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John Kmetz

The Sixteenth-Century Basel Songbooks

Origins
Contents
Contexts



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John Kmetz

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Preface

This book examines a group of manuscripts surviving today in the University Library of Basel. Traditionally thought to have belonged to the Basel humanists Bonifacius (1495-1565) and Basilius Amerbach (1533-1591), these ten sets of partbooks are central to our understanding of the sixteenth-century German Tenorlied repertory, and also preserve a large number of contemporary madrigals and chansons. Since these sources are often the best witnesses we have for establishing the repertory's chronology, authorship or patterns of transmission, some of the songbooks have received considerable attention in the past: however their origins have never been established, or indeed even seriously discussed.

The present study investigates the bibliographical and paleographical evidence for the manuscripts' production, and offers archival data concerning their scribes, owners, and composers. Chapter 1 summarizes the present state of research on the Amerbachs as patrons of music, and presents some hitherto unknown musical references gleaned from the inventories, letters and account books preserved by this dynasty of lawyers. These archival documents reveal the family's musical interests and activities and refer to printed and manuscript music books which are no longer extant. The documents are also valuable in that they provide evidence for establishing the specific circumstances under which some of the surviving songbooks were copied or acquired, and used.

The remaining chapters of Part I examine the songbooks themselves, and address questions pertaining to their provenance, date of compilation and usage. As a result of studying the sources' physical and scribal make-up, it has been possible to group several of the manuscripts together and identify many of the scribes by name. For instance, while the Württemberg messenger Jacob Ceir can now be singled out as the compiler of the important Senfl manuscript F X 1-4, Basilius Amerbach's music teacher Christoph Piperinus has emerged as the main scribe of the majority of the collection.

A further result of this research is that two songbooks, previously assumed to be from the Amerbach estate, can now be assigned to their rightful owner – the Basel goldsmith and typecutter Jacob Hagenbach (1535-1565). The evidence, culled from library catalogues, from the identification of individuals cited in the musical texts, and from Hagenbach's monogram and family heraldry, is presented in Part II of this study. It suggests strongly that Hagenbach copied, illustrated and owned these sources. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, it demonstrates that he composed three pieces – two of which have previously been taken for the work of Heinrich Isaac.

The study also discusses the relationship between these musical sources owned by Hagenbach and an anthology of poetry compiled by Hagenbach's friend and fellow musician, the Basel doctor Felix Platter (1536-1614). This manuscript collection of verse is of particular significance, since it contains over 60 German texts, enabling one not only to reconstruct for the first time performances of many sixteenth-century chansons and madrigals in the German language, but also, and more importantly, to shed new light on how untexted songbooks (like those owned by Jacob Hagenbach) might have functioned. A bibliographical catalogue concludes the study (Part III), presenting in a single place the musical tastes of these prominent Basel burghers.

This volume represents a revised version of the author's doctoral dissertation written at New York University and submitted to its Department of Music in December of 1989. During the preparation of the dissertation, I received the help and encouragement of

several people. First of all, I would like to thank my advisor and fellow *Bücherfreund*, Stanley Boorman, who first sparked my interest in Renaissance music, was responsible for my philological and bibliographical training, and diligently guided the dissertation through all stages of its development. I am also indebted to Wulf Arlt, Howard Brown, Jan LaRue, Joshua Rifkin and Edward Roesner, each of whom (over the course of my graduate school career) contributed greatly to my knowledge and understanding of either sixteenth-century music or source-critical matters. My greatest debt of all, however, is to my wife Josephine Thalia Howell, who, for nearly two years, single-handedly held-down the fort of daily existence so her husband could hide-out in an Ivory Tower. Her unflagging encouragement, generous support and sound advice kept me going, kept me working ... inspired me to finish.

Any study as bibliographical in content as the present one obviously owes a great debt to the staff of many libraries. In fact, this study would not have been possible without the generous assistance and cooperation of the directors, librarians, photographers, or bookbinders of the following insitutions: Oeffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, Stadtsarchiv Basel, Historisches Museum Basel, Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Universitätsbibliothek München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek St. Gallen, Stadt- und Staatsbibliothek Augsburg, Zentralbibliothek Zürich and Stadtsarchiv Zürich.

I am grateful to the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, and particularly to the Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft (Ortsgruppe Basel) for providing financial support during the years 1984-1985. Grants from the Hans Zehntner-Stiftung and the Freiwillige Akademische Gesellschaft-Stiftung enabled me to work from 1986 to 1987 as a full-time Research Fellow at the University Library of Basel. These two awards, although intended exclusively to finance my work on an annotated catalogue of all the library's sixteenth-century music manuscripts, gave me valuable time to check many of my earlier findings regarding the songbooks and documents discussed in this volume. The catalogue, published in 1988 as *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: Katalog der Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts*, is a complementary study to this present volume and is referred to hereafter as KatK.

Finally, I must thank the Swiss Musicological Society – particularly Ernst Lichtenhahn and Wulf Arlt – for having offered me the opportunity to publish my work on the Basel manuscripts in their prestigious series, and, in turn, for having produced such an attractive volume. I would also like to thank Marcel Jenni, Matthias Schneider, and Martin Kluge for their invaluable assistance in the preparation of this volume. To all of these individuals, institutions, foundations and societies, I would like to say in my best Baseldytsch: "Merci vylmol."

Each of the seven chapters in this study represents an autonomous unit, five of which document a distinct scribal complex of manuscripts or set of problems presented by an individual source. Consequently, when I identify different scribal hands in different chapters with the same set of sigla (i. e., S1, S2, S3) this does not mean that a scribe called S1 in one chapter is the same scribe identified as S1 in another. On the contrary, each new chapter deals with a different group of hands and paper types. All sixteenth-century printed collections of Tenorlieder are cited using the new RISM sigla found in volume 1 of *Das Tenorlied*, edited by Norbert Böker-Heil, Harald Heckmann and Ilse Kindermann.

Part I
The Amerbach Collection

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Chapter 1

The Amerbach-Iselin Dynasty and their Collection of Music

In memory of Wilhelm Merian

> I seem to myself to be living in some delightful precinct of the muses, to say nothing of so many good scholars of no ordinary kind. They all know Latin, they all know Greek, most of them know Hebrew too; one is an expert historian, another an experienced theologian; one is skilled in the mathematics, one a keen antiquary, another a jurist. I certainly have never before had the luck to live in such a gifted company. And to say nothing of that, how open-hearted they are, how gay, how well they get on together! You would say they had only one soul.[1]

The "precinct" is Basel, the time February 1516, and the words those of the distinguished Dutch humanist – Erasmus of Rotterdam. When Erasmus arrived in Basel for the first time, in August 1514, the city was already an intellectual center of more than only regional significance. In 1460, the University of Basel had been founded by a number of prominent citizens: its charter was signed by Pius II, who, as Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, had himself participated in the Great Church Council of Basel and was apparently well-acquainted with the city.[2] Among the University's earliest faculty members, by far the most well-known and influential thinker was Johannes Heynlin von Stein. Born in Swabia, Heynlin moved to Basel in the mid-1460s where he taught at the Faculty of Arts, and drafted many of the University's first statutes. His academic career also led him for a short time to Paris where he became a rector of the Sorbonne and founded (with Guillaume Fichet) the city's first printing house, in 1470.[3] Other distinguished members of Basel's scholarly community before the arrival of Erasmus included Heynlin's student Johannes Amerbach (founder of the well-known Basel printing house), Conradus Pellicanus (the prominent Hebrew scholar), Sebastian Brant (Dean of the University's Faculty of Jurisprudence and the author of *The Ship of Fools*), Philippus Paracelsus

1 Erasmus, letter of February 1516 to Johannes Witz (Sapidus). Translation taken from A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomas, *Correspondence of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1976), vol.3, no. 392a, lines 10-15. For an edition of the original Latin version, see P.S. Allen, H. M. Allen and H. W. Garrod (eds.), *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1906-1958), no.364, lines 8-13.

2 See Florence A. Gragg (tr.), *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II* (New York, 1959), *passim*.

3 Cf. M. Hossfeld, "Johannes Heylin aus Stein," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, vol.6 (1907), 309-356 and vol.7 (1908), 235-431; Rudolf Wackernagel, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel* (Basel, 1907-1924), vol.2, 598ff; and Peter G. Bietenholz, *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century: The Basle Humanists and Printers in Their Contact with Francophone Culture* (Toronto, 1971), 107ff.

On the lives of Johannes Amerbach, Sebastian Brant, Philippus Paracelsus and other noted scholars living in Basel at this time, see Peter G. Beitenholz (ed.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols. (Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1985-1987), *passim*.

(Professor of Medicine), and Heinrich Loriti Glareanus (noted poet, musicologist and historian).[4]

Although the University in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was endowed with some of the greatest minds of humanist learning, it remained an essentially conservative outpost of medieval thought and rarely attracted the caliber of student that would be found at the Sorbonne. If Basel became a humanist center, as it indeed did, with Erasmus as its "spiritus rector," it was not because of the University, but (as frequently noted by scholars of Basel history) because of the city's printers.[5]

It would appear to be no coincidence that at roughly the same time that the University was founded, the printing press established itself in Basel. That Gutenberg's invention spread to this city republic on the Rhine so soon after the "black art" was invented can be attributed to several factors. First of all, paper had been sucessfully manufactured in the city's St. Albanthal region since the time of the Great Church Council.[6] Secondly, several of the city's monastic houses possessed sizeable libraries accessible to scholars, whether they were associated with the church or not.[7] In Basel there also lived a number of craftsmen who were trained as typecutters and bookbinders. Painters and graphic artists capable of decorating the volumes were also present in abundance: among the more famous Basel book illustrators were Albrecht Dürer, Urs Graf, Ambrosius and Hans Holbein, and, later in the century, Tobias Stimmer.[8] That the printing industry flourished in Basel can also be attributed to the fact that many of the printers had strong business contacts abroad and could easily ship their products to within reach of almost any client *via* the Rhine shipping routes.[9]

Indeed, by 1501, when Basel became a member of the Swiss Confederation, more than seventy printers were already at work in the city. Among the more famous printing houses were those run by Johannes Amerbach, Johannes Petri and Johannes Froben,

4 On the early history of the University, see especially Edgar Bonjour, *Die Universität Basel von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 1460-1960* (Basel, 1960). Among the numerous studies dealing with the humanist movement in Basel, see Wackernagel, *Geschichte*, vol.3, 143ff; Guido Kisch, "Forschungen zur Geschichte des Humanismus in Basel," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XL (1958), 194-221; Hans Rudolf Guggisberg, "Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte des Basler Humanismus," *Schweizer Monatsheft*, XLIX (Nov. 1969), 769-775; and *idem, Basel in the Sixteenth Century: Aspects of the City Republic before, during, and after the Reformation* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1982).

5 See especially, Guggisberg, *Basel*, 9ff. Evidence of the University's standards in 1523 is shown in a letter written by the Basel printer Johannes Froben to Bonifacius Amerbach, informing the young jurist of a vacancy on the Faculty of Law in Basel. The letter reads: "I cannot advise you to come (to Basel) because the salary is small. There are not many students. Most of them come from Switzerland, and you know well that they are in general not very talented. My dear Bonifacius, the decision is yours. If you consider it profitable, then come." (quoted from Guggisberg, *Basel*, 16).

6 Cf. Walter Fritz Tschudin, *The Ancient Paper-mills of Basle and their Marks* (Hilversum, 1958); Allan Stevenson, *The Problem of the Missale Speciale* (London, 1967); and especially Hans Kälin, *Papier in Basel bis 1500* (Basel, 1974).

7 Among the richest monastic libraries in Basel was that owned by the Carthusians. On the history of this collection and its lending privileges, see Max Burckhardt, "Bibliotheksaufbau, Bücherbesitz und Leserschaft im spätmittelalterlichen Basel," *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 1983), 33-52; and Barbara Halporn, "The Carthusian Library at Basel," *The Library Quarterly*, 54/3 (Oct. 1984), 223-244.

8 For a comprehensive study of Basel's book illustrators and their accomplishments, see Frank Hieronymus, *Basler Buchillustration 1500-1545*, Oberrheinische Buchillustration, vol. 2 (Basel, 1984).

9 Cf. Peter Bietenholz's studies: "Erasmus und der Basler Buchhandel in Frankreich," *Scrinium Erasmianum* I (1969), 293-323; *Der italienische Humanismus und die Blütezeit des Buchdrucks in Basel* (Basel 1959); and *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century, passim.*

each of whom came from Franconia and settled in the city during the last-quarter of the fifteenth century. Clearly it was because of the international reputation of these, and other such, printing houses that Erasmus decided to publish much of his writing in Basel and to make the city his home for several years. However, his love for this city republic on the Rhine was fostered not only by the unique and favorable opportunities that his main publisher, Johannes Froben, had to offer him, but also by the close and lasting friendship which developed between him and the Amerbachs – Basel's most distinguished family of humanist learning.[10]

Erasmus' admiration for the printer Johannes Amerbach and his three sons (Bruno, Basilius I and Bonifacius) is evident in a letter which he wrote to Pope Leo X on May 21, 1515. Here, in addition to praising the Pope's handling of the current political situation, he brought to the pontiff's attention a scholarly project which was being undertaken in Basel:

> A work of no small importance is actively pursued at Basel, where Jerome is restored to life in Froben's printing shop. There is no more accurate printer or one producing a greater number of good books, especially relating to theology. This is not done by one man's labor or at one man's expense ... Our most important assistants are the brothers Amerbach, at whose expense and efforts the work is mainly undertaken. One may well believe that this family has been raised up by Fortune to be the means of bringing Jerome back to life. Their father, the best of men, had his three sons instructed in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin for this purpose. When he died, he bequeathed to his children a legacy, dedicating his fortune to its fulfillment. These excellent young men are diligently discharging the commission imposed on them by their father.[11]

Among Johannes' three sons, the youngest, Bonifacius, was by far the most talented, and was to become the most famous.[12] Born in Basel on 11 October 1495, he began studying the classics in Engental (near Basel) as the private pupil of his father's friend Conrad Leontorius, a Cistercian monk who had himself participated in several of the

10 By far the best source for documenting the activities of this family of printers, editors, booksellers and lawyers is the so-called "Amerbachkorrespondenz." Representing one of the largest extant collections of Renaissance letters, its value lies in the unique biographical information which it has to offer on the family itself as well as on the numerous celebrities with whom the Amerbachs exchanged letters of business or friendship. Among some of the family's correspondents are Anton Koberger, Jacob Wimpfeling, Philipp Melanchthon, Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Luther, Heinrich Glareanus, Johannes Heynlin, Jacques Lefèvre, Albrecht Dürer, Ulrich von Hutten, Beatus Rheanus, Jean Montaigne, Ulrich Zasius, Anton Fugger, Sebastian Brant, Martin Butzer, and, of course, Erasmus. Since 1942 most of the letters have been edited by Alfred Hartmann and by his succesor Beat R. Jenny in the ongoing series: *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, Vol.1ff., 1942 ff. (hereafter AK).

For an interesting article on Celio Secundo Curione, an Italian exile who attempted to lure the Amerbachs to correspond with him so that the publication of his letters would be more profitable, see Beat R.Jenny, "Die Amerbachkorrespondenz, von der humanistischen Epistolographie zur bürgerlichen Briefstellerei," *Der Brief im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, edited by Franz Josef Worstbrock. Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft: Kommission für Humanismusforschung, 9 (Weinheim, 1983), 185ff.

11 Translation taken from Hans J. Hillerbrand and Marcus A. Haworth, *Erasmus and His Age: Selected Letters of Desiderius Erasmus* (New York, 1970), 84.

12 Among the numerous studies discussing the life and accomplishments of this pivotal figure in sixteenth-century Basel history, see Theophil Burckhardt-Biedermann, *Bonifacius Amerbach und die Reformation* (Basel, 1894); Edgar Bonjour, *Die Universität Basel* (Basel, 1960) 188-198; and especially the entry for Bonifacius in volume 1 of *Contemporaries of Erasmus, op cit.*, 42-45, where an extensive bibliography is given.

scholarly projects published by the Amerbach press. From the summer of 1507 to the winter of 1508-1509, Bonifacius continued his primary education in Schlettstadt at the distinguished humanist school run by Hieronymus Gebwiler. In 1510 he matriculated at the University of Basel and three years later was awarded the degree of *baccalaureus artium*. Having acquired a strong background in logic and the natural sciences while attending Basel's University, Bonifacius moved in 1513 to Freiburg im Breisgau, where, enrolled as a candidate for the degree of *magister artium*, he specialized in ethics, physics and grammar. During his time in Freiburg, he also began studying law under Ulrich Zasius (the most reknowned Professor of Jurisprudence in Germany at that time)[13] and later continued these studies with Andrea Alciati in Avignon where, in 1525, he was awarded the degree of *doctor juris*. It was during these student days that Bonifacius' close relationship with Erasmus began. When the Dutch humanist died in Basel in 1536, it was Bonifacius who became heir to and legal executor of the Erasmus estate.[14] From 1524 until 1555, Amerbach taught law at the University of Basel, was a Rector of the institution on no less than nine occasions, and often served as legal advisor to the city council. He died in Basel in April of 1562, leaving behind only one son, Basilius II.

While Amerbach's education clearly prepared him for his sucessful juridical career, which brought him in contact with some of the most celebrated figures of his time, his strong liberal arts background made him a man who cultivated many interests throughout his life. In addition to his activities as an editor of scholarly texts, Bonifacius (unlike his father and older brothers) acquired a love for music, which he later was to pass on to his son Basilius. Indeed, as we shall see, the collection of manuscripts, prints, letters and archival documents which today make up the Amerbach *Nachlass* demonstrates that, beginning with Bonifacius, music played an important role in the lives of three Amerbach generations.[15]

Among the earliest evidence to document the musical activities of Bonifacius and his son Basilius is the well-known set of manuscript partbooks housed today in the University Library of Basel under the call number F X 5-9. As we shall see in Chapter 3, the source consists of two distinct scribal and chronological layers. The first layer was copied and bound in Basel before it was acquired by the fifteen-year-old Bonifacius in 1510; the second layer, compiled for Bonifacius' son Basilius around 1547, represents one of a group of sources which he used, also at about the age of fifteen, to learn the art of singing. Equally important for reconstructing Bonifacius' early musical tastes is Basel University manuscript F X 10. This bass partbook (also to be the discussed in Chapter 3) was given to Bonifacius in 1510 by Ambrosius Kettenacker, a student from Winterthur who had matriculated at the University of Basel one year before Bonifacius, in 1508. Another

13 On the relationship between them, see Alfred Hartmann, "Familiäres aus der Amerbachkorrespondenz," *Basler Jahrbuch* (1951), 35-37.

14 On the Erasmus legacy, see Carl Roth, "Das Legatum Erasmianum," *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestag des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Basel, 1936), 282-298; Alfred Hartmann, "Bonifacius Amerbach als Verwalter der Erasmusstiftung," *Basler Jahrbuch* (1957), 7-28; and Elisabeth Landolt, "Zum Nachlass des Erasmus," *Erasmus von Rotterdam: Vorkämpfer für Frieden und Toleranz* (Basel, 1986), 68-69.

15 Although the family's interest in music has been mentioned in numerous studies dealing either with the music manuscripts once in their possession or with their correspondence, a definitive study of the family's musical actitives has yet to be published. At present, the best studies include: Wilhelm Merian, "Bonifacius Amerbach und Hans Kotter," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XVI/1 (1917), 140-206; and Chapter 5 of Arnold Geering's monumental work *Die Vokalmusik in der Schweiz zur Zeit der Reformation* (= Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft, Vol.6), 1933.

extant musical source acquired by Bonifacius at this time is the famous sole-surviving copy of Andrea Antico's *Canzoni nove* (RISM 1510). Although the Amerbach inscription found on the title-page can today only be partially read by means of ultra-violet light, two facsimiles of the page published before the volume was restored in 1986 clearly show Amerbach's dated *Ex Libris* of 1512.[16]

The contents of these three sources provide us with a good idea of the types of vocal music that Bonifacius heard or performed in Basel around 1510. Yet, a recently discovered recorder manuscript, taken together with a letter addressed to Bonifacius by his sister in 1514, strongly suggests that during his student days he was performing recorder and cornett music as well. The manuscript is Basel University F X 38. Although this introduction to recorder playing is neither dated nor carries any marks of ownership, there are good reasons for believing that it was once in Bonifacius' possession and that it was copied in Basel around 1510. As was pointed out by Martin Staehelin when the source was first described in 1973, F X 38 could correspond with an item entered in an inventory written by Bonifacius' son Basilius between c.1564-1578: "Introductio gschriben uf pfifen".[17] That the manuscript was compiled in Basel at roughly the time Bonifacius was attending the University is suggested by the presence in it of two papers frequently encountered in documents written in Basel around 1510, and by the scribe's orthographical tendencies, which clearly establish him as a Basel citizen.[18]

Admittedly, the evidence for Amerbach's ownership of this manuscript is by no means conclusive, yet two documents culled from the Amerbach estate show that by the age of 19, Bonifacius owned several wind instruments. For example, on 9 October 1514, he received a letter from his sister Margarete, informing him that he would receive from her "zwo pfiffen" together with "die Zincken bi meister Luxen."[19] Although there is no evidence that Bonifacius actually received these recorders and cornetts, an entry made by his son Basilius in the same inventory listing the recorder manuscript suggests that he did: "Pfifen futer mit 5 pfifen und 2 klein deren einer mit silber."[20]

Several other manuscripts and letters from the Amerbach estate bear witness to Bonifacius' strong interest in keyboard music. Basel University Library manuscripts F IX

16 Alfred Einstein, "Andrea Antico's *Canzoni Nove* of 1510," *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXVII/3 (July, 1951), 336; and Knud Jeppesen, *La Frottola: Bemerkungen zur Bibliographie der ältesten weltlichen Notendrucke in Italien*, Acta Jutlandica XL/2 (Copenhagen, 1968), Figure XII.

On the origins of the print's well-known frontispiece, see Stanley Boorman, "Early Music Printing: an Indirect Contact with the Raphael Circle," *Renaissance Studies in honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, edited by A. Morrogh *et. al.* (Florence, 1985), 533-554.

While the extant musical sources carrying Bonifacius' *Ex Libris* of 1510 (F X 5-9, F X 10) establish that he was interested in music at the age of 15, the musical marginalia found on the front and back paste-downs of Bonifacius' Latin school primer (CH-Bu DC V 7) suggest that he was already copying and studying music as a twelve-year-old boy (in 1507).

17 Martin Staehelin, "Neue Quellen zur mehrstimmigen Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in der Schweiz," *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, Series III, Vol.3 (1978), 62-64.

18 Concerning the manuscript's scribal and physical make-up, see John Kmetz, *Katalog der Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts: Quellenkritische und historische Untersuchung*. Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel (Basel, 1988), 322-324.

19 Cf. AK, Vol.II, no.507, p.22. On the identity of "meister Luxen" as Lucas Philanthropos (= Klett), a close friend of Bonifacius, and the copyist of two leaves of mass music housed today in the University Library of Basel under the shelf mark F VI 26h, fols.9-10, see Kmetz, *Katalog* (hereafter KatK),71-73.

20 Cf. Paul Ganz and Emil Major, *Die Entstehung des Amerbach'schen Kunstkabinets und die Amerbach'schen Inventare* (= Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung in Basel, Jahresbericht, no.59, 1907), 32.

22 and F IX 58, more commonly known as the Amerbach tabulature books, represent two of the most important sources that we have for documenting the musical activities of several well-known German keyboard composers. Not long after the manuscripts were first inventoried by Julius Richter in 1893,[21] Wilhelm Merian demonstrated, from the handwriting and from evidence found in Amerbach's correspondence, that both sources were copied primarily by Hans Kotter, the famous German-Swiss organist with whom Bonifacius frequently corresponded.[22] In 1941 Wilibald Gurlitt noticed that Kotters's autograph copy of the *Kochersperger Spanieler* in F IX 58 served as the exemplar for the redaction of the same piece in F IX 22.[23] Twenty-two years later, Hans Joachim Marx, while editing the Amerbach tabulature volumes, shed new light on the manuscripts' history by identitying two other scribes by name: the Freiburg i.B organist Johann Weck and Bonifacius Amerbach himself.[24] Finally in 1987, the present author was able to offer a more solid dating of the manuscripts, based on an analysis of their physical and scribal structure.[25] Such an approach led to the identification of yet another scribe in F IX 22, who (as we shall see in Chapter 2) was also responsible for the compilation of the famous Basel *Liederhandschrift*, F X 1-4. Moreover, it demonstrated that Bonifacius had access to a manuscript transmission of the so-called "Parisian chanson," predating the earliest printed sources of Attaingnant.[26]

Another manuscript which documents Bonifacius' tastes in keyboard music is Basel University Library F I 8a. Acquired by him in 1551, this well-known copy of Hans Buchner's *Orgelbuch* and *Fundamentum* was compiled in Basel by the Bernese musician Christoph Piperinus, who, as will emerge in Chapter 4, also copied several sets of part-books for Bonifacius' son Basilius in 1546 and 1547.[27]

In keeping with his collection of keyboard manuscripts, Bonifacius owned several clavichords and organs. For example, in the letter written on October 9, 1514 (cited above), Margarete not only brought to her brother's attention a shipment of wind instruments that he was about to receive, but also asked him if she should give "das

21 Julius Richter, *Katalog der Musik-Sammlung auf der Universitäts-Bibliothek in Basel (Schweiz)*, Supplement to the *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, Vol.XXIII, (1893), 42 (F IX 58), and 32ff. (F IX 22).

22 Wilhelm Merian, "Drei Handschriften aus der Frühzeit des Klavierspiels," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, II (1919/20), 22ff; *Die Tabulaturen des Organisten Hans Kotter* (Basel, 1916); and *Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturbüchern* (Basel, 1927).

23 W. Gurlitt, "Johannes Kotter und sein Freiburger Tabulaturbuch von 1513," *Elsass-Lothringisches Jahrbuch*, XIX (1941), 216-237.

24 Hans Joachim Marx, "Der Tabulatur-Codex des Basler Humanisten Bonifacius Amerbach," *Musik und Geschichte. Festschrift für Leo Schrade* (Cologne, 1963), 50ff; and *Tabulaturen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Die Tabulaturen aus dem Besitz des Basler Humanisten Bonifacius Amerbach*, Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler 6/1 (Basel, 1967).

25 See KatK, 75-84 (F IX 22) and 183-187 (F IX 58). Although Basel University Library Manuscript F VI 26c is often regarded as having once been in the Amerbach's possession (cf. Marx, *Tabulaturen*, 108ff.), there is no evidence to support such a claim. (cf. KatK, 51-54).

26 KatK, 180-182 (F IX 56) and 183-187 (F IX 58).

27 Studies and editions of this manuscript include: Ludwig Sieber, "Ein Tractat von Hans von Constantz," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, VIII (1876), 23ff; Carl Paesler, *Fundamentbuch von Hans von Constanz. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Orgelspiels im 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1889); Julius Richter, "Johann Buchner und Hans von Constanz," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, XXI (1889), 141ff. and 191ff; Wilibald Nagel, "Fundamentum Authore Johanne Buchnero," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, XXIII (1891), 71ff; Jost Harro Schmidt (ed.), *Hans Buchner, Sämtliche Orgelwerke*. Das Erbe deutscher Musik 54/55 (Frankfurt, 1974); and KatK, 33-41.

claffencordium" to the organists to whom Bonifacius had earlier offered it.[28] In another letter written by Margarete in March of 1515, we learn that the family also was in possession of an organ, which at the time was being renovated.[29] Further evidence documenting Amerbach's keyboard collection includes: two letters written in 1519 discussing the transport of Bonifacius' clavichord from Freiburg im Breisgau;[30] a letter of 1528 describing in detail a clavichord and positive organ which Bonifacius was later to purchase;[31] and an entry found in the Amerbach Inventory of 1602 listing among the family's possessions a "seligen clavicordium."[32]

Apart from his interest in keyboard music, Bonifacius apparently also played the lute. This is suggested by an extant manuscript using French lute tablature copied by Bonifacius while matriculated at the University of Avignon in 1522.[33] Moreover, in 1519 Bonifacius mentioned in a letter to his Professor, Ulrich Zasius, that he could not trust anyone but himself with the task of transporting his clavichord and lute.[34] Admittedly, there is little evidence that Amerbach's interest in the lute was ever cultivated with the same intensity with which he collected keyboard music. However, it can be assumed that Bonifacius was at least a competent lutentist: an entry found in the previously mentioned Amerbach inventory lists among the family's possessions before 1578 not only wind instruments but also "1 Harpfen" and "2 Lutlin."[35]

While the extant music manuscripts owned by Bonifacius enable one to reconstruct the types of music which might have been heard or performed in his illustrious Basel household, an equally valuable source for documenting Bonifacius' musical activities is, as we have seen, his correspondence. Included among the nearly 6000 letters which have survived from the Amerbach estate are a number written to Bonifacius by such well-known musicians as Hans Kotter, Sixt Dietrich, Johann Weck and Heinrich Glareanus.[36] These letters, as well as others, have proven to be of particular musicological value. In addition to containing unique biographical information on the life of each musician, they have provided scholars with important clues which lead to localizing and dating several of the Amerbach music manuscripts.[37] Often they reveal names of local musicians, instrument

28 AK II, no.507, p.22. Unfortunately, Margarete did not identity the "organists" by name.

29 AK II, no.515, pp.29 and 30.

30 See AK II, no.664, p.169: Freiburg i.B organist Johannes Hüsler (= Weck) to Bonifacius on 11 July 1519; and AK II, no.686, p.193: Bonifacius to Ulrich Zasius on 3 October 1519.

31 AK III, no.1291, p.357 and 358: Colman Ryss to Bonifacius on 23. September 1528. Concerning Amerbach's acquisition of the clavichord see Marx, "Der Tabulatur-Codex des Basler Humanisten Bonifacius Amerbach", 55.

32 Paul Ganz and E. Major, *Die Entstehung des Amerbach'schen Kunstkabinets*, 29 and 58.

33 On the origins and history of this bifolium (CH-Bu F IX 56), see Merian, *Die Tabulaturen des Organisten Hans Kotter*, 59 and 61; Marx, *Die Tabulaturen aus dem Besitz des Basler Humanisten Bonifacius Amerbach*, 111 and 129; W. Boetticher (ed.), *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, Series B, VII, 13; and KatK, 180-182.

34 AK II, no.686, p.193.

35 Ganz and Major, *Die Entstehung des Amerbach'schen Kunstkabinets*, 32, Inventory A.

36 By far the most scholarly transcriptions of these letters are found in the *Amerbachkorrespondenz*. vols. 1ff., passim. Earlier editions include: (for the Kotter-Amerbach correspondence) Wilhelm Merian, "Bonifacius Amerbach und Hans Kotter," (hereafter: BA), 167ff; (for Weck-Amerbach) *ibid.*, 150-151; and (for Dietrich-Amerbach) Eduard His, "Briefe von Sixt Dietrich an Bonifacius Amerbach ... (im Besitz der öffentlichen Kunstsammlung in Basel)," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, IX, 122ff., 139ff. and 157ff.

37 For example, see Hans Joachim Marx, "Der Tabulatur-Codex des Basler Humanisten Bonifacius Amerbach," *op. cit.*, 61ff; or Chapter 4 of this study, where one of the letters (discussing a manuscript in bibliographical terms) is examined.

makers and music teachers whose identity would otherwise be unknown.[38] On occasion, the letters bear witness to the transmission of music sent by messenger or post,[39] discuss the genesis of a specific printed music book,[40] and even provide a glimpse into the workshop of a famous composer.[41]

As an influential member of Basel's academic community, Bonifacius also played a role in the development of the University's musical curriculum. As recently shown by the Amerbach scholar Beat Jenny, Bonifacius was well-acquainted with many of the Basel music professors and lecturers, and often assisted them by offering professional advice on their careers, by securing for them teaching positions, or by assisting them with their financial problems.[42]

From this brief biographical sketch, it is evident that Bonifacius' musical interests were an important part of his life. Yet it should be noted that music was by no means his only pastime. Bonifacius was also an avid art collector whose tastes were of the highest standards. Proof of his connoisseurship can today be viewed in Basel's *Kunstmuseum*. Here, among the numerous masterpieces from the Amerbach Cabinet, one may find paintings attributed to Lucas Cranach, Urs Graf, Hans Baldung, Albrecht Dürer and (most importantly) Hans Holbein, who in 1519 immortalized the young Bonifacius by painting his portrait (Plate 1.1).[43]

The so-called Amerbach Cabinet however, consisted not only of a magnificent collection of paintings and prints, but also one of the largest private libraries existing at that time. Containing fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions and manuscripts of Seneca, Gallus, Vergil, Cicero, Caesar, Livy and all of the Church Fathers, the library was founded by Bonifacius' father, Johannes, whose professional and scholarly interests gave birth to a collection which formed the foundation upon which his sons' scholarly careers were built. Upon Johannes' death in 1513, his legacy of learning was passed on to Bonifacius and his two older brothers, each of whom significantly contributed to the library's growth.[44]

38 They include, for example: the organist, Philipp von Neuchâtel (AK II, no.521, line 10); the organ builder, Meister Hans Ulmann (BA, p.179); the singer and music scribe Lucas Klett (AK II, no.591, line 28); the singer Valentin Schaffner of Hagenau (AK II, no. 591, line 28); a singer at the court of Duke Ulrich, Christoph Ceir, (AK II, no.596, lines 3-7); and the music teacher of Basilius Amerbach, Christoph Piperinus, (AK VI, no.2876).

39 For example, see AK III, no.1041, lines 7ff. and AK II, no.591, lines 6ff.

40 For a discussion of the *Magnificat octo Tonorum Auctore Xisto Theodorico Liber primus*, Strassburg, 1535 by the composer himself, see AK IV, no.1862, lines 29-35.

41 See, for example, AK II, no.627, lines 15ff., where the composer Sixt Dietrich comments on the composition of one of his four-part polyphonic songs.

42 Beat Jenny, "Die Musikprofessur an der Universität Basel im zweiten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts. Eine personen- und institutionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 83 (1983), *passim.*, especially 37-43.

43 On the origins and history of the Amerbach Kunstkabinett, see, for example, P. Ganz and E. Major, *Die Entstehung des Amerbach'schen Kunstkabinets;* P. Ganz, "Die Amerbach als Kunstsammler," *Amerbach-Gesellschaft 1920 Jahresbericht*; and Elisabeth Landolt, *Kabinettstücke der Amerbach im Historischen Museum Basel* (Basel, 1984).

44 On the history of the Amerbach library, see Berthold Wessendorf, "Basler Büchersammler: Die Familie Amerbach (15./16. Jahrhundert)," *Librarium* 20/1 (May, 1977), 27-42. Aside from enriching their own library, the Amerbachs on occasion catalogued and studied the contents of other important collections. For an interesting study on the catalogue prepared by Basilius Amerbach, which documents the contents of the library at St. Leonhard's in Basel, see Beat von Scarpatetti, "Ex Bibliotheca Leonardina: Aufschlüsse und Fragen aus dem Nachlaß des Basilius Amerbach zur Geschichte der Basler Universitätsbibliothek im 16. Jahrhundert," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 74 (1974), 271ff.



Plate 1.1. Hans Holbein d. J. Portrait of Bonifacius Amerbach, 1519 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum. Inv. 310)

When Bonifacius died in 1562, the great estate on the *Rheingasse* with its treasure trove passed to his only son Basilius, who in 1591 commissioned the Basler Hans Bock d. Ae. to paint his portrait (see Plate 1.2). Born in Basel on 1 December 1533, Basilius spent long years of study abroad. Returning to his home town in 1561, he became, like his father before him, Professor of Law and legal advisor to the city council. Although his father saw to it that he received a thorough musical education, one which (as we shall see in Chapter 4) can be documented in considerable detail, there is little evidence to suggest that his interest in music equalled that of his father.[45] Rather he seemed to have applied himself most to the development of the Amerbach *Kunst- und Raritätenkabinett*, which he organised and developed in an exemplary manner.[46]

With the untimely death in 1562 of Basilius' wife and only child, his paternal instincts were absorbed in his sister's son, Ludwig Iselin. And two years later in 1564 when Ludwig's father died, Basilius officially became Ludwig's legal guardian. This meant that the young Ludwig (b. 2. VII 1559), now heir to the Amerbach estate, would be groomed and educated in such a way that he could carry on the distinguished Amerbach name.[47] In 1574, he matriculated at the University of Basel and subsequently spent long years of study in Genf (1581), Bourges (1584, *licentiatus iuris*), and Padua. His education culminated in 1589 with him earning the degree of *doctor iuris* in Basel. Upon his uncle's death in 1591, Ludwig succeeded Basilius as Professor of Law and legal adviser to the city council.

Although we owe a great debt of thanks to Iselin for his interesting diary notes on the political and cultural life of Italy,[48] he is known today primarily as an amateur lutenist from whom lute manuscripts in German tabulature have survived in the Basel University Library under the call numbers F IX 23 and F X 11.[49] These volumes, taken together with two other manuscript songbooks owned by Iselin in 1575,[50] bear witness to yet another generation of Amerbachs who, while enrolled at the University of Basel, cultivated music.

Ludwig died in 1612 an extremely wealthy man, but was dealt a heavy blow in 1610,

45 Unlike Bonifacius, Basilius' musical actitivies seem to have dropped off soon after his initial lessons with Christoph Piperinus in 1546. Aside from the manuscript and printed sources acquired by Basilius between 1546-1551 (see below, Chapter 4), the only other evidence of his musical activities lies in a few recently discovered letters which he received from the Basel doctor Felix Platter in the 1570s. Here, in addition to discussing the merits of a particular clavichord owned by the Amerbachs, the letters are valuable in that they demonstrate that the Amerbachs lent instruments to Platter. For further information on these letters see below, Chapter 5, fn.32.

46 For detailed information on Basilius Amerbach's life and collecting interests, see Elisabeth Landolt (ed.), *Das Amerbach-Kabinett. Beiträge zu Basilius Amerbach* (Basel, 1991).

47 For further biographical information on Iselin and his family, see Andreas Staehelin, *Seit 600 Jahren in Basel: Lebensbilder aus der Familie Iselin* (Basel, 1964), 27ff; and Hans Thieme, "Ludwig Iselin-Ryhiner (1559-1612), Erbe der beiden Amerbach," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 66 (1966), 133ff.

48 This manuscript is housed today in the University Library of Basel under the call number C VI 40; while well-known to Basel scholars, the source has yet to be edited or seriously studied.

49 For an inventory, edition and study of F IX 23, see Angelika Weber, "Die Lautentabulatur des Ludwig Iselin, eine kritische Uebertragung der Lautentabulatur Basel U.B. F IX 23," (Phil. Diss. Fribourg/ Switzerland, 1972). The contents of F X 11 (as well as F IX 23) are listed in KatK, 272-276 (F X 11) and 84-88 (F IX 23); here, one will also find detailed information on the origins of each source.

50 Basel University Library manuscripts F X 21 and F X 25-26. For an inventory and discussion of both sources, see KatK 296-310 (F X 21) and 317-322 (F X 25-26). For an important, yet unfortunately often neglected study on F X 21, see Max Meier, "Das Liederbuch Ludwig Iselins," (Diss. Basel, 1913).

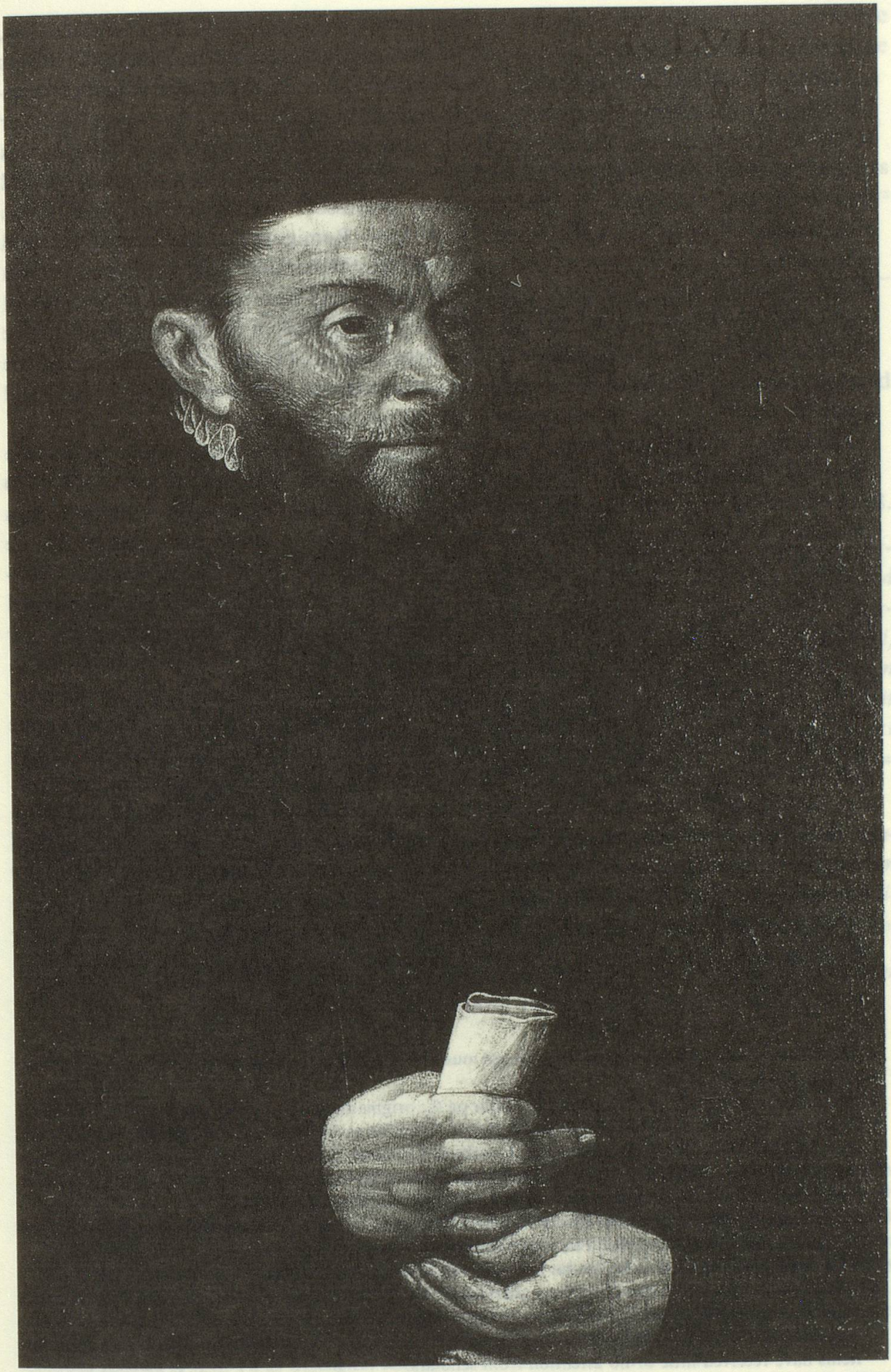


Plate 1.2. Hans Bock d. Ae. Portrait of Basilius Amerbach, 1591 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum. Inv. 1876)

with the loss of his six children to the plague. Fortunately in 1611, a further son, Basilius, was born, who became heir to the great estate. Upon Basilius' death in 1648, he was succeeded by his son Johann Ludwig (1637-1674). However, their interest in the Amerbach legacy seems to have been minimal. Instead of pursuing academic careers like their forefathers, both became merchants. From 1650 onwards, the Amerbach Cabinet was threatened with the fate of most early private collections, that of being broken up and sold to the highest bidder. Several university professors campaigned strongly for its preservation. Among them the Professor of Law, Remigius Faesch, himself an avid bibliophile, art collector and (apparently) amateur musician,[51] and Professor Johann Rudolf Wettstein were instrumental in convincing the city that the collection should at all costs remain in Basel. In 1661, the city council purchased from the heirs of this dynastic family, a collection of books, paintings, drawings, coins and antiquities which formed the foundation upon which Europe's first public museum was built, paid for with municipal funds.[52]

Although Ludwig's son Basilius was not a bibliophile, it was upon his request that the Amerbach-Iselin library was first systematically catalogued between the years 1628-1630 by the Basel librarian Conrad Pfister.[53] The set of manuscript catalogues contains listings for nearly 10,000 manuscript and printed items.[54] All the music books found in the catalogue were entered in the volume entitled *Philosophicae facultatis bibliothecae Amerbachianae Iselianae ... index* (A.R. I 8), with each musical item alphabetically catalogued either by author (e.g., "Franchini Gafori," "Henrici Glareani," or "Joannis Waltheri") or by subject (e.g., "Cantilenae Latinae," "Gesangbüchlein," or "Musicales voces IV"). Since Pfister described each book in considerable detail (i.e., a full title, a short description of contents, identification of format etc ...) it has been possible to use his catalogue to establish Amerbach-Iselin ownership for manuscripts with no *Ex Libris*, or to confirm what was already documented in the manuscripts themselves. It should be noted, however, that most of the extant manuscripts unquestionably copied, acquired or used by the Amerbach-Iselin clan are not listed in Pfister's catalogue, or in any of the neglected short checklists of books copied by, or for, members of the family: Basel University Library MSS C VIa 64, C VIa 89, C VIa 95[55] and Basel *Kupferstichkabinett* MS Inventory A.[56] On the other hand, as was first pointed out by Wilhelm Merian in 1917, the Pfister Catalogue does contain entries for a few printed and manuscript music volumes which

51 On the large number of printed and manuscript music books once in the possession of this prominent Basel citizen, see KatK, 342.

52 In addition to the study by P. Ganz and E. Major on the origins and disposition of the Amerbach cabinet in Basel *(op. cit.)*, see also Wolfgang D. Wackernagel, "Bonifacius Amerbach. Zu seinem 400. Todestag und zum 300. Jahrestag der Uebernahme des Amerbach-Kabinetts durch Stadt und Universität Basel," *Jurablätter 9* (1962), 113ff. On the University's acquisition of the Amerbach Library, see Andreas Heusler, *Geschichte der öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel* (Basel, 1896), 16ff.

53 For a detailed study on the Iselin-Pfister collaboration, see Carl Roth, "Conrad Pfister, Basilius Iselin und die Amerbachische Bibliothek," *Festschrift Gustav Binz* (Basel, 1935), 179-200.

54 This catalogue is housed today in the University Library of Basel under the call number A.R. I 5-9.

55 These smaller catalogues and checklists, often referred to as the "Schedae Amerbachianae," are not only valuable for identifying printed volumes no longer extant, but also provide important information on the cost of a particular book. Other than the study cited above by B. von Scarpatetti (fn.44), these convolute items have received little or no attention from scholars.

56 For a transcription and discussion of this important Amerbach Inventory, see Ganz and Meyer, *Die Entstehung*, 31ff.

have not survived.[57] Table 1.1 lists the musical entries which the present author was able to find among all of the known library catalogues, inventories and checklists once in the possession of the Amerbach-Iselin family.

Table 1.1. Manuscript and printed music books cited in the Amerbach-Iselin inventories

Catalogue/ Inventory	Call number/Entry/Remarks
Inv. A	*Tütsche gschribne liedlin 4 part. in gold inbunden 4* (partbooks); = CH-Bu F X 1-4[58]
Inv. A	*Tütsche mes Strasburg 8° inbunden 1* (partbook); an unknown printed German mass, probably published in Strassburg.
Inv. A	*Tütsch getruckter liedlin Altus 1* (partbook); identity unknown.
Inv. A	*Introductio gschriben uf pfifen 1* (volume); probably = CH-Bu F X 38.
A.R. I 8	*Balthasari Musculi ausserlesene, anmutige, schöne, mit trostreichen, geistlichen Texten gestelte und colligirte gesänglein, von newem ybersehen und gebessert: darbey auch etliche liebliche und küntliche Horatij Vecchi, Regnardi, Orlandi, Meilandi, Riccij, Hasleri, Vulpij, Hausmanni, Widmanni, und anderer, auff 4, 5, und 6 stimmen componirte gesäng, mit andächtigen geistlichen Texten belegt: durch Erasmum Widmannum Halensem der Zeit bestelten Cantorem und organisten zu Rotenburg auff der Tauber. Getruckt und verlegt zu Nürnberg, durch Simon Halbmayern. 1622. 4°. 5 tomis*;[59] = CH-Bu kk II 18-22.
A.R. I 8	*E.1.9 D. Balthasser Praspergij Merspurgens. Musicae interpretatio clarissima plane atque choralis, cum certissimis regulis atque Exemplorum annotationibus et figuris multum splendidis. in alma Basileorum universitate exercitata. Per Michaelem Furter Ao. 1507. 4°*;[60] = CH-Bu kk II 26.
A.R. I 8	M.1.17 *Cantilenae Latinae et Germanicae prophanae ad musicos modulos decantandae manuscriptae charta 16° forma oblonga*; probably = CH-Bu F X 21.

57 Merian, "Bonifacius Amerbach und Hans Kotter," 156, fn.2. Although Merian does list most of the musical items entered in the Amerbach catalogues, several items were either overlooked, incorrectly transcribed, or left unidentified (see 147, 148 and 156-158). Since Merian's important study on Amerbach is published in one of the earliest issues of the *Basler Zeitschrift* (and thus not easily available), I have chosen to transcribe all musical entries in the Amerbach catalogues, regardless of duplication in Merian's study.

58 The same set of partbooks is entered in Pfister's catalogue (A.R. I 8) under the call number M.1.2.3.4.5 *Musicales voces IV. manuscriptae, in gold eingebunden. 8° oblonga forma. 4or tomulis.* On the identification of these partbooks as Basel University Library MS F X 1-4, see the end of Chapter 2 in this study.

59 Also appears in A.R. I 8 as *Gesänglein Balthasari Musculi mit 4.5. und 6. Stimmen etc.*.

60 Also entered in A.R. I 8 as *Musicae interpretatio choralis, cum regulis certessimis exemplis et figuris, D. Balthassari Praspergij Basileae exercit(ata) 4°.*

A.R. I 8 B.2.20 *Franchini Gaffori Laudensis Musicae prof. practica Musicae utriusque cantus, libris IV modulatissima. Brixiae excusa per Bernardinum Misintam de Papia. 1502 folio*; = CH-Bu kk I 2.

A.R. I 8 *M. Henrici Fabri Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus conscriptum et nunc denuo cum additione alterius compendioli recognitum. Noribergae, apud Theodoricum Gerlatzenium 1569. 8° incompactum*; Amerbach copy no longer extant.

A.R. I 8 *Henrici Loriti Glareani, dodecachordon, seu de XII Musicorum modis. Eiusdem iuvenile carmen sub finem adiectum, in laudem Citharae ac Musicae, dum Agrippinae Coloniae philosophiae daret operam, ad Jo. Coclaeum Noricum Theologum. Basileae per Henricum Petri 1547 folio*; protably = CH-Bu kk I 1.

A.R. I 8 *In Henrici Glareani Helvetij P. Laur. Musicen Isagoge, e quibusque bonis authoribus Latinis et Graecis ad studiosorum utilitatem elaborata ad Falconem Coss. Urbis Aventicensis Basileae per Jo. Froben. 1516. 4° duo exemplaria*; perhaps = CH-Bu kk II 24.

A.R. I 8 *Ex eiusdem dodecachordo Musices epitome Una cum V vocum melodijs super Glareani panegyrico de Helveticarum XIII. urbium laudibus per Manfredum Barbarinum Coregiensem. Basileae 8° per Hieron. Curionem. 1559*; Amerbach copy no longer extant.

A.R. I 8 *Uss Henrici Glareani Musick Usszug des Chorgsangs, denen zu gutt, so der Lateinischen Sprach nit gantz undterricht, und demnach Gottes lob und ehr ergeben sindt. Basel per Henrich Petri. 1559 8° ungebunden*; Amerbach copy no longer extant.

A.R. I 8 *Henrici Loritij Glareani demonstrationes & figures auctiores in Arithmeticam & Musicam Antij Manlij Severini Boethi cuius opera fol. vide incompactum.*[61]

A.R. I 8 *Margaritae philosophicae, Rationalis, Moralis, philosophiae principia, XII libris ... appendices ... in li(brum) V (pars) 9. Musicae figuratae rudimenta ... Basilae ista omnia excudit Henricus Petrus cum Conradi Reschij Bibliopolae impensis 1581-3 4°.*

A.R. I 8 E. 1.9 *Musicae interpretatio choralis, cum regulis certissimis exemplis et figuris, D. Balthassari Praspergii Basileae exercitae 4°*; perhaps = CH-Bu kk II 26.

A.R. I 8 E. 1. 20 *Musices praecepta manuscripta charta. 4° teütsch. incerti autoris*; identity unknown.

61 The same item appears in A.R. I 8 as *In Musicam Anitij Manlij Severini Boethi, demonstrationes et figurae auctiores Henrici Loritij Glareani. fol. incompactum.*

A.R. I 8 — *Musicae doctrinae folia quatour patentia Basileae per Henrichum Petri a° 1557 edita, in quorum primo habetur Phil. Melanchthonis carmen in laudem inclytae urbis Torgae cum figura excellentium musicorum gentilium et sacrorum adjectis distichis. Adami Siberi carmen 4° Goergij Fabricij Pauli Dolscij in laudem musices, cum eiusdem definitione nominis et rei, divisione et subdivisione, causisque efficientibus, et cognatis speciebus. Tria modulandi genera, ex Procli commentario in Timaeum Platonis. Cum M. Matthaei Coleri carmine in laudem artis harumque IV tabellarum*; unknown print.

A.R. I 8 — *Musices rudimenta brevissima Samuelis Mareschallj Basil. per L. Regem 1622. 16°. Vide sub finem psalmorum melod. pro classe Gymnasij 8ª*; perhaps = Iselin copy Frey.- Gryn. D VII 108ᵇ.

A.R. I 8 — G.3.2. *Ioannis Waltheri Chürfurstlichen von Sachsen Senger-Meistern, Wittembergisch deüdsch geistlich gesangbüchlein, mit 4 und 5 stimmen, auffs new mit vleis corrigirt, und mit vielen schönen liedern gemehret. Editi Wittembergae per Georgium Rhaw, 1544 4° Fünf büchlin in schwartz zusammen gebunden. Item Noribergae per Ioh. Montanum et Ulricum Neuber 1546. 4° oblongo;*[62] = CH-Bu kk IV 23-27.

A.R. I 8 — *Durch Sebastianum Virdung, Priestern von Amberg Musica getütscht und aussgezogen, und alles gesang auss den noten in die tabulaturen dieser benanten dreyer Instrumenten, der orgeln, der Lauten und der Flöten transferiren zu lernen kurtzlich gemacht, zu ehren dem hochwürdigen hochgeb. Fürsten und Herren, Wilhelmen Bischove zu Strassburg, seinem gnädigen Herren. 4° oblonga forma. Darin seind schier alle musicalische Instrument abgemohlet*; perhaps = kk II 27.

C VIa 64, no.I, 28 — [unreadable ...] *geistliche Lieder*; identity unknown.

C VIa 64, no.XIIᵇ, fol.6 — *Iac. Fabri Stapulensis elementa musicalia*; = a copy of the *Musica libris quatour demonstrata..Jacobi Fabri stapulensis elementa musicalia.* Paris: Guillaume Cavellat, 1551/1552.

C VIa 89, no.XIII — [item] *113 Musica* [unreadable] *manus*; identity unknown.

C VIa 89, no.XVI, f.23 — *Sixt Dietrich Epicedion*; = a copy of *Epicedion Thomae Sporeri musicorum principis, modulis musica a Sixto Dittricho illustratum.* Strassburg: Peter Schöffer & Mathias Aspiarius, 1534.

C VIa 95, no.II — *Georg Fabri Musica* 4°; = perhaps *Musices practicae erotematum libri II autore M. Gregorio Fabro.* Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1553.

62 The same item is entered in A.R. I 8 with a short title as: *Gesangbüchlein mit 4.5. Stimmen, ex Joh. Waltheri Saxoniae Electoris Musici 4°.*

Since the acquistion of the Amerbach collection nearly doubled the holdings of the University Library, a new Library catalogue was needed, and this task was carried out by Johannes Zwinger (University librarian from 1662-1696). Using Pfister's Amerbach-Iselin catalogue, together with another Pfister catalogue recording the contents of the University Library in 1625 (Katalog A.R. I. 26-30), Zwinger compiled between 1672-1676 a handwritten catalogue which remained in use until the nineteenth century.[63] This catalogue, consisting of no less than 17 volumes (Katalog A.R. I. 36-48 and Kat.Vb Schweiz 198-202), was organized according to five disciplines of study, namely "Theologica," "Iuridica," "Medica," "Philosophica," and "Historica." Within each category, books were classified under the headings "Libri manuscripti membranacei," "Libri manuscripti chartacei" and "Libri impressi." As in the Pfister catalogues, music books were always entered in the "Philosophica" volumes: each item was catalogued either by author, title or subject. As seen in Table 1.2, many of the Amerbach-Iselin musical manuscripts and prints which have survived can be identified in Zwinger's catalogue. Indeed, most of Zwinger's call numbers are still used today by the University Library, and in the few instances where a Zwinger number has been replaced with a new signature, the obsolete siglum can usually be found on the bindings, or on one of the manuscript's flyleaves.

Table 1.2. Amerbach-Iselin music manuscripts and prints cited in the Zwinger catalogue

Catalogue	Catalogue folio: Entry
Vb Schweiz 202	folio 168r: F X 25, 26, 27, 28 Horatii odarum concentus IV voces. 4 voluminibus in 16. forma oblonga.
Vb Schweiz 202	folio 127r: F X 21 Cantilenae Latinae et Germanicae profanae ad musicos modulos decantandae manuscriptae charta 16° forma oblonga.
Vb Schweiz 202	folio 195r: F IX 22. Musica totius artificialis fundamentum, artificialiter compositum pro sus clavicordie. In 4°.
Vb Schweiz 202	folio 195r: F X 1.2.3.4. Musicales voces quatuor. In 8° forma oblonga.
Vb Schweiz 202	folio 195r: F X 5.6.7.8. [Musicales voces quatour]. In 8° forma oblonga.
Vb Schweiz 202	folio 195r: F X 22.23.24. [Musicales voces] tres, Discantus, Altus et Bassus. In 16° forma oblonga.
Vb Schweiz 202	folio 195r: F X 9.10. Musici Libelli duo. In 8° forma oblonga [Zwinger incorrectly catalogued F X 9 as part of F X 10.]
Vb Schweiz 202	folio 195r: F IX 32.33.34.35. Musicales Voces quatour. In 8° forma oblonga.

63 On Johannes Zwinger, see A. Heusler, *Geschichte, passim.*, and Martin Steinmann, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel.* Publikationen der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, no.1 (Basel, 1987), 4, 16, 18, and 27.

A.R. I 44	page 1: X V 40. Gafferi, Francisci, Laudensis. Practica Musicae Brixiae Anno 1502 folio [= today CH-Bu kk I 2.]
A.R. I 44	page 325: Z III 77. Marescalli, Samueles. Rudimenta Musicae Basel 1622 in 12° [= today Frey-Gryn. D VII 108[b].]
A.R. I 44	page 429: Y VI 37-41. Musculi, Balthasari. Partium Musicalium Pars. I. Cantus. Norimbergae 1622. in 4°. Pars II. Altus. Norimbergae 1622. in 4°. Pars III. Tenor. Norimbergae 1622. in 4°. Pars IV. Bassus. Norimbergae 1622. in 4°. Pars V. ... et VI. Norimbergae 1622. in.4°; [= today kk II 19-22.]
A.R. I 45	page 393: Z II 77-81. Waltheri, Johannis Geistlich Gesangbuchlin V Vocum. Erster Theil Wittebergae 1544 in 4° forma oblonga. Ander Theil Wittebergae 1544 in 4° forma oblonga. Dritter Theil Wittebergae 1544 in 4° forma oblonga. Vierter Theil Wittebergae 1544 in 4° forma oblonga. Funfter Theil Wittebergae 1544 in 4° forma oblonga; [= today kk IV 23-27.]

Using the Amerbach catalogues, checklists, inventories, and correspondence, taken together with the extant music books from the Amerbach estate, it is possible to reconstruct the musical items once housed in the Amerbach-Iselin library. Table 1.3 lists all the printed and manuscript music books and notes those items which are either no longer extant or cannot be identified as being today within the University's holdings.

Table 1.3. A reconstruction of the Amerbach-Iselin music library

Vocal Manuscripts	
C VIa 73, fol.126	Untexted Altus Part; copied by Bonifacius Amerbach.
F IX 32-35	Lieder, Chansons and Motets; Ex Libris of Basilius Amerbach, November 1546.
F X 1-4	Lieder, Chansons and Motets; listed in the Amerbach catalogue A.R. I 8, and in Amerbach Inventory A.
F X 5-9	Lieder, Chansons and Motets; Ex Libris of Bonifacius (1510) and Basilius Amerbach.
F X 10	Lieder; Ex Libris of Bonifacius Amerbach, 1510.
F X 21	Lieder, Motets and Madrigals; Ex Libris of Ludwig Iselin.
F X 22-24	Lieder, Chansons and Dances appended to RISM 1535[11]; Ex Libris of Basilius Amerbach, 1551.

F X 25-26 Horatian Odes, Lieder and Motets; Copied by Ludwig Iselin.

kk II 32 Mass fragment appended to RISM 1510; Copied by Bonifacius Amerbach.

kk IV 23-27 Lieder appended to RISM DKL 1544[12]; Copied by Basilius Amerbach.

Printed Vocal Music

kk II 32 *Canzoni nove con alcune scelte*, Rome: A. Antico, 1510 (= RISM 1510); Ex Libris of Bonifacius Amerbach, 1512.

kk II 19-22 Balthasari Musculi, *Auserlesene Anmutige ... mit trostreichen geistlichen Texten gestellte und colligirte Gesänglien, von newen ubersehen und gebessert*, Nuremberg: Simon Halbmayer 1622 (= RISM 1622[15]); Ex Libris of Basilius Iselin, 1624.

kk IV 23-27 Johann Walter, *Wittembergisch deudsch geistlich Gesangbüchlein*, Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw 1544 (= RISM DKL 1544[12]) and Gaspare Otmaier, *Epitaphium D. Martini Lutheri*, Nuremberg: Montani and Ulrich Neuber, 1547; Ex Libris of Basilius Amerbach, January 1547.

F X 22-24 *Reutterliedlin*, Frankfurt a. M.: C. Egenolff 1535 (= RISM 1535[11]); Ex Libris of Basilius Amerbach, 1547.

unknown Georg Fabricus, Paulus Dolscius, Adam Silber, *Musicae doctrinae*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1557; listed in Pfister Catalogue A.R. I 8.

Sixt Dietrich, *Magnificat octo tonorum*. Strassburg: Peter Schöffer & Mathias Apiarus, 1535/1537; mentioned in a letter written to Bonifacius by Dietrich, cf. AK IV, no.1862.

Epecedion Thomae Sporeri musicorum principis, modulis musica a Sixto Dittrichio llustratum. Strassburg: Peter Schöffer & Mathias Apiarus, 1534; mentioned in a Deitrich-Amerbach letter (cf. AK IV, no.1862) and in the Amerbach catalogue C VIa 89, no.XVI, f.23.

Keyboard Manuscripts

F I 8a Hans Buchner Organbook and *Fundamentum*; Ex Libris of Bonifacius Amerbach, 1551.

F IX 22 Lieder, Dances, Free Instrumental Pieces and Motets; Ex Libris of Bonifacius Amerbach, 1513.

F IX 58 Lieder and Dances; partially copied by Bonifacius Amerbach and mentioned in the Amerbach correspondence.

Lute Manuscripts

F IX 23 Dances, Lieder and a Lute Treatise; Ex Libris of Ludwig Iselin.

F IX 56 — Chansons and a Free Instrumental Piece; Copied by Bonifacius Amerbach.

F X 11 — Dances, Lieder and a Lute Treatise; Copied by Ludwig Iselin.

Recorder Manuscript

F X 38 — Introduction to Recorder Playing; listed in Amerbach Inventory A.

Printed Music Treatises

Balthasser Prasperg, *Clarissima plane atque choralis musice interpretatio*. Basel: Michael Furter, 1507; listed in Pfister catalogue A.R. I 8.

Henrich Faber, *Compendiolum musicae*. Nuremberg: Theodor Gerlach, 1569; unknown edition, listed in Pfister catalogue A.R. I 8.

Gregor Fabri, *Musices practicae*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1553; listed in Pfister catalogue A.R. I 8.

kk I 2 — Franchino Gaffurio, *Practica musicae*. Brescia: Bernardino Misinta, 1502; Ex Libris of Bonifacius Amerbach, 1513.

kk I 1[?] — Heinrich Glareanus, *Dodecachordon*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1547; listed in Pfister catalogue A.R. I 8.

- *Isagoge in musicen*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1516; listed in Pfister catalogue A.R. I 8.
- *Musicae Epitome sive compendium ex Glareani Dodecachordon*. Basel: Hieronymus Curio, 1559; listed in Pfister catalogue A.R. I 8.
- *Uss Glareani Musick ein Usszug*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1559; listed in Pfister catalogue A.R. I 8.
- *Boethius, Musica*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1559; listed in Pfister catalogue A.R. I 8.

Frey-Gryn. D. VII 108b — Samuel Mareschall, *Melodiae suaves et concinnae psalmorum*. Basel: Ludwig König, 1622; Ex Libris of Ludwig Iselin II.

unknown edition — Gregor Reisch, *Margarita philosophica*. [Basel: Heinrich Petri?] 1581; listed in Pfister catalogue A.R. I 8.

kk II 27[?] — Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getütscht*. Basel: Michael Furter, 1511; listed in Pfister catalogue A.R. I 8.

Manuscript Treatise

Incerti autoris, *Musices praecepta*, (in German); listed in Pfister catalogue A.R. I 8.

Conclusions. Given the family's wealth, their close relationship with several well-known composers and musicians, and their numerous business contacts abroad, it is surprising that printed music books do not represent a larger part of the collection – as they do, for instance, in the libraries owned by such patrician families as the Herwarths[64] or the Fuggers of Augsburg.[65] While some music books from the Amerbach-Iselin library are today missing, these losses (as we have seen) are not very extensive: for the catalogues and inventories from the estate make it clear that the Amerbach Library has survived largely intact.

Since the Amerbach-Iselin music books represent a collection primarily of manuscripts (which were copied by, or for, members of this illustrious clan), one can safely conclude that their contents reflect the musical tastes and abilities of this specific Basel family. While the manuscripts do contain much of the main stream repertory marketed by such printers as Georg Rhau of Wittenberg,[66] Antonio Gardano of Venice,[67] and Pierre Attaingnant of Paris,[68] (and as such demonstrate that the Amerbachs' tastes were cosmopolitan), their true value lies in the numerous *unica* attributed not only to premier composers of the German-speaking realm, but also to several lesser-known individuals. Indeed, as we shall now see, turning our attention to each songbook, one of two factors always played an important role in the choice of repertory: the exclusive tastes of the manuscript's scribes and owners, or the unavailabilty of printed music at the time specific items were copied.

64 On the Herwarth music library, see M.L. Martinez-Göllner, "Die Augsburger Bibliothek Herwart und ihre Lautentabulaturen," *Fontis artis musicae*, XVI (1969), 29ff; and H. Colin Slim, "The Music Library of the Augsburg Patrician, Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520-1583)," *Annales musicologiques*, VII (1964-77), 67ff.

65 The content of the Fugger music library is discussed in Richard Schaal, "Die Musikbibliothek von Raimund Fugger d. J.: Ein Beitrag zur Musiküberlieferung des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Acta musicologica*, XXIX (1957), 126ff.

66 For a complete bibliography and list of Rhau's musical publications, see Victor H. Mattfeld, "Georg Rhau," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980) 15, 787-789.

67 On the music books issued by this prolific Italian printer, see Mary Lewis, *Antonio Gardano: Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569* (New York and London, 1988).

68 For a comprehensive study on the life and works of this important figure in music history, see Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant, Royal Printer of Music* (Berkeley, 1969).

Chapter 2

The Compilation and Ownership of Basel University Library Manuscript F X 1-4

In memory of my fellow Brooklynite,
Julius Richter

Since 1893, when its contents were first published by the German-American Julius Richter, the manuscript, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F X 1-4 has assumed an important role in our understanding of sixteenth-century German polyphonic song.[1] Its significance as containing one of the largest surviving handwritten collections of Tenorlieder is enhanced by virtue of the fact that over a third of its contents (as shown in Inventory A of Part III) cannot be found elsewhere. Among its 40 *unica* are many attributed to Ludwig Senfl, Heinrich Isaac, Sixt Dietrich, and the Alsatian Kleinmeister Paul Wüst (see Table 2.1). Moreover, the manuscript contains several unique compositions assigned to composers who would otherwise be unknown. Indeed, since 96 of the manuscript's 119 pieces carry attributions, F X 1-4 has enabled scholars to establish authorship for numerous compositions preserved anonymously elsewhere.

In addition to its value as the sole surviving witness for many German works, F X 1-4 is one of a small group of sources testifying to the popularity of the Franco-Netherlandish chanson within German-speaking lands;[2] as such, it provides vital information for studying the transmission and reception of a famous international repertory.

Table 2.1. Composers cited by name in CH-Bu F X 1-4

Composer	Total Pieces	Unica
Ludwig Senfl	38	10
Paul Wüst	10	10
Sixt Dietrich	8	4
Heinrich Isaac	7	4
Pierre de La Rue	5	0
Mathias Greiter	5	0
Josquin Desprez	4	0
Georg Cesar	3	3
Johann Buchner	2	1
Wolfgang Dachstein	1	1
Heinrich Finck	1	1
Johann Fuchswild	1	1
Wolfgang Grefinger/Ludwig Senfl	1	0

1 Julius Richter, *Katalog der Musik-Sammlung auf der Universitäts-Bibliothek in Basel (Schweiz)*, (= Supplement to *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* XXIII/XXIV, 1892/93), 43ff.

2 For a list of these manuscripts see below, Table 2.5.

W. Lausser	1	1
Johann Schlend	1	1
Johann Schrem	1	1
Rupert Unterholtzer	1	1
Franciscus Strus	1	0
Bendedictus Ducis	1	0
Lupus Hellinck	1	0
Leo X	1	0
Jean Mouton	1	1
Mathias Pipelare	1	0
Totals	*96*	*40*

Despite the numerous studies and editions which have cited the manuscript's readings, the origins of F X 1-4 have yet to be established, or indeed even seriously discussed.[3] Perhaps this is because the partbooks lack the hard external evidence that would offer an immediate answer to their place of origin; there is, for example, no *Ex Libris*, dedicatory inscription, heraldic device or topical text which points to a specific citizen or institution for whom the partbooks were destined. Nonetheless, in 1917 Wilhelm Merian stated that the manuscript "mit Sicherheit" belonged to the Basel humanist Bonifacius Amerbach.[4] His evidence, however, was not based on an analysis of the partbooks nor on any of the extant documents from the Amerbach estate. Rather, it was drawn from an nineteenth-century handwritten inventory of the library's musical holdings, where the partbooks were described as "Liederbüchlein des Bonifacius Amerbach." Despite this, most musicologists have associated the collection of polyphony with Amerbach, citing Merian.[5] Equally troublesome is the question of when the manuscript was copied. Julius Richter tacitly proposed a date sometime during the first half of the century.[6] Thirty-seven years later Hans Joachim Moser, while discussing the transmission of Senfl's "Früharbeiten," implied that the manuscript was compiled at roughly the same time as Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Manuscript 3155, namely "etwa von 1520."[7] More recently, Arnold Geering, working apparently from the assumption that the dates found in F X 1-4 record times of compilation, dated the partbooks between 1522-1524.[8] Finally, in 1963,

3 A summary of the secondary literature can be found in Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman (eds.), *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, Renaissance Manuscript Studies, Vol.1 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1973), 29-30.

4 Wilhelm Merian, "Bonifacius Amerbach und Hans Kotter," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XVI/I (1917), 149.

5 Included among the numerous studies which have cited Bonifacius Amerbach as the manuscript's original owner are: Arnold Geering, *Die Vokalmusik in der Schweiz zur Zeit der Reformation (=Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, X, 1933), 84ff; *idem.* and Wilhelm Altwegg, eds., *Ludwig Senfl. Sämtliche Werke*, Vol.V (Wolfenbüttel-Zürich, 1949), 109; Alfred Quellmalz, "Der Spielmann, Komponist und Schulmeister Paul Wüst (um 1470 – um 1540)," *Zum 70. Geburtstag von Joseph Müller-Blattau* (Berlin, 1966), 223ff; and Martin Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 248-249.

6 Richter, *Katalog*, 43.

7 Moser, *Hofhaimer*, 121 and 126.

8 Geering, *Ludwig Senfl. Sämtliche Werke*, Vol.2, 123.

Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht proposed a compilation date of 1540, though without documentation.[9]

Since the authenticity and chronology of many sixteenth-century composers' works rely solely on the testimony of this one manuscript witness, establishing its origins is crucial to a number of arguments. Indeed, there is a large body of evidence – repertorial, paleographical, and archival – that can be summoned to bear directly on the manuscript's history. The present chapter presents the results of this source-critical and archival study. Such an approach in fact confirms Bonifacius Amerbach as the manuscript's original owner, but also, and perhaps more importantly, resolves the question of the origins of the source, by securing the names of the two scribes responsible for its compilation.

The Contents of F X 1-4

That a manuscript's repertory can provide important clues for localizing its origins, and, on occasion, even associating it with a specific scribe or owner has long been recognized. Limiting our examples to sources copied in the German-speaking realm, relationships have been shown to exist between the city of Vienna and the repertory of the St. Emmeram Codex (D-Mbs Clm 14274),[10] between the court of Maximilian I and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS 3155, [11] and between Bonifacius Amerbach and Basel Universitätsbibliothek F IX 22.[12]

F X 1-4 contains a large number of pieces attributed to composers who either flourished at the court of Duke Ulrich of Württemberg,[13] lived in the neighboring Alsace region, or were associated with Bonifacius Amerbach. As shown in Table 2.1, these include no less than ten *unica* ascribed to the Alsatian composer Paul Wüst, who in addition to serving as headmaster at the Latin school in Kaysersberg (a village northwest of Colmar) in 1520, was offered the position of court jester to the count of Württemberg.[14] The manuscript also preserves an *unicum* (*Ich stond an einem morgen*, no.66)

9 Lothar Hoffman-Erbrecht, *Thomas Stoltzer. Leben und Schaffen (= Die Musik im Alten und Neuen Europa*, 5, 1964), 165.

10 For an exemplary analysis of this important 15th-century German collection, see Ian Rumbold, "The Compilation and Ownership of the 'St. Emmeram' Codex (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274)," *Early Music History*, II (1981), 161-235.

11 See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 239ff.

12 On the origins of this important volume of German keyboard tabulature, see Wilhelm Merian, "Drei Handschriften aus der Frühzeit des Klavierspiels," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, II (1919/20), 22f; *idem., Die Tabulaturen des Organisten Hans Kotter* (Basel, 1916); W. Gurlitt, "Johannes Kotter und sein Freiburger Tabulaturbuch von 1513," *Elsass-Lothringisches Jahrbuch*, XIX (1941), 216-237; Hans Joachim Marx, "Der Tabulatur-Codex des Basler Humanisten Bonifacius Amerbach," *Musik und Geschichte: Leo Schrade zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Cologne, 1963), 50ff; *idem., Tabulaturen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Die Tabulaturen aus dem Besitz des Basler Humanisten Bonifacius Amerbach*, Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler 6/1 (Basel, 1967); and John Kmetz, *Katalog der Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts: Quellenkritische und historische Untersuchung*, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, (Basel, 1988; hereafter KatK), 75-84.

13 Although the musical court of Duke Ulrich, and of his son Christoph, are frequently discussed in the musicological literature, a definitive study on the subject has yet to be written. By far, the best work still remains the articles of Gustav Bossert, "Die Hofkapelle unter Herzog Ulrich," *Württembergische Vierteljahrsheft für Landesgeschichte*, XXV (1916), 383-430, and "Die Hofkapelle unter Herzog Christoph," *Württembergische Vierteljahrsheft*, XXVII (1918), 124-167.

14 On the life and works of Paul Wüst, see Quellmalz, "Der Spielmann, Komponist und Schulmeister Paul Wüst."

ascribed to Johannes Fuchswild, a singer in the court chapel at Stuttgart from 1508 to 1513, and known otherwise only from two songs printed by Schoeffer in 1513 and one published by Johannes Ott in 1537. Another composition not to be found elsewhere is *Ach Elselin* (no.22), a setting of the well-known German text by the Strassburg organist Wolfgang Dachstein, whose abilities as a composer of polyphony are known only from this one extant work. Additional Kleinmeister from the region represented in the manuscript include Georg Brack (court composer and Kapellmeister for Duke Ulrich), and Johann Schlend (Organist from Zabern, a city 10 kilometers north of Strassburg).

The partbooks also transmit a large number of pieces attributed to famous composers of German-speaking lands, who either hailed from the *oberrheinisch-alemannische* region or secured posts there during the course of their itinerant careers. They include Mathias Greiter (organist from Strassburg), Heinrich Finck (Hofkapellmeister in Stuttgart from 1510-1514), Sixt Dietrich (resident of Breisach, Freiburg i. Breisgau and Strassburg between ca 1508 and 1517, and a good friend of Bonifacius Amerbach) and of course Switzerland's most illustrious musical figure, Ludwig Senfl, who apparently was born in Basel.[15] However it should be noted that the manuscript also contains the works of composers for whom no connection with the region can at present be established. Following the biographical information found in the manuscript, they are Georg Cesar Vindelicus (from Augsburg), Rupert Unterholtzer (student of Henrich Finck), Franz Struss (organist from Cologne) and the unknown composer W. Lausser. Further, the manuscript preserves a number of French pieces attributed to members of Europe's international musical circuit: Pierre de La Rue, Josquin Desprez, Mathias Pipelare, Jean Mouton, Bendictus Ducis, and Pope Leo X.

Physical Description

Paper. This set of four partbooks, measuring 9.7 X 15.5 cm, is written on one paper type, couched from two molds (see KatK, 448: Abb.72-73). The watermark, representing a running bear (the heraldic device of Bern), shows a strong resemblance to Briquet no.12267 and Lindt nos. 14 and 15.[16] According to both Briquet and Lindt, this mark is encountered in documents written in Switzerland during the first-half of the sixteenth century (1507-1553). The mark found in the partbooks can also be seen today in the so-called *Bieler Meiermats Büchlein* (CH-Bu H I 46), a manuscript of Basel provenance which is dated 1526. However, unlike the pair of bears in manuscript H I 46, those in manuscript F X 1-4 show no signs of wear (or even of incipient distortion) as they were couched from their respective molds.[17] The paper is of a sturdy quality containing a

15 Concerning Senfl's date and place of birth, see A. Geering's article on "Senfl," in *MGG*, XII, 498; and Ludwig Bente, *Neue Wege*, 271.

16 Charles M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (Geneva, 1907; revised edition, ed. Allan Stevenson, Amsterdam, 1968), Vol.II; Johann Lindt, *The Paper-Mills of Berne and their watermarks* (Hilversum, 1964).

17 Concerning watermark twins and their states, see Allan Stevenson, "Watermarks Are Twins," *Studies in Bibliography*, IV (1951/52), 57-91; *idem.*, "Chain Indentations in Paper as Evidence," *Studies in Bibliography*, VI (1954), 181-195; *idem.*, "Paper as Bibliographical Evidence," *The Library*, XVII (1962), 197-212; *idem.*, *The Problem of the Missale Speciale* (London, 1967), especially Chapter III; and the important work of Theodor Gerardy, *Datieren mit Hilfe von Wasserzeichen*, Schaumburger Studien im Auftrage der Historischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Schaumburg, IV (Bückeburg, 1964).

considerable amount of the vatman's recipe. Apart from slight foxing, the paper is in very good condition. Yet many of its leaves show traces of use; especially those transmitting piece nos. 1 (*Ach froewlin zart*) and 72 (*Ach medlin rein*), where the folios in all partbooks are smudged and dirtied. The notion that F X 1-4 was indeed used, and not just admired, will be supported later when we examine the present condition of its original binding.

Foliation and Numeration. Each partbook is foliated with arabic numerals in modern pencil, with roman numerals reserved for flyleaves. In addition, there is an early numeration in ink, which excludes the manuscript's first 20 compositions as well as its last one. The original system, consisting of the numbers 3-100, begins at modern number 21 (=3) and ends at modern number 118 (=100). It was entered in arabic numbers next to the initial system of each piece by the scribe responsible for copying the corresponding pieces. When the scribe reached 100, he changed to roman numerals. Apart from a few insignificant errors corrected by the present author in 1987 on the manuscript, the original numeration shows no signs of ever having been altered or revised.[18]

Collation. The paper was folded and cut to produce a set of volumes in oblong octavo format, thus corresponding to the two *Liederhandschriften* for which Amerbach ownership (as shall be seen in Chapter 3) is well-documented. However, unlike F X 5-9 and F X 10 (which carry Bonifacius' *Ex Libris*), the gathering structure of F X 1-4 is remarkably regular and (except for the initial gathering of the bass partbook) shows no evidence of ever having been altered:

Discant (F X 1): II + 92 folios.
Gatherings: 12 Quaternios.
Remarks: The front and back paste-downs are conjugate with folios 5 and 86 respectively.
Altus (F X 2): IV + 88 folios.
Gatherings: 23 Binios.
Remarks: The front and back paste-downs were apparently once conjugate with each other, they are now detached.
Tenor (F X 3): II + 116 folios.
Gatherings: 30 Binios.
Remarks: The front and back paste-downs are conjugate with folios 1 and 114 respectively.
Bassus (F X 4): II + 91 folios.
Gatherings: 1 (Binio – 1 leaf)=fols. I-II + 23 Binios=fols.1-91.
Remarks: After folio II, one leaf has been torn out which was conjugate to the front paste-down (the first leaf of the binio). Folio 89 and the back paste-down are conjugate.

From the evidence of the gathering structure, coupled with the use of only one paper, it seems reasonably clear that the partbooks were from the outset conceived as a unit.

18 In F X 2, the vagans part to modern number 93 (= original number 75) is incorrectly listed as No.76; and in F X 4 the original numbers 51 and 52 were incorrectly designated 50 and 51 respectively.

Moreover, since many blank gatherings were left at the end of each volume, it would appear that the paper was assembled, folded, and cut into gatherings before much of its music was entered. Indeed, such an hypothesis receives support from an examination of the manner in which one of its two scribes prepared the pages for ruling.

