus book of the original volume that was printed in Wittenberg in 1545⁷⁶. The addition contains over forty items including 1 Mass, 11 Mass Proper sections, 5 Kyrie-Gloria pairs, 6 Kyries, 4 Magnificats, 18 motets and 2 German secular pieces. The composers are: Finck, Forster, Handl, Isaac, Judex, Knofel, Lassus, M. Praetorius, Renner, Resinarius, Spongopeus, David Th., Tonsor and Zallamella. The manuscript addition also contains eight unidentified items. Muranyi divided this print into three sections; the first dates from after 1550, the second copied in Nuremberg dates from 1610 (it has an inscription of the scribes name, date and place), the third section dates from after 1611.

Bártfa P2 (a-d). All four partbooks contain three prints: Resinarius: *Responsorium numero octoginta...Libri duo* (Wittenberg, 1544); Wanningus: *Sententiae* (Dresden, 1584); and Meiland: *Cygneae Cantiones* (Wittenberg, 1590). On the blank pages or an added folio someone added 1 motet, 1 Latin/German sacred piece and 2 German secular pieces in each partbook. The manuscript contains the date 1620.

Bártfa P3 (a-b). This volume consists of four prints⁷⁷: *Psalmorum selectorum...Tomus primus, Tomus secundus, Tomus tertius, Tomus quartus* (Nürnberg, 1553, 1544). Both partbooks have been added three to ten folios, which contains thirty manuscripts additions. These include: 3 Kyrie-Gloria pairs, 2 Kyries, 4 Mass Proper sections, 4 Magnificats (one in German), 6 hymns, 1 German sacred piece and 10 motets. Composers are Amon, Handl, Hassler, Isaac, Lassus, Resinarius, Varotti and Vulpius. Thirteen pieces have not yet been attributed to a composer. The manuscript contains the dates 1615 and 1624.

⁷⁶ RISM 1545

⁷⁷ RISM 1553, 1553, 1553 and 1554

Bártfa P4 (a-d). This volume dates from after 1559 and is made up of three prints⁷⁸: *Novum et insigne opus musicum...*; *Secunda pars magni operas musici...*; *Tertia pars magni operas musici...* (Nürnberg, 1558, 1559). Two incomplete and one complete anonymous motet has been copied on the flyleaves of each partbook. Two composers that have been identified are Morales and Stoltzer.

Bártfa P6 (a-d). This print of Resinarius: *Responsorium numero octoginta...Libri duo* (Wittenberg, 1544) have been extended by fifty or more folios in each partbook. The manuscript additions include 1 Mass, 1 Kyrie-Gloria pair, 6 Mass Proper sections, 5 Magnificats, 1 psalm, 51 office hymns, 1 processional hymn, 18 motets, 2 Benedicamus dominos, 5 Latin/German sacred piece, 4 German sacred pieces and 2 textless pieces. Composers are: Bruck, Capella, S. Cellarius, Finck, Grefinger, Hahnel, Haugk, Isaac, Josquin, Josquin/Stoltzer, Sigism. Nymb., Pöpel, De Silva/Prenner, Renner, Renner/Finck, Resinarius, Senfl, Stoltzer and Walter. Almost half of the added compositions (48) have not been attributed to a composer. The date 1558 appears in ms.

Bártfa P7 (a-b). Similarly to the previous volume, this one is also the print of Resinarius: *Responsorium numero octoginta...Libri duo* (Wittenberg, 1544). Divided into three parts; the first dates from after 1544, the second from after 1627 and the third from after 1561 (Muranyi). Both partbooks have been added two to twenty folios before and after the print. The additions contain 4 Masses, 4 hymns, 1 Mass Proper section, 1 German secular piece, 1 Latin/German sacred piece and a textless fragment by Crequillon, Paminger, Regnart, Stoltzer and Zarewutius. Five items are undetermined.

Bártfa P8 (a-c). The three prints that make up this volume are: Resinarius: *Responsorium numero octoginta...Libri duo* (Wittenberg, 1544); *Sacrorum hymnorum* (Wittenberg,

⁷⁸ RISM 1558, 1559 and 1559

1542)⁷⁹; *Postremum Vespertini Officii* (Wittenberg, 1544)⁸⁰. According to Muranyi, this ms dates from after 1544. Each partbook has been added ten or more folios. The added compositions are anonymous: 1 Magnificat, 1 Te Deum, 2 hymns and 3 motets. Hahnel has been determined as the composer of one piece.

Bártfa P9 (a-e). The five partbooks, of which the first (a) and last (e) have been added an anonymous motet and a textless piece in the front, consists of the print *Novum insigne...* (Wittenberg, 1537)⁸¹. The motet has been attributed to Hemmerlen. The date 1538 appears on the cover, the ms was copied after 1542 (according to Muranyi).

Bártfa P17 (a-c). Three prints make up this volume: *Premier livre de recueil des fleurs...* (Louvain, 1560)⁸²; *Recueil des fleurs...Premier livre* and *Second livre* (Louvain, 1569)⁸³. All three partbooks have been added two to four folios, which contain eleven anonymous compositions: 1 Kyrie-Gloria pair, 1 Mass Proper section, 4 Magnificats, 3 hymns, 7 motets and 1 German sacred piece. Isaac, Lassus and Resinarius are thought to be the composers of five items. The date 1648 is inscribed in the ms. Murányi claims that these additions have been copied by Zacharias Zarewutius, organist at Bártfa from 1625.⁸⁴

Regarding the repertory represented in the *Bártfa Collection*, one must take into consideration what Luther had to say about the daily liturgy. His reforms required two observations on weekdays. Attendance by the whole congregation was not always

⁷⁹ RISM 1542

⁸⁰ RISM 1544

⁸¹ RISM 1537

⁸² RISM 1560

⁸³ RISM 1569

⁸⁴ *Census Catalogue*, vol. 4, 306

required, but the clergy and the novice had to be present under any circumstances. On Sundays, however, everyone had to participate in the celebration. Each celebration is enriched with much music that can be reduced or extended. The priest should assign a psalm, a responsory and an antiphon for every morning Mass, but reading and singing must not be abandoned in the evening either.

The step-by-step guide of Luther can be sketched as follows:⁸⁵

<u>Morning</u>	<u>Evening</u>
<i>Psalm singing</i>	<i>Psalm singing</i>
	<i>Hymn</i>
Lecture in Latin	Lecture in Latin
<i>Antiphon</i>	<i>Antiphon</i>
Lecture in German	Lecture in German
<i>Antiphon</i>	<i>Antiphon</i>
<i>Te Deum laudamus or</i>	<i>Magnificat or</i>
<i>Benedictus</i>	<i>German song</i>
Prayer of the Lord	Prayer of the Lord
Collecta	Collecta
<i>Benedicamus Domino</i>	<i>Benedicamus Domino</i>

In the *Bártfa Collection* one may find every section on this list that is sung. Murányi suggests that most probably the responsories, hymns and Magnificats were sung polyphonically, the ‘Te Deum’ not so much. He also observes that the text of these sections is most frequently Latin, since Luther was a believer in the power of that language and wanted to advocate its use as much as that of German.

⁸⁵ “A gyülekezeti istentisztelet rendjéről” (“On the Order of Observation”) *Luther Márton művei (The Works of Martin Luther)*, (Bratislava, 1908) quoted in Murányi, R. A., “A lutheri liturgia a Bártfai Gyűjtemény tükrében” (“The Lutheran Liturgy as Reflected in the Bártfa Collection”), *Theologiai Szemle*, (Budapest, 1979), 230-233

Murányi also illustrates the proper procedure of the ‘Formula missae’ and the ‘Deutsche Messe’ and notes that the participation of the congregation was much more active in the German Mass. In the *Bártfa Collection*, the earliest manuscripts contain complete Mass Ordinaries, which were all sung by the choir. The polyphonic singing of the movable parts of the Mass (such as the Introit, Alleluia, Sequence) may have been done in the 1560s. However, the non-movable parts were sung for a more extensive period.⁸⁶

Murányi further observes that while in the 16th century usually the Proper and the Ordinary of the Mass were copied into the manuscripts, which began to change towards the 17th century when motets based on biblical texts seem to have become more popular (probably following the sermon). Other manuscripts from Upper Hungary and Breslau also show that around the 17th century the Mass Proper sections had been replaced by motets.⁸⁷

As Luther stated in his reforms, from the liturgical feasts he intended to retain the Purification, Annunciation, Assumption and the Nativity. From the *Bártfa* manuscripts this practice is also evident; it is enough to examine the division according to the Church calendar in *MS 8* (please refer to the chart in chapter 4 for details).⁸⁸

Regarding the language of the liturgy, Luther favored the acquaintance and use of several languages, for he was constantly keeping in mind the educational needs of the youth. He stated that if it was up to him he would introduce Greek and Hebrew into the education. This became true to some extent as it is witnessed from the many Kyries in the *Bártfa* manuscripts that have been written in the Cyrillic alphabet, which suggests that the

⁸⁶ Murányi, “A lutheri liturgia”, 232

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 232

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 232

scribe must have been familiar with the language.⁸⁹ Also, the multi-lingual attitude is also recorded in some Bártfa manuscripts (*MS 17* and *MS 20*) where besides the Latin pieces one may find German and even Czech texts.

As it is evident from the summary of the contents above, the compilers of the manuscripts and prints of the *Bártfa Collection* assembled the most popular liturgical music of the 16th century by internationally known composers. Almost every volume has a number of anonymous compositions that were probably added at the location (most probably in Bártfa) at which the particular volumes had been used. In one of his articles Murányi publishes the entire list of all the composers (over 200 in total) and draws special attention to those of Hungarian origin or with any link to Hungary, namely Thomas Stoltzer who served at the royal court in Pressbourg; Capricornus, teacher at the Pressbourg school for seven years; Celscherus who emigrated from the Sharish region; finally Plintovitz, Schimbracky and Zarewutius, who were all born in the Sharish region and remained there for the rest of their lives. Murányi also shows interest in the anonymous composers, of whom he successfully identified a large number (these are published in his Thematic Catalogue).⁹⁰

Along with the summary of the contents and the list of composers, the overview of the Lutheran liturgy gives further evidence of Bártfa's devoted religious practice and the role music occupied within this powerful Lutheran tradition. Taking into consideration these factors, it is needless to say that the manuscripts and prints of the *Bártfa Collection* are true witnesses of the Lutheran liturgy.

⁸⁹ Murányi, "A lutheri liturgia", 232

⁹⁰ Murányi, "Magyarország éneklő ifjúsága", 83

CHAPTER IV

The manuscript *Bártfa MS 8*

The Physical Description of *MS 8*

The manuscript *MS 8* measures 17 cm by 23 cm⁹¹ It contains four partbooks that are designated as a, b, c, d; the ‘a’ or *superius* partbook is called “vox summa” in the manuscript and has 49 folios, the ‘b’ or *altus* partbook is called “vox mercurialis” and also has 49 folios, the ‘c’ or *tenor* partbook is called “vox media” and has 46 folios, and the ‘d’ or *bassus* partbook lacks a name in the manuscript (or the first folio is missing) and it has 45 folios. Murányi further divides the manuscript into two sections probably according to the layers of the MS; the first (Koll.1) ends with K 542 *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and the second section (Koll. 2) starts with K 543 *Qui paraclitus*.⁹²

Even without seeing the manuscript, its division into four partbooks and the size of the partbooks strongly suggest that this manuscript was intended for frequent if not everyday use, possibly for a choir of approximately 15 singers. This is further supported by the fact that *MS 8* is not a typically decorated manuscript. In fact, there is not a single decorated initial or heading in any of the partbooks. On some folios there seems to be space left out for an initial, but in most cases the scribe solved it with a simple capital letter without any excessive ornaments.

⁹¹ Róbert Árpád Murányi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld* (Bonn, Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1972), XXIII.

⁹² Please note that a thorough examination and description of the gathering structure is left out from this study mainly because of my lack of experience to read and evaluate the signs and because some folios have been rearranged during the restoration process, which makes such inquiry particularly intricate.

Along with other volumes of the Bártfa Collection, *MS 8* has deteriorated quite heavily in certain areas and lightly in others. Of the four partbooks 'a' and 'c' are the easiest to read, because their pages are not as damaged as the 'b' and 'd' partbooks. Although its restoration in the 1960s made *MS 8* available for use, the damage that started several hundred years back could not be cured fully. The outer edges and corners of many folios have been torn off and much of the writing surface is blurred due to water leakage and moisture. Moreover, the ink on most pages has bled through to the other side, which may cause some confusion. Fortunately, in most cases the writing can be figured out relatively easily. According to my observations razor cuts, used for correcting errors, occur only in very few instances.

The main bulk of the manuscript has been prepared to contain five staff lines per folio; however, there are examples of four (e.g. K 546 and 547 on ff 48), three (e.g. K 548 and 549 on ff. 48-49) and even two (e.g. the very first piece K 492 and 493 "Amen. Et cum spiritu tuo" on f. 1) staff lines per page. In general, the decreasing number of staff lines occurs nearly at the end of the manuscript, which is also the place for new scribal hands, new types of paper and watermark, anonymous pieces in other words, possible additions to the original body of the manuscript.

Regarding the scribal hands, I have differentiated between text and music copyists assuming that often the job of music-copying was given out to an expert of notation whereas the text was done by a second person. However, there are instances in *MS 8* where both the music and the text were copied by a single person.

I have been able to distinguish fifteen different music scribal hands in *MS 8* and designated them by letters of the alphabet in the order they appear, thus the first is called

scribe A, the second is scribe B and so on. It is true that the manuscript starts with the unidentified piece “Amen. Et cum spiritu tuo” on f. 1’, this short piece of music and the scribal hand are unique and do not fit into the overall ‘flow’ of the manuscript so that I have decided to call the copyist scribe Z.⁹³

The major part of the manuscript, ff. 10 – 37, has been copied by scribe B. In some instances this hand is mixed with another (C or A), which suggests some sort of teamwork in the original body. The frequent changes after f. 37 are almost natural in a sense that if there are any additions, they usually appear at the end of a manuscript, because it is easier to attach an extra gathering there.

The individual notations are sometimes mixed with numerous types of *custodes*. More precisely, in some instances one can tell with certainty that the person copying the music differs from the person adding the *custos*, all of which can be observed from the angle of the quill, the thickness, size and angle of the stroke, and perhaps the color of the ink (only if it differs in a visible way). It was not uncommon for the *custodes* to be added by someone other than the music scribe; however, in these cases it is basically impossible to identify the owners of the *custodes*.

The examination of the text writing in *MS 8* has led to the distinction of fifteen scribal hands. Only in a few pieces can be shown with certainty that the text and music scribe is identical. Such an instance would be K 492, K 541 and K 545 (for more details see the chart). The text layers tend to be somewhat more complex in that in the second part of the manuscript (Koll. 2) new verses have been added to the existing text, for

⁹³ The distinctive characteristic of scribe Z is the large and irregular font suggesting an inexperienced scribal hand. Also, the compositions in question (K 492 and K 493) have been copied onto the very first folio preceding the main body of the MS (scribe A and B), which allows for the presumption that these compositions have been added later. The reason for choosing the first folio could be that these pieces were sung frequently enough to be placed on the opening pages of the MS.

example in K 542. This kind of addition is unique because one of the (later) users of the manuscript not only added another composition on a blank space but also altered an existing one, which proves that the composition was lasting, favored by later generations. Furthermore, such instances can be very useful in detecting local traditions and comparing them with foreign ones that often establish the standard and serve as a source for the original version.⁹⁴ Such additions are easy to identify not only from the distinct handwriting but also because they are either squeezed into spaces that originally were not intended for more than couple of text lines; also, in the original manuscript the ink is of a visibly different color and the quilt's thickness and angle differs, too.

Among other aspects, the number of staff lines has been closely observed. For most part of the MS the pages have been prepared with five staff lines (as is shown in the chart), only toward the end does this change to four or three per folio. At the very beginning of the MS K 492 and K 493 have been notated on two staff lines. It is notable that although the use of five staff lines seems to provide some sort of unity at first, one can soon realize that basically all folios have been prepared differently, the staff lines are nowhere identical. This means that the scribe was not using a *rastrum*.⁹⁵ In some instances the change in ruling could suggest different layers in a MS; however, when it is evident that there was no *rastrum* at all in the MS the distinction of layers is not so obvious. Also, when the number of staff lines are reduced to four or three it is usually done in order to fit in more text under each line (eg. several verses as in K544 or K 545).

⁹⁴ The same kind of alteration in terms of extra notes does not occur as frequently because the staff lines give a more rigid spacing that does not allow for new notes in the same flexible way.

