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“Den Techst vber das geleÿemors Wolkenstainer”

Investigating the Workshop of a Professional Contrafactor

Marc Lewon

It is one of the better-known facts about the oeuvre of Oswald von Wolkenstein that the larger portion of his polyphonic songs consists of contrafacta.¹ Apart from the proven cases, there are several more polyphonic pieces in his manuscripts that are likely contrafacta, even though the model compositions have not yet surfaced or may not have survived: they betray the trademarks of the same international repertoire that Oswald tends to reuse for his own texts. A number of studies since the 1960s have been dedicated to Oswald’s polyphonic contrafacta.² However, in 2001 one of his monophonic songs (*O wunniklicher, wolgezirter mai*, Kl 100) was discovered to be the reworking of a pre-existing song, thus extending contrafacta to his monophonic oeuvre. It is remarkable that the model to this monophonic song is the tenor of a polyphonic piece (Gilles Binchois’s *Triste plaisir*), which makes it feasible that other monophonic melodies in Oswald’s manuscripts were also extracted from polyphonic compositions. Indeed, there are several melodies that could well be candidates as they contain features consistent with the rhythmical and melodical idiosyncrasies of tenor lines.

¹ The contents of this article are part of the author’s dissertation thesis Marc Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music*, D.Phil. Dissertation, Oxford: Oxford 2018, chapters 5.5 and 5.6. See: <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:2a11c52f-52e5-4702-bab6-574d86f1f8bc> (15.12.2019).

² For the historiography on Oswald’s polyphonic songs, see principally Marc Lewon, “Oswald von Wolkenstein: Die mehrstimmigen Lieder”, in: Ulrich Müller and Margarete Springeth (eds.), *Oswald von Wolkenstein. Leben – Werk – Rezeption*, Berlin and New York: De Gruyter 2011, 168–191. Oswald’s songs are numbered according to Karl Kurt Klein’s text edition in the *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*, the so-called “Klein numbers”: Karl Kurt Klein et al. (eds.), *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, 4th completely revised edition by Burghart Wachinger, Berlin: De Gruyter 2015 (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 55).

There is one more song (*Mir dringet zwinget*, Kl 131) that survives only outside Oswald's main manuscripts and without music, which appears to have been planned as a contrafact. Even though it is ascribed to Oswald von Wolkenstein, it was long considered apocryphal in modern scholarship.³ Hans-Dieter Mück provided a detailed description of the source – a miscellaneous manuscript from the second half of the fifteenth century – in his joint article with Hans Ganser.⁴ This song text with its *cantasi come* timbre in the title “Den Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer” (“Wolkenstein's text on *Je loe amours*”) provides a unique glimpse into Oswald's contra-

³ The first editor of Oswald's complete works, Josef Schatz, categorically rejected Oswald's authorship of this text in the introduction to his edition. See Josef Schatz and Oswald Koller (eds.), *Oswald von Wolkenstein: geistliche und weltliche Lieder, ein- und mehrstimmig*, Wien: Artaria & Co. 1902 (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 9). Werner Marold and Christoph Petzsch, in 1926 and in 1963 respectively, supported this view with further, though contradicting, arguments. See Werner Marold, *Kommentar zu den Liedern Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, ed. by Alan Robertshaw, Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik 1995 (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft. Germanistische Reihe 52), 293–294 – publication of Marold's dissertation from 1926 – and Christoph Petzsch, “Rezension”, in: *Germanistik* 4 (1963), 644–645. The song text is listed in the Oswald text edition of the *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek* in the appendices (“Lieder außerhalb der Haupthandschriften”) as number Kl 131: Klein et al. (eds.), *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein* (see n. 2), 322–323. For a description of the source with a black and white depiction of the page in question (135) see Hans-Dieter Mück (ed.), *Oswald von Wolkenstein. Streuüberlieferung*, Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag 1985 (Litterae. Göppinger Beiträge zur Textgeschichte 36), 11–12 (description) and 53 (facsimile). For a summarising discussion, see Hans-Dieter Mück and Hans Ganser, “*Den Techst vbr' das geleyemors wolkens-tain. Oswalds von Wolkenstein Liedtext Kl. 131 im Cgm 4871 und Gilles Binchois' Chan-son Je loe amours. Mit einem Anhang: Konkordanztabelle zu Oswalds Kontrafakturvorlagen*”, in: Franz Viktor Spechtler (ed.), *Lyrik des ausgehenden 14. und des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Amsterdam: Rodopi 1984 (Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis 1), 115–148: 117–119. In 2000, Burghart Wachinger published a revised and corrected text of the contrafact and in his re-assessment confirmed that the text is probably by Oswald von Wolkenstein. See Burghart Wachinger, “*Ma dame Mercye und swarz meidlin. Zwei-felhaftes am Randes Œuvres Oswalds von Wolkenstein*”, in: Dorothea Klein and Horst Brunner (eds.), *Vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Festschrift für Horst Brunner*, Wiesbaden: Reichert 2000, 403–422: 408–414.

⁴ Mück/Ganser, “*Den Techst vbr' das geleyemors wolkenstain*” (see n. 3).

faction process (see Figure 1). A close look elicits a questioning of long held beliefs regarding this process and results in the suggestion of new interpretations and performance solutions.

In the first part of this chapter, I will use the classic example of Francesco Landini's *Questa fanciull' amor* and Oswald's reworkings of it in *Mein herz, das ist versert* (Kl 65) and *Weiss, rot, mit brawn verleucht* (Kl 66) to consider how modern scholarship understood his contrafaction process. This process was the basis that resulted in two alternative text underlays for *Mir dringet zwinget* (Kl 131, "Den Techst vber das geleÿemors Wolkenstainer") published first by Mück/Ganser in the same article (see above), and shortly after by Lorenz Welker.⁵ In a second step I will question the premises and provide new solutions for a recombination of this text and its alleged music.