Handwriting. As was noted by Julius Richter, F X 1-4 consists of two distinct scribal layers.[19] The first was copied by a scribe whom I shall call S1, who entered the manuscript's initial 18 pieces. The scribe wrote in a large German cursive text hand, maintained impeccable German orthography, and used lozenge-shaped semibreve and minim forms (see KatK, 413-414: Abb.9-12). It is evident from the color of his ink (a consistent dark brown) and from the broad nib of his quill that he wrote both the music and the text in his portion of the manuscript. Moreover, since his work constitutes the manuscript's initial entries, it would seem safe to infer that S1 prepared the manuscript, an hypothesis which will be confirmed when we examine the index copied by the second scribe.

S1's music and text hands are rather rough in appearance and his writing block is seldom consistent from opening to opening (5.5-6.5 X 9.5-11.5 cm). Yet there are several indications which suggest that this was not his first copying job. In addition to preparing all of his pages with a single-staved rastrum (1.25 cm wide), S1 was capable of producing more than one music hand.[20] Moreover, his musical texts, while containing a fair amount of *c.o.p* ligatures and coloration, are always accurately recorded. S1 would appear to be a literate musical scribe, who apparently never needed to make substantive changes to his copy text. Rather, as can be seen by examining one of the exemplars from which he worked, he scrupulously reproduced what was placed before him.

Among the 18 Tenorlieder entered by S1 is a group of seven songs (nos.3-9) each of which is concordant with Erhart Oeglin's Songbook (= RISM 1512[1]), Germany's first set of printed partbooks. These pieces do not appear in the same order as in the edition, yet philological evidence strongly suggests that S1 copied from this Augsburg volume, (or at least from a source which was dependent on it). The evidence, as seen from a comparison of Figure 2.1 with Figure 2.2, can be summarized as follows: 1) Most of the pieces transmit not only the same readings but also the same ligature and coloration patterns; 2) a number of line-endings for individual compositions are identical; 3) the rests, musical repetition signs, and time signatures in each piece are, with few exceptions, located on the same line(s) or space(s) of the stave; and 4) the amount of text copied for each piece is always the same. This close stemmatic relationship between the first layer of F X 1-4 and the Oeglin *Liederbuch* argues for a *terminus post quem* of 1512 for the compilation of F X 1-4.

19 Richter, *Katalog*, 43 and 45.

20 See KatK, 413: Abb.9. That this diamond-shaped notation (found only in F X 1 on folio 1r) was also produced by S1 is clear, based on a few paleographical details: 1) On comparison with the other parts of *Ach froewlin zart* copied by S1 using lozenge-shaped forms, the diamond-shaped notes are accompanied by the same style of custodes, mensuration sign and C-clef; 2) the text incipit on folio 1r of F X 1 was clearly executed by the same scribe (S1) in all four partbooks, as can be seen from a comparison of KatK, 413: Abb.9 with Abb.10 and 414: Abb.11; and 3) the notation, staves and text incipit for each part were copied in the same brown ink.



Figure 2.1. Isaac. *Fruntlich und milde* (*RISM* 1512[1], Altus, no.33)

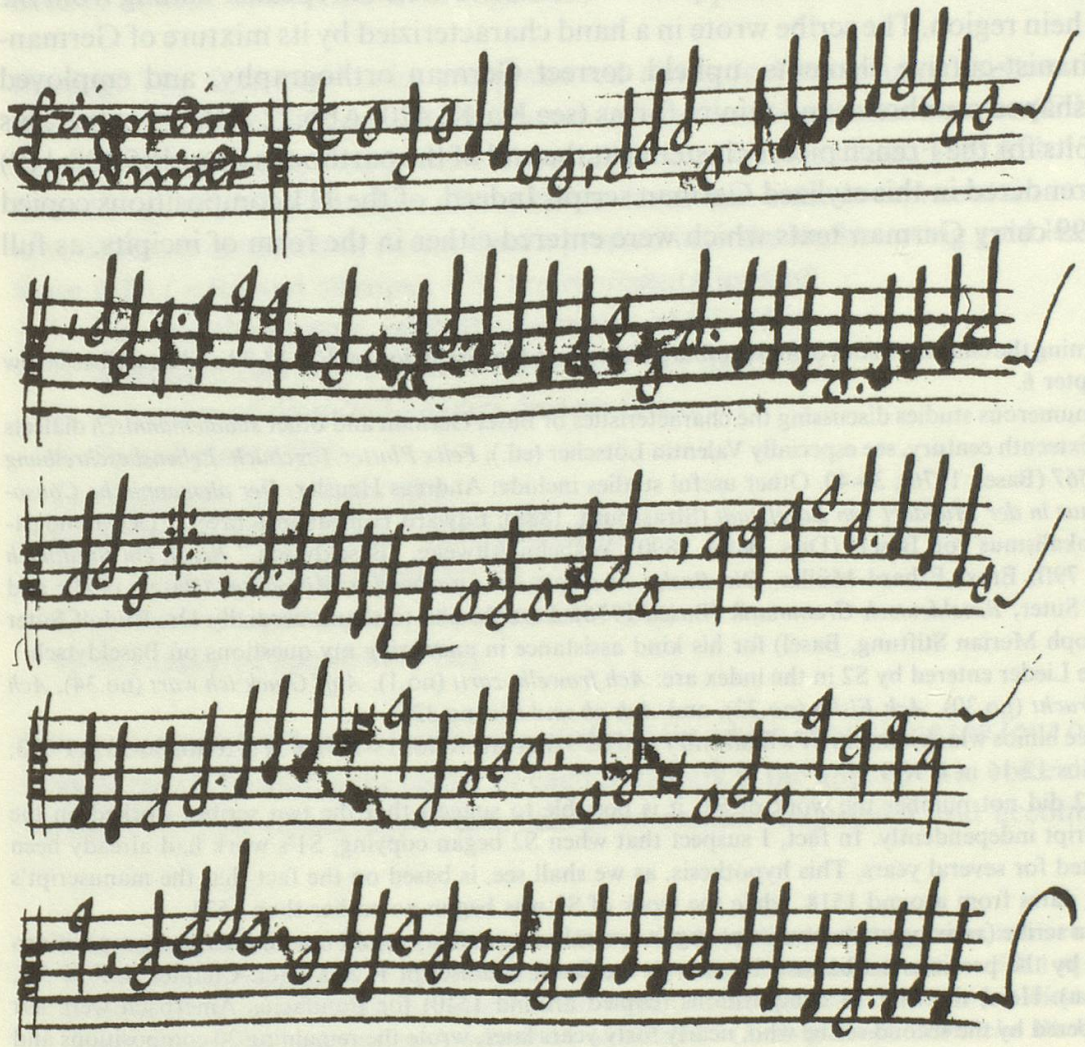


Figure 2.2. Isaac. *Fruntlich und milde* (CH-Bu F X 2, Altus, no.5)

Although S1 faithfully entered the musical texts of his Augsburg exemplar, he did not always reproduce the poetry's orthography exactly. For example, while S1 preserved most of Oeglin's Bavarian spellings, he consistently altered the dipthong *ei* to an *i* or *y*, as in such words as *dein* (=*din*), *fleiss* (=*fliss*), *weiss* (=*wyss*), and *erleidt* (=*erlidt*). Moreover, many of Oeglin's *Umlaut u*'s were changed by S1 to an *i*, as in *Glick* (instead of *Glück*), or *fir* (instead of *für*). These spellings, as well as others, are not characteristic of Augsburg or its environs.[21] Rather, they represent features of a *südalemannisch* dialect, namely one which would have been spoken by a musician who hailed from Basel and its environs.[22] Indeed, since these spellings can be found in all the pieces copied by S1, it would seem a reasonable inference either that S1 was from the area, or that he was consciously making these spelling changes to please someone residing in this *Sprachgebiet*, and for whom the partbooks were destined.

The second scribe (=S2) copied the remaining 111 pieces (nos.19-119) and began an alphabetical index of text incipits on folio 1v of the tenor partbook. Although this index lists only five songs, the fact that it cites one piece copied by S1 strongly suggests that S2 began his layer of the manuscript after S1's work was completed.[23] Admittedly, such a statement might seem unnecessary since S2's layer immediately follows S1's, and, in three of the partbooks, begins in a gathering which contains S1's final entry.[24] Yet, the point needs to be made: for while S2 consecutively numbered each of his pieces 3 – 100 (his first two entries were left unnumbered) he did not assign numeration to any of the songs copied by S1.[25] Like S1, S2 would appear to be a native German speaker hailing from the upper-Rhein region. The scribe wrote in a hand characterizied by its mixture of German- and humanist-cursive elements, upheld correct German orthography, and employed lozenge-shaped semibreve and minim forms (see KatK, 420: Abb.22 & 23). Further, his text incipits for the French pieces clustered at the end of the partbooks (nos. 105,108-119) are also rendered in this stylized German script. Indeed, of the 111 compositions copied by him, 99 carry German texts which were entered either in the form of incipits, as full

21 Concerning the characteristics of an Augsburg dialect, see the discussion on F X 17-20 and its scribes below in Chapter 6.

22 Of the numerous studies discussing the characteristics of Basel German and other *südalemannisch* dialects in the sixteenth century, see especially Valentin Lötscher (ed.), *Felix Platter Tagebuch. Lebensbeschreibung 1536-1567* (Basel, 1976), 36-40. Other useful studies include: Andreas Heusler, *Der alemannische Consonantismus in der Mundart von Baselstadt* (Strassburg, 1888); Edward Hoffmann-Krayer, "Der mundartliche Vokalismus von Basel" (Diss. Basel, 1890); Wilhelm Altwegg, "Baseldytsch," *Basel, ein Stadtbuch* (1932), 79ff; Ernst Erhard Müller, *Die Basler Mundart im ausgehenden Mittelalter* (Basel, 1953); and Rudolf Suter, *Baseldeutsch-Grammatik* (Basel, 1976). I would like to thank cordially Dr. Rudolf Suter (Christoph Merian Stiftung, Basel) for his kind assistance in answering my questions on Baseldytsch.

23 The five Lieder entered by S2 in the index are: *Ach frowelin zartt* (no.1), *Auff Gluck ich wart* (no.34), *Ach werde frucht* (no.30), *Ach Elslin* (no.22), and *Ach ab und hin* (no.32).

24 The three binios which contain S1's final entry and S2's first are: folios 13-16 in F X 2, folios 30-33 in F X 3, and folios 13-16 in F X 4.

25 Since S2 did not number the work of S1, it is possible to suggest that the two scribes worked on the manuscript independently. In fact, I suspect that when S2 began copying, S1's work had already been completed for several years. This hypothesis, as we shall see, is based on the fact that the manuscript's binding dates from around 1518, while the work of S2 was begun no earlier than 1524.

That a scribe (arriving at a manuscript begun several years earlier) would not number the compositions entered by the previous scribe, can be seen in the Basel manuscript F X 5-9 (cf. Chapter 3, F X 5-9, Foliation). Here, the first 13 compositions (copied around 1510) for Bonifacius Amerbach were left unnumbered by the second scribe who, nearly forty years later, wrote the remaining 30 compositions and numbered each of his entries beginning with the arabic number 1.

text underlay, or with further strophes of verse at the conclusion of a tenor part. Here too, *südalemannisch* orthography can be detected. In addition to those used by S1, there are throughout S2's work a number of other spellings which point to the upper-Rhein as a possible place of origin. Among those which turn up most frequently are: *ouch* (instead of *auch*), *hercz* (for *Herz*), and *griess dich* (for *grüss dich*).[26]

While S1 and S2 appear to have shared the same German dialect, their copying methods are demonstrably different. Unlike S1, S2 drew all of his staves by hand (1-1.5 cm high), used a narrow rather than broad nibbed quill, and copied his texts (music and verse) in an ink which maybe characterized today by its light brownish-gold hue. Indeed, since not only his script, but also his writing instrument and medium remained the same from his first to last entry, it would appear that S2 copied his portion of the manuscript over a relatively short period of time; a fact which will prove of decisive importance when we later analyze the scribe's dated entries. Apart from these paleographical features, S2's copying habits deviated from S1's in that he systematically prepared each of his folios for ruling. The horizontal boundaries of his writing block were established by making two vertical folds, one along each outer margin in either a leaf or a group of adjacent leaves. Since these folds were produced without the assistance of prickings or blind rulings, the width of the writing block varies from folio to folio and from gathering to gathering (11.6-13 cm wide). However, on many occasions the writing space is identical across gathering joins; thereby implying that S1 was working with a set of partbooks which were already bound, or at least sewn together.

Binding. The four partbooks are preserved today in their original sixteenth-century bindings. This matching set of light brown calf leather covers over wooden (F X 1 and 2) or paper (F X 3 and 4) boards was elaborately decorated (see KatK, 489: Abb.171). Aside from the gauffered gold edges (Plate 2), the front and back covers contain no less than nine different ornamental devices, each pressed into the leather using gold leaf. Among these rolls (=R) and stamps (=S) are representations of:

1) Eve and the serpent, with the numerals "MV" (R);
2) A woman carrying a potted plant over her head (R);
3) A border of diamond-shaped devices (R);
4) Potted plants (R);
5) A garland of flowers (R);
6) A four-petalled flower with stems (S);
7) A garland of pomegranates (R);
8) A different garland of pomegranates (R);
9) A runner of sunflowers (R).

These stamps were framed within a tooled border which runs along the four outer edges of each cover. Found in the center of each partbook is the appropriate voice designation stamped in gold (using upper-case letters of roman majuscule) and accompanied by

26 The scribe's predilection for such spellings was first noticed by Wilhelm Altwegg who, in his commentary to the second volume of Senfl's collected works, stated: "Die Basler Handschrift B1 [= F X 1-4] wiederum ist wertvoll als einziges Zeugnis für mehrere sonst nicht überlieferte Texte. Aber sie hat diese Texte in das Alemannische des baslerischen Abschreibers umgesetzt." (*Ludwig Senfl. Sämtliche Werke*, edited by Arnold Geering and Wilhelm Altwegg, Vol.II, 1962/R, 135).

either one or two stamped leaves: (leaf) "DISCANTVS"; "ALTVS" (leaf); (leaf) "TENOR" (leaf); and (leaf) "BASSVS." Along their fore-edges, the partbooks also show remnants of the original two pairs of green linen tie-threads.

In 1936, F X 2 was restored by the University bookbinder Oskar Schmidlin who, using leather from the original binding, masterfully rebuilt its spine and edges. Thirty-nine years later F X 1 was completely overhauled in the library's bindery. In addition to being resewn and rebacked, it was given new head caps and head bands, and two pairs of modern green linen tie-threads were inserted to replace the old ones. While these two bindings have been tastefully repaired, their tenor and bass companions are still in their original ailing state. Their covers are heavily rubbed and worm-eaten and their edges cracked. Moreover, the spines have deteriorated (F X 4) or no longer exist (F X 3) and have been temporarily repaired with a brown leather binder's tape. Indeed, if the present condition of F X 3 and F X 4 is in any way an indication of what the restored bindings once looked like, it is clear that the partbooks, even though honored with a magnificent binding, were subjected to considerable use. The bindings are preserved today in a modern cloth case solander box.

Although these bindings are neither dated nor stamped with the name or initials of the original owner, there are good reasons to believe that they were excuted around 1518, that the binder was a Basler, and that Bonifacius Amerbach was the recipient of his work. As shown in Table 2.2, the University Library of Basel possesses several printed volumes, owned by Bonifacius Amerbach or by some of Basel's most distinguished printers, which were bound using the same stamps pressed in gold, and employing these devices in an identical or a similar format. Moreover, like the partbooks, one of these "concordant" bindings contains exactly the same gold gauffered edge (See Plate 2).

Basel provenance can also be inferred from the one stamp depicting Eve and the serpent (R 1). As was shown by Eduard His, this poorly-designed device was copied from woodcut borders executed by the well-known Basel artist Urs Graf in 1515. Admittedly, any bookbinder who had access to the Basel imprints which contained the borders could have reproduced Graf's design. Yet since the same stamp appears on bindings which were owned by Johannes Froben, the Basel printer for whom Graf produced the borders, it would seem likely that the stamp belonged to a Basel binder who worked for the Froben printing house.[27] With the identification of the stamp as a Graf copy, a *terminus post quem* of 1515 for the binding can now be proposed. Indeed, I suspect that the binding of F X 1-4 dates from roughly the same time as the concordant binding owned by Hieronymus Froben and dated 1518: for while the covers of F X 1-4 are rather worn, portions of the stamp depicting Eve and the serpent are clearly visible and are in the same slightly damaged state found in the dated Froben binding.

27 On the identification of this stamp, see Eduard His, "Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Werke von Urs Graf," *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, VI (1873), 185, No.325e; Emil Major and Erwin Gradmann, *Urs Graf*, (London, 1942), 32, no. 117; and Frank Hieronymus, *Oberrheinische Buchillustration* II, Publikationen der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, V (Basel, 1984), 661, no.24.

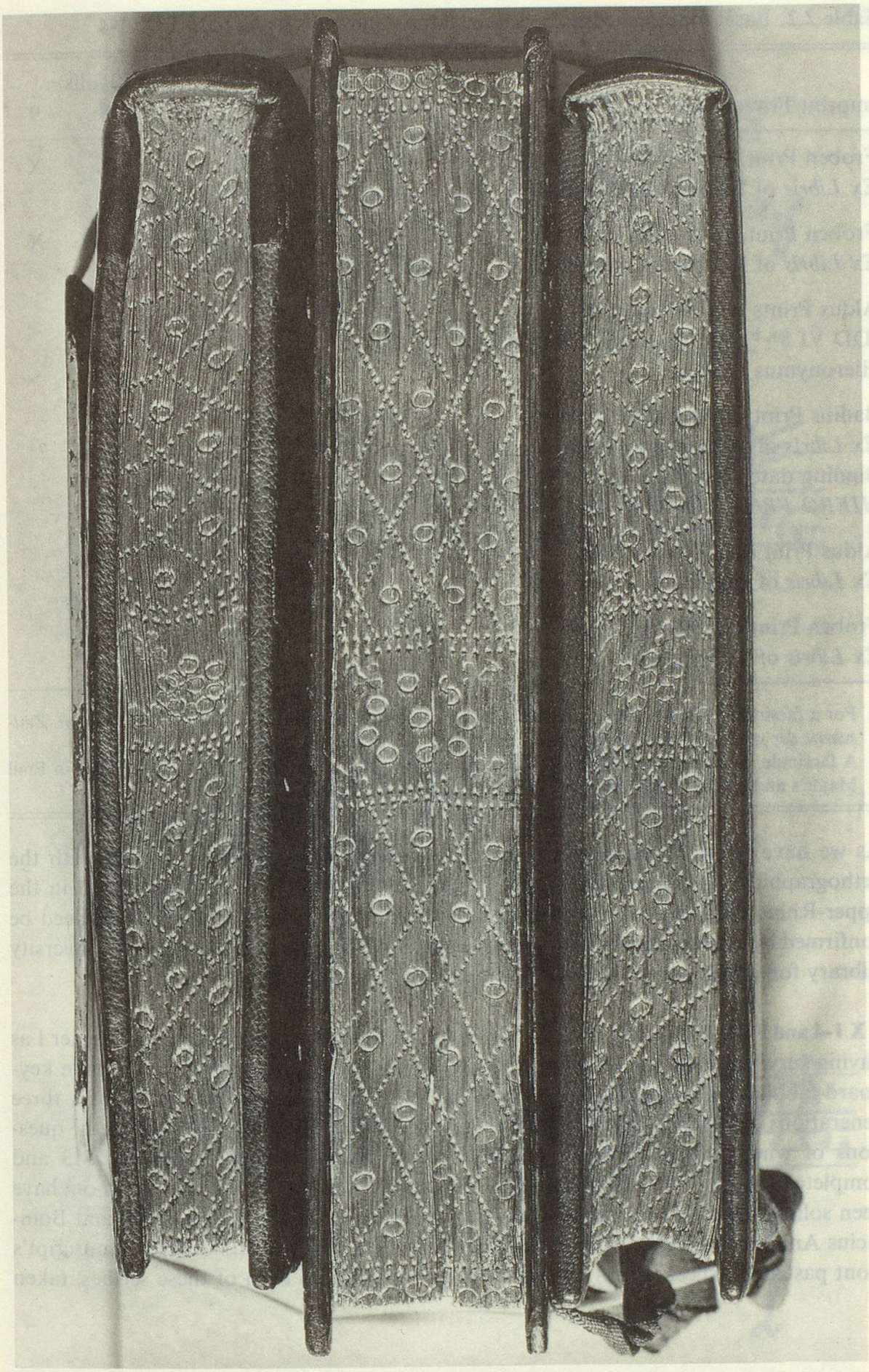


Plate 2. Gauffered gold edges of Basel University Library MS F X 1, FG VIII[2] (Basel print with Amerbach *ex libris*), and MS F X 2 respectively.

Table 2.2. Basel bindings with the same stamps and rolls as CH-Bu F X 1-4

Imprint/Provenance	Concordant Stamps & Rolls 1	2	4	7	8	9
Froben Print, 1518 (AM VI 17); *Ex Libris* of Bonifacius Amerbach.[A]	X	X	X		X	X
Froben Print, 1519 (FG VIII^2 19); *Ex Libris* of Bonifacius Amerbach.[B]	X	X	X			X
Aldus Prints of 1494 and 1497 (DD VI 8$^{a, b}$); *Ex Libris* of Johannes and Hieronymus Froben.	X			X		
Badius Print of 1516 (CH II 20^a); *Ex Libris* of Hieronymus Froben; Binding dated and initialed: *HIERO FROB. AN MDXVIII.*	X		X			
Aldus Print of 1516 (BC I 80) *Ex Libris* of Bonifacius Amerbach	X		X			
Froben Print of 1520 (FG VIII^2 24^A); *Ex Libris* of J. Opeandri.	X		X			

A For a facsimile of this binding, see Berthold Wessendorf, "Basler Büchersammler," *Librarium. Zeitschrift der schweizerischen Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft*, I/1 (May, 1977), Figure 6.

B A facsimile of this binding, together with a discussion of its rolls and stamps can be found in Emil Major's and Erwin Gradmann's study: *Urs Graf*, *op. cit.*, Figure 117.

As we have seen, the manuscript's repertory, paper, and binding, together with the orthographical tendencies of its two scribes, suggest that F X 1-4 was copied in the upper-Rhine Region and bound in Basel around 1518. This hypothesis can indeed be confirmed by examining another music manuscript housed today in the Basel University Library for which Amerbach ownership is well documented.

F X 1-4 and F IX 22. Among the numerous musical manuscripts discussed in Chapter 1 as having survived from the Amerbach estate, by far the best known is the German keyboard tabulature volume F IX 22. The attention given to the manuscript by over three generations of scholars has produced a remarkably clear picture of answers to the questions of when, where and how the book came into existence. Begun in 1513 and completed around 1535, the manuscript was copied by four scribes, three of whom have been solidly identified by name. They are Johannes Kotter, Johannes Weck and Bonifacius Amerbach himself, whose dated *Ex Libris* of 1513 appears on the manuscript's front pasted endsheet. From biographical information on each of these scribes, taken

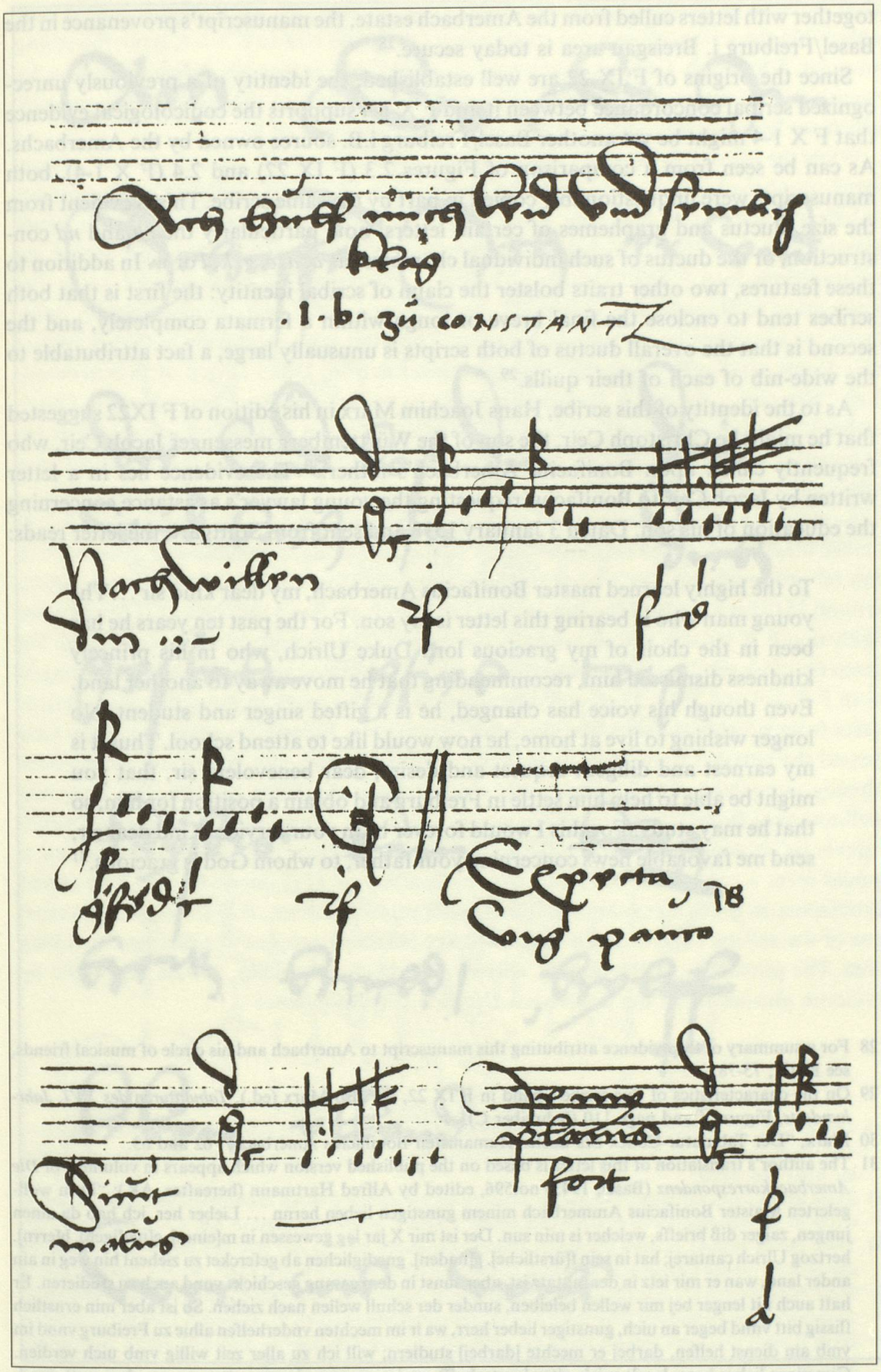


Figure 2.3. Music and text hands of S1 in CH-Bu F IX 22, fols. 75r, 82v, 74r, 80v, and 79v respectively.

together with letters culled from the Amerbach estate, the manuscript's provenance in the Basel/Freiburg i. Breisgau area is today secure.[28]

Since the origins of F IX 22 are well established, the identity of a previously unrecognized scribal concordance between it and F X 1-4 supports the codicological evidence that F X 1-4 might be yet another Basel/Freiburg i.B. source owned by the Amerbachs. As can be seen from a comparison of Figures 2.3 (F IX 22) and 2.4 (F X 1-4), both manuscripts were unquestionably copied in part by the same scribe. This is evident from the size, ductus and graphemes of certain letters: note particularly the *ch* and *nd* construction, or the ductus of such individual characters as *a*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *k*, *l* or *w*. In addition to these features, two other traits bolster the claim of scribal identity: the first is that both scribes tend to enclose the final breve or longa within a fermata completely, and the second is that the overall ductus of both scripts is unusually large, a fact attributable to the wide-nib of each of their quills.[29]

As to the identity of this scribe, Hans Joachim Marx in his edition of F IX22 suggested that he might be Christoph Ceir, the son of the Württemberg messenger Jacob Ceir, who frequently called upon Bonifacius Amerbach's father.[30] The evidence lies in a letter written by Jacob Ceir to Bonifacius requesting the young lawyer's assistance concerning the education of his son. Dated 3 January 1518 and sent from Stuttgart, the letter reads:

> To the highly learned master Bonifacius Amerbach, my dear kind sir ... The young man who is bearing this letter is my son. For the past ten years he has been in the choir of my gracious lord Duke Ulrich, who in his princely kindness dismissed him, recommending that he move away to another land. Even though his voice has changed, he is a gifted singer and student. No longer wishing to live at home, he now would like to attend school. Thus it is my earnest and diligent request and desire, dear benevolent sir, that you might be able to help him settle in Freiburg and obtain a position for him, so that he may study. For this I would forever be in your service. Kind dear sir, send me favorable news concerning your father, to whom God is gracious.[31]

28 For a summary of the evidence attributing this manuscript to Amerbach and his circle of musical friends, see KatK, 75-78.

29 On the characteristics of this scribe's hand in F IX 22, see also Marx (ed.), *Tabulaturen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Figure X and page 110 (Schreiber C).

30 Marx, "Der Tabulatur-Codex des Basler Humanisten Bonifacius Amerbach," 62 and 63.

31 The author's translation of this letter is based on the published version which appears in volume 2 of *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz* (Basel, 1943) no.596, edited by Alfred Hartmann (hereafter, AK): "Dem wollgelerten Maister Bonifacius Ammerbach minem gunstigen lieben hernn ... Lieber her, ich hab da ainen jungen, zaiger diß brieffs, welcher is min sun. Der ist mir X jar lag gewessen in m[eines]. g[nädigen]. h[errn]. hertzog Ulrich cantarej; hat in sein f[ürstliche]. g[naden]. gnediglichen ab gefercket zu ziehent hin weg in ain ander land, wan er mir ietz in der mutatz ist, aber sunst in dem gesang geschickt vnnd auch zu studieren. Er hatt auch nit lenger bej mir wellen beleiben, sunder der schull wellen nach ziehen. So ist aber min ernstlich flissig bitt vnnd beger an uich, gunstiger lieber herr, wa ir im mechten vnderhelfen alhie zu Freiburg vnnd im vmb ain dienst helfen, darbej er mechte [darbej] studiern; will ich zu aller zeit willig vmb uich verdien. Gunstiger lieber herr, londt mich alter kuntschafft geniessen von uiwers vatter wegen, dem gott gnad. Datum zu Stutgart vff zeinstag nach dem Nuwen Jars tag Anno XVIII."

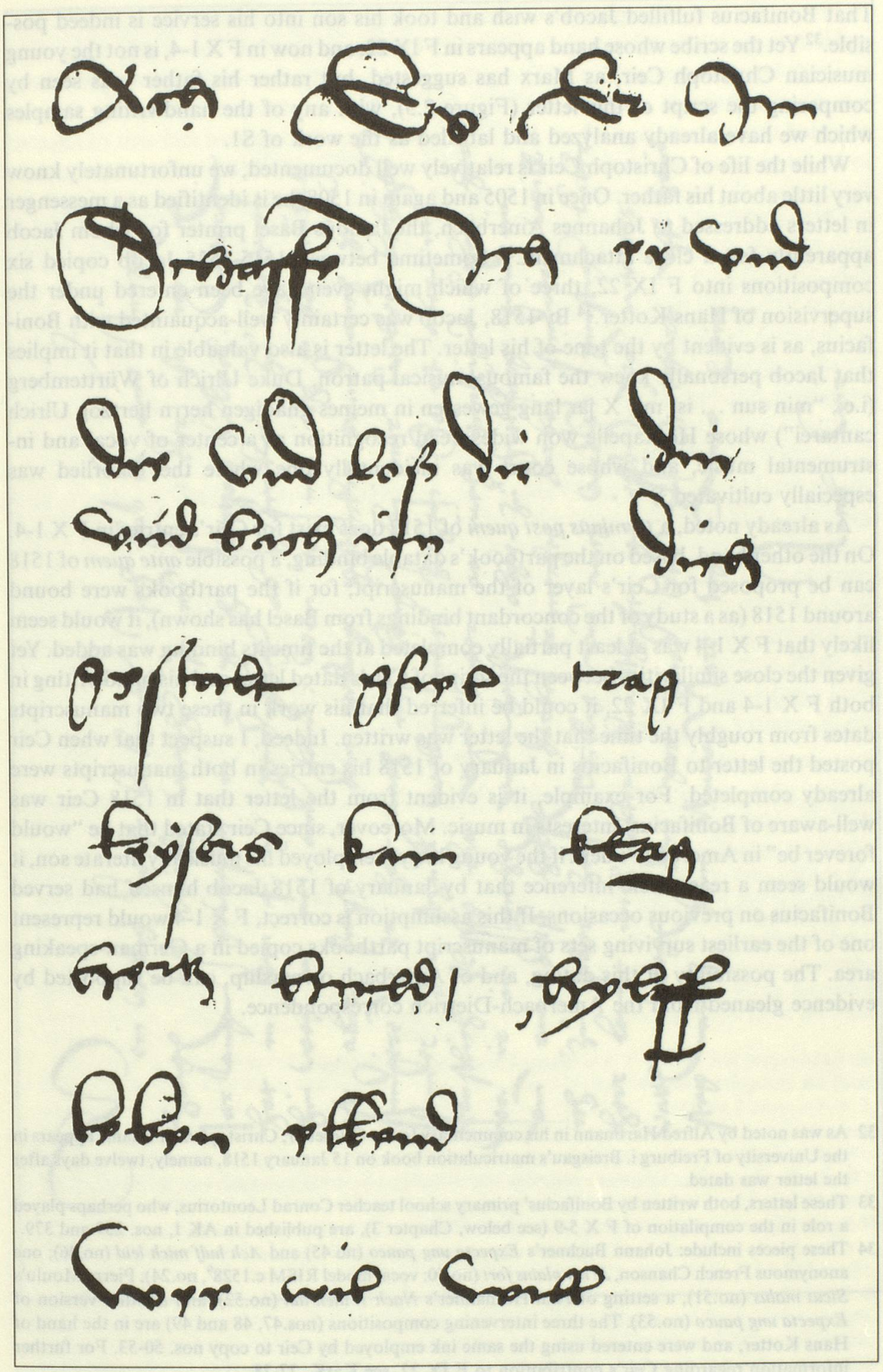


Figure 2.4. Samples of S1's text hand in CH-Bu F X 3

That Bonifacius fulfilled Jacob's wish and took his son into his service is indeed possible.[32] Yet the scribe whose hand appears in F IX 22, and now in F X 1-4, is not the young musician Christoph Ceir, as Marx has suggested, but rather his father – as seen by comparing the script of this letter (Figure 2.5), with any of the handwriting samples which we have already analyzed and labelled as the work of S1.

While the life of Christoph Ceir is relatively well documented, we unfortunately know very little about his father. Once in 1505 and again in 1508, he is identified as a messenger in letters addressed to Johannes Amerbach, the famous Basel printer for whom Jacob apparently felt a close attachment.[33] Sometime between 1515-1535 Jacob copied six compositions into F IX 22, three of which might even have been entered under the supervision of Hans Kotter.[34] By 1518, Jacob was certainly well-acquainted with Bonifacius, as is evident by the tone of his letter. The letter is also valuable in that it implies that Jacob personally knew the famous musical patron, Duke Ulrich of Württemberg (i.e., "min sun ... ist mir X jar lang gewessen in meines gnädigen herrn hertzog Ulrich cantarei") whose Hofkapelle won widespread recognition as a center of vocal and instrumental music, and whose court was incidentally one where the Tenorlied was especially cultivated.[35]

As already noted, a *terminus post quem* of 1512 does exist for Ceir's entries in F X 1-4. On the other hand, based on the partbook's datable binding, a possible *ante quem* of 1518 can be proposed for Ceir's layer of the manuscript; for if the partbooks were bound around 1518 (as a study of the concordant bindings from Basel has shown), it would seem likely that F X 1-4 was at least partially completed at the time its binding was added. Yet given the close similarities between the script of Ceir's dated letter and his handwriting in both F X 1-4 and F IX 22, it could be inferred that his work in these two manuscripts dates from roughly the time that the letter was written. Indeed, I suspect that when Ceir posted the letter to Bonifacius in January of 1518 his entries in both manuscripts were already completed. For example, it is evident from the letter that in 1518 Ceir was well-aware of Bonifacius' interests in music. Moreover, since Ceir stated that he "would forever be" in Amerbach's debt if the young lawyer employed his musically literate son, it would seem a reasonable inference that by January of 1518 Jacob himself had served Bonifacius on previous occasions. If this assumption is correct, F X 1-4 would represent one of the earliest surviving sets of manuscript partbooks copied in a German-speaking area. The possibility of this dating, and of Amerbach ownership, can be supported by evidence gleaned from the Amerbach-Dietrich correspondence.

32 As was noted by Alfred Hartmann in his commentary to the Ceir letter, Christoph Ceir's name appears in the University of Freiburg i. Breisgau's matriculation book on 15 January 1518, namely, twelve days after the letter was dated.

33 These letters, both written by Bonifacius' primary school teacher Conrad Leontorius, who perhaps played a role in the compilation of F X 5-9 (see below, Chapter 3), are published in AK I, nos. 259 and 379.

34 These pieces include: Johann Buchner's *Expecta ung pauco* (no.45) and *Ach hulf mich leid* (no.46); one anonymous French Chanson, *Je my plains fort* (no.50: vocal model RISM c.1528[9], no.24); Pierre Moulu's *Sicut malus* (no.51); a setting of Paul Hofhaimer's *Nach Willen din* (no.52); and another version of *Expecta ung pauco* (no.53). The three intervening compositions (nos.47, 48 and 49) are in the hand of Hans Kotter, and were entered using the same ink employed by Ceir to copy nos. 50-53. For further information regarding Ceir's contribution to F IX 22, see KatK, 77-78.

35 See Bossart, "Die Hofkapelle unter Herzog Ulrich," 383ff.

Figure 2.5. Letter of Jacob Ceir (=S1) to Bonifacius Amerbach, 3 January 1518 (CH-Bu G II 29, fol. 135r)

Among the many composers and musicians with whom Amerbach frequently exchanged letters, his relationship with Sixt Dietrich was especially close. This is clearly apparent in a well-known letter written by Dietrich to Amerbach three months before Ceir's letter was posted. Here, in addition to informing Bonifacius of his recent travels, Dietrich reported that the songtext which Bonifacius had himself composed and sent to Dietrich to be set to music, was now completed and being personally delivered to Amerbach by Dietrich's wife. Unfortunately, Dietrich did not cite Amerbach's text incipit in his letter.[36] Yet if F X 1-4 was owned by Bonifacius (as will be proven shortly from an examination of the Amerbach catalogues) and begun, as I have suggested, by Jacob Ceir before 3 January 1518, one must suspect that Amerbach would have had Ceir copy into the partbooks the Dietrich song composed to Bonifacius' own text. Indeed, there are good reasons to believe that among the 18 pieces copied by Ceir into F X 1-4 (nos. 1-18), the four-part polyphonic Lied *Ach frowelin zart* (reproduced in KatK, 413 & 414: Abb.9-11) is probably the piece in question. First, the song is preserved today with text in only one other manuscript, namely F X 21; a source copied in Basel and owned by Bonifacius' grandson Ludwig Iselin. Secondly, like F X 1-4, the concordant manuscript transmits three full strophes of text, a fact which is noteworthy since the majority of pieces in both sources preserve only text incipits.[37] Finally, and perhaps most importantly, *Ach frowelin* is not only the first item featured in F X 1-4, but also one of the few pieces attributed by Ceir; thereby strongly implying that Dietrich's Lied carried special meaning for the owner. (However, even if I am correct in assuming that *Ach frowlin* is the piece which was posted to Amerbach in September of 1517, it does not make more possible an early dating for Ceir's contribution to F X 1-4).

As to the identity of S2, there is an inscription in the manuscript which strongly suggests that he might be Jann Obsenus from Augsburg. The Senfl song *Lust mag mein hertz* contains three strophes of text as well as a dated Latin/Greek inscription entered at the end of the tenor part (F X 3, folio 38r; see KatK, 420: Abb.23). As pointed out by Wilhelm Altwegg, each strophe carries a double acrostic recording the names of "LUDWIG" [II of Hungary] and "MARIA" [of Austria], who were married on 13 January 1522 (and not in 1521 as stated by Altwegg).[38] In addition to highlighting the names of the newlyweds, S2 (using the same ink and quill to copy the music) entered directly below the third strophe the following inscription:

15. JW. 22
Oψ ηλϑον
Jann Obsenus Vindelicus

36 Since this letter (dated 20 September, 1517 and posted to Basel from Breisach) was first transcribed in 1875 by Eduard His (*Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, IX, 157ff.), it has been cited in the musicological literature on numerous occasions. Although His' transcription provides a reliable text, the edition in AK II, no.591 pays closer attention to Dietrich's orthography.

37 For an important study concerning the origins of FX 21, see Max Meier, "Das Liederbuch Ludwig Iselins" (Diss. Basel, 1913), and KatK, 296-310 where many of Meier's arguments for a Basel provenance are summarized.

38 Arnold Geering, and Wilhelm Altwegg (eds.), *Ludwig Senfl. Sämtliche Werke*, Vol.2, 137. Among the many secondary sources recording the correct date of the marriage, see the entry on "Louis II" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago-London-Toronto-*et al.*, 1968) Vol.14, 348; and AK II, no.845, 359, fn.11, where the royal marriage was brought to the attention of Bonifacius Amerbach by his close friend Caspar Ursinus Velius.

This (as noted by Altwegg) can be interpreted as:

1522 J[ann] W[üst]
I came too late
Jann Obsenus [=Wüst] of Augsburg.[39]

Since the text clearly celebrates a marriage, an event for which a specific time and place is usually reserved, there is only one feasible explanation for this inscription: that the date 1522 records the year of the wedding, and that the remark "I came too late" refers to Jann Wüst of Augsburg not arriving at the church on time. Indeed, in light of the first person singular, one cannot help escape the conclusions that Jann Wüst (=Wiest, Obsenus) is the scribe whose work we have labelled as S2, and that, like Senfl (an Augsburg-based composer), this Augsburg citizen was apparently also invited to the wedding. Assuming that Senfl and Jann Wüst were both in attendance, the possibility of a direct musical exchange between the two musicians can now be entertained. In fact, the identification of Wüst as S2 would not only add credibility to the numerous Senfl attributions in the manuscript, but also would support Wilhelm Altwegg's belief that Jann Wüst might be related to the Alsatian Kleinmeister Paul Wüst, for whom F X 1-4 preserves no less than 10 *unica*.[40] Unfortunately, neither Jann nor Paul is mentioned in the Amerbach archival documents. Furthermore, S2's hand cannot be found in any of the other musical manuscripts housed today in Basel, or for that matter in any of the repertorially concordant manuscripts located today in Augsburg, Munich or Regensburg. A "Joannes Wiest ex Oettingen in dioc. Augusta" is mentioned in the matriculation book of Heidelberg University for 1531.[41] However, there is no indication to confirm that this Joannes Wiest (=Wüst) and our Jann Wüst are the same person.[42]

39 Geering and Altweg, *Ludwig Senfl*, Vol.2, 137. The date in the inscription was transcribed by Altwegg not as 1522, but as "1523". Yet, if one takes into account that the stroke forming the lower loop of the "3" does not belong to the date, but to the ornamental flourish below it, the year 1522 clearly emerges.

40 *Idem*, 137. Although Altwegg noted that a connection between Jann Wüst and the Paul Wüst in the manuscript might exist, he did not recognize the possibility that Jann Wüst might be the scribe. Rather, he suggested that Jann was either the poet of the text, or the messenger who delivered the text to the Amerbachs. Thus, Altwegg concluded that the phrase "'spät bin ich gekommen' würde das Wort der Entschuldingung für die späte Uebersendung der Komposition an den Basler Liebhaber [=Amerbach] bedeuten. Das würde die augsburgische Herkunft des Textes bestätigen und auch die Differenz der beiden Daten erklären." However, as we have shown, the date of the composition and the date of the royal marriage are the same, 1522.

The theory that Jann Wüst of Augsburg might be the main scribe of F X 1-4 was first proposed by the University librarian Karl Roth, who nearly 60 years ago noted in his handwritten catalogue of the Basel manuscripts that F X 1-4 was "aus dem Besitz das Hernn Obseus Vindelicus . . . (vgl. den Eintrag in F. X. 3, Bl.38r)" and that the second layer of the manuscript (nos.19ff) was in the "Hand das Jann Obseus von Augsburg." Although Roth did not specifically mention the reasons for his conclusions, it would seem clear that he too interpreted the inscription on folio 38r as evidence for identitying Jann Wüst as a scribe. Roth's belief, on the other hand, that the manuscript was once owned by Wüst cannot at present be documented. This valuable catalogue, which unfortunately was never published, is found today (without call number) in the manuscript room of the University Library.

41 Gustav Toepke, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg* (Heidelberg, 1884-1916), Vol.1, 549, no.39.

42 I would like to thank cordially Dr. Tilman Falk and Dr. W. Baer of Augsburg for having taken the time to check their city's archives for any mention of Paul or Jann Wüst (Wiest, Obseus, or Obser). Unfortunately, no references to either Wüst were found. Thanks are also due to Helen Thurnheer (Kantonsbibliothek, St. Gallen), who generously provided me with a Xerox copy of the only known Paul Wüst autograph (Vadiana collection, Bd. II, fol.210-211) which in turn forced me to abandon my long held suspicion that the Kleinmeister Paul Wüst and our scribe S2 might be the same person.

While the identity of S2 (beyond his name) will have to remain an open issue, a number of dated or dateable songs enable us to establish a *terminus post quem* for his work. Table 2.3 lists all the relevant pieces.

Table 2.3. Dated (in roman type) or dateable (in *italics*) compositions in CH-Bu F X 1-4

No.	Entry	Composer	Date
20	Ich stond an einem morgen	Greiter	1524
25	Lust mag myn hertz	Senfl	1522
52	In mynem sinn	Greiter	1522
60	Ellend pringt pin	B. Ducis	1511
76	*Mich wunder ser "Text such in Mentzer Truck"* (=RISM [1515]^3; Mainz, Schoeffer, no.23).	*Senfl*	*1519*

That the dates in the manuscript must represent times of composition, rather than of compilation, becomes clear when we consider a few paleographical facts. First, since S2's pieces were entered after Jacob Ceir had collated and bound the books, and copied the first 18 compositions, S2's entries must have been written in the order in which they are today preserved – especially since several adjacent pieces do not take a new opening or page.[43] Yet the dates in the manuscript are in reverse chronological order. Secondly, like the work of S1, none of S2's work shows any indication (repertorial or paleographical) of having been copied over an extended period. Rather, all of his 111 pieces were written with the same ink without any variation in script. Finally, each date (with the exception of the one recording the marriage of Ludwig II of Hungary) appears directly above the initial system of a piece, and furthermore is accompanied by the composer's name, thereby strongly implying that the date refers to the composition and not to a repertorial layer, gathering or fascicle. Consequently, a *terminus post quem* of 1524 (the latest compositional date listed in Table 2.3) emerges for the work of S2.[44]

The *terminus ante quem* for S2's entries is harder to deterimine. It is most unlikely, however, that his work would have been done much later than 1530. That is the latest we find any distinctive connections in German manuscripts of the repertory contained in F X 1-4. The Bavarian/Swabian manuscripts concordant with our partbooks are particularly revealing. Table 2.4 lists, in rough chronological order, all of the handwritten sources that contain five or more Tenorlieder in common with F X 1-4. Significantly, by far the largest number of concordances are found in three manuscripts which date from no later than 1527.

43 For example, see Inventory A, nos.21 and 22, 38 and 39, and 50 and 51.

44 For an analysis of other German manuscripts which present similar dating problems, see Lothar Hoffman-Erbrecht, "Datierungsprobleme bei Kompositionen in deutschen Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift Helmuth Osthoff zum 65. Geburtstage* (Tutzing, 1961), 47-60.

Table 2.4. Principal Tenorlied manuscripts with concordances to CH-Bu F X 1-4

Manuscript	Date	No. of Concordances
MunichBS 3155[A]	1515-1524 (1st Layer)	22
WolfenbüttelHA 292[B]	c.1525	17
MunichU 328-331[C]	1527	16
BaselU F X 21[D]	1529-1544 (Nos.1-107)	9
BaselU F X 17-20[E]	c.1540 (1st Layer)	7
BerlinS 40092[F]	1st Half 16th century	11
UlmS 236a-d[G]	2nd Half 16th century	8

A Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 3155. On the origins and date of this source containing nearly 100 German pieces, 79 of which were copied by Ludwig Senfl himself, see M. Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, *op. cit.*, 264-268.

B Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek MS. Mus. 292. On the origins of this altus partbook, believed to have been copied in Basel, see Ulrich Konrad, Adalbert Roth, and Martin Staehelin, *Musikalischer Lustgarten. Kostbare Zeugnisse der Musikgeschichte*. Ausstellung der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 5. Mai bis zum 1. Dezember 1985 (Wolfenbüttel, 1986), 71-72.

C Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 8° Cod. MS 328-331. On the origins and content of these four partbooks, see Bente, *Neue Wege*, 255-264; Clytus Gottwald, *Die Musikhandschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München*, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München, Bd.2 (Wiesbaden, 1968), 83-97; Don Smither, "A Textual-Musical Inventory and Concordance of Munich University MS 328-331," *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, 8 (1970), 34-39; and Martin Staehelin, "Aus 'Lukas Wagenrieders' Werkstatt: ein unbekanntes Lieder-Manuskript des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts in Zürich," *Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance I. Formen und Probleme der Ueberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik im Zeitalter Josquins Deprez*, edited by Ludwig Finscher (= Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, VI) Munich, 1981, 72ff.

Although the manuscript's date and place of compilation has been the subject of some dispute (Bente, Munich after 1523; Gottwald, 1526-1530; Smithers, Munich around 1526; Rifkin, copied in Augsburg: cf. C. Hamm and H. Kellman, *Census Catalogue*, Vol.2, 245), recent restoration of the bindings has revealed that three of its front pasted flyleaves (altus, tenor and bass partook) carry the heraldic device and dated *Ex Libris* of the Augsburg patrican Heronymus Welser: "IERONIMVS WELSERR AD MDXXVII".

D Basel, Universitätsbibliothek MS Mus. F X 21. For a detailed discussion on the origins of this Tenor partbook owned by Bonifacius Amerbach's nephew Ludwig Iselin, see Max Meier, "Das Liederbuch Ludwig Iselins," (Dissertation, Basel, 1913); and KatK, 296-310.

E Basel, Universitätsbibliothek MS Mus. F X 17-20. This set of four partbooks, owned and partially copied by the Basel goldsmith Jacob Hagenbach, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

F Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. MS 40092. For a description and partial inventory of this discant partbook containing 83 German songs, see, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*, XXVIII, 170 and XXXII, 237.

G Ulm, Münster Bibliothek von Schermar'sche Familienstiftung MS 236 (a-d). Four partbooks containing 142 dance and song settings in various languages – all anonymous. See, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* X, 125ff; XV, 143ff; *Ludwig Senfl. Sämtliche Werke* V (Zurich-Wolfenbüttel, 1949, 110.)

Even more telling, (as seen in Table 2.5) are the German manuscripts which share with F X 1-4 the same Franco-Netherlandish repertory. Indeed, of the manuscript's 11 compositions attributed to such composers as Pierre de la Rue, Josquin Desprez, and Jean Mouton, all but one of the sources containing more than one concordance date from before 1530, and the two manuscripts which share 5 or more concordances with F X 1-4 were compiled between 1520-1525.

Table 2.5. German manuscripts sharing with CH-Bu F X 1-4 the same Franco-Netherlandish repertory

Manuscript	Date	No. of Concordances
AugsburgS 142a[A]	c.1499-1513	2
RegensburgB C120[B]	Early 1520's	7
RomeVat. Lat 11953[C]	c.1525	5
MunichU 328-331[D]	1527	2
ViennaN 18810[E]	c.1530	3
St.GallenS 463[F]	c.1540	2

A Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, MS 2° 142a (olim Cim.43). Anthology of German, French and Latin texted songs and motets in choirbook format, once owned by the Augsburg patrician Johann Heinrich Herwart. See Clytus Gottwald, *Die Musikhandschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, Handschriftenkataloge der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Bd.1 (Wiesbaden, 1974), 4-10; Martin Bente, *Neue Wege*, 230-242; and Luise Jonas, *Das Augsburger Liederbuch. Die Musikhandschrift 2° Codex 142a der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, Berliner musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, Bd.21 (Munich-Salzburg, 1983).

B Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, MS C 120. A large collection of Masses, motets, hymns and secular French and German songs probably compiled in southern Germany. The manuscript is briefly described in Frank Krautwurst, "Pernner-Kodex," *MGG* 10 (1962), 1075-76, and by Martin Staehelin, *Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, 3 vols. (Bern-Stuttgart, 1977) I, xxxvi-xxxvii.

C Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codicetto Vat. lat. 11953. A bass partbook containing principally motets, and secular music with French, German and Italian incipits. For a description, see Raffaele Casimiri, "Canzoni e motetti dei sec. XV-XVI," *Note d'Archivio per la storia musicale*, 14 (1937), 145-160; and also Charles van den Borren, "A proposito del codicetto Vat. lat. 11953," *Note d' Archivio per la storia musicale*, 16 (1939), 17-18.

D Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 8° Cod. MS 328-331. See above Table 2.4.

E Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung Ms. Mus. 18810. Five partbooks copied by Lucas Wagenrieder (Ludwig Senfl's copist at Munich): that conclusion may be indefensible (cf. Martin Staehelin, "Aus 'Lukas Wagenrieders' Werkstatt" *op. cit.*, 75). The manuscript's content is listed in Josephus Mantuani, "Tabulae Codicum manu scriptorum..," *Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, Vol. X (Vindobonae, 1899) 219-224; and in Martin Bente, *Neue Wege*, 264-268. The manuscript is described and the unpublished compositions edited by John D. Robinson, "Vienna Nationalbibliothek Manuscript 18810: A Transcription of Unpublished Pieces with Comments on Performance Practices in Early Sixteenth-Century Germany," (DMA thesis, Stanford University, 1975).

F St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 463. Two partbooks (discant and altus) containing Latin, German, French and Italian texted pieces compiled by the Swiss chronicler Aegidius Tschudi. See Donald Loach, "Aegidius Tschudi's Songbook (St. Gall MS 463): A Humanistic Document from the Circle of Heinrich Glarean," 2 vols (Ph.D Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969); and Arnold Geering, *Die Vokalmusik in der Schweiz*, 91-92 and 227-32.

Admittedly, there is nothing here to stop F X 1-4 being the latest of the manuscripts listed in Tables 2.4 and 2.5. However, if the manuscript was owned by the Amerbachs (as I shall now show), and its two layers copied between c.1518 and c.1530, one cannot help question why F X 1-4 does not contain any music from the Sermisy generation, while two Amerbach manuscripts copied between 1522-1525 do.[45] It is possible that Amerbach's source for this "new style" of French chanson dried up before F X 1-4 was completed.

45 The manuscripts are housed today in the University library of Basel under the call numbers F IX 56 and F IX 58. As recently shown by means of paper and handwriting studies, Bonifacius Amerbach had access to an "Attaingnant repertory" before the famous Parisian printer began publishing his Chansonniers in 1528. On the dating of these sources, see KatK, 180-182 (F IX 56) and 183-187 (F IX 58).

Yet, I am more inclined to believe that the repertory is missing from F X 1-4 because the partbooks predate the compilation of the two Amerbach tabulature volumes. On the basis of this information, taken together with the pattern of concordances and dateable pieces outlined in Tables 2.3-2.5, it is perhaps not unreasonable to date S2's work around 1524.

Amerbach Ownership. With the existence of a scribal concordance between the Amerbach tabulature manuscript F IX 22 and F X 1-4, involving a scribe (Jacob Ceir) who knew Bonifacius Amerbach personally and discussed musical matters with him, the long-held belief that F X 1-4 was copied for Bonifacius can now be seriously entertained. Indeed, if we may now turn our attention to some of the Amerbach library inventories and catalogues discussed in detail at the end of Chapter 1, Amerbach's ownership of the manuscript can be confirmed.

Sometime before 1588, Basilius Amerbach, the son of Bonifacius, drew up an inventory recording some of the family's prized possessions. In addition to listing numerous engravings and drawings attributed to Hans Holbein, Albrecht Dürer and Urs Graf, Basilius recorded the existence of a set of four manuscript partbooks "bound in gold" containing German songs:

> Tütsche gschribne liedlin 4 part. in gold inbunden 4[46]

In 1630, when the Amerbach-Iselin library was first systematically catalogued by the Basel University librarian Conrad Pfister, mention was again made of the set of four manuscript partbooks preserved in bindings decorated with gold. However, this time, the partbooks were assigned a call number and their format revealed:

> M.1.2.3.4.5. Musicales voces IV manuscriptae in gold eingebunden, 8° oblonga forma 4 tomulis[47]

That these entries in fact refer to F X 1-4, partbooks which (as we have seen) are in oblong octavo format and decorated using gold leaf, can be demonstrated by comparing Pfister's entry with yet another, found in a catalogue recording the manuscript holdings of the University library after the Amerbach estate was acquired by the city in 1661:

> FX 1.2.3.4. Musicales voces quatuor. In 8° forma oblonga.[48]

46 Basel, Kupferstichkabinet MS, Inventory A, (without foliation or pagination). For a transcription and discussion of this important Amerbach Inventory, see Ganz and Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Amerbach'schen Kunstkabinets*, 31ff.

47 Basel, University Library, Manuscript A.R. I 8 (without foliation, or pagination). While the entry makes it clear that the volume consists of 4 partbooks (4^{Or} tomulis), and that the music is for "voces IV," the manuscript was assigned five consecutive numbers – as if a fifth partbook was present. Since there is no evidence of a missing volume, it is possible that Pfister either simply made an error when assigning the manuscript a shelf number, or noted in his signature that the partbooks do in fact contain some five voice music. Unfortunately, since the spines of F X 1-4 have been replaced or rebuilt, the Pfister shelf number (always placed on the spines) is no longer present to verify this identification.

48 Basel, University Library, Manuscript Vb Schweiz 202, fol.195r.

Although this catalogue, compiled by the Basel librarian Johannes Zwinger in 1678, does not mention the binding, it is clear from the call number and the way the entry was worded that when Zwinger assigned the partbooks their present day signature he was basing his entry on Pfister's earlier catalogue. Indeed, Zwinger often relied heavily on Pfister's catalogue, as can be seen by comparing the two entries for the Iselin partbook, F X 21:

Pfister Catalogue of 1630	Zwinger Catalogue of 1678
M.1.17 Cantilenae Latinae et Germanicae profanae ad musicos modulos decantandae manuscriptae charta 16° forma oblonga.[49]	F.X.21 Cantilenae Latinae et Germanicae profanae ad musicos modulos decantandae in 16° forma oblonga.[50]

In view of this evidence, coupled with 1) the newly-discovered scribal concordance between F X 1-4 and the Amerbach tabulature manuscript F IX 22; 2) the fact that the binding of F X 1-4 is virtually identical to other Amerbach bindings; and 3) the possibility that the first item in F X 1-4 might be the song composed by Sixt Dietrich to Bonifacius Amerbach's own text, one cannot escape the conclusion that this important manuscript was owned by Amerbach.

Conclusions. Since F X 1-4 was begun by a Stuttgart messenger who was associated not only with Amerbach but also with the court of Duke Ulrich, it is not suprising that the partbooks contain an abundance of *oberrheinisch-württembergische* music. Further, given the strong possibility that the main scribe (Jann Wüst from Augsburg) personally knew Ludwig Senfl (an Augsburg-based composer), several issues regarding the manuscript's contents (which had seemed to be anomalous) can be explained: 1) that the manuscript which shares by far the largest number of concordances with F X 1-4 is the Senfl autograph Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Manuscript 3155;[51] 2) that, in addition to the numerous Senfl attributions, F X 1-4 contains many attributions to Senfl's teacher Heinrich Isaac, as well as three to the unknown Augsburg composer Georg Cesar Vindelicus; and 3) that the German manuscripts sharing with F X 1-4 the same Franco-Netherlandish repertory are mostly from the Imperial court orbit where Senfl and Isaac were employed, namely Augsburg, Regensburg, Vienna and Munich. Indeed, I suspect that the choice of an Augsburg repertory was not made by Amerbach himself, but rather by the scribe who came from Augsburg.

Admittedly, until further biographical information on Jacob Ceir and Jann Wüst is acquired, several questions concerning the origins of this Amerbach manuscript and the

49 Basel, University Library, Manuscript A.R. I 8 (without foliation).

50 Basel, University Library, Manuscript Vb Schweiz 202, fol.127r.

51 Indeed, it should be noted that these manuscripts not only share much of the same repertory, but also that their readings for the Senfl Lieder are often virtually identical (see, for example, A.Geering (ed.), *Ludwig Senfl, Sämtliche Werke*, Vol.2, the critical commentary to piece nos. 16, 18, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27 and 28).

While there is no indication that the Senfl Lieder in Basel (F X 1-4) were copied directly from the Senfl autograph in Munich (D-Mbs 3155), a common parent must be presumed to have preserved all the features which link these two surviving offspring. In view of this close stemmatic relationship, it would seem reasonable to conclude that the 39 attributions to Senfl in F X 1-4, which permit us to identify many of the anonymous pieces in Mbs 3155 as Senfl autographs, are as reliable as the text which they transmit.

transmission of its music will have to remain unanswered. In the meantime, however, we are left with a set of partbooks for which Amerbach's elaborately decorated bindings suggest that the songs of F X 1-4 were treasured as much by him as they are by us today.

Chapter 3

The Origins of Basel University Library Manuscripts F X 5-9 and F X 10: Filling the Gap between the Glogau and Oeglin Songbooks

In memory of Arnold Geering

No period in the history of German polyphonic song was more crucial than the years which elapsed between the compilation of the Glogauer *Liederbuch* (c.1480) and the appearance of Germany's first printed collection of songs issued by Erhard Oeglin in 1512.[1] During these three decades the Tenorlied blossomed into a viable genre which finally secured Germany a place among the musical nations of Europe. Among those composers who are today credited with transforming the Lied from its one dimensional "wood-cut-like" texture into a sophisticated hybrid combining German and Franco-Netherlandish techniques, are Heinrich Isaac, Paul Hofhaimer, and Heinrich Finck.[2] Our knowledge of their achievements, however, relies mostly on sources which either date from the end of their careers or appeared long after their deaths.[3] Indeed, as is often noted, no major collections of German song exist to fill this crucial gap left between the Glogauer *Liederbuch*, on the one hand, and the printed anthologies issued by Oeglin, Schöffer, and Arnt von Aich on the other.

Yet, this does not mean that Tenorlied manuscripts dating from this *Blütezeit* of German music have not survived. In fact, there are several handwritten sources that probably were compiled during these years, although most have yet to be seriously studied or properly inventoried. Basel University Library Manuscripts F X 5-9 and

1 On the origins of the Glogauer *Liederbuch*, see Heribert Ringmann, "Das Glogauer Liederbuch (um 1480): mus. ms. 40098 Berlin (Staatsbibliothek)," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, XV (1932), 49-60. Much of the music appears in a modern edition in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, vols.4 and 8, edited by Heribert Ringmann and J. Klapper (Kassel, 1936 and 1937). The Oeglin Liederbuch of 1512 has been edited by R. Eitner and J. Maier in *Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1880). For a discussion of the print, see R. Eitner "Ein Liederbuch von Oeglin," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, XXII (1890), 214ff.

2 Among the numerous studies which discuss the evolution of German secular music at this time, see Ernst Büchen, *Das deutsche Lied* (Hamburg, 1939); Hermann Kretzschmar, *Geschichte des neuen deutschen Liedes* (Liepzig, 1911); Helmuth Osthoff, *Die Niederländer und das deutsche Lied (1400-1640)* (Berlin, 1938); and especially Hans Joachim Moser's monumental study, *Paul Hofhaimer: Ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1929).

3 For example, the earliest source for most of Heinrich Finck's secular songs is the printed anthology issued nearly ten years after Finck's death by Hieronymus Formschneider (RISM 1536[9]). While the print demonstrates that the music of a fifteenth-century composer was still in vogue during the second third of the sixteenth century, its title page strongly suggests that, prior to publication, Finck's song output was still being transmitted in manuscripts: "Schöne ausserlesne lieder, des hochberümpten Heinrici Finckens, sampt andern newen liedern ... Vor nie im druck aussgangen."

F X 10 are two such sources.[4] These well-known partbooks, both carrying the *Ex Libris* of Bonifacius Amerbach, almost certainly date from before 1512, and so join a small group of manuscripts in which the Lieder of Hofhaimer's generation circulated before publication, often in versions which display significant variants.[5]

Basel University Library F X 10

This bass partbook was first brought to light in 1892 by Julius Richter, who, in his catalogue of the Basel music collection, listed most of the composition's text incipits, correctly identified the partbook's format, and provided the following annotated transcription of its back cover: *"Ambrosius Ketenacker dono dedit Bonifacio Amerbachio Basiliensi hos libellulos, Anno* (verwischt) *MDXX* (?). Von andrer Hand hinzugefügt: *Dem ersamen vnd waisen maister Johann Kotter."*[6] Twenty-four years later, the inscriptions were re-examined by Wilhelm Merian. While Merian admitted it was difficult to decipher the readings exactly, he nevertheless agreed with Richter's transcription, therefore concluding that in 1520 the manuscript was presented to Amerbach by Ambrosius Kettenacker, and that either before or after Kettenacker and Amerbach owned it, the partbook belonged to the well-known organist Hans Kotter.[7] However in 1963, Hans Joachim Marx questioned two of Merian's conclusions: namely Kotter's ownership of F X 10, and the year in which Amerbach acquired the partbook from Kettenacker.[8] While Marx did not offer any evidence to doubt Merian's theory of Kotter's ownership, he did argue (on paleographical grounds) that the year entered on the manuscript's back cover was not 1520, but rather 1510. However, this conclusion was not based on reading what was actually written under the ink smear, but rather on extrapolating what might have been written.[9]

4 Among other sources containing German Lieder and which have been shown to predate the Oeglin anthology are: Augsburg, Stadt- und Staatsbibliothek, 2° Cod. 142a (see Martin Bente, *Neue Wege*, 225-238); and St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Ms 462 (see Arnold Geering and Hans Trümpy (eds.) *Das Liederbuch Johannes Heers*, Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler, V (Basel, 1967) VIIIff.).

Additional sources that might date from the first decade of the century include: Basel Universitätsbibliothek Ms. F VI 26f (see KatK, 59-60); and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Ms. HAB 78. Quodl. 4°, fols.1v-2r (see Ulrich Konrad, Adalbert Roth, and Martin Staehelin, *Musikalischer Lustgarten. Kostbare Zeugnisse der Musikgeschichte* (Wolfenbüttel, 1985), 70-71).

5 Of modern editions which have listed the variant readings in F X 10 and F X 5-9, see especially Eduard Bernoulli and Hans Joachim Moser (eds.), *Das Liederbuch des Arnt von Aich* (Kassel, 1930), *passim*; and A. Geering and H. Trümpy (eds.), *Das Liederbuch Johannes Heers, passim.*

6 Julius Richter, *Katalog der Musik-Sammlung auf der Universitäts-Bibliothek in Basel (Schweiz)*, Supplement to Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte, 23/24 (1892/93) 58.

7 Wilhelm Merian, "Bonifacius Amerbach und Hans Kotter," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XVI/1 (1917), 149-150. Other studies which have cited Kotter as having once owned the manuscript include: Edgar Refhardt, *Historisch-biographisches Musikerlexikon der Schweiz* (Leipzig and Zurich, 1928), 164; and Arnold Geering, *Die Vokalmusik in der Schweiz zur Zeit der Reformation*, Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft, VI (1933), 94.

8 Hans Joachim Marx, "Der Tabulatur-Codex des Basler Humanisten Bonifacius Amerbach," *Musik und Geschichte. Leo Schrade zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Cologne, 1963), 59.

9 Marx, *idem*, 59, fn.56: "Da die Zahlen mit Tinte geschrieben sind, die Tinte aber ausgewischt ist, läßt sich nur aus dem Abstand der zweiten Ziffer von der ersten die ursprünglich geschriebene Jahreszahl erschließen. Darnach muß es ›MDX‹ heißen."

In view of the difficulties presented by this inscription, estimates about the manuscript's date of compilation have been disparate, ranging from Richter's suggestion that it was written at the beginning of the century[10] to Knud Jeppesen's placing it around the middle.[11] As to the question of where the manuscript was compiled, scholars have provided no conclusions or even speculations. Certainly an important clue lies in the identification of Ambrosius Kettenacker, whose life – though well-documented – has never been mentioned in any detail in discussions of the manuscript.

Contents. The partbook, measuring 11 cm high and 16 cm wide, contains twenty-eight secular pieces, ten of which are not to be found elsewhere. With the exception of *Fortuna desperata* (no.17), all of the compositions carry German texts and can be classified as Tenorlieder. Although none of the compositions is ascribed, the concordant sources listed in Inventory B enable us to identify four as the work of Paul Hofhaimer (Nr.7), Jacques Barbireau/Jacob Obrecht (Nr.8), Antoine Busnois (Nr.17) and Adam von Fulda (Nr.26). Concordances also show that eighteen compositions were settings for four-voices. Furthermore, among the nine sources which contain two or more concordances with F X 10 (see Table 3.1), seven are unquestionably of Swiss origin, with five of them known to have been printed or copied in Basel. Indeed, as we shall now see in turning our attention to the manuscript's paper, handwriting, and binding, a Basel provenance for the source is clear.

Table 3.1. Manuscript and printed sources concordant with CH-Bu F X 10

Sources	Date; Provenance	Number of Concordances
St. GallenS 463[A] (Tschudi Songbook)	c.1540; Glarus	7
St. GallenS 462[B] (Heer Songbook)	1510-c.1530; Paris/Glarus	7
RISM [1519][5] [C]	c.1519; Cologne	5
BaselUB F VI 26f[D]	1st Quarter of the 16th Century; Basel	3
BaselUB F X 17-20[E] (Hagenbach Songbook)	c.1540-1560; Augsburg/Basel	3
BaselUB F X 21[F] (Iselin Songbook)	c.1529-1576; Basel	3

10 Richter, *Katalog*, 58. The same dating was recorded in the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, edited Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellmann, Vol. 1 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1979) 31.

11 Knud Jeppesen, *La Frottola* II (Copenhagen, 1969), 8.

BaselUB F IX 59-62[G] (Hagenbach Songbook)	1564-c.1566; Basel	2
Glarean, *Dodecachordon*[H]	1547; Basel	2
MunichUB 328-331[I] (Welser Songbook)	1527; Augsburg	2

A St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 463. On the manuscript's date and provenance, see above, Table 2.5.
B St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 462. For a discussion of this collection of Lieder, chansons and motets, see Arnold Geering (ed.) *Das Liederbuch von Johannes Heer. op. cit.*, Iff.
C *In dissem buechlyn fynt Man LXXV hubscher Lieder* (Arnt von Aich Songbook). A discussion of this anthology of German Lieder can be found below in Chapter 6 (fn.51).
D Basel Universitätsbibliothek MS F VI 26f. On the date and provenance of this German song collection, together with an inventory, see KatK, 59-60.
E Basel Universitätsbibliothek MS F X 17-20. Concerning the origins of this collection of chansons, Lieder and madrigals, see Chapter 6.
F Basel Universitätsbibliothek MS F X 21. Inventoried, and discussed in KatK, 296-310 and in Wilhelm Merian, "Das Liederbuch Ludwig Iselins" (Diss., Basel, 1913).
G Basel Universitätsbibliothek MS F IX 59-62. On its date and provenance, see Chapter 6.
H Heinrich Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* (Basel, 1547). See Clement A. Miller, "The Dodecachordon: Its Origins and Influence on Renaissance Musical Thought," *Musica Disciplina*, XV (1961), 155ff.
I Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 8° Cod. MS 328-331. Concerning the often disputed date and place of origin for this set of partbooks, see the secondary literature and comments found in Table 2.4.

Physical Description

Paper. The partbook, consisting today of 20 folios, was copied on one paper type couched from two molds. Each mold contains a watermark depicting a cluster of grapes. Watermark A (see KatK, 473: Abb.151) occurs twice, on folios 8/13 and 17/18, and watermark B (see KatK, 473: Abb.152) three times on folios 2/5, 9/12, and 16/19. Neither mark can be identified exactly with recorded types, but Briquet does present two closely related specimens, taken from Swiss documents dating from the period 1497-1506.[12] Moreover, Piccard notes two pairs of marks similar to the paper in F X 10, which were used in dated Zurich and Solothurn documents copied between 1499 and 1504.[13] However, the same marks can be identified in another music manuscript housed today in the University Library of Basel under the call number F VI 26a. Although this quinio of Mass ordinaries in choirbook format has no date and carries no ownership markings, its concordant repertory is found mostly in manuscripts which were compiled around the turn of the century.[14]

The paper of F X 10 is coarse and rough, and its edge untrimmed. Moreover, several of its leaves show dirt, finger smudges, pen trials, ink stains and/or ink corrosion. This, taken together with other other physical details, suggests that it was a practical source.

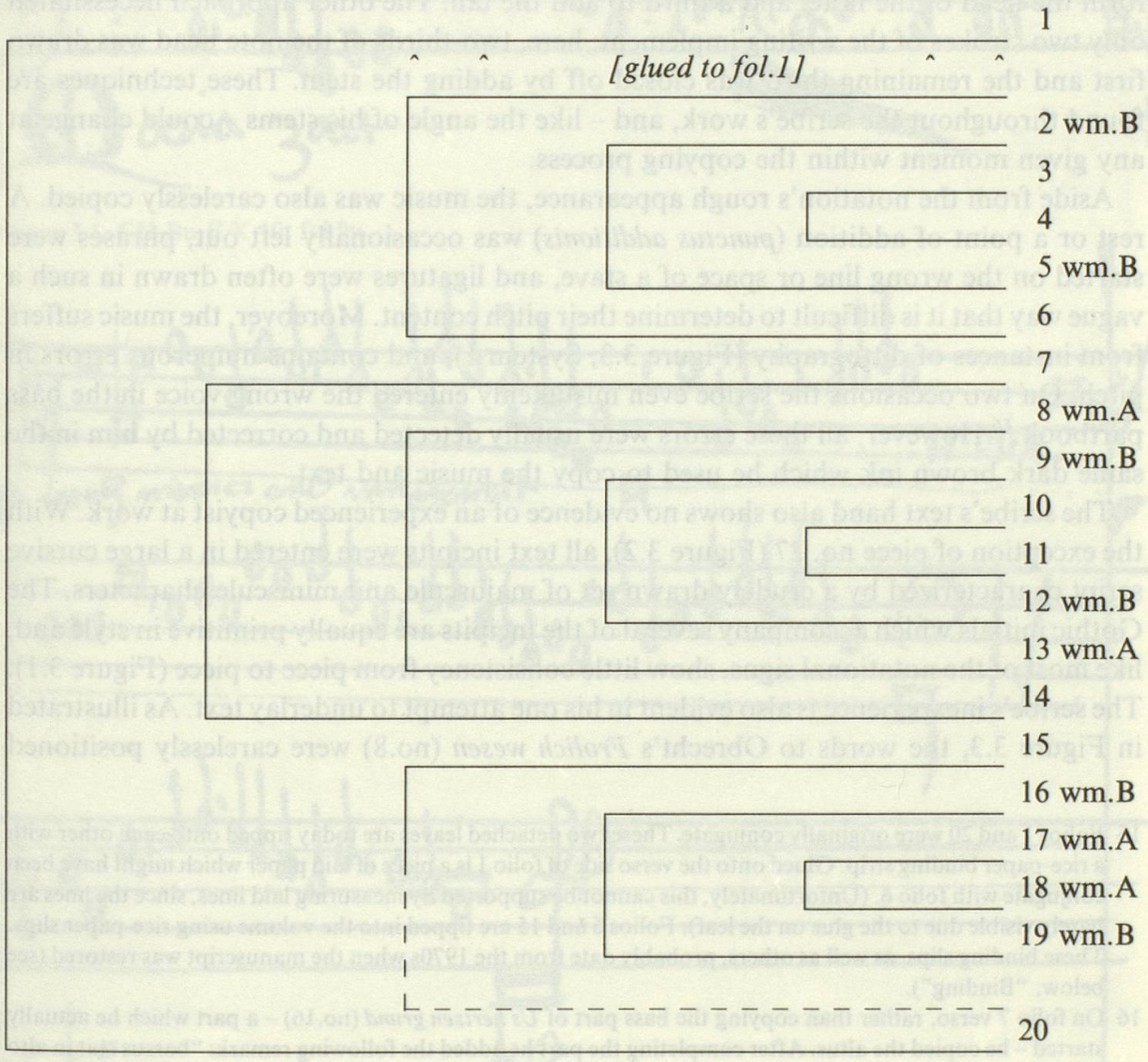
Collation. The paper was folded, cut, and assembled into a format particularly convenient for a portable volume, namely oblong octavo. However, as seen in Table 3.2, neither its gathering structure nor the distribution of its watermarks conforms to the format's

12 See Charles Briquet, *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*, 4 vols. (1907; repr. Hilversen, 1968), nos. 13015-13016.
13 Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen, Frucht* (Stuttgart, 1983) Abt.I, Traube, nos. 697/725, 691/720 and 694.
14 For a description and inventory of this manuscript, see KatK, 45-49.

textbook expectations. For example, since the partbook contains five complete watermarks, the scribe must have used at least five sheets of paper. If each of these sheets was folded in the traditional manner, F X 10 should have theoretically contained five quaternios (=40 folios) with each gathering preserving one mark. Yet the partbook today consists of 20 folios made-up of only one quaternio (with two marks), two sophisticated binios (one also with two marks) and one bifolium which served as the manuscript's original outer cover.[15] Admittedly, one leaf appears today to be missing, yet there is no evidence to suggest that it contained text. Moreover, the manuscript lacks any indication that entire gatherings have been excised.

Given the unorthodox distribution of the manuscript's watermarks, it is possible to suggest that the compiler of F X 10 was not acquainted with the traditional methods for assembling a manuscript in oblong octavo. That the scribe was indeed a novice, can be supported by examining his handwriting.

Table 3.2. Gathering structure, foliation and distribution of watermark twins in CH-Bu F X 10



Handwriting. Despite the extent of the variation which can be detected in the writing of both text and music, F X 10 is paleographically uncomplicated. Apart from a modern pencil foliation/numeration and a few pen trials made in a sixteenth-century hand (folios 13r and 20v), the partbook was copied entirely by one scribe. His music script, characterized by a crudely drawn set of notational values, is seldom consistent from opening to opening. As shown in Figures 3.1-3.3, no less than five different bass clefs can be detected (one of which represents a peculiar hybrid, whereby a C3 clef was combined with an F clef; Figure 3.3, System 2). Moreover the scribe made final longs in a variety of sizes and shapes, sometimes marking them with fermatas or ornamental flourishes, sometimes not. Furthermore, he produced two different types of repetition signs (one employing three vertical strokes of the quill, the other two; Figure 3.1); and drew his custodes with either looped, hooked or straight tails in sizes that varied from 10 mm to 40 mm. Finally, semibreve and minim forms are sometimes oval-shaped, at other times diamond- or lozenge-shaped; and these forms often coexist not only within the same piece but also on the same stave.

Two techniques for adding stems to minims – both ascending and descending – can also be identified. The first consisted of making three distinct strokes with the quill: two to form the head of the note, and a third to add the tail. The other approach necessitated only two strokes of the writing implement: here, two-thirds of the note head was drawn first and the remaining third was closed off by adding the stem. These techniques are found throughout the scribe's work, and – like the angle of his stems – could change at any given moment within the copying process.

Aside from the notation's rough appearance, the music was also carelessly copied. A rest or a point of addition (*punctus additionis*) was occasionally left out, phrases were started on the wrong line or space of a stave, and ligatures were often drawn in such a vague way that it is difficult to determine their pitch content. Moreover, the music suffers from instances of dittography (Figure 3.3, System 1), and contains numerous errors in pitch. On two occasions the scribe even mistakenly entered the wrong voice in the bass partbook.[16] However, all these errors were usually detected and corrected by him in the same dark brown ink which he used to copy the music and text.

The scribe's text hand also shows no evidence of an experienced copyist at work. With the exception of piece no. 27 (Figure 3.2), all text incipits were entered in a large cursive script characterized by a crudely drawn set of majuscule and miniscule characters. The Gothic initials which accompany several of the incipits are equally primitive in style and, like most of the notational signs, show little consistency from piece to piece (Figure 3.1). The scribe's inexperience is also evident in his one attempt to underlay text. As illustrated in Figure 3.3, the words to Obrecht's *Frolich wesen* (no.8) were carelessly positioned

15 Folios 1 and 20 were originally conjugate. These two detached leaves are today tipped onto each other with a rice-paper binding strip. Glued onto the verso side of folio 1 is a piece of laid paper which might have been conjugate with folio 6. (Unfortunately, this cannot be supported by measuring laid lines, since the lines are barely visible due to the glue on the leaf). Folios 6 and 15 are tipped into the volume using rice-paper slips. These binding slips, as well as others, probably date from the 1970s when the manuscript was restored (see below, "Binding").

16 On folio 7 verso, rather than copying the bass part of *Us hertzen grund* (no.16) – a part which he actually started – he copied the altus. After completing the part he added the following remark: "bassus stat in alto hoc est in alio libro." The other copying error is found on folio 5v. Here the scribe entered the beginning of the tenor part of *Min hertz ist bekümberet* (no.11) and mistakenly notated the part with an F4 clef rather than with a C4 clef.

