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Sacred music by Amandus Ivanschiz: attributions and variants of extant compositions

ABSTRACT: The Pauline father Amandus Ivanschiz (1727–1758) was a composer whose music heralded the style of the early Classical period. He worked mainly in Austria (Wiener Neustadt and Mariatrost), as well as in Rome (it has recently been established that he spent three years there). His sacred music, especially masses, litanies and cantata-style pieces to non-liturgical texts, has been preserved in numerous manuscripts (over 260 items) held in eight countries of Central Europe (Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Switzerland and Hungary). Comparative analysis of all the manuscripts allows one to distinguish several problems commonly encountered in research into eighteenth-century musical sources, such as variants, multiple versions of works and contradictory attributions of authorship, further exacerbated by the lack of originals. This article focusses on the most recent findings relating to Ivanschiz's life and religious music, as well as discussing and illustrating discrepancies between various copies of the same compositions by reference to selected works. We will also consider the differentiation of authorial variants from variant versions arising from custom.

KEYWORDS: Amandus, Ivanschiz, Ivančić, eighteenth-century church music, Mass, litany, sources, variant, version

Musicologists have been interested in the figure of the Pauline father and composer Amandus Ivanschiz since the first decades of the twentieth century. The main sources that mention his name are 1930s publications by the Czech musicologist Vladimír Helfert,¹ as well as articles by his student Theodora Straková.² Initially, both authors took it for granted that Father Amandus was based in the Czech (or Moravian) area, as a considerable number of his works were collected by the Moravian Museum in Brno. He was also claimed as a national

¹ Vladimír Helfert, 'Průkopnický význam české hudby v 18. století' [The pioneering role of Czech music during the eighteenth century], in *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu* [Our country's contribution to European cultural heritage] (Prague, 1939), 216–221; see also http://dspace.muni.cz/handle/ics_muni_cz/604.

² Theodora Straková, 'O neznámém skladateli předklasického údobí (P. Amandus Ivanschitz a jeho vztah k otázce vývoje sonátové formy na naší půdě)' [An unknown composer of the pre-Classical era (Ivanschiz and his contribution to the development of sonata form on our soil)], *Časopis Moravského muzea v Brně*, 34 (1949).

composer by Slovenian and Croatian musicologists,³ on the basis of the 'Slavonic' sound of his surname rather than extant sources from the territory of the former Yugoslavia, since only a few of his compositions were found there. In addition, the subject literature has always recorded Father Amandus' name in the form typical of Slavonic languages (e.g. Ivanšić, or Ivančić), which cannot be justified by historical sources. Archival materials and music manuscripts predominantly bear the German version of the composer's surname (Ivanschitz or Ivanschiz), yet it was modified in about a dozen other ways: Ivanschütz, Ivantsitz, Ivancsics, Ivanchich, Ivanczizki, including distortions such as Ivan Schütz. Studies conducted by Danilo Pokorn on Ivanschiz's secular music provided further valuable information on the composer's life and work,⁴ and our knowledge was also substantially expanded by the results of research by Otto Biba, especially the discovery of the date of Ivanschiz's ordination, as well as the date of his baptism: 24 December 1727, in Wiener Neustadt, Austria.⁵

Thanks to an initiative launched a few years ago by the Pauline Fathers, it became possible to start a wide-ranging research project on the large collection of sacred music from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, preserved in the prominent monastery of Jasna Góra (Częstochowa). After some time, the compositional output of Ivanschiz was also included in the research. Admittedly, the collection in question comprises only two pieces by Father Amandus, yet their presence, representing the music of the most accomplished Pauline composer, testifies the rich musical culture of that congregation. The most recent research has modified the prevailing image of Ivanschiz's sacred music. In addition, it has allowed for a more comprehensive presentation of his biography. As mentioned above, the composer was baptised in Wiener Neustadt on Christmas Eve 1727 and given the Christian names Mathias Leopold. His father came from the village of Baumgarten, today part of the Austrian Burgenland, inhabited by a Croatian minority. In his boyhood, Ivanschiz stood out as very pious and spent a lot of time in church, especially in the local Cistercian monastery, called the Neukloster. Extant

³ See Stanko Premrl, 'Iz glasbenega arhiva ljubljanske stolnice' [From the musical archives of Ljubljana Cathedral], *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 45, 19–20. His nationality was partly implied even by the titles of publications or chapters. For instance, in the book by Lovro Županović (*Centuries of Croatian Music*, i, tr. V. Ivir, Zagreb, 1984), Ivanschiz's oeuvre was described in the chapter 'Eighteenth-century Croatian composers in the country and abroad'.