Oswald's contrafacta as a rule are not marked and his models not identified in his manuscripts. A rare exception is the rubric to the tenor of *Der mai mit lieber zal* in Wolkenstein Manuscript A (WolkA),⁶ in which the model ("Permontes foys") is cited. This rubric suggests that *Der mai mit lieber zal* was a Latin contrafact that had already been reworked. The incipit is Latinised in the same way as it appears in a parallel version in the St Emmeram codex (*Per montes foys ad honorem*).⁷ Another exception is the cryptic rubric "Skak" to *Frölich geschrai so well wir machen* in WolkA.⁸ "Skak" appears similarly in several other German codices,⁹ and the word might indicate an instrument associated with the original chanson *Qui contre fortune*: an

⁵ Ibid. and Lorenz Welker, "New Light on Oswald von Wolkenstein: Central European Traditions and Burgundian Polyphony", in: *Early Music History* 7 (1987), 187–226: 203–207 und 225–226 (edition). Wachinger (see n. 3) accepts Mück/Ganser's and Welker's assumption of a tenor contrafact.

⁶ Kl 50, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2777 (Wolkenstein Manuscript A, hereafter: A-Wn 2777 or WolkA), fol. 20r.

⁷ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. mon. 14275 (Codex St. Emmeram, hereafter: D-Mbs Clm 14275), fol. 27v.

⁸ Kl 54, A-Wn 2777 (WolkA), fol. 21v.

⁹ For a list, see David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, New York: Oxford University Press 1999, 345–346.

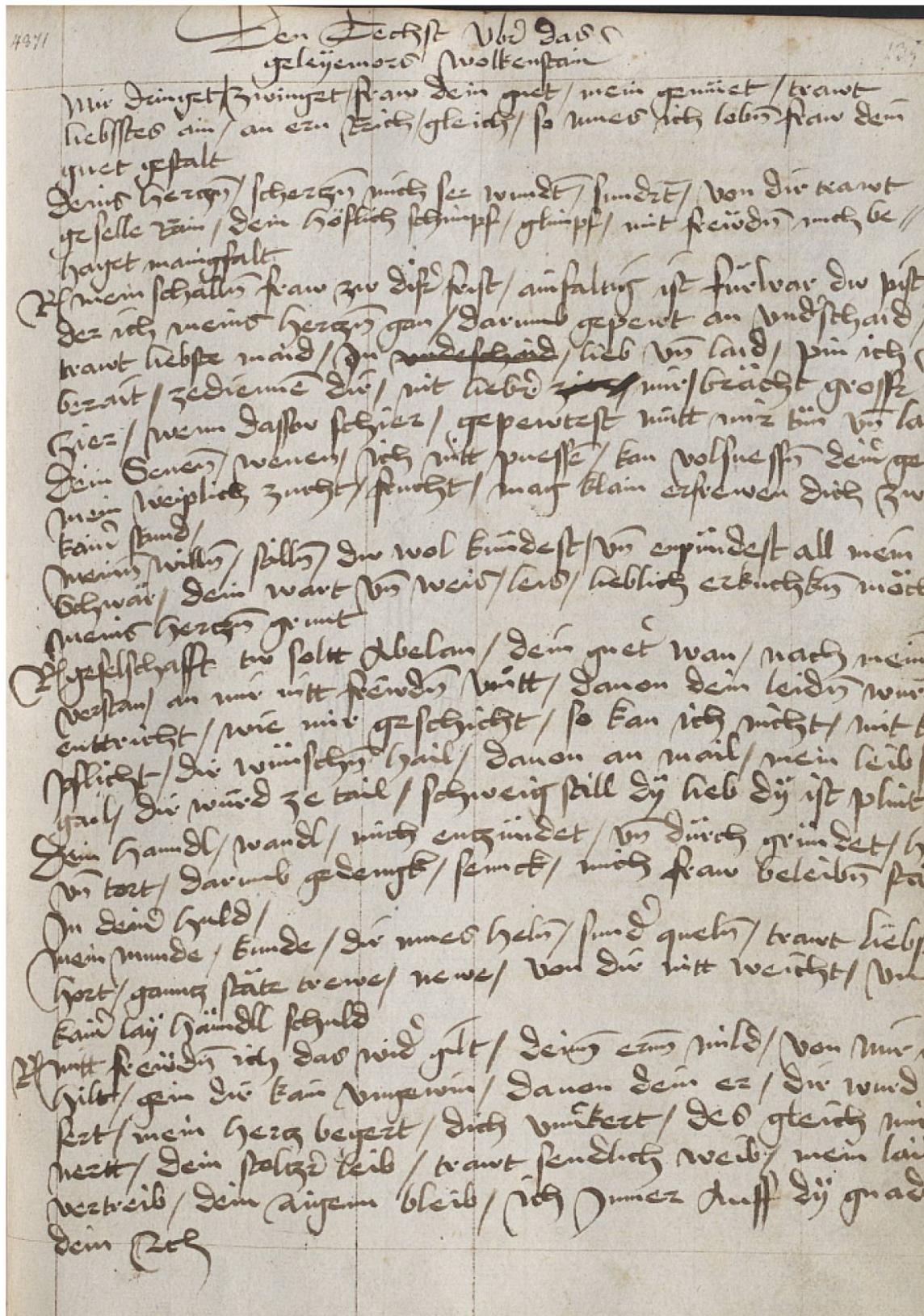


Figure 1: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. germ. mon. 4871 (Lohengrin Manuscript, hereafter: D-Mbs cgm 4871), p. 135: Oswald text Kl 131 “Den Techst vber das geleÿemors Wolkenstainer”: *Mir dringet zwinget*.

exchiquier.¹⁰ *Mir dringet zwinget* is the last of the exceptions where the model is cited in the title.¹¹

Models for 16 of Oswald's 37 polyphonic pieces can be traced in French and Italian sources, and I suspect 10 more to be contrafacta of such chansons.¹² From the middle of the twentieth century until well into the 1980s, modern scholarship has largely accepted the idea that Oswald followed certain patterns when reworking his models. Musicologists have assumed that Oswald only borrowed the cantus and tenor from his models, thus reducing the often three- and four-voice exemplars to their contrapuntal core. Scholars have also concluded that he moved the texted part from the cantus to the tenor, thus making a "Tenorlied" out of a cantus-texted setting (discantus song, or "Kantilensatz") and that he ignored the original form, usually a forme fixe, by cutting it to a simple AB-form with multiple strophes. Scholars have discussed for several decades how many of these interventions were Oswald's conscious decisions. This discussion also includes the question of his direct exemplars. One hypothesis is that Oswald became acquainted with his models on his long travels – particularly in the wake of the Council of Constance – and that after returning home to South Tyrol he had them picked out from local song collections to create his contrafacta.¹³ A complementary suggestion was that Oswald's models might have come to him in an already reworked form, for instance as Latin contrafacta.¹⁴ In such a form,

¹⁰ Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1350–1500*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press 1993, 260.