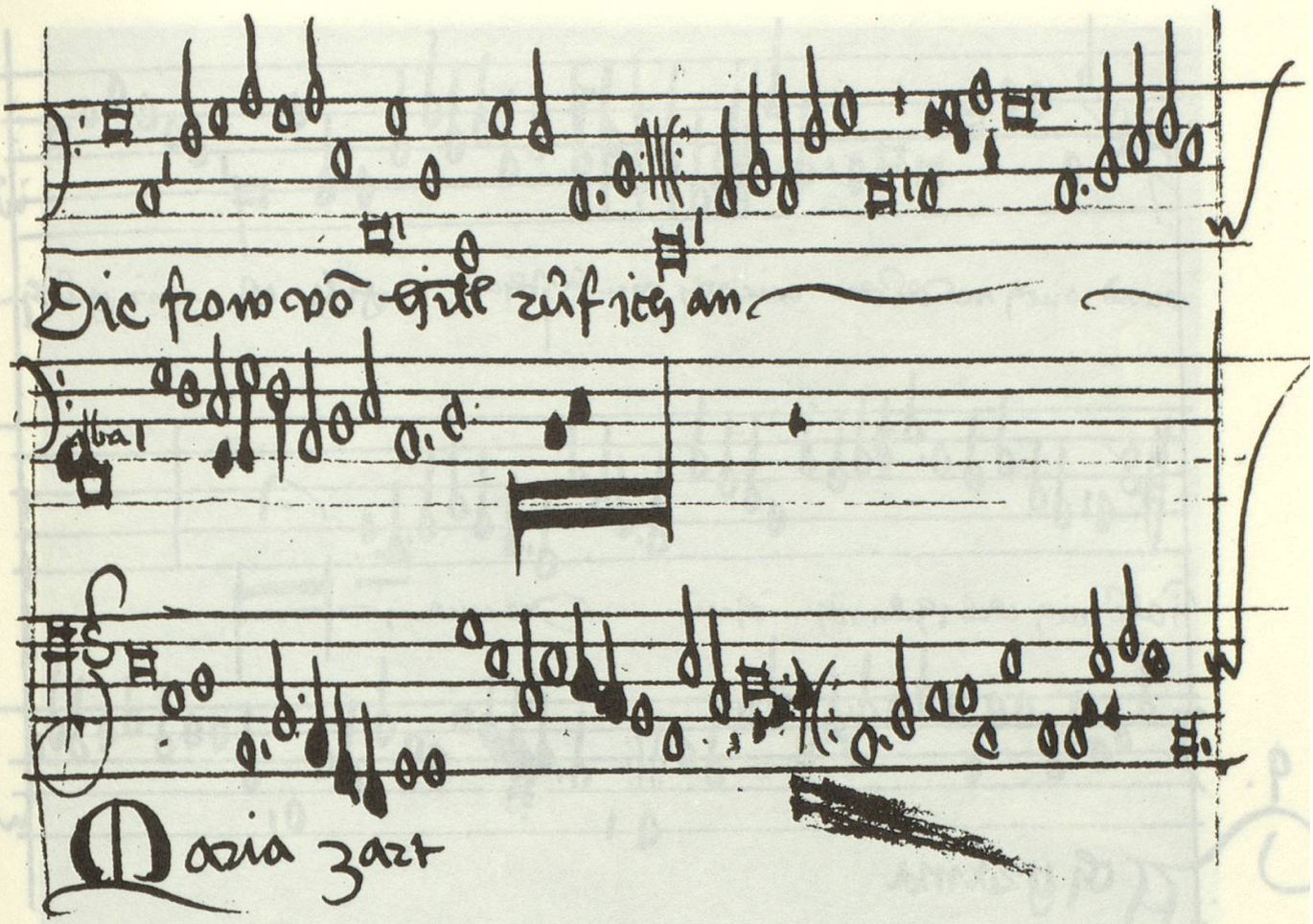


Figure 3.1. CH-Bu F X 10, fol.9v

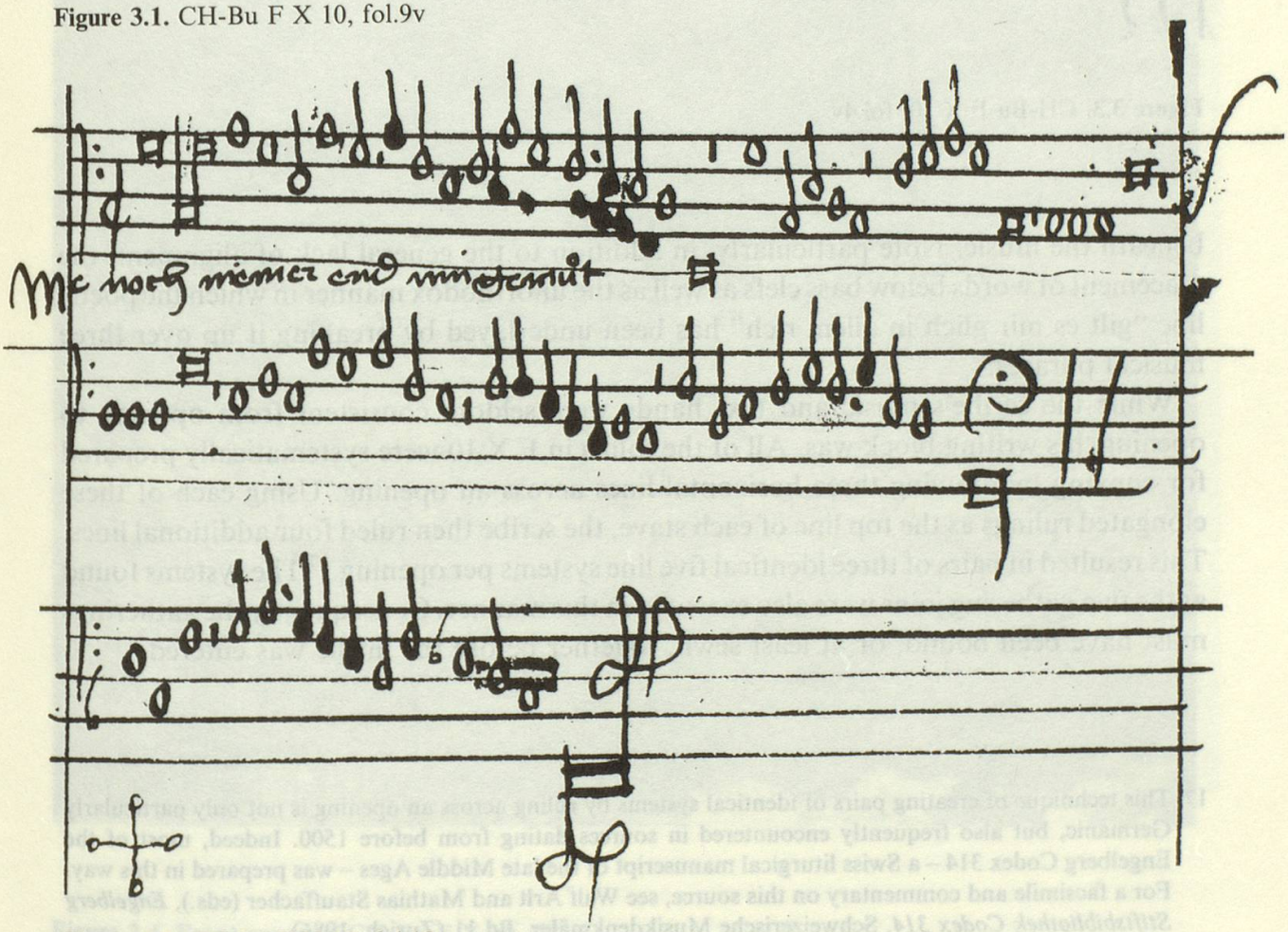


Figure 3.2. CH-Bu F X 10, fol.12v

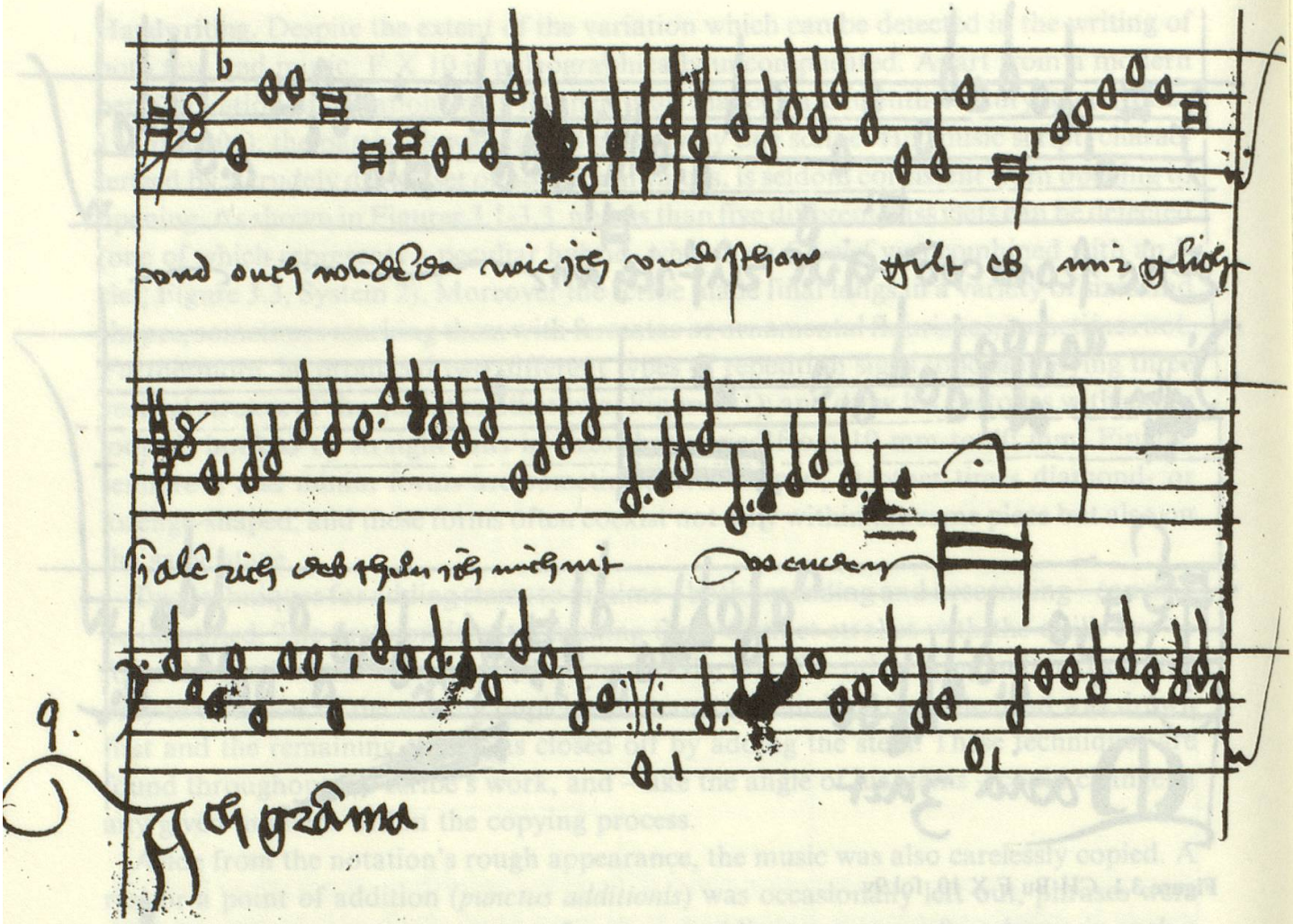


Figure 3.3. CH-Bu F X 10, fol.4v

beneath the music. Note particularly, in addition to the general lack of alignment, the placement of words below bass clefs as well as the unorthodox manner in which the poetic line "gilt es mir glich in allem rich" has been underlayed by breaking it up over three musical phrases.

While the scribe's music and text hands were seldom consistent from opening to opening, his writing block was. All of the folios in F X 10 were systematically prepared for copying by drawing three horizontal lines across an opening. Using each of these elongated rulings as the top line of each stave, the scribe then ruled four additional lines. This resulted in pairs of three identical five line systems per opening.[17] The systems found at the two gathering joins were also executed in this manner. Consequently the gatherings must have been bound, or at least sewn, together before the music was entered.

17 This technique of creating pairs of identical systems by ruling across an opening is not only particularly Germanic, but also frequently encountered in sources dating from before 1500. Indeed, most of the Engelberg Codex 314 – a Swiss liturgical manuscript of the late Middle Ages – was prepared in this way. For a facsimile and commentary on this source, see Wulf Arlt and Mathias Stauffacher (eds.), *Engelberg Stiftsbibliothek Codex 314*, Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler, Bd.11 (Zurich, 1986).



Figure 3.4. Front cover of CH-Bu F X 10, fol.1r

Since we are concerned not only with establishing the scribe's copying habits but also with identifying where he might have worked, mention needs to be made of his orthographical tendencies. Most of the German text incipits, explicits and underlay were entered using spellings characteristic of Basel and its environs. Some of the salient features identifying this dialect in the partbook are the use an *i* for an *ü*, substituting *ch* for *ck* (e.g., *glich* instead of *glück*) and contracting the diphthong *ei* to an *i*, frequently encountered in such demonstrative pronouns as *min* (= *mein*), and *din* (= *dein*).

Given the consistent irregularities in the scribe's music hand, taken together with his careless approach to a copy text, it would seem a reasonable inference that we are dealing with an amateur musician. Indeed, in view of the large size of the notation and its rough appearance, we may assume that the scribe was a student.

Binding. The manuscript was rebound and resewn around 1970 in a modern cloth case binding. Its original paper covers (= bifolium 1/20), containing a substantial number of annotations (i.e., inscriptions, voice designations, jottings and pen trials), were fortunately left intact. As illustrated in Figures 3.4 and 3.5, these two outer folios (each one protected today by three modern laid-paper flyleaves) are extremely worn, dirty and smeared with ink. In the upper-left hand corner of the front cover (Figure 3.4) is the manuscript's siglum, entered around 1678 by the University librarian Johann Zwinger. Below the shelf number, the scribe responsible for the manuscript's compilation labelled the partbook with the appropriate voice designation using German gothic majuscules.

By far the most important piece of evidence for dating and localizing the source is the well-known inscription located on the back cover, which carries the names of Amerbach and Kettenacker (Figure 3.5). Although the inscription is partially covered with ink and dirt, it can easily be read with the assistance of the University Library's ultra-violet reader:

Ambrosius Ketenacker Dono dedit
Bonifacio Amorbachio Basiliensi
hos libbellulos ~~quatuor~~ Anno M D X

Origins and History. Given the Amerbach inscription reproduced in Figure 3.5,[18] taken together with the remark "Concionalia quatuor" entered directly below it in the same ink, several important facts concerning the manuscript's history can now be established with certainty. First of all, we can confirm that F X 10 represents one partbook from an original set of four, supporting the implication of the two instances in the book where a tenor or altus part was entered by mistake. Moreover, since Amerbach acquired the partbooks as a gift in 1510, it can be assumed that the manuscript was compiled no later than that year. This dating is corroborated by the manuscript's paper, which (as already noted) also exists in documents of northern Swiss origin from the first decade of the century. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Ambrosius Kettenacker is revealed as the donor of the manuscript.

18 Although one might assume that the inscription carrying Kettenacker's name was written by Kettenacker himself, a comparison of the handwriting with authenticated specimens of Bonifacius Amerbach's Latin script of 1510 and 1512 shows that the inscription was copied by Bonifacius. For facsimiles of Amerbach's youthful script, see Alfred Einstein, "Andrea Antico's Canzoni Nove of 1510," *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXVII/3 (July, 1951), 336; and the present study, Figure 3.6.

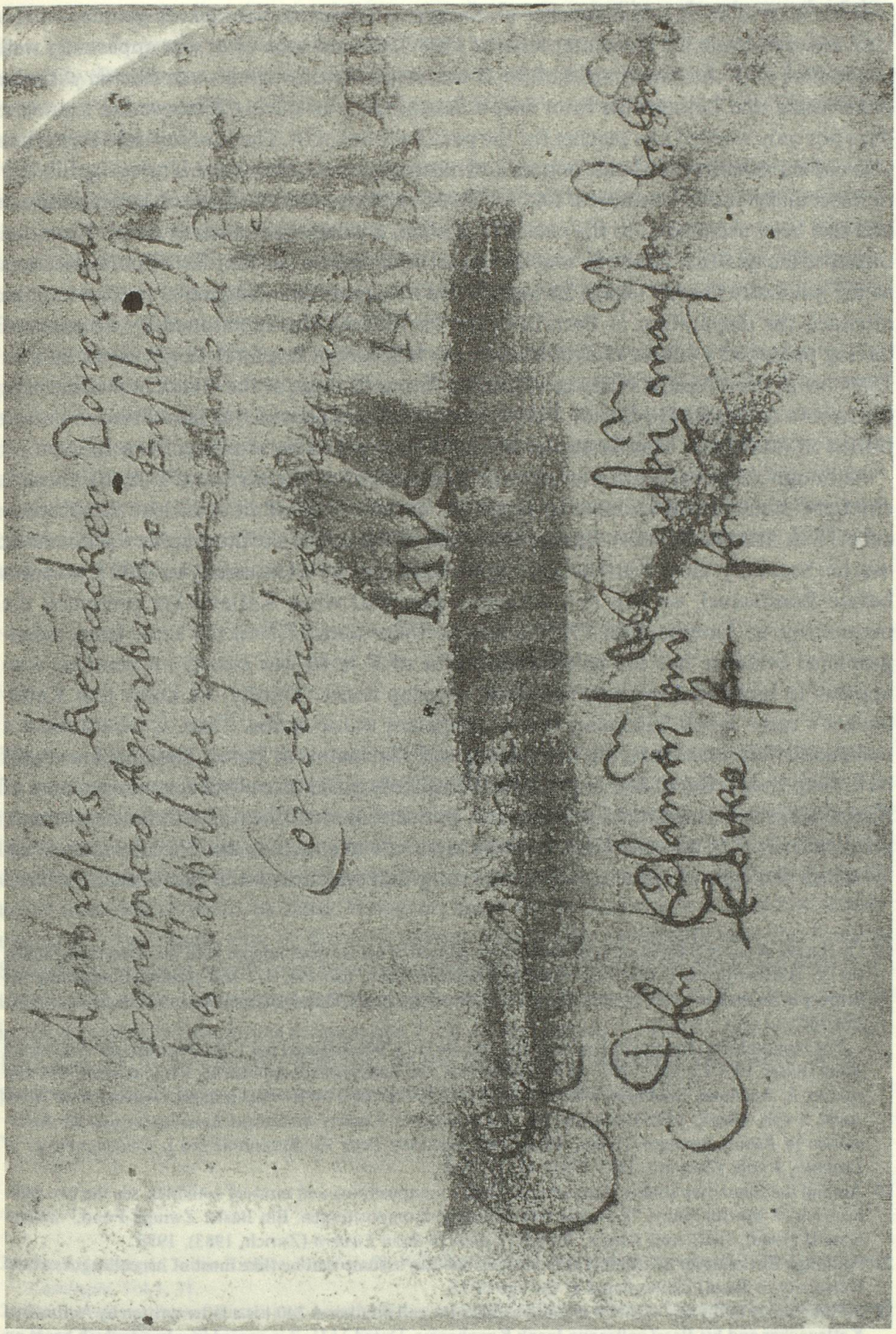


Figure 3.5. Back cover of CH-Bu F X 10, fol.20v

Born in Winterthur, Kettenacker (=Suagrius, Swagrius, Sauracker) enrolled at the University of Basel for the winter term of 1508-1509 and soon after was apparently well acquainted with the Amerbach family. It was evidently through his association with the Amerbachs that he meet his tutor Jacob Salzmann, who during Kettenacker's student days not only worked as a teacher for the parish school of St. Theodor in Klein Basel, but also copied several polyphonic masses and motets housed today in the University Library of Basel under the call number F IX 55.[19] By 1518, Kettenacker was an ordained minister and had been nominated to the parish of Riehen, a village just north of Basel. From the outset of his spiritual duties he was in contact with such important Reformation leaders as the musically literate Ulrich Zwingli,[20] and Johannes Oecolampadius (with whom he attended the disputation at Bern in 1528). In 1522 he was mentioned by Erasmus as having preached a rather radical sermon on Matthew, Chapter 1. Eight years later in 1530, he married Agathe Niesslin of Zurich, formerly a nun at the Gnadental convent in the canton of Argau. He died on 5 November, 1541 and provided in his will two hundred florins to establish a scholarship at Basel for needy divinity students from Riehen.

Although Amerbach did not identify Kettenacker as the scribe of F X 10, there is enough circumstantial evidence to suggest it, at least. First of all, it is clear that Kettenacker, like Amerbach, was a Basler, as in light of the scribe's orthographical tendencies, was he. Secondly, since Kettenacker registered at the city's University in 1508 (two years before Bonifacius), we can be reasonably sure that when Kettenacker presented the manuscript to Amerbach in 1510 he was no older than 17;[21] at the same time, paleographical evidence has shown that the scribe of F X 10 was clearly an amateur who appears to have been learning the art of copying music. Thirdly, we know that Kettenacker's tutor Jacob Salzmann was a competent music scribe. Thus, it would seem a reasonable inference that, while studying with Salzmann in Basel, Kettenacker might have been instructed in copying music. Admittedly, until an authenticated specimen of Kettenacker's German hand is recovered, this scribal identification will have to remain an open issue.[22] In the meantime, it would seem safe to conclude that the contents of F X 10 reflect the type of secular polyphonic song that was heard and performed by Basel

19 On the life of Jacob Salzmann, together with an edition of his correspondence with the Amerbach family, see A. Hartmann (ed.), *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, Vol.1, nos.456, 457 and *passim*. Concerning the identity of Salzmann as the scribe of the music manuscript Basel, Universitätsbibliothek F IX 55, see KatK, 176-180.

For biographical information on Kettenacker, see H.G. Wackernagel (ed.), *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel* (Basel, 1951ff.), Vol.1, 294, no.41; Hartmann, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, Vol.2, nos.568, 636 and *passim*; A. Bruckner, *Geschichte eines Dorfes* (Basel, 1972), 166-174; R. Wackernagel, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel*, 3 vols. (Basel, 1907-1954), III, 326 and *passim*; G. Linder, *Ambrosius Kettenacker und die Reformation in Riehen-Bettingen* (Basel, 1883); and especially Peter G. Bietenholz (ed.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, 3 vols. (Toronto, 1985-1987), II, 257-258.

20 Among the numerous studies discussing Zwingli's compositions and musical activities, see the two publications of Marcel Jenny: "Zwinglis mehrstimmige Kompositionen: Ein Basler Zwingli-Fund," *Zwingliana* II (1960), 164ff; and *Luther, Zwingli, Calvin in ihren Liedern* (Zurich, 1983), 193ff.

21 Although Kettenacker's birthdate is unknown, one can assume that he (like most of his colleagues at the University of Basel) matriculated at the age of 15.

22 Housed today in the city archives of Zurich under the call number A 240 1 is a letter written by Ambrosius Kettenacker and his Basel colleague Jacob Kronberger. Dated 1531, it is copied in a hand which bears no resemblance to the text script of F X 10. Unfortunately, since the entire letter (including the signatures of Kettenacker and Kronberger) was copied in one hand, it is difficult to establish who actually wrote the document. Indeed, the possibility that the letter represents the work of a professional scribe cannot be ruled out.

students during the first decade of the century. In fact as we will see shortly, much of the same type of repertory can also be found in the initial layer of F X 5-9, a manuscript also owned by Bonifacius Amerbach and begun at about the same time as F X 10. However, before we examine F X 5-9, the question of Kotter's ownership of F X 10 must be seriously addressed.

Although several scholars have interpreted the German inscription on the back cover as evidence that Hans Kotter once owned this bass partbook, a critical examination of the inscription does not support such a claim (Figure 3.5). For example, it is always transcribed as "Dem Ersamen und waisen maister Johann Kotter."[23] Yet the inscription clearly contains two additional words at the end, one of which was crossed out, "Dem Ersamen und waisen maister Johann Kotter ~~sei~~ sein".

Since the the inscription was left unfinished, and entered in a rough cursive hand, it is possible that we are not dealing with another dedicatory remark, but rather with some more loose notation, not necessarily directly connected with the manuscript, such as a draft to the opening of a letter. In fact, this theory can be confirmed by examining under ultra-violet light those writings found on the manuscript's covers which have been smeared over with ink. Entered along the bottom of the front cover (Figure 3.4) in the same cursive script are a number of pen trials that develop into another version of the inscription which was again never completed:

Dem Ersamen und weysen Meister [Han]s
K[otte]r von st[ra]ssburg
und meister

The same hand, and part of the same inscription, can also be detected under the ink smear on the manuscript's back cover (Figure 3.5: "Dem Ersamen und wey") and on folio 13r ("und dem Ersamen") where it was scribbled on a stave along with a few minims and ligatures. In all three cases, the ink covering the remarks would appear to be the same ink used for the writings themselves, implying that the scribe (perhaps Amerbach himself) never intended them to be read. However, since the manuscript was unquestionably owned by Amerbach, one of Kotter's closest friends, the possibility that the famous Strassburg organist might once have consulted the source cannot be ruled out.[24] In fact, the bass line to the intabulation of Jacques Barbireau's setting of *Ein frölich wesen* (found in the Amerbach Tabulature manuscript F IX 22 and copied by Kotter himself between 1513 and 1515), is virtually identical to the bass line of the same piece in F X 10, a partbook (which as we have seen) was copied no later than 1510.[25]

23 See, for example, Julius Richter, *Katalog*, 58; Wilhelm Merian, "Bonifacius Amerbach," 150; and *Census-Catalogue*, Vol.1, 31.

24 On the relationship of Kotter and Amerbach, see especially Wilhelm Merian, "Bonifacius Amerbach und Hans Kotter," *passim*.

25 For a transcription of Barbireau's *Ein frölich wesen* in F IX 22, see Marx, *Tabulaturen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Bd.I, 18-19. On the dating of F IX 22, see Marx, "Der Tabulatur-Codex," 59ff, and KatK, 75-78. Unfortunately, this setting of *Ein frölich wesen* in F X 10 is the only piece concordant with any of the Kotter keyboard manuscripts.

Basel University Library F X 5-9

This set of five paper partbooks, carrying the *Ex Libris* of Bonifacius Amerbach and of his son Basilius, is an important source of sixteenth-century vocal and instrumental polyphony. It contains 43 compositions (including 19 *unica*), most of which are either German- or Latin-texted songs or motets. It also includes a small group of French secular pieces and a few dances. The collection is especially well-known for the works of the Swiss composers Johannnes Wannenmacher and Cosmas Alder.

Like F X 10, F X 5-9 was first described and catalogued by Julius Richter.[26] Although Richter was unable to identify many of the compositions, he made several important observations regarding the manuscript's contents, structure and dated entries:

1) that the partbooks consisted of two distinct scribal layers, the first consisting of pieces 1-8 and the second 9-38;
2) that the second layer, unlike the first, carried an original numeration which began with the arabic number 1 (=modern no.9);
3) that the dates 1535, 1544 and 1546 (entered next to several of the compositions in the second layer) refer to the year in which the corresponding pieces were composed;
4) that the tenor partbook originally served as the bass, and the bass partbook as the tenor, as evident from the fact that these parts in the initial layer are reversed; and finally
5) that, with the exception of one composition (no.3), all of the pieces in the initial layer are missing at least one voice, some as many as three.

Since the appearance of Richter's catalogue, the manuscript has been drawn upon repeatedly by scholars, most notably by Arnold Geering,[27] Eduard Bernoulli[28] and Heinrich Dübi,[29] each of whom was concerned primarily with the second layer and its unique compositions attributed to Wannenmacher and Alder. In 1972, Geering identified the handwriting of the second layer as that of the musician Christoph Piperinus (b. ca.1525 – d.1565), whose hand, as we will see in Chapter 4, is found in several other manuscripts owned by Basilius Amerbach.[30] Most recently, the present author was able to show that some of the attributions to Wannenmacher (found in Piperinus' layer of the manuscript) were actually entered by the composer himself.[31]

26 Richter, *Katalog*, 54 and 55.

27 Arnold Geering (ed.), *Psalmen und Geistliche Gesänge von Johannes Wannenmacher (Vannius) und Cosmas Alder (Alderinus)*, Musikalische Werke schweizerischer Komponisten des 16., 17. und 18 Jahrhunderts, Fascicle 3, 1934; *idem, Die Vokalmusik, passim*; and *idem*, "Von den Berner Stadtpfeifern," *Schweizer Beiträge für Musikwissenschaft*, Series 3, Vol.1 (1972), 105ff.

28 Eduard Bernoulli (ed.), *Aus Liederbüchern der Humanistenzeit* (Leipzig, 1910).

29 Heinrich Dübi, "Cosmas Alder und die bernische Reformation," *Neujahrsblätter der Literarischen Gesellschaft Bern*, New Series, VIII (1930), 15-79.

30 Although Geering made this identification based on a comparison with autographs of Piperinus ("Von den Berner Stadtpfeifern," 107), he neither reproduced pictures of the documents nor provided the reader with any of the paleographical details which led him to this conclusion. Furthermore, he did not specify which of the two main scribal layers in F X 5-9 were copied by this Bern musician, nor make any conclusions as to where and when the manuscript was copied. A detailed analysis of Piperinus' handwriting, as witnessed by these autograph letters, will be presented in Chapter 4 where we will discuss all the music manuscripts copied by Piperinus for Basilius Amerbach.

31 John Kmetz, *"Da Jacob nun das Kleid ansah* and Zurich Zentralbibliothek T 410-413: a well-known motet in a little-known sixteenth-century manuscript," *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, New Series, IV (1984), 73 and 74.

Despite the fact that the manuscript has been known to scholars for nearly a century, cited often in the literature, and used as a principal source for editions of the music of Isaac, Senfl, Wannenmacher, and Alder, it has never been described in detail; nor is there a complete and accurate inventory available. Moreover, even though two of the scribes have been identified, the provenance and date of the partbooks have yet to be clearly established.

F X 5-9 contains a wealth of evidence (repertorial, paleographical and codicological) which, when taken together with biographical information on its scribes and owners, permits us to reconstruct the history of its preparation in considerable detail, and allows us to make conclusions regarding the circumstances under which it was copied and used by two generations of Amerbachs. Those conclusions will not only show that the manuscript's second layer (copied by Piperinus for Basilius Amerbach) dates from around 1547 but also (and more importantly within the context of this chapter) that its initial layer was compiled and bound in Basel before it was acquired by the fifteen-year-old Bonifacius Amerbach in 1510; thereby providing us with yet another source of German songs, albeit incomplete, dating from before the publication of RISM 1512.

Contents

Repertory. As illustrated by Inventory C, forty-three compositions (thirteen of which are incomplete) are preserved today in F X 5-9. Included are 17 German sacred and secular songs, 9 motets, 6 chansons, 3 Latin secular compositions, 1 Dutch secular song, 2 dances, 1 Hymn, 1 Magnificat and 6 textless pieces (of which three have been identified and included among the genres just listed). The manuscript also contains one additional textless fragment, which was copied in an extremely sloppy hand and appears to be an exercise in counterpoint.[32] Several attributions are found within the partbooks: the names of Heinrich Isaac, Johannes Wannenmacher, Cosmas Alder, Ludwig Senfl, Adrian Willaert, Sixt Dietrich and Petrus (=?) are preserved next to fourteen compositions. Concordances offer attributions, though not always reliably, for nine more pieces, as the work of Loyset Compère (1), Sixt Dietrich (1), Clément Janequin (1), Jean de La Fage (1), Jacob Obrecht (1), Ludwig Senfl (2), Claudin de Sermisy (1) and Adrian Willaert (1). Moreover, two unattributed *unica* have been tentatively ascribed to Cosmas Alder on stylistic evidence.[33]

Miniatures. In addition to the music, the partbooks contain three watercolor and pen illustrations, accompanied by verses and epigrams taken from the writings of several well-known Roman poets and satirists. As illustrated in Plate 3.1, folio 2r of F X 5 consists of a watercolor drawing of Venus, the goddess of love and beauty. Blindfolded and standing on a pedestal placed in a pool of water, she holds in one hand a flaming torch, in the other a bow, an arrow, and what appears to be a recorder or a blowpipe.

32 This composition, found on folios 23v and 24r of the tenor partbook (F X 8), consists of a discant and an altus part, neither of which were completed.

33 On the authorship of *Wie Joseph in Egipten landt* (no.33) and *Floreat Ursine gentis* (no.34), see Arnold Geering, *Die Vokalmusik*, 172ff.

Strapped across her waist is a quiver containing additional arrows.[34] Swimming in the pool are seven men and women, all with their eyes closed. The accompanying texts, taken from the Odes and Elegies of Horace, Tibullus and Propertius, collectively deal with love and with Venus, who in the words of a famous mythologist, "beguiled all, gods and men alike:"[35]

Prop[ertius *Elegiae* Liber 2, 12, 9-10]:

> Et merito hamatis manus/manus est armata sagittis/Et pharetra ex umero/gnosia utroque jacet.
>
> (And he was right to make love's arrows barbed, and sling the quiver ready to the hand).[36]

Tibullus li° 2°, *Ele*[*giae*] 1° [67-74:]

> Ipse que inter greges interque armenta cupido/ Natus & indominitas dicitur inter equas./Illic & indocto primum se exercuit arcu/Hei mihi quam doctas nunc habet ille manus/ Nec pecudes, velut ante, petiti fixisse puellas/Gestit & audaces perdomuisse viros./ Hic juvem detraxit opes: hic dicere iussit/Limen ad iratae verba pudenda senem.
>
> (Where bull and cow graze, and the never-bridled mare born, like them, of the fields, is the god who breeds desire; there in those quiet pastures he aimed his untrained bow with hands that have grown in skill until they are expert now. His target has changed as well; now it is men he would tame, not beasts; he will pierce the hearts of girls well-guarded at home. He can waste a young man's wealth; he likes to force the old to shudder in shame).[37]

Hora[ce, *Carmina* Liber 2, 8, 15]:

> Semper ardentes asuens sagittas
>
> (Always sharp'ning his [=Cupid's] glittering arrows).

Propertius [*Elegiae*] li° I° [9, 23-24:]

> Nullus amor cuiquam faciles ita praebuit alas/Ut non alterna presserit ille manu.
>
> (Love never offered his wings to anyone so easy [to grasp] that he did not then, first with one hand and then the other push him down).[38]

Idem [Propertius, *Elegiae*] li° 2° [1, 57-58:]

> Omnes humanos sanat medicina dolores/Solus amor morbi non amat artificem.[39]

34 For an interesting musical and iconographical study of Venus, see Edward E. Lowinsky, *Cipriano de Rore's Venus Motet: Its Poetic and Pictorial Sources* (Provo, Utah, 1986).

35 Edith Hamilton, *Mythology* (Boston, 1942), 33.

36 Translated by Constance Carrier, *The Poems of Propertius* (Bloomington-London, 1963), 74.

37 Translated by Constance Carrier, *The Poems of Tibullus* (Bloomington-London, 1968), 66.

38 Translated by L. Richardson, Jr., *Propertius Elegies I-IV* (Tulsa, 1977), 172.

39 The same quotation from Propertius is found on the front parchment cover of Bonifacius Amerbach's copy of Antico's *Canzone Nove* of 1510 (=RISM 1510: CH-Bu kk II 32). For a partial description of this print as well as its manuscript additions, see KatK, 324-325.

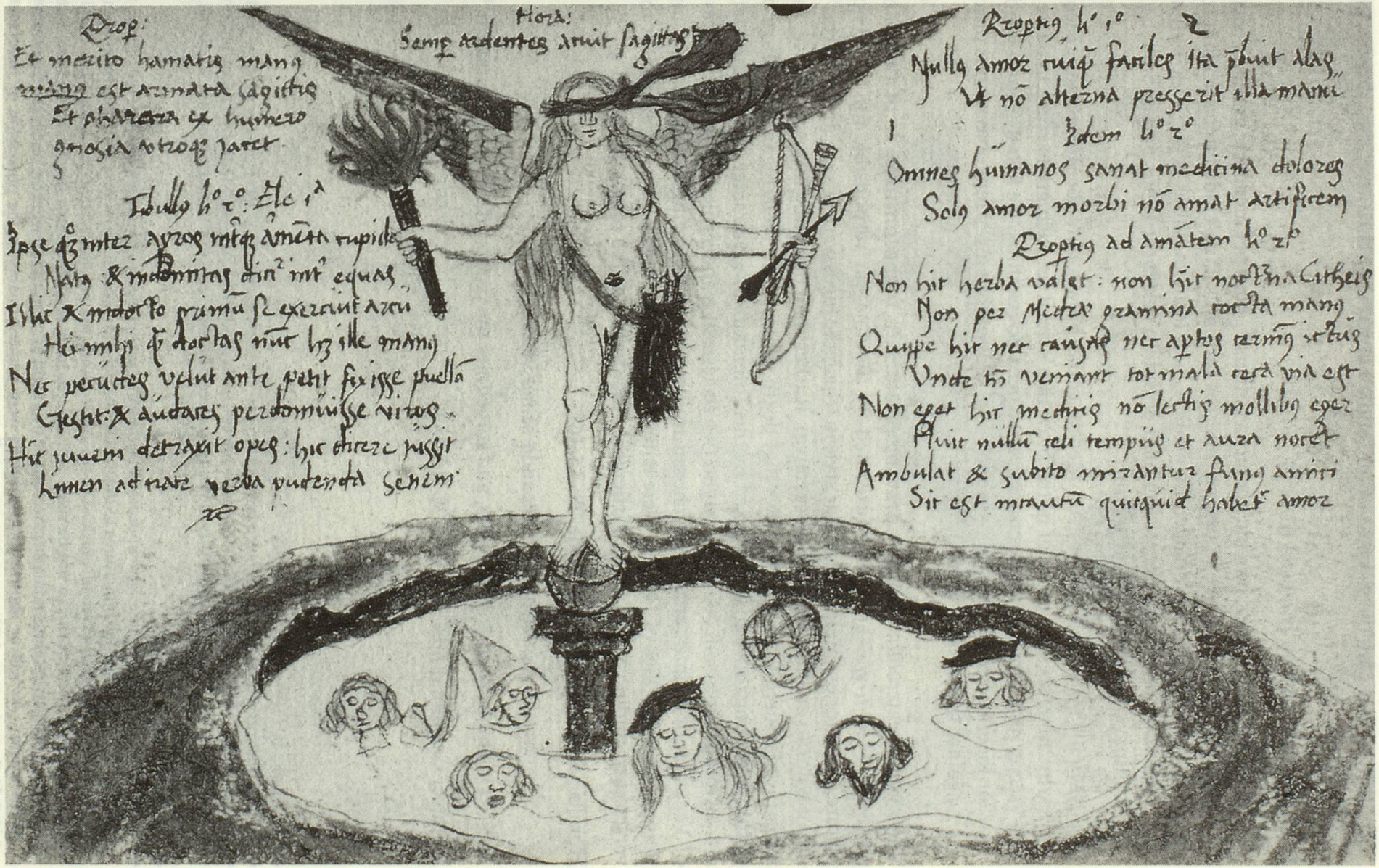


Plate 3.1. Watercolor drawing of Venus (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F X 5, fol.2r)

(Physicians cure the sickness of our bodies: could they cure love, they'd only gain love's hate).[40]

Propertius ad amatem [*Elegiae*] li° 2° [4, 7-14:]

Non hic herba valet, non hic nocturna Citheis[41]/ Non per medeae[42] gramina cocta manus/ Quippe hic nec causas nec apertos cernimus ictus/Unde tamen ueniant tot mala caeca via est/ Non eget hic medicis, non lectis mollibus aeger/Huic nullum caeli tempus et aura nocet/ Ambulat & Subito mirantur funus amici/ Sic est incautum quidquid habetur amour.

(My ills no sorceress, not even Medea, could brew a cure for. Here's the reason why: none sees the cause of it, the blow that's dealt us; such griefs come to us by a secret path. We seek no doctor's aid, we need no coddling, we fear no storm winds or their aftermath, we walk abroad – and die without a warning. No man is proof against this love, it seems).[43]

The second watercolor and pen drawing (Plate 3.2), found on folio 2r of the tenor partbook F X 7, was apparently executed by the amateur responsible for the Venus picture (note, for example, the similar style in which the faces were drawn, and the artist's use of color to create a sense of perspective). Rather than depicting a theme of love, the miniature featured in Plate 3.2 shows that death comes to all men, regardless of age or position. Among those citizens elected by this Totentanz-like character to meet their fate are: an infant, a peasant couple, a knight, two ecclesiastics and a ruler. As in the depiction of Venus, appropriate verses were chosen to illustrate the drawing. These verses, quotations from the Odes of Horace, were entered by the scribe who was reponsible for the verses surrounding Venus (note particularly the ductus of the miniscule a and g):[44]

Hora[ce] Car[mina Liber] I° [Ode 28, 15-16:]

Omnes una manet nox/Et caleanda semel via lethi.

(One night waits for everyone, and sometimes the path of death must be taken).[45]

Hora[ce] Car[mina] li[ber] 1° Ode 28 [15-16:]

40 Translated in Carrier, *op. cit.*, 59.

41 Medea, the sorceress who helped Jason find the Golden Fleece, was called Cytaeis from her place of birth.

42 Perimediae (= of Perimede) was a Thessalian sorceress, associated with Circe and Media by Theocritus. For an interpretation of this poem and its illusions to Greek mythology, see L. Richardson Jr., *Propertius*, 222-224.

43 Translation by Carrier, 63.

44 Since the ink used to copy the verse appears to be the same as that used to draw the outline of the figures, it is tempting to attribute the miniatures to this text scribe, who (as we will see) was responsible for copying the manuscript's initial layer of music. On the other hand, the possibility that the scribe was simply annotating another's work can not be ruled out. Indeed, in view of the simple figures drawn here, I am inclined to believe that these miniatures were done by a child or young adult working under the supervision of his teacher. As will be shown, the partbooks were unquestionably in the possession of Bonifacius Amerbach at the age of fifteen.

45 This translation, and the one that follows are the present author's own.

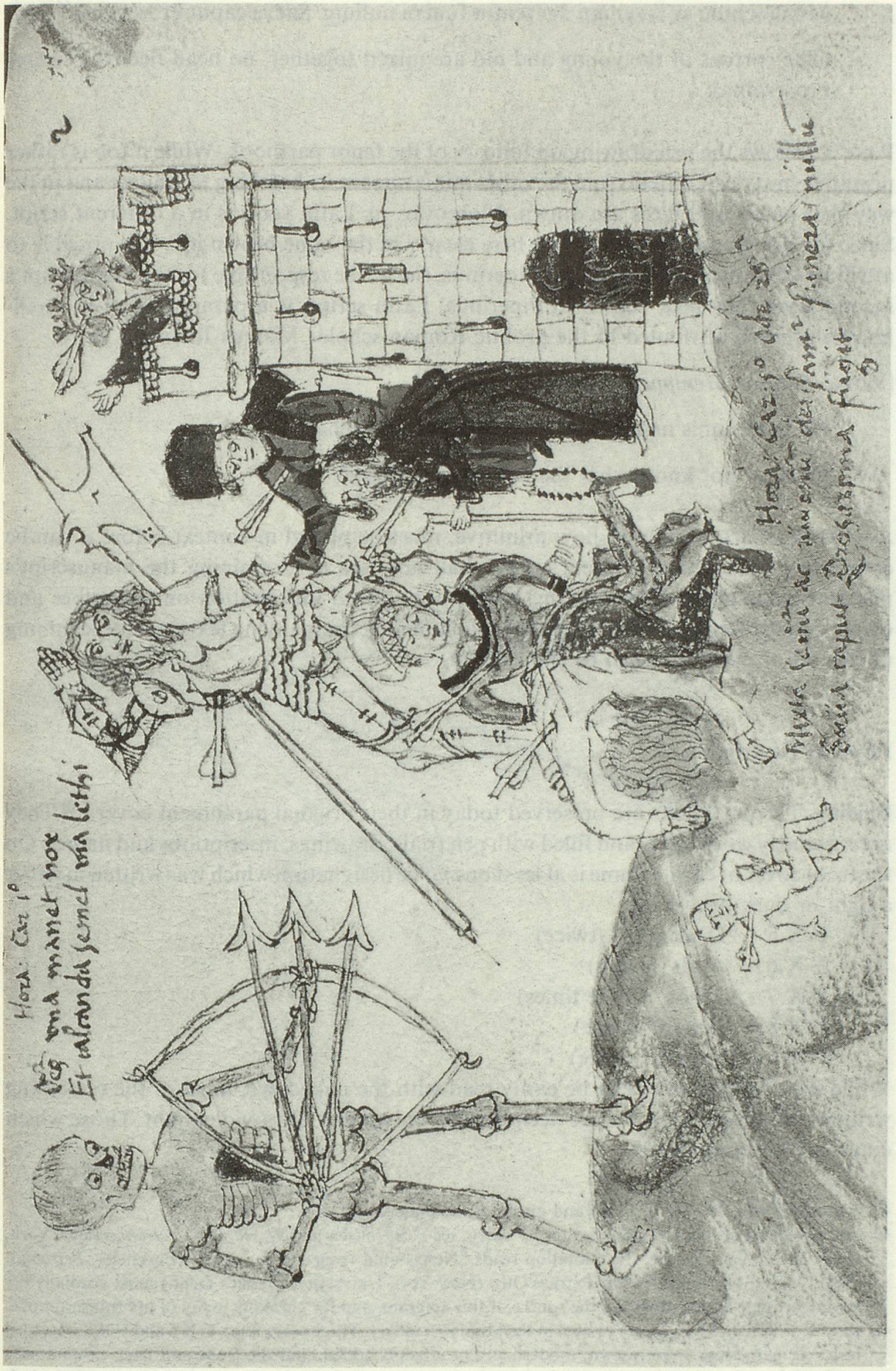


Plate 3.2. Watercolor drawing depicting death (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F X 7, fol.2r)

Mixta senum ac iuvenum densentur funera nullum/ Saeva caput Proserpina[46] fugit

(The corpses of the young and old are mixed together, no head flees the savage Proserpina).

Plate 3.3 shows the pen drawing on folio 1v of the tenor partbook. While it too is rather primitive in style, it differs from the other miniatures in its hatching technique and in the way that hands and faces are drawn. Moreover, its Latin verse is in a different script. Since the drawing and the verse are here clearly in the same brown ink, it is possible to attribute the drawing to Christoph Piperinus, the scribe responsible for the manuscript's second layer. The text, copied in Piperinus' Latin script, is a paraphrase of the well-known proverb attributed to the prolific Roman scholar Marcus Terentius Varro:

[Varro, *Saturae Menippeae*, Paragraph no.333]

Ne quid nimis nescis/enim quid seras/Vesper vehat

(You do not know what the late night brings).[47]

Any work of art, no matter how primitive, must be placed in context before it can be completely understood. Indeed, as we shall now see by examining the manuscript's physical make-up, and by offering some biographical information on its scribes and owners, the presence of these miniatures (and their accompanying texts) at the beginning of this set of partbooks can be explained.

Physical Description

Binding. The partbooks are preserved today in their original parchment covers.[48] They are extremely worn, dirty and filled with pen trials, drawings, inscriptions and names. On the front cover of each volume is at least one voice designation which was written in either a light or dark brown ink:

F X 5 – "Discantus" (twice)
F X 6 – "Altus" (once)
F X 7 – "Tenor" (three times)
F X 8 – "Bassus" (once)
F X 9 – "Vagans" (once)

While these voice names can be easily read with the naked eye, most of the remaining writings on the outer covers are decipherable only under ultra-violet light. Those which could be retrieved include:

46 Proserpina was the wife of Pluto and queen of the underworld.

47 For an edition of this and other Satires by Varro, see F. Buecheler and W. Heraeus, *Petronius* (New York, 1922). In the Varro Satire, the quotation reads "Nescis quid vesper serus vehat." (Buecheler, *Petronius*, 198). I would like to thank Dr. Patrick Otto (New York University, Classics Dept.) most cordially for having brought to my attention the source of this epigram, and for checking many of my transcriptions.

48 In 1982, F X 5 and F X 7 were resewn in the library's bindery. Three years later, F X 6 and F X 8 were also restored: gatherings were resewn, modern silk headbands added, and the front and back paste-downs unglued. In order to preserve the original parchment covers, each partbook was placed in a modern cloth case-binding consisting of six flyleaves (three at the front, and three at the back). F X 9, on the other hand, shows no signs of having been restored.



Plate 3.3. Watercolor drawing of a philosopher (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F X 7, fol.1v)

"Bonifacius / Bonifacius Amerbachium" (F X 6, back);
"Basilius Amer[bach] (F X 8, front);
"Bonifacius Amorbacchius / Basiliensis M.D.X /Bonifacius Amorbach" (F X 8, back; see Figure 3.6);
Basel Crozier (F X 9, back).

Although all five partbooks are bound in parchment, the cover of F X 9 is different. Unlike the smooth yellowish hides of F X 5-8, its parchment is gray in color, and extremely grainy in texture. The covers of F X 5-8 consist of remnants taken from fifteenth-century documents copied in a formal German or Latin script, two of which were clearly written in Basel (or in close proximity to the *oberrheinische* city), as witnessed by the names cited within the documents.[49] The parchment of F X 9, on the other hand, shows no evidence of having been excised from an earlier handwritten source, or for that matter from a sheet of parchment which was throughly scraped so as to accept copy. That the cover of F X 9 is different is not at all suprising; for, as we shall see, this quintus volume represents a later addition to the manuscript's original set of four partbooks.

In view of the fact that two of the parchment covers are made-up of Basel/Alsatian documents (*Urkunde*), it would seem a reasonable inference that the partbooks were bound in the region where the documents were written. Moreover, since the binding of the bass partbook carries Bonifacius Amerbach's dated *Ex Libris* of 1510, one can safely conclude that F X 5-8 must have existed in that year. This dating, as well as the manuscript's Basel provenance, can be supported by examining its paper types.

Paper. The partbooks, measuring 9.5 X 15.5 cm, consist of five different papers, each containing either a Basel watermark, or a mark commonly found in documents of Basel provenance from between 1500 and 1550. All of the papers are presently in good condition, with only slight foxing. Yet the leaves were apparently often used. Apart from the finger smudges and dirt located along the outer edges, many of the pages contain ink blottings, as well as pen and rastrum trials. Moreover, since many of leaves found in the manuscript's second layer show evidence of vigorous erasure and correction, one could infer that this specific layer was copied rather quickly.

Paper Type 1, by far the most frequently encountered, was couched from two molds with chainlines 29 – 31 mm apart (see KatK, 471: Abb.140 and 141). The watermark, representing an oxhead surmounted by a tau, bears a close resemblance to Piccard's *Ochsenkopf*, Type X, nos. 222 and 223. According to Piccard, this pair of marks is commonly found in documents written in Switzerland (especially in Basel and the upper-Rhein region) during the first decade of the sixteenth century.[50] The mark preserved in the partbooks can also be seen in a letter written by Hieronymus Gebwiler (one of Bonifacius' primary school teachers) and dated 22 March 1508.[51] Moreover, both forms

49 On the inner front cover of F X 7 is the name of Hans von Flachslanden ("Ich Hanns von Flachslanden...mit disem brieff"), a Basel Bürgermeister (d.1476) whose magnificent home on the Petersgasse in Gross Basel still stands today. The parchment bindings of F X 8 is made-up of a charter written by a squire from the Zessingen family of Alsace ("Ich Ulrich von Zessingen Edelknecht...mit disem brieff").

50 Gerhard Piccard, *Die Ochsenkopf-Wasserzeichen*, II/1 (Stuttgart, 1966).

51 The letter, posted from the Alsatian town of Schlettstadt and addressed to Johannes Amerbach, is housed today in the Basel University Library under the call number G II 29, fol.128.

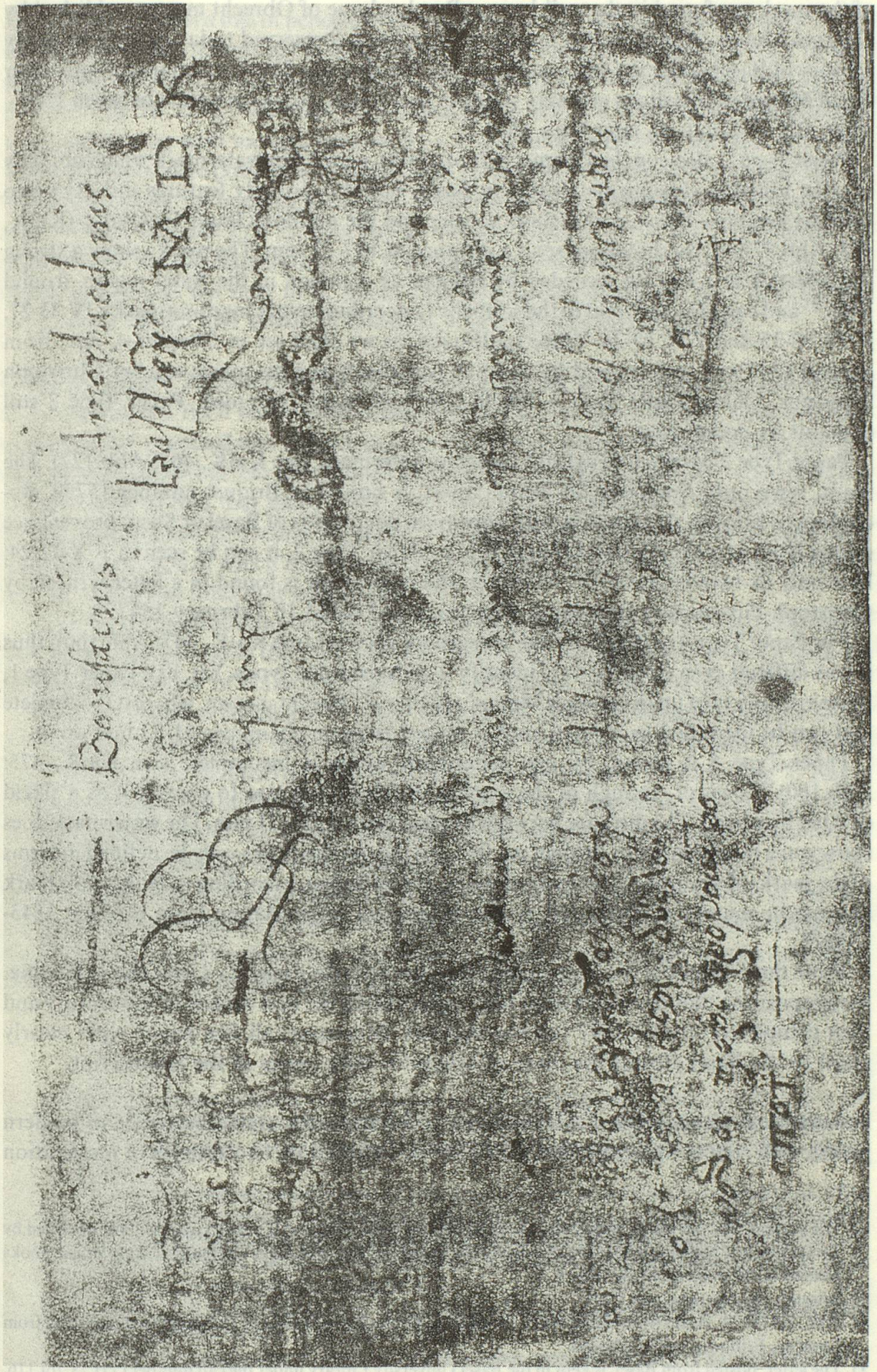


Figure 3.6. Back cover of CH-Bu F X 8: Dated *ex libris* of Bonifacius Amerbach, 1510

of the mark are found in the well-known Basel volume of Obrecht masses published by Georges Mewes. Although this unique printed book (preserved today in the University Library of Basel under the call number kk III 23a-d) is not dated, comparison with other dated Mewes publications strongly suggests that it was issued sometime between 1505 – 1510, and certainly no later than 1515.[52]

Paper Type 2, also couched from a pair of molds, contains a watermark which not only is to be found in documents written in Basel, but also proudly features the city's two heraldic symbols: the so-called Basel crozier and the ominous Basel Gryphons (KatK, 453: Abb.97-99). Its chainlines span a distance of 19 – 21 mm. The marks show a strong resemblance to a tracing recorded by Briquet as common in the Basel region around 1545,[53] and can also be found in the scribally concordant music manuscripts kk IV 23-27, F IX 32-35 and F X 22-24. These partbooks, as we shall see in Chapter 4, date from around 1547 and were copied by Basilius Amerbach and his music teacher Christoph Piperinus. Unlike Paper Type 1, which had been neatly trimmed, Paper Type 2 still contains its deckel edge.

Paper Type 3 carries a delightful foolscap watermark (see KatK, 465: Abb.127). The mark, sewn onto chainlines 26-28 mm apart, is similar to Briquet number 15739. According to Briquet, this amusing fool appears in documents of Basel or Swiss provenance dating from around the mid-century.[54] Like Paper Type 2, it can be seen in F X 22-24: here only its twin is preserved. However, the same mark is found in a letter written by Christoph Piperinus to Bonifacius Amerbach and dated 10 February 1547.[55]

For Paper Type 4 only part of one watermark survives (see KatK, 447: Abb.160): thus it was difficult even to tentatively identify it with recorded types. Yet, like Paper Type 1, the mark does turn up in Georges Mewes' volume of Obrecht masses, where it is complete and can be identified as a small anchor placed between chainlines 31-33 mm apart.

Paper Type 5 is shown by one watermark which is incomplete (see KatK, 475: Abb.160). However, enough of the mark is visible in this case to classify it as a shield divided by a bend. The distance between its chainlines is 29 – 31 mm. The watermark does show some resemblance to Briquet no. 978, yet the similarity can only be defined in terms of the marks sharing the same general shape. Nevertheless, according to Briquet his mark appears in sources of Swiss and southern German origin dating from between 1543-1550.[56]

From the evidence of the paper, taken together with the dated *Ex Libris* on the binding, the proposition that the manuscript was begun during the first decade of the century and then completed around 1547 receives support. Moreover, all five paper types clearly point to the Basel area as the place of origin for both layers of the manuscript.

Foliation and Numeration. Each partbook is foliated with arabic numerals in modern pencil, with roman numerals used for flyleaves. In addition, two systems of numeration

52 The evidence for this claim, based on a study of Mewes' paper usage and punch types, will be presented by the author in a forthcoming study discussing the history of this and other sixteenth-century music books printed in the *oberrheinische* region.

53 Briquet, *Les filigranes*, no.1396.

54 *Ibid.*, no.15739. Aside from citing Basel, Briquet mentions the existence of the paper in documents from Lucerne, Fribourg, and Coblentz.

55 The letter, posted from Basel, is kept in the Basel University Library under the call number G II 23, fol.116.

56 Briquet, *Les filigranes*, no.978.

are present: a modern one in pencil (revised by the present author in 1987),[57] and an early numeration in ink, found only in the discant (= F X 5) and altus volumes (F X 6). In both partbooks, the numeration is entered in arabic numbers and excludes the initial 13 pieces (= nos. 1, 1a, 1b, 2a-d, 3-8). Thus, the original sytem in F X 5, consisting of the numbers 1-30, commences with modern number 9 (= 1) and ends at modern number 38 (= 30). These numbers were consistently placed next to the initial system of each piece, by the scribe responsible for copying the pieces. While the original numbers in F X 6 also begin with modern number 9 (= 1), they end at modern number 26 (= 19). Furthermore, in contrast to F X 5, the numeration in F X 6 was placed in the middle of the page above the initial system and not next to it. Aside from one insignificant error in F X 6, the numeration is correct and shows no evidence of ever having been reworked.[58]

Collation. Table 3.3 summarizes the partbooks' gathering structure, and the distribution of the five papers. Each volume was constructed in oblong octavo format, a size extremely suitable for practical use. Indeed, in view of the manuscript's modest, workbook-like appearance (taken together with the worn out condition of the bindings), it is perhaps not unreasonable to find that many folios were torn out or tipped-in in the course of collecting, copying and correcting the music. This is especially true for the altus, tenor and bass volumes, each of which is missing at least three folios that certainly contained music and an additional folio that might have.

Aside from demonstrating that several leaves have been excised,[59] the collation shows that the first gatherings in the altus and tenor partbooks are intact, and were left with the appropriate number of blank folios for later addition of the missing parts.[60]

While the collation permits us to make conclusions as to why several pieces are today incomplete, it also argues that most missing leaves were torn-out because of copying errors made by the manuscript's main scribe (= S3, see below, "Handwriting"). This is most clearly apparent in the case of folios 31-33 in the tenor partbook. Beginning on folio 31v and ending on folio 33r, the scribe entered the second part of the motet *Floreat Ursine gentis* (no.34). Although the part is complete, there is a stub between folios 32 and 33. Unfortunately only a few millimeters of a stave are visible. However, in view of the fact the motet, and its adjacent pieces are complete in all partbooks, one can conclude with a reasonable degree of certainty that this missing leaf carried a corrupt version of Alder's text which the scribe excised during the copying process.[61]

57 These changes included assigning a roman number (no.I) to the Magnificat setting on folio 1r of F X 6 (which until 1986 was glued down to the manuscript's original cover), as well as revising the earlier pencil numeration for the textless pieces and fragments entered at the beginning of the partbooks (see Inventory C, nos.1a-b; 2a-2d).

58 In F X 6, the scribe mistakenly numbered the second part of the hymn *Misterium ecclesie* (modern no. 17) as piece number 10. Consequently, the remaining numeration in F X 6 is consistently off by one number.

59 The pieces ostensibly incomplete due to missing leaves are: no.1a (*Ach werde mund*, F X 8), no.1b (*Ach werde mund*, F X 8), no.2a (*Maria zart von edler art*, F X 8), no.2b (*Ich seufftz und klag*, F X 8), no.2c (*textless*, F X 8), and no.16 (*Martin menoit*, F X 6).

60 The folios in F X 6 left blank for pieces nos. 1a-2c and nos.4-7 are 1v-3v and 4v-7v; in F X 7 the blank folios intended for pieces nos. 1a and 1b are folio 3r and 3v.

61 Other missing leaves, apparently torn-out because of copying errors, are in F X 5, 1 leaf after folio 24; in F X 6, 3 leaves after folio 30; in F X 7, 2 leaves after folio 24, and one leaf after folios 32, 34, and 36; in F X 8, 1 leaf after folios 22 and 29, and 2 leaves after folio 23.

Table 3.3. Gathering structure and distribution of papers in CH-Bu F X 5-9

F X 5 (Discant):	37 folios.	
Gatherings:	1 *Septernio* = fol. 1-14;	Paper 1
	1 *Quaternio* = fol. 15-22;	Paper 1
	1 *(Octonio-1 leaf)* = fol.23-37	Paper 1
Remarks:	After folio 24, one leaf containing staves was torn out. Watermark 1a appears on folios 5/10, 18/19 and 29/30. Watermark 1b on folios 23/27. The front and back paste-downs, originally conjugate, are now detached.	
F X 6 (Altus):	II + 38 folios.	
Gatherings:	1 *(Octonio-1 leaf)* = fols.I-13	Paper 1
	1 *Quaternio* = fols.14-21	Paper 2
	1 *(Octonio-3+4 leaves)* = fols.22-38	Paper 2 & 3
Remarks:	Folios I and 38, originally paste-downs, were unglued in 1985 when the manuscript was restored. After folio 10, one leaf is missing. After folio 30, three leaves containing text were torn out. Between folios 33 and 38, one Binio (= fols.34-37) is tipped-in. The first gathering (= fols.I-13) is without a watermark, yet (in view of its chain- and laidline measurements) consists of only Paper Type 1. Watermark 2a appears on folio 26; Watermark 2b on folios 16/19 and 22/38; Watermark 3 on folios 34/37 and 35/36.	
F X 7 (Tenor):	35 folios.	
Gatherings:	1 *Septernio* = fols.1-14	Paper 1
	1 *(Senio-2 leaves)* = fols.15-24	Paper 4
	1 *(Septernio-3 leaves)* = fols.25-35	Paper 1
Remarks:	After folio 24, two leaves with music were torn out (stubs present). After folios 32 and 34, one leaf with music was torn out (stubs present). After folio 35, one leaf was torn out (stub present). Front and back paste-downs, originally conjugate, are now detached; front paste down only remnants remain. Watermark 1a appears on folios 6/9; watermark 1b on folios 1/4 and 25; watermark 4 on folio 16.	
F X 8 (Bass):	I + 36 folios.	
Gatherings:	1 *Leaf* = fol.I	Paper 1
	1 *Binio* = fols.1-4	Paper 1
	1 *(Senio-2 leaves)* = fols.5-14	Paper 1
	1 *(Senio-3 leaves)* = fols.15-23	Paper 1
	1 *(Senio-1+2 leaves)* = fols.24-36	Paper 1
Remarks:	Folio 1, originally a paste-down, was unglued in 1985 when the partbook was restored; the back paste-down no longer exists. After folios 4 and 23 two leaves are missing. After folios 22 and 29, one leaf with text was torn out (stubs present). Folios 25 and 26 are tipped-in. Folios I and 1-4 are without a watermark, yet chain- and laidline measures	

show that they are made-up of Paper Type 1. Watermark 1a appears on folios 14 and 15; watermark 1b on folios 8/9, 13, and 30/31. (When the manuscript was restored, its original gathering structure – described here – was altered).

F X 9 (Vagans): II + 24 folios.

Gatherings:	1 *Quaternio* = fols.I-5	Paper 2
	1 *Quaternio* = fols.6-13	Paper 5
	1 *Quaternio* = fols.14-21	Paper 2
	1 *Binio* = fols.22-back paste-down	Paper 2

Remarks: Front paste-down is conjugate with folio 5. Watermark 2a appears on folios 14/21 and 22/back paste-down; watermark 2b on folios 1/2; watermark 5 on folios 8/12.

Handwriting: First Layer. As was noted by Richter, the manuscript consists of two main scribal layers. The first was written by a scribe I shall call S1, who in addition to copying the initial 11 pieces (1a-b, 2a-d and 3-7) was also responsible for the Latin verses on folio 2r of F X 5 and F X 7 (Plates 3.1 and 3.2). As shown in the examples of his music hand featured in Figure 3.7, the scribe produced semibreve and minim forms characterized by their mixture of lozenge- and diamond-shaped elements. Moreover, he wrote in a small German-humanist cursive text hand, and upheld correct German and Latin orthography (see Plates 3.1 and 3.2). His text incipit for Compère's *Un franc archier* was also rendered in this stylized German script and with a demonstrably Germanic approach to French orthography, (i.e., *Ong franck*). It is clear from the color of his ink (a consistent light brown) and from the narrow nib of his quill that he worked for a short period, copying the music and the text in his portion of the partbooks, as well the poetical verses which accompany the two illustrations mentioned above.

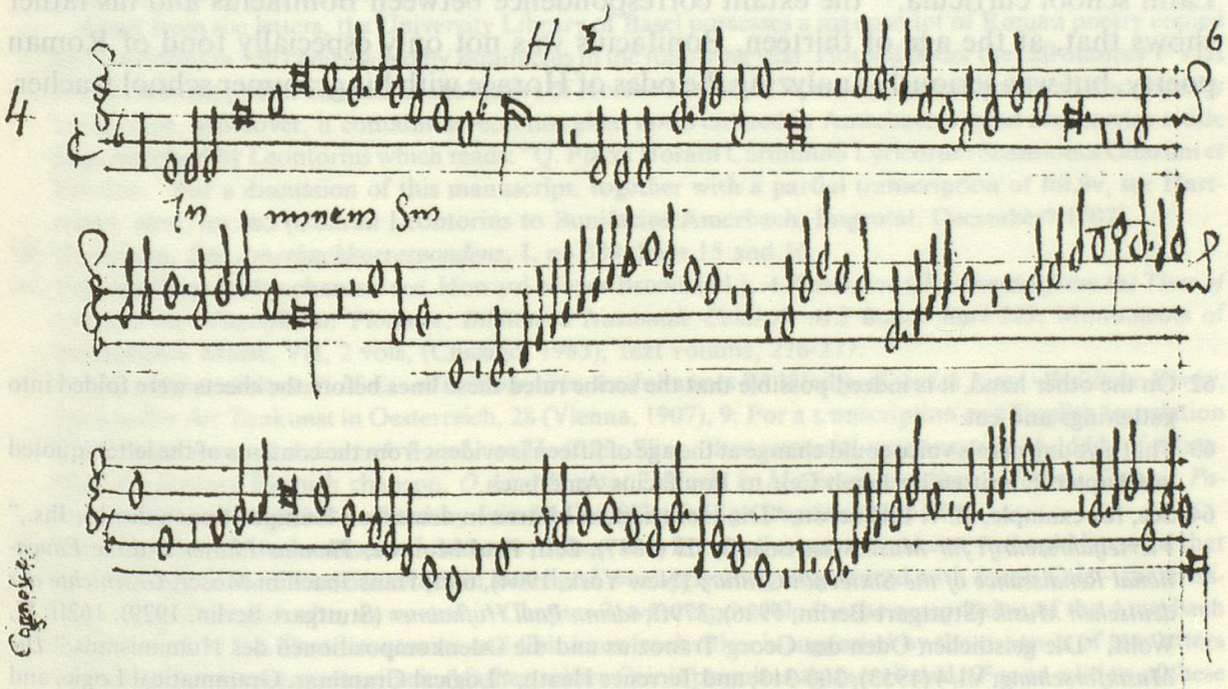


Figure 3.7. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (= Conrad Leontorius?) in CH-Bu F X 7, fol.6r

The height of the scribe's writing block, consisting of three systems per folio, varies from opening to opening (5.5-6.5 cm). Yet the horizontal boundaries, made by drawing two vertical red lines along each inner and outer margin, are exactly consistent (12 cm apart), even though there is no evidence of prickings or other markings which would have guided S1 in the placement of his ruler.[62] It would appear that S1 was an experienced scribe. In addition to preparing all of the music pages with a single-stave rastrum (1.15 cm wide), he used a meticulous notation, consistently spaced, and accurately recorded the music (Figure 3.7). In fact, even though the notation has a fair number of *c.o.p* ligatures and coloration, there is no indication that he had any trouble producing these specialized notational forms.

While these paleographical observations argue that S1 was a competent music scribe, the marginal note entered by him on folio 6v of the bass partbook suggests that he was a music teacher and, in turn, that Bonifacius Amerbach was his student. As seen in Figure 3.7, S1 wrote "cognosce," the Latin imperative of the verb "cognoscere" (=to become acquainted with, to get to know, or to learn), in the lower right hand margin next to the well-known Isaac Lied *In minem sin*. While it is possible that S1 entered this note as a reminder to himself that he should "learn the part," I am more inclined to believe that it was meant for the fifteen-year-old Bonifacius Amerbach. First, since Bonifacius entered his dated *Ex Libris* of 1510 on the back cover of only the bass partbook, one could infer that already at the age of fifteen he might have had a bass voice, or was learning a bass instrument.[63] This theory can be tentatively supported by the fact that the back cover of F X 10, another bass partbook, also carries Amerbach's dated *Ex Libris* of 1510 (although the absence of the other partbooks of this set tends to lessen the strengh of this argument).

Further evidence, bolstering the claim that the manuscript's initial layer was intended specifically for the young Bonifacius, lies in the verses which S1 entered next to the miniatures on folio 2 recto of the discant and bass partbooks. As we have seen, the texts are excerpts from the poetic writings of Tibullus, Propertius and Horace. Although it is well-known that the study of such poetry was part of many sixteenth-century German Latin school curricula,[64] the extant correspondence between Bonifacius and his father shows that, at the age of thirteen, Bonifacius was not only especially fond of Roman poetry, but was seriously analyzing the odes of Horace with his grammer school teacher.

62 On the other hand, it is indeed possible that the scribe ruled these lines before the sheets were folded into gatherings and cut.

63 That a young man's voice could change at the age of fifteen is evident from the contents of the letter, quoted in Chapter 2, written by Jacob Ceir to Bonifacius Amerbach.

64 See, for example, R. v. Liliencron, "Die Horazischen Metren in deutschen Kompositionen des 16. Jhs.," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, III (1887), 26ff; Paul Monroe, *Thomas Platter and the Educational Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1904), 63ff; Hans Joachim Moser, *Geschichte der deutschen Musik* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1926), 379ff; *idem., Paul Hofhaimer* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1929), 162ff; H. Wolff, "Die geistlichen Oden des Georg Tranozius und die Odenkompositionen des Humanismus," *Die Musikforschung*, VI/4 (1953), 300-313; and Terrence Heath, "Logical Grammar, Grammatical Logic, and Humanism in Three German Universities," *Studies in the Renaissance*, XVIII (1971), 9-64.

The later, Conrad Leontorius,[65] described the young latinist in 1507 as "et ingenio et indole nobilis."[66]

While Bonifacius' love for Roman poetry might explain why S1 copied such verses into F X 5 and F X 8, the music entered by him enables us to suggest that these particular verses (and their corresponding pictures) were chosen to underscore the themes of the songtexts. For example, as we have seen, folio 2r of the tenor partbook contains a watercolor drawing of Death portrayed as an archer, together with verse pertaining to death, quoted from the odes of Horace. On the other hand, among the few pieces for which S1 entered a text incipit, was Loyset Compère's setting of *Un franc archier*: a chanson which tells the story of a French bowman who brings "blood, death and misery" to all who pass his way.[67] The remaining compositions copied by S1 which contain at least text incipits include *Ach werder mund* (nos.1a and 1b), *Es wolt ein meidlin grasen gan* (no.3) and *In minem sinn* (nos.4 and 5). Although no full text for *In minem sinn* has survived in any source, several verses for *Ach werder mund* and *Es wolt ein meidlin grasen gan* are extant[68]. These songtexts, like the illustration and verses on folio 2r of the bass partbook, deal exclusively with the trials and tribulations of a young lover.

Since S1's work constitutes the partbook's initial layer, it would seem a reasonable inference that S1 prepared the manuscript. Moreover, his entries were written exclusively on Paper Type 1; thus enabling us to date his work sometime during the first decade of the century. This dating is confirmed by Bonifacius Amerbach's *Ex libris* of 1510, and by the information culled from the Amerbach correspondence, which strongly suggests that the Roman poetry was copied for Bonifacius while studying with Conrad Leontorius in 1508.[69]

65 Among the letters edited by Alfred Hartmann (*Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, Bd.I) which document Amerbach's interest in Roman poetry, see especially: no.339 (Bonifacius Amerbach to Johannes Amerbach, Engental, 13 May 1507; lines 6-10); no. 351 (Bonifacius Amerbach to Johannes Amerbach, Schlettstadt, 1507?); no.388 (Bonifacius Amerbach to Johannes Amerbach, Schlettstadt, August 1508). Concerning Leontorius' interest in the Elegies of Propertius see Hartmann, *idem*, no.401 (Conrad Leontorius to Johannes Amerbach, Engental, 15 November 1508).

Apart from the letters, the University Library of Basel possesses a manuscript of Roman poetry copied by Leontorius in 1507 and owned by Bonifacius in the following year. Housed under the call number F VIII 21, this student primer consists of the meters of Horace and other Roman poets analyzed and discussed by Leontorius. Moreover, it contains several marginal notes entered in Amerbach's hand and carries a title page inscribed by Leontorius which reads: "Q. Flacci Horatii Carminum Lyricorum Scansiones Odarum et Epodon." For a discussion of this manuscript, together with a partial transcription of fol.9v, see Hartmann, *idem*, no.365 (Conrad Leontorius to Bonifacius Amerbach, Engental, December? 1507).

66 Hartmann, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, I, no.339, lines 15 and 16.

67 For an edition of this chanson see, Howard Mayer Brown (ed.), *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229*, Monuments of Renaissance Music, VII, 2 vols, (Chicago, 1983), Text volume, 276-277.

68 For an edition of the text of *Es wolt ein meydlin*, see Johannes Wolf (ed.), *Heinrich Isaac: Weltliche Werke*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, 28 (Vienna, 1907), 9; For a transcription and English translation of all three verse of *Ach werde mund*, see H. Colin Slim, "Instrumental versions, c.1515-1544, of a late-fifteenth-century Flemish chanson, *O waerde mont," Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage Sources and Texts*, edited by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge-London, 1981) 147.

69 Although there is no documented evidence to show that Leontorius was a musician, it should be noted that this member of the Cistercian order in Baselland was apparently acquainted with Jacob Ceir – the messenger from Stuttgart who, as we saw in Chapter 2, was responsible for the compilation of the Amerbach songbook, F X 1-4. That Leontorius and Ceir knew each other is suggested by the contents of two letters written by Leontorius to Bonifacius' father, where Ceir is prominently mentioned. (For an edition of these letters, see Hartmann, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, Vol.1, nos. 259 and 379). Indeed, it should be noted

Second Scribal Layer. Figure 3.8 shows the work of the scribe whose one entry in the manuscript (no.8) immediately follows the layer copied by S1. This scribe, whom I shall call S2, also appears to be a native German speaker, to judge from the orthography and script of his German text incipit. Unlike S1, his handwriting is extremely rough, untrained and not very consistent. Sometimes minims were drawn by making the head of the note first, and then by adding the stem. At other times two-thirds of the note head was drawn and the additional third added by closing it off with a stem. Moreover, the length and angle of the stems often fluctuate, the latter by as much as 30 degrees. Although Richter considered S2's work as part of the manuscript's initial layer, it clearly belongs to the second: for while S2 copied the bass part of *Ein pur gab* (no.8) on systems prepared by S1, the discant part (Figure 3.8) was entered on a page which was ruled by the scribe responsible for copying the remaining 31 compositions.

Excluding the few attributions and one textless fragment already discussed, the manuscript's second layer was copied by one scribe (= S3; Figures 3.9 & 3.10), who has been identified by Arnold Geering as Basilius Amerbach's music teacher, Christoph Piperinus.[70] Apart from copying, correcting and numbering the music and text to pieces no.9 through 39, Piperinus entered the Magnificat in F X 6 (no.1), drew and annotated the miniature on folio 1v of F X 7 (Plate 3.3), and wrote the *Ex Libris* of Basilius Amerbach on folio 1r of the altus partbook (F X 6). In addition, he ruled many of the folios left blank by S1 with the same single stave rastrum (1.3 cm wide) which he used to copy pieces 9-39.[71] Moreover, on one occasion Piperinus even entered a missing voice part for a German song left incomplete by S1.[72] Indeed, since Piperinus' numbered songs (= modern nos. 9-39) immediately follow S1's work, and always begin in a gathering which contains S1's final entry,[73] it is clear that Piperinus (born ca.1525)[74] wrote his layer of the manuscript after S1's work (copied in Basel no later than 1510) was completed.[75]

It is well-documented that in 1546/1547 Piperinus was giving music lessons to the thirteen-year-old Basilius Amerbach. Consequently, one could suspect that Piperinus' layer of the manuscript, inscribed to Basilius by Piperinus, was copied in Basel around this time. This dating and provenance can be supported by examining some of Piperinus' marginalia and dated entries.

that S1's text hand, and the numerous autograph specimens of Leontorius' Latin script (housed today in the University Library of Basel) are strikingly similar. Yet, since there are as many variants in the two hands as similarities, I am reluctant to identify S1 and Leontorius as the same person. For biographical information on Leontorius, see Hartmann, idem, Vol.1, no.18, where a complete bibliography is found.

70 Geering, "Von den Berner Stadtpfeifern," 107.

71 The additional pages ruled by Piperinus are: folio 8v in F X 5; folios 2r-7v in F X 6; folios 3r/3v in F X 7; and folios 3r-4v and 9r/9v in F X 8.

72 The altus part of Isaac's *Es wolt ein metlin grasen gan* (no.3) was copied by Piperinus; the remaining three voices are in the hand of S1.

73 The three gatherings which contain S1's final entry and Piperinus' first are: folios 1-14 in F X 5, folios 1-14 in F X 7, and folios 5-14 in F X 8.

74 The known biographical information on Piperinus, together with a detailed analysis of his handwriting, will be presented in Chapter 4.

75 Since Piperinus' layer was copied at least 34 years after S1's work was finished (as we shall see shortly, turning our attention to the partbook's dated entries), it is perhaps not suprising that Piperinus (=S3) did not number the work of S1, whose repertory was, by 1547, for the most part already outdated.



Figure 3.8. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2 in CH-Bu F X 5, fol.8r

Piperinus' first numbered entry not only consisted of the music and text to Senfl's song *Ich armes meitlin klag* (= no. 9 of Inventory C) but also entailed writing in at the end of the part the inscription: "Finis Hie schwitz / hie Basel."[76] Admittedly, it is possible that the inscription refers to the country and city where the famous Swiss composer wrote this popular German song. On the other hand, since Piperinus left all four parts without an attribution it is more likely that the remark documents where his layer of the manuscript was copied, rather than where the music was composed. This theory is indeed supported by the fact that the remark appears after Piperinus' first entry.

Another note implying that Piperinus' work was copied in Basel lies above the unique motet *Salve magnificum genus* on folio 5r of the vagans partbook. Attributed by Piperinus to the Swiss composer Johannes Wannenmacher, this five-voiced motet originally carried the remark that it was composed in praise of the city of Bern ("Encomium urbis Berne"). However as seen in Figure 3.10, it was later altered (using a different ink and quill) so as to read "Encomium urbis Basilie." While this revision does not prove that the Piperinus layer was copied in Basel, it does suggest that the recipient of his work was a Basler.

Apart from these works, Piperinus' layer of F X 5-9 contains a number of dated songs which enable us to establish a *terminus post quem* for his work. Table 3.4 lists all the pertinent compositions.

76 Although the word "Basel" is smeared with ink, it can be clearly read under ultra-violet light.

Table 3.4. Dated compositions in CH-Bu F X 5-9

No.	Composition	Dated Attribution
24	Veni electa mea	Cosmas Alderinus faciebat uf pusunen (=Posaunen) Berne 1546 in actu Noe (=H. von Ruti's, *Noe*?)[A]
26	Salve magnificum	Vannius (=Wannenmacher) faciebat 1535
30	Invidie telum	I. Vannius (=Johann Wannenacher) [15]44 Novemb. Interlacus (=Interlacken)
35	Ich weiss ein stoltze müllerin	C. Ald. (=Cosmas Alder) 1545 Juni
37	In jamers thal	1545 Junio facieb. Xistus Dieterich

A Concerning the possible connection of this motet with Hans von Rüti's Volksdrama *Wie Noe vom Wein überwunden*, see Geering, *Die Vokalmusik*, 171, fn.1.

That these dated inscriptions (as first noted by Richter) refer to the corresponding pieces outlined in the Table, as well as designate the time that they were composed, is endorsed by their wording and by their location within the manuscript; for example, the grammatical subject of nos. 24, 26 and 37 is a composer's name, followed by the verb "faciebat" and a date. Syntactically these inscriptions pose a problem in that they provide no object for the verb, yet in view of their placement either directly above the initial system of a piece, or at the end, it seems only logical to assume that the titles of the pieces were the intended objects.[77] Moreover, since all of the Piperinus' entries were copied using the same rastrum, and often the same ink (nos.12-39), one can conclude that the dates do not document when the pieces were copied, but rather when they were composed. Consequently, a *terminus post quem* of 1546 (the latest compositional date listed in Table 3.4) emerges for the work of Piperinus.