⁹⁵ A tool, which is used for ruling the paper in such a way that all five lines are done simultaneously as opposed to one by one.

The order in which a manuscript is copied can vary; depending on the practice one may start with layering the text and then adding the music or reversely, the copyist may fill in the notes first and then provide the text.⁹⁶ There are examples of both in *MS 8*. For the music scribes see Appendix B, where an example of each type of hand is available for further examination.

Origin and Dating

Ottó Gombosi who was the first to examine *MS 8* assigned it the date ca. 1550.⁹⁷ Murányi suggests a slightly different date. According to him the MS was copied after 1555, which he asserts on the basis of the Isaac compositions.

The largest number of works (a total of 28 out of 65) in *MS 8* have been composed by Isaac, most of which also appear in the *Choralis Constantinus* that was printed in Nuremberg in 1555, thirty-eight years after Isaac's death. While one would assume that the *Choralis Constantinus* could be a potential source for manuscripts containing Isaac's works, the case with *MS 8* is unique, because unlike in the former, the Mass Proper cycles in *MS 8* have been adopted much more freely, not following any strict order or unity; some parts are omitted and others appear in reverse order. Therefore Murányi hypothesizes that the source for the Isaac Offices is not the *Choralis Constantinus*, but a yet unidentified manuscript.⁹⁸ This is further supported by the unique textual variants in

⁹⁶ It may be possible that the two is done at the same time most probably when both text and music are done by the same copyist.

⁹⁷ Ottó Gombosi, "Quellen aus dem 16.-17. Jahrhundert zur Geschichte der Musikpflege in Bartfeld (Bártfa) und Oberungarn", *Ungarische Jahrbucher* XII, 1932, 334

⁹⁸ Murányi, "A Bártfai Gyűjtemény Isaac officiumai", *Studia Musicologica Academiae Hungaricae*, 17 (1975), 165-168

MS 8 and *MS pr. I* that according to Murányi could either originate in south Germany but they could also come from musicians active in the Bártfa region.

Despite of this, Murányi still relates the dating of *MS 8* to the printing of the *Choralis Constantinus* as he ascribes the same year (1555) as the earliest possible date for the Bártfa manuscript. Whether this is a valid assumption it is difficult to say at this point, because if the *Choralis Constantinus* is not the source for *MS 8* then one could speculate that the source manuscript could be of an earlier date; after all Isaac's compositions could have also circulated during his lifetime (that is before 1517) or between his death and the printing of the *Choralis Constantinus* (that is before 1555). Certainly he must have taken into consideration other aspects as well when establishing the date, but I have not been able to find an explanation of his reasoning.

Furthermore, regarding the origin of the MS, Murányi turns toward the watermarks for a possible explanation. He makes a note of the bear that appears both in *MS Pr. I* and in *MS 8*, however he fails to add that the bear in *MS 8* occurs only once and even then it is partial.⁹⁹ For Murányi, the bear is not so important in terms of the dating of the MS, but in terms of its origin. Because the bear is a symbol of the city of Bern, Murányi concludes that the paper of *MS 8* could have come from the paper-mills of Bern.¹⁰⁰

Murányi further supports his assumption of a South-German origin for this manuscript on the basis of an inscription in *MS Pr. I*. The short note appears among the later copied motets of *MS Pr. I* and informs that it had been written in Nuremberg in 1610.¹⁰¹ The reason this note is significant, even though it is written into a different

⁹⁹ For more detail see the "Watermarks of *MS 8*" section

¹⁰⁰ Murányi, "A Bártfai Gyűjtemény Isaac officiumai", 165-168

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, The entire quote is as follows: "Scripsit haec Johannes Frisch manus Norimberg Anno 1610. 9. Novemb"

Bártfa print, because the two manuscripts share not only a similar repertoire, but some of the exact same compositions also appear in the same order in both volumes, which shows that one manuscript was copied from the other or both were copied from the same source. Murányi was able to prove that parts of *MS 8* were actually copied from *MS Pr. 1* (containing the inscription). This discovery in itself does not prove that *MS 8* was copied in Nuremberg, but it strongly suggests that its repertoire does originate in Nuremberg.

The Contents of the Manuscript

The contents of the first part (Koll. 1) of *MS 8* are divided into sections according to the major feasts of the church calendar, which is implied by the following headings: *De sancta Trinitate, In feriis nativitatis et decollationis Joanne Baptistae, In die Visitationis Mariae et Magdalenae, De nativitate Domini, Epiphaniarum Domini, In die Purificationis Mariae, De adventu Domini, De Resurrectione Domini, In die Ascensionis Christi, In die Pentecostes, In die Transfigurationis Christi, De Angelis*. The second part (Koll. 2) does not follow any such order; the seven compositions in this smaller section are all composed by Anonymous or they are *unica* with the exception of one piece by Thomas Stoltzer.

The repertoire has been examined By Róbert Murányi and Herbert Kellman. Both scholars have spent a considerable time on the contents, but they chose to circumscribe it differently. One might assume that it is straightforward to reconstruct a valid inventory based on two publications; however, when it comes to generic definitions, both scholars fail to provide a complete summary.¹⁰² While Kellman divides the contents into two

¹⁰² The term 'generic definition' in this chapter simply implies the genre of each composition such as Mass, psalm, hymn, etc. The difficulty of this task is that the titles in Medieval and Renaissance (but also in

separate and unrelated groups (genre and composer), Muranyi creates a more detailed single category that includes composer and title but omits the generic implications.¹⁰³

The argument for employing generic definition is a technical one: it would provide a fuller picture and a useful guideline for scholars in the future, because it does not only show who composed what in terms of the title of a piece but would also show the composer's orientation, which can be interesting if he is an anonymous composer satisfying local demands. Moreover, a genre-based classification in a specific manuscript would be particularly helpful in that it would reveal more about the liturgical taste and tradition of the users of the manuscript.¹⁰⁴

Two questions arise from this proposition. Firstly, is genre definition truly important in a manuscript study? Secondly, was this important for the users of the manuscript? In other words, what was the role, if any, of genre in the 16th-century practice of liturgical music and therefore was any special attention paid to it during the compilation of a manuscript, or is this whole concept totally irrelevant and only forced by modern scholarship?

A definite determination of genre for every anonymous and *unicum* piece in *MS 8* is beyond the scope of the present study, therefore it will have to remain unresolved for now. Nonetheless, Kellman's summary is useful in showing the three most frequent genres; out of the total 65 compositions in *MS 8* there are 38 Mass Proper sections, 10

modern!) music do not speak for themselves. One has to turn to the existing databases and collection for each title, which can be a rather exhausting undertaking, which may be the cause for its omission in Muranyi's Thematic Catalogue.

¹⁰³ This is not to say that Muranyi and Kellman disregarded this aspect, because they must have come across the question of genre during their research; they probably did not think of it as significant for their purposes.

¹⁰⁴ It seems that Kellman got the closest to identifying the genres of each composition, but he did not include them collectively.

hymns and 4 Magnificats. For a list of composers and titles see the chart at the end of this chapter.¹⁰⁵

Two Kyries by Isaac in *MS 8*

While the compositions by Heinrich Isaac have not been the focal point of the present study, nonetheless, there are several motives that encourage one to examine the Isaac compositions found in *MS 8*. Firstly, because out of the 65 compositions 28 were composed by Isaac and secondly, Murányi devotes much attention to these pieces as possible determinants of the date of *MS 8*. After taking a closer look, one discovers that *MS 8* is a unique source worthy of consideration not only for the anonymous compositions but also for the transmission of Isaac compositions.¹⁰⁶

The Kyries from the *Missa de Apostolis* and *Missa Paschale* in *MS 8* are perfect examples of a free adaptation, where some parts have been omitted and others reversed.¹⁰⁷ The lack of consistent internal order according to Murányi leads to a conclusion that the source for the Isaac Offices is not the *Choralis Constantinus* (Nuremberg, 1550-1555) as many would assume, but a yet unidentified manuscript.¹⁰⁸ He

¹⁰⁵ Please note that the chart is primarily based on Murányi's inventory, which originally has not been organized into a chart, however it provided with a numbering (K#) that runs through the entire *BC*, the name of the composers, the title of the compositions and their concordances where applicable. Murányi's folio numbers have been altered in a few instances as there have been numerous mistakes in this area. The present chart includes new data that supplements the information in Murányi's inventory, namely the scribal hands, watermarks and number of staff lines.

¹⁰⁶ The following information on the two Kyries by Isaac has been written by me as part of a separate shorter seminar paper, "Two Kyries by Isaac and the *Bártfa* manuscript *MS 8*."

¹⁰⁷ This comparison is based on the *Choralis Constantinus* that is generally regarded by scholars as a somewhat fixed publication because it represents an enormous amount of Isaac's output.

¹⁰⁸ Murányi, "A Bártfai Gyűjtemény Isaac Officiumai", *Studia Musicologica Academiae Hungaricae*, 17, 1975, 165-168

further states that the Isaac compositions in *MS 8* are early variants, which is exemplified in the two *alternatim* Masses.¹⁰⁹

Of both Masses it is only the first movement, the Kyrie that appears in the manuscript. This is not unusual as the modern edition by Lerner informs: apparently the *Missa Paschale* only appears in its full length in the *Choralis Constantinus* published by Formschneider in 1555, which is the main source used for the edition. Additionally, in *MS 8* both *Kyries* have been inscribed with the letters of the Greek alphabet, as it was a common way of doing it. Only once is this changed: the first 'Christe' of the *Missa Paschale* is written out in Latin letters. Since both ways of writing the *Kyrie* were common it is perhaps not a shocking remark, nonetheless it does make one wonder what made the scribe abandoning his routine?

Further similarities between the two Masses result from the formal division of the Kyrie. Naturally the Kyrie divides itself up textually into three sections: *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison*. This division is embodied in the composition as well; in both Masses, Isaac gives each section a new tempo marking and a new mensurational sign.

Missa Paschale

1. Kyrie eleison - 4 v.; O; 3/2
2. Christe eleison - 4 v.; C; 4/4
3. Christe eleison - 3 v.; C; 4/4
4. Kyrie eleison - 4 v.; O; 3/2

Missa de Apostolis

1. Kyrie eleison - 4 v.; O; 3/2
2. Christe eleison - 4 v.; C; 4/4
3. Christe eleison - 3 v.; C; 4/4
4. Kyrie eleison - 4 v.; O; 3/2

¹⁰⁹ By *alternatim* one implies a performance manner in which the contrasting sections of a liturgical piece were performed by dissimilar forces such as organ vs. choir or choir vs. soloist.

What is also interesting is that while the text is divided into three sections, Isaac's setting is divided into four in the case of both Masses. The first 'Kyrie' is followed by two 'Christes', of which the second is sung with three voices only, and finally another 'Kyrie' is sung (in four voices).

All of this is somewhat altered in *MS 8*. In the case of *Missa Paschale* the first 'Kyrie' and the following 'Christe' appear without change, however the second 'Christe' for three voices lacks the *altus* voice, so instead of three it is reduced even further to two voices. Whether this is an intentional omission or there is a missing folio in the *altus* partbook it is hard to tell. Because there are quite a few defects in the *altus* partbook, it would be reasonable to wonder whether this section may have been lost. Regarding the last 'Kyrie', it has been omitted completely from all four partbooks, which suggests that the scribe copying this work must have been familiar with a practice that performed only a shorter version of this *Kyrie*. Or perhaps it was common to repeat the very first 'Kyrie', which in Isaac's original (?) version differs from the last 'Kyrie'.

Although the Lerner edition lists seven other concordances for this Mass – among them another Bártfa ms *MS 24* – it does not list whether there are other alterations similar to the one in *MS 8*.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, I have not had access to any of the other seven sources; therefore I cannot verify this issue.¹¹¹

In the case of the *Missa de Apostolis* one section of the *Kyrie* is also missing from *MS 8*; this time it is not the last 'Kyrie', but the penultimate 'Christe'. The Lerner edition for this Mass uses the Munich manuscript *MS 47*¹¹² as its main source and lists 5

¹¹⁰ Edward Lerner, *Opera Omnia Henrici Isaac*, (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1974)

¹¹¹ Because Murányi proved that *MS 24* has been copied from *MS 8* it is logical to presume that it contains the exact same version as *MS 8*.

¹¹² Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 47

additional sources among which there are three Bártfa manuscripts: *MS 8*, *MS 20*, and *MS 24*. As opposed to the previous example, in this instance Lerner does make a note in the Critical Apparatus of the omitted ‘Christe’ section, which is missing from all three Bártfa manuscripts but not from the other three sources.

Before making any kind of conclusions based on these two examples, a detailed examination of all concordances (independent of Lerner’s) would be essential. However, I cannot help but speculating on the basis of Murányi’s brief note that *MS 8* is possibly an earlier source of Isaac’s Mass cycles.¹¹³ As Isaac composed not only four-voice versions of *Missa Paschale* and *Missa de Apostolis* but also 5- and 6-voice versions; could there not be even the slightest chance that Isaac composed these shorter *Kyries* himself, which he later expanded but in the meantime both versions circulated? Just because the *Choralis Constantinus* does not include these versions it does not have to mean that they never existed.

This instance inevitably shows a strong link between the manuscripts of the *Bártfa Collection*, but again, the question one must face is why are these two variants of Isaac’s Masses only found in the *Bártfa Collection* and what sort of liturgical practice do they represent? But even more importantly, the two briefly examined *Kyries* urge an in-depth inspection and re-evaluation of Isaac’s compositions found in *MS 8* along with concordant sources as they may significantly advance the present Isaac scholarship.

¹¹³ Murányi, “A Bártfai Gyűjtemény Isaac officiumai”, *Studia Musicologica Academiae Hungaricae*, 17, 1975, 165-168

Murányi no.	Title	Composer	Folio no.				Music Scribes				No. of staff				Watermarks				Concordances	Comments
			a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d		
MS 8 Koll. 1																				
K 492	Amen. Et cum spiritu tuo [a4]		1' 1' 1'	Z	Z	Z	Z	2 2 2									MS 24			
K 493	Amen. Et cum spiritu tuo [a4]		1' 1' 1'	Z	Z	Z	Z	2 2 2									MS 24			
K 494	Missa [a4]	[Anon.]	2 2 2 1					5 5 5 5									MS Pr. 1.			
K 495	Passio secundum Mattheum [a4]	[Longueval, A.]	5' 5' 5' 4	A-C				5 5 5 5									MS 2			
K 496	Et valde mane una sabbatorum	[Finck, H.]	9 8 7' 7	C-A				5 5 5 5									MS 24			
K 497	Magnificat V. Toni	[Anon.]	10 9 8' 8					5 5 5 5									K 2442			
K 498	Magnificat VI. Toni	[Anon.]	10' 10 9' 9					5 5 5 5									K 2443			
K 499	Magnificat VIII. Toni	[Anon.]	11' 11 10 10					5 5 5 5									K 2444			
K 500	Magnificat V. Toni	[Anon.]	12 11' 11 10'					5 5 5 5												
De Sancta Trinitate																				
K 501	Benedicta sive Sancta Trinitas	[Rein, C.]	13' 13 12 12					5 5 5 5									MS 24; MS 20Eisenacher Cantoresbuch			
K 502	Missa de apostolis (Kyrie magne deus)	[Isaac, H.]	13' 13 12' 12	C-B				5 5 5 5									MS 24; MS 20; RISM A/I 91			
K 503	Missa (with a German Credo)	[Anon., Bruck]	14 14 13 13					5 5 5 5									MS 24; MS Pr. 6; Breslau I F428; Dresden Mus. 1/D/506,			
K 504	Alleluja. Benedictus es Domine	[Isaac, H.]	15 15 14 14					5 5 5 5									MS 24; MS 20; RISM A/I 89; DTO 5; s 11			
K 505	Pater, Filius, Sanctus Spiritus	[Isaac, H.]	15' 15' 14' 14'	B-C			B/C?	5 5 6 5									MS 24; MS 20; K 1980			
In feriis nativitatis et decollationis Joanne Baptistae																				
K 506	De ventre matris meae/Vocavit me	[Isaac, H.]	18 18' 16' 17					5 5 5 5									MS 24; MS 20; RISM A/I 90; DTO 16			
K 507	Alleluja. Inter natos mulierum	[Isaac, H.]	18' 19 17' 18					5 5 5 5									MS 24; MS 20; RISM A/I 90			
K 508	Nam psalterium est jacundum	[Isaac, H.]	19 19' 17' 18					4 4 5/4 4/5									MS 24; MS 20; RISM A/I 90; DTO 16			
In die Visitationis Mariae et Mariae Magdaleneae																				
K 509	Vultum tuum/Deprecabuntur	Isaac, H.	21 19 19'					5 5 5									MS 24; MS 20; RISM A/I 90; DTO 16			
K 510	Alleluja. Benedicta tu in mulieribus	[Isaac, H.]	21' 19 19'					5 5 5									MS 24; RISM A/I 90; DTO 16			
K 511	Alleluja. Haec est illa peccatrix	[Isaac, H.]	22 22 19' 20					5 5 5 5									MS 24; MS 20			
K 512	Missa Super Pange Lingua	[Josquin]	22 22 20 20'					5 5 5 5									RISM 1539			