¹¹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. germ. mon. 4871 (Lohengrin Manuscript, hereafter: D-Mbs Cgm 4871), 135.

¹² None of these, however, could yet be verified. For a list with proven and suspected contrafacta, see Lewon, "Die mehrstimmigen Lieder" (see n. 2), 189–191, though Kl 93 ("Herz, prich") is here listed under the 'organum-like' pieces. This song might actually be added to the list of suspicious contrafacta candidates.

¹³ Erika Timm, *Die Überlieferung der Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, Lübeck and Hamburg: Matthiesen Verlag 1972 (Germanische Studien 242).

¹⁴ Strohm, *Rise* (see n. 10), 120–121, shows that a number of manuscripts produced in German speaking lands are closer to the selection and notation of Oswald's contrafacta than the "original" French sources. Lorenz Welker, "Die Überlieferung französischer Chansons in der Handschrift 2777 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Wolken-

most of the changes to the original composition might already have been made before Oswald got in touch with his model. For example, the models themselves might already have been contrafacta in a different language (possibly even more textually dense than the original), with a reduction in the number of voices. A telling example is Oswald's contrafact on the anonymous virelai *Par maintes foys*. It is transmitted several times and in different versions as a sacred Latin contrafact in German sources of the early fifteenth century.¹⁵ Even the texting of the tenor, as opposed to the cantus, might have been anticipated by a model that was already a contrafact in itself. The splitting up of note values – a feature so common to Oswald's reworkings – is also a typical feature of other Central European Latin contrafacta. A case in point is *Virginem mire pulchritudinis*, contrafacted from the anonymous ballade *A discort sont desir et Esperance*, although here, as in *Par maintes foys*, texted voice stays in the cantus. Another example that predates Oswald is the German contrafact on the three-voice chasse *Umblemens vos pri merchi* by the Monk of Salzburg as *Ju, ich jag nacht und tag*. This song employs a multitude of split notes to accommodate the much denser contrafacted text, and is very similar to Oswald's reworkings, especially to his canonic pieces. Reinhard Strohm has proposed that Oswald "would have learnt the foreign songs

stein-Handschrift A)", in: Birgit Lodes (ed.), *Wiener Quellen der Älteren Musikgeschichte zum Sprechen gebracht. Eine Ringvorlesung*, Tutzing: Hans Schneider 2007 (Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 1), 311–330: 320, speaks of a "mitteleuropäischen Rezeptionsfilter" ("Central European reception filter") that these pieces passed before they came to Oswald. Carola Hertel-Geay, "Oswalds Vorlagen in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n.a.f. 6771", in: Christian Berger (ed.), *Oswald von Wolkenstein. Die Rezeption eines internationalen Liedrepertoires im deutschen Sprachbereich um 1400*, Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach Verlag 2011 (Rombach Wissenschaften. Reihe Voces 14), 33–44, discusses Oswald's reactions to the incipits of already contrafacted pieces, suggesting that he knew them in an already reworked form.

¹⁵ Christian Berger, "Edition ausgewählter Lieder Oswalds und ihrer Vorlagen", in: Berger, *Oswald von Wolkenstein. Die Rezeption eines internationalen Liedrepertoires* (see n. 14), 97–192; see here: "KL. 50 Johannes Vaillant, "Par maintes foys"; Oswald, "Der mai mit lieber zal" (KL. 50); Anonymous, "[P]er maintes foys / Ad honorem" (two versions surviving in D-Mbs Clm 14275 and in the Basel Fragments: Staatsarchiv des Kantons Basel-Stadt, hereafter: Fragment CH-Bst), 144–163.

by heart (perhaps not with all their voices), and then shaped his new poems for them."¹⁶ Anna Maria Busse-Berger has picked up and expanded this idea, imagining a process of contrafaction for Oswald, which works mainly by memory and is only later and in a second step brought to parchment.¹⁷

The example of Francesco Landini's *Questa fanciull' amor* demonstrates how Oswald's process of contrafaction is assumed to have worked.¹⁸ Landini's three-voice ballata in the Panciatichi Codex is texted only in the cantus, while the tenor and contratenor are untexted.¹⁹ Oswald's contrafact *Mein herz, das ist versert* in his B manuscript (WolkB) presents the song with two voices, leaving out the contratenor, with only the tenor texted.²⁰ The original ballata form is exchanged for a simple AB-form with three strophes.

This case demonstrates that Oswald's contrafacta cannot be discerned solely by their texts. In the past they could only be identified by their music. Contrary to the assumption that a formal compliance coupled with textual references exposes a contrafact – a method often employed by previous scholars to detect German contrafacta of trouvère and trobador songs – Oswald's reworkings differ so fundamentally in their form from his models that a relationship cannot be assumed without the knowledge of the melodies. This argument applies even to cases where the amount of text between model and contrafact is comparable, as in *Questa fanciull' amor/Mein herz, das ist versert*. As has been stated above, the transmissions of only three of Oswald's contrafacta include hints to their models – each in only one manuscript.

¹⁶ Strohm, *Rise* (see n. 10), 120.

¹⁷ Anna Maria Busse Berger, "Wie hat Oswald von Wolkenstein seine Kontrafakta angefertigt?", in: Matteo Nanni (ed.), *Music and Culture in the Age of the Council of Basel*, Turnhout: Brepols 2013, 197–212.

¹⁸ Leaving aside the question whether Oswald knew his models as they came down to us in the French and Italian chansonniers or if he was working from already reworked versions, this example will use the standard transmissions of the Landini ballata, as were previously employed in scholarship.

¹⁹ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichiano 26 (Panciatichi Codex, hereafter: I-Fn Panc. 26), fol. 22v.

²⁰ Kl 65, Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol, s.s. (Wolkenstein Manuscript B, hereafter: A-Iu s.s. or WolkB), fol. 28v.