⁴ Danilo Pokorn, 'Amandus Ivančić in njegovo posvetno skladateljsko delo' [Amandus Ivančić and his secular music], unpublished doctoral thesis (Ljubljana, 1977); see also D. Pokorn, 'Amandus Ivančić (Ivanschiz) – prispevek k poznavanju glasbe zgodnjega klasicizma' [Amandus Ivančić (Ivanschiz): a contribution to research into the music of the early Classical era], in *Evropski glasbeni klasicizem in njegov odmev na Slovenskem* [The Slovenian response to the Classical era in European music] (Ljubljana 1988), 63–73.

⁵ See Otto Biba, 'Ivanschiz, P. Amand (Matthias Leopold)', in *Österreichisches Musiklexikon*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger, ii (Vienna, 2003), 871–872. This discovery was already reported by Danilo Pokorn ('Amandus Ivančić (Ivanschiz) – prispevek...').

documents attest that it was the local monks who taught him to play the organ. He entered the Pauline Order in Wiener Neustadt on 25 December 1743 and took the name Amandus.⁶ It was there that he received minor orders (30 May 1744), became a sub-deacon (1 March 1749), then deacon (21 February 1750) and finally took holy orders (15 November 1750), subsequently celebrating his first mass ten days later (25 November 1750). An interesting document commemorating this event has survived from that time: a print of the sermon delivered by a Capuchin friar, Father Fulgentius Neostadiensis.⁷ This extensive document provides a considerable amount of valuable information about the composer. It was also the year when the organ in the local cathedral was inaugurated, and Ivanschiz was the first to play it,⁸ which proves that despite his young age he was already a respected musician. It has been established recently that Father Amandus spent the years 1751–1754 in Rome, where he served as a *socius* of the Attorney General of the Order. We may assume that his stay in the Eternal City presented a perfect opportunity for him to develop his musical talents. Soon after his return, in 1755, Ivanschiz was moved to the Maria Trost monastery close to Graz. Evidence of his activities during that period includes entries made in the account books of the church of St Ägydius (now a cathedral), which used to belong to the Society of Jesus. They testify commissions the composer received, and most likely also his participation in one of the performances.

It seems highly probable that besides the three aforementioned locations – Wiener Neustadt, Rome and Maria Trost – Ivanschiz spent at least a year before taking his vows at the order's house in Ranna (Lower Austria), where the novitiate was located at that time. Undoubtedly the most crucial result of the latest research has been determining the year of his death. Father Amandus passed away in 1758, in Maria Trost, aged merely thirty-one. We may suppose, therefore, that his compositions date from the period 1743–1758, assuming that he was active as a composer between his sixteenth year and the time he died. Until recently, the last years of Ivanschiz's compositional work, interpreted mainly on the basis of source dating,

⁶ The date he took his vows is given after *Liber Vitae & Mortis sive Catalogus Primus Ordinis S. Pauli Primi Eremitae...*, Archiwum oo. Paulinów na Skalce [Pauline Fathers' Archive], Kraków.

⁷ *Die mit Lieb belohnte Liebe, oder Lob= und Ehren=Rede der H. Alexandrinischen Jungfrau und Martyrin CATHARINA, Wie auch Einen neu=gesalbten Priester verfasset, Als man in dem Hochlöbl. Gottes=Haus des hoch= und Welt=berühmten Ordens des Heiligen Pauli ersten Einsidlers in Wienerisch=Neustadt das Fest gedachter Heiligen hochfeyerlich begangen, Und daselbst Der Wohl=Ehrwürdige in Gott Geistliche P. AMANDUS IVANSCHIZ, Des besagten Ordens Mit=Glied Sein erstes heiliges Meß=Opfer Gott dem Allmächtigen abgestattet. Vorge-tragen, und auf Begehren in Druck gegeben Von P. FULGENTIO NEOSTADIENSI, Ord. Min. S. Franc. Capucinatorum, gewöhnlichen Sonntags= und Fasten=Prediger auf dem Neuen=Marckt in Wien. Mit Genehmigung der Oberen. Wien, gedruckt bey Joh. Thomas Trattner, Univers. Buchdr. im Schottenhof. 1751.* The speech referred in large part to Saint Catherine of Alexandria, as her feast day is celebrated on 25 November.