Murányi no.	Title	Composer	Folio no.				Music Scribes				No. of staff				Watermarks				Concordances	Comments
			a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d		
De Nativitate Domini																				
K 513	<i>Puer natus est nobis/Et filius</i>	[Isaac, H.]	25'	25'	22'	23					5	5	5	5	23-H1				MS 2	
K 514	<i>Alleluja. Dies sanctificatus</i>	[Isaac, H.]	26	26	23	23'					5	5	5	5	23-H1				MS 2	
K 515	<i>Grates nunc omnes reddamus</i>	[Finck, H.]	26'	26'	23	23'					5	5	5	5					MS 2	
Epiphaniarum Domini																				
K 516	<i>Ecce advenit/Dominator Dominus</i>	[Isaac, H.]	27	27	23'	24'					5	5	5	5	27-H1				MS 2	
K 517	<i>Alleluja. Vidimus stellam eius</i>	[Isaac, H.]	27'	27'	24	24'					5	5	5	5	27-H1				MS 24; MS Pr. 1; RISM A/I 90; DTO 16	
K 518	<i>Quae miris sunt modis</i>	[Isaac, H.]	28	28	24'	25					5	5	5	5	28-H2				MS 24; MS Pr. 1; RISM A/I 90; DTO 16	
In die Purificationis Mariae																				
K 519	<i>Suscepimus/Deus misericordiam</i>	[Isaac, H.]	29	29	25	26					5	5	5	5	29-H1				MS 2	
K 520	<i>Regem regum intacte profudit</i>	[Isaac, H.]	29'	29'	25'	26'					5	5	5	5					MS 24; MS 20; MS Pr. 1; RISM A/I 90; DTO 16	
K 521	<i>Ave Maria. Tractus/Benedicta</i>	[Isaac, H.]	30'	30'	26'	27'					5	5	5/4	5					MS 24; MS Pr. 1; RISM "Ave Maria" text does not appear	
De Adventu Domini																				
K 522	<i>Rorate/Coeli de super</i>	[Isaac, H.]	31	31'	28	28					5	5	5	5	28-H1				MS 2	
De Resurrectione Domini																				
K 523	<i>Resurrexi/Et adhuc tecum sum</i>	[Isaac, H.]	31	32'	28'	28'					5	5	5	5	32-H1				MS 24; MS Pr. 1; RISM A/I 90; DTO 16	
K 524	<i>Missa paschale</i>	[Isaac, H.]	32	33	29	29					5	5	5	5	32-H2	33-H2			MS 24; MS Pr. 1; RISM A/I 90	
K 525	<i>Alleluja. Pascha nostrum</i>	[Isaac, H.]	33	34'	30	30'					5	5	5	5	33-H3				MS 2	
K 526	<i>Agnus redemit oves</i>	[Anon.]	33'	35	30'	31					5	5	5	5					Dresden Mus 1/D/506	
In die Ascensionis Christi																				
K 527	<i>Viri Galilei/Quid admiramini</i>	[Isaac, H.]	34'	35'	32	32					5	5	5	5					MS 24; MS 20; MS Pr. 1; RISM A/I 90; DTO 16	
K 528	<i>Alleluja. Dominus in Syna ascendens</i>	[Isaac, H.]	35	36	32	32					5	5	5	5	35-H2				MS 24; MS 20; MS Pr. 1; RISM A/I 90; DTO 16	
K 529	<i>Mundo triumphali redempto</i>	[Isaac, H.]									5	5	5	5	36-H1				MS 24; MS 20; MS Pr. 1; RISM A/I 90	
In die Pentecostes																				
K 530	<i>Spiritus Domini/Replevit orbem</i>	[Isaac, H.]	36'	37'	33'	33'					5	5	5	5	37-H1				MS 24; MS 20; RISM A/I 90	
K 531	<i>Alleluja. Veni Sancte Spiritus, reple</i>	[Isaac, H.]	37	37'	33'	34					5	5	5	5	37-H1*				MS 24; MS 20; RISM A/I 90; DTO 16	

Murányi no.	Title	Composer	Folio no.				Music Scribes				No. of staff				Watermarks				Concordances	Comments
			a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d		
In die Transfigurationis Christi																				
K 532	<i>Viderunt ingressus tuos Deus</i>		38	39	35	35	D	D	D	D	5	5	5	5					MS 24; MS 20	
K 533	<i>Alleluja. Candor est lucis aeternae</i>		38	39	35	35	D	D	D	D	5	5	5	5					MS 24; MS 20	
K 534	<i>Mentes ut alliciat infirmas</i>		38'	39'	35'	35'	D	D	D	D	5	5	5	5					MS 24; MS 20	
De Angelis																				
K 535	<i>Benedicite Domino omnes angeli</i>		39'	40'	36'	36'	E	E	E	E	5	5	5	5					MS 24; MS 20	
K 536	<i>Alleluja. Concussum est mare</i>		39'	41	36'	37'	E	E	E	E	5	5	3	5					MS 24; MS 20	
K 537	<i>Te namque profitemur esse</i>	[Stoltzer, T.]	40	41'	37'	E	E	N	E		5	5	3	5					MS 24; MS 20, MS 22	
De Sancta Trinitate																				
K 538	<i>Benedicta/Sit Sancta Trinitas</i>	[Isaac, H.]	41	42	37	37'					5	4	3	5	42-H1				RISM A/I 89; DTO 5	
K 539	<i>Per infinita saecula saeculorum</i>	[Isaac, H.]	41'	42'	37	38					5	4	3	5					RISM A/I 89; DTO 5	
K 540	<i>Veni creator spiritus/Qui paracletus</i>	[Finck, H.]	41'	44'	38'	39					5	4	3	5					MS Pr. 6; Hoffmann-Ebrecht II. 71	
K 541	<i>Alleluja. Virga Jesse floruit</i>		42	42'	37'	39'					4	3	3	5	42-P1					
K 542	<i>Veni Sancte Spiritus, reple</i>		42'	43'	38	39'					3	3	3	5	39-P2				MS Pr. 6	
K 543	<i>Qui Paracletus diceris 3 str. [a?]</i>		45	46	43	42					5	3	3	5				42-H1		
MS 8 Koll. 2																				
K 544	<i>Gaude mater pietatis 4 str.</i>	[Anon.]	45'	46'	43'	42'					3	3	3	3					MS Pr. 6; A.H. Schumann 69	
K 545	<i>Voti fit compos dum credit 6 str.</i>	[Stoltzer, T.]					JJK	JK			3	3	3	4					MS Pr. 6; Hoffmann-Ebrecht I. 56	
K 546	<i>Qui scandens superos vincula 2 str.</i>	[Anon.]	47'	47'	44'	43'	K	K	K	K	4	4	4	4	47-L2			43-L1	MS Pr. 6	
K 547	<i>Hanc honor iste victimam 2 str.</i>	[Anon.]	48	48'	45	44					4	4	4	4				45-L1	MS Pr. 6; A.H. Schumann 5	
K 548	<i>Pascha quo victor rediens... [a?]</i>		48'	48'	45'	44'	K	K	K	K	3	3	3	3				45-L1		
K 549	<i>Mittis in terram 3 str.</i>	[Anon.]	49	49	46	45	K	K	K	K	3	5	3	3					MS Pr. 6; RISM 1542	

CHAPTER V

The Watermarks of *MS 8*

Papyrological and filigranological investigations have become essential elements of historical research of numerous kinds. In the field of musicology, especially in manuscript studies, the interest in watermarks began to unfold in the 1950s.¹¹⁴ Today, almost any examined manuscript is also observed from a filigranological aspect to a varying extent.

While some scholars reject this method as unreliable and imprecise, Jan La Rue calls their attitude “short-sighted.” He believes “unless more precise evidence can be located, we must make imaginative use of whatever evidence we have.”¹¹⁵ La Rue, who represents a large group of musicologists, explains that the great potential in of watermark research is the possibility to combine the evidence with other existing data that may reveal a solution for an old problem or it simply directs the research toward a more narrow and specific angle. He also adds that “the study of watermarks has such endless ramifications that one hesitates to set down either general remarks or specific conclusions.”¹¹⁶

The examination of watermarks in *MS 8* has been guided by a similarly careful and objective attitude, knowing that the following information is only a fragment of all the

¹¹⁴ Jan La Rue, “Watermarks and Musicology” in *The Journal of Musicology* 18 No. 2 (2001) University of California Press, 313-343

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 313

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 313

possibilities. Nonetheless, this research expands the existing knowledge about the entire Bártfa Collection and may serve as a good starting point for further investigations.

As discussed earlier, Murányi assigned the date 1555 for *MS 8* mainly on the basis of Isaac's Mass cycles, which had been published in the *Choralis Constantinus* by 1555.¹¹⁷ In this chapter I will show that the established date may be questioned through the examination of watermarks and argue for a date as early as 1545.

The watermarks in *Bártfa MS 8* have been examined only in brief. Murányi's thematic catalogue¹¹⁸ deals with the repertory of the Bártfa Collection (BC), but it does not provide any information on the watermarks. He does, however, mention *MS 8* and its watermark, the bear, momentarily in connection with the other Bártfa manuscripts, *MS 24 and Pr. 1*, which volumes according to him are very closely related to *MS 8* in the sense that they all contain the same Isaac pieces (often following each other in the same order). He draws the conclusion that *MS 8* must have been copied from *MS Pr. 1* (or they both come from the same – yet unidentified – source), and *MS 24* has been copied from *MS 8*.¹¹⁹ By bringing up the bear, which appears in both *MS Pr.1* and *MS 8*, Murányi probably intends to support his argument. Unfortunately, he does not point out all the other watermarks that appear in *MS 8* with a much more frequency than the bear, which only appears once in *MS 8* (it does appear more regularly on the papers of *MS Pr. 1*, second part).

¹¹⁷ Murányi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld*, (Bonn: Gudrun Schröder, 1972), pp. XXIII

¹¹⁸ Murányi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis*,

¹¹⁹ Murányi, *A Bártfai Gyűjtemény Isaac Officiumai*, 165-168

Although further literature touches upon the watermarks of other Bártfa manuscripts¹²⁰, no other study examines the watermarks of *MS 8*. Before launching into a more specific discussion of the watermarks, I shall introduce some of the difficulties one may encounter during the investigation process. It is important to keep in mind that although the anthologies contain thousands of watermarks, there may be a vast number of undiscovered patterns that are not included. Furthermore, even among the preserved watermarks we find a tremendous amount that cannot be traced back to a specific papermill. Such watermarks may share common traits with other identified watermarks, but they do not have an exact match in the collections that could determine their precise date of use and place of origin.

Often an unknown watermark can be associated with a group of other identified patterns (with slight deviations) and through them with a certain time period. One explanation for such cases is that the vatman used at least two molds in order to save time, this way he did not have to wait for the coucher to remove the wet sheet.¹²¹ Jan La Rue warns of the importance of this possibility, because often it is precisely the use of the two (or more) similar but not identical watermark wires that make the matching of designs intricate centuries later. However, one must exercise great care since other anthologies may also contain similar, but unrelated group of watermarks. Another way to attain an approximate date for a paper is through actual dated archival documents bearing the watermark in examination. Watermark collections frequently employ this method of determining the *terminus ante quem* of a watermark.

¹²⁰ Fox, *A liturgical-repertorial study of Renaissance polyphony in Bártfa Mus. Pr. 6 (a-d)*, National Széchenyi Library, Budapest, doctoral dissertation at the University of Illinois, 1977; Mónika Dorna, *MS Bártfa 17*, Masters Thesis at the Komensky University in Bratislava, Slovakia, 2002

¹²¹ La Rue, "Watermarks and Musicology" in *The Journal of Musicology* Vol. XVIII No.2, 2001 (University of California Press, 2001) 313-343

The watermarks in *MS 8* appear partially on the upper half of the folios, about midway on the upper border of the paper. This particular location shows that most probably when the original paper leaf was cut in half, the full watermark that initially must have been in the middle of the paper was also cut in half. As the freshly cut paper was piled up, the now half-watermark moved up to the upper edge of the new half size paper folio. The paper-cut therefore, explains why it is only possible to see half of each watermark and never the entire shape.

It is difficult to establish a regular pattern in which the second half of the watermark follows. Sometimes this happens within 3-4 folios, whereas other times nothing shows up for 8 or 9 folios (there are some folios in between that do not bear a watermark). However, a slight continuity can be observed, which suggests – in some cases – that two subsequent shapes are part of the same watermark, which proves to be a useful tool in the investigation of the original pattern. The *bassus* part book demonstrates such alternation of the Hatchet very clearly (see footnote 4).

The paper type that is used throughout the manuscript is called *laid paper*, which is a characteristic one produced in the renaissance era. Both the laid (horizontal) and the chain (vertical) lines are clearly visible on the folios of *MS 8*. In my drawings of the watermarks – for which I have used the verso side of each folio – I have also included the chain lines, because their position in relation to the watermark may be crucial during the identification process.

Within the four part books of *MS 8* I have distinguished 6 different watermarks. I have been able to identify the Polish coat of arms, and find approximate matches for further three patterns. The remaining two watermarks could not be identified at all; their shape in the manuscript was extremely difficult to see and copy.

1. Hatchet¹²²

This watermark is the most frequent one in *MS 8*. It appears in all 4 part books extensively; unfortunately never does it show fully. Its characteristic is the ruffle-like border that was a key feature in identifying this watermark. Despite of its frequency in the manuscript, the Hatchet was extremely difficult to find in any (major) watermark collection, such as those of Briquet, Lindt, Heawood or regional collections such as Decker. After these better-known anthologies I turned toward the collections of smaller nations (not realizing that these could be indeed important powers in the 16th century).

Among these collections, I found the *Laucevicius* book¹²³, which deals with the watermarks of Lithuania (called The Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the period in discussion) in the 15th-18th centuries and also a Polish publication introducing 16th- 18th-century watermarks.¹²⁴ These were the first books that contained anything even remotely similar to the Hatchet of *MS 8*.

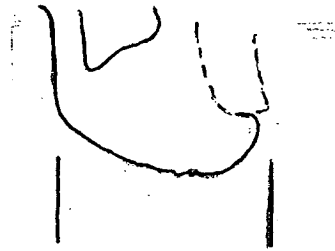
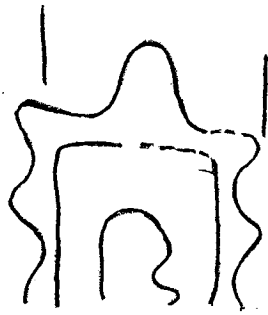
¹²² The Hatchet comprises of two parts in *MS 8*. The first part includes the ruffled border, which I shall call H1 and the second part is a rather abstract semi circle with an unidentified shape in the middle, which I shall call H2. In this section I would like to list the folios of each part book (a-d) of *MS 8* that has either H1 or H2.

a: 4-H1, 10-H1, 14-H1, 24-H1, 25-H2, 28-H2, 29-H1, 32-H2, 33-H1, 36-H1; b:9-H1, 10-H1, 19-H1, 21-H1, 22-H1, 27-H1, 32-H1, 33-H2, 36-H2, 37-H1, 38-H1, 42-H1; c: 2-H2, 3-H2, 4-H1, 9-H2, 10-H1, 11-H2; d: 1-H1, 2-H2, 6-H1, 7-H2, 9-H1, 14-H2, 15-H1, 19-H1, 20-H2, 21-H1, 22-H2, 23-H1, 28-H1, 29-H2, 30-H1, 31-H2, 42-H1

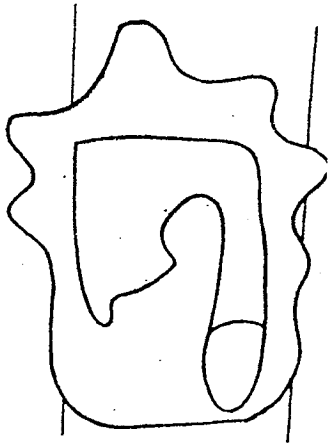
¹²³ E. Laucevicius, *Popierus Lietuvoje XV-XVIII.a.*, (Vilnius: Publishing House "Mintis", 1967)

¹²⁴ Jadwiga Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Filigrany- Papier polozonych na obszarze rzeczywospolitej polskiej od poszatku XVI do polowy XVIII wieku*, (Warsawa, 1969)

The Laucevicius anthology contains over 80 different kinds of hatchets, of which #1645 closely resembles the one in *MS 8*. Although the curves of the two are not precisely the same, the similarity is noteworthy, and it suggests that I should mention briefly the comments for #1645, because the Bártfa Hatchet could be some variation of the Lithuanian one. (All watermarks are shown in their original size.)