One of these exceptions is the song *Mir dringet zwinget* (Kl 131) with the title “Den Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer”, which was recognised as a song by Oswald von Wolkenstein in the nineteenth century by Karl Bartsch.²¹ It was only in the twentieth century that the *cantasi come* instruction “geleyemors” was decrypted as Binchois’s *Je loe amours*.²² This corrupted incipit appears in similar forms in other German collections, such as the Lochamer Liederbuch and the Buxheimer Orgelbuch. All versions in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch are keyboard reworkings of Binchois’s three-voice ballade, and one title in the tablature part of the Lochamer Liederbuch (“Gelendemours”) indicates that this chanson was known to the scribe as a keyboard tablature. “Gelendemours” was apparently identified as a misnomer and subsequently crossed out to be replaced by the rubric “Tenor Anavois” for the tablature of the rondeau *Une foys avant que morir*. A second occurrence of this piece in the Lochamer Liederbuch appears at the end of the song part with the same corrupted title (“Geleymors”). It is a Latin contrafact of the tenor line of *Je loe amours*, written in stroke notation with the incipit “Ave dulce tu frumentum”. Since this reworking appears to employ a process comparable to Oswald’s practice of contrafaction, it will be used below as a model for a new underlay of Oswald’s text on the same chanson.

In the 1980s two musicologists attempted to reunite Oswald’s “Mir dringet zwinget” with its music. The first one was Hans Ganser, who presented a text underlay in cooperation with the German scholar Hans-Dieter Mück in 1984.²³ According to Oswald’s assumed contrafaction principles laid out above, Mück/Ganser put the text in the tenor, split numerous note values in order to accommodate the considerable amount of syllables, and provided three performance options: a monophonic version with the tenor alone, a two-voice version with a textless (in their view synonymous to ‘instrumental’) cantus, and finally a three-voice version with an additional, textless contratenor. With the suggestion of a monophonic contrafact, Mück/Ganser

²¹ Karl Bartsch, “Kleinere Mitteilungen. 5. Zum Lohengrin”, in: *Germania* 7 (1862), 274–275.

²² See Petzsch, “Rezension” (see n. 3).

²³ See Mück/Ganser, “Den Techst vbr’ das geleyemors wolkenstain” (see n. 3), 142–143.

anticipated a practice that would be substantiated just over 15 years later with the discovery of the above-mentioned monophonic contrafact by Oswald on a Binchois tenor.²⁴ This new find also dispelled earlier doubts repeated by Mück/Ganser that Oswald could have known the chansons by the much younger Binchois.

In 1987 Lorenz Welker had already faced these same doubts when he offered an alternative tenor texting. He showed that Binchois's *Je loe amours* in the Oxford Codex is surrounded by other Burgundian chansons that were also contrafacted by Oswald, namely *A son plaisir* (Oswald's *Vierhundert jar*) and *La plus jolie* (Oswald's *Wer die ougen will verschüren*).²⁵ Therefore, Welker assumed that Oswald probably knew *Je loe amours*. Welker based his version on the same premises as Mück/Ganser, also placing his text under the tenor, but left open the question of a monophonic or a polyphonic contrafact. Welker solely focused on the form and the numerous split note values in Mück/Ganser's version, which he considered unidiomatic and in need of a different solution. In order to evaluate the two different approaches, it should be understood that the ballade *Je loe amours* with its repeated A-section and elongated clos-ending is reproduced by Oswald's text. Like Binchois's text, Oswald's text has two A-sections of equal length. That Oswald would imitate the ballade form seems an obvious choice, since the German "Kanzenenstrophe" (bar form), a standard since the time of Minnesang and a form well known to Oswald, has the same structure. Mück/Ganser's approach, like the model, consequently allowed for a textless melisma at the end of the second A-section. Welker argued that this solution is not inconceivable, but is atypical for Oswald's verbose contrafacta, which tend to text original melismas. In contrast to the texted sections with their plenitude of split notes, these untexted melismas in Mück/Ganser's version stand out. Welker argued that Oswald might instead have placed the repetition at the end of the second A-section, which would have given him more notes at his disposal for the text underlay, requiring fewer note splits.

²⁴ Rainer Böhm, "Entdeckung einer französischen Melodievorlage zum Lied *O wunniklicher, wolgezirter mai* (Kl. 100) von Oswald von Wolkenstein", in: *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft* 13 (2001), 269–278.

²⁵ Welker, "New Light on Oswald" (see n. 5), 203–207 and 225–226 (edition).

Je loe amours
(Binchois, Oxford)

Mück/Ganser 1984

Welker 1987

4

lieb - sstes _ ain ____ an ern ____ reich gleich so mues ich lo - ben fraw deinn
trawt ge - sel - le rain ____ dein hōf - lich schimpf glimpf mit frew - den mich be - ha - get
zwin - scher - - - get - - - fraw - - - dein - - - guet - - - mein - - - ge - müt trawt lieb - sstes -
scher - - - czen - - - mich - - - ser - - - wun - dert sun - dert von dir trawt ge - sel - le

9

guet - ge - stalt
ma - nig - falt

Rp. mein

ain an ern ____ reich
rain dein hōf - lich schimpf

gleich so mues - ich
glimpf mit frew - den mich

lo - ben fraw - dein guet ge - stalt.
be - ha - get ma - nig - falt.

16

schal - len fraw zw di - ser frist ain - fal - tig ist für war dw pist der ich meins her - czen

Mein schal - len fraw zu di - ser frist ain - fal - tig ist für war dw

Ex. 1: Comparative edition of the original tenor of Binchois's chanson and the text underlays by Mück/Ganser and Welker. Split notes are marked blue, changed rhythmical values are noted in orange.

22

gan dar-umb ge - pewt an vn - der schaid -
pist der ich meins her - czen gan da - rumb ge - pewt an un - der - schaid

28

trawt lieb - ste maid ___ Jn
trawt lieb - ste maid in lieb und laid pin ich ___ be - rait ___ ze

34

lieb vnd laid pin ich be - rait ze - dien - nen dir nit lie - ber mir brächt
dien - nen dir nit lie - ber mir brächt gros - - ser zier ___ wenn

38

grosser czier wenn dass - tw schier ge - pew - test mütt mir tün vnd lan.
dass - tw schier ge - - pew - test mitt mir ___ tun und lan.

Ex. 1: (continued).

The comparison between Welker's and Mück/Ganser's versions (see Ex. 1) reveals that the latter has the most split notes (blue). Mück/Ganser's version on the one hand respects most of the word stresses of Oswald's text; nevertheless, it also ignores verse cadences and syntactic correlations to such a degree that some sections of the song become a relentless string of words. Furthermore, numerous repeated notes (a result of the multitude of split values) render the melody hardly memorable, contrasting it unfavourably with sudden leaps, the most prominent of which encompasses a whole octave in the middle of a sentence. Even for an adept performer this version would present several stumbling blocks, making it one of Oswald's least refined tenor contrafacta.