⁸ Otto Biba, *Ivanschiz, P. Amand*, 872.

were considered to reach into the 1760s, 70s and even 90s. This relatively late dating did not prevent researchers from regarding Ivanschiz as one of the forerunners of a new style, especially with regard to the genre of the symphony, as is reflected in the encyclopaedic entry 'Symphony' in *The New Grove Dictionary*.⁹ Needless to say, the composer's unexpectedly early death obliges us to reassess his vast compositional output, which clearly belongs to the style of the first stage in the Classical era.

More than one hundred works by Ivanschiz have come down to us, the majority of which represent large multi-sectional cyclic compositions. His oeuvre comprises both vocal-instrumental sacred music and instrumental works, such as symphonies, divertimentos, sonatas and trios. As the latter group is somewhat smaller and has been studied by musicologists already, the remaining part of this article will be centred upon Ivanschiz's vocal-instrumental works, including masses, litanies, settings of Marian antiphons, vespers and *Te Deum*, as well as cantata-style pieces to non-liturgical texts. In total, there are about 70 compositions signed with Ivanschiz's name, and many of those have been preserved in a few copies, sometimes up to about a dozen. All in all, over 260 manuscripts of vocal-instrumental works have been found, in more than 70 archives, in eight Central European countries: Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Switzerland and Hungary. In most cases, they come from the libraries of monastic and parish chapels, and occasionally from private collections. (It is worth pointing out that, at the time of writing, only 88 of the 260 sources can be found in the RISM database.) The considerable number of manuscripts preserved on the territory of various countries confirms the wide reception of Father Amandus' music and makes him one of the most popular monastic composers of his era. The corpus of sources in question is comprehensive enough to allow us to identify a number of its characteristic features, yet small enough (for example, about ten times less extensive than the oeuvre of F. X. Brixi) to be managed by one researcher.

What complicates the process of organising the information about Ivanschiz's work is the sheer lack of autographs and manuscripts from the places where the composer was active, which most probably resulted from the scattering and depletion of the order's estates due to the Josephinian dissolution of 1786. What is more, the possible future identification of Ivanschiz's handwriting is not likely to offer a solution to the problems signalled in this paper. It may confirm the authorship of one composition, perhaps a few works or versions, but it would not rule this possibility out in the case of a number of other pieces.

The material that provides the most engrossing opportunity for comparative analysis is represented by the compositions that have survived in a greater number of sources. This could be useful primarily with regard to the issue of possible variants introduced in the course of circulation and the question of attributions. For

⁹ Jan Larue and Eugene K. Wolf, 'Symphony, §I: 18th century', in Stanley Sadie (ed.) *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xxiv (London, 2001).

instance, as many as 20 of a total of 33 masses and litanies identified from several copies bear contradictory details of authorship. Given the eighteenth-century tradition, and taking into account other groups of sources, and even the entries found in the RISM, this situation should be considered common. What we are dealing with here is a straightforward situation where out of a few, even up to a dozen or so, manuscripts marked with Ivanschiz's surname, individual cases point to another composer. Nevertheless, there are also compositions like the *Litany in C* found in eight sources, two of which give Ivanschiz as the composer, two point to Brixi, two to Lohelius and two to Karel Loos. As those composers' output shared some common stylistic features and they lived nearly at the same time, the attribution of this composition proves immensely difficult, especially when the autograph is missing. Works that are predominantly and consistently ascribed in sources to other composers could indeed have been attributed to Ivanschiz by mistake.