The Hatchet as it appears in *MS 8*



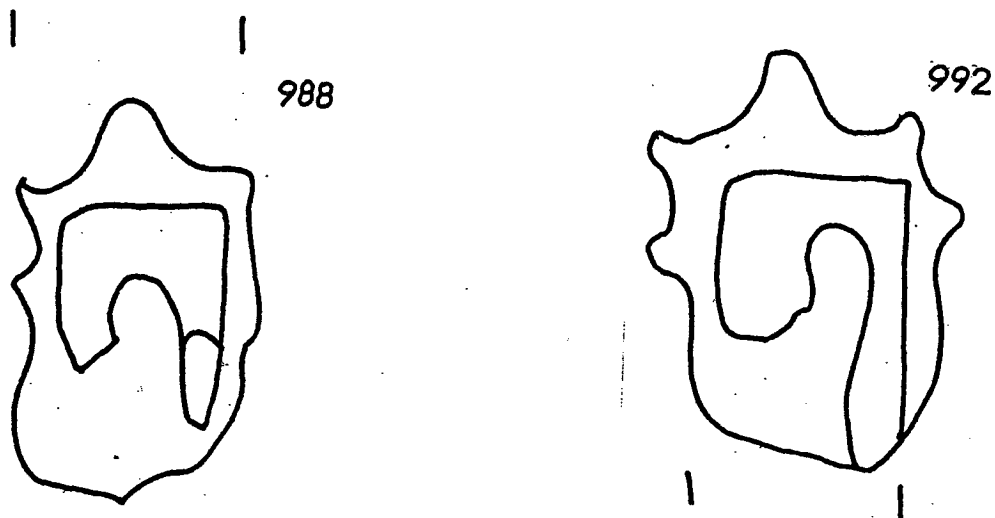
#1645 in the Laucevicius Collection

According to Laucevicius, this watermark comes from one of the thirteen paper-mills of Vilnius, all of which were built along the banks of the *Vilnia* river. The author does not specify which paper-mill produced paper with watermark #1645, but it does provide us with a date of 1545.¹²⁵

Considering the lack of an exact match and further information, one shall conclude that the date for #1645 cannot challenge any recent research regarding the dating of *MS 8*, but it could shift the timeframe of the possible date.

Theoretically, Poland, the other northern neighbor of Slovakia, could be another even more potential source for paper if one just recalls the numerous cases in which students from Bártfa pursued their studies in Krakow and inversely, young natives of Krakow attended the Latin school of Bártfa. Taking this information as a starting point, it might be reasonable to look at the Polish collection of watermarks, too. The Siniarska-Czaplicka collection shows the watermarks used in Poland between the 16th and the first half of the 18th centuries. Among its many hatchets one may find some variations of the ruffle bordered ones, such as #988 (1544) or #992 (1542), which all come from Krakow-based paper-mills.

¹²⁵ Although Laucevicius does not demonstrate that the following scenario occurred frequently, he asserts that during the period in question a scribe occasionally pulled out a blank sheet from an old document that as 40 to 100 years old, and re-used it. He gives the example of a promissory note that is dated 1676, yet according to the watermark; the paper can be traced back to ca. 1635. (p.283) On the other hand, La Rue challenges the idea that paper was put away and used much later. He claims that although such cases may have existed, they were not the norm. Paper was too expensive to be bought in great quantities; even publishers purchased paper only in small quantities, which is proved by the frequent changes in watermarks over a series of plate numbers.



At this point a comparison must be made of the Hatchet in *MS 8* with those in the Polish and Lithuanian collections. One may easily see that out of the three watermarks in question it is the Lithuanian #1645 that is the closest to the Hatchet in *MS 8* in every respect (including the curve of the ruffles). It is important however, to re-emphasize that the Hatchet in *MS 8* –according to the current documents at hand – can only be a variation of the Lithuanian (or Polish) hatchets at most, since I have not been able to find an exact match for it.

However, one must not ignore the possibility of multiple molds raised by LaRue, since it may be crucial in the present example. He states that for time saving purposes, often two or three molds were used at a particular paper-mill, all of which were slightly different from one another. He warns that this procedure must be kept in mind even though “it immensely complicates the task of matching designs.”¹²⁶

¹²⁶ LaRue, “Watermarks and Musicology”, 317

2. Fleur de lys¹²⁷

The lily often suggests France as its country of origin; however, it has been a very common watermark in many paper-mills all over Europe.¹²⁸ Because of its frequency one may find many lily patterns that look identical at first sight – although they may come from the most distant paper-mills. However, taking a closer look, sometimes even the smallest differences emerge very quickly. The only question that remains is to what extent can we see the watermark on the examined document? For this reason, even the tiniest detail can be crucial. Hence, it has been an intricate task for me to discover even approximate matches for the lily in *MS 8* and spot which paper-mill could it possibly come from.

As in the case of the Hatchet, the two separate and unclear fractions of the fleur de lis required an accurate examination. In this instance, two possibilities seem to match the pattern in question. Again, the first one comes from the Lithuanian collection. Laucevicius lists two documents with this watermark (#2155). One of them is dated 1545, the other one 1547, and the paper in both cases come from one of the Vilnius paper-mills. The second lily was found in Briquet's extensive album¹²⁹ under the number #7190, which according to the author comes from Pressburg (the present capital of Slovakia) and was produced somewhere in the 1540s. The main dissimilarities between the two patterns are the three little ornamenting circles that are located in the upper half of the watermark, and also, the crown-like curves on the top. The overall shape of the Lithuanian one is somewhat compressed compared to the Pressburg one, which is a little

¹²⁷ This lily pattern will be abbreviated to L1, which designates its upper part with the crown-like ornamentation and L2 shows clearly the ring, which holds together the flower in the middle.

a: 47-L2; c: 45-L1; d: 43-L1

¹²⁸ La Rue, 326

¹²⁹ Briquet, *Les Filigranes*

elongated. Unfortunately, these are all qualities that cannot be seen clearly on the folios of *MS 8* and since its occurrence is rare, one cannot get a more precise idea of the lily in this Bártfa manuscript.



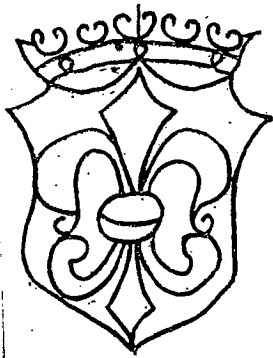
L1 in *MS 8*



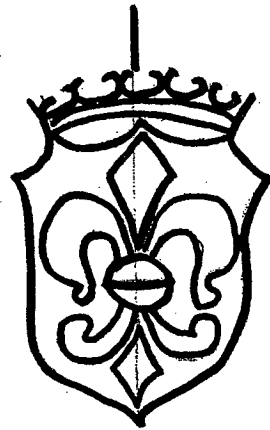
L2 in *MS 8*



The reconstructed lily in *MS 8*



2155



7190

3. Polish coat of arms¹³⁰

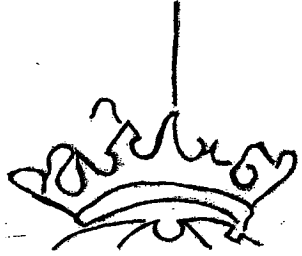
The only identified watermark in MS 8 is the “Polish coat of arms”, which appears twice in the entire manuscript. Its main characteristic is the loop, which is positioned in the center of the shield-body surrounded by decorative curves. It also has an ornamented upper portion that is made up of curved lines. The significance of this identified watermark becomes even more evident through the examination of the unattributed compositions on the folios. Both anonymous works are *unica*; no. 541 has absolutely no concordances even within the BC, while no. 542 appears in *MS Pr.2* as no. 2471. Considering that the paper originated in Hungary (at the time), there might be a fair chance that the compositions were not only copied in Hungary, but were also of local origin.

According to Briquet, this pattern resembles the symbol of the Nalencz army of Poland, however the watermark itself (#9854) was used in a paper-mill in Déva in 1553

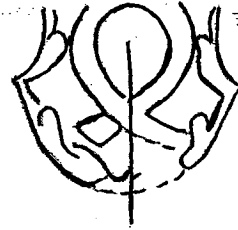
¹³⁰ The two halves of this watermark will be named P1 referring to the upper half and P2 referring to the bottom of the shield.

a: 42-P1, 43-P2; c: 39-P2, 40-P1.

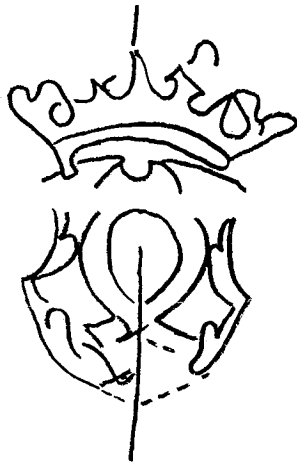
(in the 16th century this town was part of Hungary, today it belongs to Transylvania). I have not been able to find further matches with as much similarity as #9854 of Déva.



P1 in MS 8



P2 in MS 8



The reconstructed Polish coat of arms in MS 8



#9854

4. Bear¹³¹

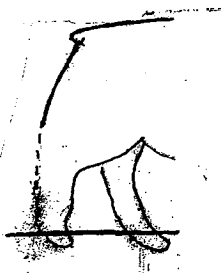
As I have mentioned in the introduction, the Bear is the only watermark from *MS 8* that is discussed in Murányi's article. He treats it as if it was identical with the bear in *MS Pr.1 Koll.2* and assumes that this paper therefore may have come from the paper-

¹³¹ The bear's two hind legs can be seen only once. a: 20 (blank folio, the watermark is on the bottom)

mills of Bern.¹³² He is certainly right in supposing that the bear, being the symbol of Bern (see the town's shield below), was used regularly in the paper-mills of the town, therefore there is a good chance that this piece of paper originates in Bern. However, there are several factors that Murányi may have encountered, yet he did not launch in their detailed discussion.



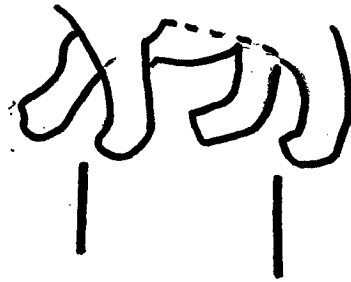
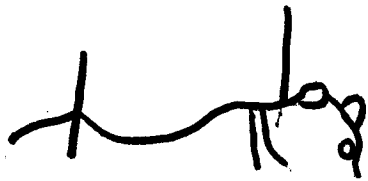
First of all, the Bear shows only once in the entire manuscript (counting all four part books) and even then in an unusual position (compared to the rest of the folios in *MS 8*). The two hind legs (this is all what is visible from the whole image) are positioned on the bottom edge of the folio, facing downwards as opposed to being on the upper rim facing upwards. This is the first and only instance in *MS 8* that a watermark appears on the bottom of a folio. The second half of the watermark (the other two legs and the head) is missing.



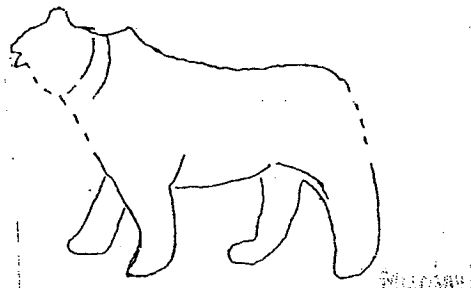
Secondly, Murányi seems to have constructed a bear for his article that matches neither the hind legs of *MS 8* nor the bear seen in *MS Pr.1*. This means that the bears of

¹³² Murányi, *A Bártfai Gyűjtemény Isaac officiumai*, p.167

the two Bártfa manuscripts are not identical. Furthermore, the pattern that he uses as an illustration does not match any of the bears of Briquet or Lindt.¹³³ They are only variations of each other.



The bear in *MS Pr. 1*

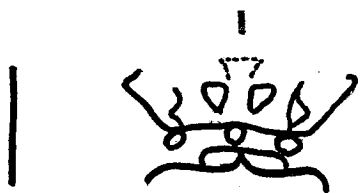


The bear reconstructed by Murányi

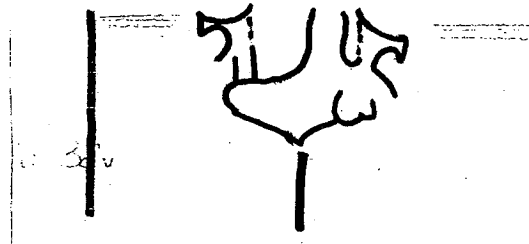
¹³³ Johann Lindt, *The paper-mills of Berne and their watermarks*, (Hilversum, 1964)

5-6. Miscellaneous A and B¹³⁴

The following two unidentified patterns occur once in the manuscript and they are not related in any way. In both instances, the patterns have been embedded in the paper rather weakly, and the images have been further diluted by the thick strokes and heavy use of ink. The A type resembles a shield with its bottom shape (MA2) and the typical head ornament (MA1). Regrettably, no match has been found for this pattern. The compositions on these folios may, nevertheless, lead to a better understanding of their origin and also the origin of the watermark. Considering that these three anonymous compositions on ff. 38 of the “a” part book are pieces having concordances only with other Bártfa manuscripts, namely with *MS 20* and *MS 24*¹³⁵, it is reasonable to assume that these compositions originate in the Bártfa region.



MA 1 in MS 8



MA 2 in MS 8

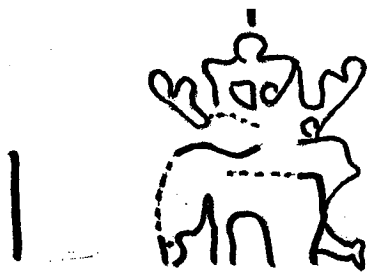
Unfortunately, the second miscellaneous watermark (MB) found only in the “c” part book is even fainter than the previous one. Therefore it is difficult to reconstruct its

¹³⁴ Miscellaneous A (MA) appears only in the a part book and it comprises of a lower shield-like shape (MA2) and an upper (head) ornament (MA1). a: 38-MA2, 39-MA1.

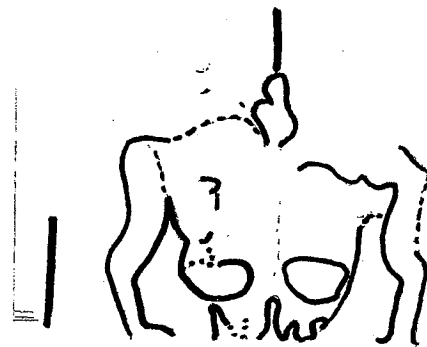
MB appears exclusively in the c part book. Its smaller portion (MB1) is visible on ff. 17 and the larger portion (MB2) on ff. 15.

¹³⁵ Murányi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis*, pp. 103-111, 139-146.

possible original shape. The familiar head ornament suggests that the crown-like portion should form the smaller upper part of the watermark (MB1). The larger portion (MB2) could suggest several shapes, but these are rather abstract and depend on one's creative imagination, therefore I shall not make any attempt to describe or examine this watermark. The folios in question contain compositions by Heinrich Isaac.



MB 1 in *MS 8*



MB 2 in *MS 8*

Even though the watermarks of *MS 8* – with the exception of one – cannot be precisely located because of the lack of an exact match, they do however share numerous similarities with their quasi-equivalents. Given these similarities, one would be persuaded that the possible date of the manuscript might fall into a much earlier period than asserted, perhaps as early as 1545.