Just as the Monk of Salzburg had done in his *Ju, ich jag*, Oswald sometimes employs multiple tone repetitions by splitting longer note values. However, this feature is always incorporated with utmost attention to the rhythm of the text, and by maintaining a transparent melodic line. The opening bars of his contrafact on the anonymous rondeau *En tes doulz flans* serve to prove the point (see Ex. 2).

Welker's version (see Ex. 1, third system) requires fewer split notes, yet the words often fall on awkward positions in the musical rhythm or melodic line, so that part of the texting appears almost arbitrary. This is a clear example for a case where it is not sufficient merely to have enough notes at one's disposal to accommodate the syllables. They also need to fall on convenient places in the melody and alongside the rhythm. A comparison with Oswald's monophonic contrafact on Binchois's *Triste plaisir*, his *O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai*, exemplifies how Oswald might have dealt sensibly with existing rhythmical structures such as cadential hemiolas and at the same time highlights instances where melismas of his models have been preserved – in this case, the initial melisma (see Ex. 3).

Both Welker's and Mück/Ganser's text underlays also feature formal variations in the text between the first and the second A-sections, which casts doubt on the edited text's accuracy. This problem needs to be addressed before the text can be underlaid sensibly. A comparison of the two A-sections (the two 'Stollen', which make up the 'Aufgesang') suggests a metrical analysis in which verses 3 and 4 of the first A-section feature oxytonic verse cadences, while the same place in the second A-section has a paroxytonic cadence and a reversed rhyme (shown in bold in Table 1).

Anonymous

1.4.7. En _____

Wolkenstein

1. Frö - lich, zärt - lich, liep - lich und klär - lich,

5

tes _____ doulz _____ flans

lust - lich, stil - le, leis - - se,

Ex. 2: Beginning of the anonymous rondeau *En tes doulz flans* from the Reina Codex (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, hereafter: F-Pnm NAF 6771, fol. 77v) with the beginning of Oswald's contrafact of the tenor line, *Frölich, zärtlich, lieplich und klärlich* (WolkA, fol. 33v–34r) in a synoptic edition. Split notes are marked blue. For a new edition of Oswald's "Frölich, zärtlich, lieplich und klärlich", see Marc Lewon (ed.), *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Songs of Myself. Eine ausführlich kommentierte Anthologie von Oswald Liedern mit einem Vorwort von Andreas Scholl*, Basel: Terem-Music 2016, 21–25. This song is another example of either transposed modality or missing accidentals in the Wolkenstein Codices (see commentary to the edition).

An examination of the second and third strophes confirms that the verses in question should actually have a paroxytonic cadence and end with the same rhyme (Table 1 gives only the first and second strophes, but the third strophe has the same structure as the second). This means that formal corruptions

Ex. 3: Beginning of Gilles Binchois's *Triste plaisir* (text by Alain Chartier) from the Oxford Codex (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213, hereafter: GB-Ob MS. Canon. Misc. 213, fol. 56v) and Oswald's contrafact of the tenor alone, *O wunniklicher, wolgezirter mai* (WolkB, fol. 40r-v) in a synoptic edition.

must have crept into the first strophe, possibly in the process of compilation. Such rearrangements, enhancements or contractions of verses appear regularly in German lyric manuscripts of the fifteenth century and especially so in the Lochamer Liederbuch.²⁶ I suggest the following corrections to restore the metric flow of the poem:

²⁶ Christoph Petzsch, *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Studien*, München: C. H. Beck 1967 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 19), see

A
 fraw dein güete
 mein gemüete

A'
 mich ser wundert
 von dir sundert

strophe 1	strophe 2		
A	A		
1. Mir dringet	1wa	1. Dein Senenn	1wa
2. zwinget	1wa	2. wenen	1wa
3. fraw dein guet	2mb	3. ich nitt puessen	2wb
4. mein gemüet	2mb	4. kan volsuessen	2wb
5. trawt liebsstes ain	2mc	5. deiner ger	2mc
6. an ern reich	2md	6. mein weiplich zucht	2md
7. gleich	1md	7. frucht	1md
8. so mues ich loben fraw deinn guet gestalt.	5me	8. mag klain erfrewen dich zw kainer stund.	5me
A'	A'		
1. Deins herczen	1wf	1. Meinen willen	1wf
2. scherczen	1wf	2. stillen	1wf
3. mich ser wundert	2wg	3. du wol kündest	2wg
4. sundert von dir	[2wg]	4. vnd enpündest	2wg
5. trawt geselle rain	3mc	5. all mein schwär	3mc
6. dein höflich schimpf	2mh	6. dein wort vnd weis	2mh
7. glimpf	1mh	7. leis	1mh
8. mit frewden mich behaget man- igfalt.	5me	8. lieblich erkuchken möcht meins herczen grunt.	5me

Table 1: Comparative text edition of the 'Aufgesang' (repeated A-sections) of the first two strophes of "Den Techst vber das geleÿemors Wolkenstainer". The metrically problematic sections are highlighted in bold letters: Compare the verse cadences and rhymes of lines 3 and 4 in both 'Stollen' (A-sections) of both strophes.

On this textual basis, and with the insights gained from observing Oswald's instinct for melodic and rhythmic subtleties, a new text underlay may be

especially chapter II, *Zu einzelnen Liedern* with the sections on "Weiterdichten" ("embellishment") and "Umformen" ("transformation").

Binchois (Oxford)

Kontrafaktur (Lochamer)

A, — ave dul-ce —

7

— tu fru - men - - - tum in vir - gi - ne

13

quod in - ven - - - tum cru - cis — ve - nit —

18

ad tor - men - - - tum no - - bis in so -

23

-la - - ci - um. A - ve sa - lus a - ni - ma - rum

28

man - na cla - - rum ca - - ro ca - rens ca - - ri -

Ex. 4: Comparative edition of Binchois's tenor of *Je loe amours* (Oxford Codex) and the anonymous *Ave dulce tu frumentum* from the Lochamer Liederbuch.

33

e con - se - cra - ta sed ve - la - ta

38

que stat sub - pa - nis spe - ci - e.