If these inscriptions and dated compositions suggest that Piperinus' layer was compiled in Basel no earlier than 1546, the papers which were used exclusively by him confirm this dating and provenance. For example, F X 9 (consisting of the quintus parts to nos. 19, 24, 26, 27, and 31) was copied by Piperinus using Paper Types 2 and 5; papers which, as we have seen, are commonly found in Basel documents dating from around 1547. (Paper Type 2 also appears in F X 6, and again corresponds with the appearance of Piperinus' hand in the partbook). Moreover, Piperinus copied the tipped-in binio in F X 6 (fols.33-36) using yet another Basel paper (Paper Type 3). This paper is not only found in Basel sources dating from around 1547, but also appears in a letter written by Piperinus to Bonifacius Amerbach and posted from Basel on 10 February 1547 (see above, "Paper").

77 For a cogent discussion of how to interpret dates in sixteenth-century German sources, see Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, "Datierungsprobleme bei Kompositionen in deutschen Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift Helmuth Osthoff zum 65. Geburtstage* (Tutzing, 1961), 47-60.

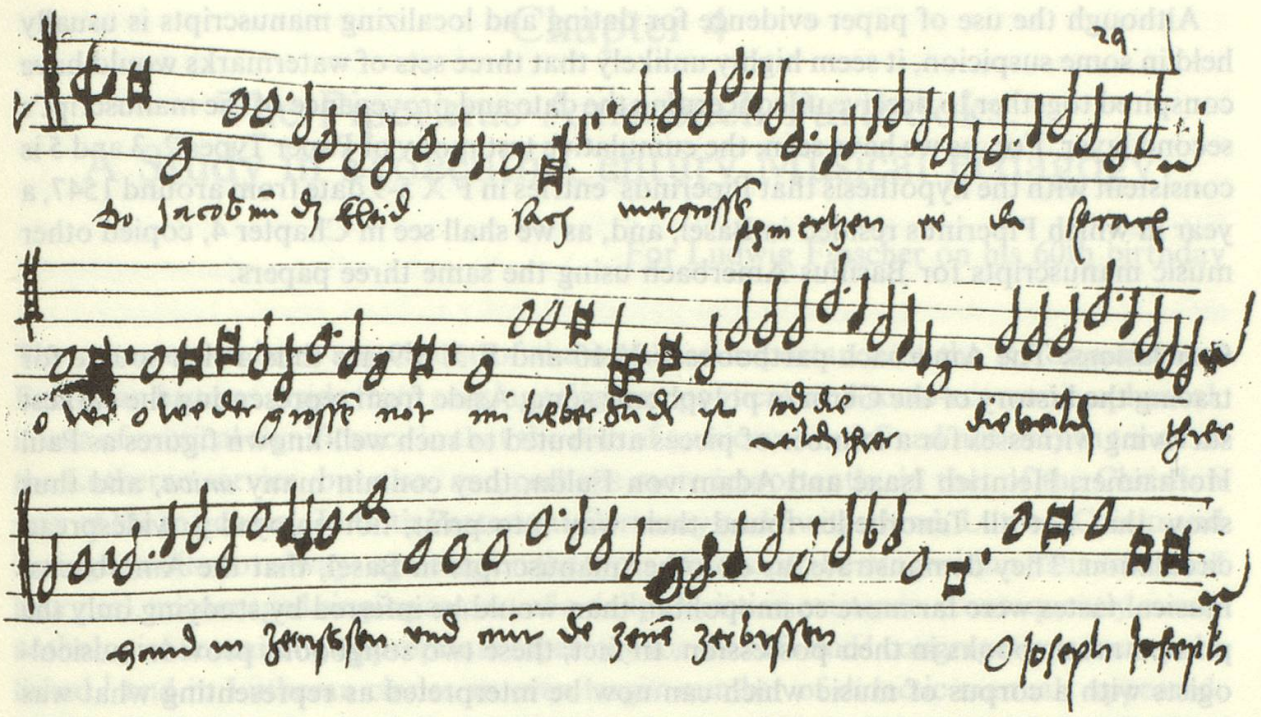


Figure 3.9. Handwriting sample of Scribe S3 (= Christoph Piperinus) in CH-Bu F X 7, fol.29r

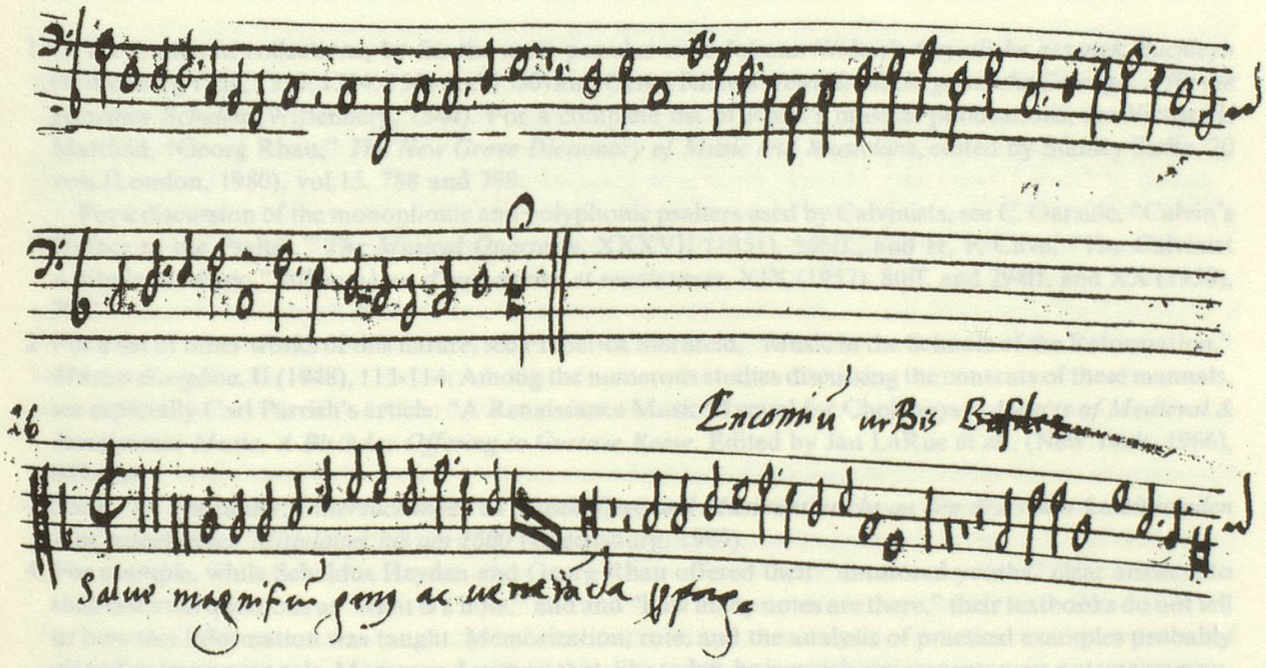


Figure 3.10. Handwriting and inscription by C. Piperinus in CH-Bu FX 9, fol.5r

Although the use of paper evidence for dating and localizing manuscripts is usually held in some suspicion, it seem highly unlikely that three sets of watermarks would have conspired together to deceive us concerning the date and provenance of the manuscript's second layer. For, as we have seen, the cumulative testimony of Paper Types 2, 3 and 5 is consistent with the hypothesis that Piperinus' entries in F X 5-9 date from around 1547, a year in which Piperinus resided in Basel, and, as we shall see in Chapter 4, copied other music manuscripts for Basilius Amerbach using the same three papers.

Conclusions. The Amerbach partbooks F X 10 and F X 5-9 are thus a rich source for tracing the history of the German polyphonic song. Aside from representing the earliest surviving witnesses for a number of pieces attributed to such well-known figures as Paul Hofhaimer, Heinrich Isaac and Adam von Fulda, they contain many *unica*, and thus show that not all Tenorlieder found their way into print, nor enjoyed a widespread circulation. They demonstrate, as do other manuscripts in Basel, that the Amerbachs' musical tastes were far more cosmopolitan than would be inferred by studying only the printed music books in their possession. In fact, these two songbooks provide musicologists with a corpus of music which can now be interpreted as representing what was heard, studied, and performed by two specific fifteen-year-old members of Europe's emerging bourgeois society. Finally, they encourage the hope that other German polyphonic sources, predating the Oeglin songbook of 1512, will be identified or discovered, thus providing further evidence for documenting the genesis of one of the most important genres of early German musical history.

Chapter 4

The Piperinus-Amerbach Partbooks: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Musical Pedagogy

For Ludwig Finscher on his 60th birthday

There has never been any doubt of the immense importance of the Reformation on European history. Aside from causing religious, political, and socio-economic upheaval, it was of musical significance in that the role of music was redefined not only in terms of the Lutheran service, but also, and perhaps more importantly, in that of the Christian way of life in general. In both Protestant Germany and Switzerland, Luther, Calvin and Zwingli (while not always agreeing on the types of music to be sung within their reformed liturgies), encouraged singing as part of a daily Christian existence. Consequently, many anthologies containing appropriate repertory for the reformed congregations were published,[1] and in Lutheran circles an even larger number of didactic manuals appeared, used to teach the rudiments of music to young boys at their local Latin schools. Nikolaus Listenius' *Musica*, Georg Rhau's *Enchiridion*, and Sebaldus Heyden's *De arte canendi*, were the first in a series of important school music textbooks.[2]

While these music books have provided historians with a good idea of what was heard and taught at *die gemeine Schule*,[3] the syllabus of a private music lesson given to reformed children of the aristocracy or cultured élite is far more difficult to establish. Admittedly, it is only logical that the son of a duke or a wealthy lawyer would have been instructed in much the same way as a young boy attending one of the "public" schools. Yet, even if the methods were the same, there is presently little evidence to document how the elements of music were actually taught at these "reformed institutions."[4]

1 Of the Lutheran collections, by far the most popular were Johann Walter's *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn* (Wittenberg 1524, 1525, 1534, 1544 and 1550) and Georg Rhau's *Newe deudsche geistliche Gesenge . . . für die gemeinen Schulen* (Wittenberg, 1544). For a complete list of Rhau's musical publications, see Victor H. Mattfeld, "Georg Rhau," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, 20 vols (London, 1980), vol.15, 788 and 789.

For a discussion of the monophonic and polyphonic psalters used by Calvinists, see C. Garside, "Calvin's Preface to the Psalter," *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXVII (1951), 566ff., and H. P. Clive, "The Calvinist Attitude to Music," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, XIX (1957), 80ff. and 294ff, and XX (1958), 79ff.

2 For a list of other works of this nature, see Frederick Sternfeld, "Music in the Schools of the Reformation," *Musica disciplina*, II (1948), 113-114. Among the numerous studies discussing the contents of these manuals, see especially Carl Parrish's article: "A Renaissance Music Manual for Choirboys," *Aspects of Medieval & Renaissance Music. A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*. Edited by Jan LaRue et al., (New York, 1966), 649-664.

3 See K. W. Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600* (Regensburg, 1969).

4 For example, while Sebaldus Heyden and Georg Rhau offered their "untutored youths" clear answers to such essential questions as "what is a note," and and "how many notes are there," their textbooks do not tell us how this information was taught. Memorization, rote, and the analysis of practical examples probably played an important role. Moreover, I suspect that, like today, homework assignments were not uncommon, and that these question-and-answer textbooks were frequently supplemented with outside reading.

Equally troublesome is the question of what repertory was considered appropriate for a privileged young man, who (while raised by newly-reformed parents) was destined by birth to move within the circles of Europe's cultured élite. Certainly, the popular German song anthologies published by Rhau must have been used to teach some of these youths the art of singing. Yet, since the musical tastes of Germany's upper-classes before the Reformation relied on the importation of French secular song, it would seem only reasonable that such foreign music continued to be collected, studied, and admired by the same social class during and after the Reformation.[5]

The purpose of this chapter is to shed light on how music was taught (both in terms of repertory and methodology) to the son of a reformed Basel lawyer in the years 1546 and 1547, that is nearly 20 years after the new church order was issued in Basel.[6] The evidence lies not only in an archival document discussing a specific lesson, but also in the identification of a group of manuscript and printed partbooks (housed today in the University Library of Basel) which were used, at this lesson or at others soon to follow. As we shall see, the "pedagogical" repertory contained in the manuscripts is indeed much more cosmopolitan than that of any printed anthology issued by Georg Rhau, a fact especially noteworthy since the Reformation in Basel (as in most of German-speaking Switzerland) was founded upon the precepts of Ulrich Zwingli, who (while himself a gifted musician) was more or less completely opposed to the musical ideas promulgated by Luther, Rhau and their disciples.[7]

*

For several generations, music historians have been aware of a sixteenth-century school teacher from Berne by the name of Christoph Piperinus, and of his association with the Amerbach family. In 1905, and again in 1909, Karl Nef made mention of Piperinus' role as music teacher to Basilius Amerbach (1533-1591), citing evidence found in a letter which Piperinus wrote to Basilius' father, Bonifacius.[8] Twenty-three years later Arnold Geering, working from this letter, identified Piperinus' handwriting and paper in a set of

5 Among the sources predating the Reformation which contain French secular music and were compiled for members of Germany's upper-class, the best-known are: Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, MS 2° 142a; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 40613 (=The *Lochamer Liederbuch* and the *Fundamentum organisandi* of Conrad Paumann); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Germ. 810 (=The *Schedelsches Liederbuch*). On the Augsburg source see Martin Bente, *Neue Wege*, 230-242. For a useful survey of the other sources, see Eileen Southern, "Foreign Music in German Manuscripts of the 15th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXI/3 (Fall, 1968), 258-285.

6 On April Fool's day, 1529, the so-called "Reformationsordnung" was issued in Basel. Aside from abolishing the Mass and all Catholic worship, the *Ordnung* required that all monastic houses in Basel be taken over by the secular government. For a good general study on the Basel Reformation, see Hans R. Guggisberg, *Basel in the Sixteenth Century: Aspects of the City Republic before, during, and after the Reformation* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1982), 19-36.

7 Among the numerous studies discussing Zwingli's ideas on music, see especially Walter Blankenburg, "Die Kirchenmusik in den reformierten Gebieten des europäischen Kontinents," *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, edited by Friedrich Blume (Kassel, 1965), 341ff; and Robin Leaver's entry on "Ulrich Zwingli" *The New Grove Dictonary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980), vol.20, 725-726, where a bibliography is found.

8 Karl Nef, "Musikunterricht in Basel im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, VII (1905/06), 23 and *idem.*, "Die Musik in Basel: Von den Anfängen im 9. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, X (1909), 542.

four manuscript partbooks carrying the *Ex Libris* of Basilius.[9] Besides drawing attention to the similarities of paper and script found in the letter and the manuscript (Basel University Library MS, F IX 32-35), Geering suggested that the theoretical writings entered at the beginning of the tenor partbook were taken from the printed treatise of Auctor Lampadius, and that some of the manuscript's four-part sacred polyphony originated in Johann Walter's *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn*, first published in 1524. In 1972, the Piperinus correspondence was again summoned forth by Geering, this time solely as a paleographical witness, testifying on behalf of Piperinus' involvement in the compilation of yet another set of manuscript partbooks owned by Basilius: Basel University Library MS, F X 5-9.[10]

Although Piperinus has been singled out as the scribe of two Amerbach songbooks, the evidence to support this claim has yet to be properly documented. For example, the identification of Piperinus as a music scribe relies primarily on a comparison with the handwriting in his autograph letters, yet the letters have never been reproduced, nor the characteristics of Piperinus' hand discussed. Furthermore, while Geering stated that Piperinus was responsible for copying F IX 32-35 and F X 5-9, he did not specify which of the hands found in the partbooks belonged to Piperinus. A re-examination of these letters and the corresponding music manuscripts corroborated the earlier scribal identifications, and also provided evidence for documenting Piperinus' involvement in the compilation of two other songbooks once owned by Basilius Amerbach.

Table 4.1 lists the songbooks that can now be shown to have been copied by Piperinus (entirely or in collaboration with others) and outlines the bibliographical and paleographical data which serve to group these sources together. Before we proceed, however, with an examination of each manuscript, it would be useful to summarize the known biographical information on Piperinus.[11]

Born in Bern, Piperinus (=Pfäfferli) spent most of his adult life as an itinerant clergyman and school teacher. In 1541, he can be traced in the city of Interlaken (Bern Canton), where he served as a minister's assistant. It was here, in this gateway to the Bernese *Oberland*, that Piperinus probably met the Swiss composer Johannes Wannenmacher, who from 1531 until his death in 1551 served as a magistrate's clerk. Sometime before the autumn of 1543, Piperinus was nominated to the parish of Affoltern, a small village near Aarburg (Argau Canton) and apparently remained there until he enrolled at the University of Basel on the 5th of November 1543. During his University days, Piperinus gave private music lessons to Basilius Amerbach (November 1546), held a teaching post at St. Peters in Basel (1546), and befriended Hans Jakob Wecker and Johannes von Schala, both of whom were students at the University and, like Piperinus, serious musicians.[12]

9 Arnold Geering, *Die Vokalmusik in der Schweiz zur Zeit der Reformation* (=Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft, VI, 1933), 85.

10 Arnold Geering, "Von den Berner Stadtpfeifern," *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, Series 3/1 (1972), 107.

11 The following biographical sketch is based on the documents and data assembled by Alfred Hartmann in *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, Vol.6, nos. 2876 and 2907.

12 While a student, Piperinus (together with Wecker and von Schala) was arrested in April of 1546 for having worn a mask during Basel's Fassnacht festival (a misdemeanor which would certainly not be enforceable today). A year later, on 7 April 1547, Piperinus and his companions were again apprehended and fined for disturbing the public peace. This second offence presumably resulted in Piperinus loosing his teaching post at St. Peters in Basel, a position which he had acquired at least a year earlier.

Concerning the musical actitivies of Wecker and von Schala see Chapter 5, fn.46.

Table 4.1. The Piperinus-Amerbach manuscripts: evidence relating the sources to each other

Basel University Library MS F IX 32-35
Ex Libris/Dates: Basilius Amerbach; 13 IX 1546
Manuscript Dates: None
Scribes: S1 (=Piperinus) and S2 (=Basilius Amerbach)
Rastrum: R1 (used by S1)
Paper Types: 1 and 2.

Basel University Library kk IV 23-27: MS Appendix to RISM 1544[71]
Ex Libris/Dates: Basilius Amerbach; 31 XII 1546
Manuscript Dates: None
Scribes: S2 (=Basilius Amerbach)
Rastrum: R1 (used by S1)
Paper Type: 2.

Basel University Library MS F X 5-9
Ex Libris/Dates: Bonifacius and Basilius Amerbach; 1510
Manuscript Dates: 1535, 1544 and 1546
Scribes: S1 (=Piperinus)
Rastrum: R1 (used by S1)
Paper Types: 2 and 5.

Basel University Library F X 22-24: MS Appendix to RISM 1535[11]
Ex Libris/Dates: Basilius Amerbach; 1548 and 1551
Manuscript Dates: 1547
Scribes: S1 (=Piperinus)
Rastrum: R2 (used by S1)
Paper Types: 2 and 5.

By the summer of 1547, the young clergyman left Basel for Burgdorf (Bern Canton), where, as a Latin school teacher, he made a name for himself with his productions of Christmas school plays. By 1550, Piperinus was again on the move. This time, he is found in the even smaller village of Büren an der Aare (Bern Canton), where in 1552 he served as a clergyman, a position which he held until 1555, when he moved further south into Switzerland to take on the duties of parish priest in Sigriswil (Bern Canton). Finally, in 1559 he apparently returned to Basel for a brief visit, and in 1565 died of the plague.

Several gaps obviously exist in this biographical sketch, yet from November of 1543 to the Summer of 1547 it is evident that Piperinus resided in Basel and that he gave Basilius Amerbach music lessons during this time. If the sources listed in Table 4.1 were copied by Piperinus for Basilius, any evidence (external or internal) enabling us to date the sources should point to them having been compiled in Basel at this time.

Basel University Library MS F IX 32-35

Contents. As shown in Inventory D, 34 compositions are preserved today in this set of four manuscript partbooks, each carrying Basilius Amerbach's dated *Ex Libris* of 13 November 1546. Included are 11 German sacred pieces, 10 German secular songs, 8 chansons, 3 motets and 2 textless compositions. With the exception of 5 German sacred songs, the compositions have only text incipits. None of the pieces carries an attribution, yet concordances enable us to identify 16 as the work of Didier Lupi Second (1 piece), Georg Forster (1), Paul Hofhaimer (1), Claudin de Sermisy (2), Jean Maillard (1), Georg Schönfelder (1), Andreas Silvanus (1), Thomas Stoltzer (1), P. de Villiers (1), Johann Walter (5), and Martin Wolff (1).[13]

That the manuscript was compiled for pedagogical use is strongly suggested by its contents. For example, F IX 32-35 contains writings outlining the rudiments of music. These lessons, found at the beginning of the tenor partbook (fols.5r-9r), present in a question-and-answer format some of the most essential information a student would need in order to learn how to sing. Keys (*clavi*), scales, and the six vocables (*vocis musicalibus*) together with their mutations (*voces mutatio*) are treated first. These aspects of *musica plana* are followed by some specific rules regarding elements of *musica figurata*. Here, the reader is offered, either in table or outline form, a summary of note values, rests, and mensuration signs. Aside from these pedagogical writings, seven of the manuscripts' initial thirteen pieces are concordant with Johann Walter's *Wittembergisch deudsch geistlich Gesangbüchlein* (RISM 1544[71]), by far one of the most popular collections of German sacred songs published for teaching purposes during the Reformation.[14]

Other indications pointing to the manuscript as having been compiled for teaching purposes are 1) that the pieces become progressively more difficult as one works his way through the collection;[15] 2) the lines and spaces of staves are on several occasions identified by a letter name or solmization syllable[16] and 3) the title page of each partbook contains two instructional strophes of verse (one in Latin and one in German) informing the user as to the function and characteristic of his voice-part within the polyphonic texture.

Paper. The four partbooks, each measuring 13 X 16 cm and bound in their original parchment covers, contain three paper types. Aside from some slight foxing, all three papers are in good condition. Yet the leaves were apparently frequently handled. In addition to the numerous finger smudges and dirt marks located along the outer edges, several of the pages show ink smears, as well as vigorous erasure and correction.

Paper Type 1 was couched from a pair of Basel molds which we have already discussed in detail in Chapter 3. These marks (as can be seen in KatK, 453: Abb.97-99) proudly

13 However, as noted in Inventory D, not every one of these attributions is secure.

14 See fn.43.

15 For example, the first three pieces are only 6, 10 and 12 measures long respectively and are stylistically simple (tenor-dominated style set within homorhythmic figuration). On the other hand, pieces nos. 16-19 consist of 30 to 40 measures each and contain passages of imitative writing.

16 For examples, see folios 27r and 27v in F IX 33.

display the city's heraldic devices: the Basel crozier and the beastly Basel gryphons. Moreover, as noted in Chapter 3, Briquet records this mark as being commonly found in Basel documents dating from around 1545.

Paper Type 2 was also couched from a pair of Basel molds dating from the mid 1540s. The watermarks consist of a shield (featuring the Basel crozier) supported by the clawes of a Basel Gryphon (see, KatK, 454: Abb.100-101). The chainlines consistently span a distance of 29-31mm. The mark bears a strong resemblance to a tracing recorded by Briquet as common in the Basel region around 1546.[17] The same mark can also be found, as first noted by Arnold Geering, in a letter written by Christoph Piperinus on the 12th of November 1546.[18] As seen by comparing KatK, Abb.101 with Plate 4.1, the marks are the same shape and size, the distances between chainlines are identical, and, even more convincingly, the pattern of sewings used to fasten the watermark to the mold wires is the same. While their presence does not in any strong sense bolster a claim for Piperinus as the copyist of F IX 32-35, these watermarks (when taken in conjunction with the date, and contents of the letter) will provide conclusive evidence for the exact day when the manuscript was begun.

The single tipped-in leaf in F IX 32, written on Paper Type 3, is without a watermark. Yet sorting it from the others is not difficult, for it is thin in texture and remarkably white in color, very similar in fact to modern-day tracing paper. Furthermore, its chainlines, when compared with those of the other papers, are equally distinctive (around 20 mm apart). Dating this paper without the assistance of a watermark is admittedly dangerous. However, it should be noted that such papers are frequently encountered in Basel sources dating from the late 16th or early 17th century.[19]

This evidence, when coupled with the dated Amerbach *Ex Libris* found on the title page of each partbook (i.e., 13 November 1546), suggests that the manuscript's preparation date and the date on which Basilius acquired the partbooks are likely very close. Moreover, since the partbooks are made up almost exclusively of Basel-marked papers, it would seem equally reasonable to assume that F IX 32-35 was compiled in Basel, or at least in the upper-Rhine region.

Foliation and Numeration. Each partbook is foliated with arabic numerals in modern pencil. The arabic numberings of pieces 1-26 (actually 27) are on the other hand original, and were entered in ink by the scribe responsible for the manuscript's compilation (see below, Scribe 1). These numberings were consistently entered in the left hand margins next to the initial system of each composition and are (with one exception) consecutive.[20] The last seven compositions (nos.27-33) are also numbered using arabic numerals: however, these numberings are in pencil and were added by the present author in 1985.

17 Briquet, *Le filigranes*, no.1378.

18 Geering, *Die Vokalmusik*, 85.

19 Similar paper appears among the song text sheets compiled by Felix Platter in the 1590s. For a discussion of this manuscript and its paper types see Chapter 7.

20 The two adjacent settings of *Kum heiliger geist* were both assigned the number 12. Rather than renumbering the pieces and creating another modern numeration, I have numbered the first setting 12a and the second 12b in Inventory D.

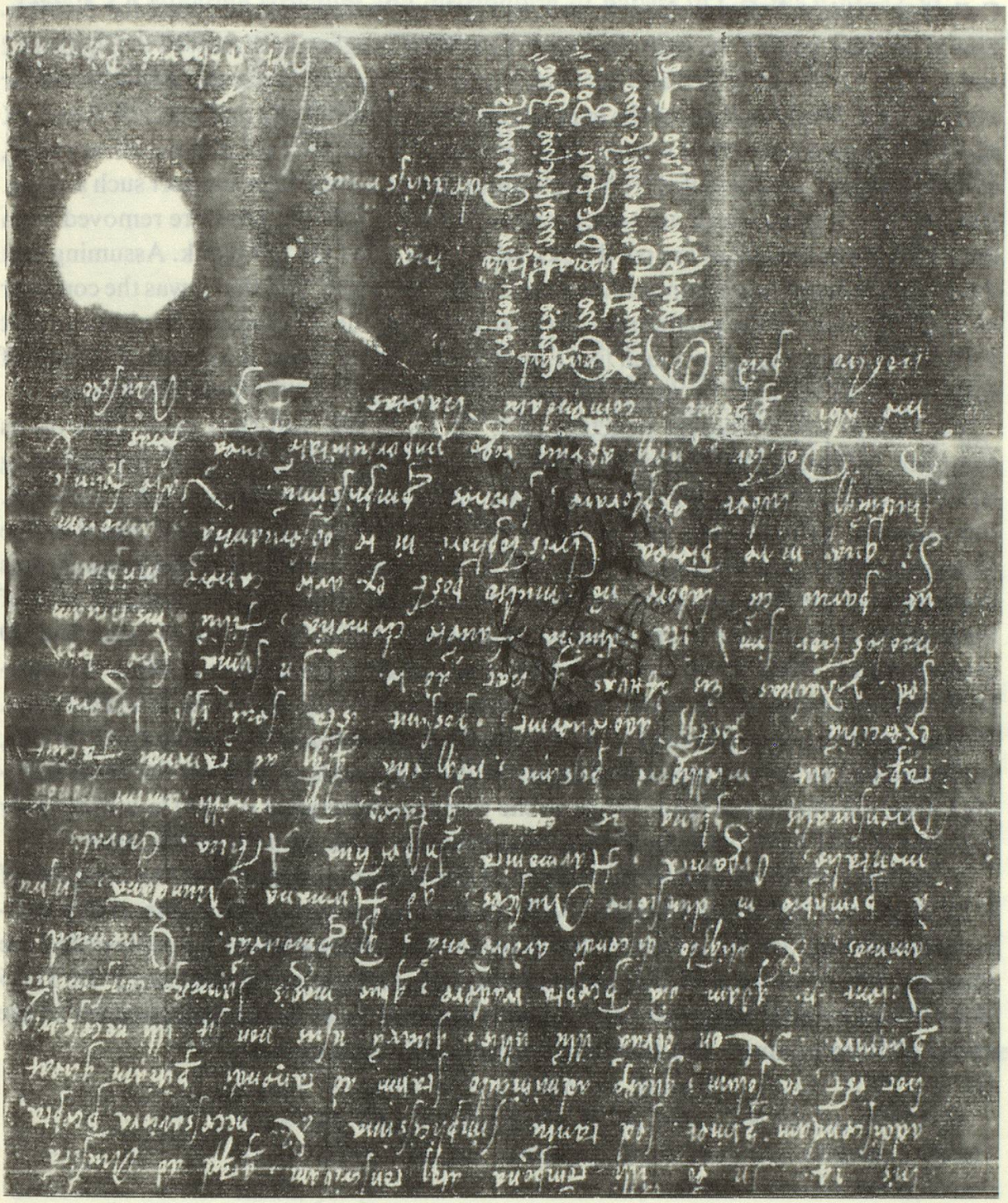


Plate 4.1. Basel watermark found in a letter written by Christoph Piperinus to Bonifacius Amerbach, 12 November 1546 (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. G II 23, fol.116)

Collation. Table 4.2 summarizes the manuscript's gathering structure, and the distribution of its three papers. As with the other Amerbach songbooks discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, F IX 32-35 was folded and cut in oblong octavo format, a size extremely fitting for everyday use. While analysis of the manuscript's handwritings will make it clear that F IX 32-35 was indeed a practical source (never meant to reside on a prestigious library shelf, as it does today), details culled from the manuscript's structure can support such a claim. Among the 15 folios which are today missing from F IX 32-35, ten were removed from the gathering at the end of the partbooks, which was ruled but left blank. Assuming that these fugitive leaves were empty at the time they were excised, and that it was the compiler or original owner of the partbooks who tore the leaves out, it is possible to construe that F IX 32-35 functioned very much like a modern day spiral music notebook: a volume of ruled/blank leaves used by music students for either private or classroom lessons.

The format and gathering structure of F IX 32-35 can also shed some light on its compiler. Although the partbooks are clearly in oblong octavo format,[21] the gathering structure of each volume does not conform to the textbook formula for such a collation. For example, the partbooks today collectively contain 48 watermarks. Yet, based on the 15 missing folios, it is reasonably clear that 50 watermarks were originally present; thus implying that the compiler must have used 50 sheets of Paper Types 1 and 2. If each of these sheets was folded in the traditional manner, F IX 32-35 should have had 50 quaternios (i.e., 400 folios), with each gathering preserving one mark.[22] While the partbooks today consist of 48 watermarked gatherings, not one gathering is a quaternio. Rather, as can be seen in Table 4.2, the partbooks are made-up predominantly of ternios, supplemented by several binios and single bifolia.[23] Since the ternio was the basic building block, the number of folios found in the whole manuscript (i.e., 269) is considerably less than would have been counted in 50 gatherings made up of 4 bifolia each.

In the light of this unorthodox collation, it is possible to suggest that the compiler of F IX 32-35 was not all that familiar with the traditional methods for assembling partbooks in oblong octavo, a format which by the mid-sixteenth century represented the standard vehicle of transmission for music in parts. Indeed, as we shall see, F IX 32-35 was collated by a thirteen-year-old boy, who was instructed by his music teacher to use sheets of "clean paper" and assemble them into "50 quaternios."

21 This is from the position of the watermark (i.e., across the gutter of a bifolio) and the disposition of the chainlines (horizontal).

22 The traditional method for preparing an oblong octavo is quite simple: a single sheet of paper is folded three times (twice horizontally, and once vertically), thereby creating one gathering of 4 bifolia (= 1 quaternio), with most of the watermark appearing on the innermost bifolia (i.e., in the center of the gathering).

23 Among the 49 gatherings which made-up this set of partbooks (one binio in F IX 33 was excised), 39 are ternios, 6 are binios and 4 are single bifolia.

Table 4.2. Gathering structure and distribution of papers in CH-Bu F IX 32-35

F IX 32 (Discant):	59 folios.	
Gatherings:	1 Ternio = fols.1-5;	Paper 1
	1 (Ternio + 1 leaf) = fols.6-12;	Paper 1
	1 (Bifolium + 2 leaves) = fols.13-16	Paper 1&3
	2 Ternios = fols.17-28	Paper 1
	1 Binio = fols.29-32	Paper 1
	1 Ternio = fols.33-38	Paper 1
	1 Binio = fols.39-42	Paper 1
	3 Ternios = fols.43-back paste-down	Paper 1
Remarks:	Front paste-down and folio 5 were originally conjugate, they are now detached. Folios 12, 13 and 14 are tipped-in. Watermark 1a appears on folios 1/14, 15/16, 25/26, 39/42, 45/46 and 57/58; Watermark 1b on folios 6/11, 19/20, 29/32, 35/36 and 50/53; Paper Type 3 (without a mark) is found on folio 13 only.	
F IX 33 (Tenor):	66 folios.	
Gatherings:	1 Ternio = fols.1-5	Paper 2
	1 (Ternio – 1 leaf) = fols.6-10	Paper 2
	1 Ternio = fols.11-16	Paper 2
	1 (Binio – 1 leaf) = fols.17-19	Paper 2
	1 Ternio = fols.20-25	Paper 2
	1 (Ternio – 2 leaves) = fols.26-29	Paper 2
	1 Binio = fols.30-33	Paper 2
	1 (Ternio – 1 leaf) = fols.34-38	Paper 2
	1 Ternio = fols.39-44	Paper 2
	1 (Binio – 4 leaves)	Paper 2?
	1 (Ternio – 1 leaf) = fols.45-49	Paper 2
	3 Ternios = fols.50-back paste-down	Paper 2
Remarks:	Front paste-down and folio 5 are conjugate. After folios 6, 17 & 37, one leaf is missing; after folio 25 two leaves; after folio 44 five leaves. Watermark 2a appears on folios 2/3, 13/14, 22/23, 29, 36/37, 41/42, 64/65; Watermark 2b on folios 7/8, 17/19, 49, 50/55, 51/54, 57/60. The 7th gathering (folios 30-33) is without a watermark, yet (in view of its chain- and laidline measurements) consists of only Paper Type 2.	
F IX 34 (Altus):	70 folios.	
Gatherings:	5 Ternios = fols.1-29	Paper 1
	1 (Ternio – 1 leaf) = fols.30-34	Paper 1
	1 (Ternio – 1 leaf) = fols.35-39	Paper 1
	1 Ternio = fols.40-45	Paper 1
	1 Bifolium = fols.46-47	Paper 1
	4 Ternios = fols.48-back paste-down	Paper 1

Remarks:	Folio 5 and the front paste-down are conjugate. After folio 34, two leaves are missing. Watermark 1a appears on folios 13/16, 24/29, 32/33, 40/45 and 54/59; Watermark 1b on folios 2/3, 8/9, 20/21, 39, 46/47, 50/51, 60/65 and 68/69.	
F IX 35 (Bass):	51 folios.	
Gatherings:	1 (Ternio – 1 leaf) = fols.1-4	Paper 2
	2 Ternios = fols.5-16	Paper 2
	1 Bifolium = fols. 17-18	Paper 2
	1 Binio = fols.19-22	Paper 2
	3 Ternios = fols.23-40	Paper 2
	1 (Bifolium – 2 leaves)	Paper 2?
	2 Ternios = fols.41-back paste-down	Paper 2
Remarks:	Folio 5 and the front paste-down are conjugate. After folio 1, one leaf is missing; after folio 40, two leaves are torn-out. Watermark 2a appears on folios 2, 7/8, 13/14, 17/18, 19/22, 29/34, 35/40, 41/46 and 47/back paste-down; Watermark 2b on folios 25/26.	

Handwriting. Excluding the last two compositions (nos. 32 and 33),[24] and the geographical notes tipped into the discant partbook,[25] F IX 32-35 consists of two main scribal layers. The first was copied by a scribe I shall call S1, who is the main scribe of all the manuscripts to be discussed in this chapter. Apart from copying the music and text to pieces 1-11, S1 was responsible for the title pages on folio 1r in each partbook and the theoretical writings in F IX 33. His hand can also be detected within the second layer of the manuscript, where one finds him ruling pages, entering text incipits, and sometimes sharing in the copying of a piece. As shown in the examples of his handwriting featured in Figures 4.1-4.5, S1 wrote in a large German or humanist cursive text hand, maintained impeccable German and Latin orthography, and used lozenge-shaped semibreve and

24 Although these two textless tenor parts were probably copied in the sixteenth century, they bear no paleographical relationship to either of the manuscript's two main scribal layers. Consequently, I have chosen to regard them as later (insignificant) additions to the manuscript proper.

25 As noted above in the collation, folio 13 in F IX 32 consists of a slip of paper which was tipped into the manuscript. This single leaf, consisting of dated geographical and historical notes pertaining to Italy from the years 1587 and 1588, represents the only occurrence in the partbooks of Paper Type 3, an unmarked "rice" paper which (as noted earlier) is commonly found in documents from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This date can be confirmed, based on the identification of the scribe as Basilius Amerbach's only nephew, Ludwig Iselin, who in 1586 and 1587 was a student at the University of Padua. That this slip of paper was copied by Iselin is evident from a comparison of its cursive script with the script found in the diary which Iselin kept while living in Italy (CH-Bu C VI 40).

Assuming that Iselin himself glued this leaf into the partbook, one could suspect that F IX 32-35 accompanied the writer to Italy. That the manuscript, one of many inherited by Iselin from his uncle Basilius, would have been chosen as a traveling companion is not at all surprising; for it preserved a repertory characteristic of Iselin's home town, and contained ample space for the copying of new music – certainly an important consideration for one who was already an avid music collector.

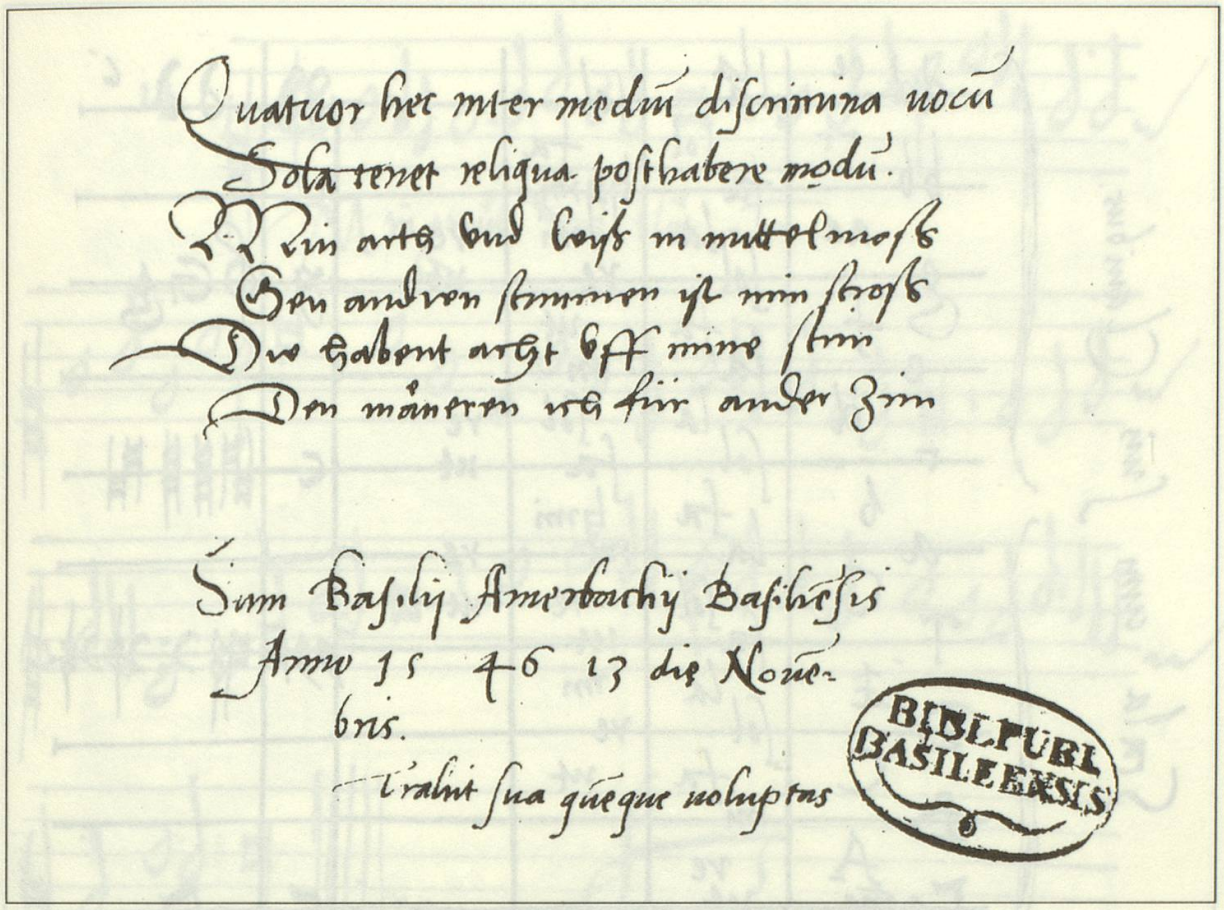


Figure 4.1. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Title page of CH-Bu F IX 33, fol.1r)

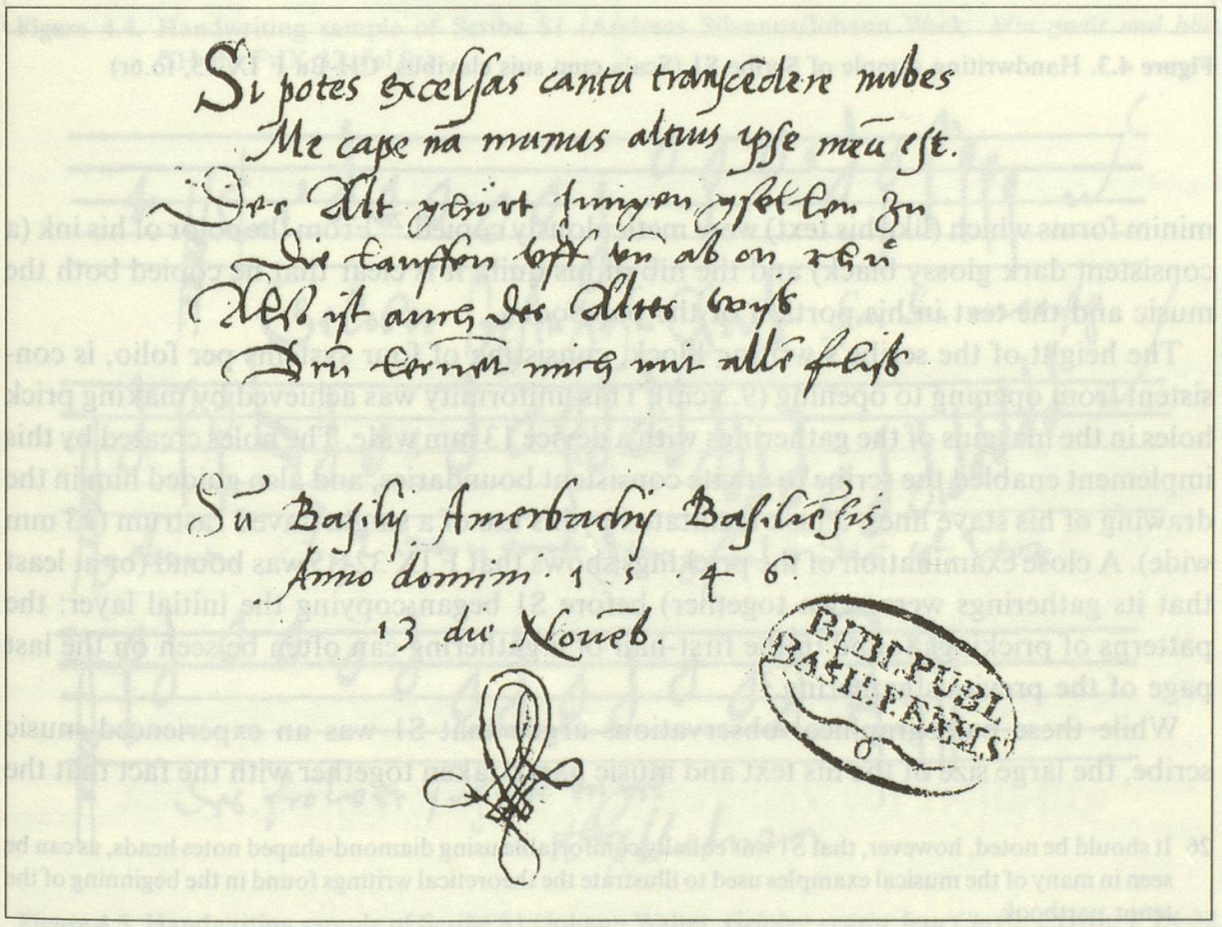


Figure 4.2. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Title page of CH-Bu F IX 34, fol. 1r)

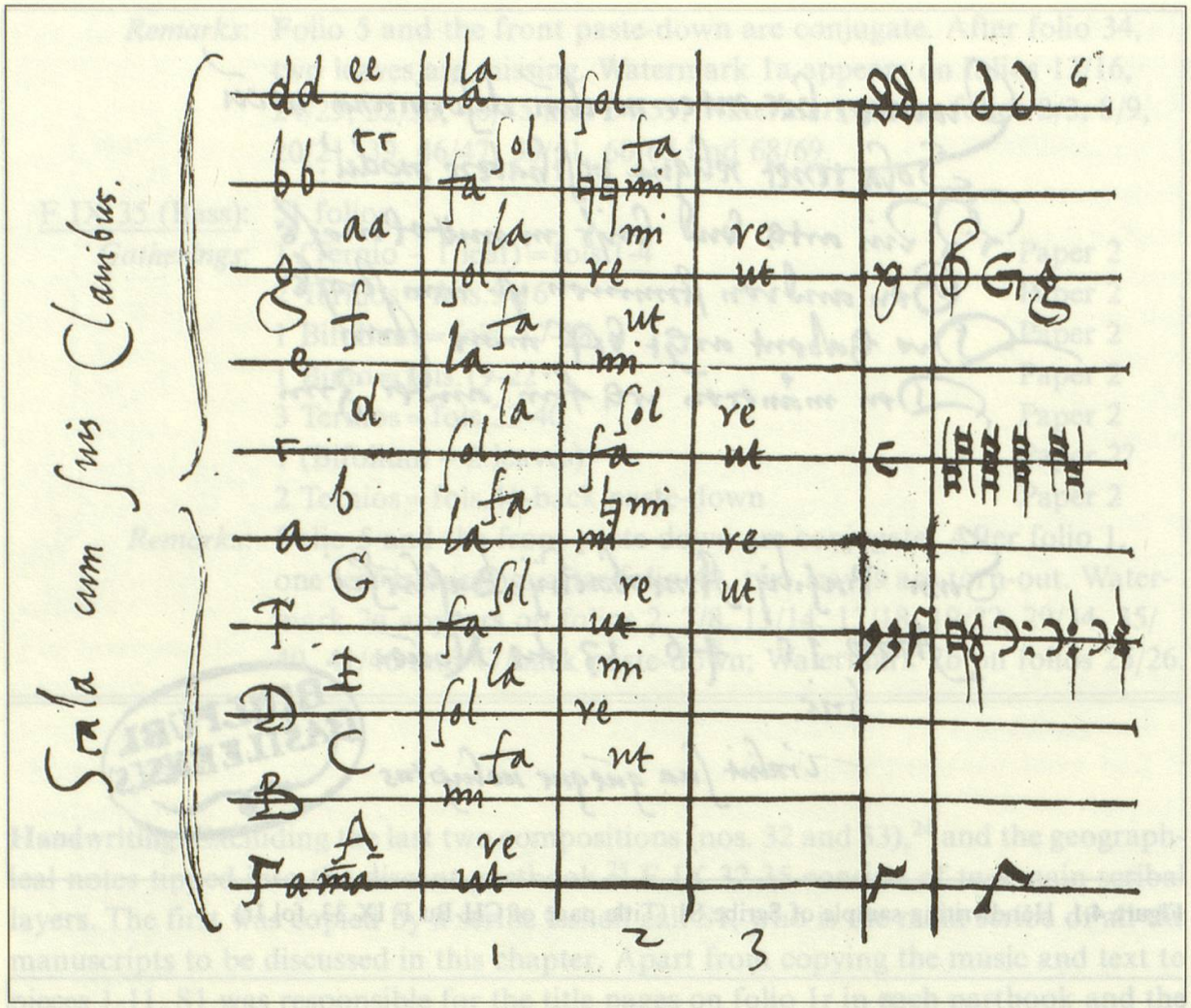


Figure 4.3. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Scala cum suis clavibus, CH-Bu F IX 33, fo.6r)

minim forms which (like his text) were meticulously copied.[26] From the color of his ink (a consistent dark glossy black) and the nib of his quill, it is clear that he copied both the music and the text in his portion of the partbooks.

The height of the scribe's writing block, consisting of four systems per folio, is consistent from opening to opening (9.5 cm). This uniformity was achieved by making prick holes in the margins of the gatherings with a device 13 mm wide. The holes created by this implement enabled the scribe to create consistent boundaries, and also guided him in the drawing of his stave lines, a task facilitated by his use of a single staved rastrum (13 mm wide). A close examination of the prickings shows that F IX 32-35 was bound (or at least that its gatherings were sewn together) before S1 began copying the initial layer: the patterns of prickings found in the first-half of a gathering can often be seen on the last page of the previous gathering.[27]

While these paleographical observations argue that S1 was an experienced music scribe, the large size of the his text and music hand, taken together with the fact that the

26 It should be noted, however, that S1 was equally comfortable using diamond-shaped notes heads, as can be seen in many of the musical examples used to illustrate the theoretical writings found in the beginning of the tenor partbook.

27 See, for example, the gathering join at folios 16v-17r of F IX 33.

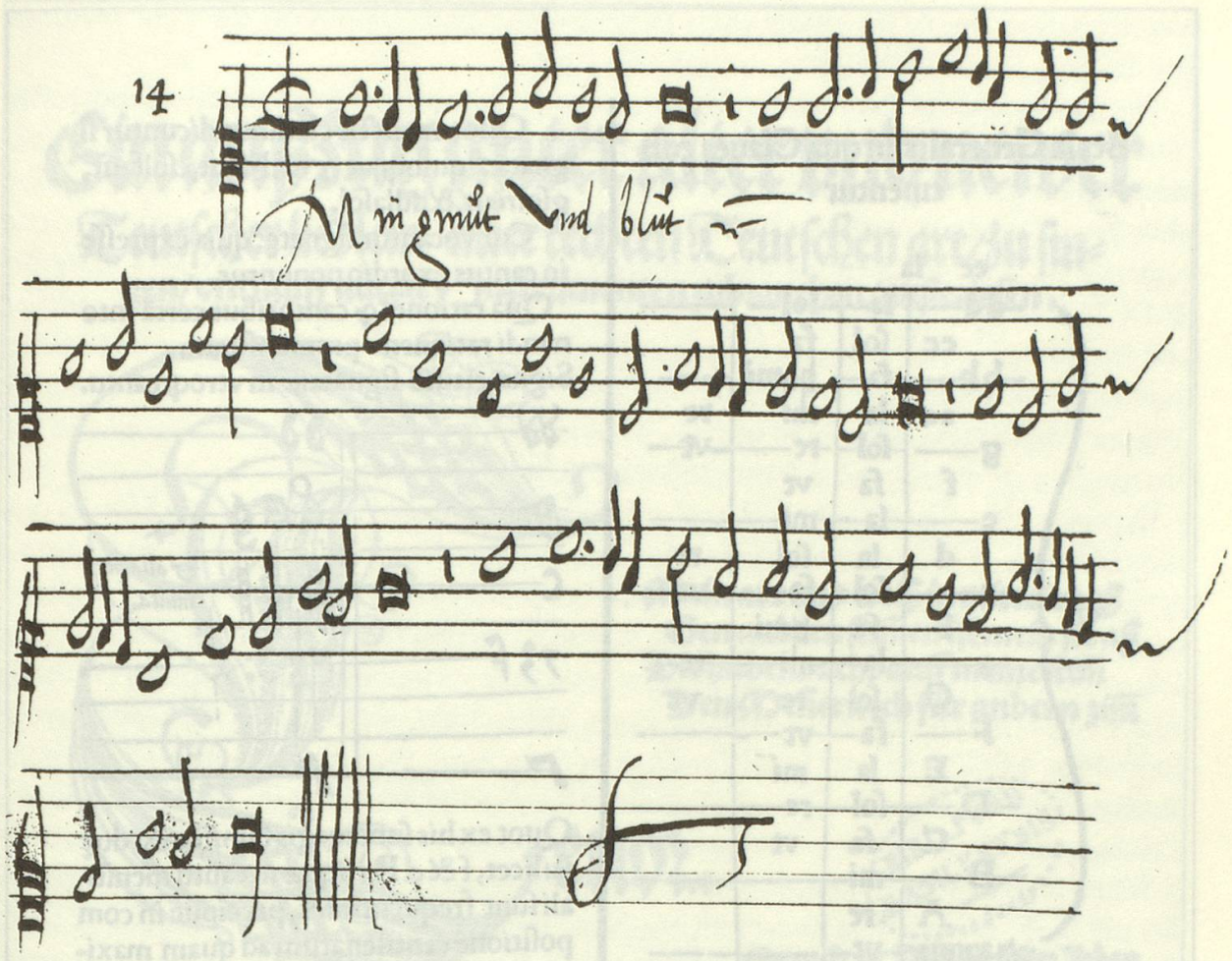


Figure 4.4. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Andreas Silvanus/Johann Weck. *Min gmüt und blüt*, CH-Bu F IX 32, fol.9r)



Figure 4.5. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Johann Walter. *Gelobet sygstu Jesu Christ*, CH-Bu F IX 32, fol.4r)

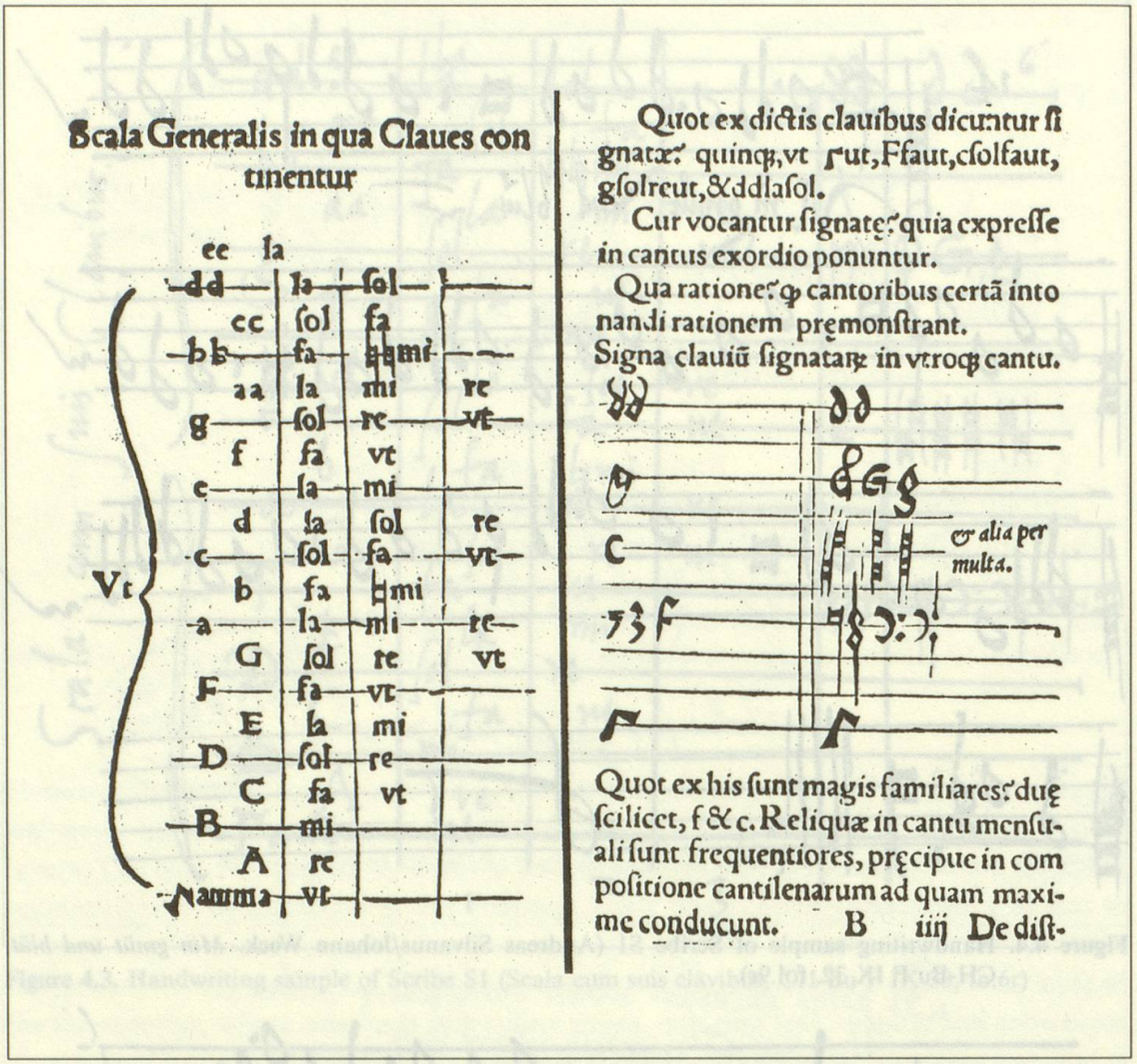


Figure 4.6. Auctor Lampadius. *Compendium musices* (Bern, 1537), fols.Biii^{v}-Biiii^{r}



Figure 4.7. Johann Walter. *Wittembergisch deudsch geistlich Gesangbüchlein* (= *RISM* 1544^{71}), Discant, no.XIII (= Johann Walter. *Gelobet seistu Jhesu Christ*)

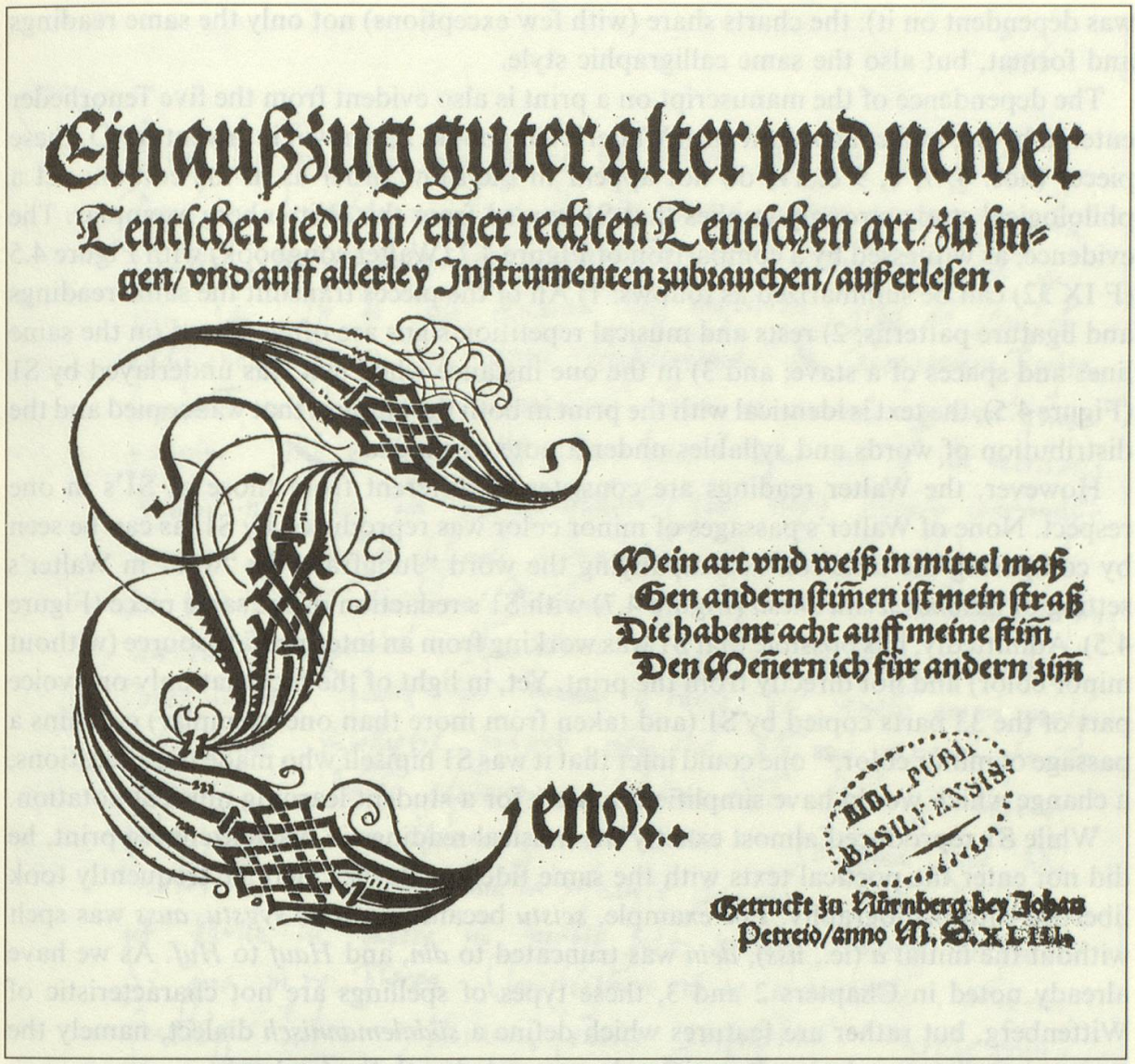


Figure 4.8. Georg Forster, *Frische teutsche Liedlein* (= *RISM* 1543[24]), Title page of the tenor partbook

notation was neatly copied (although the manuscript was not for presentation), do not conflict with the idea that S1 was a music teacher who, in this instance, was entering pieces to be read by a child. Moreover, since his work constitutes the manuscript's initial entries, it would seem a reasonable inference that S1 either prepared the manuscript himself, or supervised its preparation.

Based on philological evidence, it can be shown that S1's layer was copied from at least three different musical sources, each printed in German or Switzerland during the first half of the sixteenth century. Among these, two stand out prominently: Auctor Lampadius' *Compendium musices* (Bern: M. Apiarius, 1537) and Johann Walter's *Wittembergisch deudsch geistlich Gesangbüchlein* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1544), a choral collection expressly intended (as Luther's foreword reveals) for youthful singers and one which (as we shall see) S1 actually owned. That S1 worked from these two sources was first suggested by Arnold Geering, and is beyond question. For example, as seen from a comparison of Figure 4.6 (Lampadius', *Compendium*) with Figure 4.3 (F IX 33, fol. 6r), it is clear that S1 copied his charts from the treatise (or, just possibly, from a source which

was dependent on it): the charts share (with few exceptions) not only the same readings and format, but also the same calligraphic style.

The dependence of the manuscript on a print is also evident from the five Tenorlieder entered by S1, and concordant with Walter's songbook. As shown in Inventory D, these pieces (nos. 4, 7, 8, 9 & 11) do not appear in the same order as in the edition: yet a philological study strongly implies that S1 copied from this Wittenberg exemplar. The evidence, as witnessed by a comparison of Figure 4.7 (Walter songbook) with Figure 4.5 (F IX 32) can be summarized as follows: 1) All of the pieces transmit the same readings and ligature patterns; 2) rests and musical repetition signs are often placed on the same lines and spaces of a stave; and 3) in the one instance when text was underlayed by S1 (Figure 4.5), the text is identical with the print in both the amount that was copied and the distribution of words and syllables under a note or phrase.

However, the Walter readings are consistently different from those of S1's in one respect. None of Walter's passages of minor color was reproduced by S1, as can be seen by comparing the notation accompanying the word "Jungfraw" or "war" in Walter's setting of *Gelobet seistu Jhesu* (Figure 4.7) with S1's redaction of the same piece (Figure 4.5). Admittedly, it is possible that S1 was working from an intermediate source (without minor color) and not directly from the print. Yet, in light of the fact that only one voice part of the 33 parts copied by S1 (and taken from more than one exemplar) contains a passage of minor color,[28] one could infer that it was S1 himself who made the alterations, a change which would have simplified matters for a student learning musical notation.

While S1 reproduced almost exactly the musical readings in his Wittenberg print, he did not enter the poetical texts with the same fidelity. Rather, here he frequently took liberties with orthography. For example, *seistu* became *systu* or *sygstu*, *auss* was spelt without the initial *a* (ie., *uss*), *dein* was truncated to *din*, and *Hauf* to *Huf*. As we have already noted in Chapters 2 and 3, these types of spellings are not characteristic of Wittenberg, but rather are features which define a *südalemannisch* dialect, namely the regional spellings and sounds commonly associated with Switzerland.

That S1 was indeed a Swiss musician who was unconsciously altering the spellings of his German exemplars can be confirmed by examining the third printed source from which he worked: Georg Forster's *Frische teutsche Liedlein* (RISM 1543[24]). It might seem unreasonable to postulate that this printed set of German Tenorlieder served as a copy text for S1, since only one composition in 1543[24] is concordant with S1's work. Yet the similarities between the title pages of the print and the title pages of the manuscript argue otherwise. As shown in Inventory D, the title page of each partbook carries the dated *Ex Libris* of Basilius Amerbach, and two maxims in verse (one in German and one in Latin) which describe the function/charactersitic of each voice part. While S1's Latin verses would appear to be unique, the German verses are identical to those featured on the title pages of Forster's print. As can be seen from a comparison of Figure 4.8 with Figure 4.1, the tenor books share the same text, format, capitalization, and (with one exception) even abbreviation. The only aspect of the text which S1 did not duplicate was the orthography: "Mein art und weiss in mittel mass" was re-spelled by S1 in the Swiss manner described above ("Min arth und wiss in mittel moss"). Moreover, on the title page of the discant partbook he altered the spelling of "Strass" to "Stross," a spelling which is

28 The only example of minor color appears in the altus voice of no. 3.

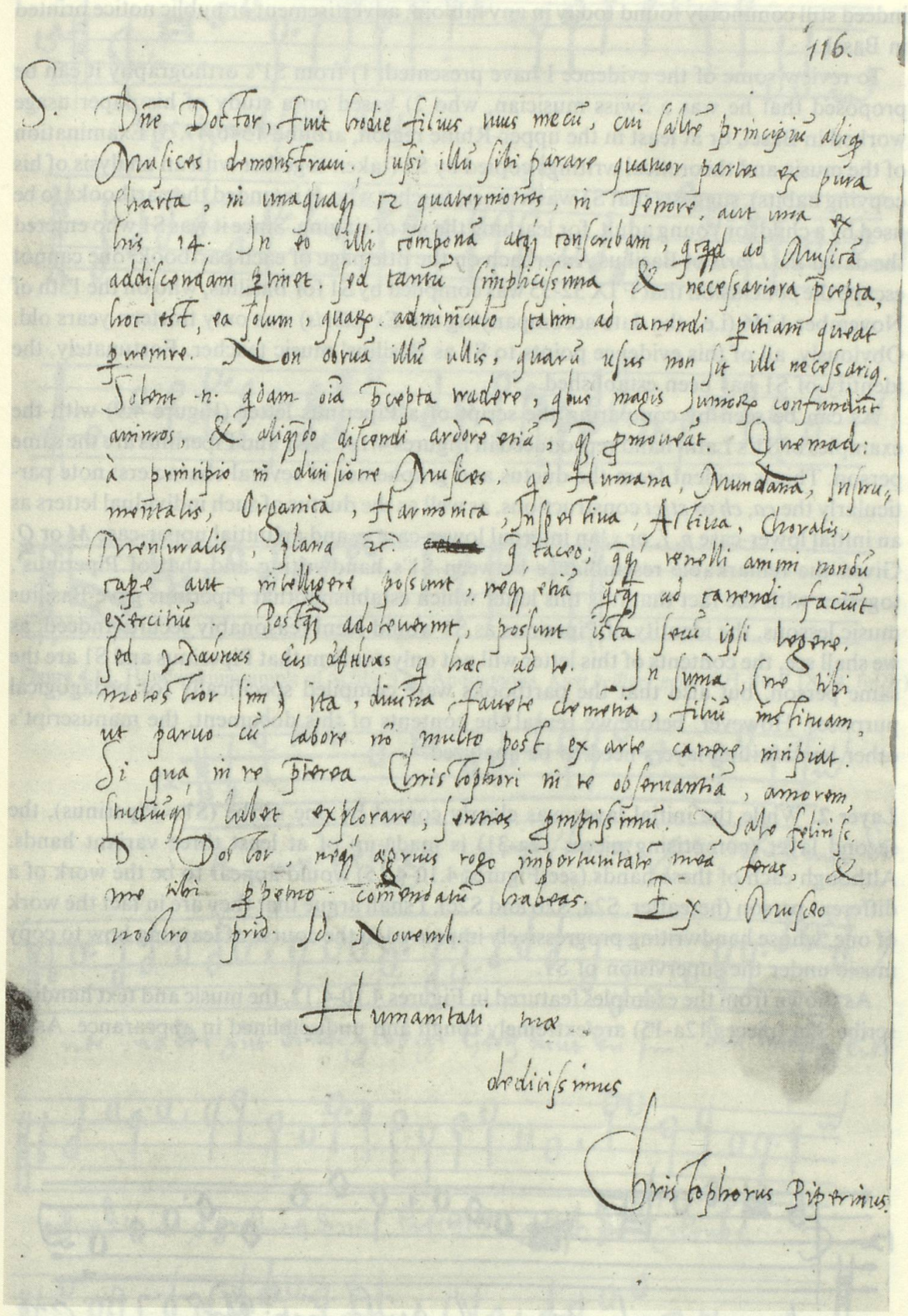


Figure 4.9. Letter of Christoph Piperinus (=Scribe S1) to Bonifacius Amerbach, 12 November, 1546 (CH-Bu G II 23, fol.116r)

indeed still commonly found today in any tabloid, advertisement or public notice printed in Basel.

To review some of the evidence I have presented: 1) from S1's orthography it can be proposed that he was a Swiss musician, who 2) based on a study of his paper usage worked in Basel, or at least in the upper-Rhine region, around 1546/47. 3) Examination of the music and theoretical writings copied by S1 (taken together with an analysis of his copying habits), suggests that S1 was a music teacher who 4) intended the partbooks to be used by a child, or young adult, for learning the art of singing. Since it was S1 who entered the dated *Ex Libris* of Basilius Amerbach on the title page of each partbook, one cannot escape the conclusion that F IX 32-35 was compiled by S1 for Basilius, who on the 13th of November 1546 (i.e., the date accompanying the *Ex Libris*) was only thirteen years old. Obviously, all of this evidence points to S1 as Basilius' music teacher. Fortunately, the identity of S1 has been established.

As can be seen by comparing the script of a Piperinus letter (Figure 4.9) with the examples of S1's Latin hand reproduced in Figures 4.1-4.3, S1 and Piperinus are the same person. This is evident from the ductus and graphemes of several characters: note particularly the *ca*, *ch* or *st*/*ct* constructions, as well as the ductus of such individual letters as an initial lower-case *p*, *f*, or *s*, an internal lower-case *g*, and an initial upper-case *M* or *Q*. Given the remarkable resemblance between S1's handwriting and that of Piperinus', together with the fact that it is this letter which establishes that Piperinus gave Basilius music lessons, the identity of Piperinus as S1 would seem reasonably secure. Indeed, as we shall see, the contents of this letter will not only confirm that Piperinus and S1 are the same person, but also that the partbooks were compiled specifically for pedagogical purposes. However, before we reveal the contents of this document, the manuscript's other handwriting layers need to be analyzed.

Layer 2. While the initial layer was clearly copied by one scribe (S1 = Piperinus), the second layer (comprising pieces 12a-31) is made-up of at least three variant hands. Although each of these hands (see Figures 4.10-4.15) would appear to be the work of a different person (hereafter, S2a, S2b and S2c), I shall argue that they are in fact the work of one, whose handwriting progressively improved in the course of learning how to copy music under the supervision of S1.

As shown from the examples featured in Figures 4.10-4.12, the music and text hands of scribe S2a (pieces 12a-15) are extremely rough and undisciplined in appearance. Aside

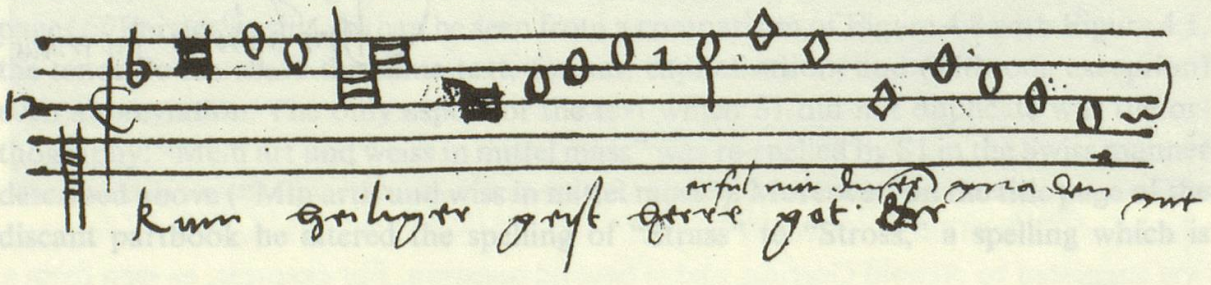


Figure 4.10. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2a (Anonymous. *Kum heiliger geist*, CH-Bu F IX 32, fol.8r, first system)

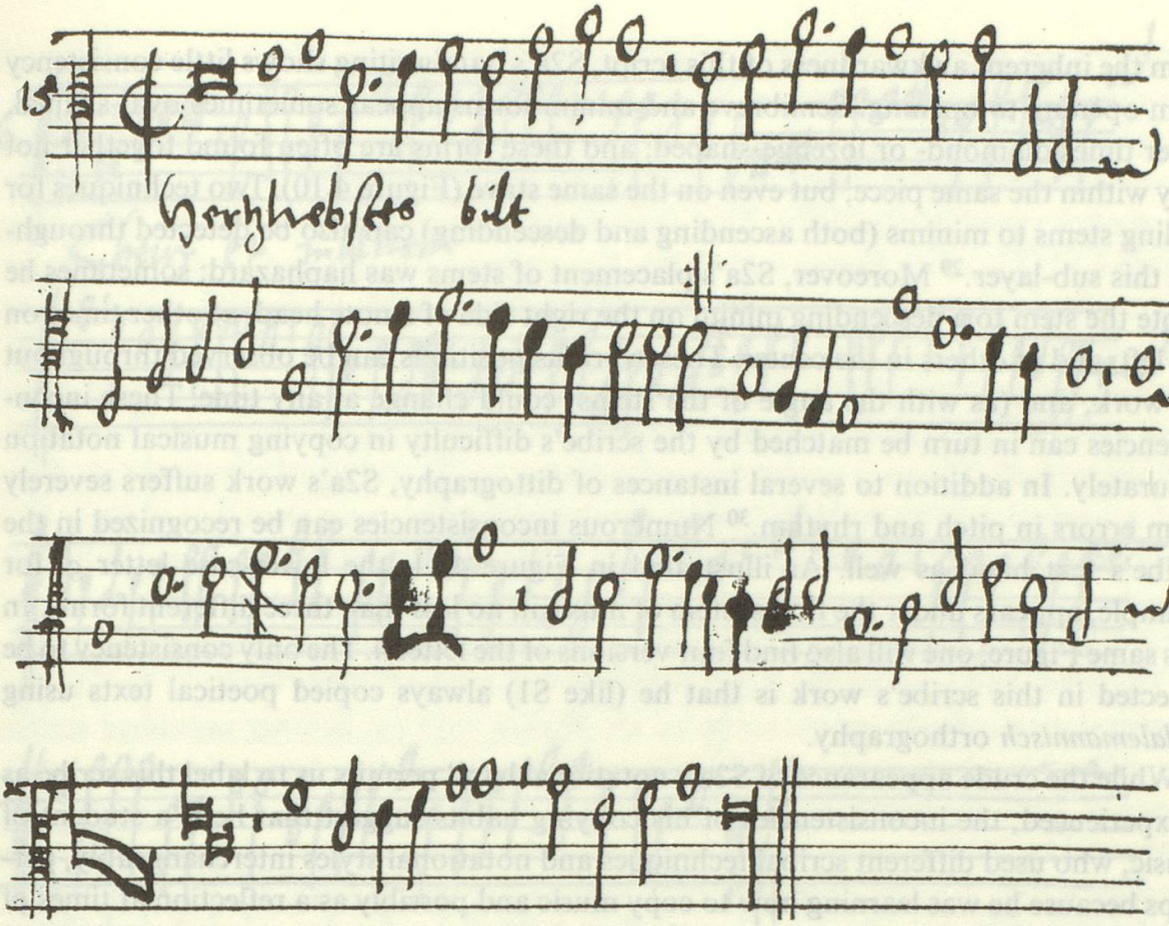


Figure 4.11. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2a (Anonymous. *Kum heiliger geist*, CH-Bu F IX 34, fol.9r)

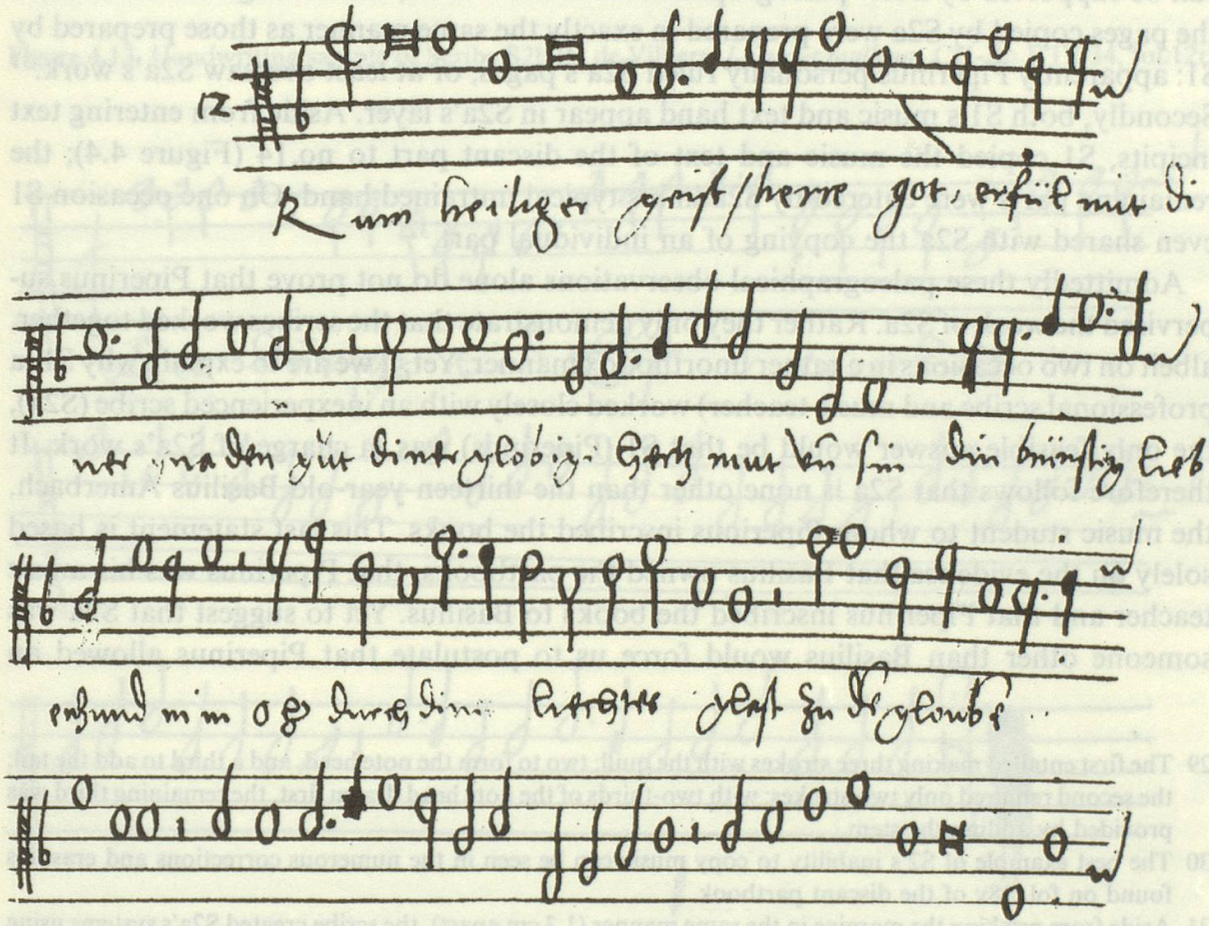


Figure 4.12. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2a (Paul Hofhaimer. *Hertzliebstes bilt*, CH-Bu F IX 34, fol.11v)

from the inherent awkwardness of this script, S2a's handwriting shows little consistency from opening to opening. Semibreve and minim forms appear sometimes oval-shaped, other times diamond- or lozenge-shaped; and these forms are often found together not only within the same piece, but even on the same stave (Figure 4.10). Two techniques for adding stems to minims (both ascending and descending) can also be detected throughout this sub-layer.[29] Moreover, S2a's placement of stems was haphazard: sometimes he wrote the stem to a descending minim on the right side of a note head, at other times on the left, and at others in the center. These various positions can be observed throughout his work, and (as with the angle of the stems) could change at any time. These inconsistencies can in turn be matched by the scribe's difficulty in copying musical notation accurately. In addition to several instances of dittography, S2a's work suffers severely from errors in pitch and rhythm.[30] Numerous inconsistencies can be recognized in the scribe's text hand as well. As illustrated in Figure 4.11, the lower-case letter *g*, for example, appears under the first system of music in no less than three different forms. In this same Figure, one will also find four versions of the letter *h*. The only consistency to be detected in this scribe's work is that he (like S1) always copied poetical texts using *südalemannisch* orthography.