CHAPTER VI

Analysis of Transcription

Murányi's thematic catalogue and his overall work have been extremely useful in the present research. Nevertheless, when inquiring about an individual piece or cycle in more detail, questions regarding his methodology emerge. One instance would be Murányi's way of grouping or isolating specific compositions. In his inventory, Murányi assembles the 11 sections of the Mass Proper cycle *Viderunt ingressus* into three groups (Nos. 532, 533, 534) without explaining which elements he took into consideration.¹

In the present study, an individual section of a composition is defined as complete melody that fulfills the following criteria in all the voices from the original manuscript:

- a) the last note is a *longa* or a *brevis* (may have a fermata over it), which creates a full cadence in all of the voices
- b) it has a double bar line at the end
- c) if the double bar line appears at the end of a line, no *custos* follows it
- d) the section has an initial at the beginning of the text (may or may not be ornamented)
- e) the double bar line at the end of the section is followed by a new initial in the text, which consequently marks the beginning of another section.

¹ Murányi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld*, (Bonn: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1972)

According to these criteria, it can be stated that the Mass Proper *Viderunt ingressus* has 11 sections (the square brackets indicate Murányi's numbering):

- 1) Viderunt ingressus [532]
- 2) Illuxerunt
- 3) Alleluia [533]
- 4) Candor est lucis [533]
- 5) Mentis ut alliciat [534]
- 6) Conformati luminis
- 7) Haec Panduntur
- 8) Declarat se Dominum
- 9) Fiunt testes
- 10) Quibus
- 11) Viderunt omnes

This Mass Proper cycle has been written for the feast of the Transfiguration of Christ that is observed on August 6. It was adopted in the liturgy about the tenth century in many dioceses, and was celebrated mostly on August 6. For Hungary, this feast has perhaps some deeper meaning as on August 6, 1456 Hungary gained victory over the Turks at Belgrade. Therefore, in the same year Callixtus III extended the feast to the Universal Church in memory of this great victory. Knowing this one may visualize the weight of the celebrations taking place on this very day after 1456. The custom is that the

pope at Mass uses new wine or presses a bunch of ripe grapes into the chalice; raisins are also blessed at Rome.²

Under the feast of the Transfiguration in the *Liber Usualis*³ some of these sections appear with an identical text. It shows that the *Alleluia* (that is often paired with another text) is treated as one section with *Candor est lucis*, which altogether explains this part of Murányi's classification. However, *Illuxerunt* is also included in the *Liber Usualis* as an Introit, whereas according to Murányi's inventory one would assume that the *Illuxerunt* does not exist on its own.

Since the present study focuses on the anonymous compositions of *MS 8*, it is not my intention to evaluate Murányi's scheme in the compositions of Isaac or other known composers that are also included in this manuscript. I have also left his numbering intact in the accompanying chart for *MS 8*. Nevertheless, for the considerations above it seemed appropriate to abandon Murányi's grouping of pieces in this chapter, as it allows for more clarity and especially leaves space for discussing each section of the Mass *Viderunt ingressus*.

Text underlay

As part of the transcription, the text underlay of a specific composition can pose just as many difficulties as the transcription of the music itself. Lanfranco's rules for text underlay served as the main guideline in this process.⁴ Below follows a summary of these rules.

² <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15019b.htm>, Accessed March, 15, 2005

³ *The Liber Usualis with Introduction and Rubrics in English*, ed. by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai: The Desclee Company, 1963), 1586-87

⁴ G. M. Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica, 1533 (How to put the words under the music)*

- 1) in measured music, every separate note (except almost always the semiminim) carries a syllable
- 2) every ligature carries no more than one syllable
- 3) the dot of measured music does not carry any syllable over it, because it is not singable
- 4) a semiminim that follows a dotted minim rarely gets a syllable, as well as the white note following the said semiminim
- 5) the beginning semiminim must carry a syllable, but the semiminims in the middle or at the end are never given a syllable
- 6) figured music allows for repetition of words when the notes can carry it; if the notes cannot carry the extra syllables, then one must stay on the penultimate syllable until one reaches the final note to give the last syllable of the word.

In the transcription I provide two alternatives for the text underlay; the top line represents the original underlay from the manuscript and the bottom line comes from my own careful considerations based on the combination of the original underlay and Lanfarnco's rules. Based on the 16th-century (and earlier) common practice, I believe that in many cases the original text underlay represents only the outline of the actual sung text. The primary motives behind this are money saving (the price of ink), time saving (the speed of copying) and other motives that reflect a more individual instance (e.g. higher number of scribes sharing the task).

As it has been mentioned in an earlier chapter, the text hand and music hand of this Mass is very probably the same. This assumption is an important element of the transcription as it will be shown in many of the movements of *Viderunt ingressus*.

General overview of the transcription

The Mass *Viderunt ingressus* is one of the very few pieces in *Bártfa MS 8* that only have a concordance with another Bártfa manuscript (for details see the chart in the Appendix). While Murányi listed some of the compositions in *MS 8* as anonymous (probably on the basis of their concordances), he left others (such as the transcribed mass) completely unidentified, since they do not appear in any other musical manuscript outside the Bártfa Collection, which implies a local origin. The fact that these compositions may have come from a local source (from the Bártfa region) makes them more unique and valuable, because they are evidences of a restricted/isolated tradition.

The overall stylistic features of this Mass that became apparent in the transcription include voice-crossing, the frequent use of c.o.p. ligatures, specific voice range for the *altus* and *bassus*. Since the listed characteristics are apparent throughout the entire Mass it is worth discussing them in some detail.

The voice crossing takes place mainly between the two lower voices, occasionally between the two middle voices as well.

As Lanfranco's second rule instructs, ligatures do not take more than one syllable. The extensive use of ligatures, therefore, may have been chosen to emphasize parts of the text in such a manner that the syllables of certain words would be sung to two semibreves as opposed to one (Lanfranco rule #1). This process does not slow down the music but it

results in a slower declamation of the text. Since the notes themselves could have been written out semibreve by semibreve and would not change the music, one may argue that the composer (or scribe?) wanted a specific way of singing the text to the music.

The fact that in many cases these c.o.p. ligatures occur in more than one voice on the same beat (possibly on the same word) supports the assumption above (e.g. *Haec panduntur* – mm. 1-3, *Mentes alliciat* – mm. 1, 8-9, *Candor est* – mm. 2, 4). Other instances where only one voice has a ligature serve mainly cadential purposes meaning that before the final cadence of the piece one voice would have too many notes for the remaining few syllables if the notes were not tied in a ligature (e.g. *Viderunt omnes* – mm. 28, *Confirmati* – mm. 10, *Fiunt restes* – mm. 17).

The voice range for the *altus* and *bassus* parts are noteworthy, because in the former the melody never goes below middle c (c1) and in the latter it does not go lower than F. Bukofzer made note of similar cases and set up a hypothesis that such a specific range may imply instrument usage. For the tuning of the alto recorder does not make it possible to play a note below middle c and the same is true for the bass recorder, in which case F is the lowest possible note on the instrument. Furthermore, the use of octave leaps in the two lower voices would also support the theory of using instruments as such large leaps were not so common especially in the accompanying voices.

The fact that there is no direct implication in the Bártfa manuscript to instrumental usage (the text appears in every partbook) does not exclude the possibility of such tradition.

Please note, that in the transcription a *semibreve* equals to a half note.

Viderunt ingressus

After identifying the second movement *Illuxerunt* as an Introit in the Liber Usualis, it seemed odd to have another movement that precedes the Introit. The text of *Viderunt ingressus* comes from Psalm 67 and its musical setting was perhaps used as a processional hymn on the feast of Transfiguration.

Although this movement may not be the most ambiguous of all, it certainly holds some challenges in its transcription. At this point in the manuscript there is no crucial damage in any of the partbooks that would make the reading unfeasible (f.35 of the *bassus* got soaked at some point but the notes are still visible).

Some ambiguity occurs in the *altus* part (f. 34) where at first sight a note seems to be missing from the beginning of the first line. What suggests this is the blank space right after the first ligature that is big enough to accommodate a note. Whether the page has been damaged on purpose or naturally in the course of time is hard to tell even by looking at the original manuscript. There is no trace of a razor cut; instead it looks as if the paper had thinned out. In any case, the effect of whatever happened can be seen on the verso side of that folio as well, this time near the end of the first line. In this case also, the gap is about the size of a note.⁵

To determine whether the current gap (only discussing f. 34 recto now) once was an actual note or not one must first draw bar lines and count the measures then compare the number with the other voices. The result of this procedure – without that possible extra note – is the same number of measures in all four voices, which provides the first major – rather technical - clue that this movement is complete the way it is. In my transcription I

⁵ To picture the problem it is best if one imagines a needle that pierces a piece of paper. The same point will be in the left half or beginning of one side but on the opposite side it will be in the right half or end of the page.

followed this clue and assumed that the gap does not imply a missing note and it never did.

If one pursues this line then the following options are worth of consideration: in the copying process a.) the text was laid out first followed by the music; b.) the music preceded the text and a mistake was made then erased; c.) the music was entered first with an intentional break after the ligature.

Since the first possibility speaks for itself I turn to the second viable scenario. It is possible that during the copying procedure the scribe made a mistake and erased it, through which process the paper got too thin to write on it, therefore he continued on the next safest spot. In this case the mistake must have been made on the recto side because if it occurred on the verso side then surely a note would be missing from the recto of the folio and the number of bars in all voices of this opening movement would disagree. Such mistakes had happened very frequently; therefore it is wise to take this possibility into consideration.

The third option in which the scribe copied the music first and left out the space intentionally necessitates reviewing the reasons listed above that support the idea of one scribe (see the “Text underlay” subheading). If the same person copied both the music and the text and he was familiar with the way this piece was to be sung then he was also able to provide a more accurate text underlay than someone who was hired to do the text only.

Naturally, the possibility of an intentional gap involves the question why to which I attempt to provide some answers. This reason in any case is supported by the very precise text underlay that places the first syllable (“vi”) under the first ligature and the second

syllable (“de”) precisely under the next note (dotted minim) and not under the blank space in question. The next logical assumption then is that if once there was a note that disappeared as the result of the hole in the paper, then the second syllable would have been put under the current hole. The primary rationale driving this chain of thought is the important fact that this passage is an imitation at the beginning of the piece, at which point the voices can be heard clearly. Therefore it would be extremely practical to pay extra attention in laying the text under the music precisely so the choir achieves the desired effect.

Furthermore, when looking at the transcription one may notice that the *altus* fits in very nicely with the *superius* and *tenor* as they all sing the second syllable of “viderunt” together on beat 1 of measure 3. In this way the text underlay follows the Latin declamation properly, according to which it is the second syllable of this word that should be accented. Musically it translates into placing the accented syllable on a strong beat (in this case beat 1).

It may first seem odd to speculate so much on a tiny hole in the manuscript, but one must take every single possibility to provide the closest reading of a piece especially when it happens to be a fairly unknown composition.

Illuxerunt

This piece has been perhaps the most straightforward in its transcription. Measures 4-7 are interesting in that they emphasize the text “*coruscationes tuae*” by having all the voices sing in homorhythm. As most of the time, the text underlay can vary, but only

after the homorhythmic passage, which provides a stable point. Prior to this point there is not much room for word repetition or other forms of text alteration.

Noteworthy is the voice-crossing mainly between the *tenor* and *bassus* (eg. m. 10). This characteristic returns in later movements as well.

Alleluia

The notation of this movement is unambiguous, but the aspect that remains open for discussion is the text underlay, a common issue in Alleluia settings. Having only four syllables, the melody seems rather long if ‘Alleluia’ is only sung once. In other words, this movement allows for some variety in the singing of the text to the melody. The only possible reason for the scribe to write out the word ‘Alleluia’ only once could be economic.

This custom calls for a specific usage that the singers would be familiar with. The two possibilities for such practice could be 1) the choir only sang the word ‘Alleluia’ once, knowing precisely how to divide the four syllables with the melody (even without an accurate indication by the scribe)⁶; 2) it was sung twice or more times according to a fixed (?) rule of repetition.

In my transcription I chose the second option for the following reasons. Firstly, there is plenty of melody to repeat ‘Alleluia’ at least once but even twice (with respect to the ligatures). See Lanfranco’s rules above.

Secondly, the repetition of the word allows for more diversity within the liturgy. By this I refer to surviving documents on liturgical practices that report the alternating of

⁶ In some instances, such as the *Alleluia* in the *superius* partbook, the word is not even written out fully

soloist and choir or two (maybe three) choirs and the involvement of the congregation in the singing at Mass.

Candor est lucis

The main cause for the difficult reading of this movement was again the damaged edge of the folio in the *altus* that starts on f. 34 and continues until f. 37. Unfortunately this time *MS 24 b* was not of any help, because as I mentioned above due to an extensive damage about 90% of this Mass is missing from it.

Aside from the incomplete *altus*, this piece is very difficult to transcribe. While the notes are clearly visible, the overall interaction of the voices does not make sense. Not only does this movement disagree in the length of its parts but it is also full of dissonances that are hard to explain unless one blames the scribe for some mistakes. It is, furthermore, difficult to locate where the errors first occurred because the harmonies are acceptable for a little while and then suddenly a striking dissonance takes place, by which point the voices are surely off.

The last striking trait of this movement is the conflicting voice range of the *altus* and the *tenor*. The clef of the two voices does not change between the first and last movements, but the voice range change within the clef, which in the *tenor* requires a treble clef in one movement and a bass clef in another. The present movement is the first in a row that uses a treble clef and it remains like that until the end of the Mass.

Concerning the constant voice crossing one may exclude the possibility of an accidental confusion of voices, because the clef does not change. So, naturally one starts

speculating if this issue has something to say about the choir? As an unidentified anonymous piece that does not appear in any other 16th-century manuscript outside the Bártfa collection, this composition could well be written by a local composer, choir master, cantor or music teacher who specifically intended this music to be performed by the local choir, and therefore he must have taken into account the needs of that choir.⁷

Haec Panduntur

This movement showed little difficulty in the transcription process but only after discovering the missing part of the *altus* in ***Bártfa MS 24 b***. Whereas ***MS 8 b*** lacks a few bars of this movement, ***MS 24 b*** lacks most of the cycle. However, one of the few visible lines luckily happened to be what was needed to complete this movement in ***MS 8 b***. Thus, with the help of the two Bártfa partbooks, “*Haec panduntur*” has been successfully reconstructed.

Mentes ut alliciat

The only ambiguity of this movement was caused by the *minim* rests of the *altus*, but even that after experimenting with it was solved. The problem of rests by the way does create some intricacies throughout the Mass, because one of the scribe’s characteristic is that he drew longer lines. Both the *minim* and the *semibreve* rests look like *breve* rests at first, because they tend to come very close to the next staff line. The only way to figure

⁷ Such needs could be related to the number and composition of singers or a specific way of performing liturgical music. Perhaps the contrasting high and low sections of the tenor indicate an omitting of that voice and substituting it with a group of higher voices.

out which rest was meant by the scribe is by transcribing all four parts and see if they align.

The above discussed voice crossing continues in this movement.

Confirmati luminis

This short middle movement does not necessitate any commentary concerning the transcription or the text underlay. In addition to the ongoing voice crossing this movement is also a good example of octave leaps that take place in the *bassus*. (See Chapter VII for “Instrumental Usage”.)

Declarat se Dominum

Despite the clear reading of this piece in the manuscript, this section is rather intricate to transcribe. The number of bars is different in three of the four voices and there are several crucial dissonances that suggest a scribal mistake. In the *bassus* the page has been partially destroyed and the notes are missing. For this instance I looked up *MS 24 d*, hoping to find the answer. Unfortunately, this answer is partial only, because it seems that *MS 24 d* does not have the correct notes either. The pitch may be right but the note values (two *minims*) are very probably incorrect (m. 3 of the transcription). This faulty concordance then proves Murányi’s theory, according to which *MS 24* was copied from *MS 8*, because the incorrect parts in *MS 24* are misreadings of the unclear passages in *MS 8*.⁸

⁸ Murányi: *A Bártfai Gyűjtemény Isaac officiumai*, 165-168

As the transcription shows, however, this movement seems to be working quite nicely if the last note is held over from the previous bar(s) in each voice instead of having a gap before the final chord.

Regarding its text underlay, this movement is somewhat irregular in a sense that it makes it almost impossible to follow Lanfranco's rules especially in the *altus*. It seems that the piece is too short for the text, which results in squeezing the syllables into places where they would normally not fit (e.g. *altus* m. 7: the "ven" would normally not be sung after a semi-minim, however the rest determines its place; similarly, in m.2 of the *bassus*, "se" follows another semi-minim). This unusual text underlay suggests a lively performance not necessarily in terms of tempo, but rather in terms of text articulation, which is supported by the lack of ligatures in this movement (there is only one in m.6 of the *superius*).⁹

Finally, this movement does not end on the tonic (F major), but on the 6th scale degree (d minor), which gives an open feeling to it. Perhaps it was immediately followed by the next movement or some other piece.