Ex. 4: (continued).

attempted. One may dismiss such an undertaking as a mere intellectual exercise with no merits beyond personal entertainment or the practical musician's desire for a performable edition. However, the question of whether Oswald's text can actually be set sensibly to the music of any particular line of Binchois's chanson can only be answered when the trained experience of a performer is involved. Such hypothetical reconstructions may lead to new and unexpected questions from the realm of performance and orality and thus open up new discussions, which can bring the subject matter back to the realm of verifiable scholarship. A new attempt at text underlay should also accommodate the aforementioned contrafact on the same chanson from the Lochamer Liederbuch: *Ave dulce tu frumentum* (see Ex. 4).

The original rhythmical structure of the tenor has largely been maintained in this reworking. The amount of text is less than the original and at the same time much less than in Oswald's contrafact, which seems to speak against their comparability. Nevertheless, *Ave dulce tu frumentum* contains valuable information on how to treat the original tenor in a monophonic reworking. One of the most striking features is the ornamentation of the cadences and at the same time the elimination of the hemiolas (bars 4, 9, 15, 20, 24, 27, 33, 37, 39, and 42). This is a feature that is very typical for the adaptations in the Lochamer Liederbuch, but at the same time is very atypical of Oswald's contrafacta. Oswald seems to show particular care in preserving the pre-cadential hemiolas of his models. The reworking of these pre-

cadential rhythms in the Lochamer Liederbuch contrafact will therefore be excluded for the task at hand. Other notable changes to the model include split note values (blue), which seem to be not only motivated by the text underlay, but are occasionally used to smooth the rhythmic flow. Passing notes are introduced to soften melodic leaps (orange), which are particularly noticeable in mitigating the effects of the octave leap. Formal aspects are also slightly altered. The contrafact still features the repeat sign in the same place as Binchois's chanson (bar 10), but since no new text is provided, it seems that this sign is merely a remnant from the exemplar, and the A-section of the contrafact ends with the texting of the originally untexted clos-melisma at the signum congruentiae (bar 16). The initial melisma is a completely new feature, which is not in the model. Such melismas feature in many chansons of the time and also in Oswald's songs, both monophonic and polyphonic.

On the basis of these observations, I have worked out a new text underlay for the Binchois tenor with Oswald's *Mir dringet zwinget*. The choices to maintain a melisma at the beginning and to text the clos-melisma have been based on *Ave dulce tu frumentum*. My decision to use the clos-melisma for both A-sections has been inspired by Welker. Individual melodic leaps have been softened again following the example of *Ave dulce tu frumentum* and the performance rhythm has been adjusted towards a regularly alternating 'reference rhythm',²⁷ as demonstrated by Mück/Ganser, which supports the flow of Oswald's text. The rhymes and verse lines have been placed on the melody in a way that supports textual form and syntactic correlations. It may be that Oswald had planned even more substantial changes of the melody in order to streamline his version, as was done in the Lochamer Liederbuch for *Ave dulce tu frumentum*. It is also possible that he had a version that was already arranged and smoothed out for monophonic performance.²⁸ How-

²⁷ For a comprehensive explanation of the concept of 'reference rhythm', see chapters "1.1 Genuine Monophonic Songs and 'Reference Rhythm'" and "4.1.3 Reference Rhythm and Dance", in: Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music* (see n. 1), 26–30 and 204–210 (particularly fn. 244).

²⁸ More examples for the rearrangement and diminution of a tenor line for the purpose of monophonic performance can be observed in the monophonic French chansonniers Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12744 (hereafter: F-Pn f. fr. 12744) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 9346 (Chansonnier

ever, in the following edition (see Ex. 5), I have attempted to keep the adjustments to a minimum.

This solution may be more organic and idiomatic than the previous experiments, but it requires a number of changes in order to fit the melody into a monophonic song, and nevertheless it fails ultimately to satisfy. The long note values of the original line aid neither melody nor contrafact text. Even in this new underlay, they require many split notes and thus tone repetitions as well as frequent melodic leaps. Either the melody would have to be altered drastically to balance the setting, or a fresh look at Oswald's contrafacta may be necessary. In the remaining sections of this article I will consider this latter option.

Reconsidering Oswald's Contrafaction Process

All attempts of a text underlay for Oswald's "geleyemors" have so far operated upon the assumption that the text was written for the tenor. This assumption has been made regardless of whether the contrafact was intended to be monophonic or polyphonic, just as Oswald's principles for contrafacta seem to dictate (see above). These premises will be put to the test with the following empirical analysis. For this purpose, I shall consult the prime example for Oswald's process of contrafaction, his previously cited *Mein herz, das ist versert* on Landini's *Questa fanciull' amor*, in order to deconstruct the methods of earlier attempts and to demonstrate that the processes involved have been overly simplified in past scholarship.

The sources for models and reworkings quoted above (Panciatichi Codex and WolkB) seem to complement the idea that Oswald took a cantus-texted setting, reduced the chanson to its core of cantus and tenor, and wrote a new text for the tenor alone while ignoring the original forme fixe. The principles do not seem as straightforward after a look into the parallel trans-

Bayeux, hereafter: F-Pn f.fr. 9346; see especially the monophonic version of *Triste plaisir*) ca. 1500, and a number of 'Tenors' in the Lochamer Liederbuch, such as no. 2 *Wach auf mein hort* and the remaining two Latin contrafacta: no. I, 2 *Mit willen fraw – Vale cibus salutaris* and no. I, 3 *Stüblein – Virginalis flos vernalis*.

Binchois
(Oxford)

Lewon
(2017)

Mir; _____ mir drin-get, zwin-get,
«Deins, _____ deins her-zen scher-zen

7

frau, dein güe - te mein ge - müe - te, traut lieb - stes ain _____ an
mich ser wun - dert, von dir sun - dert, traut gesel - le rain. _____ dein

11

e - ren reich. gleich so mues ich lo - ben, frau, deinn guet — ge - stalt. Rp. Mein
höf - lich schimpf glimpf mit freu - den mich be - tra - get ma - - nig - falt.»

17

schal - len, frau, zu di - ser frist ain fal - - tig ist. _____ für

22

war du pist, der ich meins her-zen gan. _____ da-rumb ge-peut an un - der -

28

- schaid, — traut lieb - ste maid, in lieb und laid pin ich be - rait — ze dien - nen

Ex. 5: Comparative edition of Binchois's tenor of *Je loe amours* (Oxford Codex) and Lewon's new text underlay. The text was taken the new, normalised edition by Klein et al., *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, 322 (see n. 1) and it was amended according to the analysis in Table 1.