While the crude appearance of S2a's notational hand permits us to label this scribe as inexperienced, the inconsistencies of his copying habits suggest that he is a student of music, who used different scribal techniques and notational styles interchangeably, perhaps because he was learning how to copy music and possibly as a reflection at times of his exemplar. That S2a was indeed a student working under the supervision of Piperinus can be supported by a few paleographical facts. First of all, the writing blocks for all of the pages copied by S2a were prepared in exactly the same manner as those prepared by S1: apparently Piperinus personally ruled S2a's pages, or at least oversaw S2a's work.[31] Secondly, both S1's music and text hand appear in S2a's layer. Aside from entering text incipits, S1 copied the music and text of the discant part to no.14 (Figure 4.4); the remaining parts were entered by S2a in his typical untrained hand. On one occasion S1 even shared with S2a the copying of an individual part.[32]

Admittedly these paleographical observations alone do not prove that Piperinus supervised the work of S2a. Rather they only demonstrate that the scribes worked together, albeit on two occasions in a rather unorthodox manner. Yet, if we are to explain why S1 (a professional scribe and music teacher) worked closely with an inexperienced scribe (S2a), the only feasible answer would be that S1 (Piperinus) was in charge of S2a's work. It therefore follows that S2a is none other than the thirteen-year-old Basilius Amerbach, the music student to whom Piperinus inscribed the books. This last statement is based solely on the evidence that Basilius owned the partbooks, that Piperinus was his music teacher and that Piperinus inscribed the books to Basilius. Yet to suggest that S2a was someone other than Basilius would force us to postulate that Piperinus allowed an

29 The first entailed making three strokes with the quill: two to form the note head, and a third to add the tail; the second required only two strokes: with two-thirds of the note head drawn first, the remaining third was provided by adding the stem.

30 The best example of S2's inability to copy music can be seen in the numerous corrections and erasures found on fol. 18v of the discant partbook.

31 Aside from pricking the margins in the same manner (1.3 cm apart), the scribe created S2a's systems using Piperinus' single-stave rastrum.

32 See, F IX 32, fol.10r. Here S1 entered the first stave of music, and S2a filled in the remaining 3 staves.

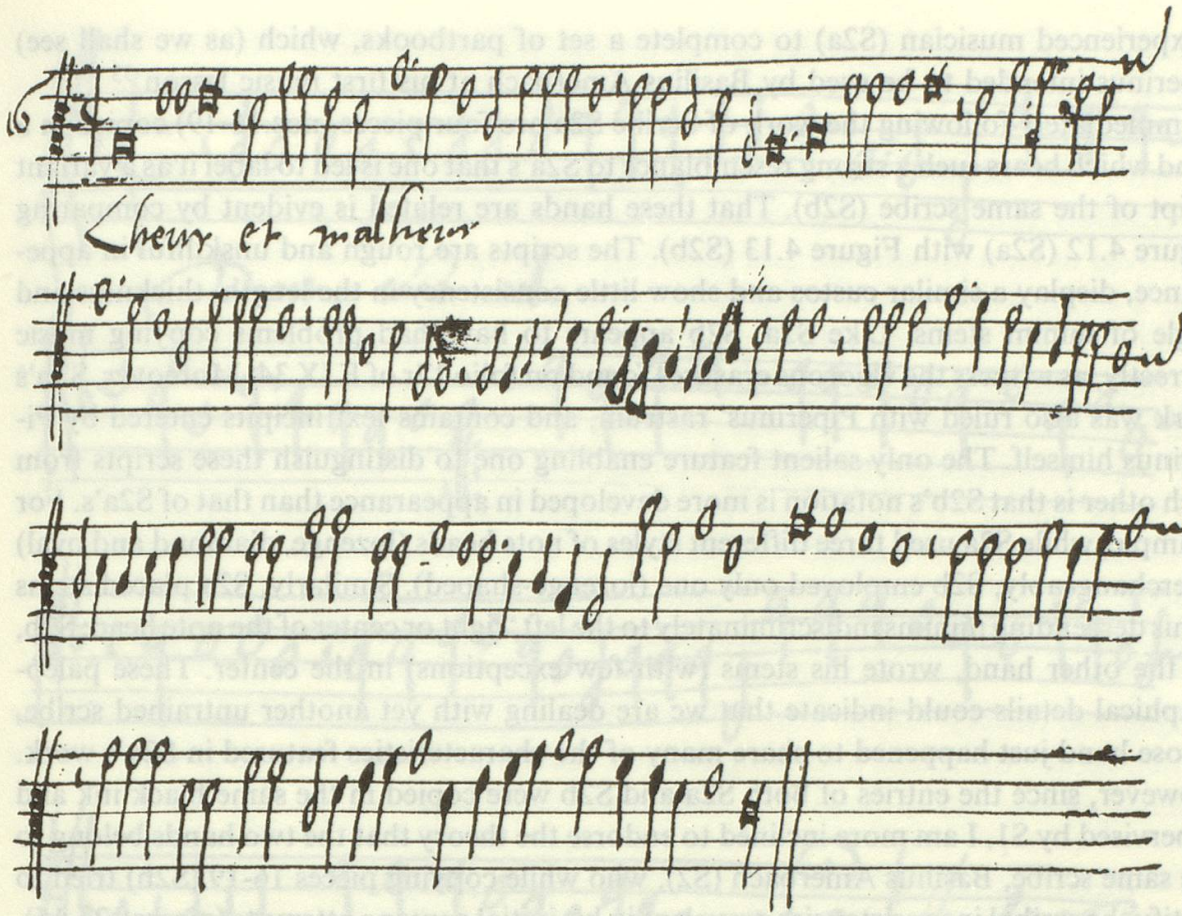


Figure 4.13. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2b (P. de Villiers. *Lheur et malheur*, CH-Bu F IX 34, fol.12r)

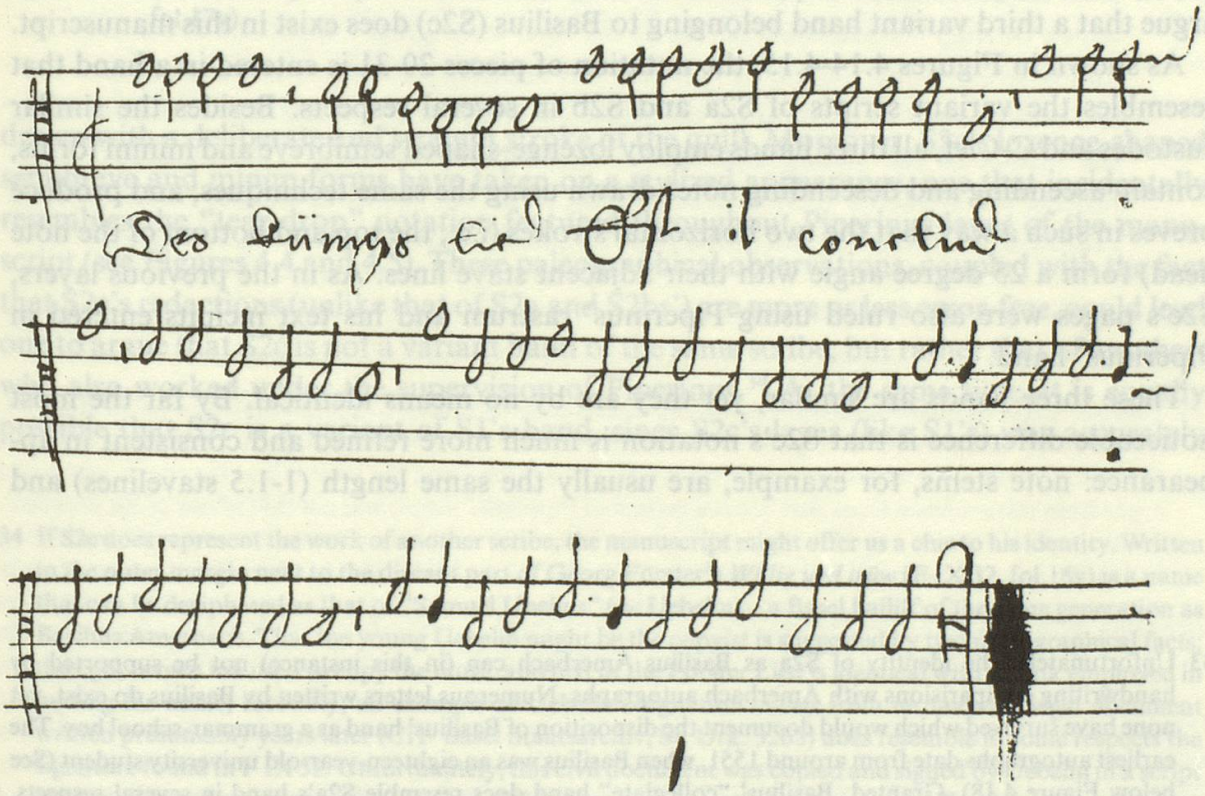


Figure 4.14. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2c (Anonymous. *Des künigs lied. Est il conclud*, CH-Bu F IX 34, fol.15r)

inexperienced musician (S2a) to complete a set of partbooks, which (as we shall see) Piperinus intended to be used by Basilius Amerbach at his first music lesson.[33]

Immediately following the work of Scribe S2a are four pieces (nos.16-19) copied in a hand which bears such a strong resemblance to S2a's that one is led to label it as a variant script of the same scribe (S2b). That these hands are related is evident by comparing Figure 4.12 (S2a) with Figure 4.13 (S2b). The scripts are rough and unskillful in appearance, display a similar custos and show little consistency in the length, thickness and angle of minim stems. Like S2a, S2b appears to have had problems copying music correctly, as witness the vigorous erasures found on folio 12r of F IX 34. Moreover, S2b's work was also ruled with Piperinus' rastrum, and contains text incipits entered by Piperinus himself. The only salient feature enabling one to distinguish these scripts from each other is that S2b's notation is more developed in appearance than that of S2a's. For example, while S2a used three different styles of note heads (lozenge, diamond and oval) interchangeably, S2b employed only one (lozenge-shaped). Similarly, S2a placed stems to his descending minims indiscriminately to the left, right or center of the note head: S2b, on the other hand, wrote his stems (with few exceptions) in the center. These paleographical details could indicate that we are dealing with yet another untrained scribe, whose hand just happened to share many of the characteristics featured in S2a's work. However, since the entries of both S2a and S2b were copied in the same black ink and supervised by S1, I am more inclined to endorse the theory that the two hands belong to the same scribe, Basilius Amerbach (S2), who while copying pieces 16-19 (S2b) tried to rectify the scribal inconsistencies prevalent in his initial copying attempts (pieces 12a-15).

If S2a and S2b are in fact variant scripts documenting the progress made by a student copying music for the first time, it would seem logical that subsequent pieces found in F IX 32-35 (entered in a similar hand and also supervised by Piperinus) could represent yet another stage in the development of S2's copying abilities. In fact, it is possible to argue that a third variant hand belonging to Basilius (S2c) does exist in this manuscript.

As shown in Figures 4.14-4.15, the notation of pieces 20-31 is entered in a hand that resembles the variant scripts of S2a and S2b in several respects. Besides the similar custodes and C-Clef, all three hands employ lozenge-shaped semibreve and minim forms, contain ascending and descending notes drawn using the same techniques, and produce breves in such a way that the two horizontal strokes (i.e., the top and bottom of the note head) form a 25 degree angle with their adjacent stave lines. As in the previous layers, S2c's pages were also ruled using Piperinus' rastrum and his text incipits entered in Piperinus' hand.

These three hands are similar, yet they are by no means identical. By far the most noticeable difference is that S2c's notation is much more refined and consistent in appearance: note stems, for example, are usually the same length (1-1.5 stavelines) and

33 Unfortunately, the identity of S2a as Basilius Amerbach can (in this instance) not be supported by handwriting comparisions with Amerbach autographs. Numerous letters written by Basilius do exist, yet none have survived which would document the disposition of Basilius' hand as a grammar-school boy. The earliest autographs date from around 1551, when Basilius was an eighteen-year-old university student (See below Figure 4.18). Granted, Basilius' "collegiate" hand does resemble S2a's hand in several respects. However, I have chosen not to pursue this line of evidence, since one can easily point to as many differences between the two hands as similarities.

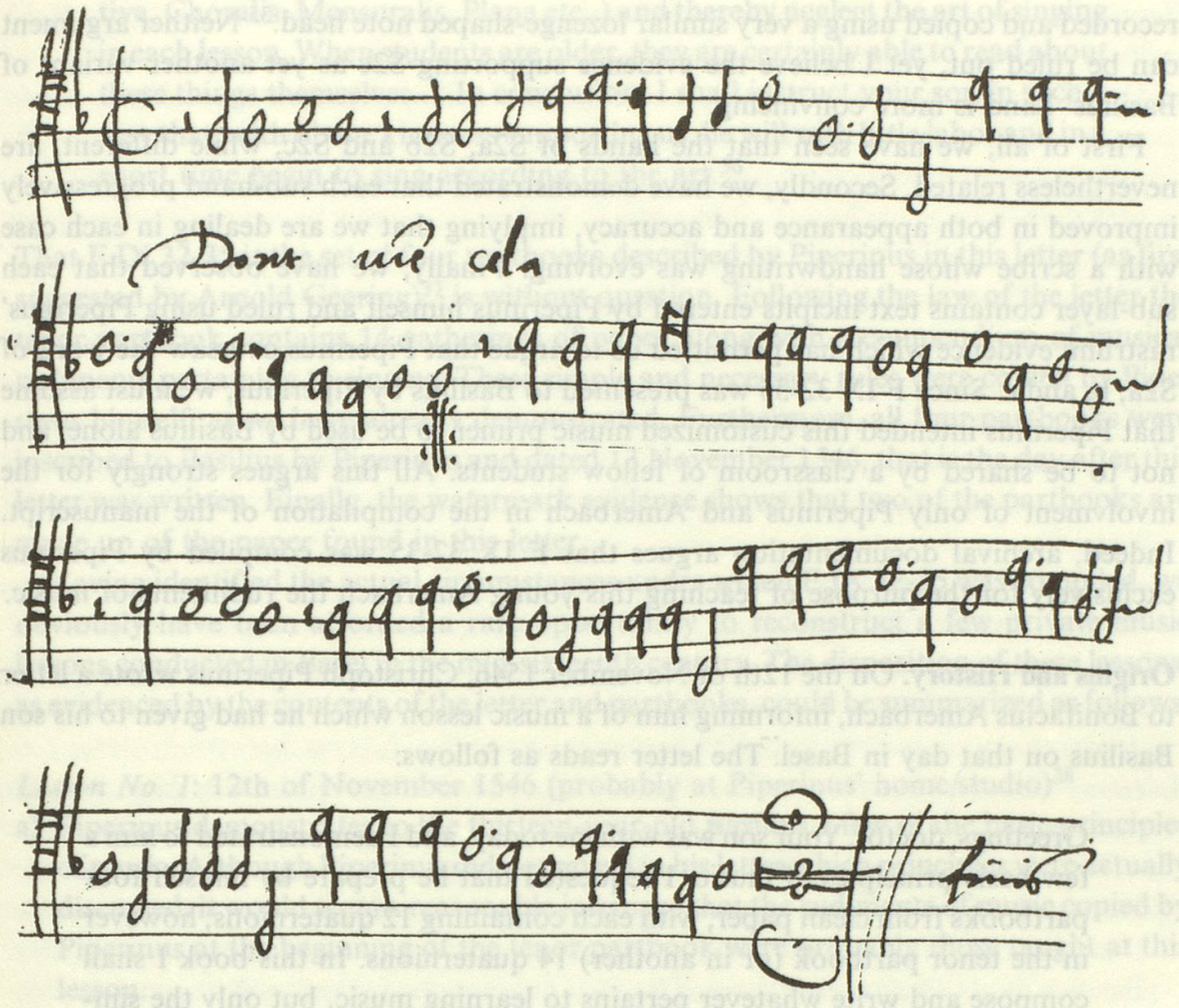


Figure 4.15. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2c (Claudin de Sermisy. *Dont vien cela*, CH-Bu F IX 34, fol.17v)

drawn with a deliberate and straight stroke of the quill. Moreover, S2c's lozenge-shaped semibreve and minim forms have taken on a stylized appearance, one that incidentally resembles the "tear drop" notation featured throughout Piperinus layer of the manuscript (see Figures 4.4 and 4.5). These paleographical observations, coupled with the fact that S2c's redactions (unlike that of S2a and S2bs') are more or less error-free, could lead one to argue that S2c is not a variant hand of the same scribe, but rather that of another, who also worked under the supervision of Piperinus.[34] At the same time, it is equally possible that S2c is a variant of S1's hand, since S2c's layer (like S1's) was accurately

34 If S2c does represent the work of another scribe, the manuscript might offer us a clue to his identity. Written in the outer margin next to the discant part of Georg Forster's *Willig und trüw* (F IX 32, fol.16v) is a name that can be deciphered as that of "Samuel Ubelius" (= Uebelin) – a Basel bailiff of the same generation as Basilius Amerbach. That the young Uebelin might be the copyist is suggested by two paleographical facts: the light brown ink used to copy the music and text of the Forster Lied is identical with the ink employed in writing his name; secondly, an example of Uebelin's signature culled from an undated legal document written presumably years later (CH- Basel Staatsarchiv, St. Urk. 3265) does resemble in some respects the signature found in F IX 32. Unfortunately, this civil document was copied and signed by Uebelin in a script characteristic of many municipal scribes of the time; consequently a positive identification of his signature in F IX 32 will have to await the discovery of further specimens of his handwriting. For a summary of the known biographical information on Uebelin, see KatK, 345.

recorded and copied using a very similar lozenge-shaped note head.[35] Neither argument can be ruled out, yet I believe the evidence supporting S2c as yet another variant of Basilius' hand is more convincing.

First of all, we have seen that the hands of S2a, S2b and S2c, while different, are nevertheless related. Secondly, we have demonstrated that each sub-hand progressively improved in both appearance and accuracy, implying that we are dealing in each case with a scribe whose handwriting was evolving. Finally, we have observed that each sub-layer contains text incipits entered by Piperinus himself and ruled using Piperinus' rastrum: evidence which has permitted us to argue that Piperinus oversaw the work of S2a, b, and c. Since F IX 32-35 was presented to Basilius by Piperinus, we must assume that Piperinus intended this customized music primer to be used by Basilius alone, and not to be shared by a classroom of fellow students. All this argues strongly for the involvment of only Piperinus and Amerbach in the compilation of the manuscript. Indeed, archival documentation argues that F IX 32-35 was compiled by Piperinus exclusively for the purpose of teaching this young Amerbach the rudiments of music.

Origins and History. On the 12th of November 1546, Christoph Piperinus wrote a letter to Bonifacius Amerbach, informing him of a music lesson which he had given to his son Basilius on that day in Basel. The letter reads as follows:

> Greetings, doctor. Your son was with me today, and I demonstrated to him a few basic principles of music. I requested that he prepare by himself four partbooks from clean paper, with each containing 12 quaternions; however in the tenor partbook (or in another) 14 quaternions. In this book I shall compose and write whatever pertains to learning music, but only the simplest and necessary rules. That is, only those rules with the assistance of which he may immediately arrive at the skill of singing. I shall not overload him with any rules the use of which is not necessary to him. For certain men are accustomed to pass on all the rules, by which they all the more confuse the minds of the young and hinder their desire to learn. These teachers inform the students from the beginning of all the types of music, (namely Humana, Mundana, Instrumentalis, Organica, Harmonica, Inspectiva, Ac-

35 That S2c might be Piperinus himself is possible based on the fact that S2c's notational hand (as we shall see) resembles a variant hand of Piperinus' which appears in another manuscript to be discussed in this Chapter. In fact, since all the texts in S2c's layer were written using the same ink as the music, one could argue from this evidence alone that S2c is a variant of Piperinus' script, and not that of one of his students'. However, if this is true, it is difficult to explain why Piperinus would have changed his style of handwriting within the same manuscript. For example, in the initial layer of F IX 32-35 (where Piperinus was clearly responsible for both music and text) he entered each piece in such a meticulous manner that many folios appear (at first glance) to have been set by type and not executed by hand. That Piperinus would have taken the time to produce such admirably legible pages is only logical in view of the fact that he was preparing a source to be used by one of his private students. Since Piperinus entered the manuscript's first layer (pieces 1-11) in this "book" hand, and continued to use this same hand to copy individual parts found in S2a's layer of the manuscript, I see no reason why he would have abandoned this stylized notation (which obviously could serve as a model for an untrained scribe) to replace it with one that could be confused as the work of one of his students. It is, of course at least as likely that a student of Piperinus would acquire some features of his master's hand as he himself became more adept.

> tiva, Choralis, Mensuralis, Plana etc..) and thereby neglect the art of singing in each lesson. When students are older, they are certainly able to read about these things themselves.....In conclusion, I shall instruct your son in such a way that, with divine kindness supporting us, he will with little labor and in a short time begin to sing according to the art.[36]

That F IX 32-35 is the set of four partbooks described by Piperinus in this letter (as first suggested by Arnold Geering)[37] is without question. Following the law of the letter the tenor partbook contains 14 gatherings of paper along with a compendium of musical rudiments pertaining to singing. These simple and necessary rules were copied by Piperinus himself, as we have already demonstrated. Furthermore, all four partbooks were inscribed to Basilius by Piperinus and dated 13 November 1546, that is the day after this letter was written. Finally, the watermark evidence shows that two of the partbooks are made up of the paper found in this letter.

Having identified the actual circumstances under which F IX 32-35 was compiled, we obviously have been afforded a rare opportunity to reconstruct a few private music lessons conducted in Basel in the mid-sixteenth century. The disposition of these lessons, as evidenced by the contents of the letter and partbooks, could be summarized as follows:

Lesson No. 1: 12th of November 1546 (probably at Piperinus' home/studio)[38]

a) Piperinus demonstrates to the thirteen-year-old Basilius a few of the basic principles of music. Although Piperinus did not reveal in his letter which principles were actually discussed, it would seem a reasonable inference that the rudiments of music copied by Piperinus at the beginning of the tenor partbook were probably those taught at this lesson.
b) Piperinus gave Basilius his first homework assignment: to construct four partbooks from clean paper, with each containing 12 quaternions except for the tenor, which should contain 14. (The extra two gatherings in the tenor partbook would accommodate those principles of music which Piperinus believed were necessary to teach Basilius the art of singing).
c) Piperinus writes the above-quoted letter informing Basilius' father as to what was accomplished at the lesson, and, at the same time, to notify him of Basilius' homework assignment; thus implying that Piperinus was receiving payment for these lessons and/or that Bonifacius was personally concerned about his son's musical education. The folded and sealed *Brief* was probably given to Basilius, with instructions to deliver it to his father.

36 The author's translation of this letter is based on the edition prepared by Alfred Hartmann in Volume 6 of *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, no. 2876, p.350. For a reproduction of the letter, see Figure 4.9

37 Geering, *Vokalmusik*, 88.

38 That this lesson was conducted at Piperinus' home or "work place," (and not at the Amerbach home) is suggested by the opening line of Piperinus' letter: "your son was with me today, and I demonstrated to him a few basic principles of music." Furthermore, the letter establishes that this lesson was the first which Basilius received from Piperinus. This is clearly evident from such lines and phrases as: "I demonstrated to him a few basic principles of music..." or "I shall instruct your son in such a way...".

Homework Assignment: 12/13 Nov. 1546 (probably at the Amerbach home "Zum Kaiserstuhl", on the *Rheingasse* in Klein Basel).

a) Using 50 sheets of clean paper (probably provided by Piperinus himself), Basilius attempts to collate F IX 32-35 according to his teacher's instructions.[38] However, rather than producing three partbooks of 12 quaternios each (and a tenor with 14), he uses the ternio as his basic building block. In fact, as we saw by examining the manuscript's collation (Table 4.2), the thirteen-year-old Amerbach ended up constructing four partbooks which fell short of his teacher's expectations: that is, while the tenor contains 14 gatherings, the discant and bass volumes check in with only 11; the altus with 13.

b) Basilius sews the loose gatherings together and binds each volume in parchment covers taken from a 14th-century juridical manuscript, a source presumably owned by his father, who from 1524 until his death in 1562 taught law at the University of Basel.[40]

Lesson No. 2: 13 Nov. 1546 (Piperinus' home/studio?).

a) Basilius presents the four blank, yet bound partbooks to his teacher, who then

b) writes into the tenor partbook the various rudiments of music (which he discussed with Basilius on the previous day),

c) copies the manuscript's initial 11 compositions and

d) enters the dated *Ex Libris* of Basilius (13 November 1546) on the title page of each partbook.

Working from the assumption that Basilius was present while Piperinus entered the manuscript's initial layer, it would seem a reasonable inference that Piperinus took this opportunity to review some of the musical precepts which he discussed with Basilius the day before, and showed Basilius how to copy music, – a skill certainly part of any musical education.[41]

Lesson No. 3: (exact date unknown).

Working under the supervision of Piperinus, Basilius (= S2a) trys his hand at music copying (pieces 12a-15). These pieces are crudely and inconsistently notated, as well as riddled with copying errors.

Lesson No. 4: (exact date unknown).

Basilius (= S2b) enters four more compositions into F IX 32-35 (nos. 16-19). Again each composition not only contains a text incipit entered by Piperinus but is also ruled using Piperinus' rastrum. Compared with Basilius' initial copying attempts (nos. 12a-15), the appearance and accuracy of his notational hand has improved noticeably.

39 Although Piperinus did not reveal in the letter that he had given Basilius the necessary sheets of paper to carry out the assignment, the fact that two of the partbooks are copied on the paper used by Piperinus for this letter strongly suggests that he did. That Piperinus compiled music books for Basilius by using paper from his own private stock will be supported later when we examine two other manuscripts owned by Basilius, copied by Piperinus and made-up of papers found in other Piperinus correspondence.

40 Of course, it is possible that Piperinus himself sewed the gatherings (collated by Basilius) together. Yet, if that were the case, one cannot help question why Piperinus did not revise the unbound/blank gathering into the quaternions which he requested.

41 Given the extremely neat appearance of Piperinus' music and text hand, one could suggest that he spent at least a couple of hours copying the material. Assuming that Basilius was indeed present at this lesson, and that his attention span was not much greater than that of any thirteen-year-old boy living today, I would suspect that this second lesson concluded soon after Piperinus completed the layer.

Lesson(s) No. 5 and following: (exact date(s) unknown).
As in the previous lessons, Piperinus continues to prepare pages for Basilius to copy. The 11 compositions (nos. 20-31) entered by Basilius (=S2c) at this stage are clearly more advanced (both in terms of their musical difficulty and their paleographical appearance) than those copied by Basilius earlier, thus implying that Piperinus' teaching methods were sucessful.

If my calculations are correct, Piperinus brought his student Basilius from ground zero in his musical education (12 Nov. 1546) to singing (at least with solmization syllables) the chanson repertory of Sermisy and his contemporaries within a six month period, namely sometime before Piperinus left Basel in the summer of 1547. To this end, Piperinus told Bonifacius that he would exclude many of the rules often taught by other music teachers. If the theoretical writings found in the tenor partbook are those which Piperinus thought were absolutely essential for Basilius' education, a closer look at these writings would be appropriate.

Among the nine pages of theory (F IX 33, fols.5r-9r), nine deal with solmization. This is taken up methodically, beginning with the syllables in the gamut, their formation into the three hexachords, and hexachord mutation. While these issues were clearly explained and adequately illustrated, several traditional aspects of solmization teaching are noticeably absent from Piperinus' primer. There is, for example, no mention of melodic intervals, modes, or psalm tones. Moreover, the Guidonian hand, found in almost every musical treatise of the Renaissance, is omitted. That Piperinus would have regarded this medieval pedagogic device as unnecessary is not surprising in light of his commitment to reducing theoretical jargon to its lowest common denominator.

Having shown Basilius how to sing at sight, Piperinus then turned his student's attention to the notational system of *musica figurata*. Again Piperinus presents Basilius with only the simplest and most necessary rules: an explication (in table form) only of note values, rests, and mensuration signs, supplemented with the remark that the semibreve always receives a whole beat ("semibrevis integrum tactum"). Rules regarding coloration, augmentation and diminution of note values, imperfection and alteration, syncopation and proportions are missing completely. At the same time, it should be noted that none of the pieces in F IX 32-35 is notated with such devices. On the other hand, many of the compositions in F IX 32-35 contain ligatures and points of addition, and yet Piperinus did not provide a written explanation of these notational devices either. Obviously, Piperinus must have taken the time to acquaint Basilius with these symbols. Indeed, since several of the pages immediately following the theoretical writings were left blank, I suspect that Piperinus intended to copy here his rules regarding ligatures and *puncti divisionis*.

Since F IX 32-35 clearly documents Basilius' initial music lessons with Piperinus, other manuscripts which can be shown to have been owned by Basilius and copied by Piperinus on the same papers should reflect the contents of subsequent lessons, or at least supplementary teaching material.

Basel University Library MS kk IV 23-27

Contents. This set of five partbooks, measuring 15.5 X 20 cm, consists of three distinct layers bound together in their original sixteenth-century parchment covers.[42] The first, and by far the largest, layer is a printed book, a copy of the fifth edition of Johann Walter's *Wittembergisch deudsch geistlich Gesangbüchlein* (RISM, 1544[71]), a pedagogic collection of sacred polyphonic songs and motets from which (as we have seen) Piperinus copied 5 compositions into F IX 32-35.[43] That it was this set of printed partbooks which Piperinus used as teaching material for Basilius can be proposed by examining its handwritten inscriptions. As shown in Plate 4.2, the title page of the tenor partbook carries two *Ex Libris* of Basilius Amerbach: one copied by Piperinus ("Sum Basilij Amerbachij Basiliensis") and the another entered in Basilius' hand and dated 31 December 1546 ("Basilij Amerbachij Basileiensis Anno 1547. / Pridie Calend. Januarij"), a date ostensibly recording when Basilius acquired the partbooks from his teacher.[44]

The second layer also consists of a printed set of five partbooks associated with Luther and his disciples, namely Gaspar Othmayr's musical elegies on the death of Martin Luther: *Epitaphium D. Martini Lutheri* (RISM O259). These pieces, unlike those printed in the Walter songbook, are fine essays of imitative writing and indeed are often regarded as Othmayr's finest work.[45]

The third layer, hitherto unknown,[46] comprises a manuscript appendix of two German sacred songs, each composed in a style characteristic of the polyphonic lieder printed in the Walter songbook: the tenor proceeds in long notes (occasionally broken up into short figures), while the other voices move freely, in a more animated fashion, above and below it. As shown in Inventory E, neither song carries an attribution nor is concordant with any known printed or manuscript sources.[47] While the authorship of these *unica* will, for the present, have to remain unknown, the circumstances under which they were copied can be resolved.

42 The bindings are made-up of remnants taken from a liturgical manuscript (kk IV 23: Joh.2, 13-22) copied in a 14th/15th-century German gothic script. The outer covers, each dyed in black, are heavily worn and rubbed. The text of each inner cover was not blackened, yet they too are difficult to read today because of their pasted endsheets. Notwithstanding the linen strip glued over the spine of kk IV 25, the bindings are in their original state.

43 The Walter anthology of 1544 (RISM 1544[71]) and its other five editions (see above, fn.1) have been catalogued and edited on several occasions. For an inventory of their musical and textual incipits, see Norbert Böker-Heil, *Das Tenorlied, op. cit., passim.* All of the music of the 1550 edition has been transcribed by Otto Schröder in: *Johann Walter, Sämtliche Werke*, vol.1, (Kassel/Basel, 1931).

44 The price of the partbooks (27 schillings) is recorded on the title page of the tenor volume, in the lower-left-hand corner (see Plate 4.2). As to the approximate value of a shilling in Basel at this time, see Paul Burckhardt ed., *Basler Chroniken* (Basel, 1945), 447-449.

45 For an edition and discussion of this music published in Nuremberg by Montani & Neuber in 1546, see Hans Albrecht (ed.), *Caspar Othmayr. Ausgewählte Werke* (=EDM, Vol.26, 1956), nos.12 and 13.

46 When Julius Richter described kk IV 23-27 nearly 100 years ago (*Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, vol.22, 1892, 10-11), he made no mention of the fact that each volume was supplemented with a manuscript appendix.

47 I would like to take this opportunity to thank cordially Mr. Jerry Call (Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies at the University of Illinois) who checked his inventories for concordances to these two pieces.



Plate 4.2. Title page of Johann Walter's *Wittembergisch deudsch Geistlich Gesangbüchlein* (*RISM* 1544[7]) with dated *ex libris* of Basilius Amerbach (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. kk IV 23)

Paper. The manuscript appendix and the flyleaves glued down to the binding's inner-covers consist of two paper types, each unquestionably of Basel origin. The paper appearing in four of the partbooks consists of a pair of Basel croziers (Paper Type 4; see KatK, 450: Abb.79-80). Although the mark does not resemble any of those recorded in the standard watermark catalogues, it may well have been in use around 1546/47, for the other paper in these books is Paper Type 1, used by Piperinus and Basilius to prepare the tenor and bass partbooks of F IX 32-35.

Collation/Foliation. In keeping with the size and format of its printed companions, the manuscript appendix was folded and cut into oblong quarto format. In 1985, it was foliated in pencil by the present author. The single flyleaf found in the front of each partbook was assigned a roman number, the manuscript appendix arabic. The collation and distribution of the manuscript's two papers are as follows:

kk IV 23 (Tenor):	1 fol. + Printed books + 16 fols.	
Gatherings:	1 Bifolio = fol.I +	Paper 1
	Printed songbooks +	
	1 Quaternio = fols.1-8 +	Paper 4
	1 (Quinio-1 leaf) = fols.9-back paste-down	Paper 1/4
Remarks:	Front paste-down and folio I are conjugate. After folio 8 one leaf has been torn out. Watermark 1b appears on folios I and 15/16. Watermark 4a on folios 11/12, 4b on folios 5/6 and 7/8.	
kk IV 24 (Discant):	1 fol. + Printed books + 16 fols.	
Gatherings:	1 Bifolio = fol.I +	Paper 1
	Printed songbooks +	
	1 Quaternio = fols.1-8 +	Paper 4
	1 (Quinio – 1 leaf) = fols.9-back paste-down	Paper 1/4
Remarks:	Front paste-down and folio I are conjugate. After folio 8 one leaf has been torn out. Watermark 1b appears on folios 15/16. Folio I is without a mark, yet (in view of its chain-line measurements) consists of Paper Type 1. Watermark 4a appears on folios 1/2; 4b on folios 5/6 and 15/16.	
kk IV 25 (Altus):	I fol. + Printed books + 16 folios.	
Gatherings:	1 Binio = fol.I +	Paper 1
	Printed songbooks +	
	1 Quaternio = fols.1-8 +	Paper 4
	1 (Quinio – 1 leaf) = fols.9 – back paste-down	Paper 4
Remarks:	Front paste-down and folio I are conjugate. After folio 8 one leaf has been torn out. Watermark 1a appears on folio I, Watermark 4a on folios 5/6 and 15/16, Watermark 4b on folios 1/2 and 13/14.	
kk IV 26 (Bassus):	I fol. + Printed books + 16 folios.	
Gatherings:	1 Binio = fol.I +	Paper 1
	Printed songbooks +	
	1 Quaternio = fols.1-8 +	Paper 4
	1 (Quinio – 1 leaf) = fols.9 – back paste-down	Paper 4

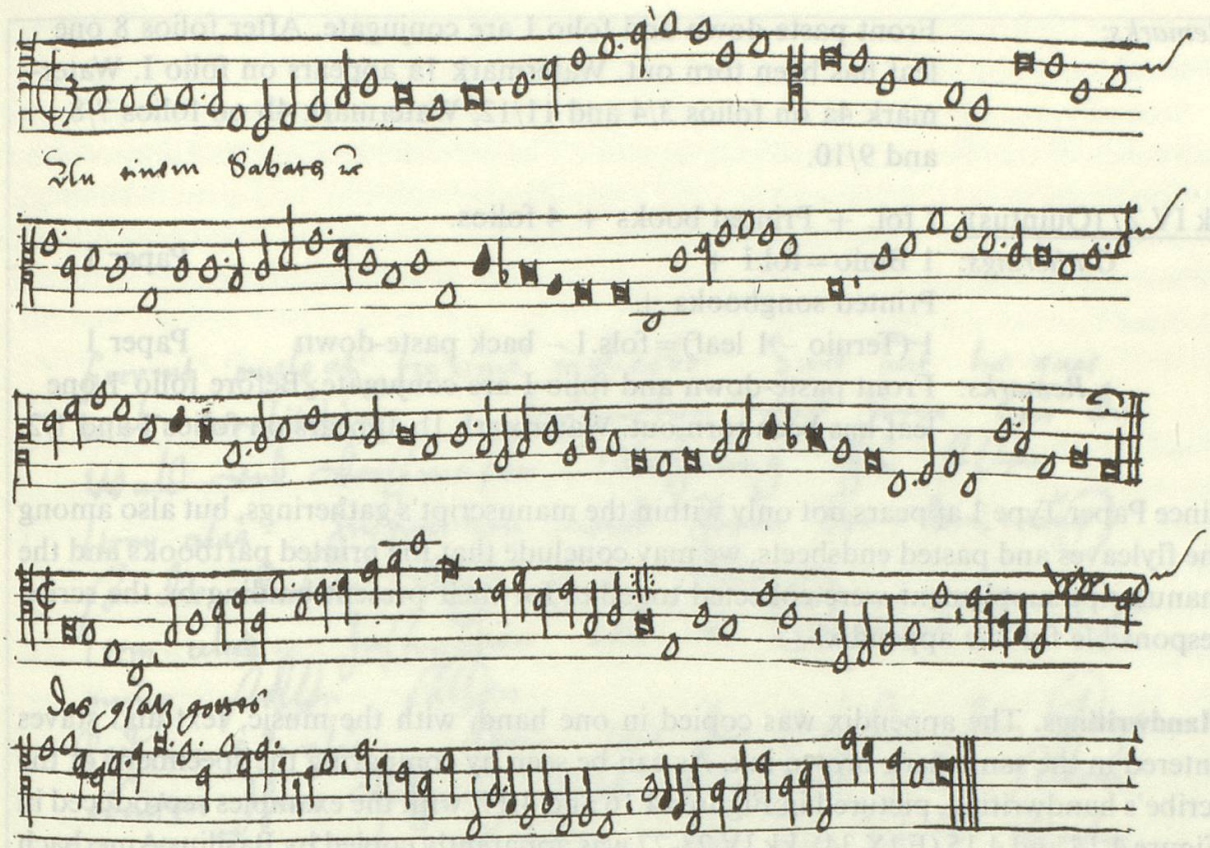


Figure 4.16. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2c (Anonymous. *An einem Sabath morgens fru*, CH-Bu kk IV 25, fol.2r)

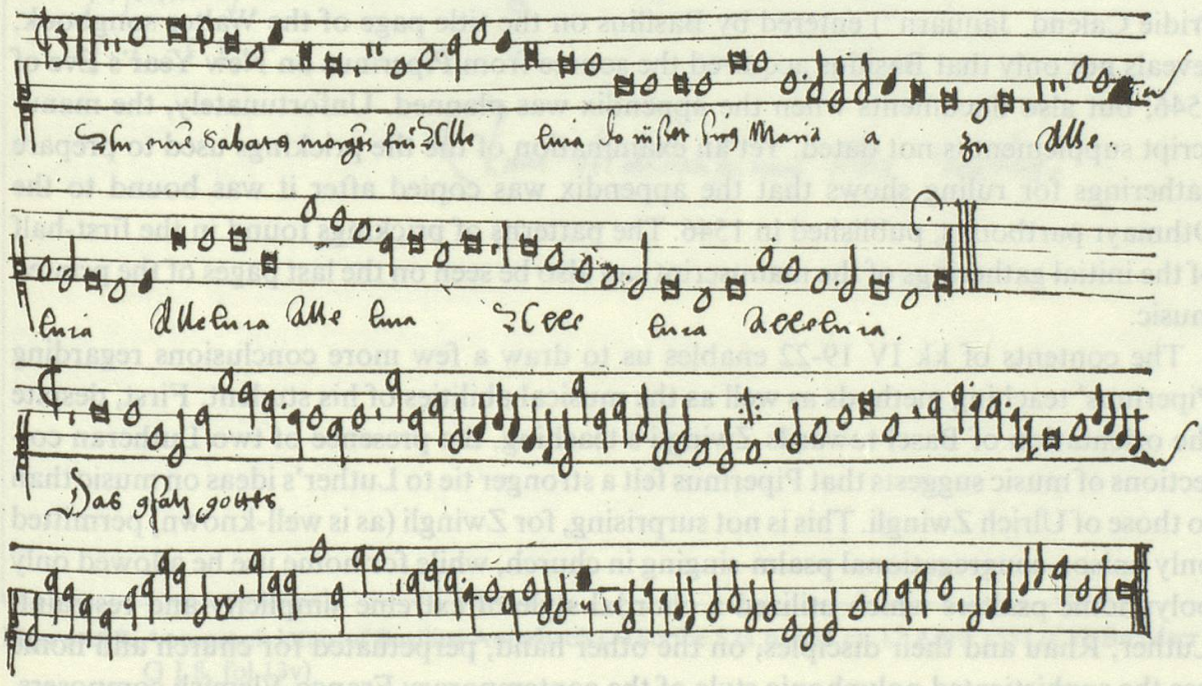


Figure 4.17. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2c (Anonymous. *An einem Sabath morgens fru*, CH-Bu kk IV 24, fol.2r)

Remarks: Front paste-down and folio I are conjugate. After folios 8 one leaf has been torn out. Watermark 1a appears on folio I. Watermark 4a on folios 3/4 and 11/12; Watermark 4b on folios 7/8 and 9/10.

kk IV 27 (Quintus): I fol. + Printed books + 4 folios.

Gatherings: 1 Binio = fol.I + Paper 1
Printed songbooks +
1 (Ternio – 1 leaf) = fols.1 – back paste-down Paper 1

Remarks: Front paste-down and folio I are conjugate. Before folio 1 one leaf has been torn out. Watermark 1b appears on folios I and 1/2.

Since Paper Type 1 appears not only within the manuscript's gatherings, but also among the flyleaves and pasted endsheets, we may conclude that the printed partbooks and the manuscript supplement were collected together for their present binding by the scribe responsible for the appendix.

Handwritings. The appendix was copied in one hand, with the music, text and staves entered in the same dark brown ink. As can be seen by comparing the specimens of the scribe's handwriting, pictured in Figures 4.16 and 4.17, with the examples reproduced in Figure 4.14 and 4.15 (F IX 34), kk IV 23-27 was apparently copied by Basilius Amerbach and ruled using Piperinus' rastrum. Aside from the similar clefs (Figure 4.16, initial clef), the notational ductus in kk IV 23-27 is virtually identical with that in Figure 4.15. The text hand of kk IV 23-27 (Figure 4.16 & 4.17) also corresponds with Amerbach's hand: see the autograph reproduced in Figure 4.18, and note especially the highlighted examples (upper-case letter *A*; two forms of the lower-case *g*; and the *st* and *lle* contructions).

As we have seen, kk IV 23-27 and F IX 32-35 share the same paper, handwriting and rastrum, implying that kk IV 23-27 was copied and bound for Basilius at about the same time as F IX 32-35 (November/December 1546). In fact, I suspect that the date ("1547 Pridie Calend. Januarii") entered by Basilius on the title page of the Walter songbook, reveals not only that Basilius acquired the source from Piperinus on New Year's Eve of 1546, but also documents when the appendix was planned. Unfortunately, the manuscript supplement is not dated. Yet an examination of the the prickings used to prepare gatherings for ruling shows that the appendix was copied after it was bound to the Othmayr partbooks, published in 1546. The patterns of prickings found in the first-half of the initial gatherings of the manuscript can also be seen on the last pages of the printed music.

The contents of kk IV 19-22 enables us to draw a few more conclusions regarding Piperinus' teaching methods as well as the musical abilities of his student. First, despite the orientation of Basel towards Zwingli's teaching, the presence of two Lutheran collections of music suggests that Piperinus felt a stronger tie to Luther's ideas on music than to those of Ulrich Zwingli. This is not surprising, for Zwingli (as is well-known) permitted only unison congregational psalm-singing in church, while for home use he allowed only polyphonic psalters which utilized a chordal style of extreme simplicity and restraint. Luther, Rhau and their disciples, on the other hand, perpetuated for church and home use the sophisticated polyphonic style of the contemporary Franco-Flemish composers. In the light of the repertory preserved in F IX 32-35 and the contents of kk IV 23-27, it is

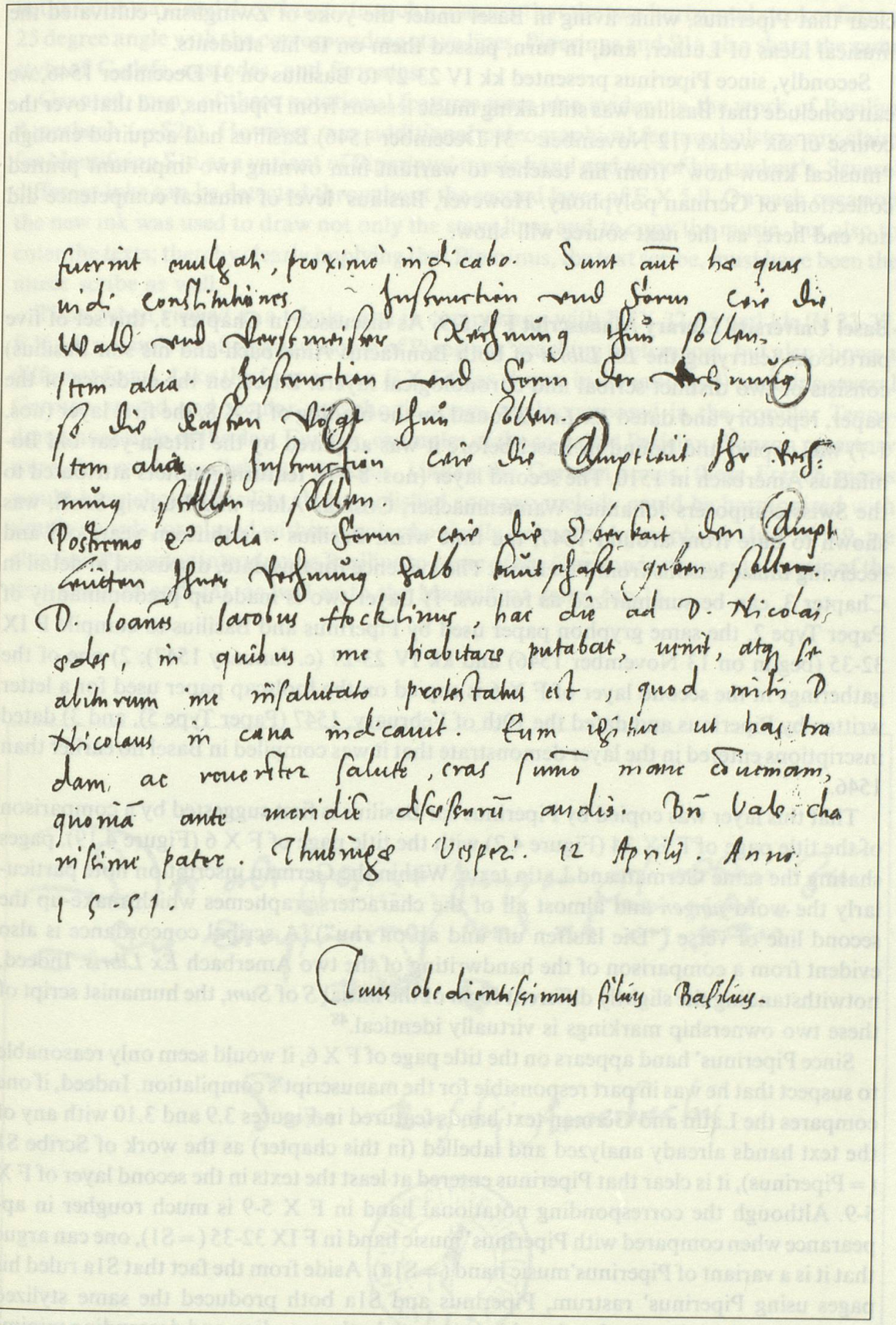


Figure 4.18. Autograph letter of Basilius Amerbach (= Scribe S2a,b, and c), 12 April 1551 (CH-Bu Mscr. G I 8, fol.13v)

clear that Piperinus, while living in Basel under the yoke of Zwinglism, cultivated the musical ideas of Luther, and, in turn, passed them on to his students.

Secondly, since Piperinus presented kk IV 23-27 to Basilius on 31 December 1546, we can conclude that Basilius was still taking music lessons from Piperinus, and that over the course of six weeks (12 November – 31 December 1546) Basilius had acquired enough "musical know-how" from his teacher to warrant him owning two important printed collections of German polyphony. However, Basilius' level of musical competence did not end here, as the next source will show.

Basel University Library Manuscript F X 5-9. As discussed in Chapter 3, this set of five partbooks (carrying the *Ex Libris* of both Bonifacius Amerbach and his son Basilius) consists of two distinct scribal and chronological layers. Based on the evidence of the paper, repertory and dated *Ex Libris* found on the binding of F X 8, the first layer (nos. 1-7) was copied and bound in Basel before it was acquired by the fifteen-year-old Bonifacius Amerbach in 1510. The second layer (nos. 8-39), featuring motets attributed to the Swiss composers Johannes Wannenmacher, Cosmas Alder and Ludwig Senfl, was shown to date from around 1547, the time when Basilius was thirteen years old and receiving music lessons from Piperinus. The evidence for this date, discussed in detail in Chapter 3, can be summarized as follows: 1) Layer two is made-up predominantly of Paper Type 2, the same gryphon paper used by Piperinus and Basilius to compile F IX 32-35 (begun on 13 November 1546) and kk IV 23-27 (c. January 1547); 2) one of the gatherings in the second layer of F X 6 is copied on the foolscap paper used for a letter written by Piperinus and dated the 10th of February, 1547 (Paper Type 5), and 3) dated inscriptions entered in the layer demonstrate that it was compiled in Basel no earlier than 1546.

That this layer was copied by Piperinus for Basilius is first suggested by a comparison of the title page of F IX 34 (Figure 4.2) with the title page of F X 6 (Figure 4.19), pages sharing the same German and Latin texts. Within the German inscription note particularly the word *jungen* and almost all of the characters/graphemes which make-up the second line of verse ("Die lauffen uff und ab on rhu"). A scribal concordance is also evident from a comparison of the handwriting of the two Amerbach *Ex Libris*. Indeed, notwithstanding the slightly different form of the initial *S* of *Sum*, the humanist script of these two ownership markings is virtually identical.[48]

Since Piperinus' hand appears on the title page of F X 6, it would seem only reasonable to suspect that he was in part responsible for the manuscript's compilation. Indeed, if one compares the Latin and German text hands featured in Figures 3.9 and 3.10 with any of the text hands already analyzed and labelled (in this chapter) as the work of Scribe S1 (= Piperinus), it is clear that Piperinus entered at least the texts in the second layer of F X 5-9. Although the corresponding notational hand in F X 5-9 is much rougher in appearance when compared with Piperinus' music hand in F IX 32-35 (= S1), one can argue that it is a variant of Piperinus'music hand (= S1a). Aside from the fact that S1a ruled his pages using Piperinus' rastrum, Piperinus and S1a both produced the same stylized semibreve and minim note heads, added stems to both ascending and descending minims

48 That F X 5-9 and F IX 32-35 were scribally concordant was first noted by Arnold Geering (see above, fns.9 and 10). However, Geering did not specify which of the hands in these manuscripts belonged to Piperinus.

in the same way, and drew breves in such a manner that the two horizontal strokes form a 25 degree angle with the corresponding stave lines. Piperinus and S1a also share the same style of C-clefs, custodes, and fermatas.

Granted, many of these notational features were also evident in the work of Basilius Amerbach (=S2c). However, one additional paleographical feature bolsters my claim for identifying S1a as a variant of Piperinus' music hand and not of his student's. Several different inks can be detected throughout the second layer of F X 5-9. On each occasion the new ink was used to draw not only the stave lines and to copy the music, but also to enter the texts; thereby clearly implying that Piperinus, the text scribe, must have been the music scribe as well.

Thus, when viewed as a whole, and in comparison with F IX 32-35 and kk IV 23-27, F X 5-9 not only confirms with some of Piperinus' teaching preferences, but also shows a different focus. Like the former sets, F X 5-9 (as shown in Inventory C) contains several German sacred and secular polyphonic songs, each composed in the popular Tenor-dominated style of the day. Further, examples of the so-called Parisian chanson repertory were also made available to Basilius. Unlike the German songs, these French pieces would have shown Basilius that a polished soprano melody could be harmonized with simple chords, or placed within a polyphonically animated homophony. In F X 5-9, we also find Piperinus introducing Basilius to some of the German instrumental music of the time (nos. 20 and 23), as well as to the Magnificat genre (no.1).

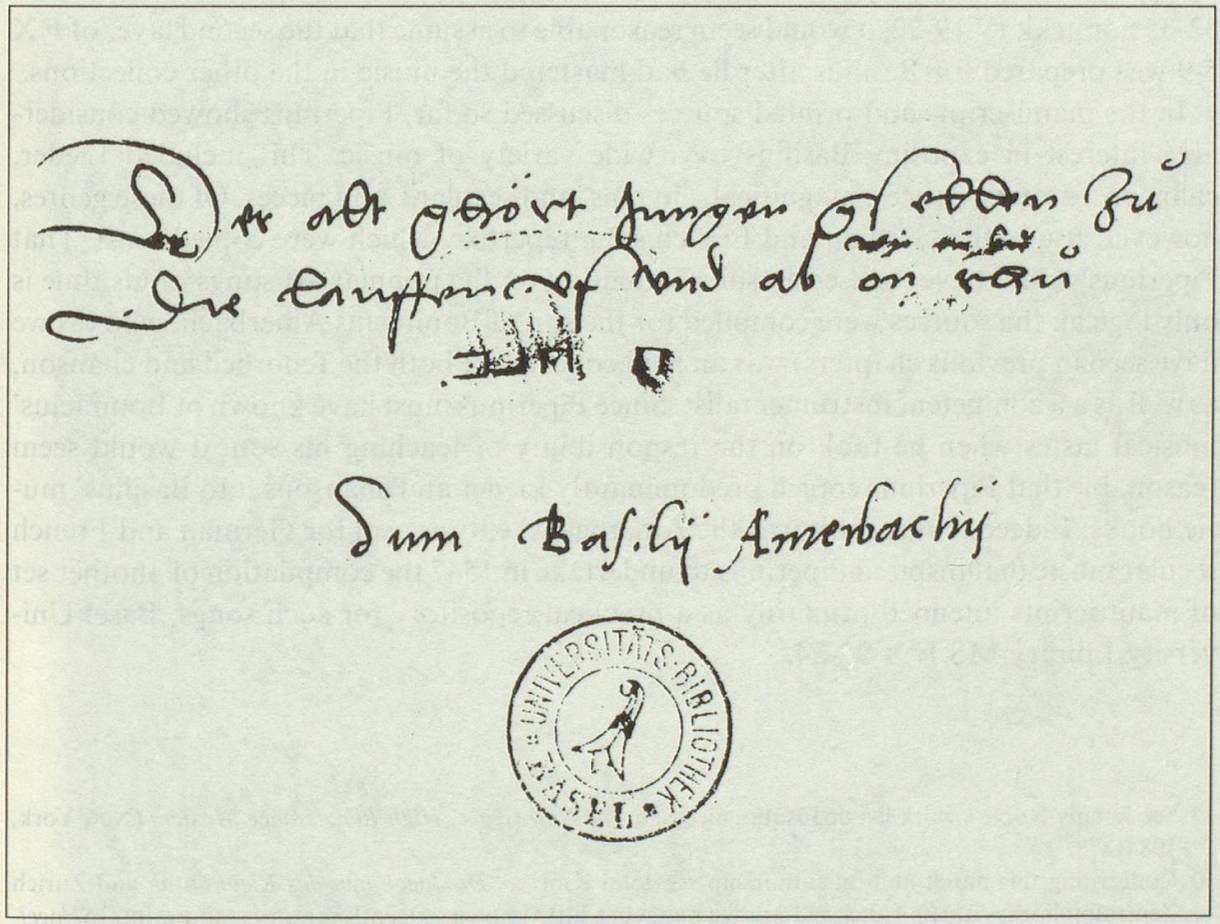


Figure 4.19. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (CH-Bu F X 6, fol.1r)

These dances, chansons and Lieder certainly provided Basilius with further music to learn and to study. Yet, none would have advanced his musical skills; for the level of musical literacy needed to perform these songs is the same that would have been required for any of the compositions in F IX 32-35 and kk IV 23-27. However, it is not these pieces that distinguish F X 5-9 from the other sources: rather it is the nine motets, each composed in a dense polyphonic style utilizing many of the rhetorical and expressive devices employed by composers of the post-Josquin generation in writing music to fit the words. Here are copies of Willaert's *In diebus illis*, Jean de La Fage's *Super flumina Babilonis*, and two settings of *De profundis clamavi*, one by Senfl, the other ascribed to Josquin (though on stylistic grounds probably not by him).[49] Aside from these motets attributed to famous figures, Piperinus also included polyphonic essays (nos.24, 26, 30, 32 and 34) composed by two of his fellow-landsmen, Johannes Wannenmacher and Cosmas Alder, thus suggesting that he wished to instil in Basilius a pride for the contemporary polyphonic sounds composed in his own country, or perhaps merely that he was using some pieces which he happened to have. Included among these five motets are two praising the city of Bern and its musicians (Wannenmacher's *Salve magnificum genus* and Alder's *Floreat Ursine gentis*), as well as a copy of Alder's *Da Jacob nun das Kleid ansah* (no.32), one of the most accomplished polyphonic compositions written by a German-speaker of the post-Josquin era and one frequently misattributed to Ludwig Senfl.[50] The pedagogical value of these motets, however, was not limited to teaching Basilius how text and tone relationships could be handled. Indeed, if Basilius wished to perform these pieces, it would have been necessary for him to have had a good working knowledge of proportions, coloration (at both *modus* and *tempus* levels), and ligatures. Since these more complicated notational symbols were not introduced to him to any great extent in F IX 32-35 nor in kk IV 19-22, it would seem reasonable to assume that the second layer of F X 5-9 was prepared for Basilius after he had mastered the music in the other collections.

In the manuscripts and printed sources discussed so far, Piperinus showed considerable interest in exposing Basilius to a wide variety of music. This included Lieder, chansons, motets, dances, magnificats, hymns, and secular Latin pieces. Of these genres, however, it was the German and French song repertory which were copied most. That Piperinus would have focused Basilius' attention on the popular art songs of his time is only logical: the sources were compiled for the son of Bonifacius Amerbach, who (as we have seen in previous chapters) was an avid collector of both the Tenorlied and chanson, as well as a a competent instrumentalist. Since Piperinus must have known of Bonifacius' musical tastes when he took on the responsibility of teaching his son, it would seem reasonable that Piperinus copied predominantly Lieder and chansons into Basilius' music books. Indeed, I suspect it was the Amerbachs' enthusiasm for German and French secular music that inspired Piperinus to undertake in 1547 the compilation of another set of manuscripts intended primarily as a practical repository for such songs, Basel University Library MS F X 22-24.

49 See Jeremy Noble's work list of Josquin pieces in *The New Grove. High Renaissance Masters* (New York, 1984), 78.

50 Concerning this motet and its authorship see John Kmetz, "*Da Jacob nun das Kleid ansah* and Zurich Zentralbibliothek T 410-413: a well-known motet in a little-known sixteenth-century manuscript," *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, Neue Folge 4/5 (1984/85), 70-74.

Basel University Library MS F X 22-24

This set of three partbooks, lacking the tenor volume, consists of two separate units bound together in their original sixteenth-century covers (see below, Binding). The first represents the only surviving copy of Christian Egenolff's *Reutterliedlin* (RISM 1535[11]).[51] This collection of thirty-eight "knightly" songs, although printed in the 1530s, preserves a German Tenorlied repertory mostly dating from the turn of the century. Aside from the musical backwardness of the collection, the partbooks' single-impression typography is extremely crude. Unlike the music published by Attaingnant using the same method, Egenolff's work suffers from faulty inking, disjunct stave alignment and bad registration. The poor quality of Egenolff's print could be symptomatic of his lack of experience in this specialized printing field. Yet, given the fact that these books fall far beneath the high standards of Egenolff's printing skill as demonstrated in his non-musical publications, it would seem that the poor quality of the music books was a reflection of a desire to price the volumes competitively, to reach a specific market – namely students or struggling musicians. Indeed, the dated *Ex Libris* found on the title page of the discant partbook shows that Basilius owned the print when he was fourteen years old.[52]

While the first layer supports the theory that Basilius was fond of the German Tenorlied repertory, the contents of second layer shows that he was equally enamoured with the French chanson as well. This layer, comprising a manuscript appendix of 49 compositions, was copied entirely by one scribe, who consecutively numbered in ink all but the last of his entries. As shown in Inventory F, the manuscript contains 34 French secular songs, 6 German secular pieces, 4 dances, 1 motet, 1 German sacred piece and 1 Latin/Italian secular composition. Unlike the three sources already discussed in this Chapter, F X 22-24 supplies only text incipits to all of the compositions, thereby suggesting that its music was intended for instrumental usage: if one accepts the notion that the absence of text is an indication of performance practice.[53] Only six attributions are found in the manuscript: two pieces are ascribed to Senfl, and one each to Dietrich, Othmayr, Josquin and Isaac. Concordances, however, enable us to attribute twenty-four pieces to Certon (1 piece), Godard (1), Hesdin (1) Janequin (1) Josquin (1), Le Heurteur (1), Maillard (1), Renez (1), Sandrin (2), Sermisy (12), Villiers (1) and Walter (1). However, as seen in Inventory F, not every one of these attributions is trustworthy.

Paper. As shown in Table 4.3, the manuscript appendix and the flyleaves inserted in the front of each partbook are made-up (with the exception of one gathering) of Paper Type 2, the same paper we have already encountered in F IX 32-35, kk IV 19-22 and F X 5-9. The anomalous gathering was copied on Paper Type 5. This paper was used by Piperinus to supplement Paper Type 2 in F X 5-9 and for a letter written by him on the 10th of

51 On Egenolff and his musical prints, see Nanie Bridgman, "Christian Egenolff, Imprimeur de Musique," *Annales Musicologiques*, III (1955), 88-177.

52 Although this *Ex Libris* was crossed out in ink, it can be easily retrieved with the assistance of ultra-violet light: "Basilii Amerbachii Basiliensis 15.48."

53 Such a claim could be supported by the fact that F X 22-4 not only preserves several dances or "dance-like" pieces, but that much of its remaining repertory is concordant with printed sources, whose title pages often carry the remark "apt for voices or instruments."

February, 1547. That the manuscript appendix of F X 22-24 was also compiled in 1547 can be confirmed by the dated inscription found on the title page of its bass partbook. As shown in Figure 4.20, this leaf not only transmits the same verse entered by Piperinus on the title page of F IX 34, but also carries the date 1547.

Both papers have been trimmed to correspond in size with their printed companion. Since these trimmings resulted in a loss of text on several occasions (especially among the attributions), we must conclude that the appendix (compiled in 1547) originally existed as a separate unit from the print (acquired by Basilius in 1548).

That the print and the manuscript supplement were indeed independent before they were bound together can be argued from yet another *Ex Libris* of Basilius Amerbach. This one, found on a flyleaf inserted at the front of the printed matter in F X 22, carries the date 1551, three years after Basilius acquired the Egenolff print, and four years after the manuscript appendix was compiled. Since this *Ex Libris* was copied on the same paper used to assemble the appendix, we can assume that Basilius owned the manuscript in 1551. Yet I am more inclined to believe that the manuscript was in Basilius' possession before 1551, and that this date records when the printed material and the manuscript supplement were bound together. Such a hypothesis would explain why Basilius' dated *Ex Libris* of 1548 (entered on the title page of the print's discant volume) was crossed out.

Foliation/Collation. Like its printed companion, the manuscript appendix was folded and cut into an oblong *sestodecimo* format. The flyleaves, the print and the appendix are foliated consecutively in pencil: Discant: Ir-VII (flyleaves), 1r-25v (print), 26r-65v (appendix); Altus: (no flyleaves), 1r-24v (print), 25r-43v (appendix); Bassus: Ir-VIIv (flyleaves), 1r-24v (print), 25r-63v (appendix).

As is evident from Table 4.3, several leaves are today missing. As in F IX 32-35, most of the excised leaves were taken from blank gatherings situated at the end of books, suggesting that the source was intended for everyday use, as indeed the tiny size of these partbooks also implies.

The remaining leaves removed from the partbooks are, on the other hand, taken from within gatherings which today contain music. Since the compositions in these gatherings are complete in each of the three partbooks, we could conclude that the missing leaves were excised because of copying errors made by the manuscript's scribe. Moreover, since none of these leaves was removed from the same location in each partbook, we can rule out the possibility that entire pieces are today missing. In the light of this evidence, together with the fact that numerous gatherings were left blank at the end of two of the partbooks, it could be argued that the gatherings of F X 22-24 (like the gatherings of F IX 32-34) were assembled and sewn together before the scribe entered any of the music. To suggest otherwise, would force us to offer reasons why the scribe tore out single pages from loose gatherings and yet did not remove the conjugate leaves.[54]

54 Of course, one could retaliate by saying that the scribe did not remove the conjugate leaves because they were already filled with music. Yet, if that were true, these single leaves should have been tipped-into the manuscript and not sewn-in as they are today, as any experienced bookbinder would tell us. Indeed, the only two leaves in F X 22-24 which were tipped-in are folios VII in F X 22 and F X 24, leaves which contain notes copied by Ludwig Sieber, who between 1872 and 1891 was the Director of the University Library's manuscript collection.

Table 4.3. Gathering structure and distribution of papers in CH-Bu F X 22-24

F X 22 (Discantus):	VII + RISM + 65 folios.	
Gatherings:	1 (Ternio + 1 leaf) = fols.I-VII	Paper 2
	RISM = fols.1-24	
	2 Ternios = fols.25-36	Paper 2
	1 Quaternio = fols.37-44	Paper 2
	1 Quaternio = fols.45-52	Paper 5
	1 (Quaternio – 2 leaves) = fols.53-58	Paper 2
	1 (Quaternio – 1 leaf) = fols.59-65	Paper 2
Remarks:	Folio VII is tipped-in. After folio 52, two leaves are torn-out, after folio 65 one leaf. The first and fourth gatherings without a watermark (= fols I-VII and 37-44), yet chain- and laidline measurements demonstrate that they are Paper Type 2. Watermark 2b appears on folios 25/30, 31/36, 32/35, 53/56, 54/55, 59 and 60/65. Watermark 5a on folios 45/52 and 46/51 (= Paper Type 3 in Chapter 3).	
F X 23 (Altus):	RISM + 43 folios.	
Gatherings:	RISM = fols.1-24	
	1 (Ternio – 1 leaf) = fols.25-29	Paper 2
	1 (Quaternio – 1 leaf) = fols.30-36	Paper 2
	1 (Quaternio – 1 leaf) = fols.37-43	Paper 2
Remarks:	Before folio 25 and after folio 42, one leaf is missing. After folio 35 one leaf has been torn-out. None of the gatherings contains a watermark, yet chain and laid-line measurements show that they are Paper Type 2.	
F X 24 (Bassus):	VII + RISM + 63 folios.	
Gatherings:	1 (Ternio + 1 leaf) = fols.I-VII	Paper 2
	RISM = fols.1-24	
	1 Ternio = fols.25-30	Paper 2
	1 Quaternio = fols.31-38	Paper 2
	1 Ternio = fols.39-44	Paper 2
	1 (Quaternio – 2 leaves) = fols.45-50	Paper 2
	1 (Quaternio – 1 leaf) = fols.51-57	Paper 2
	1 (Quaternio – 2 leaves) = fols.58-63	Paper 2
Remarks:	Folio VII is tipped-in. After folio 50, three leaves have been torn-out, after folio 63 two leaves. The first, third, fifth, sixth and seventh gatherings are without a watermark, yet (based on their chain and laid-line measurements) they are all made-up of Paper Type 2. Watermark 2a appears on folios 40/43 and 41/42, Watermark 2b on folios 26/29 and 27/38.	

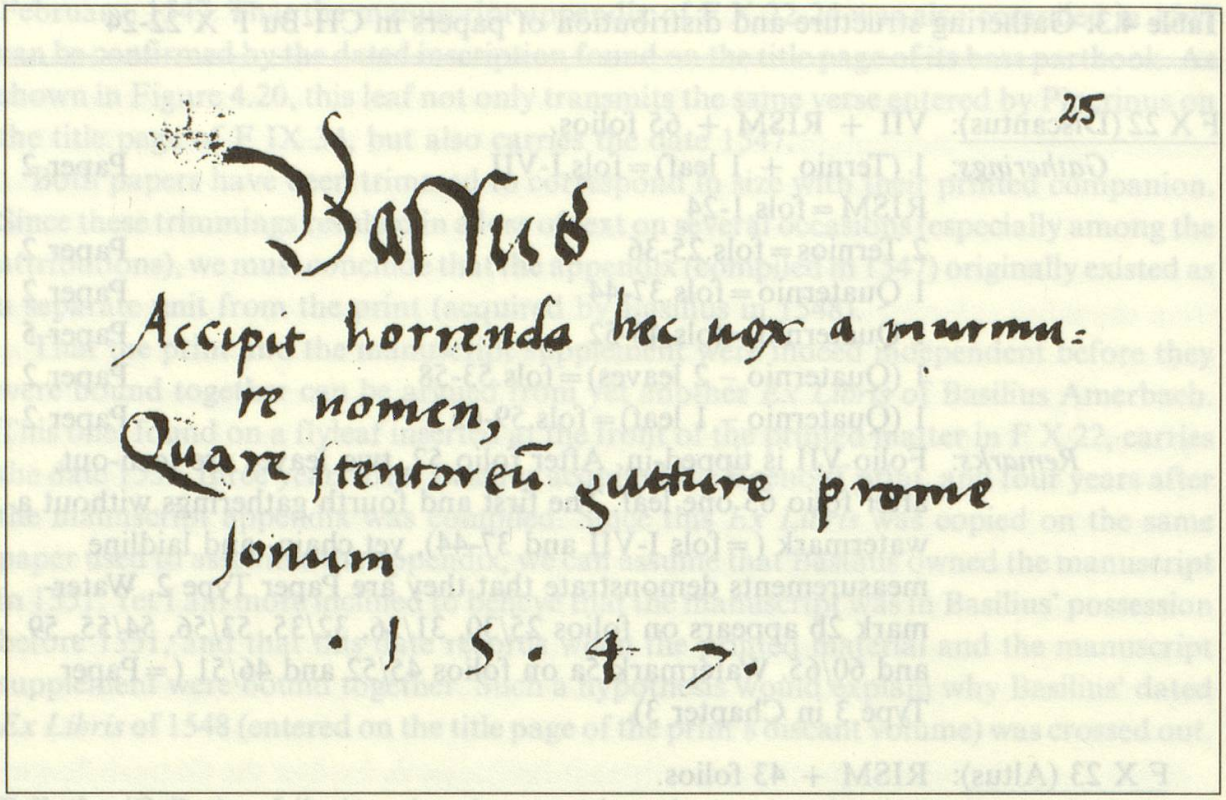


Figure 4.20. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2 (CH-Bu F X 24, fol.25r)

Binding. The parchment bindings of F X 22 and 24, apparently dating from 1551, consist of remnants taken from a Bible in folio format and copied in a 14/15th-century German gothic bookhand. (The text on the front cover of F X 24 is from Matthew 12. 43). The appropriate voice designation, found on the front of each cover, was entered by two scribes: the initial "D" of "Discant" (= F X 22) and "B" of "Bassus" (= F X 24) were copied in a majuscule script presumably by Basilius Amerbach; the remaining letters were added by Ludwig Sieber (UB Librarian 1871-1891), who was also responsible for the signatures on the cover of each partbook. The call number on the spine of the discant, however, is in the hand of the seventeenth-century Basel Librarian, Johannes Zwinger.

F X 23 is also bound in parchment, yet its cover would appear to have been added later. Unlike the rough grayish hides of F X 22 and 24, its parchment is white in color, smooth in texture, and extremely clean, showing little or no evidence of usage. Moreover, the voice designation found on its front cover ("Altus") was not copied by two individuals, living three hundred years apart, but rather by one, Ludwig Sieber. Admittedly it is possible that Basilius Amerbach, while entering the initial letter of each voice part on the other two covers, did not do the same here. However, even if this were true, the fact that the parchment of F X 23 is not only different from the rest, but also appears hardly ever to have been used suggests that the binding of F X 23 is relatively recent, presumably dating from the time of Ludwig Sieber.[55]

55 That F X 23 was unbound for quite some time is also suggested by the condition of its printed title page. Unlike the corresponding pages in the other partbooks, the title page of the Egenolff print in F X 23 is extremely dirty and filled with pen-trials.

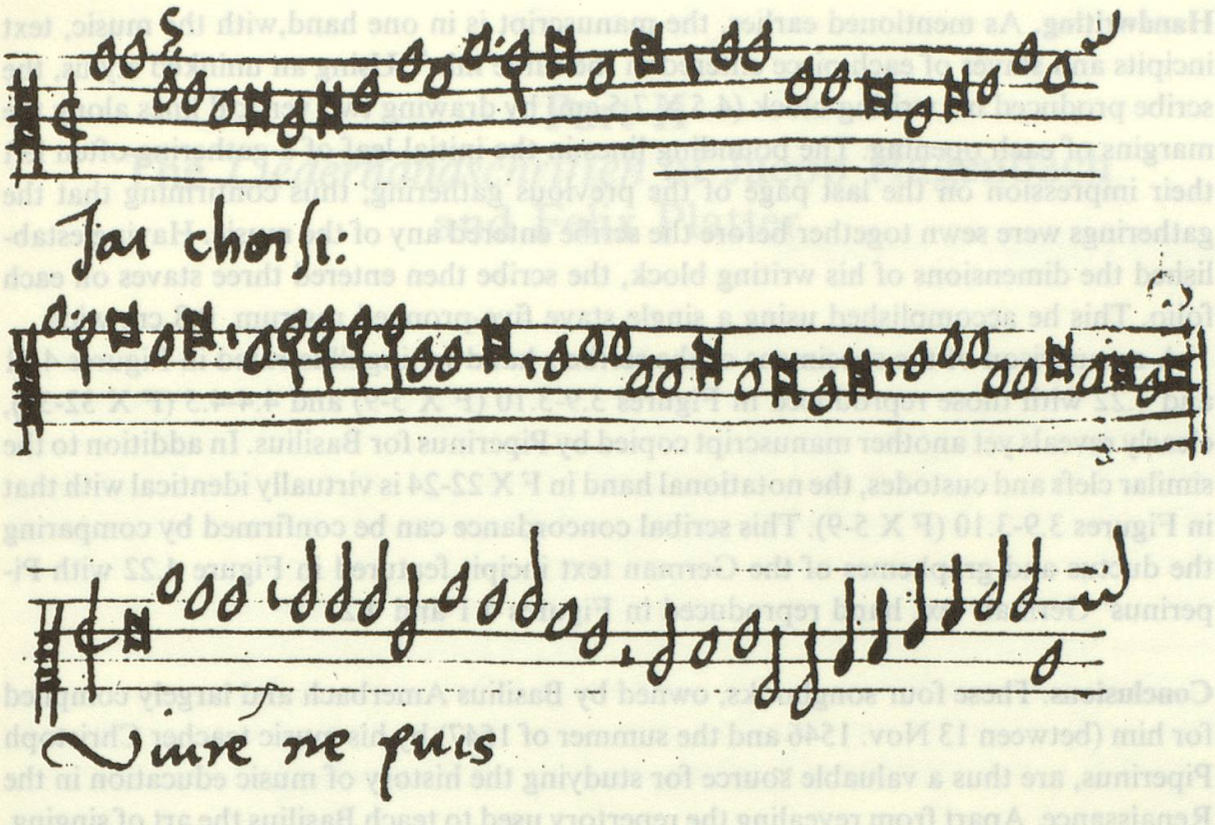


Figure 4.21. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1a (Anonymous. *Ja choisi*; Claudin de Sermisy. *Vivre ne puis*, CH-Bu F X 23, fol.25v)

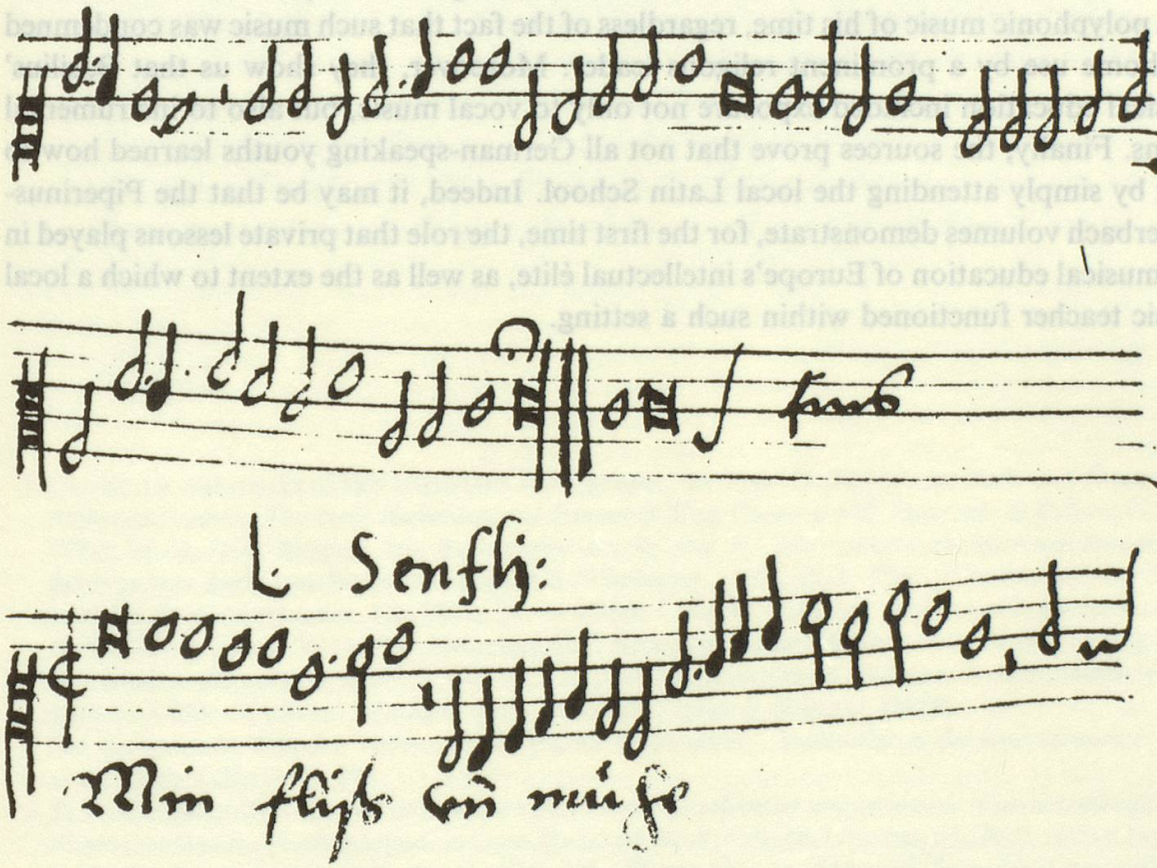


Figure 4.22. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1a (Claudin de Sermisy. *Vivre ne puis*; Ludwig Senfl. *Min fliss und mühe*, CH-Bu F X 23, fol.26r)

Handwriting. As mentioned earlier, the manuscript is in one hand,with the music, text incipits and staves of each piece entered in the same ink.[56] Using an uninked stylus, the scribe produced his writing block (4.5 X 7.5 cm) by drawing two vertical lines along the margins of each opening. The bounding lines in the initial leaf of a gathering often left their impression on the last page of the previous gathering; thus confirming that the gatherings were sewn together before the scribe entered any of the music. Having established the dimensions of his writing block, the scribe then entered three staves on each folio. This he accomplished using a single stave five-pronged rastrum, 0.8 cm wide.

A comparison of the specimens of the scribe's handwriting illustrated in Figures 4.21 and 4.22 with those reproduced in Figures 3.9-3.10 (F X 5-9) and 4.4-4.5 (F X 32-35), clearly reveals yet another manuscript copied by Piperinus for Basilius. In addition to the similar clefs and custodes, the notational hand in F X 22-24 is virtually identical with that in Figures 3.9-3.10 (F X 5-9). This scribal concordance can be confirmed by comparing the ductus and graphemes of the German text incipit featured in Figure 4.22 with Piperinus' German text hand reproduced in Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

Conclusions. These four songbooks, owned by Basilius Amerbach and largely compiled for him (between 13 Nov. 1546 and the summer of 1547) by his music teacher Christoph Piperinus, are thus a valuable source for studying the history of music education in the Renaissance. Apart from revealing the repertory used to teach Basilius the art of singing, the partbooks (taken together with archival documentation) shed light on Piperinus' teaching methods, and thus show us that at least one sixteenth-century music teacher did not rely exclusively on the didactic manuals published by others. The songbooks also demonstrate that Basilius, like his father, was encouraged to study, collect and learn the best polyphonic music of his time, regardless of the fact that such music was condemned for home use by a prominent religous leader. Moreover, they show us that Basilius' musical education included exposure not only to vocal music, but also to instrumental forms. Finally, the sources prove that not all German-speaking youths learned how to sing by simply attending the local Latin School. Indeed, it may be that the Piperinus-Amerbach volumes demonstrate, for the first time, the role that private lessons played in the musical education of Europe's intellectual élite, as well as the extent to which a local music teacher functioned within such a setting.