The problem of variants, however, appears to be considerably more complex, and so it needs to be discussed in more detail. It may seem surprising that those of Ivanschiz's compositions that are documented in two or more sources are not identical. Alterations range from rather ubiquitous minor variants (pitch or rhythm in a group of notes, text underlay, and so on), through discrepancies in scoring or examples of *contrafactum*, to the exchanging or re-composition of whole sections of works, which in this way receive separate versions.¹⁰ Analysis of such material is fraught with difficulties, from the stage of identification onwards. Sometimes, the presence of a great number of variants and versions requires us to answer the question of the identity or even the ontology of a composition; for example, how similar must sources be for us to consider them still representative of the same work?

The least problematic and, at the same time, most common variants are those that do not alter the structure of a composition; thus they only bring slight discrepancies in terms of pitch, rhythm, articulation or the placement of accidentals. They may, however, complicate the identification of a composition, especially if accumulated at its beginning, as for instance in one of the litanies in C major (Example 1). In the second of the discussed variants, the change of rhythm introduced in all the parts resulted in a departure from its liturgical text ('Christe eleison' is missing). Similar discrepancies may also be observed when comparing two manuscripts of the Mass in C major (Example 2). The Slovak source breaks the syncopated rhythm of the first bars of the Kyrie (Example 2b) into two quavers, whereas in bar 4 triplets are replaced with semiquavers. Interestingly, an opposite change was made in the same manuscript at the beginning of the Gloria, with groups of four semiquavers

¹⁰ The distinction between a variant (understood as a local modification) and a version (forming an entity, a finite form of a composition, which may consist of a greater number of variants) has been applied in this discussion according to the terms used in music philology. See Maria Caraci Vela, *Wprowadzenie do krytyki tekstu muzycznego* [Introduction to the critical analysis of the musical score], ed. Marina Toffetti, tr. Aleksandra Patalas and Piotr Wilk (Kraków, 2002), 62–63.

in the violin exchanged for the rhythm of a quaver-semiquaver triplet. Moreover, while in most sources the bass starts the vocal part after a rest with the words 'Et in terra pax', leaving the entry of the Gloria for the intonation of a celebrant (Example 3a), the Slovak source (Example 3b) develops this part and adds a few notes at the beginning of the text, where rests can be found in the other versions.

a) CZ-Bm, shelf-mark A 7.015 (L.C.1a)

b) D-FS, shelf-mark WEY-282 (L.C.1b)

Example 1. Two variants of the *Litany in C*, L.C.1a–b,¹¹ Kyrie, canto, bars 1–9.

a) PL-Wu, shelf-mark RM 4540

b) SK-BRnm, shelf-mark MUS XXVI 293

Example 2. Two variants of the *Missa in C*, M.C.3a – Kyrie, violino I, bars 1–7.

a) PL-Wu, shelf-mark RM 4540

b) SK-BRnm, shelf-mark MUS XXVI 293

Example 3. Two variants of the *Missa in C*, M.C.3a – Gloria, violino I and bass, bars 1–3.

Occasionally, sources containing sacred music by Ivanschiz show modifications in notation that do not interfere with the musical substance: for instance, replacing a 3/4 metre with 3/8, changing the clef or transposing an entire composition or its part to another key.

¹¹ These indications refer to the thematic catalogue of sacred music by Ivanschiz, which constitutes part of the dissertation by the author of this article (currently being prepared for publication), see footnote 20.

Some variants shaped through the process of transmission undoubtedly derive from the custom broadly understood as performance practice, comprising alterations connected with the notation of elaborations and diminutions, as in the example given here from another Mass in C major (M.C.8, Example 4). In one of the sources, a standard cadential formula of the violin, with every other note moved up an octave (bar 3), was filled with passages in triplets.

a) PL-Wu, shelf-mark RM 4541



b) SK-TN, shelf-mark HSJP 106



Example 4. Two variants of the *Missa in C*, M.C.8 – last six bars of the first chorus of the Gloria, violino I.