Fiunt testes

The transcription of this rather puzzling movement sets forth obstacles in all four voices, which results in several incomplete measures. The major cadential points (m.5, m.9, m.15, m.18) serve as a basis in the process of matching the deficient parts without resulting in harsh, long-held dissonances.

The method used in determining where the problematic passage occurs is basically dividing the individual voices into measures in both directions. If starting from the

⁹ The ligatures tend to slow down the articulation of the text.

beginning results in an extra note that does not fit in anywhere –as it is in the present case- then the next step is to go from the last note to the first. Usually along the way there is a rest, a *breve* or a dotted note that provides a definite clue within the voice and the other voices can surely confirm its validity through harmonies or imitation.

The outcome of this routine is then a problematic passage (in all four parts) between mm.6-13. The *superius* is short by a *minim* (probably in m. 8), the *altus* lacks the equivalent of three *minims* (m. 6 and m.9), the *tenor* is missing a *semibreve* (m. 7) and so is the *bassus* (m. 13).

The text for this movement has not been fitted to the music very precisely (except the last syllables right before a rest); however, the imitation at the beginning and around m.9 (between the two outer voices) suggests that on ‘Fiunt testes’ and ‘Dignitatis’ each one of the four *semibreves* should get a syllable. The text hand suggests it by not leaving space between the syllables, and the music does it by using separate *semibreves* instead of c.o.p. ligatures, which has been a common technique in the previous movements. In the case of the *altus*, the *minim* rests also proved to be a good aid, because they divide up the part into chunks and they determine where the last and first syllable of a word or phrase shall fall, since it obviously cannot be sung on the rest.

As opposed to Zarlino’s rule about not repeating words or phrases unless they are complete in their own right, *Fiunt testes* seems to disregard this and in the *superius* it clearly repeats the word ‘soliti’. The *altus* follows a similar pattern as the same word is fitted under a longer passage, which at first looks like a melisma. Yet, the *minim* rest in the middle requires a repeat; otherwise the word ‘soliti’ would have to be split after the first syllable and continued with the second syllable after the rest. This not only ends up

with a meaningless word but it also disturbs the natural declamation and the flow of the music. The same kind of repetition could be made in the *bassus* as well, because ‘soliti’ again is laid under a longer section of notes, though this time without a rest. The only exception from repetition is the *tenor*, where the musical phrase is not long enough to allow for restatement and its length is determined by a *minim* rest.

Whether this word repetition was the scribe’s own idea or it illustrates a tendency in performance practice is a valid question. That nothing has been cut out or erased from the manuscript shows that it was an accepted move by the choir and its director. This example may be the only one in this Mass yet it raises the possibility that the particular musical establishment performing this music was not following the established guidelines very strictly. In other words, the musical establishment and its tradition in this region were mature enough to judge what was and was not appropriate or acceptable in a liturgical performance.

Quibus tabernacula

The penultimate movement of the Mass almost follows the ending pattern of the first movement in that it lacks a *semibreve* in the penultimate measure. Similarly to the ending of the first movement, *Quibus tabernacula* would reach its final *breve* not in the last measure but in the one before it on beat 3 and 4 and would be held longer as if it had a *corona* above it. This seems to be a common practice in this cycle, even if not all voices follow this pattern (as the *altus* in this case). Considering that the *altus* is the only voice that arrives on the fifth scale degree of the F chord (the other three voices cadence on the

root) and it falls into it in a stepwise motion (f-e-d-c), it sticks out in a neat way. One could ask if this piece was really performed that way or is this discrepancy another scribal mistake? Since there are no unusual dissonances other than some notes held over from the previous measure, which resolve immediately, I am convinced that this instance is not an example of a scribal error.

There are, however, two brief notes in the *altus* that seem to be out of place; the Bb in m. 12 and the E in m. 13. I have marked them with small arrows suggesting that they should perhaps be left out and substituted (if necessary) with the elongated note preceding them.

Viderunt omnes

Because of the *altus* partbook has been deteriorated it has been virtually impossible to reconstruct this movement, although an attempt has been made. After examining it closely, one may realize that the transcription of this final movement is insufficient for performance purposes, because the voices do not fit well.

The uneven measures that occur in three of the four voices make this movement incomplete. The *superius* part has spots of ink bleed through, which makes some sections difficult to read (m. 4-6), but the microfilm clarifies these spots well. However, there is still a short section that cannot be untangled from neither this source or from *MS 20*¹⁰, which leaves mm. 27 and 28 incomplete. The upper right edge of the folio for the *altus* part has been deteriorated, which results in four miscellaneous bars in this voice (mm. 18-

¹⁰ *MS 20 a* lacks at least half of the folio in the *superius*, which makes it totally useless in this instance. Only the last 6 notes can be seen, of which 5 are identical with the last 5 notes of *MS 8 a*, but the sixth note from the end is not a semiminim as it is in *MS 8 a*, but a minim. Whether there was a discrepancy one may only suspect, but there is no way of proving that *MS 20 a* would have a solution.

21). For an unknown reason the *Viderunt ingressus* in *MS 20 b* does not match the one in *MS 8* except the text, and the same piece from *MS 24 b* is completely missing, therefore none of the concordances can solve this issue. The *tenor* part is clearly readable, yet there is one and a half measure missing (mm. 23-24) that is evident from the transcription, which suggests a scribal mistake. Finally, the *bassus* seems to be the only complete and unproblematic part for this movement.

Pascha quo victor

As an Anonymous *unicum* piece in *MS 8*, this composition was extremely difficult to transcribe and interpret. Some of the common difficulties were the dissimilar number of measures, the deteriorated *altus* partbook, and possible scribal mistakes that result in harsh dissonances and parallel fourths between the two lower voices starting at m. 8. Even though the other voices do not lack notes they are still intricate to read, because of the ambiguous stems; in several instances a note looks like a semibreve because it is just uncertain whether it has a stem or not. Taking into account the missing part of the *altus* and the ambiguous note values in the other three voices, one is left with the conclusion that this *unicum* piece proved to be an unfortunate choice in terms of its reconstruction.

Since the *altus* cannot be matched to the other voices, it is not safe to conclusively characterize this piece, although it is tempting to make a note of the homorhythmic passage in mm. 27-31 sung by the two lower voices. Probably the *altus* would have a lead in this section, since the continuous half notes sound quite static compared to the

previous bars, however, this section has not been reconstructed, therefore one can only guess of its character.

Several details in “Pascha quo victor” combine to give the listener an impression that is stylistically quite different from that of listening to “Viderunt ingressus”. First, it is somewhat surprising that the *superius* begins with such a slow motion, a series of semibreves that, in effect, come back in the second half of the piece in the two lower voices, although not with the same pitches (the contour is nonetheless similar).

The leap (albeit with a rest in between) in the Alto voice, measure 5, from f to F, followed by a run of semi-minims ascending through an octave, gives the definite impression of music conceived for instruments. After this bar, the *altus* part cannot be read in the manuscript. The rests in the transcription in effect show a lacuna in the manuscript reading.

If this piece was originally written for voices, the lack of imitation between the parts is noteworthy. One would expect some imitation in voices singing the same text with some uniformity of text setting.

The transcription of these two Anonymous compositions provided a great learning experience. Since a similar examination of the other Anonymous pieces has not been carried out it is difficult to make general stylistic conclusions. However, these two works show a variety of potential performance practices through their note ranges, rhythmic articulations and text underlay, which prompts a constant thinking of theories of possible scenarios and also a deeper understanding of such practices.

Viderunt ingressus

Anonymous

Soprano
Vi de runt

Alto
Vi de runt

Tenor
Vi de runt Vi de

Bass
Vi de runt Vi de runt in

7
S
in gres sus in gres sus tu os

A
in gres sus sus tu

T
runt in gres sus vi de runt in gres sus

B
gres sus in gres sus tu os

Viderunt ingressus

2
13

S
tu os De us in grs

A
os De us De us in gres

T
tu os De us in

B
De us in gres sus De

19

S
sus De us in gres sus de

A
sus in gres sus De i De i

T
gres sus in gres sus De i

B
us in gres sus De i De i me

Viderunt ingressus

25

S
i me i Re gis Re

A
me i Re gis Re gis

T
De i me i Re gis Re gis me

B
i Re gis Re gis me i Re

Detailed description: This block contains the first system of a musical score for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The system covers measures 25 to 30. The Soprano part begins with a measure rest and then sings 'i me i Re gis Re'. The Alto part begins with a measure rest and then sings 'me i Re gis Re gis'. The Tenor part begins with a measure rest and then sings 'De i me i Re gis Re gis me'. The Bass part begins with a measure rest and then sings 'i Re gis Re gis me i Re'. Brackets above the notes indicate phrasing. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4.

31

S
gis me i qui est in sanc

A
me i qui est in

T
i me i qui est in sanc

B
gis me i qui est in

Detailed description: This block contains the second system of the musical score for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The system covers measures 31 to 36. The Soprano part begins with a measure rest and then sings 'gis me i qui est in sanc'. The Alto part begins with a measure rest and then sings 'me i qui est in'. The Tenor part begins with a measure rest and then sings 'i me i qui est in sanc'. The Bass part begins with a measure rest and then sings 'gis me i qui est in'. Brackets above the notes indicate phrasing. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4.

Viderunt ingressus

37

S
to sanc to sanc to.

A
sanc to sanc to sanc to

T
to in sanc to sanc to

B
sanc to in sanc to sanc to

Illuxerunt

Anonymous

Soprano

Il lu xe runt co rus ca ti o nes

Alto

Il lu xe runt co rus ca ti o nes

Tenor

Il lu xer runt co rus ca ti o nes

Bass

Il lu xe runt co rus ca ti o nes

7

S

tu ae ur bi ter rae Com mo ta est et cont

A

tu ae ur bi te rae Com mo ta est et cont re

T

tu ae ur bi ter rae Com mo ta est et contre

B

tu ae ur bi ter rae Com mo ta est et cont

Illuxerunt

S
re mu it [ter rae] ter rae

A
mu it ter [rae ter] rae

T
mu it ter [rae ter] rae

B
re nu it ter [rae ter] rae

Detailed description: This is a musical score for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The music is in a 2/13 time signature and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are Latin: 're mu it [ter rae] ter rae' for Soprano, 'mu it ter [rae ter] rae' for Alto, 'mu it ter [rae ter] rae' for Tenor, and 're nu it ter [rae ter] rae' for Bass. The Soprano part has a bracket over the first three notes. The Alto and Tenor parts have brackets over the words in brackets. The Bass part has brackets over the words in brackets. The score is written on four staves, each with a clef and a key signature.

Alleluia

Anonymous

Musical score for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass, measures 1-6. The score is in common time (C) and B-flat major. The lyrics are: Al le [li ia Al le lu. The Soprano part has a fermata over the first measure. The Alto part has a triplet of eighth notes in the final measure. The Tenor part has a fermata over the final measure. The Bass part has a fermata over the final measure.

Soprano
Al le [li ia Al le lu

Alto
Al le [lu ia Al le lu

Tenor
Al le [lu ia Al le lu ia Al

Bass
Al le [lu ia Al

Musical score for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass, measures 7-10. The score is in common time (C) and B-flat major. The lyrics are: ia Al le] lu ia. The Soprano part has a fermata over the first measure. The Alto part has a fermata over the final measure. The Tenor part has a fermata over the final measure. The Bass part has a fermata over the final measure.

S
ia Al le] lu ia

A
ia Al le] lu ia

T
le lu ia Al le] lu ia

B
le lu ia Al le] lu ia

Candor est lucis

Anonymous

Soprano

Can dor est lu cis lu

Alto

Can dor est lu

Tenor

8 Can dor est can dor est lu cis lu

Bass

Can dor est lu cis [lu

The first system of the musical score is for the vocal parts. It consists of four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The Soprano staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are "Can dor est lu cis lu". The Alto staff has a treble clef and the lyrics "Can dor est lu". The Tenor staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat, with a "8" below the first measure. The lyrics are "Can dor est can dor est lu cis lu". The Bass staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are "Can dor est lu cis [lu". There are brackets above the Soprano staff grouping "Can dor", "est", and "lu cis lu".

6

S

cis lu cis ae ter nae

A

cis lu cis ae ter nae spe

T

8 cis ae ter nae spe

B

cis] ae ter nae ae ter nae spe

The second system of the musical score continues the vocal parts. It consists of four staves: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The Soprano staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are "cis lu cis ae ter nae". The Alto staff has a treble clef and the lyrics "cis lu cis ae ter nae spe". The Tenor staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat, with an "8" below the first measure. The lyrics are "cis ae ter nae spe". The Bass staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are "cis] ae ter nae ae ter nae spe". There are brackets above the Soprano staff grouping "cis lu cis" and "ae ter nae".

Candor est lucis

2
11

S
spe cu lum si

A
culum spe cu lum si

T
cu lum spe cu lum si

B
cu lum spe cu lum si ne

Detailed description: This system contains the first four staves of the musical score. The Soprano (S) staff begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note 'spe', a quarter note 'cu', a quarter note 'lum', and a half note 'si'. The Alto (A) staff begins with a whole rest, followed by a quarter note 'cu', a quarter note 'lum', a quarter note 'spe', a quarter note 'cu', a quarter note 'lum', and a half note 'si'. The Tenor (T) staff begins with a half note 'cu', a quarter note 'lum', a quarter note 'spe', a quarter note 'cu', a quarter note 'lum', and a half note 'si'. The Bass (B) staff begins with a half note 'cu', a quarter note 'lum', a quarter note 'spe', a quarter note 'cu', a quarter note 'lum', a half note 'si', and a half note 'ne'. The music is in 2/4 time and the key signature has one flat (B-flat).

16

S
ne ma cu la et i

A
ne ma cu la et i

T
ne ma cu la et

B
ma cu la et

Detailed description: This system contains the next four staves of the musical score. The Soprano (S) staff begins with a half note 'ne', a quarter note 'ma', a quarter note 'cu', a quarter note 'la', a half note 'et', and a half note 'i'. The Alto (A) staff begins with a half note 'ne', a quarter note 'ma', a quarter note 'cu', a quarter note 'la', a half note 'et', and a half note 'i'. The Tenor (T) staff begins with a half note 'ne', a quarter note 'ma', a quarter note 'cu', a quarter note 'la', and a half note 'et'. The Bass (B) staff begins with a half note 'ma', a quarter note 'cu', a quarter note 'la', and a half note 'et'. The music continues in 2/4 time with the same key signature.

Candor est lucis

21

S
ma go bo ni ta tis i ma

A
ma go bo ni ta tis i ma

T
i ma go bo ni ta tis

B
i ma go bo ni ta tis

26

S
go bo ni ta

A
go bo ni ta tis bo ni ta

T
i ma go bo ni

B
i ma go bo ni

Candor est lucis

4
31

S
tis il li us.

A
tis il li us.

T
8
ta tis il li us.

B
ta tis il li us

Mentes ut alliciat

Anonymous

Soprano

Men tes ut al

Alto

Men tes ut all li

Tenor

Men tes ut al li

Bass

Men tes ut al li

5

S

li ci at in fir mas

A

ci at in fir

T

ci at in fir mas

B

ci at in fir mas

Mentes ut alliciat

2
9

S et pro u chat ad su

A mas et pro u chat ad ad

T 8 et pro u chat su

B et pro u chat ad su per

13

S per num sta tum

A su per num sta tum

T 8 per num sta tum

B num sta tum

Conformati

Anonymous

Soprano
Con for ma ti lu mi nis

Alto
Con for ma ti lu mi nis fon te

Tenor
Con for ma ti lu mi nis fon

Bass
Con for ma tis lu mi nis fon

5
S
vi ro

A
sac ri nu me ris vi ro

T
te sac ri nu me ris vi ro

B
te sac ri nu me ris vi ro

Conformati

2
9

The musical score consists of four staves labeled S, A, T, and B. Each staff has a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are 'eb', 'ri', 'a', and 'ti' across the four staves. The Soprano (S) part has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Alto (A) part has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat, featuring a triplet of eighth notes. The Tenor (T) part has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Bass (B) part has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The piano accompaniment is written in a single line below the vocal lines, with a key signature of one flat. The score is divided into four measures, with the lyrics 'eb', 'ri', 'a', and 'ti' corresponding to the notes in each measure.