56 Two layers of ink can be detected in the manuscript: nos.1-16 are in a light brown ink; nos.17-48 in a dark brown.

Part II
The *Liederhandschriften* of Jacob Hagenbach and Felix Platter

Chapter 5
The Musical Activities of Felix Platter: The Sources, the Problems

In memory of Valentin Lötscher

During the winter of 1555, the Belgian book dealer Thomas Guérin packed up his home in Lyon and moved to Basel, apparently with the intention of establishing himself in the city's prosperous book trade. That he was indeed a serious if not shrewd businessman could be inferred from the fact that by November of 1556 he had married Elisabeth Isengrin, the daughter of a successful Basel printer, and almost immediately thereafter was not only managing his father-in-law's printing house but also was a member of the *Zunft zum Safron,* the city's most prestigious printer's guild.[1] The circumstances under which Guérin courted this maiden with the hefty dowry have been cited in the musicological literature.[2] Two months before the wedding, Guérin asked the young Basel doctor Felix Platter to provide some music to entertain his fiancée. An account of this musical event can be found today in Platter's autobiography. The passage reads as follows:

> While Thomas Guérin was engaged to the maiden from the *[Haus] zum Falken* (= Elisabeth Isengrin, living at Freie Straße 51, see Plate 5.1), Guérin asked me if I could arrange for some music so as to serenade his beloved. This request came at a time when Guérin and Bempelfort[3] frequently called upon me. Although I did promise Guérin to make the necessary arrangements, I did so only under the condition that this music should also be performed in a location that pleased me. Therefore we got together one night late after dinner but first proceeded to the home of my fiancée (= *Haus zum Schöneck*, Freie Straße 20, see Plate 5.1). In addition to bringing my harp, we brought two lutes which were played by myself and Mr. Thiebolt Schonau-

1 On the life and works of this important Basel printer, see Peter G. Beitenholz, *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century: The Basle Humanists and Printers in Their Contacts with Francophone Culture* (Toronto, 1971), 76-78; Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet.* Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekwesen, XII (Wiesbaden, 1963), 39; A. Fluri, "Die Bärenbibel," *Schweizerisches Gutenbergmuseum*, IX (1923), 35-41, 82-90; J. and H. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, (Lyon, 1896-1921) V, 24 and X, 362ff; P. Heitz and C.C. Bernoulli, *Basler Büchermarken bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg, 1895), XXXVIff; and F. F. Lecouvet-Garin, "Thomas Guarin, tournaisien imprimeur à Bâle 16. siècle," *Messager des sciences historiques de Belgique*, (1858).

2 See, for example, Wilhelm Merian, "Felix Platter als Musiker," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, XIII (1912), 281.

3 Theodore Bempelfort (fl. mid-sixteenth century) was a proofreader and corrector who, according to Felix Platter, worked for printing houses in Lyon, Paris and Basel (Valentin Lötscher, ed., *Felix Platter Tagebuch. Lebensbeschreibung 1536-1567.* (Basel, 1976), 285, 295 and 302). In 1556/1557, Bempelfort matriculated at the University of Basel where he is mentioned as having hailed from Dusseldorf (Hans Georg Wackernagel, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, 3 vols. (Basel, 1951ff), II, 102.)

er.[4] Bempelfort carried the viols; when he set them upon a barrel the barrel fell over and made quite a noise. The goldsmith Hagenbach was also present and played along on a wind instrument.[5] It was elegant music. Since there was no sign that my future in-laws were at home, we left for the *[Haus] zum Falken*, where after performing our music we were invited inside and offered a nightcap fit for a king, and a variety of sweets.[6]

This anecdote, together with many others found in the Platter *Tagebuch*, has been frequently used as evidence for establishing the musical activities of Felix Platter. In addition to containing numerous entries which describe the types of music and instruments often heard or performed by Basel's intellectual élite, prosperous merchants, and guilded craftsmen, the diary has enabled musicologists to isolate specific occasions upon which music was heard in sixteenth-century Basel and, in many cases, to identify those Basel citizens who performed music with Platter.[7]

The reliability of Platter's testimony in musical matters is supported by the fact that he was himself a competent musician. As will be discussed below, this is revealed in Platter's diary (which contains references to himself performing on several different instruments), from the extraordinary collection of musical instruments mentioned in his will, and from a number of recently discovered letters addressed to Platter and written by two of his music teachers.

While the diary and related archival documents from the Platter *Nachlass*[8] demonstrate that music played an important role in this illustrious household, these sources

4 Thiebald (Diebolt) Schoenauer (1520 – June 30, 1605), a lutenist from Kenzingen/Baden whose musical activities as a teacher and performer are well-documented in the Platter diary (see Valentin Lötscher, ed., *Felix Platter Tagebuch, op. cit.*, 567) as well as in a number of little-known letters written by Schoenauer to Platter (see fn.39).

5 On the life of this Basel goldsmith see below.

6 The translation of this passage is based on the published edition of the Platter diary edited by Valentin Lötscher, *op. cit.* (hereafter, *Tagebuch*), 302: "In der zeit wardt h. Thomas Guerin die jungfrauw Elisabeth zum Falcken versprochen, welcher alß er vil zu mir wandlet mit dem Bembelfort, batt mich ein mol, ein music anzestellen, seiner geliepten zum Falcken zehofieren, dem ichs verhies, doch daß solche music auch an ort, so mir gefiel, brucht wurde. Rusten uns also und zogen spot nach dem nachteßen fir meiner zukünftigen haus. Wir hatten zwo luten, schlug ich und h. Thiebolt Schönauwer zesamen, darnoch nam ich die harpfen. Der Bembelfort zog die violen; alß er sy uf ein fas stellen wolt, fiel es um, macht ein rumor; der goldtschmidt Hagenbach pfiff darzu; war gar ein zierliche music. Man gab uns kein anzeigung, dan mein zukünftiger schwecher anheimsch war. Zogen also darvon zum Falcken, do wir, nach dem wir ghofiert, ingeloßen wurden, hielten ein stattlichen schlofdruck mit allerley confeckt."

7 Among the numerous studies which discuss the musical references found in Platter's diary, see Karl Nef, "Die Musik in Basel, von den Anfängen im 9. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, X (1909), 543-544; Wilhelm Merian, "Felix Platter als Musiker, *op. cit.*, 272-285; Walter Salmen, "Thomas und Felix Platters Autobiographien als musikgeschichtliche Quellen," *Schweizerische Musikzeitung*, 94/2 (February, 1954), 49-52; Arnold Geering, *Die Vokalmusik in der Schweiz*, 94-95, 99-100, 104-105; Ernst Fritz Schmid, *Musik an den schwäbischen Zollerhöfen der Renaissance* (Basel, 1962), 101-103 and *passim*; and Martin Staehelin, "Felix Platter und die Musik," *Felix Platter (1536-1614) in seiner Zeit*. Basler Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Biologie, New Series, edited by Ulrich Tröhler (Basel, 1991), 74-81.

8 For a partial list of the Platter documents preserved today in the University Library, see *Tagebuch*, 43. In addition to the Platter account books, inventories and scientific reports, the library possesses a rich collection of correspondence from the family. Some of these letters have been edited by Achilles Burchardt (*Thomas Platters Briefe an seinen Sohn Felix*, Basel, 1890); yet the majority of the correspondence, catalogued primarily under the class marks Mscr. Frey.-Gryn (Frey-Grynaeum) II 5, 8 and 19, is virtually unknown.

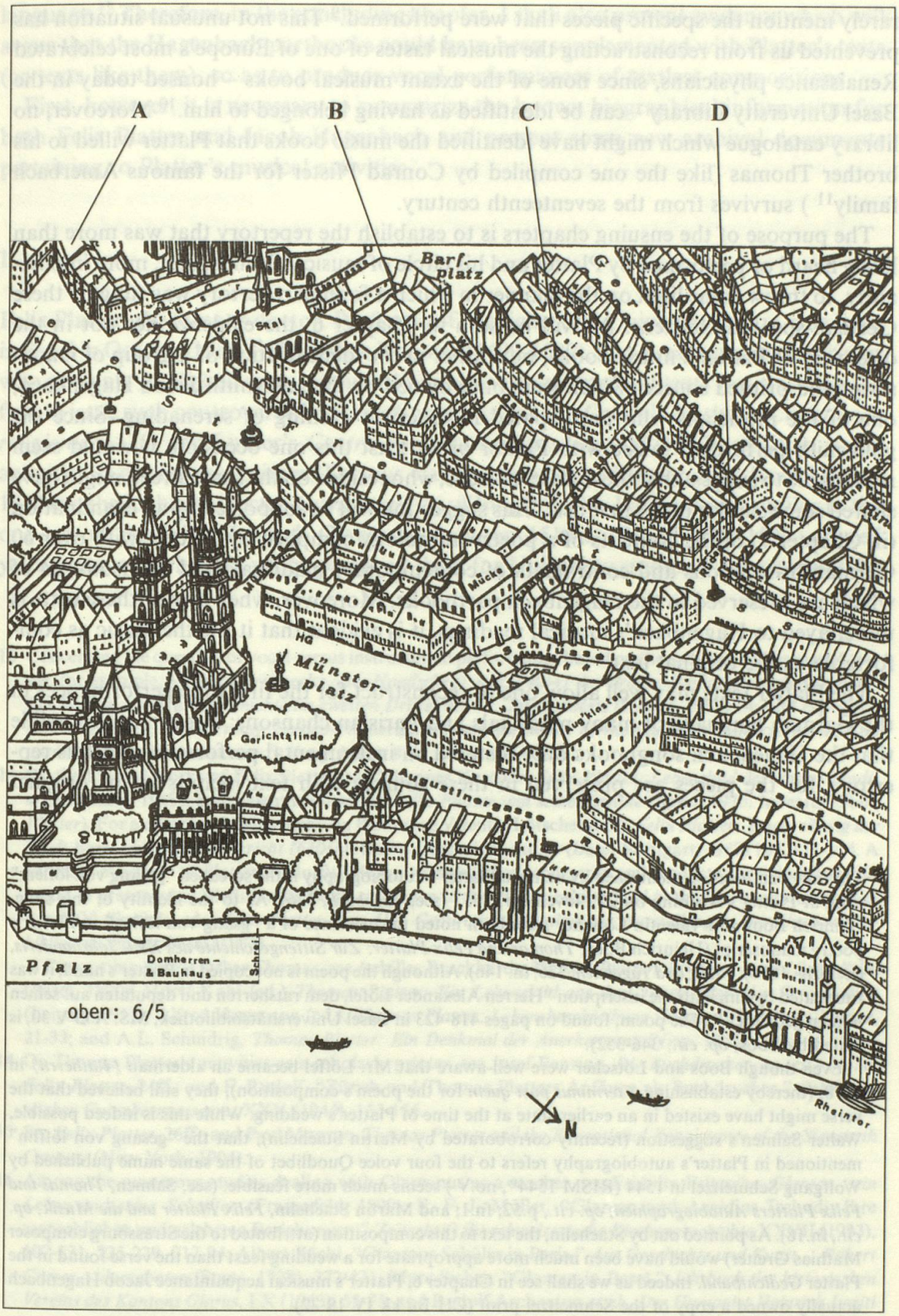


Plate 5.1. Detail from the 1615 map of Basel by Matthäus Merian: **A.** Freie Straße 90 (= Felix Platter's *Haus zum Gejägd*); **B.** Freie Straße 51 (= Elisabeth Isengrin's *Haus zum Falken*); **C.** Freie Straße 37 (= Jacob Hagenbach's *Haus zum Drachen*); **D.** Freie Straße 20 (= Magdalena Jeckelmann's *Haus zum Schöneck*)

rarely mention the specific pieces that were performed.[9] This not unusual situation has prevented us from reconstructing the musical tastes of one of Europe's most celebrated Renaissance physicians, since none of the extant musical books – housed today in the Basel University Library – can be identified as having belonged to him.[10] Moreover, no library catalogue which might have identified the music books that Platter willed to his brother Thomas (like the one compiled by Conrad Pfister for the famous Amerbach family[11]) survives from the seventeenth century.

The purpose of the ensuing chapters is to establish the repertory that was more than likely heard or performed by Platter and his circle of musical friends, and, more importantly, to throw some light on the manner in which a foreign repertory was sung by these German-speaking citizens. As will be seen in Chapter 6, the evidence lies not in the discovery of Platter's music books, but rather in the identification of a group of manuscript and printed sources which were once owned by the goldsmith Jacob Hagenbach, one of the musicians who participated in Guérin's evening of serenading. Since the goldsmith performed music with Platter on at least this one occasion, it would seem reasonable to suggest that these Basel citizens, who resided on the same street, might have shared some similar tastes in music. This suggestion will be supported by an examination (in Chapter 7) of the contents of a poetry anthology compiled by Platter, with over 60 German translations and contrafacta of contemporary madrigals and chansons, 24 of which are preserved in the Hagenbach partbooks. Moreover, when any of these texts is underlayed to Hagenbach's musical readings, it is evident that it fits the music as comfortably as the original text.

The Platter texts may well allow one to reconstruct for the first time performances in the German language of many madrigals and Parisian chansons: but it is still possible that the Hagenbach songbooks only fostered an instrumental performance of this repertory, for the pieces are preserved in these sources with text incipits in the original

9 The only composition mentioned by name in Platter's autobiography is the so-called "gesang von löflen," sung at Platter's wedding on 22 November, 1557 (see, *Tagebuch*, 326). As to the identity of this song, Heinrich Boos and Valentin Lötscher have both noted the existence of a "gsang von löflen" in Platter's poetry manuscript (Heinrich Boos, *Thomas und Felix Platter: Zur Sittengeschichte des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, (Leipzig, 1878), 345ff; *and Tagebuch*, 326, fn. 146). Although the poem is not copied in Platter's hand, it was rubricated by him with the inscription "Herren Alexander Löfel, dem ratsherren und deputaten auf seinen nomen gedichtet." (The poem, found on pages 418-423 in Basel Universitätsbibliothek, MS. A G V 30, is edited by Boos, *op. cit.*, 346-352).

Even though Boos and Lötscher were well-aware that Mr. Löffel became an alderman *(Ratherrn)* in 1578, (thereby establishing a *terminus post quem* for the poem's composition), they still believed that the verse might have existed in an earlier state at the time of Platter's wedding. While this is indeed possible, Walter Salmen's suggestion (recently corroborated by Martin Staehelin), that the "gesang von löfflin" mentioned in Platter's autobiography refers to the four voice Quodlibet of the same name published by Wolfgang Schmeltzel in 1544 (RISM 1544[19], no.V) seems much more feasible. (see, Salmen, *Thomas und Felix Platters Autobiographien, op. cit.*, p.52, fn.1; and Martin Staehelin, *Felix Platter und die Musik, op. cit.*, fn.18). As pointed out by Staehelin, the text to this composition (attributed to the Strassburg composer Mathias Greiter) would have been much more appropriate for a wedding feast than the verse found in the Platter *Gedichtband.* Indeed as we shall see in Chapter 6, Platter's musical acquaintance Jacob Hagenbach actually owned a copy of the Schmeltzel print (CH-Bu kk IV 19-22).

10 Although none of Platter's printed or manuscript music books have apparently survived, a recently discovered letter addressed to Platter contains an autograph piece of keyboard tabulature composed by Platter's clavichord teacher Ludwig Höchstetter. For a transcript, discussion, and facsimile of this letter posted from Paris to Basel, see KatK, 332-333 and Abb.39.

11 For a detailed discussion of the Pfister catalogues see Chapter 1, above.

language.[12] Therefore, in the concluding chapter, I shall also present evidence which will argue that the Hagenbach partbooks could have been supplemented with Platter's texts (or texts like them), so as to produce vocal performances of textless compositions.

First, however, it is necessary to summarize the known biographical information for both Felix Platter and Jacob Hagenbach and present some new archival documents pertaining to Platter's musical activities.

I

Felix Platter, the famous doctor, Professor of Medicine and University rector, was born in Basel in October 1536.[13] His father, Thomas (1499-1582), was a respected Basel printer who not only published many standard philological and medical texts but was also the first to issue such controversial reformation tracts as John Calvin's *Institutio Christianae religionis* (1536) and Luther's *Contra Portentosas Quasdam* (1541).[14] In addition to his activities as a scholarly printer, Thomas was an important educator, who from 1541 to 1570 ran the highly-respected *Gymnasium* "Auf Burg".[15] This Latin school, similar to the one run in Basel by Heinrich Glareanus between 1514-1517 and 1522-1529, offered young men a curriculum which prepared them for University studies.[16] As witnessed by

12 Concerning the question of vocal versus instrumental performance based on the presence or absence of text see, for example, Wilfried Brennecke, *Die Handschrift A.R. 940/41 der Proske-Bibliothek zu Regensburg: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte im zweiten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel, 1953) 74; and especially Louis Litterick, "Performing Franco-Netherlandish secular music of the late 15th century. Texted and untexted parts in the sources," *Early Music* 8/4 (1980), 474-485.

13 On the life and works of Felix Platter, see Johannes Karcher, *Felix Platter: Lebensbild des Basler Stadtarztes* (Basel, 1949); and Valentin Lötscher, *Felix Platter und seine Familie* (Basel, 1975: hereafter *Felix Platter*). For a complete bibliography on Platter see Valentin Lötscher (ed.), *Felix Platter, Beschreibung der Stadt Basel 1610 und Pestbericht 1610/11*. Basler Chroniken, vol.11 (Basel-Stuttgart, 1987) 104, 111-114. A valuable overview of Platter's colorful life, as witnessed by documents and artifacts surviving from his estate, is presented in Vladimir Skerlak's catalogue of the Platter exhibit held at the University Library of Basel (V. Skerlak, ed., *Felix Platter zum 450. Geburtstag. Katalog zur Ausstellung in der Universitätsbibliothek Basel*. Basel, 1986).

Concerning Felix's father Thomas, see Achilles Burckhardt, *Thomas Platters Briefe an seinen Sohn Felix* (Basel, 1890); Horst Kohl (ed.) *Thomas Platter: Ein Lebensbild aus dem Jahrhundert der Reformation* (Leipzig, 1912); Alfred Hartmann (ed.), *Thomas Platter, Lebensbeschreibung* (Basel, 1944); *Felix Platter*, 21-33; and A.L. Schnidrig, *Thomas Platter: Ein Denkmal der Anerkennung* (Visp, 1955).

14 On Thomas Platter's activities as a scholarly printer, see Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker, op. cit.*, 35-36; *Felix Platter*, 24ff.; and F. Rudolf, "Zürich und Thomas Platters Anfänge als Buchdrucker," *Schweizerisches Gutenbergmuseum*, XXX (1944), 153-156.

15 See *Felix Platter*, 26ff.; and Paul Monroe, *Thomas Platter and the Educational Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1904).

16 Among the numerous studies dealing with Glareanus as a teacher, see Fridolin Fritzsche, *Glarean, sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Frauenfeld, 1890); E. F. J. Müller, "Glarean und Aegidius Tschudi: Ihre menschlichen und gelehrten Beziehungen," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* XXVII (1933), 107-131, 225-229, 217-94; Albert Büchi, "Glareans Schüler in Paris," *Aus Geschichte und Kunst...Robert Currer...dargeboten* (Stans, 1928), 372-431; Marc Sieber, "Glarean in Basel," *Jahrbuch des historischen Vereins des Kantons Glarus*, LX (1963), 53-75; and Rudolf Aschmann *et al., Der Humanist Heinrich Loriti genannt Glarean, 1488-1563* (Mollis, 1983).

Concerning Glareanus' contribution to music theory, see Frances B. Turrell, "The Isagoge in Musicen of Henry Glarean," *Journal of Music Theory*, III (1959), 97-139; Bernhard Meier, "Heinrich Loriti Glareanus als Musiktheoretiker," *Beiträge zur Freiburger Wissenschafts- und Universitätsgeschichte*, XXII (1960), 65-112; Ernst Lichtenhahn, "Ars Perfecta, zu Glareans Auffassung der Musikgeschichte," *Festschrift*

the "Ordnung der Schuoll uff Burg" from 1546, Platter's students not only studied the Bible, but were directed to read "selectas epistolas Ciceronis," excerpts from the *Colloquia* of Erasmus as well as Castellio's pedagogical work, the *Dialogi sacri*, a popular collection of biblical dialogues in Ciceronian Latin. This curriculum was in turn supplemented with lectures on the important classical and sacred texts, and included (as happened in most German Latin schools at this time) one hour a week of instruction in music and singing.[17]

Although the "Ordnung" does not identify what music was studied and performed by Thomas's students, one can say with reasonable certainty that music was heard in connection with the performances of Latin school plays. Felix records in his diary that the comedies of Plautus and Terenz were performed at his father's *Gymnasium*:[18] and it is well-known that the choruses of such plays were often sung and that instrumental music was performed between acts.[19] Indeed, music for the choruses of Plautus' *Aulularia* still survives in the University Library of Basel, where it is found in a source from another Basel Latin school copied around 1534.[20] Moreover, Felix himself states in his autobiography that at the age of ten (in 1546) he attended Valentin Boltz's *Pauli Bekehrung*, as well as the *Historia von der frommen und Gottesfürchtigen Frauen Susanna* written by the Basel school teacher Sixtus Birk.[21]

While Thomas' ventures as a printer and educator are more frequently encountered today in studies dealing with the cultural history of the northern Renaissance, his

Arnold Geering, edited by Victor Ravizza (Bern, 1972), 129-138; and Donald Glenn Loach, "Aegidius Tschudi's Songbook (St. Gall MS 463): A Humanistic Document from the Circle of Heinrich Glarean" (Ph.D. Diss. Univ. of California, Berkeley 1969).

17 For a comprehensive study of music in German Latin schools, see Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung (edited by Karl Gustav Fellerer) vol.LIV (Regensburg, 1969).

18 See *Tagebuch*, 85 and 86. That Felix was indeed well-acquainted with Plautus' *Aulularia* is supported by the fact that a large portion of the play is preserved in Platter's poetry volume (CH-Bu Mscr. A G V 30, pp. 314-341). A Basel edition of the Plautus Comedies is housed today in the University Library under the call number C E VII 29. Unfortunately, this edition, owned by the Basel humanist Heinrich Pantaleon (one of Felix's musical acquaintances; *cf. Tagebuch*, 182-184), shows no evidence of having been used.

19 For an important study dealing with the performance of Latin school plays in Basel, see E. Refardt, "Die Musik der Basler Volkschauspiele des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, III (1921), 202ff.

20 The manuscript, housed in the University Library of Basel under the call number F II 35, was copied by Christophorus Alutarius (=Christoffel Wyßgerber), who between 1529 and 1539 taught at St. Martin's school for girls in Gross Basel. In addition to containing music for choruses 4 (folios 9v-10r) and 3 (folios 10v-11r) of Plautus' *Aulularia*, the manuscript carries music for Johannes Reuchlin's *Scaenica progymnasmata*, as well as settings of Ovid, Martial, and Horace. On the origins and history of this manuscript, originally bound with CH-Bu kk I 27 (=Petrus Tritonius, *Melopoiae sive harmoniae tetracenticae*, Augsburg, 1507), see Markus Jenny, "Christofell Wyssgerber alias Christophorus Alutarius: Ein Beitrag zur baslerischen Kirchen-, Humanisten- und Musikgeschichte der Reformationszeit," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 49 (1950) 53ff.; Martin Staehelin, "Vertonte Chorlied-Zudichtungen zur Aulularia des Plautus aus der Basler Humanistenzeit," Crustula Basiliensia (unpubl. 1965), 125ff; and KatK, 42-45.

21 See *Tagebuch*, 82-83. Concerning the dramatic works of Valentin Boltz, together with a list of Basel performances of his plays, see Fritz Mohr, "Die Dramen des Valentin Boltz" (Diss. Basel, 1916), 103ff. In addition to Platter's eyewitness description of the play, see also the account recorded by Johann Gast for the Basel performance of 6 June 1546 (*Das Tagebuch des Johannes Gast*, edited by Paul Burckhardt in *Basler Chroniken*, vol.8, Basel 1945).

On the history and performance of Sixtus Birk's *Susanna*, see L. A. Burckhardt, *Geschichte der dramatischen Kunst zu Basel. Beiträge zur Geschichte Basels* (Basel, 1839), 187ff.

boarding house on the Freie Straße occupied much of his time. Given the testimony of Felix's diary, together with the extant Platter correspondence, Valentin Lötscher was able to identity a large number of the boarders by name. Most of them were students either attending Thomas' *Gymnasium* or pursuing degrees at the University. Yet several of the *Tischgänger* are cited in the sources as musicians, proofreaders, typesetters, and school teachers, who apparently found in the Platter "dormitory" a pleasant and stimulating intellectual environment.[22]

Although Felix's father received singing lessons as a boy, and frequently recorded in his autobiography musical events which he experienced in his multi-faceted career, it was the boarders who provided his son with a musical education.[23]

By far the most valuable source for identifying these music teachers and documenting Felix's musical activities is his *Tagebuch*.[24] This autobiography, covering the first-half of Platter's life (1536-1567), contains a wealth of information which enables one to reconstruct in considerable detail the circumstances under which he learned music, identify the types of music he played or heard, and single out the instruments upon which he frequently performed.[25] For example, we learn from the diary that already at the age of eight (in 1544) Felix was taking lute lessons from Peter Dorn[26] and Johannes von Schallen,[27] both of whom were residing at his father's boarding house. In the same year, he also reported studying the lute with two other boarders from his father's home, Thiebold

22 Concerning Thomas Platter's boarding house, together with a list of the *Tischgänger* who resided there, see *Felix Platter*, Chapter 6. Among the residents who were either professional musicians or musically-inclined were Ludwig Höchstetter, Peter Dorn, Veit Bulling, Johann von Schallen, Thiebold Schönauer, Niklaus Huber and Bartlin Stehelin.

23 For a discussion of the musical references found in the autobiography of Thomas Platter (Basel University Library Mscr. A lambda II 1), see Hermann Kretzschmar, "Musikgeschichtliche Stichproben aus deutscher Laienliterature des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstage...Rochus Freiherrn von Liliencron* (Leipzig, 1910), 120-122.

24 The manuscript, dating from around 1612 and copied mostly by Platter himself, is found today in the University Library of Basel under the class mark A lambda III 3, folios 1-187. Among the numerous editions of the autobiography the best include: D.A. Fechter, *Thomas Platter und Felix Platter, zwei Autobiographien* (Basel, 1840); Heinrich Boos, (ed.) *Thomas und Felix Platter. Zur Sittengeschichte des XVI. Jhs.* (Leipzig, 1878); and the more recent scholarly edition prepared by Lötscher in 1976 (*op. cit* as *Tagebuch*). Moreover, large excerpts of the autobiography have been translated into three languages: M. Kieffer (tr.), *Félix et Thomas II Platter à Montpellier 1552-57 et 1595-99: Notes de voyage de deux étudiants bâlois* (Montpellier, 1892); Thora Gertz (tr.), *Felix Platters Ungdoms-Erindringer* (Copenhagen, 1915); and Séan Jennett (tr.), *Beloved Son Felix. The Journal of Felix Platter, A Medical Student in Montpellier in the 16th Century* (London, 1961).

25 The value of the diary as a chronicle of music history was first recognized by Karl Nef in 1910 ("Die Musik in Basel," *op. cit.*). However, the first musicological study to deal exclusively with the Platter *Tagebuch* was published two years later by Wilhelm Merian ("Felix Platter," *op. cit.*). Working from the edition of the Platter diary prepared in 1878 by H. Boos (*Thomas und Felix Platter, op. cit.*), Merian enumerated and discussed most of the passages pertaining to music as well as listed many of the musicians whom Platter identified as responsible for his musical training, or who had played music in his presence. For further studies discussing the musical references found in the Platter *Tagebuch*, see above, fn.7.

26 *Tagebuch*, 71. Concerning the identity of this unknown lutenist, see *Tagebuch*, 71, fn.152.

27 *Tagebuch*, 71. Johann von Schallen (= Scalerus), a teaching assistant at Thomas Platter's Gymnasium *"auf Burg"* is mentioned in the Amerbach correspondence (Beat Rudolf Jenny, ed., *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, vol. VI, Basel, 1967, no.2876 p.348ff.), where he is identified as having associated with the music teacher Christoph Piperinus as well as with Johann Jacob Wecker, the Swiss lutenist, intabulator and physican who in 1552 published in Basel a volume of lute tabulatur (see below, fn.45). For further biographical information on von Schallen, see *Tagebuch*, 106, fn.465.

Schoenauer of Strassburg and the Augsburger Veit Bulling.[28] It was apparently also at this time that Felix learned how to play the clavichord. His lessons on this instrument were first given by his father's *Tischgänger*, Peter Höchstetter, and later continued with Thomas Schoepflin, a schoolmaster at St. Peter's in Basel and one of Felix's primary Latin teachers.[29] Finally, Felix remembered having studied the harp as a youth with Volcher Coiterus, and later became quite proficient by continuing his studies with a musician who hailed from England.[30]

That Felix's lessons were successful in sustaining an active interest in music is clear given the extraordinary collection of musical instruments which he willed to his brother Thomas in 1614. An entry found on folio 506r of the *Hauptbuch*[31] of Thomas Platter II reveals that Felix's collection could be favorably compared with the collections once owned by Queen Mary of Hungary or Maximillian II:

> Musicalische Instrument. /
> Item iiii Spineten. It[em] i Regal mit 2 Blasbelgen./
> It[em] iiii Clavicordii.[32] It[em] i Clavicymbalum. /
> It[em] vii violen de la gamba. It[em] i Tenor & noch /
> ii discant.[33] It[em] i Trumschen.[34] /
> It[em] vi Lauten, darund[er] 1 Teorbe. /

28 *Tagebuch*, 71. Of the musicians with whom Platter studied, by far the most frequently mentioned in his autobiography is the lutenist Thiebald Schoenauer. Concerning Schoenauer, see above fn. 4. On the Augsburg lutenist Veit Bulling, see *Tagebuch*, 71, fn. 154.

29 *Tagebuch*, 73. Although Platter identified his clavichord teacher as Peter Höchstetter, a recently discovered letter from the Platter *Nachlass* containing an autograph piece of keyboard tabulature by Ludwig Höchstetter (see above, fn.10) strongly supports Valentin Lötscher's assumption that Platter simply made a copying mistake when he entered Peter Höchstetter's name in his diary (*Tagebuch*, 73, fn.159). On Thomas Schoepflin, one of Felix's travelling companions, see *Tagebuch*, 73, fn.160 and 132, where Schoepflin is also identified by Platter as having played the organ.

30 *Tagebuch*, 73. On Volcher Coiterus, see *Tagebuch*, 73, fn.163. Later in the diary Felix revealed the exact date on which he began his lessons with Coiterus (22 October, 1556, *Tagebuch*, 256), as well as noting that he learned the harp because his father believed it was a beautiful instrument which no one living in Basel yet knew (*Tagebuch*, 255). For further references to Platter's abilities as a harpist, or to the harps that he owned, see *Tagebuch*, 271, 275, 297, 302 (quoted above, fn.6), 339, 472 and 494.

31 The manuscript, Basel University Library A lambda V 9, was begun in 1615 by Felix's half brother Thomas II (1574-1628). As the administrator of the Platter estate, Thomas kept meticulous records and accounts of his inheritance. This included copies of Felix's last will and testament, as well as inventories recording the family's personal property. Moroever, the *Hauptbuch* contains copies of marriage contracts, lists of revenues accruing from rentals and real estate ventures, and numerous receipts of purchase. For a partial transcription of some of the wills, codicils, and inventories, see *Felix Platter*, 160ff. On the life of Thomas Platter II, see Rut Keiser (ed.), *Thomas Platter II: Beschreibung der Reisen durch Frankreich, Spanien, England und die Niederlande 1595-1600*. Basler Chroniken, vol.9 (Basel-Stuttgart, 1968).

32 In view of a number of recently discovered notes written by Platter to Basilius Amerbach (Basel University Library Mscr. C VIa 35_2, fols.343ff., and 386ff.), one of Platter's clavichords was apparently modelled after a large instrument (possessing an extended bass register) owned by Basilius. These documents, demonstrating that Platter borrowed instruments from the Amerbachs, will be transcribed and discussed by the present author in a forthcoming study.

33 Unfortunately this entry does not name what the discant and tenor instruments are. It is found on the same line as the viola da gamba, and probably refers to other members of the viol family.

34 i.e., *Trumscheit* (=Monochord).

Item x fleüten. / Item ii Mandoren. [Item] i lobsa.[35] /
Item i Zittern. Item i hölzinglechen. [=small cornet?] fol.12.13[36]

Of the instruments cited above, the lute was by far the most frequently mentioned instrument in Platter's diary and in his extant correspondence. These references often mention performances, either as a soloist[37] or in an ensemble[38] and also have many comments on how he acquired strings and music for the instrument[39] or descriptions of lutes which he owned or wished to purchase.[40] Moreover, one passage in the diary establishes that while Platter was enrolled at the University of Montpellier (autumn of 1552 to May of 1556) he composed or intabulated his own lute pieces, and posted copies of his work to his lute teacher Thiebolt Schoenauer.[41]

That Felix was a competent lutenist seems clear not so much from the number of lutes which he owned, but from the fact that he was himself a lute teacher, and on occasion played with some of the well-known lutenists of his time. For example, as a student of medicine at the University of Montpellier (as Platter recalls in his diary), he gave lute lessons in January of 1554 to Katharine Rondelet, the daughter of the famous Professor of Medicine.[42] He was also often invited to perform at university banquets, and apparently played well enough to became known by the local citizens as "l' Alemandt du lut".[43]

According to Platter, his repertory in Montpellier included "allerley Welsche dentz" but also "der anderen Teutschen dantzte".[44] Although the dances are never named, one passage in the diary implies that he performed pieces from the lute anthology of Johann Jacob Wecker, whose collection of lute duets was published in Basel by Ludwig Lück in

35 Although such an instrument is presently unknown, it might be a plucked string instrument since it is cited in the inventory between the mandora and cittern.

36 While this list of instruments has been quoted on several occasions before, the transcription offered here is the first to record the passage correctly. For earlier discussions and/or diplomatic transcriptions of the list, see Friedrich Miescher, *Die medizinische Facultät in Basel* (Basel, 1860), 39, fn.1; Wilhelm Merian, "Felix Platter als Musiker," *op. cit.*, 272; and *Felix Platter*, 142.
(The folio numbers 12 and 13 entered at the end of the passage might refer to the foliation of the exemplar from which the list was compiled).

37 *Tagebuch*, 117, 173, 175, 208, 220 and 459.

38 *Tagebuch*, 189, 195-196, 219, 275, 297, 301, 302 (quoted above, see fn. 6), 303 and 339.

39 *Tagebuch*, 192, 194, 217, 271 and 272; *Thomas Platters Briefe an seinen Sohn Felix, op. cit.*, 32, 34, 36, 74 and *passim*. While most of these excerpts demonstrate that Platter received lute music and strings through the mail, the passage found on page 272 of the *Tagebuch* discusses Platter's encounter with a Swiss dealer of stringed instruments residing in Bordeaux. Aside from these documents, the University library of Basel possesses a number of unpublished letters addressed to Felix by his lute teacher, Thiebald Schoenauer. This correspondence, dating from 1554 and 1555 while Platter was residing in Montpellier, discusses the shipment of lute strings via post or messenger ("Nun als mit die seitten anlangt schick ich euch guter seytten, quint seitten, gesang seytten, und mitell seitten.." Mscr. Fr. Gr. I 8, fol.157) as well as the exchange of lute music ("schick euch auch hie noch ewerm begeren etlich luten stick, ein gut posoemezo . . .eine kleine schlacht . . .und zwey guter Recercarj . . ." Mscr. Fr. Gr. I 5, fol.228;). These, as well as other unpublished letters pertaining to Platter's musical actitivies, will be transcribed and discussed in detail by the present author in a forthcoming study.

40 *Tagebuch*, 232, 252.

41 *Tagebuch*, 218.

42 *Tagebuch*, 192.

43 *Tagebuch*, 72.

44 *Tagebuch*, 275.

1552.[45] The passage states that he, his lute teacher Thiebold Schoenauer, and Hans Jacob Wecker himself played lute music together on 21 July 1557 in Basel.[46] It is also possible that Platter and his fellow musicians performed music from the tabulature volume of another well-known *oberrheinische* lutenist, Wolff Heckel from Strassburg. Aside from a passage found in the Platter diary which states that Platter performed lute music in Strassburg with "ein guter lutenist...meister Wolf",[47] a recently discovered letter written by Schoenauer to Platter in 1556 again makes mention of a "Monsieur Wolff von Strassburg" within the context of lute playing.[48]

While the *Tagebuch* and correspondence are important documents for reconstructing the musical activities of a prominent Basel citizen and for tracing the musical tastes of an emerging bourgeois society, the *Reisebuch* that Platter keep during the second half of his life is a valuable source for the musical world associated with some of Europe's princely courts.[49] By 1583, with the publication of his first medical treatise, *De corporis humani structura et usu*, Platter was already a well-established physician and a highly respected Professor of medicine, and his expertise was often called upon by several of Germany's noble families, particularly the dukes of Lothringen, Württemberg, and Saxony, as well as by members of the Hohenzollern dynasty. As a distinguished servant of nobility, Felix was often invited to royal or noble weddings, baptisms and banquets, also attended by some of the best known composers, singers and instrumentalists of German-speaking lands. For example, at the wedding of Count Johann Georg von Hohenzollern in 1598,

45 Toward the end of the Second World War, the only surviving copy of the print was lost (Brown $[1552]_9$). Fortunately, before the Tenor volume dissappeared from the Preußischen Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, Jenny Dieckmann (*Die in deutscher Lautentabulatur überlieferten Tänze des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Kassel, 1935, *passim*) and Ernst Radecke ("Das deutsche weltliche Lied in der Lautenmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, VII (1891), 285ff) examined the volume, transcribed its title page and recorded some of its contents, which included: "Vonn mancherley schönen und lieblichen stucken mit zweyen lauten zusamen zu schlagen, Italienische lieder, Pass'emezi, Saltarelli, Paduane. Weiter Frantzösische, Teutsche, mit sampt mancherley däntzen." For a description and partial inventory of the print (based on the work of Dieckmann and Radecke), see Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965) 143: $[1552]_{10}$.

Although the Wecker anthology is today missing, twenty of its pieces were fortunately reprinted in 1556 by the Straßburg lutenist Wolff Heckel, whose *Lautten Buch, von mancherley schönen und lieblichen stucken, mit zweyen Lautten zusamen zuchlagen* is still extant. For an inventory and discussion of Heckel's duet book, see H.M. Brown, *Instrumental Music, op. cit.*, 171: (1556_5).

46 *Tagebuch*, 301. Concerning Johann Jacob Wecker, see *Tagebuch*, 253, fn.788 as well as Vol. VI, 348ff. of *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz, op. cit.*, where Wecker's association with Felix's lute teacher Johann von Schallen is documented.

47 *Tagebuch*, 353.

48 Mscr. Fr. Gr.I 8, fol. 157; While these documents establish that Platter personally knew a "good lutenist" from Straßburg whose first name was Wolff, the identity of this lutenist as Wolff Heckel can at present not be proven. Concerning the contents of the Heckel lute duet book see above, fn. 45.

49 The *Reisebuch* (Basel University Library Mscr. A lambda III 3, Abt. 7a-c), partially copied by Platter himself, consists of three sections: 1. "Reiß gon Simringen auf graf Christof von Zollern hochzeit" [=7a]; 2. "Reiß Margroffen Georg Friderichen zu Baden unnd Hochburg gon Stuttgarten inn Würtenberg zu der kindtstauffe des hertogen von Würtenbergs suns Augusti genandt, sampt den herligkheiten, so domohlen gehalten sindt wordenn anno 1596" [=7b]; 3. "Reiß margrafen Georg Friderich zu Baden unnd Hochberg etc. nach Hechingen in der Grafschaft Zolleren, auf die hochzeit, so zwischen graf Johan Georg von Zollern unnd freuwlin Francisca Wildt- unnd Rheingrefin gehalten worden, wie solche abgangen, anno 1598." [=7c].

Among the several editions of these texts, by far the most scholarly is the one prepared by Valentin Lötscher (*Felix Platter, Tagebuch, op. cit.*, chapters 12, 13 and 14).

Platter not only recorded the leading guests, describing what they wore and ate, but also documented in painstaking detail the musical extravaganza, which included no less than thirty musicians.[50]

From this brief sketch, it is evident that Platter's musical interests were always more than a mere reflection of his cultivated surroundings. However, while music played an important role in his life, it was by no means his only pastime. Like his friend Basilius Amerbach, Platter was an avid connoisseur of the visual arts, who amassed during the course of his life a collection of eighty-eight paintings.[51] Among the *oberrheinische* artists associated with Platter were Hans Kluber and Hans Michel, as well as Hans Bock the older, whose magnificent portrait of Felix (painted in 1584 when Platter was at the zenith of his career) can be viewed today in the Basel *Kunstmuseum* (Plate 5.2). The Platter cabinet, however, was not an art collection in the modern sense of the word. Rather it was a colorful art and rarities cabinet, the heart of which was apparently a library of manuscript and printed volumes. The diversity of the objects which Platter willed to his brother Thomas indeed mirrors the spirit of the humanist age within which he lived:

> Bequeathed to the brother Thomas Platter...my library, writings, together with my museum and the contents of the coin collection consisting of sovereigns of gold, of silver, and of distinction, as well as the other pennys and miscellaneous coins found there; In the same manner all of the collectibles: paintings, clocks, art works, *mineralia maritima*, and whatever is kept in the study and in the two other halls devoted to specimens of *naturalia* and *artificialia*; also the workshop and the implements contained therein, as well as my musical instruments and music books, and whatever else is to be found.[52]

Elisabeth Landolt has been able to demonstrate, from the Platter correspondence and other archival documents in the Platter *Nachlass,* that this collection easily rivaled in size the famous cabinet owned by the Amerbachs. Unfortunately, very little remains of what must have been a magnificent collection.[53]

50 *Tagebuch*, 494. According to Platter, some of the well-known musicians who were in attendance included the Kapellmeister Narcissus Zangkel, the organist Hans Leo Hassler, Ferdinand de Lasso (son of Orlando), and Melchior Schramm. Concerning the importance of Platter's *Tagebuch* as a witness to the musical activities at these princely German courts, see Ernst Fritz Schmid, *Musik an den schwäbischen Zollerhöfen, op. cit., passim.*; and Wilhelm Merian, "Felix Platter als Musiker," *op.cit.*, 282ff., where most of the musical references in the *Reisebuch* are quoted and discussed.

51 see *Felix Platter*, 143.

52 Basel University Library Mscr. A lambda V 9, folio 33r (Testament of Felix Platter). The author's translation is based on his own transcription of the original passage: "Legat für den Bruder Thomas Platter:...meine Bibliotheck, Schriften sampt meinem Cabinet, und was darinnen in der Kestlinen, von Guldinen, Silberen, Ehrenen undt anderen Pfenningen und Müntzen befunden wirdt, gleicher gestaltten auch alle Contrafeitungen, gemahlte taffelen, Uehrlin, Kunst stück, mineralia maritima und was ferners möchte in dem studierstüblin undt beiden underen Sälen für Naturalia und Artificialia, sampt dem Werchkemmerlin dar neben im Werckzeug, wie auch meine Instrument und bücher zu der Music gehörig, und anderen gefunden werden." For a partial transcription of this and other passages from Felix's will, see *Felix Platter*, 164ff.

53 Concerning Platter's connections with Basel artists as well as with some of the royal families of Alsace with whom he shared his collecting interests, see Elisabeth Landolt, "Materialien zu Felix Platter als Sammler und Kunstfreund," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 72 (1972), 245-306. For a general introduction to Platter's collecting interests see *Felix Platter*, 131ff.

Given Platter's multi-faceted career, which brought him in contact with several members of Europe's intellectual élite, it would seem reasonable to suspect that his tastes in music were not restricted to what was German in origin or in language. We know that his lute teacher, Thiebald Schoenauer, travelled in Italy.[54] It would seem safe to assume that he, like other sixteenth-century German lutenists, would have brought back some specimens of Italian music and, in turn, would have shared them with his fellow musicians. Moreover, Platter's interest in the natural sciences brought him in contact with the famous botanist and bibliographer Konrad Gesner,[55] whose encyclopedic knowledge of printed music books has been studied.[56] Finally, mention should be made of Platter's five-year sojourn in France, which not only brought him to Montpellier, but allowed him to visit such important centers of music and music printing as Paris, Lyon and Avignon.

The documents from the period of his study at Montpellier reinforce a belief that he was interested in "foreign music." As can be seen from the diary, this was a period of his life in which music was frequently discussed, and when he cultivated a taste for poetry.[57] Secondly, since Felix was often more inclined to write home about his musical activites than about his medical studies, his father on occasion expressed concern about Felix's medical career.[58] In fact, Felix was an excellent student and graduated from the Universities in Montpellier and in Basel *summa cum laude*; yet it would be stretching the bounds of imagination to think that this young Francophile who loved music so much would not have acquired a taste for the popular secular repertory made available by such printers as Attaingnant,[59] Moderne[60] and Du Chemin.[61] This is pure speculation: yet, the

54 *Tagebuch*, 185.

55 On Platter's association with Gesner, see *Tagebuch*, 343, fn.43, as well as Elisabeth Landolt, "Eine verschollene Basler Kunstkammer des 16. Jahrhunderts," (unpublished paper read at a meeting of the *Verein der Freunde des Kunstmuseums Basel*, 4 May 1987). On Platter's collection of plants, flowers, and exotic herbs, see Peter Merian, "Nachrichten über Felix Platters Naturalien-Sammlung," *Verhandlungen der naturforschenden Geschichte in Basel*, IV (1840), 101ff.; and Walther Rytz, "Das Herbarium Felix Platters. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Botanik im XVI. Jahrhundert," *Verhandlungen der naturforschenden Geschichte in Basel*, XLVI/1 (1935) 21ff.

56 Lawrence F. Bernstein, "The Bibliography of Music in Conrad Gesner's *Pandectae* (1548)," *Acta musicologica*, XLV (1973), 119-64.

57 Aside from the poetry volume kept by Platter (see below, Chapter 7), several passages in Felix's autobiography document that he composed Latin verse (*Tagebuch*, 120) as well as demonstrate that he owned a volume of poetry written by Clément Marot, the famous French court poet whose verses were frequently set to music (*Tagebuch*, 292). Indeed, many of the German translations of French verse found in Platter's poetry manuscript are of Marot texts.

58 For example, on 25 August 1556, Felix recalled having received a letter from his father warning him that "while music was no doubt a pleasant pastime it should not interfere with my studies" (*Tagebuch*, 250-251). In addition to this passage, a rather amusing anecdote documenting Thomas Platter's concern for his son is found on page 215 of Lötscher's edition of the Platter *Tagebuch*. Here again, Felix recalls that his father told him that, "being a good lutenist, and also a good dancer, I must be on my guard against the seductions of French women...".

59 See Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaingant: Royal Printer of Music. A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1969).

60 See Samuel Pogue, *Jacques Moderne, Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva, 1969).

61 On this Parisian music printer and his works, see F. Lesure and G. Thibault, "Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin," *Annales musicologiques*, I (1953), 269-373; suppls., IV (1956), 251ff.; VI (1958-63), 403ff.



Plate 5.2. Hans Bock d.Ae. Portrait of Felix Platter, 1584 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum. Inv.84)

following discussions of Platter's poetry book and of a group of manuscript and printed sources owned by his fellow musician Jacob Hagenbach, will show that Platter's musical tastes were indeed international in scope, with a predictable emphasis towards what was French.

II

While the life and interests of Felix Platter are well-documented, those of his musical companion, whose partbooks we do possess, are unfortunately not.[62] Jacob Hagenbach, the son of the Basel weaver Martin Hagenbach, was baptised at St. Leonhard in Gross Basel on 20 April, 1532.[63] According to a published eulogy lamenting the death of Hagenbach's son Beat in 1631, Jacob worked as a young man at the court of Maximilian II.[64] While it is not known in which capacity Jacob served this famous musical patron, it would seem a reasonable inference that it was here he became a goldsmith. Perhaps he also acquired at this court his musical training, which included not only performing but also (as we will see) copying and composing as well.[65] In 1555 Jacob became a member of the *Zunft zu Hausgenossen* (one of Basel's prestigious gentlemen's guilds)[66] and in the following year on 5 September acquired his father's home, the *Haus zum Drachen*, on the Freie Straße (see Plate 5.1). He lived there with his wife Sophia Bratteler and only son Beat until his death in 1565 or 1566.

Although no specimens of his goldsmithing work have survived, we do have a number of engravings produced by his collegue Daniel Buchwalt, which clearly demonstrate that Jacob was a talented goldsmith.[67] Moreover, an entry found in the account books of the

62 On Hagenbach's life, see *Tagebuch*, 302, fn.67; *Wappenbuch der Stadt Basel*, edited by W. R. Staehelin (Basel, s.d) "Hagenbach"; V. Brun (ed.), *Schweizerisches Künstler-Lexikon*, 4 vols. (Frauenfeld, 1905-17) II, 8; Ulrich Barth, *Zur Geschichte des Basler Goldschmieden-Handwerks (1261-1820) mit Verzeichnissen der Meister, Gesellen & Lehrknaben* (Ph.D. Diss, University of Basel, 1978), *passim*; and the handwritten notes of the Basel genealogist Arnold Lotz: *Sammelwerk zur Geschichte der Basler Familien*, Stadt-Archiv Basel, Privat-Archiv 355, C 199. I would like to thank Dr. Ulrich Barth (Basel Stadt-Archiv) most cordially for having brought to my attention the archival documents pertaining to Hagenbach and his family.

63 Stadt-Archiv Basel-Stadt, Ki. Ar. BB23, 19.

64 A copy of this *Leichenpredigt* is housed today in the University Library of Basel under the call number Kr. Ar. G X 5, no.20. It was published in 1631 by the well-known Basel printer Johann Jacob Genath, who 14 years earlier (in 1617) brought out Johann Woltz's volume of organ tabulature (RISM 1617^{24}). Aside from documenting Jacob Hagenbach's association with the court of Maximillian II, the funeral oration enables us to establish that Jacob Hagenbach died between 17. Sept 1565 and 17. Sept. 1566: "Von dem abgestorbenen Herren seligen [Beat Hagenbach]. Es ist derselbige im Jahr Christi 1557. den 17. Sept. in dise Welt geboren worden. Sein Vater war Herren Jacob Hagenbach welcher in seiner jugend an dem Hoof Keysers Maximiliani II. in angenehmen diensten sich verhalten: dessen aber unser verstorbene Herrn selig zeitlich in dem achten jahr seines alters ist beraubet worden. Sein Großvater war Herren Martin Hagenbach, Landvogt zu Homburg, hernaher Pfleger zu S. Alban..."

65 On the musical court of Maximillian II, see Walter Pass, *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilians II.* Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft, XX (Tutzing, 1980).

66 On this important Basel guild of bankers, money changers and artists, see August Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Zunft zu Hausgenossen* (Basel, 1950).

67 For a fascimile and discussion of the artistic works attributed to Hagenbach, see Carsten-Peter Warncke, *Die ornamentale Groteske in Deutschland 1500-1650*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1979) I, 53-56, 67-68, and figures 472-478; and Peter Jessen, *Der Ornamentstich. Geschichte der Vorlagen des Kunsthandwerks seit dem Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1920) 110ff.

famous printing house of Froben and Episcopius demonstrates that in 1560 Jacob also made a living as a typecutter.[68] However, since the only archival document to mention Hagenbach's abilities as a musician is the Platter *Tagebuch* (in the passage from which we have already quoted), let us now turn to the extant legacy of Hagenbach's musical interests and abilities, the set of manuscript and printed partbooks housed today in the University Library of Basel.

68 See Rudolf F. Wackernagel (ed.), *Rechnungsbuch von Froben & Episcopius, Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zu Basel, 1557-1564* (Basel, 1881), 19.

Chapter 6

The Songbooks of Jacob Hagenbach: A New Collector and Composer of Polyphony from Renaissance Basel[1]

In memory of Eduard Bernoulli
and Hans Joachim Moser

Basel University Library manuscripts F IX 59-62 and F X 17-20 are two well-known and important collections of sixteenth-century secular polyphony. Apart from their significance as repositories for a large portion of the German Tenorlied repertory of Senfl's generation, they preserve an equally large number of contemporary madrigals and chansons. While both sets of partbooks are valuable in that they contain many compositions not to be found elsewhere, each set can be singled out for particular reasons: F IX 59-62 because of the notational interest of one of its four-part compositions (pictured in Plates 6.1 and 6.2); and F X 17-20 because it represents one of the few complete sets of manuscript partbooks in a true *sestodecimo* pocket format.

Despite the importance of these sources, their origins have never been established or indeed even seriously discussed.[2] However, these are the collections which I propose to assign to Jacob Hagenbach, together with two newly-discovered manuscripts appended

1 This chapter, together with chapter 7, is an expanded version of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Cleveland, 1986, under the title "New *Liederhandschriften* from Renaissance Basel." A longer German version was also read at the Universities of Basel and Zurich in November, 1986 and February, 1987 respectively.

2 F IX 59-62 and F X 17-20 were first described and inventoried in Julius Richter, *Katalog der Musik-Sammlung auf der Universitäts-Bibliothek in Basel (Schweiz)*. Beilage zu den Monatsheften für Musikgeschichte, 23/24 (1891/92), 69-75 (= F X 17-20), and 75-78 (= F IX 59-62). Although Richter did not come to any conclusions concerning the manuscripts' provenance, he did tacitly propose a compilation date "nach der Mitte d. 16. Jhdts" for both sources, and noted that the partbooks were scribally concordant. Between 1911 and 1936, the Basel librarians Carl Roth and Gustav Binz produced a new set of descriptions for both manuscripts. While Binz and Roth relied on Richter's catalogue for the identification of compositions, they did supplement Richter's discussions with information pertaining to the manuscripts' physical attributes. Aside from identifying some of the papers found in the partbooks, they described the handwriting as characteristic of the second half of the sixteenth century, and noted the escutcheon found in F X 20. However, their comments on this engraved *Ex Libris* were based on research conducted in 1917 by Dr. Karl Reinle, who incorrectly identified the device as belonging to Jacob Hagenbach's younger brother Nicolaus (1546-1618; see below fn.35). These valuable handwritten descriptions, unfortunately never published, can be found today in the manuscript department of the University Library (MSS without call number).

Aside from a few brief remarks on the manuscripts offered by Knud Jeppesen, *La Frottola*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1969 = Acta Jutlandica, vol.41) II, 8 and 101; and by Arnold Geering et al. (eds.), *Ludwig Senfl. Sämtliche Werke*, vol.Iff. (Wolfenbüttel-Zurich, 1938-) V, 109, a complete list of their musical and textual incipits has recently been published by Norbert Böker-Heil, Harald Heckmann and Ilse Kinderman, *Das Tenorlied. Mehrstimmige Lieder in deutschen Quellen 1450-1580*, 3 vols., Catalogus Musicus. RISM, Sonderband IX-XI (Kassel, 1979-1986) I, 14ff. (= F IX 59-62) and 37ff. (= F X 17-20). Proper inventories of the manuscripts' contents are given below in Part III, and can be found in the author's study: *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel. Katalog der Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts: Quellenkritische und historische Untersuchung* (Basel, 1988; hereafter KatK).

to printed partbooks, which are also housed in the University Library of Basel.[3] The evidence lies in library catalogues, in the identification of individuals cited in the musical texts, and in the presence of Hagenbach's monogram and family heraldry. Much of this evidence will argue that Hagenbach not only copied, illustrated and owned these sources, listed in Table 6.1, but also that he composed some of the *unica* – two of which have been previously attributed to Heinrich Isaac.

To this end we must discuss each set of partbooks individually. I will begin with an analysis of the manuscripts' scribal and physical make-up, evidence enabling one to relate the sources to each other and to Basel. After a consideration of the partbook's papers, handwritings, bindings and illustrations (Table 6.1), I will then proceed to the external evidence, outlined in Table 6.2 which associates the group with this Basel goldsmith.

Table 6.1. The Hagenbach manuscripts: codicological and artistic evidence relating the sources to each other and to Basel

Basel University Library F IX 59-62: MS Appendix to RISM 1543[24]
Scribe: S1 (Basel Scribe)
Binding: B1
Paper: Basel Crozier, c.1560.
Illustrations: Watercolor/Pen.

Basel University Library F X 17-20
Scribes: S1 (Basel Scribe) + S2 (Augsburg Scribe)
Paper: Augsburg Paper, c.1550
Illustrations: Pen.

Basel University Library F IX 63: MS Appendix to RISM [1519][5]
Scribe: S1 (Basel Scribe)
Paper: No Watermark
Illustrations: None.

Basel University Library kk IV 19-22: MS Appendix to RISM 1544[19]
Scribe: S1 (Basel Scribe)
Binding: B1
Paper: Basel/Upper-Rhein Papers, 1531-1551
Illustrations: Watercolor/ Pen.

3 Although Richter noted in his catalogue that the library possessed a copy of Arnt von Aich's Liederbuch (RISM [1519][5]) and of Wolfgang Schmeltzel's anthology of German Quodlibets (RISM 1544[19]), he did not mention the existence of their manuscript supplements (Richter, *Katalog*, 10). The Schmeltzel print is still found today under the class mark kk IV 19-22: the von Aich songbook was recently assigned the signature F IX 63 (*olim* kk IV 11-14).

Table 6.2. The Hagenbach manuscripts: textual and archival evidence relating the sources to Jacob Hagenbach

Basel University Library F IX 59-62: MS Appendix to RISM 1543[24]
Ex Libris: None
17th-Century Catalogue No.: Z II 86-89
Attributions: I[acob] H[agenbach]
Texts (Individual cited): S[opfia] B[ratteler]

Basel University Library F X 17-20
Ex Libris: Jacob Hagenbach and Sopfia Bratteler
17th-Century Catalogue No.: F X 17-20

Basel University Library F IX 63: MS Appendix to RISM [1519][5]
Ex Libris: None
17th-Century Catalogue No.: Z II 90-93

Basel University Library kk IV 19-22: MS Appendix to RISM 1544[19]
Ex Libris: None
17th-Century Catalogue No.: Z II 82-85
Texts (Individual cited): Jacob (Hagenbach?)

Basel University Library MS F IX 59-62 (Olim Z II 86-89)

Contents. This set of four partbooks, measuring 12.5 X 18 cm, consists of three distinct layers in their original sixteenth-century binding (see below, "Binding"). The first layer contains only the four-part drinking song *Paule Paule liebster Stahlbruder mein*, a piece frequently reproduced and discussed in the musicological literature because of the novelty of its musical notation.[4] As seen in Plate 6.1, the parts are notated with a number of eating and drinking symbols, each of which is equivalent to a specific musical value, as indicated by the explanatory leaf (reproduced in Plate 6.2).

The second, and by far the largest, layer of the source is a copy of the second edition of Georg Forster's well-known *Frische teutsche Liedlein* (RISM 1543[24]): an anthology consisting of no less than 130 "guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlein...zu singen und

4 For a discussion, color facsimile, and edition of this drinking song, see C. Russel Crosby, Jr., *Die flötnerschen Spielkarten und andere Curiosa der Musiküberlieferung des 16. Jahrhunderts aus Franken*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern, Neue Folge, Sonderband 1 (Wiesbaden, 1967), 29-31 (discussion), 73-76 (transcription), and 98-99 (fascimile). Another edition and description of the piece is also found on pages 75 and 76 of Richter's catalogue (*op. cit.*). Additional studies mentioning the composition are listed by Crosby.

auff allerley Instrumenten zubrauchen."[5] The popularity of this Nuremberg volume, first issued by Johannes Petreius in 1539, is evident from its five editions, the last three printed by the firm of Berg and Neuber between 1549 and 1560.

The third, and perhaps most important layer, comprises a manuscript appendix of 73 compositions, copied entirely by one scribe and supplemented with an alphabetical index of text incipits. In the tenor book, the section was prefaced by the scribe with a title page that reads: "Hernach volgt allerley Compositzion" (F IX 61, fol.1r). This manuscript supplement, primarily consisting of an "international hit parade" of secular music issued by such printers as Attaingnant and Gardano, is frequently cited by scholars because it represents one of the largest extant manuscript sources for the transmission of the so-called Parisian chanson.[6] As shown in Inventory G, only one composer is cited within the manuscript: the monogram I.H. (= Heinrich Isaac?) appears over one composition. Yet concordances enable us to identify an additional 59 pieces as the work of Adam von Fulda (1 piece), Arcadelt (16), Belin (1), Boyvin (1), von Bruck (1), Cara (1), Certon (4), Clemens non Papa (1), Crecquillon (1), Gardano (1), Janequin (1), Josquin (1), Didier Lupi Second (1), Maillard (2), Pathie (1), Sandrin (7), Senfl (1), Sermisy (14), Verdelot (1) Villiers (1), and Zirler (1).[7]

Among the 43 French secular pieces, one will find such favorites as Sandrin's *Doulce memoire*, Sermisy's *Tant que vivray*, and *Au pres de vous,* as well as Rogier Pathie's ubiquitous *Damour me plais*. In addition to the French repertory, the section includes 15 madrigals, most of which were composed by Jacques Arcadelt and first published by Antonio Gardano in 1539. Like the collection of chansons, the madrigals preserved in this section represent some of the most popular secular music of the time. Aside from such well-known pieces as Arcadelt's *Il bianco e dolce cigno, Pungente dardo* and *Quanta belta*, one may encounter a copy of Verdelot's *Fuggi, fuggi cor mio* – a madrigal whose popularity is evident from its frequent appearance in printed books of intabulations.

Although this layer consists primarily of an international repertory, it does contain eleven Tenorlieder, three of which are unique to F IX 59-62. These *unica*, *Vergangen ist mir glück und heyl* (no.1), *Becklag dich nit so hertziglich* (no.2), and *Ich Stell licht ab von sollicher hab* (no.71), are also noteworthy in that they are the only compositions to possess a full text underlay (nos.1 and 2) or to be supplemented with further strophes of text (all three). Moreover, *Vergangen ist mir glück und heyl* and *Becklag dich nit so hertziglich* received special attention in that they were the first two pieces entered in the

5 The Forster anthology of 1539 (RISM 1539^{27}) and its subsequent four editions (RISM 1543^{24}, 1549^{35}, 1552^{27}, and 1560^{25}) have been catalogued, edited and discussed on several occasions. For an inventory of its musical and textual incipits see Nobert Böker-Heil, *Das Tenorlied, op. cit.*, I, 91-102 (= 1539^{27}), 117-128 (= 1543^{24}), 169-181 (= 1549^{35}), 221-233 (= 1552^{27}), 280-291 (= 1560^{25}). Aside from the well-known edition of the music, prepared by Kurt Gudewill and W. Heiske (*Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, vol.20, Berlin, 1942), the earlier edition by E. Marriage is still valuable for its complete transcriptions of text: E. Marriage (ed.), *Georg Forsters Frische teutsche Liedlein in fünf Teilen.* Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, nos.203-06 (Halle, 1903) no.203. For a historical study of Forster and his anthologies, see H. Kallenbach, "Georg Forsters Frische teutsche Liedlein," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Giessen, 1931); and Kurt Gudewill, "Bemerkungen zur Herausgebertätigkeit Georg Forsters," *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburstag* (Kassel, 1968) 299f.

6 For a study of the French chanson with particular emphasis on its stylistic diversity, see Lawrence F. Bernstein, "The 'Parisian Chanson': Problems of Style and Terminology," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 31 (1978), 193-240.

7 As shown in Inventory G of Part III however, not every one of these attributions is secure.

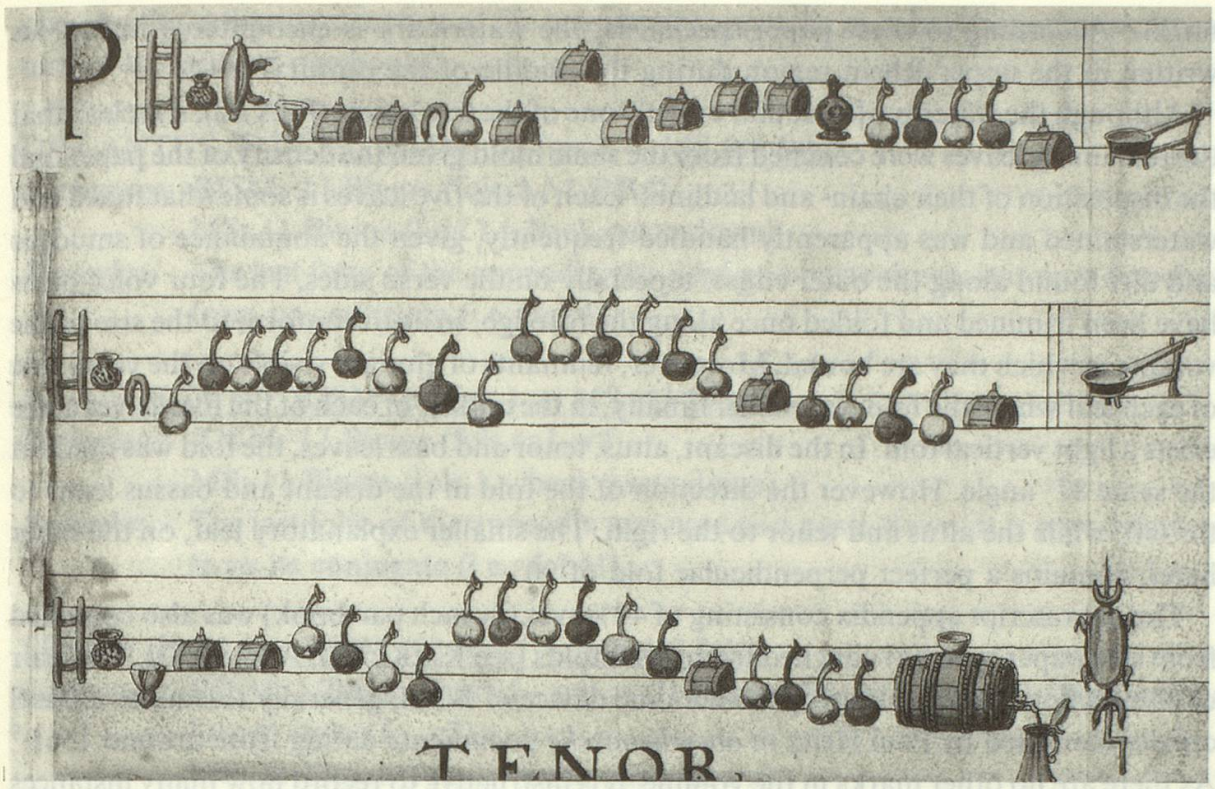


Plate 6.1. Tenor part of *Paule, Paule liebster Stahlbruder mein* (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F IX 61, fol.Ir)

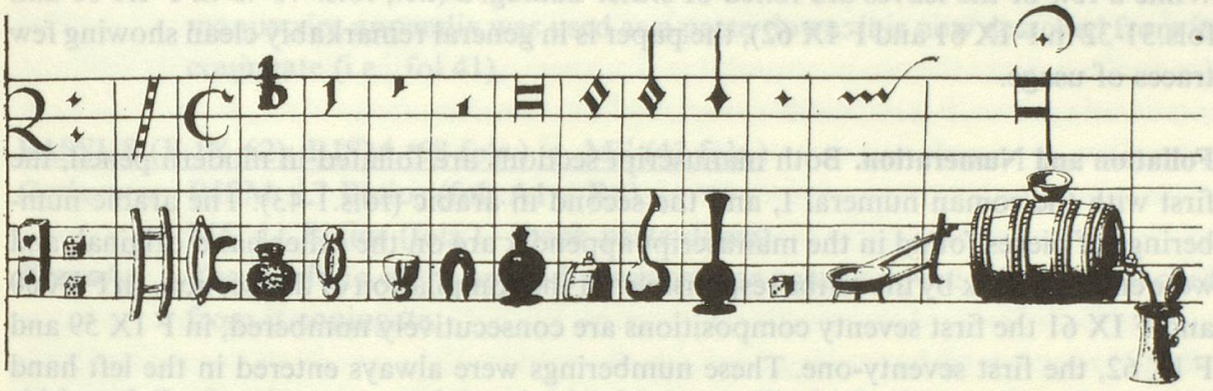


Plate 6.2. Key to the notation of *Paule, Paule* (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F IX 61, fol.44r)

manuscript appendix, and perhaps more importantly, were the only compositions attributed and dated.

Given this evidence, we should suspect that F IX 59-62 was compiled by a German speaker. Indeed, if we may now turn our attention to the manuscript's scribal and physical make-up, evidence for Basel provenance for the source will begin to emerge.

Physical Description

Paper. The single folio in the front of each partbook (fol. I = 12.5 X 20.5 cm), containing on each recto side the song *Paule, Paule,* together with the key to this notation pasted on the inside back cover of the tenor book (fol.44r = 5.2 X 17 cm), is copied on one paper type with a running bear watermark (see KatK, 449: Abb.78). This mark, representing the heraldic device of Bern, shows a strong resemblance to Briquet no.12327 and Lindt

no.33.[8] According to these paper specialists, the watermark is encountered in sources written in the upper-Rhein region during the middle of the century.

Although the watermark is found on only one of the five leaves (F IX 62), it is clear that the remaining leaves were couched from the same mold given the density of the paper and the disposition of their chain- and laidlines. Each of the five leaves is somewhat foxed and waterstained and was apparently handled frequently, given the abundance of smudges and dirt found along the outer edges, especially on the verso sides. The four voice parts have been trimmed and folded once along the foredge, so as to conform to the size of the volume in which they are bound. Moreover, remnants of glue are visible on the verso side of each leaf where the fold was made. Finally, in the middle of each of the five leaves there exists a light vertical fold. In the discant, altus, tenor and bass leaves, the fold was made at the same 87° angle. However the direction of the fold in the discant and bassus leans to the left, while the altus and tenor to the right. The smaller explanatory leaf, on the other hand, contains a perfect perpendicular fold of 90°.

The manuscript appendix consisting of 44 leaves (in each partbook) was also compiled from one paper type but couched from two molds (see KatK, 450: Abb.81-82). This pair of companion marks, featuring the heraldic device of Basel, generally resembles a Basel crozier identified by Paul Heitz in *oberrheinische* documents dating from around 1565.[9] As there are no other marks in the volume, it is instructive to record how many instances of each mold there are: Mold A appears sixteen times, Mold B twenty-eight times.[10] While a few of the leaves are foxed or water damaged (i.e., fols. 41-43 in F IX 60 and fols.31-32 in F IX 61 and F IX 62), the paper is in general remarkably clean showing few traces of usage.

Foliation and Numeration. Both manuscript sections are foliated in modern pencil, the first with the roman numeral I, and the second in arabic (fols.1-43). The arabic numberings of pieces found in the manuscript appendix are on the other hand original, and were entered in ink by the scribe responsible for the compilation of this section. In F IX 60 and F IX 61 the first seventy compositions are consecutively numbered, in F IX 59 and F IX 62, the first seventy-one. These numberings were always entered in the left hand margins next to the initial system of each composition and in the alphabetical index of text incipits. The last two pieces in this section, Stephan Zirler's *Bewar mich herr* (no.72) and Thomas Crecquillon's *Ung gay bergier* (no.73), were not numbered by the scribe in either place.

Collation. As would be expected, the two manuscript sections were folded and cut in the same oblong quarto format as the printed book with which they were bound. Conse-

8 Briquet, *Les Filigranes*. III, no.12,327; Johann Lindt, *The Paper-Mills of Berne and their watermarks*. Monumenta chartae papyracae historiam illustrantia, vol.7 (Hilversum, 1964), no.33.

9 Paul Heitz, *Les filigranes avec la crosse de Bâle* (Strassburg, 1904), no.7.

10 Mold A is found in the discantus on folios 7/8, 15/16, 25/26, 37/38, in the altus on folios 1/2, 5/6, 25/26, 29/30, 41/42, in the tenor on folios 9/10, 13/14, 21/22, 25/26, in the bassus on folios 1/2, 29/30, 43/back paste- down.

Mold B is located in the discantus on folios, 3/4, 9/10, 17/18, 23/24, 31/32, 43/back paste-down, in the altus on folios 11/12, 15/16, 19/20, 23/24, 35/36, 39/40, in the tenor on folios 3/4, 7/8, 19/20, 31/32, 35/36, 39/40, 43/back paste-down, in the bassus on folios 7/8, 11/12, 14/15, 17/18, 23/24, 27/28, 35/36, 39/40.

quently, the gathering structure of the manuscript appendix matches the gathering structure of the printed partbooks:

DISCANTUS (F IX 59): RISM (68 fols.) + MS (43 fols.)
Gatherings: RISM: 17 Binios (fols.AA1-RR4)
MS: 11 Binios (fols.1 – back paste-down).
Remarks: The last folio of the appendix was used as a paste-down: it is now detached from its conjugate (i.e., fol.41).

ALTUS (F IX 60): RISM (68 fols.) + MS (43 fols.)
Gatherings: RISM: 17 Binios (fols.aa1-rr4).
MS: 11 Binios (fols.1 – back paste-down).
Remarks: The last folio of the appendix was used as a paste-down: it is now detached from its conjugate (i.e., fol.41).

TENOR (F IX 61): RISM (93 fols.) + MS (43 fols.)
Gatherings: RISM: 1 Ternio (fols.a1 – a6) + 21 Binios (fols.b1 – u4) + 1 (Binio minus fol.v4) (fols.v1 – v3).
MS: 11 Binios (fols.1 – back paste-down).
Remarks: Since folio v3^{v} of the printed book contains the printer's colophon, the subsequent missing leaf (v4) was presumably blank. The last folio of the manuscript appendix was used as a paste-down: it is now detached from its conjugate (i.e., fol.41).

BASSUS (F IX 62): RISM (68 fols.) + MS (43 fols.)
Gatherings: RISM: 17 Binios (fols.A1 – R4).
MS: 11 Binios (fols.1 – back paste-down).
Remarks: The last folio of the appendix was used as a paste-down: it is now detached from it conjugate.

Although the four leaves containing the drinking song *Paule, Paule* were tipped-in and/or reinforced when the bindings were rebacked in the early twentieth century, one can argue that they were probably part of the original binding or at least predate the restoration. The description of the manuscript by Julius Richter in 1892 makes it is clear that the leaves were present before the bindings were restored:

> Jedem Stb. vorgebunden ist ein handschriftliches Blatt in scherzhafter Noten-Schrift... Am Schlusse des Ten.-Stb. ist ein Blatt eingebunden, welches den Schlüssel zu dieser Tonschrift giebt.[11]

Each voice part is at present tipped-on to the inner edge of the front pasted endsheets: originally, however, the outer edge of each verso side was glued-down to the inner edge of each printed title page. This resulted in the texted sides facing the printed book block

11 Richter, *op. cit.*, 75.

rather than the binding, as they do today. Not only are there remnants of glue on the inner edge of each printed title page, with the same patterns of glue on the folded edge on the verso of each manuscript leaf, but the paper along these edges is also considerably thinner.

Yet, since portions of text are missing because each leaf has been trimmed in order to accommodate the size of the printed book (see Plate 6.1), this four-part composition apparently had a separate earlier existence. Indeed, a number of bibliographical facts permit one to propose that the four leaves with music originally existed together on one sheet of paper and were layed-out in choirbook format, as shown in Table 6.3.

First of all, as was noted above, the leaves are all copied on the same paper. Second, the only watermark to be found among the five leaves is preserved on the upper edge of the bass leaf and is incomplete, suggesting that this voice, at least, occupied what would be its traditional place in choirbook format. Finally, in the middle of each leaf, there is one vertical fold which, in the four voice parts, was made at the same 87° angle: yet, as already noted, the angles do not always move in the same direction. However, if one sets out each voice part according to the normal practice of a choirbook format and then folds the bifolium three times so as to produce an octavo packet, it is possible to explain why the folds in the discant and tenor parts (and, in turn, those in the altus and bass) form identical yet convex and concave angles with each other. On the other hand, since the leaf containing the key to the notation (F IX 63, fol.44) shows an upright vertical fold of 90°, it must have been folded somewhere in the middle of the sheet.

Handwriting. Since the two manuscript sections are copied using two completely different notational systems, it is impossible, working from this manuscript alone, to say if we have two scribes, or one who possessed artistic talent. However, as will be seen later, the scribe of the music in the manuscript kk IV 19-22 (the scribe of the present manuscript appendix) was also responsible for drawing into the source fourteen pen and watercolor illustrations which bear a striking resemblance to the artistically rendered musical notation of F IX 59-62. Moreover, this scribe of kk IV 19-22 or the recipient of his work was a Basler, since one of the drawings contains the emblem of the city. In the meantime, I will discuss these two notational hands as if they were copied by different people.

The notation, initials and one voice designation found in the redaction of the anonymous drinking song *Paule, Paule* were clearly produced by the same person. Although the systems were drawn by hand, they consistently measure 2 cm wide: the scribe pricked each leaf with a double-pronged device. The writing block in each of the four voice parts was probably also the same. Each now contains three staves with their horizontal and vertical boundaries equalling the size of the leaf; however, before the leaves were trimmed by the binder, the writing block was at least five centimeters larger.

Its text, consisting only of the initial "P" and voice designation "TENOR", was executed in roman majuscule characters, which during the sixteenth century were one of the most popular upper-case alphabets to be taught by German writing masters.[12] This *antiqua* script, together with the staves, were copied in the same dark black ink.

12 See, for example, Wolfgang Fugger, *Ein nutzlich und wolgegrundt / Formular Manncherley schöner schrieffften / Als Teutscher, Lateinscher, Griechischer, unnd / Hebrayscher Buchstaben, sampt unterrichtung, / wie ein yede gebraucht und gelernt soll werden...* (Nuremberg, 1553) fols.v1-cciii. A facsimile edtion of this important writing manual, with an introduction by Fritz Funke, has been published by Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig: 1958.

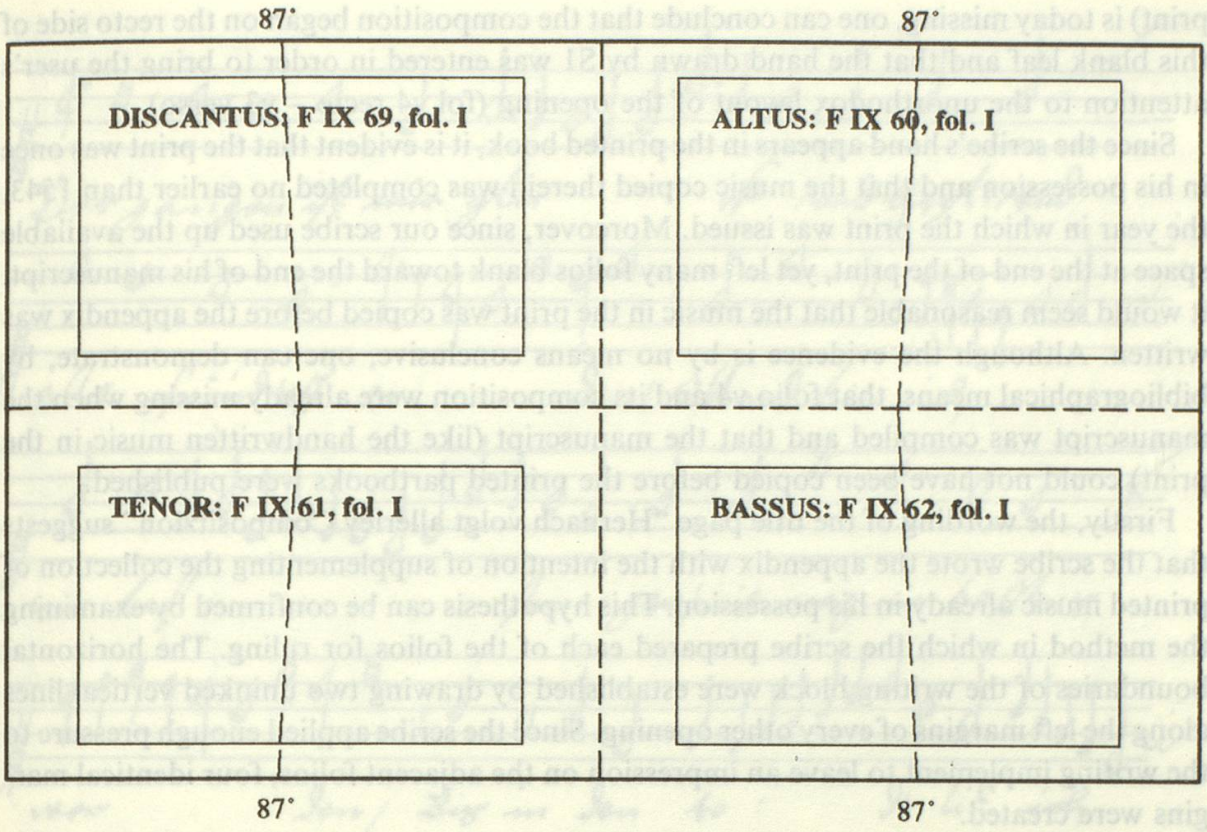


Table 6.3. Diagram showing the original layout in choirbook format of the four-part Lied *Paule, Paule* (CH-Bu F IX 59-62, fols.Ir)

The notation, on the other hand, was drawn using a number of different watercolors: for example, the frying pans are dark blue, the sausages light brown, the wine barrels dark brown and the bottles and fruits either red or yellow. Moreover, each notational value was cut-out and pasted onto the staves, rather than being drawn directly onto parchment as in the only surviving concordance of this piece, housed today in Nuremberg.[13]

The manuscript appendix was also copied by one individual, whose hand (as we shall see) appears in all of the remaining sources. This scribe (hereafter called S1) not only wrote the music and text in F IX 59-62, but also numbered the pieces, and entered an index and title page. Moreover, on fol.v3 verso of the printed tenor partbook he copied a system of music and supplemented it with the drawing of a hand which pointed in the direction of the music. This system of white mensural notation is today pasted-over with a slip of laid paper, yet it is possible to recover the readings (consisting only of the end of a tenor part) by holding the leaf up to natural light.[14] Since folio v4 (the last folio of the

13 Germanische National-Museum, Sign. HB 19187; for a description and color facsimile of this parchment source, see Crosby, *op. cit.*, 29ff.

14 The music reads:



The present author has not been able to identify concordances for this fragment.

print) is today missing, one can conclude that the composition began on the recto side of this blank leaf and that the hand drawn by S1 was entered in order to bring the user's attention to the unorthodox layout of the opening (fol.v4 recto – v3 verso).

Since the scribe's hand appears in the printed book, it is evident that the print was once in his possession and that the music copied therein was completed no earlier than 1543, the year in which the print was issued. Moreover, since our scribe used up the available space at the end of the print, yet left many folios blank toward the end of his manuscript, it would seem reasonable that the music in the print was copied before the appendix was written. Although the evidence is by no means conclusive, one can demonstrate, by bibliographical means, that folio v4 and its composition were already missing when the manuscript was compiled and that the manuscript (like the handwritten music in the print) could not have been copied before the printed partbooks were published.

Firstly, the wording of the title page "Hernach volgt allerley Compositzion" suggests that the scribe wrote the appendix with the intention of supplementing the collection of printed music already in his possession. This hypothesis can be confirmed by examining the method in which the scribe prepared each of the folios for ruling. The horizontal boundaries of the writing block were established by drawing two uninked vertical lines along the left margins of every other opening. Since the scribe applied enough pressure to the writing implement to leave an impression on the adjacent folios, four identical margins were created.