34

dier. nit lie - ber mir brächt grös - ser zier, wenn

39

dass - tu schier ge - peu - test heint mir tuen und lan.

Ex. 5: (continued).

missions. In the Squarcialupi codex,²⁹ Landini's song is fully texted in both cantus and tenor, and Oswald's version in WolkA features individual words clearly placed under certain notes. These observations indicate that a complete texting of the cantus line was intended. This is by no means the only case where Oswald's two main manuscripts send ambiguous signals. Reasons for this discrepancy between WolkA and WolkB may be specific layout principles for one of the manuscripts (WolkB), or the manuscripts' individual proximity to or distance from performance. The decision in WolkB to leave all cantus voices that do not strictly require a text underlay untexted might have two reasons. First, leaving them untexted would clean up and standardise the layout in order to make the manuscript more prestigious. Second, leaving them untexted might have better reflected Oswald's own mode of performance, where he might have sung the texted tenor line – simply because it was his own voice range – and might have had the accompanying lines performed instrumentally.

A statistical analysis will show how many of Oswald's proven contrafacta actually follow the principles laid out above. The following list contains all known contrafacta by Oswald.

²⁹ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Mediceo Palatino 87 (Codex Squarcialupi, hereafter: I-Fl MS Mediceo Palatino 87), fol. 138r.

Kl no.	incipit	No red.	texted voices	original form
46	<i>Du ausserweltes schöns mein herz</i>	A, B	c	<u>ballade</u>
47	<i>Fröleichen so well wir</i>	—	t	ballade
48	<i>Stand auff Maredel! – Frau ich enmag</i>	A	c & t	rondeau
50	<i>Der mai mit lieber zal</i>	—	c	<u>virelai</u>
52	<i>Wolauff, gesell! wer jagen well</i>	A, B	c & t	<u>ballade</u>
53	<i>Frölich, zärtlich, lieplich und klärlich</i>	—	c & t	rondeau
54	<i>Frölich geschrai, so wel wir machen</i>	A	c	rondeau
56	<i>Tröstlicher hort – Frölich das tún ich</i>	A, B	c & t	<u>virelai/ballade</u>
62	<i>Von rechter lieb krafft – Sag an, gesellschafft</i>	A, B	c & t	rondeau
65/66	<i>Mein herz, das ist versert / Weiss, rot mit brawn</i>	—	c & t	ballata
70	<i>Her wiert, uns dürstet</i>	A, B	—	<u>canon</u>
72	<i>Die minne</i>	A, B	—	<u>canon</u>
88	<i>Vier hundert jar auff erd</i>	—	t	rondeau
100	<i>O wunniklicher, wolgezirter mai</i>	—	t	rondeau
103	<i>Wer die ougen wil verschüren</i>	A —	t	rondeau
107	<i>Kom, liebster man</i>	A, B	t	rondeau
109	<i>Ave mater / Ave, mütter</i>	A, B	t	<u>lauda (AB)</u>

Table 2: All known contrafacta by Oswald von Wolkenstein. The columns from left to right provide first the Klein number for each contrafact followed by Oswald's song incipit. The songs Kl 48, 56, and 62 comprise double texted songs, whose incipits are separated by a dash. The songs Kl 65/66 and Kl 109 have two texts each for the same music and thus constitute distinct songs, whose incipits are here separated by a slash. The third column ("no reduction") lists the Oswald manuscript sigla in which the number of voices for the song in question was not reduced for the contrafact. A crossed out sigla means that the song is not in that manuscript. The fourth column names the voices that have a text underlay in at least one of the two manuscripts (c = texted cantus, t = texted tenor). Since this category does not apply for canons, it is omitted for Kl 70 and Kl 72. The fifth column lists the forms of Oswald's models. All those that are underlined were also used for the contrafact, all those not underlined have a divergent form in Oswald's contrafact.

It is no surprise that most of the original chansons to these contrafacta are rondeaux (see right column of Table 2). When all original forms that Oswald had adopted in his reworkings are marked by underlining, one conclusion emerges: he ignored rondeau forms. This point also comes as no surprise, since, barring a few exceptions, there is no true German equivalent to

this form.³⁰ In contrast, Oswald observed most of the forms in his other models, at least to some degree.

By focusing on the question of which voice receives a text underlay, the canons can be excluded, since their only voice is naturally the one that has to be texted. Oswald adopted the texting of only the cantus from the original for three pieces. One of the basic criteria for his contrafacta therefore does not apply to these: the texting of only the tenor voice. To this list of pieces that are not texted in the tenor alone, we may add the six pieces that are underlaid in both cantus and tenor in at least one of Oswald's manuscripts. This means that there are no more than six known Oswald contrafacta that are only texted in the tenor (see second column from the right in Table 2). Three of these contrafacta exist only in WolkB (see the crossed out sigla A for the last three songs in the middle column of Table 2), where cantus lines are not texted as a rule, due to layout reasons. They might be considered candidates for purely tenor-texted songs. However, the models for these three contrafacta and another from the list (Kl 88, Kl 103, Kl 107, Kl 109) are all texted in both the cantus and tenor in the surviving manuscripts, meaning that in these cases Oswald did not have to move the text from the cantus to the tenor. This leaves only two contrafacta that tick all the boxes: only *Fröleichen so well wir* (Kl 47) and *O wunniklicher, wolgezirter mai* (Kl 100) have models that in the surviving sources are texted in the cantus alone and found their way into both Oswald codices as pure tenor-texted songs while their original forms were apparently abandoned.³¹

³⁰ See Lewon, *Transformational Practices* (see n. 1), chapter 4.2, and Isabel Kraft, "Rondeau oder Reigen: *Triste plaisir* und ein Mailied Oswalds von Wolkenstein", in: Christoph März, Lorenz Welker and Nicola Zott (eds.), "Leglicher sang sein eigen ticht". *Germanistische und musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge zum deutschen Lied im Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag 2011 (Elementa Musicae. Abbildungen und Studien zur älteren Musikgeschichte 4), 75–97 and Gisela Kornrumpf, "Rondeaux des Barfüßers vom Main? Spuren einer deutschen Liedmode des 14. Jahrhunderts in Kremsmünster, Engelberg und Mainz", *ibid.*, 57–72.