The copyist of the Czech manuscript of the widely popularised Mass in G (M.G.1) allowed himself much more extensive interference. Example 5 provides a comparison of an extract from the soprano part of 'Qui tollis' with the same fragment taken from another source; the upper staff represents the original version, the lower one its modification. It is clear that the alterations were made only in the solo sections of the soprano. What remained unchanged were the less challenging sections of tutti. Similarly, the instrumental parts (omitted in the example) were left largely unmodified. Not only do the differences between the versions involve adding diminutions and embellishments (bars 5–6, 14), they also contain simplifications. Most probably, at least some of the transformations stemmed from a wish to adapt this section for a voice with a lower tessitura: ornamentations initially reaching f^2 , g^2 and a^2 (bars 4, 7, 12 and 14–15) were lowered, while the compass was extended downwards with two excursions to d^1 and e^1 (bars 5 and 11).

It was relatively common practice when copying a piece to adjust it to the possibilities of a given group of performers. With regard to procedures typical of the discussed sources, one of them involves exchanging solo vocal parts, especially soprano for tenor. Wind instruments were also treated rather freely, among those most frequently replaced by other instruments, as well as being removed altogether or added;¹² this refers mainly to trumpets, horns and trombones, and less often to flutes and oboes. Furthermore, we quite frequently find several sources of the same composition displaying wholly divergent versions of parts for brass instruments. This compositional state of turmoil in the Catholic area of the Habsburg

¹² The practice of adding instruments doubling the basso continuo is passed over here, as it has been commonly discussed and requires no further elaboration.

Empire may have been aggravated by directives issued as part of Pope Benedict XIV's encyclical *Annus qui*, in 1749, and partly reinstated in Maria Theresa's edict of 1754. Most pertinent to this discussion is the limitation of the use of brass instruments, especially trumpets, in church music.¹³ These guidelines were followed, but reluctantly, and in 1767 they were partly relaxed.¹⁴

SK-I. H 185

Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di mi-se-re-re mi-se-re-re no-bis mi-se-re

CZ-Pnm. XI A 164

Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di mi-se-re-re no-bis mi-se-re-re mi-se-re-re

re no-bis qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di sus-ci-pe de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem de-pre-ca-ti-

no-bis qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di sus-ci-pe de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem de-pre-ca-ti-

-o-nem nos-tram de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem nos-tram qui se-des ad dex-te-rum Pat-ris

-o-nem nos-tram de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem nos-tram qui se-des ad dex-te-rum Pat-ris

Example 5. Two variants of 'Qui tollis' from the *Missa in G* M.G.1, canto, bars 1–17.

Special attention is due, however, to interference penetrating deep into the structure of many compositions. Examples of this procedure are numerous; for instance, in another *Missa in C* (M.C.9), the most elaborate of Ivanschiz's works and one of the longest masses composed at that time in Austria (it comprises 1677 bars; in comparison, Georg Reutter's *Missa Lauretana*, from 1742, consists of 596 bars, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Waisenhausmesse*, K 139, from 1768, has 1112

¹³ Karl Gustav Fellerer, 'Die Enzyklika "Annus qui" des Papstes Benedikt XIV', in Karl Gustav Fellerer (ed.), *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, ii: *Von Tridentium bis zur Gegenwart* (Kassel, 1976), 149–150.

¹⁴ It should be stated here that despite Benedict XIV's ban on the use of any wind instruments apart from the oboe, Maria Theresa mentioned only trumpets and kettledrums as being forbidden, thus giving her permission for other instruments to be used; cf. Jiří Sehnal, 'Trubači a hra na přirozenou trompetu na Moravě v 17. a 18. století' [Trumpeters and trumpet playing in Moravia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries], *Časopis Moravského musea*, 73 (1988), 196–199; Richard Rybářč, 'Con trombe e timpani. Zur Frage der Stilarten der Barockmusik in Mitteleuropa', in Angelo Pompilio et al. (eds.), *Atti del XIV congresso della Società internazionale di musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale: Bologna, 27 agosto-1° settembre 1987, Ferrara-Parma, 30 agosto 1987*, iii (Torino 1990), 194.