The width of the writing block does vary within a gathering (14.5 – 16 cm wide), and the bounding lines drawn by the scribe on folio 2v of the appendix left their impression on the last page of each of the printed songbooks. Consequently, it is clear that the manuscript was copied no earlier than 1543 (the date of the Forster print) and that it was compiled after the book was bound. From this evidence, one can also suggest that folio v4 of the printed book and in turn the composition copied on that opening (v3 verso – v4 recto) were already missing, since the bounding lines on folio v3 are so clearly visible as to preclude the existence of an intervening leaf.

Having prepared an opening for copy, the scribe then entered the number of staves necessary for laying out a composition. This required four systems on each page for most of the pieces, except for the German Lieder which were accompanied with text. Here, the scribe left either one page blank, or entered only the number of staves needed to leave room for the strophes of text which followed the music. Given the fact that the distances between the lines of a system differ from one to another example, it is clear that all the systems were drawn by hand. Yet, the overall height of each stave is remarkably regular, measuring either 11 or 12 mm, even though there is now no evidence of prickings or other markings which would have guided S1 in the placement of his ruler.

As we see from the samples of the scribe's handwriting in Figures 6.1-6.6, he writes in a cursive text hand, and uses predominantly lozenge-shaped semibreve and minim forms. The characteristics of his German script hand (Figures 6.1 and 6.2) can also be found among the Latin, French and Italian text incipits, in the examples reproduced in Figures 6.3 and 6.4. This is most clearly evident by comparing the ductus and graphemes of certain letters: note particularly the ubiquitous *er* and *es* construction, or the ductus of such individual letters as an internal *a* or final *s*. While the scribe upheld good German and Latin orthnography, his knowledge of French and Italian seems not to have been very extensive: indeed, the spelling of text incipits for the international repertory is often so corrupt that the identity of the piece is obscured: e.g., no.13. *De mull emays* [= *De mille*

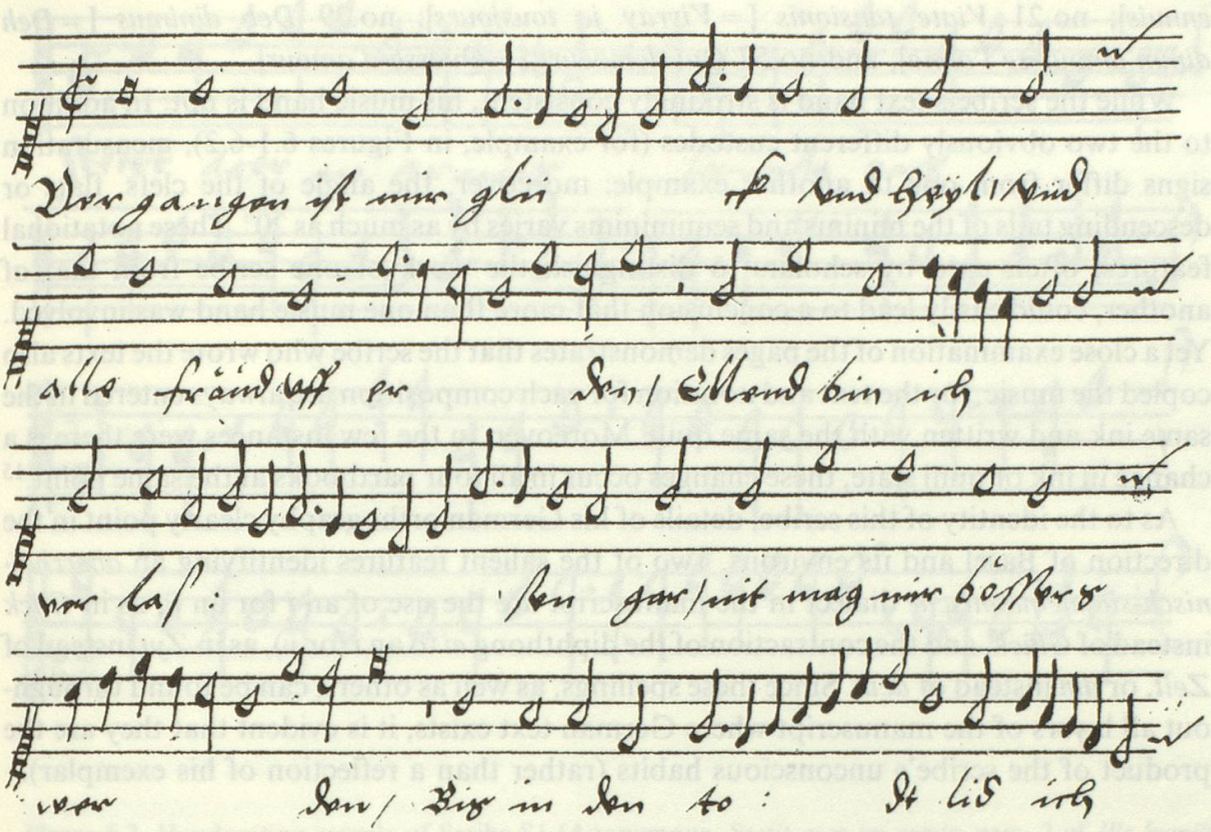


Figure 6.1. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (I.H., *Vergangen ist mir glück*, CH-Bu F IX 59, fol.1v)

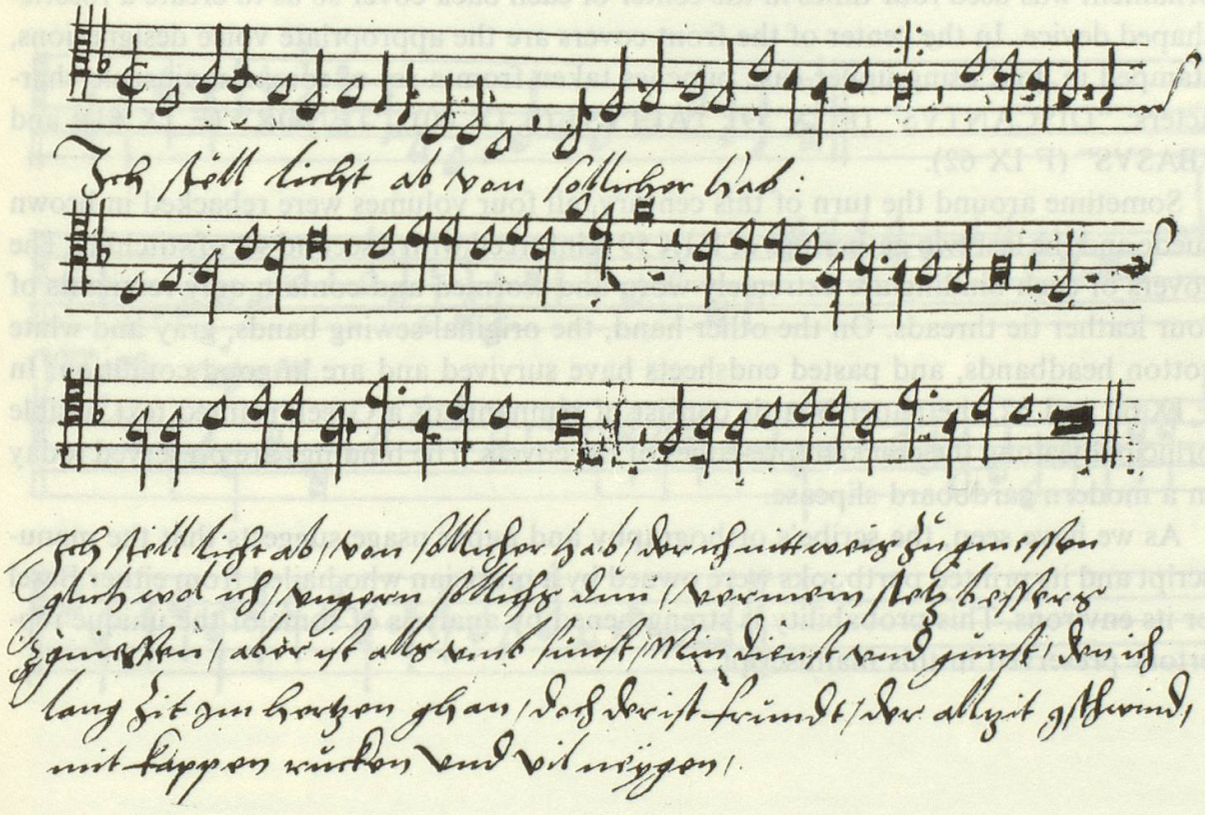


Figure 6.2. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Anonymous. *Ich stell licht ab von sollicher hab*, CH-Bu F IX 61, fol.36v)

ennuis]; no.21 *Viate tansionis* [=*Vivray je tousjours*]; no.29 *Deb dinimus* [=*Deh dimm'amour se l'alma*]; and no.57 *Qui demoeurt* [=*Quesse d'amour*].

While the scribe's text hand is strikingly consistent, his music hand is not. In addition to the two obviously different custodes (for example, in Figures 6.1-6.2), mensuration signs differ from one to another example: moreover, the angle of the clefs, flats or descending tails of the minims and semiminims varies by as much as 20°. These notational features, often used by scholars to distinguish the work of one scribe from that of another, could easily lead to a conclusion that more than one music hand was involved. Yet a close examination of the pages demonstrates that the scribe who wrote the texts also copied the music, for the text and notation for each composition are always entered in the same ink and written with the same quill. Moreover, in the few instances were there is a change in ink or quill state, these changes occur in all four partbooks at the same point.[15]

As to the identity of this scribe, details of his German orthography clearly point in the direction of Basel and its environs. Two of the salient features identifying an *oberrheinisch-südalemannische* dialect in the manuscript are the use of an *i* for an *ü*, as in *Glick* instead of *Glück*, and the contraction of the diphthong *ei* to an *i* (or *y*), as in *Zyt* instead of *Zeit*, or *din* instead of *dein*. Since these spellings, as well as others, can be found throughout all layers of the manuscript where German text exists, it is evident that they are the product of the scribe's unconscious habits (rather than a reflection of his exemplar).

Binding. The four partbooks are preserved today in a matching set of calf leather covers over paper boards, executed in Basel sometime during the mid-sixteenth century. (Detailed evidence for the provenance of this binding will be offered in the description of the manuscript kk IV 19-22). Front and back covers are decorated with a hand-tooled blind edge, supplemented with an ornamental leaf stamped once in each corner. This same ornament was used four times in the center of each back cover so as to create a rosette-shaped device. In the center of the front covers are the appropriate voice designations, stamped in gold using upper-case punches taken from a set of roman majuscule characters: "DISCANTVS" (F IX 59); "ALTVS" (F IX 60); "TENOR" (F IX 61); and "BASVS" (F IX 62).

Sometime around the turn of this century, all four volumes were rebacked in brown suede and the last two gatherings of F IX 59 reinforced with a second set of stitching. The covers of each binding are extremely worn and wormed and contain only remnants of four leather tie threads. On the other hand, the original sewing bands, gray and white cotton headbands, and pasted endsheets have survived and are in good condition. In F IX 60 and 62, the paper boards consist of remnants of a Greek printed text, visible principally along the cracked fore-edges of the covers. The bindings are preserved today in a modern cardboard slipcase.

As we have seen, the scribe's orthography and paper usage suggests that the manuscript and its printed partbooks were owned by a musician who hailed from either Basel or its environs. This probability is strengthened by analysis of some of the unique repertory preserved in this manuscript.

15 For example, the music and text for piece numbers 1 and 2 are in a black ink; numbers 3-31 in brown, numbers 32-33 in black and number 34 in brown.

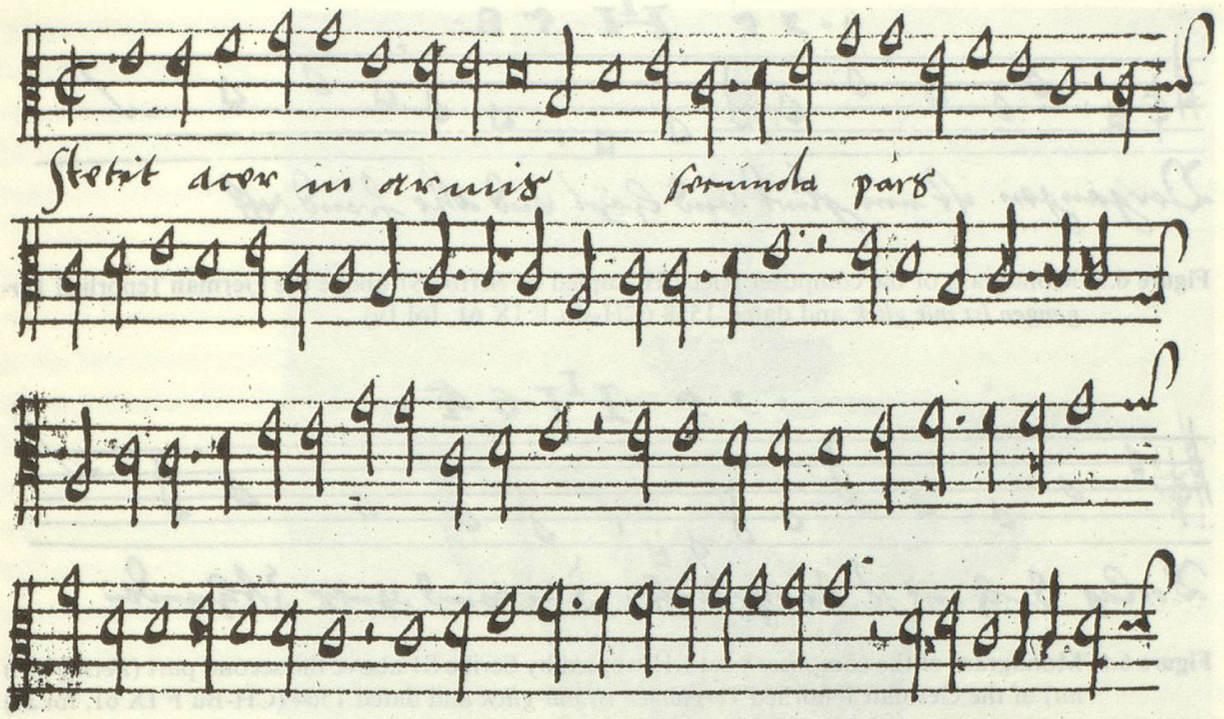


Figure 6.3. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Anonymous. *Stetit acer im armis*: pars. 2 of *Ille humilis*, CH-Bu F IX 61, fol.30v)

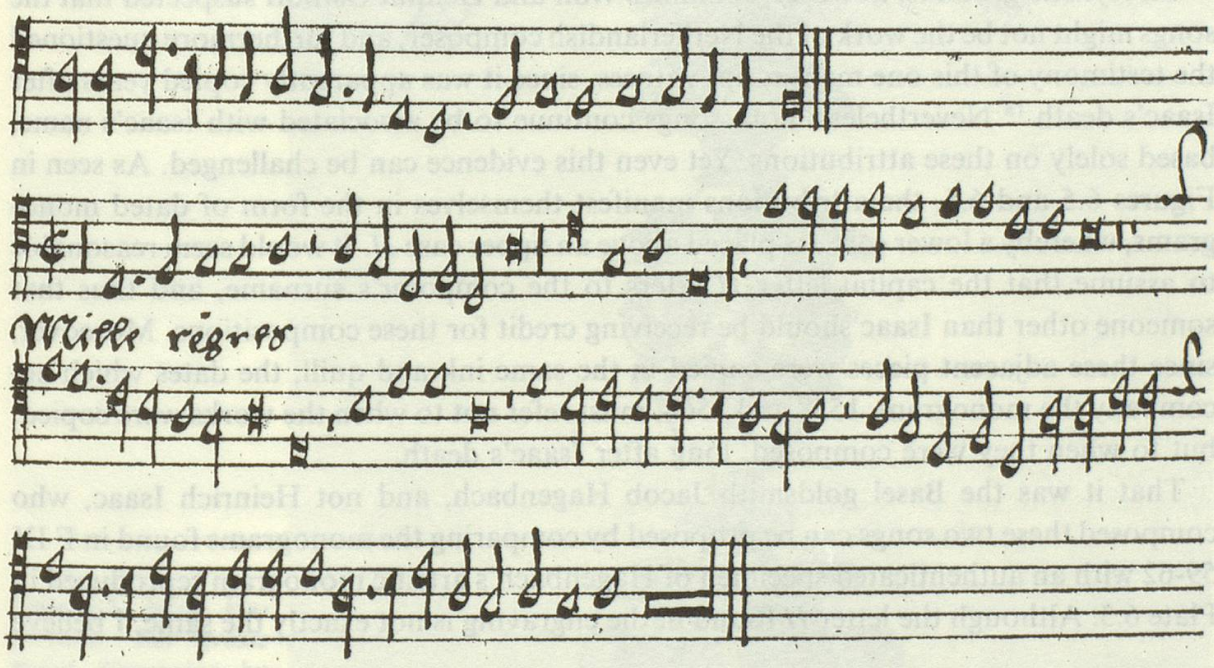


Figure 6.4. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Sandrin. *Doulce memoire*; Josquin. *Mille regres*, CH-Bu F IX 61, fol.29r)

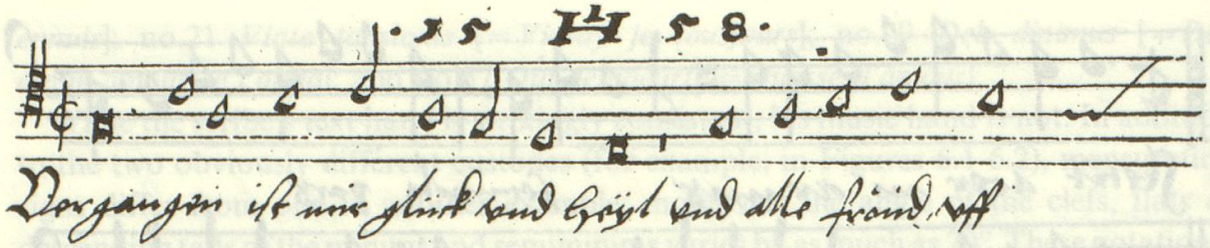


Figure 6.5. Monogram of the composer/poet I.H. copied by Scribe S1 above the German Tenorlied *Vergangen ist mir glick* and dated 1558 (CH-Bu F IX 61, fol.1v)

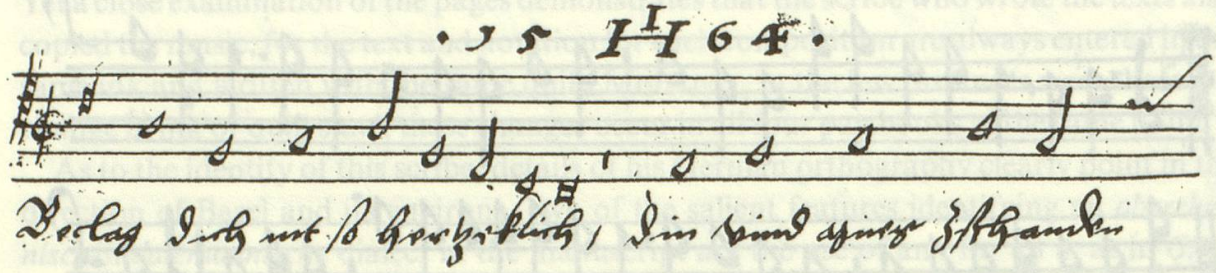


Figure 6.6. Monogram of the composer/poet I.H. copied by Scribe S1 above the second part (*Beclag dich nit*) of the German Tenorlied *Vergangen ist mir glick* and dated 1564 (CH-Bu F IX 61, fol.2v)

The Hagenbach Lieder. Of the 73 compositions copied by S1, only the two *unica Vergangen ist mir Glück und Heyl* and *Beklag dich nit so hertziglich* were given attributions. In addition, these songs received special attention in that they were dated, were the only pieces with full text underlay, and perhaps more importantly, were the first two compositions entered in the manuscript appendix. Since both pieces (as seen in Figure 6.5 and 6.6) were assigned to a composer whose initials consisted of the letters *H* and *I*, the songs have found their way into the collected works of Heinrich Isaac[16], and the monogram has been associated with Isaac's name by Richard Schaal.[17]

On stylistic grounds, however, Johannes Wolf and Helmut Osthoff suspected that the songs might not be the work of the Netherlandish composer, and furthermore questioned the testimony of this one manuscript witness, since it was apparently copied years after Isaac's death.[18] Nevertheless, both songs continue to be associated with Isaac's name, based solely on these attributions. Yet even this evidence can be challenged. As seen in Figures 6.5 and 6.6, the attributions manifest themselves in the form of dated monograms, whereby a lower case *I* is placed above an upper case *H*. It would seem reasonable to assume that the capital letter *H* refers to the composer's surname, and thus that someone other than Isaac should be receiving credit for these compositions. Moreover, since these adjacent pieces were copied in the same ink and quill, the dates which accompany the monogram, 1558 and 1564, must refer not to when the works were copied, but to when they were composed, long after Isaac's death.

That it was the Basel goldsmith Jacob Hagenbach, and not Heinrich Isaac, who composed these two songs can be proposed by comparing the monograms found in F IX 59-62 with an authenticated specimen of Hagenbach's artistic monogram reproduced in Plate 6.3. Although the letter *H* found in the engraving is not exactly the same, I believe

16 Johannes Wolf (ed.), *Heinrich Isaac: Weltliche Werke*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, vol. 28 (Vienna, 1907), 129-131

17 Richard Schaal, *Musik-Monogramme: Ein Verzeichnis*, Taschenbücher zur Musikwissenschaft, vol.27 (Wiesbaden, 1963), 59.

18 Wolf, *Heinrich Isaac, 202*; and Helmut Osthoff, *Die Niederländer und das deutsche Lied* (Berlin, 1938), 81f.

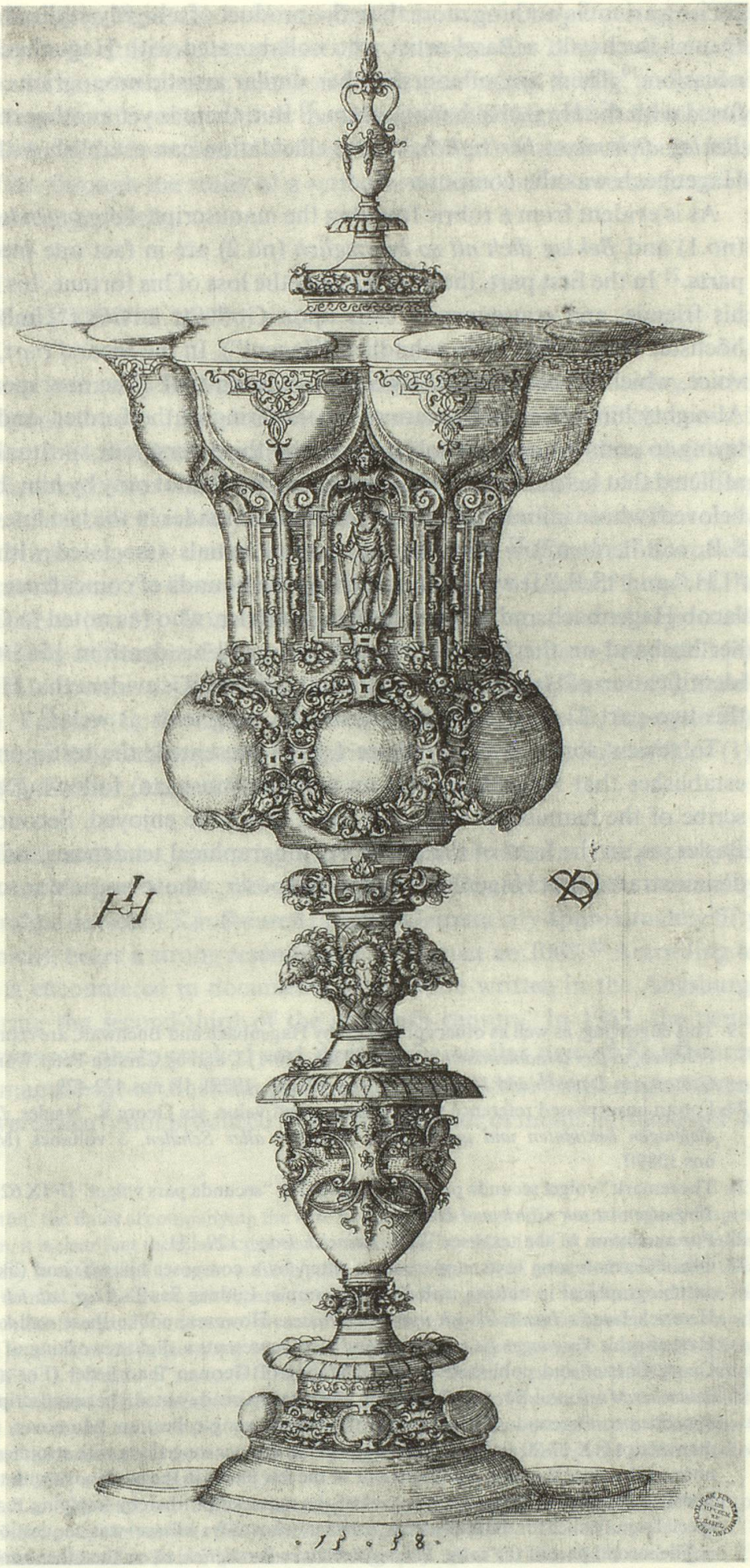


Plate 6.3. Jacob Hagenbach, *Der grosse Pokal*. Engraving by Daniel Buchwalt, Basel, 1558 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. Bi.I.237)

such a variant is nothing more than the product of a highly-stylized copper engraving by Daniel Buchwalt, a Basel artist who collaborated with Hagenbach on more than one occasion.[19] There are, of course, other similar artistic monograms which might be confused with the Hagenbach monogram.[20] But, there is yet another reference in the text of *Beklag dich nit so hertziglich*, whose elucidation can establish without any doubt that Hagenbach was the composer.

As is evident from a rubric found in the manuscript, *Vergangen ist mir Glück und Heyl* (no.1) and *Beklag dich nit so hertziglich* (no.2) are in fact one piece composed in two parts.[21] In the first part, the poet laments the loss of his fortune, his happiness, and all of his friends, and consequently calls upon God for advice ("Umb Hülf ich rüf, mein höchster Hort, erhör mein sehndlich Klagen!"). In the second part, there is a change of voice, which is accompanied by a change in outlook. The new speaker, apparently the Almighty himself, is well aware of the suffering of the former, and spends three verses trying to comfort and console him. In the third verse our spiritual advisor assures the afflicted that his misfortune shall pass, a wish held not only by him, but also by the poet's beloved, whose initials S.B. are revealed to the reader in the last line of verse ("das wunst S.B. von hertzen").[22] Thus the two sets of initials associated with the same piece are "I.H." and "S.B." It would be stretching the bounds of coincidence to look further than Jacob Hagenbach and his wife Sophia Bratteler, who (as noted in Chapter 5) lived with her husband on the Freie Straße in Basel until his death in 1565/66. Indeed, with the identification of Hagenbach as the initial speaker, it is evident that Hagenbach composed this two-part Lied, and perhaps wrote the song texts as well.[23]

To review some of the evidence I have presented; the testimony of Platter's diary establishes that Hagenbach was an amateur musician, following a pastime which the scribe of the manuscript appendix must also have enjoyed. Second, Hagenbach was a Basler, as, in the light of the scribe's orthographical tendencies, was he. Third, we have demonstrated that Hagenbach was a composer, whose music our scribe seemed to have

19 This engraving, as well as others produced by Hagenbach and Buchwalt, are reproduced and discussed by P. Jessen, in *Der Ornamentstich* (Berlin, 1920), 110-113, and by Carsten-Peter Warncke, in *Die ornamentale Groteske in Deutschland 1500-1650*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1979), II, nos.472-479.

20 For an unsurpassed reference work of permanent value, see Georg K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten und diejenigen bekannten und unbekannten Künstler aller Schulen*, 5 volumes (Munich, 1858-1879), III, nos.1089ff.

21 The remark "volget secunda pars" (F IX 59-61) or "secunda pars volget" (F IX 62) was copied at the end of *Vergangen ist mir Glück und Heyl.*

22 For an edition of the texts see Wolf, *Heinrich Isaac*, 129-131.

23 Other German song texts, apparently written by a composer himself, and (like the Hagenbach verse) autobiographical in nature, include, for example, Ludwig Senfl's *Lust hab ich g'habt zuer Musica* and Heinrich Isaac's *Innsbruck ich muss dich lassen*. However, unlike these well-known songs, the text of Hagenbach's *Vergangen ist mir Glück und Heyl* represents a slight reworking of a song text attributed to Georg Forster and published in his anthology of German Tenorlieder (For an edition see, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, vol. 20, no.15). Indeed, as we have already noted, the manuscript section of F IX 59-62 is appended to a second edition copy of the Forster song collection. Moreover, the scribally-concordant manuscript F X 17-20 also contains a copy of the Forster song along with strophes of text. This is especially noteworthy since the song represents one of the few pieces in the partbooks with text, and also because the first two strophes of text were torn out of the manuscript; thereby implying that Forster's verse carried special significance for the manuscript's owner, who (as we will see) was unquestionably Jacob Hagenbach.

The second part of the song, *Beklag dich nit so hertziglich*, is, on the other hand, unique to F IX 59-62.

had an interest in preserving. From this evidence alone, one cannot help but suggest that Hagenbach is the scribe in question, or at least the commissioner of the manuscript. Indeed, who else would have been more concerned with attributing, dating, and underlaying text only to Hagenbach's compositions than the goldsmith himself.[24] Admittedly, the evidence upon which this conclusion is based is in need of some support: this, however, we can offer, through the study of a scribally-concordant source unquestionably owned by Jacob Hagenbach.

Basel University Library MS F X 17-20

Contents. As shown in Inventory H, eighty-six compositions are preserved today in this set of four manuscript partbooks. Included are 61 German secular pieces, 15 chansons, 5 madrigals, 4 motets and 1 Latin/Italian composition. All of the compositions have only text incipits, except for two Lieder which were supplemented with strophes of text: Georg Forster's *Vergangen ist mir Glück und Heyl* (no.83) and the anonymous *unicum Zum zwire zum zware* (no.84). Moreover, only one ascription is to be found within the folios of our manuscript: the name of Cesar (= Georgius Cesar?) appears next to the text incipit of the motet entitled *Benedicite* (no.59). Concordances offer attributions, not always trustworthy, for fifty-six compositions, as the work of Adam von Fulda (1 piece), Arcadelt (3), Boyvin (1), Brack (1), Arnoldus de Bruck (1), Conseil (1), Dider Lupi Second (1), Eytelwein (1), Finck (3), Forster (1), Grefinger (1), Hofhaimer (5), Isaac (1), Janequin (1), Josquin (2), Malchinger (1), Othmayr (10), Rogirius (1), Sandrin (1), Schönfelder (1), Senfl (9), Sermisy (7), Stolzer (1), and Wolff (1).

Paper. Each of the four partbooks, measuring 7.5 X 10.5 cm, is written on one paper type, couched from two molds (see KatK, 475: Abb.158-159). The watermark, ostensibly representing the heraldic device of Kaufbeuren (a small German city approximately fifty miles south of Munich), bears a strong resemblance to Briquet no.1009.[25] According to Briquet, the mark is encountered in documents which were written in the Augsburg-Munich region during the second-third of the sixteenth century. In 1963, the paper specialist Allan Stevenson photographed and described a similar pair of Kaufbeuren shields found in a manuscript of Austrian provenance dated 1556.[26] Although Stevenson's watermarks were clearly not produced from the same pair of molds as found in F X

24 Having established that the dates accompanying the first two songs document the years in which Hagenbach composed them, it is clear that the manuscript was copied no earlier than 1564. A *terminus ante quem*, however, is not as easy to establish. It is most unlikely, that it would have been compiled much later than 1570. For while the manuscript does contain repertory which remained popular in Germany well into the beginning of the seventeenth century, it does not preserve any of the songs of those composers whose work represented the new musical trends in Germany in the mid 1560s. For example, not one song by Mattheus Le Maistre (RISM 1566[71]), Orlando di Lasso (RISM 1567[71], 1569[72]), Antonio Scandello (1568[71]) or Jakob Meiland (1569[73]) is to be found in this collection. Admittedly, it is possible that this music was not available to S1, or that these new sound textures did not conform to S1's tastes. However, if it was Hagenbach himself who compiled the manuscript, the exclusion of this repertory can be explained: the goldsmith died between September of 1565 and September of 1566.

25 Charles M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, no.1009. Concerning the identification of the shield as the arms of Kaufbeuren see E. Heawood, *Watermarks* (Hilversum, 1950), 490 and 509.

26 Allan Stevenson, "Watermarks Are Twins," *Studies in Bibliography*, IV (1951-52), 72-73 and Figure 1.

17-20, their size, shape and the disposition of their attendant chainlines are similar enough to suggest that both pairs of marks were made by the same paper mill. The mark found in F X 17-20 occurs elsewhere in the rich collection of sixteenth-century correspondence housed today in the University Library of Basel, always on paper written by a citizen of Augsburg during the fourth decade of the century.[27] As there are no other watermarks in F X 17-20, it is perhaps instructive to note that each mark is distributed evenly throughout the partbooks and in equal numbers: watermark A (KatK, 475: Abb.158) appears 12 times and watermark B (KatK, 475: Abb.159) 11 times.

Given the condition of the paper, which is very dirty, it is clear that this set of partbooks (made to fit in a gentleman's pocket) was frequently used. The leaves transmitting pieces 54, 58, 83 and 84 in each partbook are especially smudged and dirtied, suggesting that these compositions were among the favorites of the collection.

Foliation and Numeration. Two systems of modern pencil foliation in arabic numerals are found in the upper-right corner of each recto leaf. The first system includes only those folios which contain music. Each partbook was thus foliated as follows: discantus, 1 – 53 (followed by 35 blank folios); altus, 1-49 (followed by 43 blank folios); tenor, 1-55 (followed by 19 blank folios), 56-74 (followed by 1 blank folio); bassus, 1-55, (followed by 36 blank folios). Using this earlier foliation, the second system (entered by myself in 1985) takes into account the blank folios: discantus, 1-88; altus, I (=modern flyleaf) + 1-92; tenor, 1-91; bassus, 1-91.

The partbooks also contain the original numeration of the pieces, entered by the two scribes responsible for the manuscript's compilation. The first 52 compositions are copied in one hand with each piece numbered by the same scribe in ink (nos.3-53). These arabic numerals were usually entered above the mensuration sign of each composition. Although the number 32 was applied to two consecutive pieces, this inaccuracy has been corrected in the present study, by labelling the compositions as 32a and 32b respectively.

The remaining 35 compositions were entered by the other scribe. Upon completing this layer, he numbered each of his pieces, following on from the previous numeration (nos.54-88), but consistently placed his arabic numbers *next* to the initial system of each piece rather than *above*. Moreover, the second scribe copied into the tenor book an alphabetical index of text incipits, which included both sets of pieces. Since the index does not contain any pieces assigned the numbers 1 or 2, the initial two compositions (which are missing today), were already absent when the second scribe entered the index. Indeed, evidence of the gathering structure will show not only that the partbooks are now missing a number of leaves, but also that several leaves were inserted into the original structure.

Collation. The manuscript's paper was collated in a format especially convenient for a portable volume, namely *sestodecimo*. While this pocket format (usually no larger in size than a package of cigarettes) is frequently encountered today among sixteenth-century prayerbooks or in the many editions of classical and biblical texts from the house of the Parisian Robert Estienne,[28] very few music books in this format have survived in either

27 For a list of these documents see Kmetz, *Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, F X 17-20, Papier.
28 See Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer* (Cambridge, 1954).

print or manuscript.[29] Since the format was clearly designed to be for every-day use, it is not surprising that the manuscript's original gathering structure of quaternios was altered several times in the course of collecting, entering, and correcting the music:

F X 17 (Discant): 89 folios.

Gatherings: 1 Bifolium + fols. 1, 2 and 5 (fols. 1-5)
1 Quaternio (fols. 6-13)
1 Ternio (fols. 14-19)
1 Quaternio (fols. 20-27)
1 Quaternio – 2nd leaf (fols.28-34)
6 Quaternios (fols. 35-82)
1 Quaternio (fols.83-back paste down).

Remarks: Folios 1-5 ostensibly represent the remains of the manuscript's initial quaternio. Although folios 3 and 4 are described as a bifolium, these two leaves are conjugate only because they have been tipped-onto a binding slip. Folios 2 and 5 were then glued to this "bifolium;" and folio 1 attached to the inner edge of the front paste down.

A few of the custodes on verso sides of a leaf were copied by S1 onto these binding slips/stubs; thus it is evident that it was S1 himself who glued these leaves together. Indeed, since the manuscript's initial two pieces are today missing (which in view of the repertory would have taken only two sides of a leaf) and since each partbook contains two blank flyleaves pasted down to the inner front covers, I suspect that the initial gathering of each partbook looked something like:

paste down 1 / folio 5
paste down 2 / folio 4
[missing leaf] / folio 3
folio 1 / folio 2

On folio 33r, the final system of music was copied on a slip of paper which was tipped onto the leaf. Folio 83 and the back pasted endsheet were originally conjugate, but are now detached.

F X 19 (Altus): 91 folios.

Gatherings: 1 Bifolium + folio 2 (fols.1-3)
1 Quaternio + folios 4 and 5 (fols.4-13)
9 Quaternios (fols.14-85)
1 Quaternio (fols.86-back paste down)

29 Aside from the few well-known printed partbooks issued by Christian Egenolff around 1535 (see Nanie Bridgman, "Christian Egenolff, Imprimeur de Musique," *Annales Musicologiques*, III (1955), 88-177), *sestodecimo* format was also used for copying Basel University Library Manuscripts F X 21, F X 25-26 (Iselin Songbooks), and F X 22-24 (Songbook of Basilius Amerbach); and Zurich Zentralbibliothek Mscr. Q 906. On the Amerbach partbooks F X 22-24 see above, Chapter 4. Detailed bibliographical information on the Basel songbooks can also be found in Kmetz, *Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, F X 21-26. Concerning the origins of the Zurich partbook see Martin Staehelin, "Neue Quellen zur mehrstimmigen Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in der Schweiz," *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, Series 3/III (1978), 57f.

Remarks: Folio 83 and the back pasted endsheet were originally conjugate, but, as in F X 17, are now detached.

F X 18 (Tenor): 91 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Bifolium + folios 1 and 4 (fols. 1-4)
1 Quaternio + folio 5 (fols.5-13)
4 Quaternios (fols.14-45)
1 Quaternio – 5th folio (fols. 46-52)
4 Quaternios (fols.53-84)
1 Quaternio (fols.85-back paste down).
Remarks: Folio 85 and the back pasted endsheet were originally conjugate, but are now detached.

F X 20 (Bassus): 91 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Bifolium + folio 2 (fols.1-3)
1 Quaternio – 4th folio + folios 4 and 5 (fols.4-12)
9 Quaternios (fols.13-83)
1 Quaternio (fols.84-back paste down).
Remarks: Folios 4 and 5 were originally tipped onto a binding slip so as to from a bifolium. Folio 5 was then glued to folio 6 (the initial leaf of the following gathering). Folio 85 and the back pasted endsheet were originally conjugate, but, as in F X 17, are now detached.

Scribes. As was first noted by Julius Richter,[30] the manuscript consists of two distinct scribal layers. The first scribe (hereafter S2), copied music and text for pieces 3 – 53, numbered each of his entries, and drew the two drinking glasses on folio 14v of F X 20. Both the glasses are in the same grayish brown ink as the music and text entered in this layer of the manuscript. While the writing block is not always consistent from gathering to gathering (c.5-6.5 X c.9-9.5 cm), the horizontal boundaries for individual gatherings usually are. These margins were established by pricking each gathering six times, three times along the gutter, and three times along the fore-edge. Since the prickings made in one gathering are often found on the outer leaves of the adjacent gatherings, the quaternios were apparently sewn together before the scribe began preparing the sheets. This can be confirmed: when ruling his staves, S2 often extended the top line of each stave into the inner margin of an opening, apparently in order to line-up adjacent systems. This even happens on openings which lie across the join between two gatherings, indicating that the partbooks must have been sewn together before the music was entered. The systems were ostensibly drawn by hand, the overall width of the staves varying by as much as 5 mm (0.7-1.2 cm).[31]

As shown in Figures 6.8, S2 writes in a Fraktur text hand, maintains impeccable German orthography, and uses lozenge-shaped semibreve and minim forms. Further, he always copies the text incipits for the French and Italian pieces in a stylized German script (Figure 6.7) and with a Germanic approach to the actual texts. For example, Sermisy's

30 Richter, *Katalog*, 69 and 73.

31 A few systems, however, would appear to have been drawn with a single stave rastrum; see, for example, the third systems on folios 28r and 41r in F X 20.

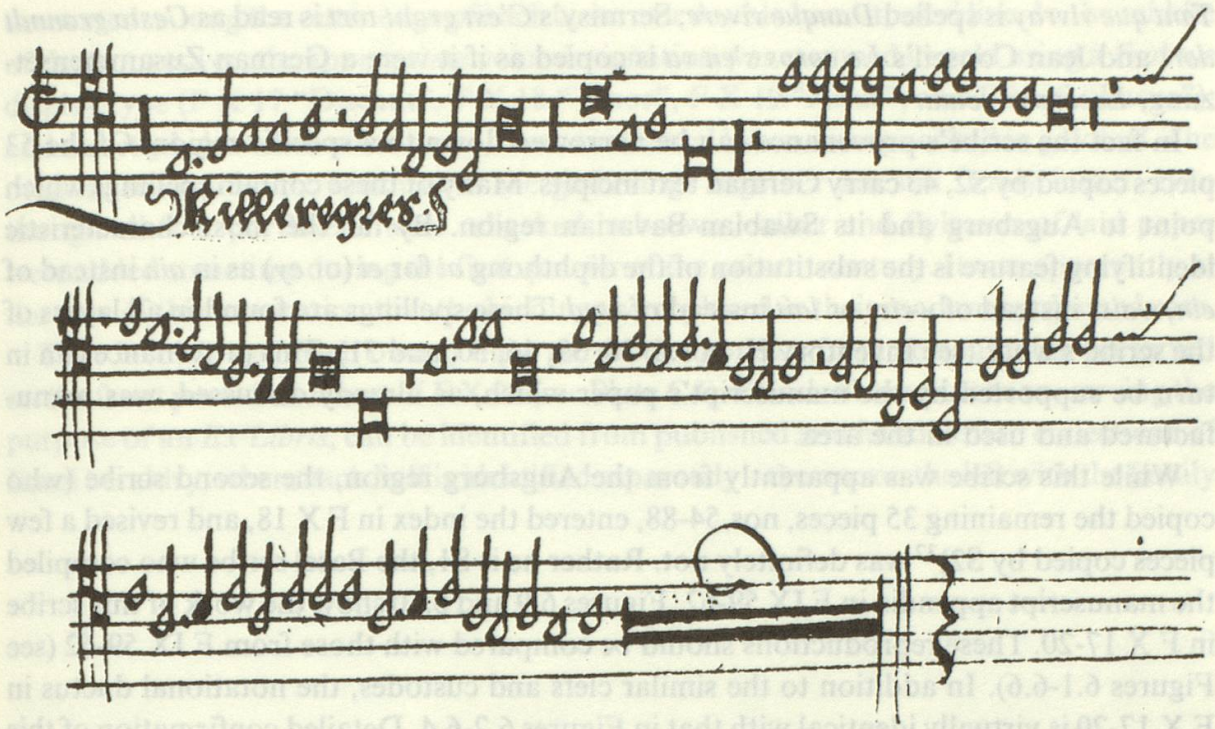


Figure 6.7. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2 (Josquin. *Mille regres*, CH-Bu F X 18, fol.11v)

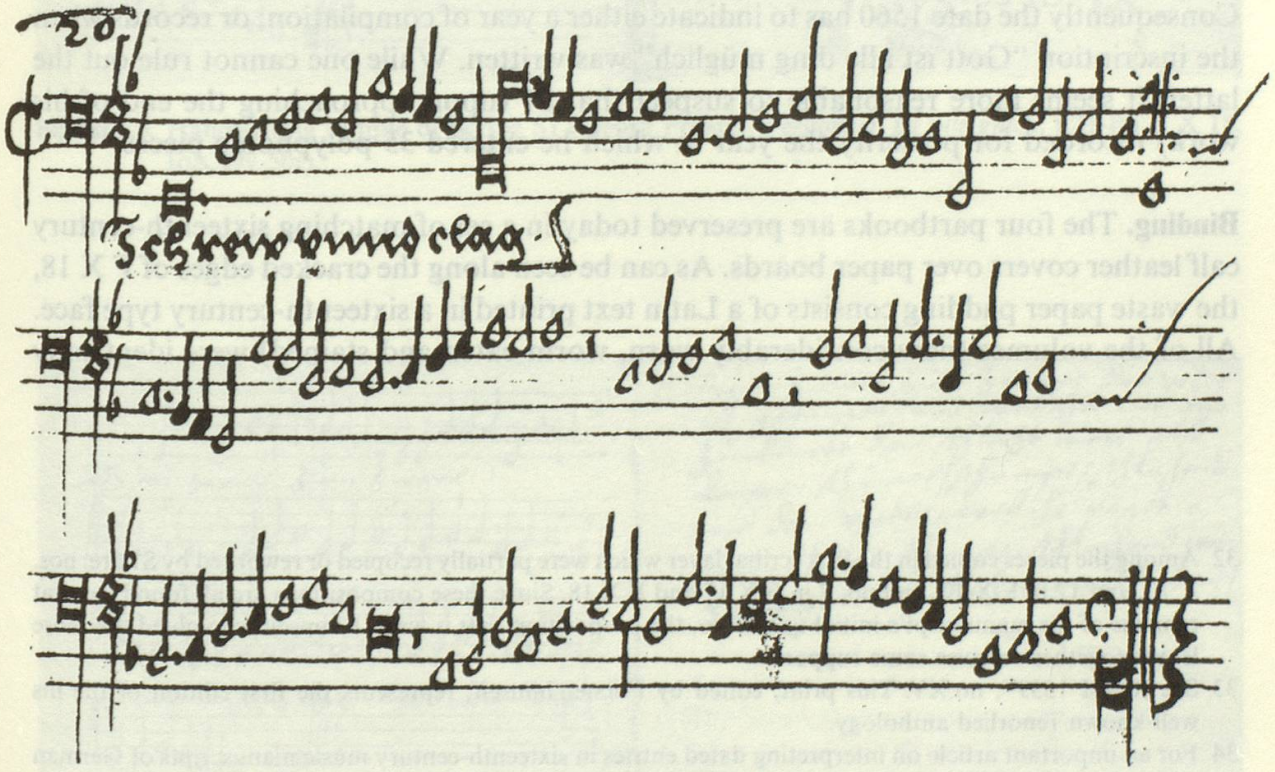


Figure 6.8. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2 (Georg Brack. *Ich rew und clag*, CH-Bu F X 20, fol. 10r)

Tant que vivray is spelled *Danque vivere*; Sermisy's *C'est grant tort* is read as *Cesta granndt dort* and Jean Conseil's *Le corps s'en va* is copied as if it were a German Zusammensetzung, *Lecorpor seiua*.

In fact the scribe's provenance can be narrowed down to a specific region. Of the 53 pieces copied by S2, 43 carry German text incipits. Many of these contain spellings which point to Augsburg and its Swabian-Bavarian region. By far the most characteristic identifying feature is the substitution of the diphthong *ai* for *ei* (or *ey*) as in *ain* instead of *ein*, *waiss* instead of *weiss* or *lait* instead of *leyd*. These spellings are found in all layers of the scribe's work (see Inventory H, nos.6, 28, 39, 46, 50, and 51). This provenance can in turn be supported by the manuscript's paper which, as already discussed, was manufactured and used in the area.

While this scribe was apparently from the Augsburg region, the second scribe (who copied the remaining 35 pieces, nos.54-88, entered the index in F X 18, and revised a few pieces copied by S2)[32] was definitely not. Rather he is S1, the Basel scribe who compiled the manuscript appendix in F IX 59-62. Figures 6.9 and 6.10 show the work of this scribe in F X 17-20. These reproductions should be compared with those from F IX 59-62 (see Figures 6.1-6.6). In addition to the similar clefs and custodes, the notational ductus in F X 17-20 is virtually identical with that in Figures 6.2-6.4. Detailed confirmation of this scribal concordance, first recognized by Julius Richter, is presented in the sections of text.

As in F IX 59-62, S1 created the writing block by drawing two uninked vertical lines along the left margins of every other opening, consequently producing uniform margins (8 or 9 cm wide) for the adjacent folios. The scribe also drew each of his systems by hand (0.9-1.1 cm wide), provided text for only German pieces, and dated one of his final entries 1560 (as shown in the reproduction featured in Figure 6.9). This date, however, unlike those in F IX 59-62, does not represent a time of composition, since the Forster Lied copied on this opening appears in a printed source published twenty-one years earlier.[33] Consequently the date 1560 has to indicate either a year of compilation, or records when the inscription "Gott ist alle ding müglich" was written. While one cannot rule out the latter, it seems more reasonable to suspect that S1 (upon approaching the end of his work) recorded for posterity the year in which he entered 35 polyphonic pieces.[34]

Binding. The four partbooks are preserved today in a set of matching sixteenth-century calf leather covers over paper boards. As can be seen along the cracked edges of F X 18, the waste paper padding consists of a Latin text printed in a sixteenth-century type face. All of the volumes (now considerably worn, worm-eaten and stained) were identically

32 Among the pieces copied in the first scribal layer which were partially recopied or reworked by S1 are: nos. 6, 10, and 12 in F X 17, and no. 7 in F X 17 and F X 18. Since these compositions are all found in what remains of the manuscript's initial quaternio, the proposition that it was S1 himself who glued the loose leaves together receives some support.

33 See RISM 1539[27], no.XV. This print, edited by Forster himself, represents the first edition of the his well-known Tenorlied anthology.

34 For an important article on interpreting dated entries in sixteenth-century music manuscripts of German provenance, see Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, "Datierungsprobleme bei Kompositionen in deutschen Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift Helmuth Osthoff zum 65. Geburtstage* (Tutzing, 1961), 47-60.

decorated. Along the outer edge of each cover is a double hand-tooled line. In the middle of the front cover, the appropriate voice designation was stamped in gold using a *Fraktur* display type (F X 17 "Discant", F X 18 "Tenor", F X 19 "Altus", and F X 20 "Basus"); and directly below each voice name, two ornamental leaves were punched in goldleaf. The original sewing-bands which hold the gatherings together are still firmly intact, even though all four partbooks were rebacked in brown leather and flyleaves of laid paper were added sometime during the first quarter of the present century. It was apparently at the time of this restoration that the bindings were placed in their modern cardboard case.

That Jacob Hagenbach owned these partbooks appears from an engraving preserved on the front pasted endsheet of F X 20 (see Plate 6.4). This double escutcheon, serving the purpose of an *Ex Libris*, can be identified from published and handwritten collections of Basel heraldry, where each half is identified separately – the one on the left with the family

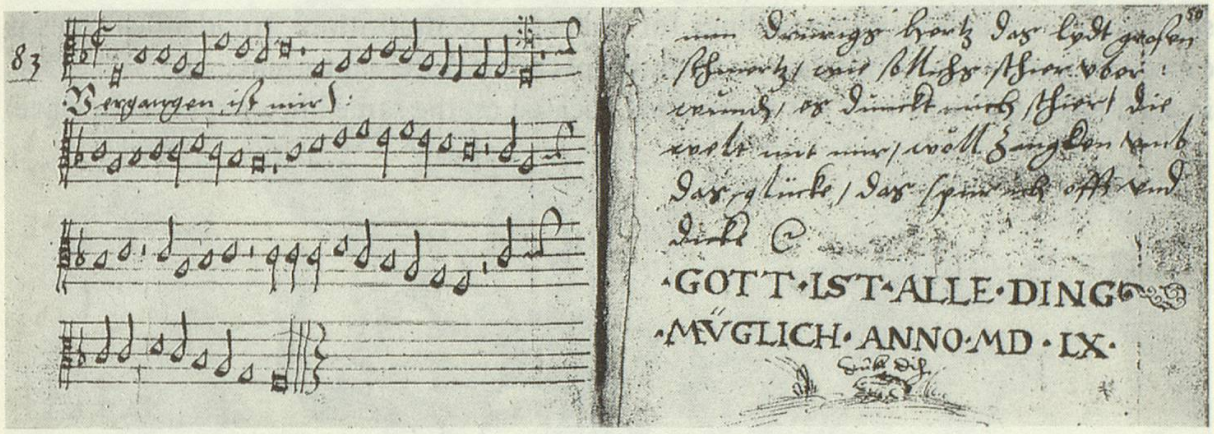


Figure 6.9. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Georg Forster. *Vergangen ist mir glück*, CH-Bu F X 18, fols.49v-50r)

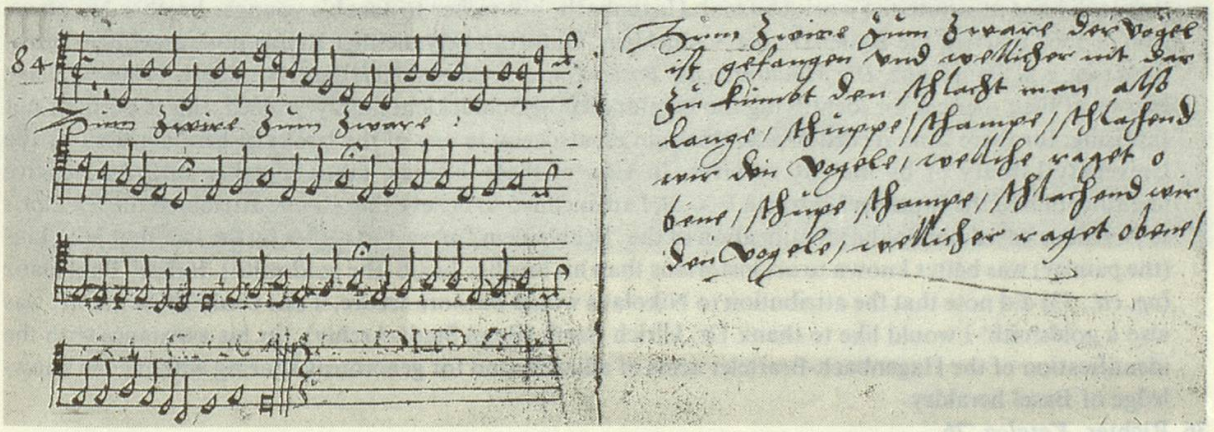


Figure 6.10. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Anonymous. *Zum zwire zum zware*, CH-Bu F X 18, fol.50v-51r)

Hagenbach, the one on the right with the Bratteler family.[35] Such a double escutcheon could only represent a married couple; and indeed the only liaison known between these two families involves the Basel goldsmith and composer Jacob Hagenbach and his wife Sophia Bratteler.

*

When Julius Richter catalogued the Basel manuscripts nearly 100 years ago, he not only noticed that F IX 59-52 and F X 17-20 were scribally concordant but also that they shared many of the same compositions.[36] As seen in Table 6.4, over fifty percent of the repertory in F X 17-20 (46 of 83 pieces) appears either in the printed or in the manuscript section of F IX 59-62. Among these 46 compositions, 14 were copied by S1 in both sources. Although only two of these pieces are in the same consecutive order,[37] philological evidence suggests that all fourteen were copied directly from one manuscript into the other (or that the concordant repertory was at least copied from another closely related source). The evidence supporting this claim can be summarized as follows: 1) Most of the pieces contain exactly the same readings, in some cases unique to the two sources; 2) A number of line-endings for individual compositions are identical: this is especially noteworthy since the two manuscripts are in different formats; and 3) the rests in each piece are, with very few exceptions, located on the same line or space of a stave.

35 A reproduction of the Hagenbach escutcheon is found in W.R. Staehelin, *Wappenbuch der Stadt Basel*, 3 vols. (Basel, 1917) II, Hagenbach. The device of the Bratteler family can be found in the collections of heraldry (Wappensammlungen) keep in the Basel Stadt-Archiv under the call number A3 and B1.

The artistic merits of this unique engraving were first discussed by Karl E. Reinle in his catalogue *Ausstellung alter Ex Libris aus dem Besitze der Basler Universitäts-Bibliothek* (Basel, 1917), 8-10. However, Reinle did not attribute the work to Jacob Hagenbach, but rather to Jacob's younger brother Nikolaus, who in 1567 married the Basler Ursula Schlücklein. Unfortunately, neither Reinle nor subsequent historians (see, e.g., Paul Ganz, *Die Miniaturen der Basler Universitätsmatrikel* [Basel-Stuttgart, 1960], 53) have ever cited their sources for identifying the heraldry of the Schlücklein family. Indeed, this is perhaps not suprising: for there is no record of a Schlücklein escutscheon in any of the books of heraldry kept by the University Library or by the city archives. In view of these lacunae, taken together with the positive identification of the Bratteler blazon in F X 20, I am inclined to believe that Reinle attributed the *Ex Libris* to Nikolaus based not on the identification of the "Schlücklein" arms, but rather by the fact that Nikolaus (the painter) was better known to art historians than his brother Jacob (the goldsmith). Indeed, Paul Ganz (*op. cit.*, 53) did note that the attribution to Nikolaus would be more secure, if one could show that he was also a goldsmith! I would like to thank Dr. Ulrich Barth (Basel Stadt-Archiv), for his assistance with the identification of the Hagenbach-Bratteler arms of alliance, and for generously sharing with me his knowledge of Basel heraldry.

36 Richter, *Katalog*, 76.

37 Arcadelt's *Gravi pene in amor* and *In giustissimus amor* are nos. 81 and 82 in F X 17-20 and nos. 64 and 65 in F IX 59-62.

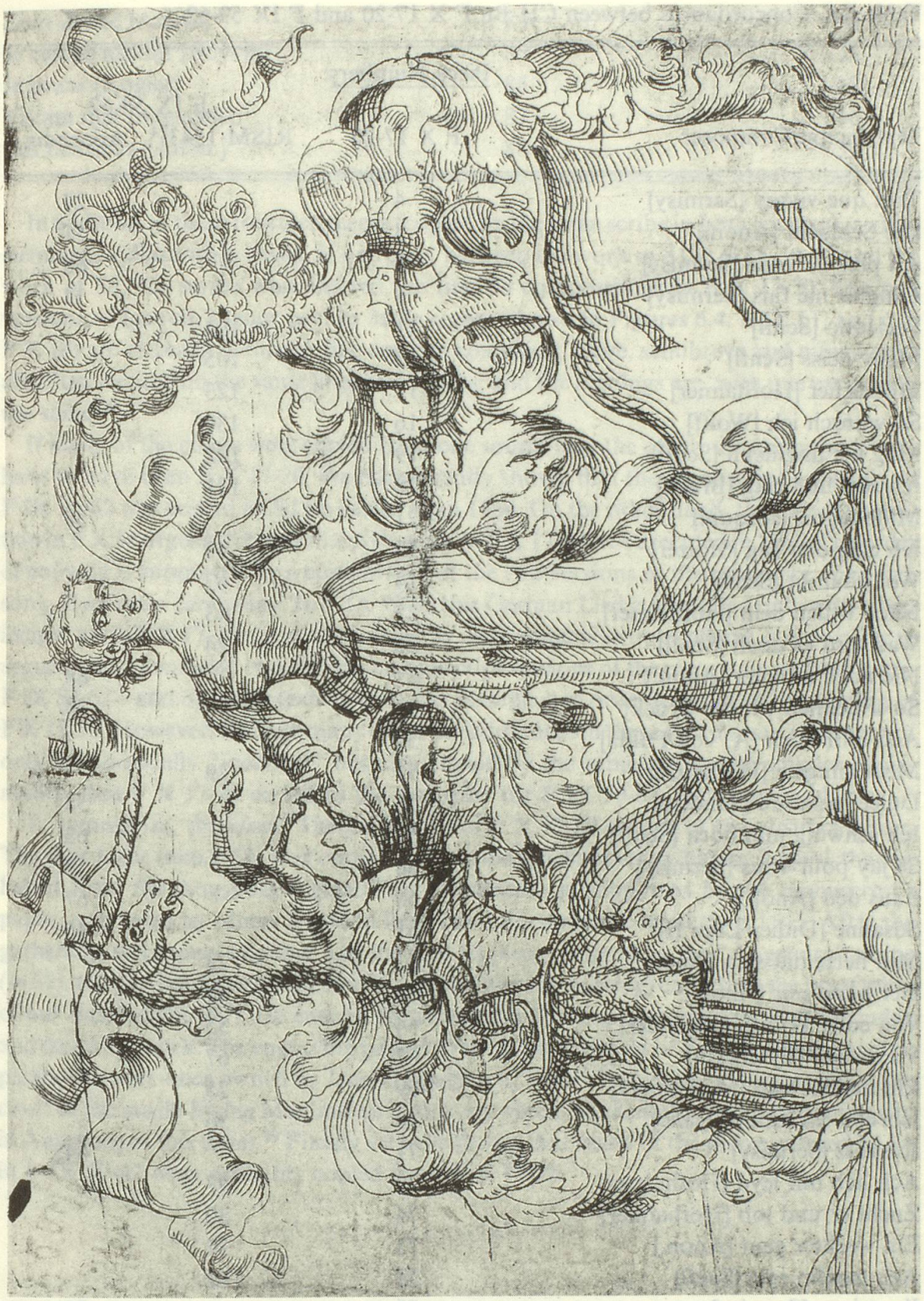


Plate 6.4. Hagenbach-Bratteler Coat of Arms (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F X 20, front paste-down)

Table 6.4. Concordances between CH-Bu F X 17-20 and F IX 59-62

Text Incipit/Composer	Piece Numbers: F X 17-20	F IX 59-62 RISM 1543[24]	F IX 59-62 Appendix
Tant que vivray [Sermisy]	4		27
Die Schlacht [Anon.]	5		31
Au pres de vous [Sermisy]	8		66
Languir me fais [Sermisy]	9		32
Pacientia [Senfl]	11	104	
Mein vleiss [Senfl]	12	105	
Tröstlicher [Hofhaimer]	13	123	
So wunsch ich [Wolff]	16	130	
Mag ich unglückh [Senfl]	19	102	
Ich rew und clag [Brack]	20	121	
Mille regres [Josquin]	21		59
Ich clag den Tag [Stolzer]	22	33	
Wol khumbt [Senfl]	24	63	
Nach willen dein [Hofhaimer]	25	43	
Was wird es doch [Senfl]	26	24	
Nie noch nimmer [Anon.]	27		68
So trinckhen wir [de Bruck]	29		34
Ach hilff mich [A. von Fulda]	50		3
Mein ainigs a [Hofhaimer]	51	29	
Dulce memoire [Sandrin]	54		58
Ich schwing min horn [Senfl]	57		63
Se jay pour vous [Sermisy]	58		53
Laus deo [Anon.]	60		67
Susanne [Didier Lupi II]	61		45
Min hertz hat sich [Anon.]	62	78	
Der hund mir [Anon.]	63	44	
Von edler arth [Schönfelder]	64	35	
Vil freund [Eytelwein]	67	67	
Ein medlin sagt [Malchinger]	69	25	
Isbruck ich muess [Isaac]	70	36	
Joisantz [Sermisy]	71		44
Ach lieb mit leyd [Hofhaimer]	73	97	
Zucht er und lob [Hofhaimer]	74	30	
Ein wechter geut [Anon.]	75	32	
Ach medlin rein [Senfl]	76	62	
Il est jour [Sermisy]	78		56
Ern wert uff erdt [Anon.]	79	107	
Ich stoll ich ab [Grefinger]	80	18	
Gravi pene [Arcadelt]	81		64
In giustissimus [Arcadelt]	82		65
Vergangen ist mir [Forster]	83	15	

Zum Zwire [Anon.]	84	4
Je cerche autant [Boyvin]	85	35
Je prens [Rogier]	86	12
Vittam que [Arcadelt]	87	16
Ces fascheux [Anon.]	88	33

In addition to these fourteen pieces (copied by the same scribe in both sources), a close stemmatic relationship exists, in one case, between the work of S1 in F IX 59-62 and the work of S2, the scribe who entered the first 53 compositions in F X 17-20. The two versions of Josquin's tenor part to *Mille regres* (shown in Figures 6.4: F IX 61, and 6.7: F X 18) are virtually identical: line endings conincide; breve, semibreve and minim rests are often located on the same lines and spaces; and the readings are, with one exception, the same.[38]

If many of the pieces were copied from one source into the other, the exemplar would have to have been F X 17-20. We have already shown that the manuscript appendix of F IX 59-62 was copied by S1 no earlier than 1564. On the other hand, the dated inscription in F X 18 argues strongly that S1's work in F X 17-20 was executed in 1560. The order of copying is supported by a comparison of the two versions of the otherwise unknown song, *Zum zwire zum zware*. In F IX 59-62 this German Lied is identified only with a text incipit, yet in F X 17-20 it is accompanied by one complete strophe of text. It is possible to argue that S1 conflated two different manuscript versions of the piece (one without text – F IX 59-62 – and one with text – a now lost exemplar) in order to produce the reading of F X 17-20. However, since so many other concordances in these two manuscripts are not only stemmatically "identical" but also copied by the same scribe, the simpler explanation, that F X 17-20 served as the exemplar for F IX 59-62, seems unavoidable.

To summarize, therefore: The partbooks of F X 17-20 consist of two distinct layers. The first layer (nos.3-53) was copied by a scribe whose spelling habits suggest that he hailed from the Augsburg region. This provenance is supported by the manuscript's paper, paralleled by others found in letters and documents copied circa 1545. After the gatherings were sewn together and the first 52 pieces entered by the "Augsburg" scribe (= S2), the partbooks (with the first two pieces already missing) came into the possession of our Basel scribe (S1). He entered the remaining 36 compositions, compiled the index and dated his work. The engraving pasted to the front endsheet of F X 20, shows that the partbooks were once owned by Jacob Hagenbach, who in his youth (1540s) served at the court of the music-loving Maximilian II (a court which, incidentally, was based primarily in Augsburg at this time).[39] Finally we have shown that many of the pieces entered by S1 in F IX 59-62 were probably copied from F X 17-20.

38 The one exception is found at the first cadence in the second system. In F X 18 a dotted minim (a) is followed by two semiminims (g,g; which should be a semiminim and minim); In F IX 61 a semibreve (a) is followed by one minim (g).

39 For biographical information on Hagenbach's life see above, Chapter 5.

Since F X 17-20 was once in Hagenbach's possession, and also partially copied by S1 (the scribe who took such care with Hagenbach's compositions in F IX 59-62) we have to consider the possibility that S1 and this Basel goldsmith, composer, and amateur musician are the same person. While it could equally be argued that the scribe was rather a musician employed by Hagenbach, we will find, in one of the newly-discovered sources, kk IV 19-22, that S1 was, like Hagenbach, artistically gifted.

Basel University Library MS kk IV 19-22 (olim Z II 82-85)

This set of four partbooks, measuring 12.0 X 17.5 cm (kk IV 19: 13.0 X 19.0 cm), consists of two sections which, until 1985, were preserved in their original sixteenth-century Basel binding. The first, and larger section, is a copy of Wolfgang Schmeltzel's volume of German Lieder (RISM 1544[19]), published by the Nuremberg printer Johannes Petreius.[40] The anthology is especially valuable, as the first major collection of Quodlibets to appear in Germany. Among its 25 compositions, the best known is Senfl's six-part *Das gleut zu Speier*, a song which has been cited as "one of the strongest dominant-tonic monuments of the sixteenth-century."[41] This particular copy of the edition, however, has commanded special attention for two reasons: firstly, it is one of the few complete copies to have survived; and, secondly, thirteen of its texts are illustrated with watercolor and pen drawings.

While this copy of Schmetzel's volume is well known, it has gone completely unnoticed that three of the partbooks are supplemented by a manuscript appendix preserving three voices of what was originally a four voice Latin motet (See Inventory I). Unfortunately this unique composition is anonymous. However, the motet is in the hand of our principal scribe (S1), is stylistically similar to the Hagenbach Lieder and contains a text which might be taken as alluding to this goldsmith. Moreover, as I shall argue, the scribe was responsible not only for the watercolor and pen illustrations in kk IV 19, but also for the eccentric musical notation in F IX 59-62, discussed above.

Paper. The manuscript appendix, together with the flyleaves inserted into the front of each partbook, consists of two paper types, each type couched from a pair of molds. The paper in the discant partbook (kk IV 20) contains a pair of running bear watermarks which closely resemble two marks recorded by Briquet and Piccard (see KatK, 449: Abb.76-77).[42] The two crown watermarks found in the altus and bass partbooks (kk IV 21 and kk IV 22 respectively) are reproduced in KatK, 465: Abb.125-126. They too represent another pair of companion molds and are similar in appearance to numbers 83 and 84 in one of Piccard's watermark *Findbücher*.[43] Both pairs of marks are reported as common to the *oberrheinische* region between the years 1531 – 1551.

40 An inventory of the print, listing all of its musical incipits, is found in Nobert Böker-Heil's valuable catalogue *Das Tenorlied*, I, 128-133. On Schmeltzel and his collection, see E. Bienenfeld, "Wolfgang Schmeltzel, sein Liederbuch (1544) und das Quodlibet des XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, VI (1904), 80ff.

41 Hans Joachim Moser, "Instrumentalisten bei Ludwig Senfl," *Festschrift Johannes Wolf* (Berlin, 1929), 123ff.

42 Charles M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, vol.4, nos. 12383 and 12382; and Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen. Raubtiere* (Stuttgart, 1963), nos. 1020 and 1021.

43 Gerhard Piccard, *Die Kronen-Wasserzeichen* (Stuttgart, 1961), Section IX.

The papers have been trimmed so that they would correspond in size to their printed companion. Since these trimmings, on several occasions, resulted in loss of text (especially in kk IV 22), it is clear the manuscript originally existed as an independent unit. Apart from light foxing, the papers are in good condition and show few traces of use.

Collation/Foliation. Like the printed book, the paper of the manuscript was folded and cut into oblong quarto format. The printed and manuscript leaves were foliated in a single system, in pencil, by a modern user (discant, fols.1-90; altus, fols.1-100; tenor, fols.1-79; bassus, fols.1-88).

kk IV 20 (Discantus): 90 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Bifolium (front paste-down – fol.1)
RISM: 19 Binios (fols.2-77)
1 Binio – 3rd, 4th fols. (fols.78-79)
MS: 2 Binios (fols. 80-87)
1 Binio (fols.88-back paste-down)
Remarks: After folio 79, two leaves of the printed book (presumably blank) were cut out. Folio 88 and the back pasted endsheet, originally conjugate, are now detached. The manuscript appendix, the initial flyleaf and the paste downs consist of only the running bear paper.

kk IV 21 (Altus): 100 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Bifolium (front paste-down – fol.1)
RISM: 21 Binios (fols.2-85)
MS: 3 Binios (fols.86-97)
1 Binio (fols.98-back paste-down)
Remarks: The manuscript appendix, the initial flyleaf and the paste-downs consist of only the crown paper.

kk IV 19 (Tenor): 80 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Bifolium (front paste-down – fol.1)
RISM: 19 Binios (fols.2-77)
1 Binio – 3rd, 4th fols. (fols.78-79)
MS: None; no evidence of excised leaves.
1 Bifolium (fol.80-back paste-down).
Remarks: The two bifolia appended to the front and back of the print consist of the crown paper.

kk IV 22 (Bassus): 88 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Bifolium (front paste-down – fol.1)
RISM: 19 Binios (fols.2-77)
MS: 2 Binios (fols.78-85)
1 Binio (fols.86-back paste-down).
Remarks: The manuscript appendix, the initial flyleaf and the paste-downs consist only of the crown paper.

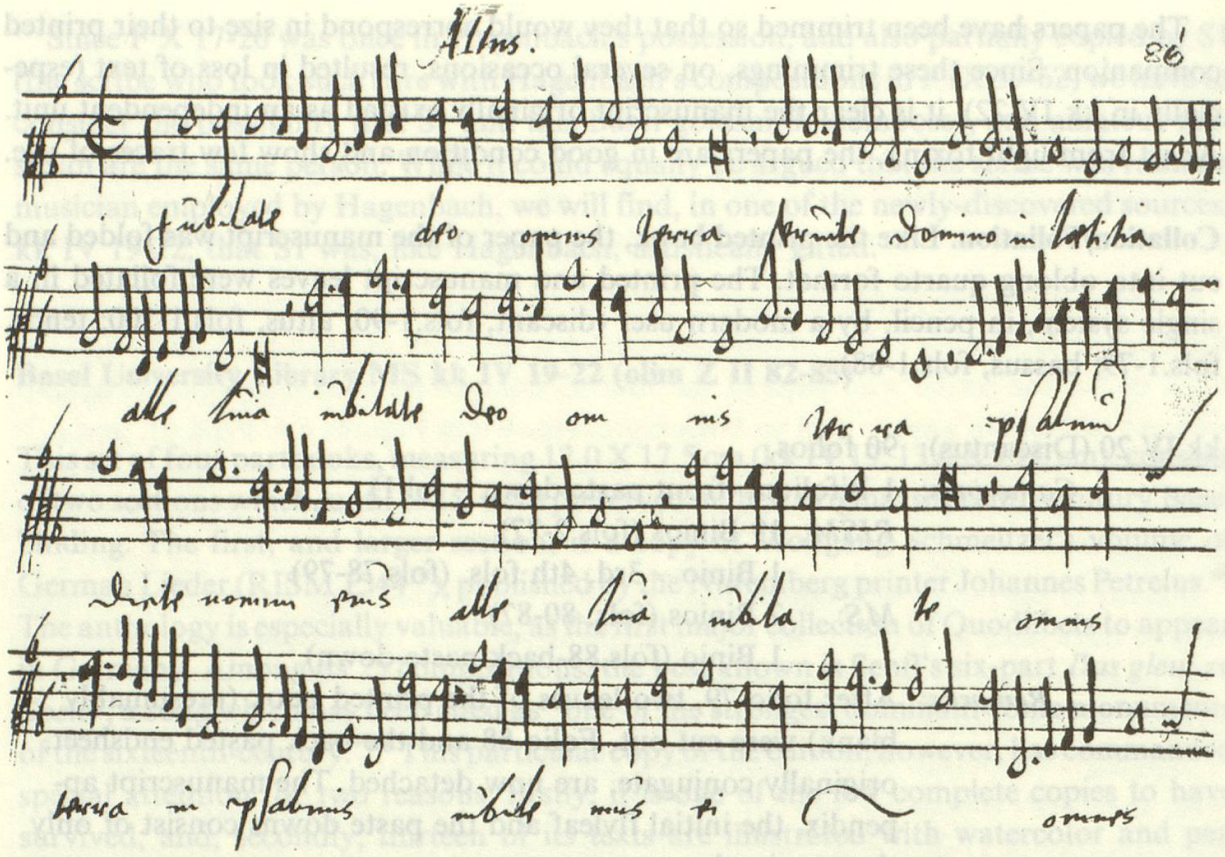


Figure 6.11. Variant hand of Scribe S1 (Anonymous. *Jubilate deo*, CH-Bu kk IV 21, fol.86r)

Handwriting. The manuscript was copied by one individual, who in addition to writing the music and text drew a number of staves in the tenor partbook of Schmeltzel's print.[44] These systems were produced from the single-stave rastrum (1.1 cm wide) used in the appendix, and they were drawn in the distinctive yellowish brown ink employed for the music and text in the altus and bass partbooks.[45] Consequently, it would seem safe to infer that the printed partbooks were once in the scribe's possession.

As shown in Figure 6.11, the scribe wrote in a cursive text hand and (like S1) consistently employed rounded semibreve and minim forms. While his Latin orthography provides no clues to his identity, the calligraphic features of his script strongly suggest that he was fluent in the German language. His text hand may be characterized as a mixture of humanist and German scripts. Among the many Germanic characters, the most salient are the lower-case letters *d*, *e*, or *g*, as seen in such words as *deo* or *gentes*, or his *se* constructions (see *servite*).

Although kk IV 19-22 contains styles of clef and custos not to be found in the work I have already attributed to S1 (our principal scribe), we can identify it as having been copied by him or by a scribe working under his close supervision. Both S1 and the writer of this piece drew minims with ascending tails in one of the traditional manners, by making two distinct strokes with the quill, the first to form the head of the note, the

44 These staves are found on folios 11-16, pages in which only a third of the leaf was utilized by the printer.

45 The music and text in the discant partbook was written in a dark brown ink. This detail, taken together with the fact that the discant part was copied on different paper from that of the other partbooks, suggests that the parts were not copied out at the same time.



Plate 6.5. Watercolor and pen drawing of noses, *Quodlibet von Nasen* (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. kk IV 19, fol.16v)

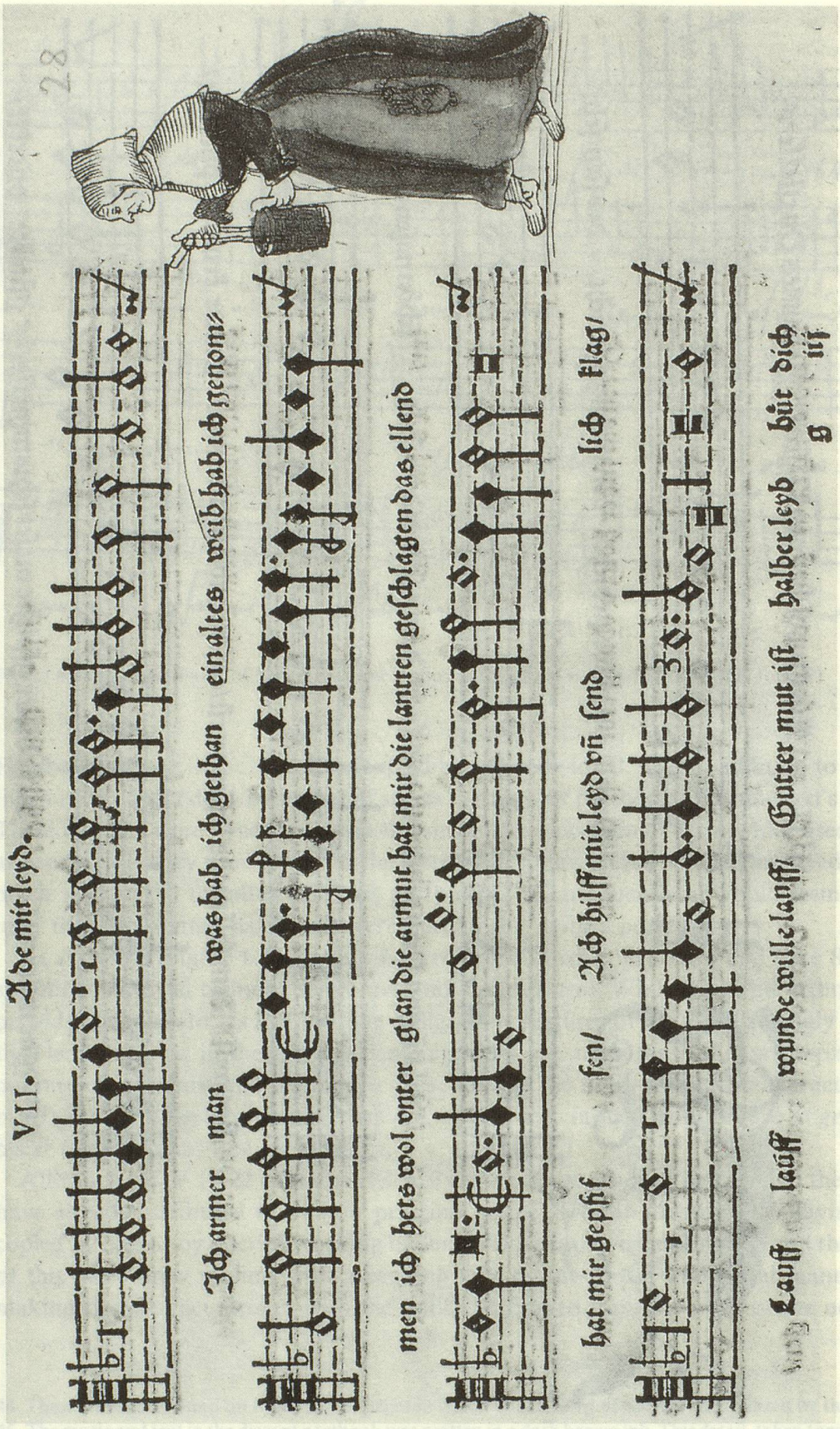


Plate 6.6. Watercolor and pen drawing of an old lady, *Ade mit Leyd* (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. kk IV 19, fol.28r)

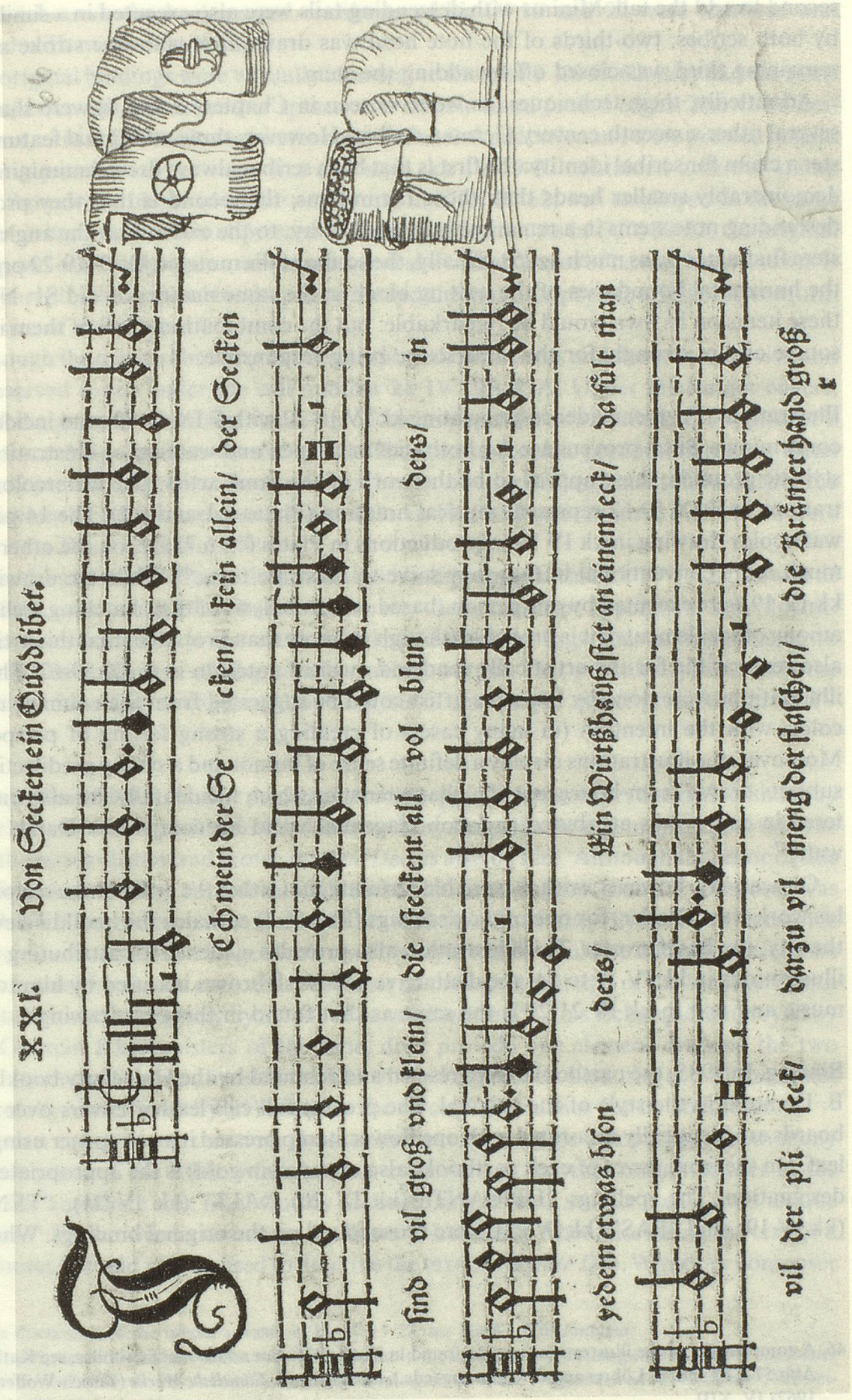


Plate 6.7. Pen drawing of sacks with a Basel crozier, *Quodlibet von Secken* (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. kk IV 19, fol.66r)

second to add the tail. Minims with descending tails were also executed in a similar way by both scribes: two-thirds of the note head was drawn first with one stroke and the remaining third was closed off by adding the stem.