³¹ The two models are *Triste plaisir* by Binchois (GB-Ob canon. misc. 213 or Oxford Codex, fol. 56v) for *O wunniklicher, wolgezirter mai* and *[N]ay je cause* by M. Fabris (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, B.P.L. 2720, hereafter: NL-Lu B.P.L. 2720), fol. 3v) for *Fröleichen so well wir*. The apparent texting of tenor and contratenor in the

This assessment is confirmed by the middle column of Table 2. It demonstrates for which of the two Oswald manuscripts the number of voices was not reduced in comparison with the surviving models: The table shows that only in a minority of the cases (7 out of 16) the number of voices was reduced in both Oswald manuscripts containing the contrafacta in question (Kl 47, Kl 50, Kl 53, Kl 65/66, Kl 88, Kl 100, Kl 103). Two more songs have a reduced number of voices in one of the manuscripts (WolkB), but not in the other (Kl 48, Kl 54). Both contrafacta singled out by the statistic analysis above (Kl 47 and Kl 100) also have a reduced number of voices. Moreover, one of these contrafacta (*O wunniklicher, wolgezirter mai*) is monophonic in both Oswald manuscripts, and the other (*Fröleichen so well wir*) is monophonic in one of them (WolkB). The cantus of the latter's two-voice version in WolkA is so obscure, unassigned, and hidden amongst other voices that it can be assumed that Oswald had also intended the song as a monophonic

Leiden fragment is merely the rest of the cantus text for the rondeau distributed on empty space, a method of accommodating surplus text that is common to a number of chansonniers and song books, e.g. the *Schedelsche Liederbuch*. Reinhard Strohm, however, has argued that the Fabri song was intended for dialogue-texting, where the words run through more than one voice, which Oswald in turn exploits to form a real dialogue: see Reinhard Strohm, "Song Composition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Old and New Questions", in: *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft* 9 (1996), 523–550: 525–530 and Strohm, *Rise* (see n. 10), 70–72, including an edition. The original text may correspond to the dialogic "Soy tart tempre" family as analysed by Lorenz Welker, "Soit tart tempre und seine Familie", in: Hermann Danuser and Tobias Plebisch (eds.), *Musik als Text. Bericht über den internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung*, Kassel: Bärenreiter 1998, 322–334. The evidence for dialogue songs in the French and German song repertoires is abundant and is further discussed in Strohm, *Rise* (see n. 10), 13 and Christoph März, "Versuch über Wechsel, Dialog, Duett. Zur Mehr-Stimmigkeit im deutschen mittelalterlichen Lied", in: März, Welker and Zotz (eds.), "Leglicher sang sein eigen ticht" (see n. 31). The concept of 'a versi' and 'cursiva' text that may apply to the notation of Fabri's song is discussed in Hans Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213*, Bern: Paul Haupt 1971, 49–51. Assuming this assessment is true, the statistical analysis above would reduce the number of Oswald contrafacta that obey the assumed rules of contrafaction to only one piece: Kl 100 (*O wunniklicher wolgezirter mai*).

contrafact.³² This means that while the majority of Oswald's contrafacta do not adhere to most of the assumed rules, the only pieces for which all the rules actually apply are two monophonic contrafacta, which therefore are not typical representatives of Oswald's polyphonic reworkings.

Most of Oswald's contrafacta are texted in the tenor line, which is probably owed to the fact that this was Oswald's own voice register. A trend of favouring the tenor line becomes clear after taking Oswald's other polyphonic pieces into account, including his 'organum-like' (or 'non-mensural') two-voice polyphony, where it is often unclear which of the two voices is actually the main melody.³³ The statistical analysis above demonstrates that, although a tenor texting is likely in an Oswald contrafact, it is by no means compulsory.

This new evidence encourages a rethinking of traditional Oswald contrafaction scholarship and opens up a new possibility for the text underlay of *Je loe amours* with *Mir dringet zwinget*. Oswald may have intended to have the cantus texted instead of the tenor. The following edition with the text under the cantus carries the assumption of a polyphonic version, because it could not work without at least the tenor voice (see Ex. 6). The cantus supplies an attractive melodic line and sufficient notes for Oswald's text. The resulting contrafact could have been for either two or three voices, depending on Oswald's immediate exemplar: either just the contrapuntal core of (texted) cantus and (textless) tenor, or a three-voice version including the (textless) contratenor. For the following edition, I chose a version with only cantus and tenor. The underlay was created in an attempt to support the metric and syntactic structure of the poem and to place important words and rhymes on suitable melodic gestures.

In presenting different scholarly paths to reconstruct a likely contrafact and putting the results to the practical test, I hope to have shown how an in-

³² Not only is it placed two pages apart from the texted tenor line, it is also notated without a title or incipit and 'hidden' in an accumulation of unmarked voices. It was apparently thought to be a tenor line, because of an incomplete rubric "[T]Enor". Only a later hand added a tiny rubric "triplum" under the beginning of the cantus line.

³³ Lewon, "Die mehrstimmigen Lieder" (see n. 2), 169.

depth study of the original sources, coupled with achievements from the field of historically informed performance practice, may yield unforeseen results in the interpretation and editing of early music. These findings therefore prepare the ground for a fresh outlook on historical practices, as well as providing new material for modern performances.

Lewon (2017)

Mir drin - get, zwin - get, frau, dein güe - te mein ge - müe - te, __
 «Dein her - zen scher - zen mich ser wun - dert, von dir sun - dert, __

4

traut _ lieb-stes _ ain an e - ren reich. gleich ____ so mues _ ich lo - ben,
 traut ge-sel - le ____ rain. dein höf - lich schimpf glimpf ____ mit freu - den mich be -

9

frau, deinn guet - ge - stalt.
 -tra - get ma - nig - falt.»

15

Dein schal - len, frau, ____ zu di - ser ____

20

frist ain-fal - tig ____ ist. für war du pist, ____ der ich meins her - zen

25

gan. da - rumb ge-peut an un - der - schaid, traut lieb - ste

Ex. 6: New edition of Oswald's contrafact *Mir drin get zwinget* on Binchois's *Je loe amours* with text under the cantus.

30

maid, in lieb — und — laid pin ich — be - rait ze

35

dien — nen — dier. nit lie - ber mir brächt grös - ser — zier, wenn

39

dass - tu — schier ge-peu-test heint mir tuen — und — lan.

Ex. 6: (continued).