bars, and the most expansive liturgical composition by Joseph Haydn, the so-called *Cäcilien-Messe*, Hob. XXII/5, from 1766, extends over 1744 bars).¹⁵ The catalyst for much of the modification was most definitely the uncommonly large size of Ivanschiz's mass. Different sources of this composition, besides rudimentary simplifications and the replacement of longer instrumental ritornellos with shorter ones, display an interesting form of interference that consists in the altering of the order of complete sections of the work whilst retaining the ostensibly unmodified musical material. To illustrate this procedure, it is enough to compare the arrangement of the Kyrie and 'Dona nobis' as represented in four sources (see Table 1) from the Cistercian monastery in Stams, Austria (A-ST, D II 6), the monastery of the Canons Regular in Weyarn, Bavaria (D-FS, WEY-283), and the Benedictine monasteries in St Trudpert, Schwarzwald (D-FRu, Hs. 725) and Fulda (D-F, Mus Hs 1579).

Table 1.

Stams A-ST, D II 6	Weyarn D-FS, WEY-283	St Trudpert D-FRu, Hs. 725	Fulda D-F, Mus Hs 1579
KYRIE			
'Kyrie', Adagio $\frac{3}{4}$ (27 b.) A	'Kyrie', Adagio e (3 b.) D	'Kyrie', Adagio $\frac{3}{4}$ (27 b.) A	—
'Kyrie', Allegro e (57 b.) B	'Kyrie', Allegro e (57 b.) B	—	'Kyrie', Allegro e (57 b.) B
'Christe', Andante $\frac{3}{4}$ (117 b.) C	'Christe', Andante $\frac{3}{4}$ (75 b.) C'	'Christe', Andante $\frac{3}{4}$ (117 b.) C	'Christe', Andante $\frac{3}{4}$ (117 b.) C
'Kyrie', Adagio e (3 b.) D	—	'Kyrie', Adagio e (3 b.) D	—
'Kyrie', Allegro e (79 b.) FUGUE E	'Kyrie', Allegro e (79 b.) FUGUE E	'Kyrie', Allegro e (57 b.) B	'Kyrie', Allegro e (68 b.) E*
DONA NOBIS			
Dona ut Kyrie II FUGUE (?) E/B	Dona ut Kyrie II FUGUE E	'Dona nobis' e (79 b.) FUGUE E	'Dona nobis', Allegro $\frac{3}{4}$ (138 b.) F

The first part of the Ordinary in the Stams manuscript consists of five elements. Kyrie I includes the vocal-instrumental Adagio in the metre of 3/4, playing the role of an elaborate introduction (A), and 'Kyrie' tutti in tempo Allegro and metre C (B). A 'Christe' for soprano solo (C) is followed by Kyrie II, which includes a three-bar introduction (D) and an extended fugue (E). At the end of the Agnus Dei, there is a note 'Dona ut Kyrie Allegro' (sometimes with a later addition '2dum'¹⁶). By convention, at this point we might expect a repeat of the imitative section that

¹⁵ Cf. Bruce C. MacIntyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period*, [Studies in musicology, 89] (Ann Arbor, 1986), 112–117. Regardless of the increased number of bars in M.C.9, partly resulting from the use of 3/8, 3/4 and 2/4 metres, Ivanschiz's work is among the longest Austrian Ordinary settings from around the mid eighteenth century.

¹⁶ In the parts C, A, B, vn II, clno II, timp, org.

ends the first part of the cycle (E). Indeed, the text incipit 'Dona nobis' was first set under this section, but it was deleted from most parts and embedded under 'the second Kyrie', as literally understood, that is, under section B.¹⁷ It seems most likely that this modification was introduced with some delay, perhaps when the imitative technique was held to be outdated.

Another arrangement of slightly altered musical material can be found in the manuscript from Weyarn, now held in the diocesan archive in Freising (D-FS). The mass starts with a short, three-bar introduction *Adagio* (D), which in the Stams source preceded the final fugue. The *Allegro* 'Kyrie' (B) and solo 'Christe' occupy their rightful slots, but the latter is slightly modified: the solo part initially sung by the soprano is transposed down an octave and moved to the part of the tenor; additionally, its introductory and final ritornellos are shortened (from 36 to 9 bars and from 20 to 5 respectively). As in the previous case, the first part of the mass is crowned by the fugue 'Kyrie' (E); here, however, it directly follows the 'Christe'. The end of the *Agnus Dei* includes the request 'Dona nobis ut Kyrie secundum seu fuga' (clno II, org),¹⁸ surely referring to the polyphonic section (E), as is confirmed by remarks at the relevant moment of the Kyrie.¹⁹ It ought to be mentioned here that the copyist made several errors, which shows that this version cannot have been prepared by the composer and might have been produced *ad hoc*, while copying the composition for new parts without reference to the score.