S
eb ri a ti

A
eb ri a ti

T
eb ri a ti

B
eb ri a ti

Haec panduntur

Anonymous

Soprano
Haec pan dun tur ho di e

Alto
Haec pan dun tur ho

Tenor
Haec pan dun tur ho

Bass
Haec pan dun tur ho di

Detailed description: This block contains the first four measures of a four-part vocal setting. The Soprano part begins with a half note 'Haec', followed by quarter notes 'pan', 'dun', and 'tur', then a half note 'ho', and finally quarter notes 'di' and 'e'. The Alto part starts with a half note 'Haec', followed by quarter notes 'pan', 'dun', and 'tur', and ends with a half note 'ho'. The Tenor part has a half note 'Haec', followed by quarter notes 'pan', 'dun', and 'tur', and ends with a half note 'ho'. The Bass part begins with a half note 'Haec', followed by quarter notes 'pan', 'dun', and 'tur', then a half note 'ho', and ends with quarter notes 'di' and a half note. Brackets above the Soprano and Tenor staves indicate phrasing for the first four notes.

S
5
mon tis in cae cu mi

A
di e in cae cu mi

T
di e mon tis in cae cu

B
e in cae cu

Detailed description: This block contains measures 5 through 8. Measure 5 is marked with a '5' above the Soprano staff. The Soprano part has a half note 'mon', followed by quarter notes 'tis', 'in', and 'cae', then a half note 'cu', and ends with a quarter note 'mi'. The Alto part has a half note 'di', followed by quarter notes 'e', 'in', and 'cae', then a half note 'cu', and ends with a quarter note 'mi'. The Tenor part has a half note 'di', followed by quarter notes 'e', 'mon', and 'tis', then a half note 'in', and ends with quarter notes 'cae' and 'cu'. The Bass part has a half note 'e', followed by quarter notes 'in' and 'cae', then a half note 'cu', and ends with a quarter note. Brackets above the Soprano and Tenor staves indicate phrasing for the first four notes of measure 5.

2
9

Haec panduntur

S
ne Chris to ru ti

A
ne Chris to ru

T
mi ne Chris to ru ti

B
mi ne Chris to ru

13

S
lan te

A
lan te

T
ti lan te

B
ti lan te

Declarat se Dominum

Anonymous

Soprano
Dec la rat se Do mi num mor tis et

Alto
Dec la rat se Do mi num mor tis

Tenor
Dec la rat se Do mi num mor tis

Bass
Dec la rat se Do mi num mor tis

6
S
vi ven ti um pris cis nun ci

A
et vi ven ti um pris cis nun

T
et vi ven ti um pris cis nun ci

B
et vi ven ti um pris cis nun

Declarat se Dominum

2
//

S
a tum

A
ci a tum

T
a tum

B
ci a tum

Detailed description: This is a musical score for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The score is in 2/4 time, indicated by the '2' and a double bar line at the top left. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The Soprano part (S) starts with a treble clef and a B-flat key signature, singing the words 'a tum'. The Alto part (A) starts with a treble clef and a B-flat key signature, singing the words 'ci a tum'. The Tenor part (T) starts with a bass clef and a B-flat key signature, singing the words 'a tum'. The Bass part (B) starts with a bass clef and a B-flat key signature, singing the words 'ci a tum'. The lyrics are printed below the notes. The Soprano part has a long note for 'a' and a shorter note for 'tum'. The Alto part has a dotted quarter note for 'ci', a half note for 'a', and a quarter note for 'tum'. The Tenor part has a half note for 'a' and a half note for 'tum'. The Bass part has a dotted quarter note for 'ci', a half note for 'a', and a quarter note for 'tum'. There are some ties and phrasing slurs in the Soprano and Bass parts.

Fiunt testes

Anonymous

Soprano

Fi unt test tes so

Alto

Fi unt tes tes so [li ti so

Tenor

Fi unt tes tes [so li

Bass

Fi unt tes tes so

7

S

li ti dig ni ta tis do

A

[li ti dig ni ta tis do

T

ti] so li ti dig ni ta tis do mi

B

li ti dig ni ta tis do mi

Fiunt testes

2
13

S
mi ni quem nem pe pro ba vit.

A
mi ni quem nem pe pro ba vit.

T
ni quem nem pe pro ba vit.

B
ni quem nem pe pro ba vit.

Quibus tabernacula

Anonymous

Soprano
Qui bus ta ber na cu la praes

Alto
Qui bus ta ber na cu la praes tan

Tenor
Qui bus ta ber na cu la praes

Bass
Qui bus ta ber na cu la praes

6
S
tan ta in glo ri a sunt

A
ta in glo ri a

T
tan ta in glo ri a sunt

B
tan ta in glo ri a a sunt

Quibus tabernacula

The musical score consists of four staves, each representing a different voice part. The lyrics are written below the notes. The Soprano part starts with a double bar line and a fermata. The Alto part has two arrows pointing to specific notes. The Tenor part has an '8' below the first note. The Bass part has a fermata over the final note.

S
i am prae pa ra ta

A
sunt i am prae pa ra ta

T
i am prae pa ra ta

B
i am prae pa ra ta

Viderunt omnes

Anonymous

Soprano
Vi de runt om nes [om nes] fi

Alto
Vi de runt om nes fi

Tenor
Vi de runt om nes fi nes

Bass
Vi de runt om nes [om nes] fi

7
S
nes ter rae [fi nes ter rae] sa

A
nes ter rae sa lu

T
fi nes ter rae

B
nes ter rae fi nes ter rae sa

Viderunt omnes

2
13

S
lu ta re sa lu ta re De

A
ta re sa lu ta re

T
sa lu ta re De i

B
lu ta re De i De i nos

19

S
i De i nos tri al le lu

A
Dei? ? ? nos tri al le lu ia

T
De i nos tri al le

B
tri al le lu ia al le

Viderunt omnes

25

S
ia al le lu ia.

A
al le lu ia.

T
lu ia.

B
lu ia lu al le lu ia.

Pascha quo victor

Anonymous

Soprano

Pas cha qu o vic

Alto

Tenor

Bass

6

S

tor re di ens a bi mo

A

T

B

2
11

pascha quo victor

S ? ? cum mit tis a li

A

T

B

16

S is re fur gens ip se

A

T

B

pascha quo victor

3

21

S
sus cep ti am su

A

T

B

26

S
per

A

T

B

4
31

pascha quo victor

S
al ta ca rum ast

A

T

B

36

S
ra te nas ti

A

T

B

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

Instrumental Usage

Certain 'instrumental' features of the transcribed anonymous Mass *Viderunt ingressus* (and also the *unicum Pascha quo victor rediens abimo*) prompted a more elaborate inquiry into the instrumental music of the 16th century. Although the list of such 'instrumental' features is not without difficulty and ambiguity, the following elements in the above mentioned compositions have been a subject of consideration among a number of scholars: the range of the two lower voices (in this instance the lowest note of the *bassus* is an F and of the *tenor* it is a c1); the somewhat unusual octave leaps (also in the lower parts); and the omitted text (from the three lower voices in the *Pascha quo victor*). Because these qualities in general may suggest an instrumental performance, I found it essential to examine some aspects of the instrumental performance of the period. The questions that guided this investigation were more than just the issue of whether these compositions could have been performed instrumentally or not. If they imply an instrumental practice then what kind of practice could that be; a combination of voices and instruments, or instruments only and in that case what instruments? If they do not involve an instrumental tradition then how does one account for the ambiguous traits present in these compositions?

That there is no direct implication in the Bártfa manuscript of instrumental usage does not exclude the possibility of such tradition. For purposes of the comparison of

Bártfa with broader continental traditions, it is useful to recall one or two general principles of the instrumental performance of sacred music in this period.

While in the 15th and early 16th century polyphony of church and cathedral was sung by all-male choirs, by the mid-16th century some churches also employed instrumental players whose role varied from church to church. Following Howard Mayer Brown and Peter Walls, it may be observed that “in many churches they played only for wordless portions of the service, and in others their participation with the singers was carefully circumscribed.”¹ This usage gradually resulted in a more sophisticated practice that combined voice and instruments not only in religious but also in secular settings. Towards the end of the 16th century, however, instrumental ensembles began to take up an independent function that was no more based on vocal traditions.

As is well known, the medieval distinction between loud (*‘haut’*) and soft (*‘bas’*) bands continued to be used in a more subtle way in the Renaissance; however, their repertory is inadequately documented. It has been suggested that they did not only improvise dance music, but also played composed secular music (madrigals, chansons) and sacred music (motets and mass movements) with or without singers.

Exploring the question of repertory inevitably involves two necessary distinctions. Firstly, what was composed specifically for instrumental ensembles and secondly, what else did such ensembles play? While it is more difficult to answer the former query, Atlas presents an evidence for the latter one. A letter written in 1494 from a Venetian trombonist to Francesco Gonzaga explains the situation quite precisely:

¹ Howard Mayer Brown and Peter Walls: ‘Performing Practice’, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 9 February 2005), <<http://proxy.bib.uottawa.ca:2152>>

*“In these past days, we have made instrumental arrangements of certain motets...One of these is a work of Obrecht...for four voices...And because we are six, I have added two bass parts to be played by trombones...I am also sending you another motet, “Dimandase Gabrielem”; it is by Busnois and is for four voices. I have done another bass “contra” because we play it in five [parts].”*²

Thus, the growing demand and interest in instrumental music found its way to make as much out of the existing material as possible. For example, if the note range of a composition matched the range of the instrument then the piece could have been adopted without transposing it. If this was not the case then arrangements had to be made, which was equally unproblematic as the letter to Francesco Gonzaga proves. Concerning the repertory of instrumental ensembles or *consorts* Atlas does not go into more detail, because there is not much factual evidence that would allow one to elaborate without getting into the danger of speculation.

Because the issue in question is the combination of singers and instrumentalists in religious setting, I shall explore this topic more closely. Current scholarship agrees that this possibility was viable but unfortunately, the supporting evidence is not very specific. Therefore, there is a constant disagreement between academics about what can be regarded as an obvious hint of instrumental practice.³ Nonetheless, the often listed criteria are very similar although not always accepted as obvious: 1) textless parts, 2) specific range reminiscent of an instrument’s range, 3) large and unusual ‘non-vocal’ leaps, 4) florid and quick melodic line and occasionally 5) a title suggesting instrumental usage.⁴

² Quoted after Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 227

³ Theories I have examined in this regard are by C. Young, L. Litterick, A. Atlas and W. Edwards

⁴ Crawford Young, “On the trail of ensemble music in the fifteenth century” in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music* ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (London: J. M. Dent, 1992), 144

Regardless of the disagreements in the academic research, these criteria require a thorough internal analysis as well as the acquaintance with existing musical treatises of the period in question. Furthermore, one can also base his reconstruction on vague clues found in letters, payment records, accounting books or in less direct sources of evidences such as artistic depictions of musicians.

Naturally, one possible and obvious indication in a manuscript for mixed performance is a partially texted notation. In such cases usually the text is divided among the upper voices whereas the lower voice(s) is either given a partial text (e.g. some movements are written in with text underlay and others are just plain music) or it lacks the text entirely.⁵ This hint concerns not so much the Mass but the *Pascha quo victor*, in which the music is notated without text in three of the four voices.

A stronger sign of instrumental usage may be a specific range for any of the parts. As in the case of *Viderunt ingressus*, the *altus* voice never goes below c1 and the lowest note of the *bassus* is F. These lowest limits coincide with the note range of the Renaissance tenor or alto (c) and bass recorders (F)⁶. This is confirmed by Virdung, who describes the flutes' note range (Flöten) in the exact same way plus his *Musica getutscht* provides illustrations of the instrument (this woodcut explains that the English recorder and the German flute was in fact regarded as one instrument at least by the author). Furthermore, Virdung's treatise shows woodcuts of crumhorns as well, which were tuned

⁵ Allan Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, (New York: Norton, 1998), 227. Atlas mentions *Rome-Casanatense 2856* in this connection, which has text incipits only. The case for instrumental performance in that MS is greatly strengthened by Lockwood's connection of documents with the compositions. The designation 'alla pifaresca' suggests that this MS belonged to the Ferrarese wind band.

⁶ *New Grove*, vol.18, ed. Stanley Sadie, p. 363

the same way as the flutes or recorders: the tenor or alto ranged from c-d' and bass crumhorn could play within the range of F-g.⁷

The combination of the above-mentioned possibilities (specific range and full or partial text underlay) may suggest yet another practice, and that is the doubling of voices by instruments (in this case by recorders or crumhorns) as suggested by Allan Atlas.⁸ This kind of pairing would represent a middle ground instead of an extreme in the present investigation; therefore it is easy to picture such tradition. This practice would have certainly added to the ensemble's versatility.

Like the role of instrumentalists and their repertory, the question of instrumentation has been scarcely investigated. The major portion of surviving manuscripts contain no explicit indications about the choice of instruments whatsoever. (Concerning this issue one must again turn to documents outside the purely musical realm.) Therefore, tests of style idiom as possible determinants for the scholar of performance practice (instrumental versus vocal) are also problematic. Although some instrumental music was independent from vocal writing, and may exhibit style features particular to instrumental, much music was, if we are to judge from the sources and from print titles, performed sometimes vocally and sometimes instrumentally.⁹

Based on the information above, one could put forward the hypothesis that 15th and 16th-century manuscripts did not need to provide any more indications than what was already given. Crawford Young suggests that the invention of printed music resulted in an increased use of specific indications partly because the writer or copyist no longer

⁷ Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht*, 1511 quoted in Atlas, 371

⁸ Atlas, 225

⁹ Mid 16th-century publishers advertised their scores as 'suitable for voice and instruments' *Ibid.*, 229

knew who would have access to his book.¹⁰ If this is an accurate reasoning, then the reverse must also apply: if there was any kind of relationship between the scribe and the community (choir or choir master) using his manuscript then it was not so necessary to include specific indications. This premise presupposes within a specific region a stronger cultural link between the two sides (scribe and choir) and a common understanding of musical routine within that specific liturgical practice. Applying this idea to the *Bártfa* manuscripts, the common ground of a specific liturgical practice could be as small as the *Bártfa* region (the scribe or/and composer of the anonymous pieces could have come from that region with close ties to the community) or as wide as the German Lutheranism that found devoted followers in the *Bártfa* folk (the scribe or/and composer could have been of German origin, but the tie between religion and community was still a close one).

The manuscripts of the *Bártfa Collection* are no exceptions to the listed characteristics. Even the unidentified anonymous pieces that may have come from the *Bártfa* region had been copied according to certain standards that existed across Europe and nothing in these manuscripts imply that the performance of these compositions differed from that standard. By no means, however, does this statement refer to the stylistic and liturgical aspects that are indeed unique; all it suggests is that the musical tradition in *Bártfa* was in no way behind that of the more central locations such as Germany or Italy.

¹⁰ Young, "On the trail of ensemble music in the fifteenth century", 143

De Musica Leonardi Stöckelii

The role of the rector of the Latin School in Bártfa, Leonard Stöckel, cannot be underestimated in the current research. Several documents illustrate Stöckel's serious interest in the art of music, among which the treatise *De Musica* is outstanding. Intended for the students of the Latin school in Bártfa, its author organized the rudiments of music into two collections in a didactic way. The contents of the two collections are very similar; the first one was intended for beginner students and the second one for more advanced disciples written in more detail.

Stöckel himself clearly placed vocal music above anything else, because his beliefs were based on more ancient thoughts, according to which the human voice is superior because it is the gift of God that is used to 'affect the soul from every aspect' and it is the basis of every other type (instrumental) music. For this reason, he thought that the most essential part of music instruction was to teach the students the art of singing.

Among the many topics, the section 'Causa musicae' briefly addresses the difference between vocal ('physical') and instrumental ('organic') music. The latter one uses an instrument and is carried out with the careful motion of fingers rather than with human voice. He lists some of these instruments: strings ('chordarum modulatione' or 'sine flatusych') as the *cithara*¹¹; wind instruments ('inflatur') such as *tibiae*, *fistulae*, *tubae*¹²; and percussive instruments such as *tympanis et tintinabulis*¹³. There is a good

¹¹ M. Maas, 'Kithara', *New Grove Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed on April 11, 2005), <http://proxy.bib.uottawa.ca:2767/>; The 'cithara' refers to a large wooden lyre that goes back to the Ancient Greek tradition. Whether this instrument meant the same thing for Stöckel or he could refer to a lute or other plucking instruments it is hard to tell.