In the third manuscript, from St Trudpert, the sections in question were arranged in yet another way, rather unusual for the mass compositions by Ivanschiz. Similarly to the version from Stams, the composition opens with a 27-bar 'Kyrie' in tempo *Adagio* (A), but it is immediately followed by a solo 'Christe' (C). The next item to be copied was a short *Adagio* (D) of an introductory nature, but contrary to expectation it leads not to the expected final fugue, but to a 57-bar *Allegro* (B), an essential element of Kyrie I in other versions. The question thus arises as to how the copyist solved the problem of 'Dona nobis', originally sung to the music of the fugal section of the Kyrie. The answer is that the fugue concluding the Kyrie was completed only at the end of the *Agnus Dei*, and was provided with the text of 'Dona nobis', being appropriate for this part of the mass.

The fourth version, preserved in an anonymous source belonging to a chapel from Fulda, opens with an *Allegro* 'Kyrie' (B), which is succeeded by the 'Christe' in the original soprano version (C). This ends with a fugue (E) in a slightly shorter form (eleven bars were removed). The mass cycle was also altered from within:

¹⁷ This can be observed in the parts C, A, T, B, vn II, vla; sometimes the comment 'Dona nobis' was retained in both places (B and E): vn I, clno I; on some occasions, it appears only under the fugue (E): clno II, timp, org (in a later duplicate of the organ part only under Kyrie B).

¹⁸ This request is not exactly the same for the different parts; it may take the form of 'Dona nobis ut Kyrie *Allegro* seu fuga' or, for instance, 'Dona nobis ut Kyrie *Secundum* seu ultimum'.

¹⁹ In the parts C, B, vn I, II, vla, clno I.

the sections 'Osanna II' and 'Benedictus' were swapped, and the final 'Amen' from the Credo was abandoned. Interestingly, the original material from the final section of the Credo was used in another part of the composition – at the end of the Agnus Dei, accompanied by the text 'Dona nobis' (F), that is, at the point where other sources had a repeat of the music belonging to the last section of the Kyrie. It is worth pointing out that in catalogues of musical sources that identify compositions by the incipit of the opening section, the versions of the Mass in question (in C major; M.C.9) appear as three separate works, since three different sections open the first Kyrie.

In the case outlined above, separate versions of a composition came into being through alterations to the arrangement of the sections, which to a large extent were not internally modified. Nevertheless, the extant copies of Ivanschiz's works provide examples of major interference *within* individual sections. One of the most interesting transformations of this type can be found in the Kyrie and 'Et resurrexit' from a Mass in G major that is known in two versions (M.G.1a and M.G.1b). Although the vocal parts retain the same material, the instrumental parts are entirely modified. If we compare only the opening sections of the two copies (Example 6a-b), it is difficult to notice that they belong to the same mass. It is only by placing the vocal parts of the Kyrie, and also of other movements of the composition, side by side that we can identify the common source of this vast range of music (Example 6c-d).

a) M.G.1a, SK-J, shelf-mark H 185, Kyrie (introductory ritornello), bars 1–6

b) M.G.1b, PL-Wu, shelf-mark RM 4543, Kyrie (introductory ritornello), bars 1–9

c) M.G.1a, SK-J, shelf-mark H 185, Kyrie, bars 42–47

d) M.G.1b, PL-Wu, shelf-mark RM 4543, Kyrie, bars 55–60

Example 6. Two versions of the *Missa in G*, M.G.1a and M.G.1b

The second version of this composition was only preserved in two sources originating from Wrocław: RM 4543, from St Matthias church, which used to belong to the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, and RM 4544, from the monastery of the Canons Regular on the Sands. The monasteries where the manuscripts were preserved are in the same district, relatively close to each other. What is more, the sources were produced around the same time (1766 and 1770 respectively). Nevertheless, they do not appear to be directly related (that is, the later manuscript is not a copy of the earlier one). The modification probably occurred at an early stage of transmission, as is suggested by numerous discrepancies in the two sources' content. Another important feature, justifying this assumption, is the fact that the most distinct departure from other versions of the composition can be found in the earlier copy rather than the later source.

The setting of 'Et incarnatus' from the same mass also requires detailed discussion (Example 7a-b). It possesses some rare characteristics: both Wrocław

manuscripts give the same scoring, metre and key for this section. Moreover, the incipits of all the parts are identical, although the parts are arranged differently in relation to one another: while the solo bass in RM 4543 should sing from the very beginning of the part, in RM 4544 it enters only after a 27-bar rest.

a) RM 4543, bars 1–7

Et in - car - na - tus et in - car - na - tus est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto ex Ma -

b) RM 4544, bars 28–34

Et in - car - na - tus et in - car - na - tus est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto ex Ma -

Example 7. Two versions of 'Et incarnatus' from the *Missa in G*, M.G.1b

Regardless of some striking similarities crucial to cataloguing, such as analogous incipits, scoring and key, the two compositions develop in completely separate ways: RM 4543 consists of 54 bars, whereas RM 4544 extends to 100 bars. The stylistic features of the shorter version suggest that Father Amandus was not the composer.

Needless to say, a detailed discussion of all the questions relevant to the subject of variants in the copies of sacred music by Ivanschiz exceeds the bounds of this article.²⁰ However, it is still possible to conclude that nearly all the compositions preserved in more than one source display some observable discrepancies between

²⁰ For a comprehensive study of this issue, see: Maciej Jochymczyk, *Twórczość religijna o. Amada Ivanschiza OSPPE* [The church music of Father Amandus Ivanschiz OSPPE], doctoral dissertation, Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University, Kraków 2012.

the various copies of the same piece, which may take the form of deep structural interference. This phenomenon, present in the work of many eighteenth-century composers, differs in degree, becoming most complex in works by composers whose music was very popular, and so copied, reinterpreted and transformed in the process of transmission.

Analysis of the extant variants and separate versions of compositions is inevitably followed by questions of attribution, with the focus on distinguishing changes made by the composer himself from those introduced by later copyists and performers. The group of manuscripts in question clearly shows modifications of both types, but in many cases it proves impossible to distinguish between them. The task is all the more complicated when applied to the music of Amandus Ivanschiz, due to the lack of originals. On the other hand, given the considerable divergence between the shorthand (sketch) character of notational conventions and performance practice, it is presumed today, at least in relation to part of the repertory produced up to end of the eighteenth century, that each notated form of a composition, including the autograph, provided only a set of performing guidelines or one of the versions of the work.²¹ Stanley Boorman summarises the relationship between the musical text and the composition itself in the following way:

The text, as it appears in sources, is not a simple definer of the work: it is a version of the work, carrying elements believed to be essential to that composition, and other elements used to link these together. These other elements gave the copyist and performer wide discretion to change and embellish; but there is no reason to believe that every copyist could identify the essential elements correctly, or that every composer would have minded when the copyist erred.²²

This comparative analysis of the copies of Ivanschiz's compositions helps us to draw conclusions of a more general nature, pertinent to all research into music transmitted through manuscripts. Discrepancies between sources that are observable in all aspects of a composition reveal the creative approach which the musicians of that time adopted to the repertory they had at their disposal. Therefore, it is necessary to be most careful when making inferences about a composer's method or specifying the features of a composition when studying individual, but not original copies. Such situations are not rare; they are, for instance, central to research into virtually the entire repertory of early Polish music.

Translated by Agnieszka Gaj

²¹ See Stanley Boorman, 'The Musical Text', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford, 1999), 416–422; Nicholas Cook, 'At the Borders of Musical Identity: Schenker, Corelli and the Graces', *Music Analysis*, 18/2 (July 1999), 209–210.

²² Boorman, 'The Musical Text', 422.