¹² McKinnon and Anderson, 'Tibia', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed on April 11, 2005), <http://proxy.bib.uottawa.ca:2767/>; McKinnon, 'Fistula', *New Grove Online*; 'Tuba ductilis', *New Grove Online*; Often the three instruments are mixed; the 'tibia' is sometimes called 'fistula' and reversely. Tinctoris uses the term to refer to a shawm in *De inventione et usu musicae* (1486), which may have been available for Stöckel. The 'fistula' generally refers to a pipe, which was used widely during the Middle

reason to suppose that Stöckel used examples of instruments that were often used in his immediate environment. This assumption is supported by Matus as well who was among the first scholars to examine the treatise.¹⁴

It is possible that performance practice in Bártfa differed substantially from that of other towns. In this case it is important to compare the evidence that comes from the sources with broader contexts and larger traditions as I have done it above. At the same time it is possible that the musical practice in this energetic centre, animated and manipulated by a theorist and school master personally connected to Luther at the inception of Hungarian Lutheranism, gives us a case that pertains to this period in a greater way than many have thought.

Physical Evidence

As it has been stated before, *MS 8*, according to Murányi, probably originates in the southern part of Germany and was copied after 1555. The watermarks found in *MS 8* do not contradict Murányi's hypothesis regarding the origin and date, instead they broaden the possibilities for such theory.

Considering that all of the patterns found in watermark collections that are similar to the watermarks in *MS 8* are associated with the 1540s, one may be inclined to reallocate

Ages and the Renaissance. Stöckel only mentions the 'tuba' in general but it also had several connotations. The 'tuba ductilis' in the 16th century referred to a trombone.

¹³ By 'tintinabulis' Stöckel probably referred to some kind of bells that had an old and wide tradition. Therefore it is difficult to state which kind was he thinking of. A treatise from 1460 called "Pauli Paulirini de Praga Tractatus de musica" describes the 'tintinabulum' as a metal instrument... *Tintinabulum est instrumentum metallinum calibeum subtilissime calibris quod percussum cum cambucella eiusdem metalli dat voces multum contemperatas quod instrumentum habet se in modum strepis inferius latum superius vero gracilius ut quanto*

¹⁴ Frantisek Matus, "De Musica Leonardi Stöckelii" in *Slovenska Hudba*, (Bratislava, 1991), 383

the possible date of the manuscript into an earlier timeframe, more precisely into the 1540s.¹⁵ Since the present investigation has not revealed an exact match for five of the six patterns, it is impossible to challenge the existing hypotheses on these grounds. On the other hand, taking into account that no one – including Murányi himself- has carried out a similarly detailed investigation of the watermarks found in *MS 8*, the findings presented in this thesis should not be underestimated when theorizing about the place and date of compilation of this manuscript.

MS 8 in the Context of Bártfa

Although Bártfa may geographically seem somewhat remote from the cities of Western Europe, there is considerable evidence introduced in the previous chapters that show a strong connection this town had to the major artistic and intellectual centers even as early as the 16th century. The ideas of the Reformation found a fertile ground in Bártfa, which is demonstrated in the writing of the *Confessio Pentapolitana* in 1549; the printing of Luther's translated catechism in 1581; the well established Latin school functioning according to Lutheran models and attended by many foreign students; the city's demand for a school rector who pursued his education in Wittenberg and had direct connections not just to the Reformation in general, but to Luther himself (!); and an extensive body of musical repertoire that has been partially proven to have come from southern Germany possibly through the frequent trips of the Stöckel brothers or the regular migration of

¹⁵ Let us briefly summarize the associated dates of the watermarks in the collections of Briquet, Laucevicius (Lithuania), Siniarska-Czaplicka (Poland) that are similar to the ones found in *MS 8*. Hatchet: Laucevicius-1545, Siniarska-Czaplicka – 1542/ 1544; Fleur de lys: Laucevicius: 1545/1547, Briquet-1540s, Siniarska-Czaplicka-1540s; Polish coat of arms: Briquet-1553

students who all connected Bártfa with the heart of the Reformation, keeping it up-to-date with the most current ideas and trends.

All these aspects (and further ones not being dealt with in this thesis) are crucial to the understanding of the history and context of the manuscripts of the *Bártfa Collection*, such as *MS 8*. It is unquestionable that in the 16th century Bártfa was an energetic center, in the forefront of Hungarian Lutheranism, and its historical examination strongly suggests that this is a case which relates to the Lutheran period in a greater way than many have previously thought.

As part of this incredible chain, *MS 8* may be indeed a valid witness not only to German Lutheran music but also to a unique – Hungarian - variation of that repertoire. Not only is this apparent from the number of *unica* pieces that most probably reflect local tradition and taste, but the transmission of some of the works by Isaac could also be a sign of an exclusive religious practice, since these compositions do not match any existing variants found in concordant sources. Another potential explanation may be, as Murányi hypothesizes, that the Isaac pieces found in *MS 8* (and also in the concordant manuscripts of the *Bártfa Collection*) possibly represent an earlier transmission.

Additionally, the outcome of the watermark inspection suggests a considerably earlier date for *MS 8*, the impact of which is important not only historically but they are rather significant when drawing links with Murányi's above mentioned hypothesis about the early Isaac variants. In other words, an earlier date for *MS 8* would provide a firm support for a theory in which this manuscript is a potential medium for an early

transmission of Isaac's compositions. The further exploration of such theory would require a separate research of its own.

Historically, the redating of *MS 8* affects our knowledge about early Lutheran musical practices, especially of those in upper Hungary, a district that was an important Lutheran area from the beginning of the 16th century. By redating the manuscript, one also moves the repertoire closer in time to the reforms of Luther and in the meantime the connection of Leonard Stöckel to the manuscript and to the musical traditions in Bártfa also appears in a different light. While his role in this intense tradition has become quite clear by now, additional biographical information may hopefully be discovered in the future. Nonetheless, it is very probable that as a schoolmaster, Stöckel must have taken pride in the rich musical and religious edifice that he built as an extension of Luther's teachings, the best he could imagine and the strongest he could create.

APPENDIX A

Concordances of Town Names

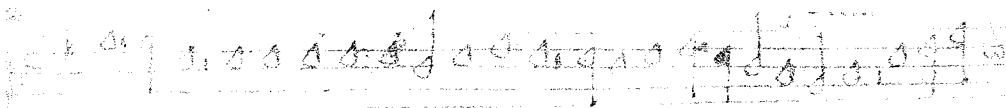
The literature that deals with the history of the current north-eastern Slovakia, the area from which the *Bártfa Collection* came, usually refers to the towns in Slovak, Hungarian, German and Latin, reflecting the political history of the region as well as the linguistic and cultural background of the authors. For this reason, a small chart containing these names may be useful. Please note that the following list of town names in north-eastern Slovakia is far from being complete; it only includes those towns that have been mentioned in the present thesis.

<u>Hungarian</u>	<u>Slovak</u>	<u>Latin</u>	<u>German</u>
Bártfa	Bardejov	Bartpha	Bartfeld
Eperjes	Presov	Eperiesinum	Eperies
Pozsony	Bratislava	Possonia	Pressbourg
Lőcse	Levoca	Leuconium	Leutschau
Kassa	Kosice	Cassovia	Kaschau

APPENDIX B

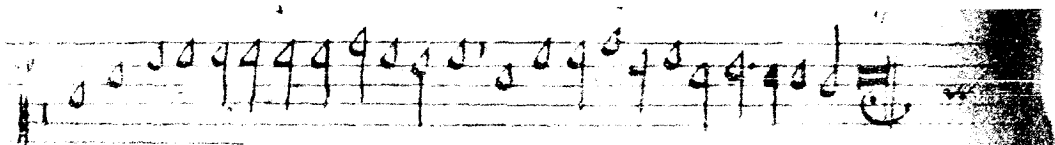
Scribal Hands

A



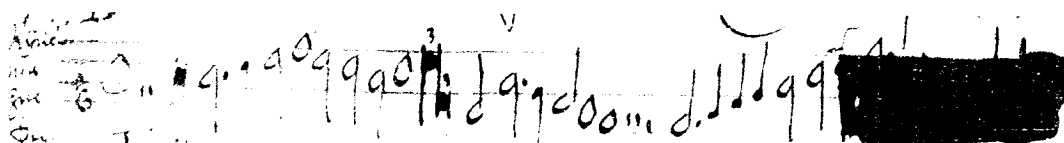
Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff. The notes are written in a cursive, scribbled style. Below the staff, the Latin text "Quia fecit mihi magna que potens est, & scdm nomen eius" is written in a similar cursive hand.

B




Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff. The notes are written in a cursive, scribbled style. Below the staff, the Latin text "Quia fecit mihi magna que potens est, & scdm nomen eius" is written in a similar cursive hand.

C



Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff. The notes are written in a cursive, scribbled style. Below the staff, the Latin text "Quia fecit mihi magna que potens est, & scdm nomen eius" is written in a similar cursive hand.

D



Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff. The notes are written in a cursive, scribbled style. Below the staff, the Latin text "Quia fecit mihi magna que potens est, & scdm nomen eius" is written in a similar cursive hand.

E

sa um tas confitri may

F

mi ma

G

mi so pa tis mi so tis

H

Cantus in valle gementium pro ducatu di mi sum
Cantus in valle gementium pro ducatu di mi sum

J

Veni tu compos dum crede sacra hanc pro
Soli deo su glo ria pro multiplica quod con

K

Qui blandus super ros vana cula vana
 Et tam firmis manibus b. re

L

hinc immunitate in ad
 minus v. res amice
 fine suas

M

in v. res amice in v. res amice in v. res amice

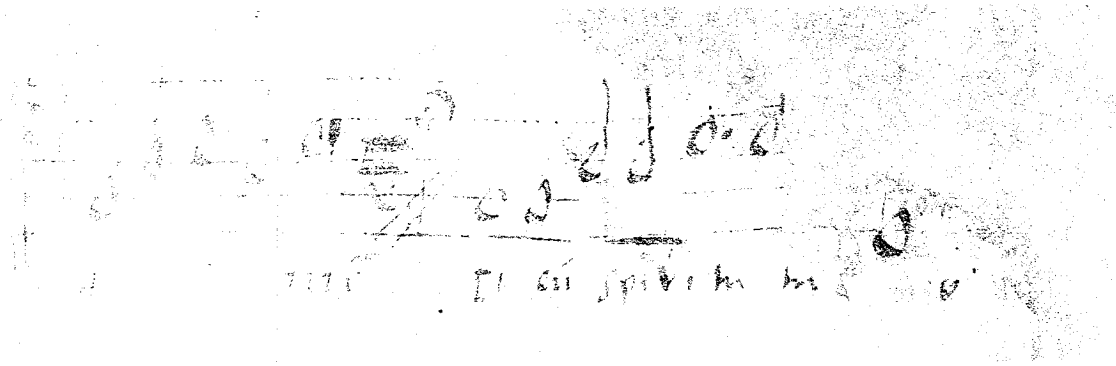
N

AN: TRI.
 TE.
 if sancta trinitas in tri unitas atq. in di

O

tu in vir

Z



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albrecht, Hans. "Bartfeld" Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart Vol. 1, Kassel:
Barenreiter-Verlag, 1951
- Apel, Willi. The Notation of Polyphonic Music: 900-1600. Fifth edition. Cambridge:
The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953
- Atlas, Allan W. Renaissance Music. New York: Norton, 1998
- "Bardejov" <http://www.slovakheritage.org/Townsvill/bardejov.htm>
- "Bardejov" <http://www.unipo.sk/SARIS/BARDEJOV/indexa.html>
- Bónis, Ferenc, ed. Magyar Zenetörténeti Tanulmányok Szabolcsi Bence 70.
születésnapjára, Zeneműkiadó, Budapest, 1969
- Briquet, C. M. Les Filigranes. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1923
- Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music. ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows,
London, J. M. Dent, 1992
- Decker, Viliam. Dejiny ručnej výroby papiernictva na Slovensku (The History of
Making Paper in Slovakia). Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1982
- _____. Nácrť dejín ručného papiernictva na Slovensku (The Summary of Paper
Production in Slovakia). Martin: Matica Slovenska, 1956
- Ferenczi Ilona, Murányi Róbert Árpád. "Zacharias Zarewutius (1605-1667)" Musicalia
Danubiana. Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1987
- Fox, Bertha Mary. A Liturgical-Repertorial Study of Renaissance Polyphony in Bártfa
Mus Pr. 6 (a-d), National Széchenyi Library, Budapest. Ph.D. dissertation,

University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, 1977

Gombosi, Ottó. “Die Musikalien der Pfarrkirche zu St. Aegidi in Bártfa – Ein Betrag zur Geschichte der Musik der Oberungarn” in Festschrift für Johannes Wolf. Berlin, 1929

Gombosi, Ottó. “Quellen aus dem 16.-17. Jahrhundert zur Geschichte der Musikpflege in Bartfeld und Oberungarn”, Ungarische Jahrbücher 12. Berlin-Leipzig, 1932

_____. “Zarewutius Zakariás bártfai orgonista”, Magyar Dal Vol. 46, No. 7, Budapest, 1942

Haar, James. The Science and Art of Renaissance Music. Princeton University Press, 1998

Heawood, Edward. Watermarks. Hilversum, 1950

Hulková, Marta, “Die Musikaliensammlung von Bardejov und Levoca Ubereinstimmungen und Unterschiede (16 – 17 Jh.)”, Musica Istropolitana II, UK, Bratislava, 2003

Kellman, Herbert, ed. Census-catalogue of manuscript sources of polyphonic music 1400-1550, Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, Hanssler, 1979

Kovac, Dusan. Szlovákia története (The History of Slovakia). Bratislava: Kalligram, 2001

Kovac, D. and Toma, P. A. Slovakia: From Samo to Dzurinda. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2001

Krpelec, Bartolomej. Bardejov a jeho okolie dávno a dnes. Bardejov: Matica Slovenská, 1935

- LaRue, Jan, ed. Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music. New York: Pendragon Press, 1966
- LaRue, Jan. "Watermarks and Musicology", The Journal of Musicology. Vol. XVIII, No. 2, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001
- Lerner, Edward. Opera Omnia Henrici Isaac. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1974
- The Liber Usualis with Introduction and Rubrics. ed. by the Benedictines of Solesmes. Tournai: The Desclée Company, 1963
- Lindt, Johann. The Paper-mills of Berne and their watermarks, Hilversum, 1964
- Magyar Kodex. Vol.3. Budapest, Kossuth Kiado, 1999
- Magyar Nagy Lexikon. Budapest, Magyar Nagy Lexikon Kiado, 1999
- Matus, Frantisek. "De Musica Leonardi Stöckelii" Slovenska Hudba. Bratislava, 1991
- Munrow, David. Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Oxford University Press, 1976
- Murányi Róbert Árpád. "A Bártfai Gyűjtemény Isaac officiumai" ("The Isaac Offices of The Bártfa Collection"), Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár évkönyve, Budapest, 1975
- _____. "A lutheri liturgia a Bártfai Gyűjtemény tükrében" ("The Lutheran Liturgy as Reflected in the Bártfa Collection"). Theologiai Szemle XXII. Budapest, 1979
- _____. "A Wittenbergi Egyetem Magyar Könyvtárának anyaga", Magyar Zene 3, Budapest, 1983
- _____. "Die Isaac-Offizien der Bartfelder Sammlung". Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Vol. 17, Budapest, 1975

- _____. "Magyarország éneklő ifjúsága 1500-1650 között" ("The singing Youth of Hungary between 1500-1650") in Magyar Zene Vol. XIV. No. 1, Budapest, 1973
- _____. "Neuere Angaben über die Bartfelder Sammlung". Studia Musicologia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae Vol .13, Budapest, 1971
- Murányi, Róbert Árpád. Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld. Bonn: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1972
- New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15019b.htm>
- New Grove Online. Ed. L. Macy. <http://proxy.bib.uottawa.ca:2767>
- Polk, Keith. German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice. Cambridge University Press, 1992
- Performance Practice: Music Before 1600. ed. Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie, London: The Macmillan Press, 1990
- Rajeczky, Benjamin. "Gregorián népének, népdal", Magyar Zenetörténeti Tanulmányok, Vol. 2, ed. Ferenczi Ilona, Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1976
- _____. "Többszólamúság a középkori Magyarországon", Magyar Zenetörténeti Tanulmányok, vol.1, ed. Ferenczi Ilona, Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1976
- Révai Nagy Lexikona. Budapest, 1911
- Rhódy, Alajos. Érdekes adatok Bártfa szab. kir. város múltjáról (Interesting Data On the History of Bártfa). Budapest, 1897
- Young, Crawford. "On the Trail of Ensemble Music in the Fifteenth century" in Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music. ed. Tess Knighton and David

Fallows, London: Dent and Sons, 1992