Admittedly, these techniques (as we have seen in Chapters 3 and 4) were shared by several other sixteenth-century German scribes. However, three additional features bolster a claim for scribal identity: the first is that both scribes always drew semiminims with demonstrably smaller heads than those for minims; the second is that they produced descending note stems in a remarkably irregular way, to the extent that the angle of the stem fluctuates by as much as 25°. Finally, the scribe of the motet in kk IV 19-22 prepared the horizontal boundaries of the writing block in the same manner as did S1. None of these items on its own would be remarkable: but the combination of all of them in each source argues strongly for the same scribe being responsible.

Illustrations. Further evidence associating kk IV 19-22 with F IX 59-62 (and incidentally confirming a Basel provenance for both) lies in the pen and watercolor illustrations: on stylistic grounds, these appear to be the work of the same artist. The watercolor illustrations in F IX 59-62 represent musical notation (Plates 6.1 and 6.2). The 14 pen and watercolor drawing in kk IV 19 (reproductions in Plates 6.5-6.7) are, on the other hand, much more conventional in that they serve to illustrate texts.[46] While the drawings in kk IV 19 were executed by one person (based on an analysis of their hatching technique, among other elements), it is probable (though no more than probable) that this artist was also responsible for the artistically rendered musical notation in F IX 59-62. That the illustrations were done by the same artist could be suggested from their similar uses of color, with the intention (in many cases) of creating a strong feeling of perspective. Moreover, the illustrations display a definite sense of humor and a strong predilection for subjects drawn from bourgeois life, characteristics which incidentally are also encountered in engravings attributed to Jacob Hagenbach and his companion Daniel Buchwalt.[47]

One can say, however, with reasonable certainty that either the artist or the recipient of his work was a Basler, for one of the drawings (Plate 6.7) contains the heraldic device of the city, the Basel crozier. This illustration also provides evidence for attributing the 14 illustrations in kk IV 19 to S1: the distinctive yellowish brown ink used by him to copy music and text in kk IV 21-22 is the same as that found in this pen drawing.

Binding. In 1985, the partbooks were resewn and rebound by the University bookbinder B. Demund in the style of the original. The present full calf leather covers over paper boards are identically decorated with one flower stamp pressed in each corner using gold leaf. On the front cover of each partbook (also stamped in gold) is the appropriate voice designation. The spellings "DISCANT" (kk IV 20), "ALT" (kk IV 21), "TENOR" (kk IV 19), and "BAS" (kk IV 22), were those found on the original bindings. When the

46 A complete list of the illustrations is to be found in KatK, 326. For additional facsimiles, see KatK, 439: Abb.57 & 60 and, E. Löhrer and O. Ursprung (eds.), *Ludwig Senfl: Sämtliche Werke* (Zurich-Wolfenbüttel, 1962) IV, XIII.

47 See above, fn.19. I would like to thank Dr. Elisabeth Landolt (Basel) most cordially for her advice and friendly assistance in these art historical matters.

set was rebound, the back pasted endsheets of kk IV 19 and 22 were removed and replaced with modern laid paper.

The original bindings were virtually identical to those of F IX 59-62: they had the same calf leather covers, suede leather spines, and double hand tooled edges. The voice designations, as in F IX 59-62, were in the center of each front cover and were pressed in gold leaf using punches of the same size and style. kk IV 19-22 contained a flower stamp which, though not identical to the one found in F IX 59-62, was employed in the same manner: using gold leaf it was pressed once in each corner. As in F IX 59-62, the original binding was extremely worn and wormed, and showed no traces of having been resewn. It was apparently the original binder who trimmed the manuscript so that it would conform to the size of the printed book.

Although the original binding has been replaced, the boards and the covers survive and are preserved today under the call number kk IV 19A-22A. Under the leather covers, each of the paper boards was made up of waste paper from a manuscript copied in a sixteenth-century German cursive script. These texts (copied predominantly on Basel paper), represent fragments from account books of a large Basel institution during the early sixteenth century: we must assume that kk IV 19-22 and, in turn, F IX 59-62 were bound by a Basel craftsman.[48]

Thus, the paper, the illustrations, and the binding suggest that kk IV 19-22, as well as F IX 59-62, was compiled in Basel. Moreover, the manuscript appendices and illustrations in both sources are the work of S1, and the drawings bear a resemblance to authenticated specimens of Hagenbach's artistic output. This probability, that S1 is the goldsmith himself, is strengthened by analysis of the unique motet preserved in kk IV 20-22.

The Hagenbach Motet. S1, our principal scribe, copied 116 pieces, yet decided to underlay text for only two compositions. One of these is by Hagenbach: one may suspect that the other, the newly-discovered motet *Jubilate Deo*, is also by him. Although the tenor of this motet is today missing, there is enough extant music to suggest that the composer was Hagenbach. The evidence does not lie in the identity of melodic, rhythmic, or harmonic details characteristic of a "Hagenbach style" (a style which would be difficult to establish from only one piece), nor even, that the music of the motet and that of the Lied were both generated almost exclusively by means of parallel writing.[49] This technique, employed by many German Kleinmeisters of the time, does provide one element drawing the two pieces together. However, as with the text of the Hagenbach Lied, the text of the motet (so carefully underlayed by S1) supplies the strongest evidence for its composer.

"When a composer at this time chooses the text for a single composition from many disparate parts of the Bible, when he thus constructs a text that occurs neither in the liturgy nor anywhere else, he obviously wishes to say, this is a unique text; it fits a unique situation." These criteria, drawn up by Edward Lowinsky when discussing the text of a Festa motet,[50] could also be used to describe the text of *Jubilate Deo*. While our composer

48 For a discussion of the binder's waste in kk IV 19-22, see KatK, 326: *Einband.*

49 A transcription and analysis of this motet will appear in the author's forthcoming edition, *Musik aus Basler Liederhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts. Die Sammlungen von Jacob Hagenbach und Felix Platter*, Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler.

50 Edward E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino*. Monuments of Renaissance Music, nos. 3-5 (Chicago, 1968) III, 46.

drew his text from only two parts of the Bible (and not from five, as did Festa) he nevertheless gathered phrases from no fewer than nine different psalms. Moreover, as seen in Table 6.5, he took considerable liberties with the text – leaving parts out, changing the word order, and altering syntax.

Table 6.5. Text of *Jubilate deo* (in roman type) and its Biblical sources (in *italic*)

Prima Pars

Jubilate deo omnis terra, servite domino in laetitia, alleluia.
Jubilate Domino omnis terra, servite Domino in laetitia, (Ps. 99.2)

Jubilate deo omnis terra, psalmum dicite nomini eius, alleluia.
Iubilate Deo omnis terra, psalmum dicite nomini eius, (Ps. 65,1)

Jubilate omnis terra in psalmis, iubilemus ei.
Jubilate Deo omnis terra, in psalmis iubelemus ei, (Ps. 94.2)

Omnes gentes plaudite manibus, iubilate in voce exultationis, alleluia.
Omnes gentes plaudite manibus, iubilate Deo in voce exultationis. (Ps. 46.2)

Deo laudem dicite,
Laudem dicite Deo (Apc. 19.1)

Ipse iudicabit orbem terrae in aequitate. Iubilate in veritate sua,
Iudicabit orbem terrae in aequitate et populos in veritate sua. (Ps. 95.13)

iubilate deo omnis terra.
iubilate Deo omnis terra. (Ps. 65.1 and 94.2)

Secunda Pars

Iubilate deo omnis terra.
Iubilate Deo omnis terra. (Ps. 65.1 and 94.2)

Iubilate deo in conspectu regis domini cum iubilo.
Iubilate in conspectu regis Domnini (Ps.97.6)

Iubilate cum iubilio, iubilate eium cantate et exultate,
Iubilate Domino omnis terra cantate et exultate psallite Domino, (Ps. 97.5)

psallite deo nostro, praecinite domino in confessione cum iubilo,
praecinite Domino in confessione psallite Deo (Ps. 146.7)

iubilate qui timetis dominum cum iubilo,
qui timetis Dominum laudate eum (Ps. 21.24)

iubilate deo Jacob Alleluia.
Iubilate Deo Jacob Alleluia. (Ps. 80.2)

He further chose all the lines from these psalms which contain the verb "jubilo," but did not present them in the order in which he found them. In fact, the principal result of his re-arrangement is that the final exhortation in all voices consists of the phrase "Jubilate deo Jacob Jacob Alleluia." That a composer would reserve the name Jacob, a metaphor for the land of Israel, as the penultimate word in a motet praising Yahweh would be of little significance if we did not suspect that the composer's first name was also Jacob. This seems to corroborate a belief that Hagenbach was the composer of this motet, for, if he could quote his wife's name in the last line of one of his compositions, there is no reason why he should not have made some reference to his own in another.

Basel University Library MS F IX 63 (olim Z II 90-93)

These four partbooks, measuring 9.5 X 14.5 cm, consist of one printed and one manuscript layer bound together in an elaborately decorated set of sixteenth-century calf leather covers. The printed volume, entitled *In dissem buechlyn fynt Man LXXV hubscher Lieder*..., is a copy of Arnt von Aich's well-known and important anthology of German Lieder.[51] Published in Köln during the second decade of the sixteenth century, this collection (RISM [1519]^{5}) has been edited and described several times in the musicological literature, because it is one of the first large collections of German secular polyphony to appear after the the Glogauer Liederbuch of ca.1480.[52] This particular copy of the book however, is especially valuable. In addition to being one of only two complete copies of the print to have survived, the Basel exemplar is filled with marginalia, entered in a contemporary hand, which provide some clues concerning the musical tastes of an original owner. On the last folios of the altus and bass partbooks (fols. ff iiii verso and F iiii verso, respectively), someone copied 12 text incipits of German Tenorlieder in a sloppy German cursive hand. While a few of the pieces in Arnt von Aich's Liederbuch have the same incipits, most of the compositions (as apparent from Table 6.6) are found in Christoph Egenolff's popular anthology of German street songs (*Gassenhawerlin*) published in Frankfurt a. M. in 1535 (RISM 1535^{10}).[53]

51 For an edition of the print, see *Das Liederbuch des Arnt von Aich*, edited by Eduard Bernoulli and Hans Joachim Moser (Kassel, 1930). A inventory of the source (including textual and musical incipits), together with a complete list of concordances, can be found in the recently published catalogue of Tenorlied sources edited by Norbert Böker-Heil *et al.*, *op. cit.*, I, 17-22. Among numerous studies on the partbooks, see especially the introduction by Hans Joachim Moser to *Das Liederbuch des Arnt von Aich, op. cit.*, pp.III-XVI; and G. Domel and G Könitzer, "Arnt von Aich und Nachkommen...," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1935), 119ff. On the importance of the von Aich Liederbuch as a source for the works of Hofhaimer and his "school", see Hans Joachim Moser, *Paul Hofhaimer. Ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1929), 33, 114, 116, 119 and 125.

52 The other German collections of polyphonic song, printed during the second decade of the century, are discussed in the opening section of Chapter 3, above.

53 The contents of these partbooks, one of several issued by Christian Egenolff in pocket format, are listed by Norber Böker-Heil in: *Das Tenorlied*, I, 43-46. See also Nanie Bridgman, "Christian Egenolff," *op. cit.*

Table 6.6. German text incipits copied in *RISM* [1519]^{5} (CH-Bu F IX 63, altus and bass partbooks, fols.ff^{iiii} and F^{iiii} respectively)

Text Incipits	*Concordances*	
Jetz scheyden	[1519]^{5}, no.2.	1535^{10}, no.29
Ich rew vnd klag	[1519]^{5}, no.52.	1535^{10}, no.33.
Nie noch nimmer	[1519]^{5}, no.3.	1535^{10}, no.30.
Meyn hertigs a	[1519]^{5}, no.6.	1535^{10}, no.32.
Nach willen din		1535^{10}, no.16.
Ach lieb mit leyd		1535^{10}, no.19.
Was wurt es doch		1539^{27}, no.24.
Troestslicher lieb		1535^{10}, no.20.
Ich hatt mir fuer		1535^{10}, no.14.
Von edler art		1535^{10}, no.21.
Zart schoene frow		1535^{10}, no.26.
Nun hab ich all		1535^{10}, no.27.

The order of pieces does not really correspond to that of Egenolff's edition, although there is presumably some loose stemmatic connection. Yet it is curious that the writer should include four compositions which were already in his copy of Arnt von Aich's book. Whatever was intended, it is clear that the print was frequently used, for many of its leaves are heavily smudged and dirty. This is especially true of the first and last pages in each partbook, which are extremely worn, stained and filled with pen trials.

While the printed book in F IX 63 was frequently handled, its hitherto unnoticed manuscript appendix was apparently not. Its one composition, an anonymous motet (concordant only with F IX 59-62; see Inventory J), is preserved on paper that would appear to be as clean and crisp as the day when it was manufactured. Moreover, several of its folios were left uncut. Although the manuscript suggests no date or provenance, its one three-voice motet was copied by S1, apparently from F IX 59-62 or a closely related source.

Paper. The manuscript appendix, as well as the flyleaves inserted into the front of each partbook, is of one paper type. Although the paper contains no watermark, its consistency is evident from its density, from its grainy texture, from its yellowish color, and, most importantly, from its chain- and laid-line measurements.

Foliation/Collation. The manuscript was foliated in pencil by the present author in 1985. The flyleaves found in the front of each partbook were accorded roman numbers, the manuscript appendix arabic. Although the manuscript conforms in size with its printed companion, the paper of the appendix was not consistently collated in the same oblong octavo format. In fact, most of the manuscript gatherings are folded and cut in oblong quarto.

Discant: V + 45 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Binio + fol.I (fols.I-V) +
RISM +
5 Quaternios (fols.1-40) +
1 Binio + fol. 45 (fols.41-45).
Remarks: All gatherings are in quarto format, except gatherings 3 (fols.9-16) and 7 (fols.41-45) which are in octavo. Folios 31 and 32 are uncut.

Altus: I + 45 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Leaf (fol.I) +
RISM +
5 Quaternios (fols.1-40) +
1 Binio + fol.45 (fols.41-45).
Remarks: The manuscript is in octavo format, except gatherings 3 (fols.17-24) and 5 (fols.25-32) which are in quarto. Folios 17-18, 23-24, 35-36 and 37-38 are uncut.

Tenor: I + 45 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Leaf (fol.I) +
RISM +
2 Quaternios (fols.1-16) +
1 Quinio (fols.17-26) +
1 Bifolium + fols. 27 & 30 (fols.27-30).
Remarks: Except for one bifolium folded in octavo format (fols.21-22), the manuscript is in oblong quarto. Folios 9-10, and 15-16 are uncut.

Bassus: I + 37 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Leaf (fol.I) +
RISM +
4 Quaternios (fols.1-32) +
1 Binio + fol. 37 (fols.33-37).
Remarks: Folios I and 37 are in octavo format. The remainder of the manuscript is in quarto.

Handwriting. The manuscript is copied in one hand, with the music, text and staves in each partbook entered in the same dark brown ink. As can be seen by comparing the specimen of the scribe's handwriting pictured in Figure 6.12, with those reproduced in Figures 6.2-6.4, and 6.9-6.10, F IX 63 was evidently copied by S1. In addition to the similar clefs and custodes, the notational ductus in F IX 63 is virtually identical to that in Figures 6.2-6.3. This scribal concordance can be confirmed by comparing especially the ductus and graphemes of the text hands featured in Figures 6.12 (F IX 63) and 6.3 (F IX 60): note particularly the letters *a*, *e*, and *s*, as well as the overall ductus of the scripts.[54] These two examples are also valuable in that they illustrate some of the evidence

54 As in the other manuscripts copied by S1, F IX 63 was also prepared by drawing two uninked vertical lines along left margins of every other opening. Here too, the bounding lines in the initial gathering left their impression on the last page of each printed partbook: thus, the manuscript must have been written no earlier than 1519 (*i.e.*, the year that the print was published). After the pages were ruled and the writing block established (11-12 X 17 cm), the scribe entered four staves by hand on each folio, the width varying by as much as 1 cm (10-11 cm wide).

for suggesting that F IX 63 and F X 59-62 were copied, one from the other. While it is difficult to establish which source was the exemplar, the fact that both versions of the piece transmit identical readings, have semibreve and minim rests on the same lines or spaces of a stave and often have note stems drawn in the same direction strongly points to one of them having been used as a copy text for the other.

Binding. The volume is preserved today in its original sixteenth-century calf leather covers over paper boards. The front and back covers were identically decorated, using four different stamps (roll 1: flowering vine; roll 2: vase in a circle; single 1: bird with a bell; single 2: flowering twig), framed within a hand tooled-edge (see KatK, 480: Abb.170). Each partbook contains four pairs of rose, green or yellow tie threads which are, today, in part damaged or severely trimmed. The book edges are stained in yellow. Using German Fraktur characters, the appropriate voice designation is copied in black ink on the front cover of each partbook. On the front cover of the discantus book, the date "1617" has been written in the same ink used for the voice names.

All four partbooks were rebacked sometime during the first half of the twentieth century. While most of the tie threads are damaged and the leather corners rubbed, the bindings are otherwise in excellent condition. They are preserved today in a modern cardboard solander box.

Although the binding is dated, it is clear that the date 1617 does not refer to the year that the binding was made. These particular rolls and stamps appear often on German book bindings of the mid-sixteenth century, but unfortunately not confined to a specific region.[55] However, it is possible to suggest that F IX 63, like kk IV 19-22 and F IX 59-62, was bound in Basel. Firstly, given the large amounts of dirt and wear to the outer folios of each printed book, one can conclude that the print was unbound for quite some time. On the other hand, the manuscript paper, like the binding, is remarkably well-preserved and shows little traces of usage. Since the flyleaves and endsheets in each partbook are made up of the paper used by the scribe to copy the manuscript appendix, the partbooks were probably bound under the direction of S1, who as we have seen flourished in Basel around 1560. It is perhaps not unreasonable, therefore, to date the binding of F IX 63 at *c.*1560 and assign it to a Basel craftsman.[56]

Conclusion. As is evident from Table 6.1, several layers of paleographical and codicological evidence relate the four manuscripts in an interlocking pattern, in which each is connected closely with at least one other, and all are linked with Basel. At the same time,

55 In his catalogue of sixteenth-century German bindings, Konrad Haebler described two stamps which would appear to be Roll 1 (bird with a bell) and Stamp 1 (flowering twig) pictured in KatK, 480: Abb.170 (see Haebler, *Rollen- und Plattenstempel des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten vols.41 and 42 [Leipzig, 1928], 1550.8 and Augs.12 respectively). According to Haebler, these stamps are found in bindings of Bavarian, Swabian and/or Austrian provenance dating from around 1550. Stamp 1 can also be found on the binding of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Mus. Pr. 35 8° (= RISM 1535[17] and 1536[9]), a set of printed partbooks carrying the *Ex Libris* of the royal library of Bavaria ("Ex Electori Bibliotheca Sereniss Vtriusque Bavariae Ducum").

56 At the same time, however, one cannot rule out the possibility that F IX 63 was already bound in the present covers when the partbooks came into S1's possession. Indeed, S1 could have removed the binding, inserted the manuscript paper and flyleaves, and then glued the "case binding" back onto the spine and new endsheets without altering the original sewings.

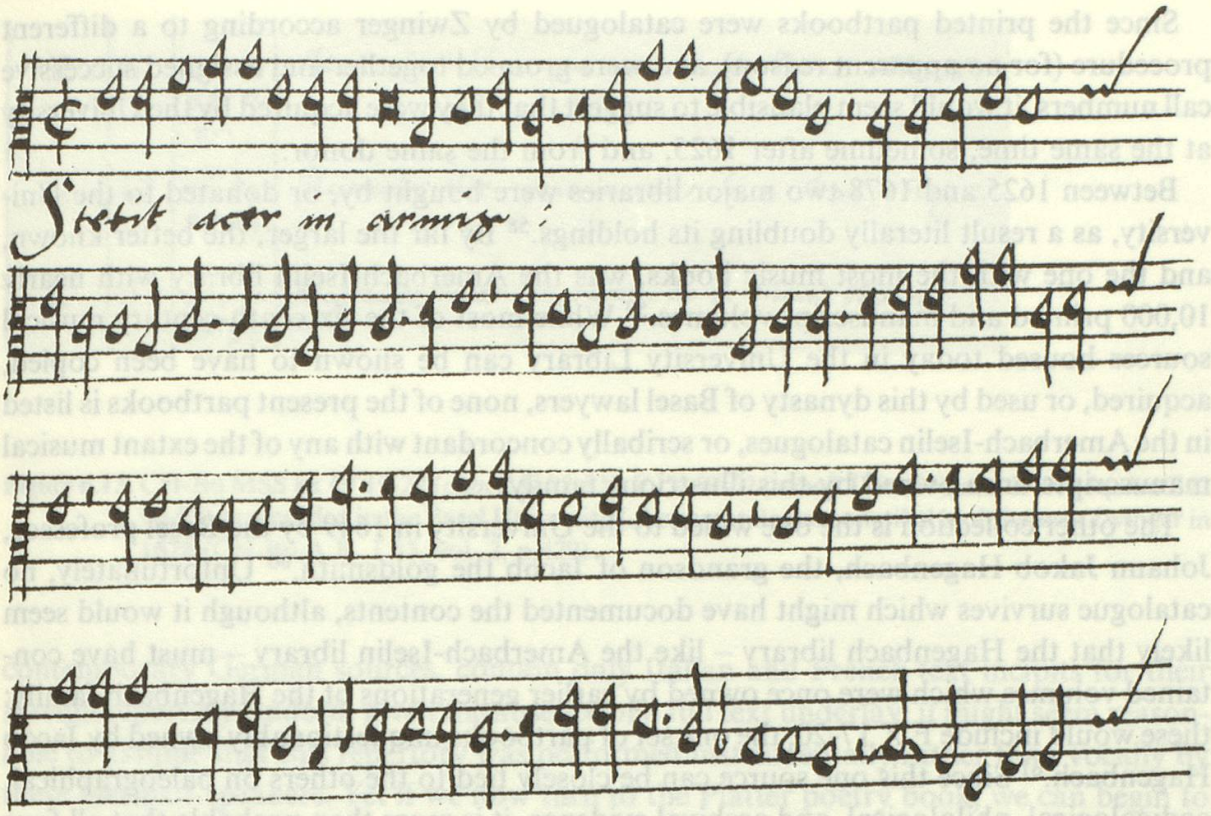


Figure 6.12. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Anonymous. *Stetit acer in armis*: pars. 2 of *Ille humilis*, CH-Bu F IX 63, fol.3v)

by examining the repertory, art and heraldry, we can associate the manuscripts with Jacob Hagenbach, a Basel artist and composer whose music was so prominently featured by our principal scribe, S1 (see Table 6.2).

That the three sets of partbooks without *Ex Libris* marks were also once in Hagenbach's possession can be inferred from evidence culled from the catalogues and known acquisitions of Basel University. Most important is the catalogue of printed books compiled by Johannes Zwinger for the Basel University Library in 1678. This catalogue, entitled *Libri Philosophici Impressi* (CH-Bu Katalog A R I 45), contains many printed music books, entered either by author, by compiler, or (when this information was unavailable) by the book's title. After the main entry, Zwinger then recorded the date and place of the book's publication. This format was used by Zwinger for every music book – except for three sets of partbooks; the entries for these are reproduced in Figure 6.13. These anomalous entries describe three of the sets of partbooks under discussion. The obsolete *sigla* found in Zwinger's catalogue are still present today on the front pasted endsheets of each of our three sets of partbooks: Z II 82-85 corresponds with kk IV 19-22, Z II 86-89 with F IX 59-62, and Z II 90-93 with F IX 63. None of these books, nor the partbooks F X 17-20 which carry an Hagenbach *Ex Libris*, is listed in the catalogue compiled 53 years earlier, in 1625, by Zwinger's predecessor, Conrad Pfister.[57]

57 For a list of other music books entered in Zwinger's catalogue or in the Pfister-Amerbach catalogue (CH-Bu A R I 26-30), see Chapter 1, above; Wilhelm Merian, "Bonifacius Amerbach und Hans Kotter," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XVI/1 (1917), 158-162; and KatK, *passim*.

The manuscript F X 17-20 is also found in one of the Zwinger catalogues of 1678. This set of partbooks does not contain any printed music, thus, Zwinger entered it in his catalogue of manuscript sources: CH-Bu Kat Vb Schweiz 201 *(Catalogus librorum philosophicorum manuscriptorum)*, folio 195r ("F X 17. 18. 19.

Since the printed partbooks were catalogued by Zwinger according to a different procedure (for no apparent reason), and were grouped together and assigned successive call numbers, it would seem plausible to suggest that they were acquired by the University at the same time, sometime after 1625, and from the same donor.

Between 1625 and 1678 two major libraries were bought by, or donated to the University, as a result literally doubling its holdings.[58] By far the larger, the better known, and the one with the most music books, was the Amerbach-Iselin library with nearly 10,000 printed and manuscript volumes.[59] While most of the sixteenth-century musical sources housed today in the University Library can be shown to have been copied, acquired, or used by this dynasty of Basel lawyers, none of the present partbooks is listed in the Amerbach-Iselin catalogues, or scribally concordant with any of the extant musical manuscripts once owned by this illustrious family.

The other collection is the one willed to the University in 1649 by the Basel professor, Johann Jakob Hagenbach, the grandson of Jacob the goldsmith.[60] Unfortunately, no catalogue survives which might have documented the contents, although it would seem likely that the Hagenbach library – like the Amerbach-Iselin library – must have contained volumes which were once owned by earlier generations of the Hagenbach family: these would include F X 17-20, the one set of partbooks unquestionably owned by Jacob Hagenbach.[61] Since this one source can be closely tied to the others on paleographical, codicological, philological, and archival evidence, it is more than probable that all four were once in Jacob Hagenbach's possession, and that our principal scribe is the goldsmith himself, who in addition to copying his own compositions and illustrating the partbooks, assembled a collection of manuscript music of international scope.

While the discovery of a new sixteenth-century Swiss composer and his music books is itself noteworthy, the fact that this collection was owned by a member of Platter's musical world provides musicologists with what they have long been looking for: chansons, madrigals, motets and Lieder which were probably heard or performed by Felix Platter and his circle of musical friends. However, the Hagenbach manuscripts, like most other

20. Musicales voces quatour. in 8. forma oblonga"; the format was incorrectly recorded by Zwinger as oblong octavo instead of sestodecimo). F X 17-20, unlike the printed volumes without *Ex Libris* (F IX 59-62, F IX 63, and kk IV 19-22), was entered in the catalogue following the same format used by Zwinger for most of the Amerbach partbooks (F X 1-4, 5-9, 10, 22-24 and F IX 32-35). However, it should be noted that while Zwinger catalogued the manuscripts F IX 59-62, F IX 63 and kk IV 19-22 according to their printed music, he did not do the same for all of the printed music books with manuscript additions owned by the Amerbachs (e.g., F X 22-24, a manuscript appendix to RISM 1535[11]).

58 On the origins and known acquisitions of the Basel University Library, see Andreas Heusler, *Geschichte der Oeffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel* (Basel, 1896), 24-26.

59 On the history of the Amerbach-Iselin Library, see Berthold Wessendorf, "Basler Büchersammler, Die Familie Amerbach (15./16.Jahrhundert)," *Librarium. Zeitschrift der schweizerischen Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft*, 20/1 (May 1977), 27-42.

60 On the library of Johann Jakob Hagenbach, see Heusler, *Geschichte*, 26f.

61 Among the volumes from the estate of Johann Jacob Hagenbach carrying his *Ex Libris* or that of of his son Beat there are a Froschauer print of 1564 (alpha E XI 32a, Beatus Hagenbach, anno 1583); Heinrich Faber's *Compendiolum musicae* of 1597 and F. Beurhusius' *Erotematum musicae* of 1580 (DD VIII 14, nos. 1 and 2, [Johann] Jacob Hagenbach, 1612); Heinrich Glarean's *Auss Glareani* of 1559 (AN VI 11, [Johann] Jacob Hagenbach, no date), and Georg Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica* of 1508 (DA V 18, [Johann] Jacob Hagenbach, 1625). Unfortunately, none of the volumes listed here and published before the death of Jacob Hagenbach the goldsmith in 1565/66 contains the goldsmith's handwritten *Ex Libris*, or marginalia which might have been scribally-concordant with the handwriting specimens which we have labelled as the work of S1.

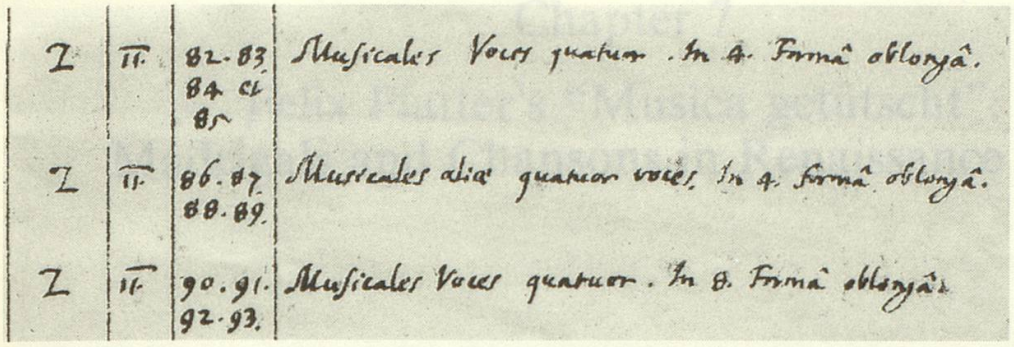


Figure 6.13. CH-Bu MSS kk IV 19-22 (*olim* Z II 82-85), F IX 59-62 (*olim* Z II 86-89), and F IX 63 (*olim* Z II 90-93) as recorded in the Basel University Library catalogue compiled by Johannes Zwinger in 1678 (CH-Bu A.R. I 45, vol. 2, p.429)

contemporary German sources, contain only Italian and French text incipits for their foreign repertory. Indeed, given the absence of a full text underlay, it might seem reasonable to assume that this repertory was performed instrumentally rather than vocally by these German-speakers. Yet if we now turn to the Platter poetry book, we can begin to suggest that Platter and Hagenbach shared similar musical tastes and that many of the madrigals and chansons preserved in the Hagenbach songbooks were sung in German.

Chapter 7

Felix Platter's "Musica getütscht": Madrigals and Chansons in Renaissance Basel

In Memory of
Wilhelm Altwegg

Basel University Library Manuscript AG V 30, more commonly known as Platter's *Gedichtband*, has received considerable attention. As an important source of sixteenth-century German verse – some copied by Platter himself – much of its contents has been edited or described by Platter scholars or by historians of Renaissance literature,[1] with the general exception of one section consisting predominantly of poetry in translation. While this fascicle might not interest the literary historian, it is a significant musicological document, enabling one to reconstruct for the first time performances in the German language of many well-known sixteenth-century madrigals, chansons and motets.[2]

The Platter poetry book, presently consisting of 464 pages, was acquired by the University Library in 1860 from Karl Buxtorf-Falkeysen, the nephew of the Basel clergyman Theodor Falkeysen (1725-1815) whose *Ex Libris* appears on the front paste-down.[3] In addition to the sixty-seven German songtexts listed in Inventory K of the appendix, the volume contains poetry written for special occasions in Platter's life, or in the life of some of his friends. Among these *Gelegenheitsgedichte* are, for example, verses celebrating a birthday, wishing the best to a married couple, and honoring an individual on his achievements. The manuscript also contains several German translations made by Platter of Roman comedy, entertaining accounts of life which he experienced at a Renaissance bath, and hundreds of rhyming epigrams with either a moralistic or comical message.

Although the diverse contents of AG V 30 are bound today as a single volume and carry a title page (apparently written by Theodor Falkeysen himself) associating them

1 For example, see Karl Buxtorf-Falkeysen, "Blicke in das Privatleben Dr. F. Platters," *Basler Taschenbuch* (1850), 88-105; *ibid., Baslerische Stadt- und Landgeschichten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. (Basel,1863-68) I, 115-129; Heinrich Boos, *Thomas und Felix Platter zur Sittengeschichte des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1878), 346-352; *ibid.*, "Basler Spruchpoesie aus dem 16. Jahrhundert," *Basler Taschenbuch* (1879), 211-221; Rudolf Suter, *Die baseldeutsche Dichtung vor J. P. Hebel* (Basel, 1949), 6f.; Elisabeth Landolt-Wegener, "Materialien zu Felix Platter als Sammler und Kunstfreund," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 72 (1972), 273, 282 and 305; *ibid.*, "Des Mulberg Badts Beschreibung," *Das Markgräflerland*, New Series 5 (1974), 66-75; and Valentin Lötscher, *Felix Platter und seine Familie* (Basel, 1975), 126-127.

2 Although many of these texts were studied and transcribed in a seminar class conducted by Wilhelm Altwegg at the University of Basel in 1961, the transcripts (CH-Bu AG V 30a) were unfortunately never printed, nor was the existence of these texts brought to the attention of the musicological community in any published citation.

3 The acquisition of the manuscript is recorded in the library's nineteenth-century *Geschenkbuch* (CH-Bu AN II 28, p.63). While the manuscript today contains 464 pages, it should be noted that when it was first described by Heinrich Boos in 1878 (*Thomas und Felix Platter*, p.345) it apparently consisted of only 435 pages.

with Felix Platter,[4] an examination of the manuscript's physical and scribal make-up demonstrates that it originally existed in the form of independent leaves, bifolia or gatherings, most of which are of different origins.

The convolute nature of AG V 30 can be first detected from its variety of formats. For example, while the volume is predominantly in folio with each leaf measuring c.31.5 high and c.19 cm wide, several gatherings are cast in quarto or octavo and consequently are considerably smaller in size.[5] The diversity of formats is in turn matched by the large number of different hands and paper types preserved in the source. Indeed, as one browses through this collection of not only handwritten, but also printed pages of verse, the function of the volume becomes apparent: it represents a type of scrap book in which Platter over the course of his life assembled poetical matter which he had either composed or copied himself,[6] or had acquired from a friend.[7]

However, this is not to imply that the manuscript was bound by Platter. Rather, its diverse parts were simply kept loose, and apparently brought together for the first time when the material came into the possession of the Falkeysen family. This point is well illustrated by the sections of songtexts found today between pages 208-264 and 424-426.

The Songtext Leaves of AG V 30: Physical Description

Paper. The twenty-eight manuscript leaves of songtexts, each measuring 30.5 X 19.5 cm,[8] consist of four different paper types. While each of these papers is presently in good condition, with only slight foxing, the leaves were apparently often handled. Apart from the finger smudges and dirt located along the outer edges, water damage can be detected, for example, on pages 244-247, and ink blottings on pages 250-251. Morever, many of the leaves contain remnants of glue, the reasons for which will be discussed in detail when we examine how the sheets were collated.

Paper Type I, by far the most frequently encountered, was couched from a pair of molds in the Basel paper mill of Nicolaus Heussler whose monogrammed device is

4 The title, which reads "Felix Platter: Samlung allerhand meist lächerlichen gedichten," was written in a large cursive script on a sheet of eighteenth-century Basel paper which today serves as the manuscript's initial flyleaf. (concerning this paper see fn. 17).

5 For example, pp.372-377 are in octavo (18.5 X 13 cm); pp.276-299 and pp.120-140 are in quarto (21.5 X 15.5 and 32 X 10 cm resp.).

6 A few poems which can be solidly attributed to Platter include: the so-called *Liebesgedicht Felix Platters* ("Dass blatt hab ich dir drumb geschenckt", AG V 30, p.40) which Felix composed for his wife Magdalena Jeckelmann, see Valentin Lötscher, *Felix Platter. Tagebuch* (Basel, 1976), 517; a poem in praise of Alchemy ("Glub ich nit dass ein grosser sy uff erden über di Alchimy," AG V 30, pp.382 and 385); a poem which Platter composed for the entry way of one of his Basel homes ("An dem thurn in meinem haus stoth anno 1577," AG V 30, p.68; see Lötscher, *Felix Platter und seine Familie, op. cit.*,126); and a poetical dialogue between Platter and Mr. Wolfgang Wissenburg ("Ein Dialogus oder Gesprech einer Glickwünschung," AG V 30, p.113).

7 Among the many poems not in Platter's hand found in the manuscript, by far some of the most interesting are those bound today between pages 173-207. Here are a number of verses celebrating special occasions in Platter's life. These poems which would appear to represent a type of "modern day greeting card" were sent to Platter via messenger, by Dorothea Gesmusein, the wife of the Basel printer Hieronymus Gesmuseus. Several of the leaves are dated between 1591-1597 and still carry the wax seal of the sender. Each poem also carries Platter's Basel address.

8 However, the conjugate pages 254/[255] – 256/[257] measure 15 X 20 cm.



Plate 7.1. Basel watermark from the paper mill of Nicolaus Heussler, as found in the poetry manuscript of Felix Platter (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. AG V 30, p.248; = Paper Type I)

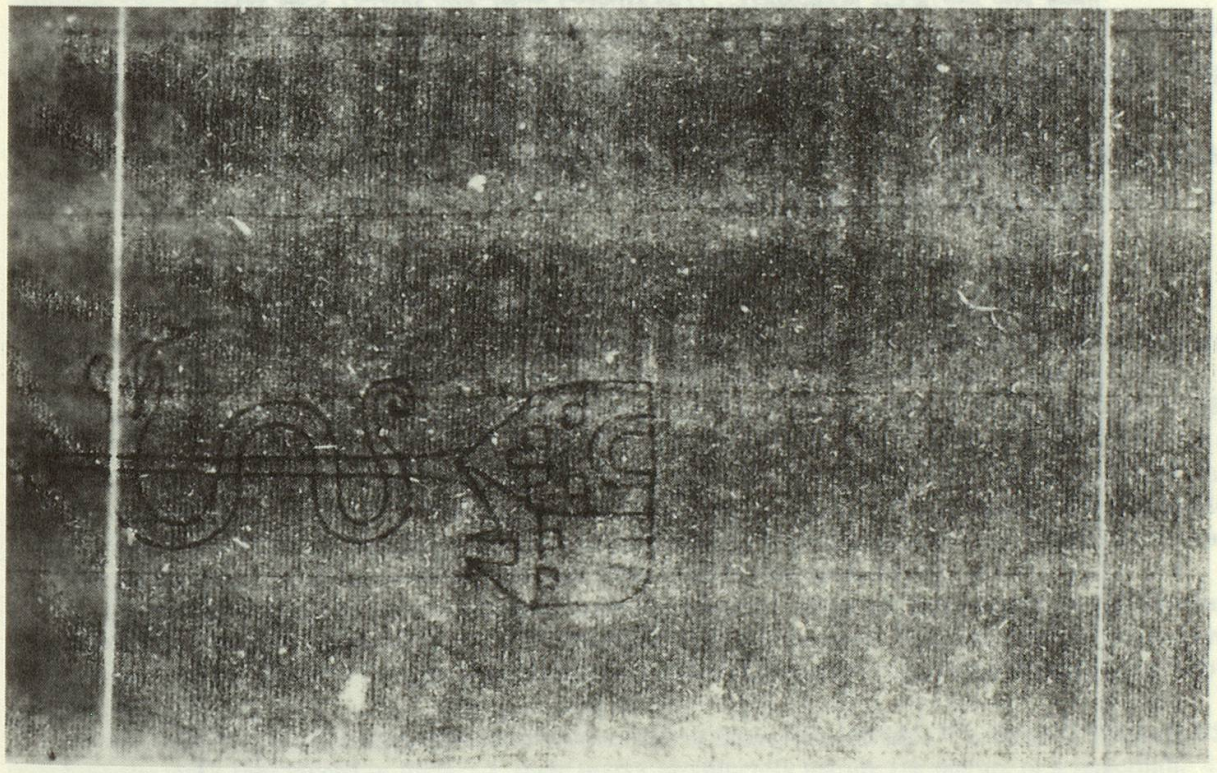
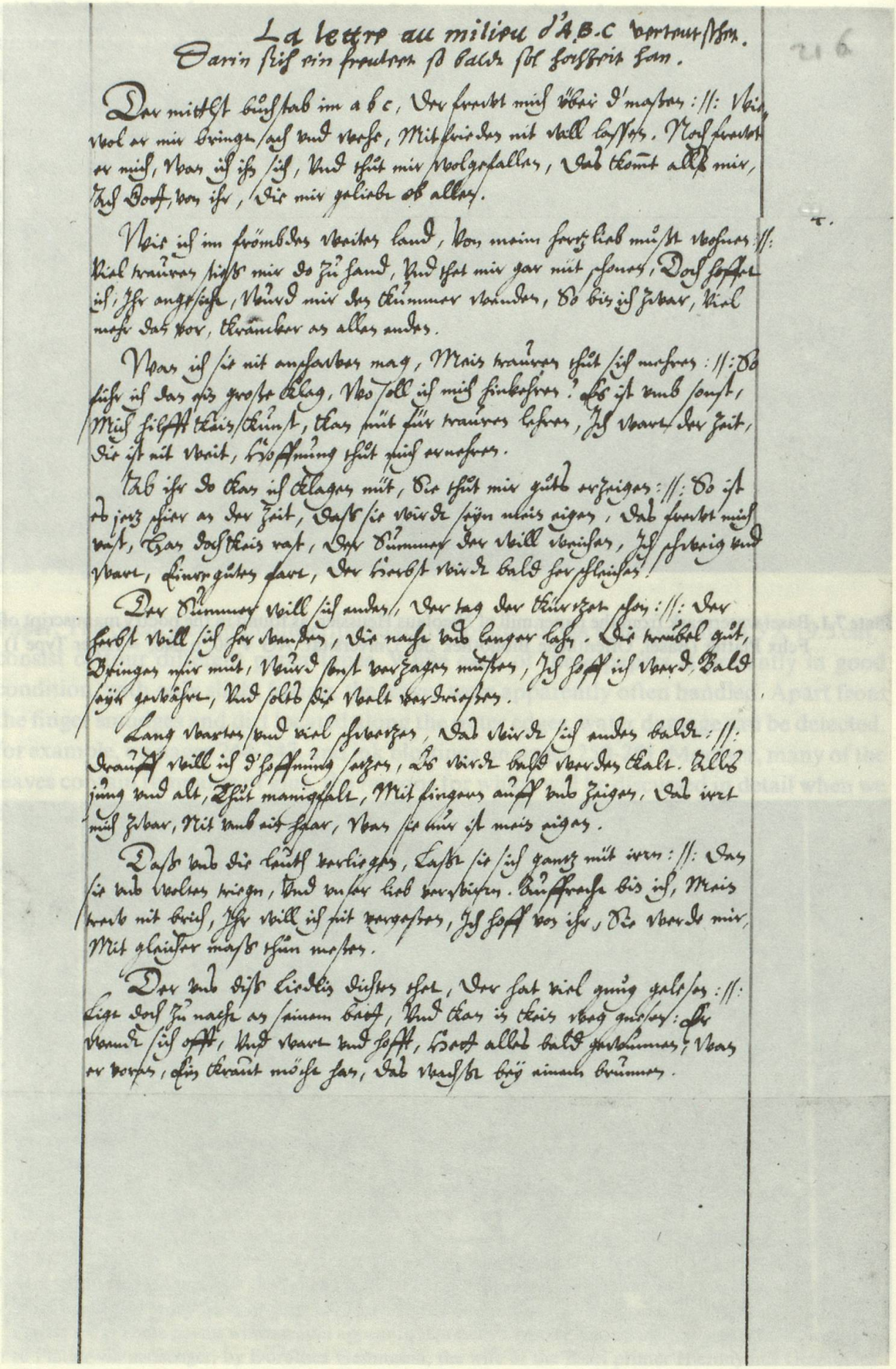


Plate 7.2. Basel watermark as found in the Platter poetry manuscript (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS AG V 30, p.220; = Paper Type II)



La lettre au milieu d'A.B.C vertreuwen.
Darin stisst ein frowtzen so balck sol forsbrin han.

Der mittest buchstab im a b c, Der frowdt mich vber d'massen: /: Wie wol er mir bringt ach und wee, Mit swerden nit vall lassen. Noch frowdt er mich, Was ich sig, Und thůt mir wolgefallen, Das thůnt allz mir, Das Dorf, wo ich, Die mir geliebt ob allen.

Wie ich im frömden vatter land, Von mainr hertz lieb můst vbonen: /: Vil trůwren stůnd mir do zů hand, Und hat mir gar nit gelonet, Das lassen ich, Ich angsicht, Wurd mir der thůmmer wunden, Do bin ich gwar, Vil mee dan vor, thrůwriger as allen andren.

Wan ich nit anfarben mag, Mein trůwren thůt sich mehren: /: Do fich ich das ich groste clag, Wes soll ich mich hinkehren? Ach ist umb sonst, Mein hilfft kein/kunst, Klag můt für trůwren lehren, Ich wart der zeit, Die ist nit weit, Hoffnung thůt mich ernehren.

Ach ich do clar in clagen můt, Die thůt mir gůte erzeigen: /: Do ist do jetz schier an der zeit, Dass sie wirdt sagen nein oder ja, Das frewdt mich vast, Dan dest kein rast, Der thůmmer der will vertriben, Ich schweig und wart, Einr gůten gart, Der herbst wirdt bald her schinen.

Der thůmmer will sich ander, Der tag der thůt mir schon: /: Der herbst will sich her wenden, Die nacht und langer lon. Die trůbel gůt, Bringt mir můt, Wurd sust vertagen můsten, Ich hoff ich wart, Bald sagt gewert, Und solch die wolt vertrieben.

Lang warten und viel schwetzen, Das wirdt sich anders balde: /: Drauff will ich d'hoffnung setzen, Es wirdt bald vber den kalt. Alles jung und alt, Thůt manigfalt, Mit singen auch und zigen, Das ivet mich gwar, Nit vmb ein har, Was sie mir ist nit zigen.

Dass vns die leuth verliegen, Lassen sie sich ganz nit iren: /: Das sie vns wollen triegen, Und vnser lieb verbieten. Vnschuldig bin ich, Mein trost nit drin, Ich will sie nit vergessen, Ich hoff vor ir, Die wirdt mir, Mit glichter massen thůn messen.

Der vns diss liedlin dichten thet, Der hat viel gůter gsellen: /: Lig dort zů nacht an seinem bett, Und klar in kein vrag melden: Ob wandr sich offt, Und wart und hofft, Doch allen bald gebrechen, Wan er verdrus, Ein traut můsse hon, Das wasser frey nimbt brechen.

Plate 7.3. Leaf from the Platter poetry manuscript illustrating the cut-and-paste technique used to assemble each songtext sheet (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS AG V 30, p.216)

proudly featured in the paper's watermark (See Plate 7.1). These companion marks bear a close resemblance to tracings recorded by Tschudin and Briquet as being common in the Basel region during the 1590s[9]. Further, they are identical to a number of marks found today in the autograph copy of Platter's diary (dating from 1594) or in a number of letters written by Basel citizens in 1598/99.[10]

Paper Type II carries the watermark shown in Plate 7.2. Although this mark is not found in any of the standard watermark *Findbücher*, it bears enough of a resemblance to authenticated specimens of Heussler watermarks to identify it as either a Heussler paper or a paper which was manufactured by someone trying to pass-off his product as made by Heussler.[11] Like Paper Type I, this paper also is of a good sturdy quality, with each leaf containing a generous amount of the vatman's mixture.

Paper Type III is without a watermark. Yet distinguishing it from the others is not difficult, for it is remarkably thin in texture and white in color, very similar in fact to modern-day tracing paper. Moreover, its chain- and laid-line measurements, when compared with the other papers are equally distinctive.

Paper Type IV carries a watermark depicting the heraldic device of Basel, the Basel crozier. Owing to its location in the inner most margin, this attractive mark unfortunately could not be photographed. Yet, enough of the mark is visible to make comparisons with recorded types: The mark bears a striking resemblance to Tschudin no. 171, which according to this paper specialist appears in Basel documents dating from around 1565.[12]

Numbering of the Leaves. Two systems for numbering leaves may be found on the songsheets. In the upper right hand corners of only recto sides is a modern pagination entered in pencil (208-264 and 424-[427]). These numberings begin on the recto side of page 57 and run through to the end of the manuscript (p.464). However in the course of paginating each recto side with an odd number (and leaving verso sides blank), the scribe skipped a page and incorrectly entered an even number on a recto leaf (i.e., p.116). The pagination from this point on is consecutive, but now with even numbers appearing always on recto sides of a page, as they do on each of the songsheets.[13]

The second system, copied in the same brown ink used to enter most of the song texts, represents remnants of an original foliation, although at first glance this is not evident. As

9 See, W. Fritz Tschudin, *The Ancient Paper-Mills of Basle and their Marks*, no.290; or Charles M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, no.1383.

10 In Platter's diary (CH-Bu A lambda III 3) the marks are located today on folios 17, 19, 20, 24, 40, 44, 45, 48, 72, 74, 76, 79, 81, 85, 86, 88, 91a, 91b, 93, 96, 97, 112, 117, 120, 121, 124, and 126. While we do know from a letter preserved today in the UB of Basel that Platter began the final redaction of his diary in 1609, the manuscript itself is not dated. However, based on the evidence of its paper, taken together with changes in Platter's handwriting and orthography, Valentin Lötscher has proposed a date of 1580-1600 for the compilation of the diary as a whole (Lötscher, *Felix Platter. Tagebuch*, 32-33).

That this paper type was in fact being used in Basel during the 1590s can be supported by the following dated letters written by Basel citizens in 1598/99: CH-Bu Frey-Gryn. Mscr. II 5, Nos.104-110 (letters from Martin Weyss to Theodor Zwinger I) and Frey-Gryn. I 8, fol.69 (letter from Wernher Eglinger to Jacob Zwinger I).

11 See especially W. Fritz Tschudin, *The Ancient paper Mills of Basle*, nos. 136-145, 289, 291, 292, 294, and 295. Like the mark reproduced in Plate 7.2, these marks prominently feature the picture of a papermill.

12 *Ibid.*, no.171.

13 The recto sides of pages 1-55 are also paginated. This pagination entered in a brown ink probably dates from the 18th century when the manuscript was first bound (See below, fn. 17).

seen in Table 7.1, ten pages contain various numberings, on either recto or verso sides, although not now in order.[14]

Table 7.1. The original foliation and modern pagination of the Platter songtext fascicle (CH-Bu AG V 30)

Foliation	Pagination
10	212 (recto side)
11	213 (verso side)
12	214 (recto side)
4	216 (recto side)
5	220 (recto side)
7	222 (recto side)
8	224 (recto side)
15	250 (recto side)
9[?]	252 (recto side)
26	426 (recto side)

These numbers seldom appear in the upper or lower right hand corners of a page, as would be expected when foliating leaves. Rather, as illustrated in Table 7.2, they are located in different places within each of their right hand margins.[15]

Table 7.2. Schematic diagram showing the placement of the original foliation in the Platter songtext fascicle (CH-Bu AG V 30)

Pagination:	212	213	214	216	220	222	224	250	252	426
Top of the page	*10*	*11*								
			12	*4*						
					5					
	Original foliation					*7*	*8*			
								15		
									(9?)	
										26
Bottom of the page										

14 Since the recto and verso sides of page 212 carry two consecutive numbers (i.e., 10 and 11 respectively) in their upper margins, one could argue for pagination. However, if these numbers were to represent the remains of an earlier pagination, the number 10 should have appeared on the verso side of the leaf and the number 11 on the recto; for it was already customary in the sixteenth-century to paginate recto sides with odd numbers and verso sides with even, as it is today. Another argument against pagination is the fact that the number 11 is not entered in the outer left hand margin as would be expected when paginating verso sides of a volume. Rather it is located in the inner margin as if it were once a foliated recto.

15 While these observations could lead one to suspect that the numbers represent a system of numeration, only one number appears at the beginning of a songtext (i.e., no.10, p.212 *Raison du ceur l'affection*). On the other hand, it should be noted, that there is no consistent correspondence between these numbers and the number of verses on a page, lines in a verse or syllables in a line.

While the present location of these numberings argue against their use as foliation, they can indeed be shown to represent the remains of an earlier-foliated state of the manuscript.

Collation. If one examines each leaf closely, it is apparent that most of the leaves comprise remnants of manuscript pages, cut-up, rearranged, supplemented with new poetry and papers and, then put back together. In the course of this assembling process, the manuscript's original structure was severely altered. For example, as can be seen in Plate 7.3, page 216 consists of three slips of paper which were glued together to form one sheet with a poetic text on the recto side. This cut-and-paste technique is clearly shown in the reproduction, with the two horizontal joins found at the beginning of verse 2 and the end of verse 8, by the irregular ruling located along the right margin, and, by the old foliation number, at the head of verse 2, which was partially cut off in the collation process. In fact, the third part of the page is of a different paper and format.[16]

As can be seen in Table 7.3 seventeen of the thirty manuscript songsheets were assembled in this cut-and-paste manner, some containing as many as six slips of paper of two different types. Since forming a sheet in this way normally precludes the presence of conjugate leaves, it is not suprising that each of these folios is presently tipped onto a modern cloth binding-slip and sewn into the volume. The original foliation numbers are today out of order as a result of this collating technique.

The following Table shows the disposition of each songtext sheet. A single-straight horizontal line means that the leaf is not sophisticated (i.e., one sheet of paper). Staggered-shorter lines adjoined with a pyramid (^) mean that the leaf is made-up of several smaller leaves glued together (^) to form a single sheet. The virgule (/) found at the end of each sheet shows that the leaf has been tipped into the volume.

Table 7.3. Schematic diagram showing the gathering structure and distribution of papers among the Platter songtext sheets

Mod. Pag.	Structure of Each Leaf (Upright folio, unless noted otherwise)	Paper
208	——————————————————/	I + wm.
[209]		
210	———————	I
	^ ———————	III
	^ ——————/	I
[211]		
212	——————————————————/	I
	^ ——————————— ^	I?

16 The upper two-parts of the leaf consist of Paper Type I which were glued together in a folio format. The lower third of the sheet, on the other hand, is made up of Paper Type II and with its chain lines running horizontally across the page.

[213]

214 I

I

I

I + wm

[215]

216 I

I + wm

II

[217]

218 I + wm

I

I

I

[219]

220 I

I

I

I

II + wm in quarto

[221]

222 I

I

I

I + wm

I

I?

[223]

224 I

I

I + wm

[225]

226 I

I + wm

I

I

[227]

228 I

[229]

230 I + wm

[231]

232 _____ I + wm
_____ I
_____/ I
[233]
234 _____/ I
[235]
236 _____/ I
[237]
238 _____/ I + wm
[239]
240 _____/ Printed Sheet in
[241] upright quarto
242 _____/ I
[243]
244 _____ I + wm
_____ III
_____/ I
[245]
246 _____ I
_____/ III
[247]
248 _____/ I + wm
[249]
250 _____ I
_____ I
_____/ II + wm in quarto
[251]
252 _____ I
_____ I
_____/ I
_____ I?
[253]
254 _____ IV
[255] Oblong quarto: 15 X 20 cm
256 _____
[257]
258 _____/ I
[259]
260 _____ I
_____/ I

[261]		
262	_____/	I
[263]		
264	_____/	I
[265]		
424	_____	I + wm 1
	^_____	I
	^_____/	I
	^_____^	I + wm 1
[425]		
426	_____	I
	^_____	I
	^_____/	II in quarto
[427]		

The remaining thirteen leaves, on the other hand, are each made-up of one complete sheet of Paper Type I (See Table 7.3). While some of these uncut sheets could once have been conjugate with each other, it is presently impossible to establish whether any of these leaves formed bifolia, since they too were each tipped onto modern binding slips when the volume was restored in 1955.[17] Yet it should be noted that while the university binder glued each of these leaves into the volume, much of AG V 30 today consists of gatherings which he sewed in with white thread.[18] Since the binder apparently left gathered bifolia intact, it would seem reasonable to assume that not only the cut-and-pasted sheets, but also the single leaves were already detached when the volume was restored. Indeed, this can be demonstrated by means of several other layers of bibliographical and textual evidence:

17 The manuscript is preserved today in a modern cloth case binding executed by the University bookbinder Hermann Sutter, whose name appears on the back pasted endsheet. It was apparently at the time of this binding that the manuscript was trimmed, resulting in the loss of text along the outer edges of some folio-sized leaves. Even though the manuscript is today tightly bound, earlier sewing holes can occasionally be seen in the gutters of gatherings. Indeed, from the evidence of the marbled-papers which are glued onto the insides of the present front and back covers, it is clear that Sutter was restoring a manuscript which had already once been bound.

The earlier binding probably was of the 18th century. The front pasted endsheet of marbled paper carries the engraved *Ex Libris* of Theodor Falkeysen (1725-1815). Moreover, the manuscript contains four 18th-century flyleaves, two bound at the front of the manuscript and two at the back. These guardsheets are all made-up of the same paper with a Basel watermark associated with the paper mill of Hans Jacob Düring, who flourished in the St. Albantal region of Basel between 1750-1756 (See W. Fritz Tschudin, *The Ancient Paper Mills of Basle*, 39ff. and watermark no.27.).

18 For example, as noted in Table 7.3 a bifolium in oblong quarto format is sewn into the volume between pages 253 and 258. These conjugate leaves, measuring 15 X 20 cm, consist of a duplicate copy of one of the songtexts cast in upright folio (see Inventory K, no.58 and no.9 respectively). Since the copy of *Vernunfft, begierd* on folios 254-257 (no.58) is not only in a different format, but also in a different hand and paper (= Paper Type IV) when compared to the other song text leaves, I suspect that no.58 might have served as the examplar for no.9.

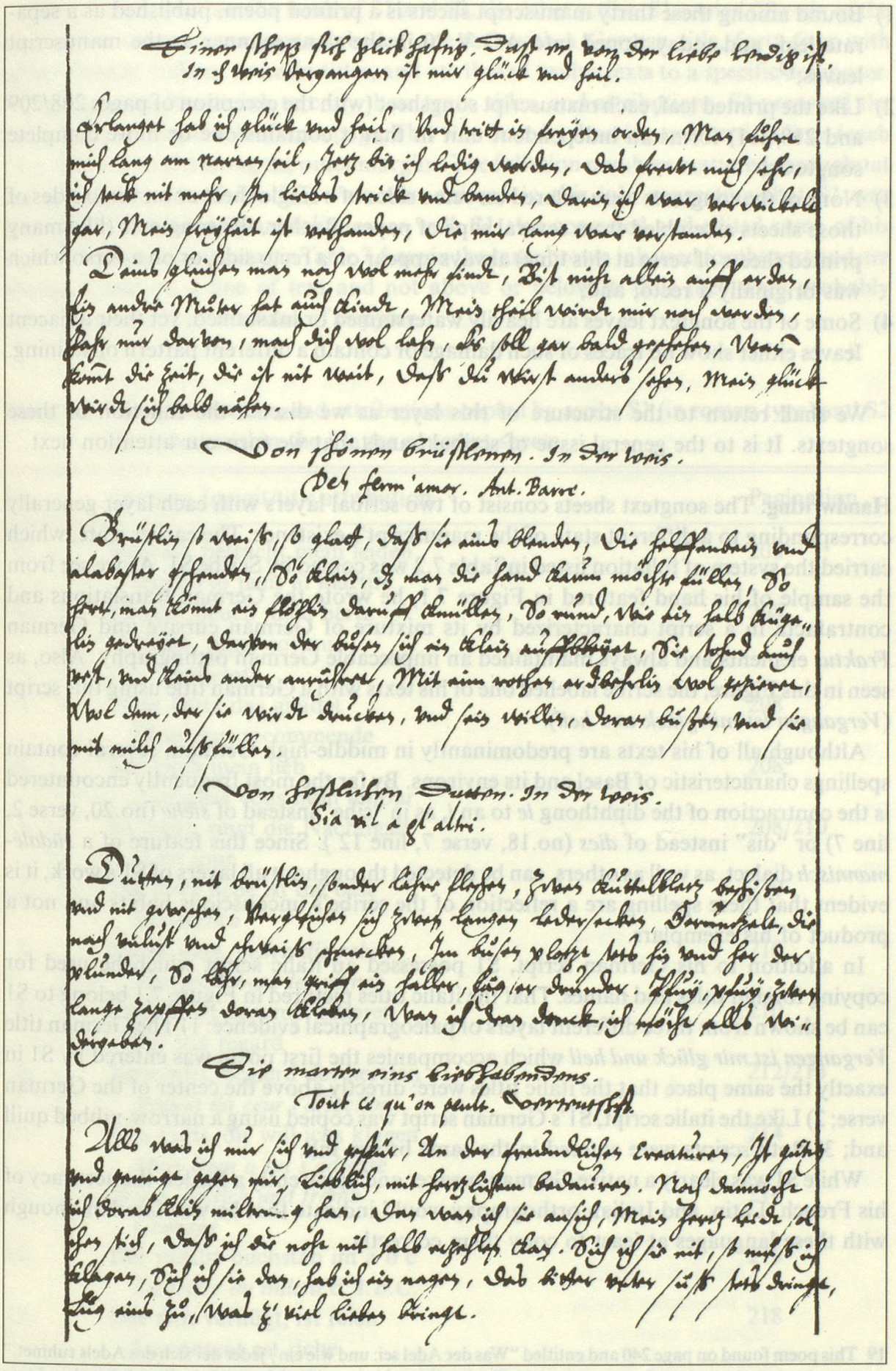


Figure 7.1. Handwriting sample of scribes S1 (verse) and S2 (rubrics) taken from the Platter songtexts (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.242)

1) Bound among these thirty manuscript sheets is a printed poem, published as a separate leaf, and today tipped into AG V 30 in the same manner as the manuscript leaves;[19]
2) Like the printed leaf, each manuscript songsheet (with the exception of pages 208/209 and 210/211) forms an independent unit in that it contains one or more complete songtexts;
3) None of the songtexts were entered on verso sides of a single sheet or on verso sides of those sheets assembled from several slips of paper. Rather, the songtexts (like many printed sheets of verse at this time) always appear on a recto side, or on a verso which was originally a recto; and,
4) Some of the songtext leaves are heavily waterstained or inkstained, yet their adjacent leaves either show no traces of such damage or contain a different pattern of staining.

We shall return to the structure of this layer as we discuss the function of these songtexts. It is to the general issue of scribal hands that we turn our attention next.

Handwriting. The songtext sheets consist of two scribal layers with each layer generally corresponding to a different state of the manuscript's existence. The earlier state, which carried the system of foliation listed in Table 7.2 was copied by Scribe S1. As we see from the sample of his hand featured in Figure 7.1, he wrote the German translations and contrafacta in a script characterized by its mixture of German cursive and German *Fraktur* elements and always maintained an impeccable German orthography. Also, as seen in this Figure, the scribe labelled one of his texts with a German title using this script (*Vergangen ist mir glück und heil*).

Although all of his texts are predominantly in middle-high German, several contain spellings characteristic of Basel and its environs. By far the most frequently encountered is the contraction of the diphthong *ie* to an *i*, as in "sihe" instead of *siehe* (no.20, verse 2, line 7) or "dis" instead of *dies* (no.18, verse 7, line 12). Since this feature of a *südalemannisch* dialect, as well as others, can be detected throughout all layers of S1's work, it is evident that these spelling are a reflection of the scribe's unconscious habits and not a product of his exemplars.

In addition to his German script, S1 possessed an italic script which he used for copying foreign titles and names. That the italic titles pictured in Figure 7.1 belong to S1 can be shown from three different layers of paleographical evidence: 1) The German title *Vergangen ist mir glück und heil* which accompanies the first poem was entered by S1 in exactly the same place that the italic titles were: directly above the center of the German verse; 2) Like the italic script, S1's German script was copied using a narrow-nibbed quill and; 3) Both scripts were entered in the same brown ink.

While S1 was clearly a native German speaker and apparently a Basler, the accuracy of his French, Latin, and Italian orthography would indicate that he was familiar enough with these languages at least to copy them correctly.

19 This poem found on page 240 and entitled "Was der Adel sei: und wie ein / jeder der sich des Adels ruhmet," was clearly independent for some time. Unlike it adjacent leaves, it is heavily stained and dirted and was apparently stored for some time as a quarto-packet since the printed leaf contains one vertical and one horizontal fold.

Table 7.4 summarizes the work of S1 and S2, the other scribe. S1 copied fifty-six of the sixty-seven German songtexts, labelled one text with a German title, forty-four with either French, Italian, or Latin titles, and attributed twelve texts to a specific composer. Using the same brown ink to copy these texts, titles, and attributions, S1 prepared the horizontal writing block of each page. This was done by drawing two vertical lines (each 14.5-14.8 cm apart) along the outer margins. The foliation numbers scattered throughout the songsheets (see Table 7.2) were also entered in this ink, suggesting that S1 was responsible for the original foliation as well. S1 also corrected and edited some of his texts. The corrections listed in Table 7.5 are in the same brown ink used for the text and are always found on a line of text and not above or below it: thus they were probably corrections made at the time of copying.

Table 7.4. The poems, titles, and attributions copied by scribe S1 (in roman type) and S2 (in *italics*) within the Platter songtext sheets

No.	German Incipit/title/attribution	Pagination
1.	Wan ich betracht mein leiden	208
	Quand'io pens al martire	
2.	Fleuch, fleuch mein hertz	208
	Fuggi, fuggi cor mio	
	Verd[elot].	
3.	Mein hertz das gnadet	208
	Mon ceur recommende	
4.	Mit euch mein lieb	208
	Avecques vous mon amour	
5.	Es taget, singt die Nachtigall	208/210
	Il est jour	
6.	Die erste liebe ist die best	210
	Jouissance	
7.	*Guten wein, geben die reben*	210
	Margot labore les vignes	
8.	Cupido ist darumb geboren	210
	Par ton regard	
9.	Vernunfft, begierd des hertzen	212/213
	Raison du ceur l'affection	
10.	Ach Gott, dir will ichs klagen	214
	Mon Dieu a toi s'adresse	
11.	*Frisch, frölich und fromb*	214
	Courage	
12.	Der mittlst buchstab im a b c	216
	La lettre au milieu d'A.B.C.	
13.	Der sich vernügt, ist reich	218
	Le content est riche	
	Claud[in]. [de Sermisy]	

14. Den tod nimm ich an mit gedult 218
Je prens en gre la dure mort
15. O dörfft ich euch von hertzen 218
O sio potesti donna
16. Mein lieb und dienst 218
Si pour t'aimer
17. Ich stund in einem garten 220
A mon iardin l'anguissant
18. Man ladt uns auff die Hochzeitfreud 222
Au nopces on convie
19. Wach auff mein trost ohn sorgen 224
Revielle vous Madame
20. Lieb, leyd und freud 226
Amour, doleur, liesse
21. Die edle Music 228
Doulce memoire
22. Hilff Gott, hilff Gott 228
Helas mon Dieu
23. Der Herr segnet die gerechten 228
La volunte
24. Auss der tieffe Herr Gott 228
Helas mes yeulx
25. Mein Anele 230
Helas amy
26. O Herre Gott von himmelreich 230
Puis que vivre en servitude
27. Von tausent hertzleyd 230
De mille ennus
28. Singend mit freuden 232
Mais pourquoi
29. Hab ich schon freud 232
Si iay du bien
30. Zum feur, zum feur 232
Au feu au feu
31. Der Liebe hab ich mich jetz 232
Je cherch' autant
32. Was mir beschehret 234
Ce qui m'est Dieu
33. Ach Gott, sagt ein Jungfrewlin 234
Vray Dieu disoit
34. Ein lieblich nein 234
Ung doux nenny
35. Ein trunckner mann 234
Quand mon mari
36. Susanna zart, die fromm und schönst 234
Susanne ung jour

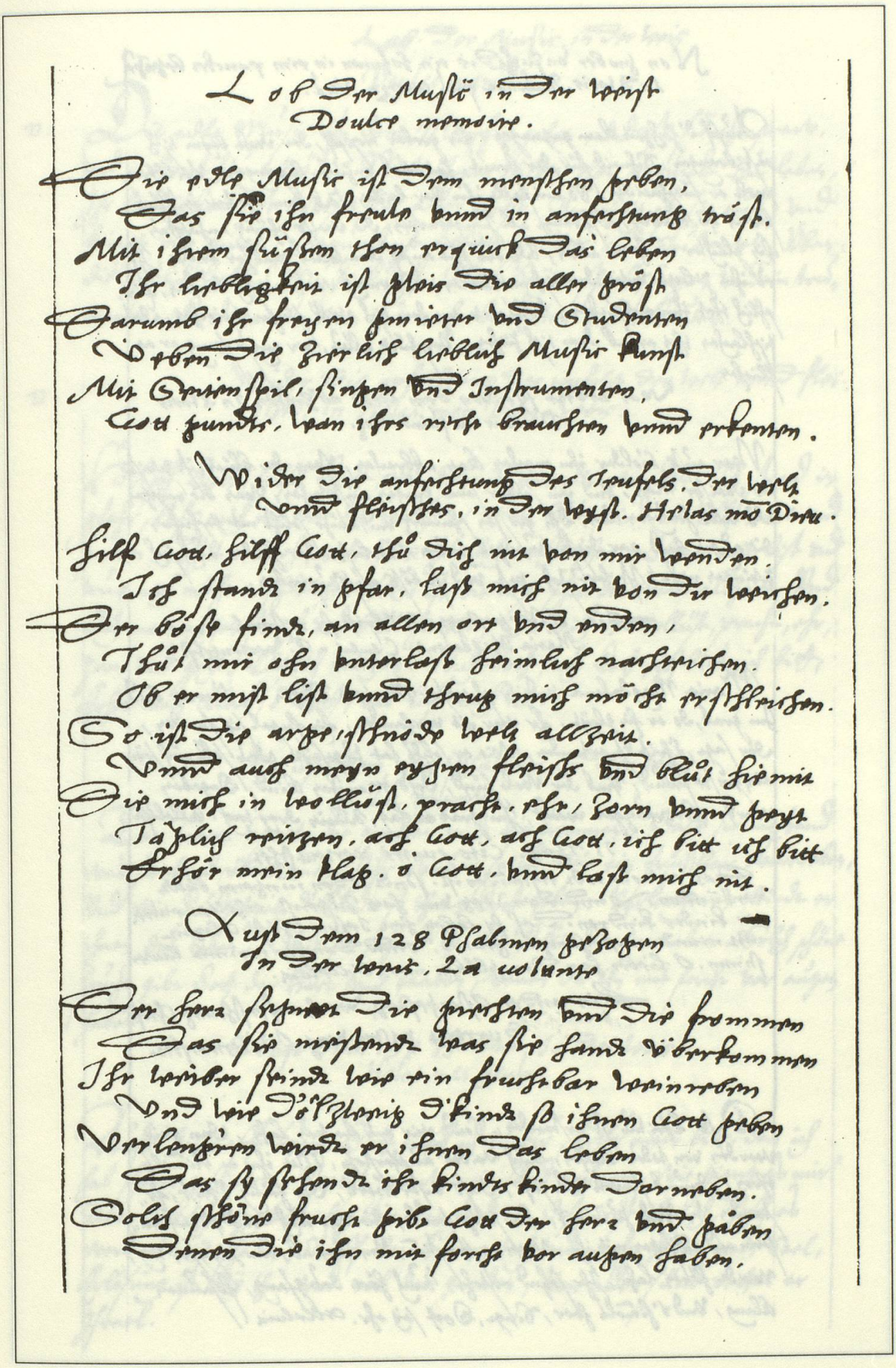
37. Gut gsell, hast kein verstand 236
Je sens l'affection
38. Ein schöns frewlin sich klagt 236
Je suis ung demy dieu
39. Wan ich mit künsten, kreutern, 236
Fedel & bel cagnuolo
40. Dido in liebe wütet, 238
At trepida et caeptis
41. Der Engel sach 238
Angelus ad Pastores
Orl[ando]. [di Lasso]
42. Nüt liebers wolt 238
O gri hor per voi suspiro
Verd[elot].
43. In allem sterben singt der Schwan 238
Il bianco & dolce cigno
Arcad[elt].
44. Erlanget hab ich glück und heil 242
Vergangen ist mir glück und heil
45. Brüstlin so weiss, so glatt 242
Deh ferm' amour
Ant[onio]. Barre
46. Dutten, nit brüstlin 242
Sia vil a gl'altri
47. Alls wan ich nur sich 242
Tout ce qu'on peult
48. Auff d'hochzeit kam gegangen 244
Madonna qual certezza
Verd[elot].
49. Wer auss Holder ihm machen 244
D'amour me plains
Rog[ier]. [Pathie]
50a. Maria Magdalena (Verse 1) 244
Maria Magdalene
Clemens n[on]. P[apa].
50b. *Das er vom todt erstanden ist* (Verse 2)
II Thiel. Cito euntes
51. Dass Christus ist erstanden 244
Surrexit pastor bonus
Orl[ando]. [di Lasso]
52. Komm mit mir in den garten 246
Veni in hortum
Orl[ando]. [di Lasso]
53. Guten morgen, mein hertz, 246
Bon jour, mon ceur
Orl[ando]. [di Lasso]

54.	Zum Abendtrunck was wollen wir Ace matin Orl[ando]. [di Lasso]	246
55.	*So lang ich leb* Tant que vivray	246
56.	Mir gliebt im grünen Meyen *Au mois de Mai*	250
57.	Mit lieb ist gantz umbfangen *D'amour suis environne*	252/253
58.	Vernunfft, begierd (= no.9)	254-257
59.	*Ein fröhlich leben* *Ein frölich leben*	258
60.	Fröhlich, fröhlich wöllen wir seyn *Englischs Dantz*	260
61.	Traurig, traurig do muss ich seyn *Anderss (=Englischs Dantz)*	260
62.	*Die edle Music* (= no.21) *Doulce memoire*	262
63.	*Hilf Gott, hilff Gott*, (= no.22) *Helas mon Dieu*	262
64.	*Der herr segnet* (= no.23) *La Volante*	262
65.	*Wellen wir ietz von hinnen* *Icons vous paven Angleterre*	264
66.	Die kochensperger bauren *Die bauren von Sant Gol[pa]*	424/425
67.	Es fiel ein Baurin in den bach *Est ist ein mann in brunen gefallen*	426

Table 7.5. Corrections made by S1

Poem no	Verse/line		Correction
1	1	1	*mirs hertz leben*; *hertz* is crossed-out.
9	16	2	*nicht thut beiten*; *nicht*/*thut* are marked with the editorial sign of transposition:
39	1	8	*andrer sicht sich könnt*; *sicht* is crossed-out.
56	8	3	*und dienen soll*; *soll* was crossed-out and replaced with *wol.*

The second layer was copied by Scribe S2. As we see from the sample of his handwriting in Figure 7.2, he also would appear to be a native German speaker, based on the accuracy of his German orthography and the clarity of his German cursive script. Moreover, as with S1, his German translations and contrafacta were mostly copied using middle-high German orthography, yet contain several spellings characteristic of Basel. In addition to contracting the diphthong *ie* to *i* or *y*, S2 occasionally substituted the letter



Lob der Musik in der weis
Dulce memorie.

Die edle Musik ist dem menschen geben,
Das sie ihn freude vnd in anfechtung tröst.
Mit ihrem süssen thon erquickt das leben
Ihr lieblichkeit ist gleich die aller gröst.
Darumb ihr frowen jungfrawen vnd Studenten
Lebet die zierlich liebliche Musik kunst.
Mit Seitenspil, singen vnd Instrumenten,
Gott gfallts, wan ihrs nicht brauchen vnd schenden.

Wider die anfechtung des teufels, der welt
vnd fleisches, in der letst. Helas mo Dieu.

Hilff Gott, hilff Gott, thů dich nit von mir wenden.
Ich stande in gfar, lass mich nit von dir keren.
Der böse find, an allen ort vnd enden,
Thůt mir offt vnterlass heimlich nachstreichen.
Ob er mich list vnd thruc mich möcht erschleichen.
So ist die arge, schnöde welt allzeit.
Vnd auch mein eygen fleisch vnd blůt hie mit
Die mich in leckůst, pracht, ehr, hon vnd freyt
Täglich reitzen, ach Gott, ach Gott, ich bit vch bit
Erhör mein klag. o Gott, vnd lass mich nit.

Vsz dem 128 Psalmen gezogen
In der weis, La volunte

Der herr schenck die gerechten vnd die frommen
Das sie nimmer was sie hand vberkommen
Ihr leiblich kinder weib vnd heimlich verlieren
Vnd weil Gott gibt ihnen so ihnen Gott geben
Verlengern werde er ihnen das leben
Das sy sehende ihr kindskinder darneben.
Solich schön frucht gibt Gott der herr vnd gaben
Denen die ihn mit forcht vor augen haben.

Figure 7.2. Verses and rubrics of scribe S2 (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.262)

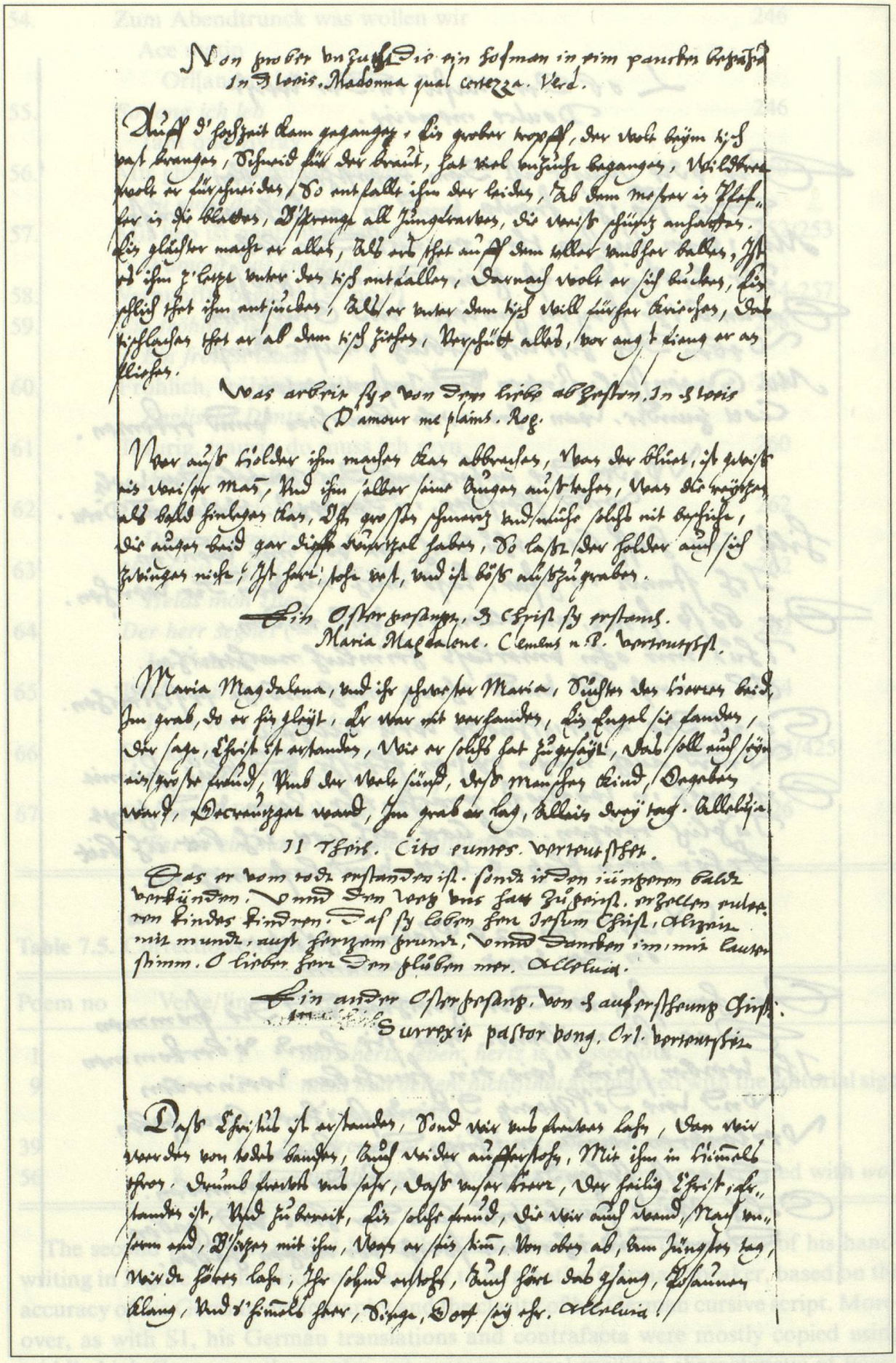
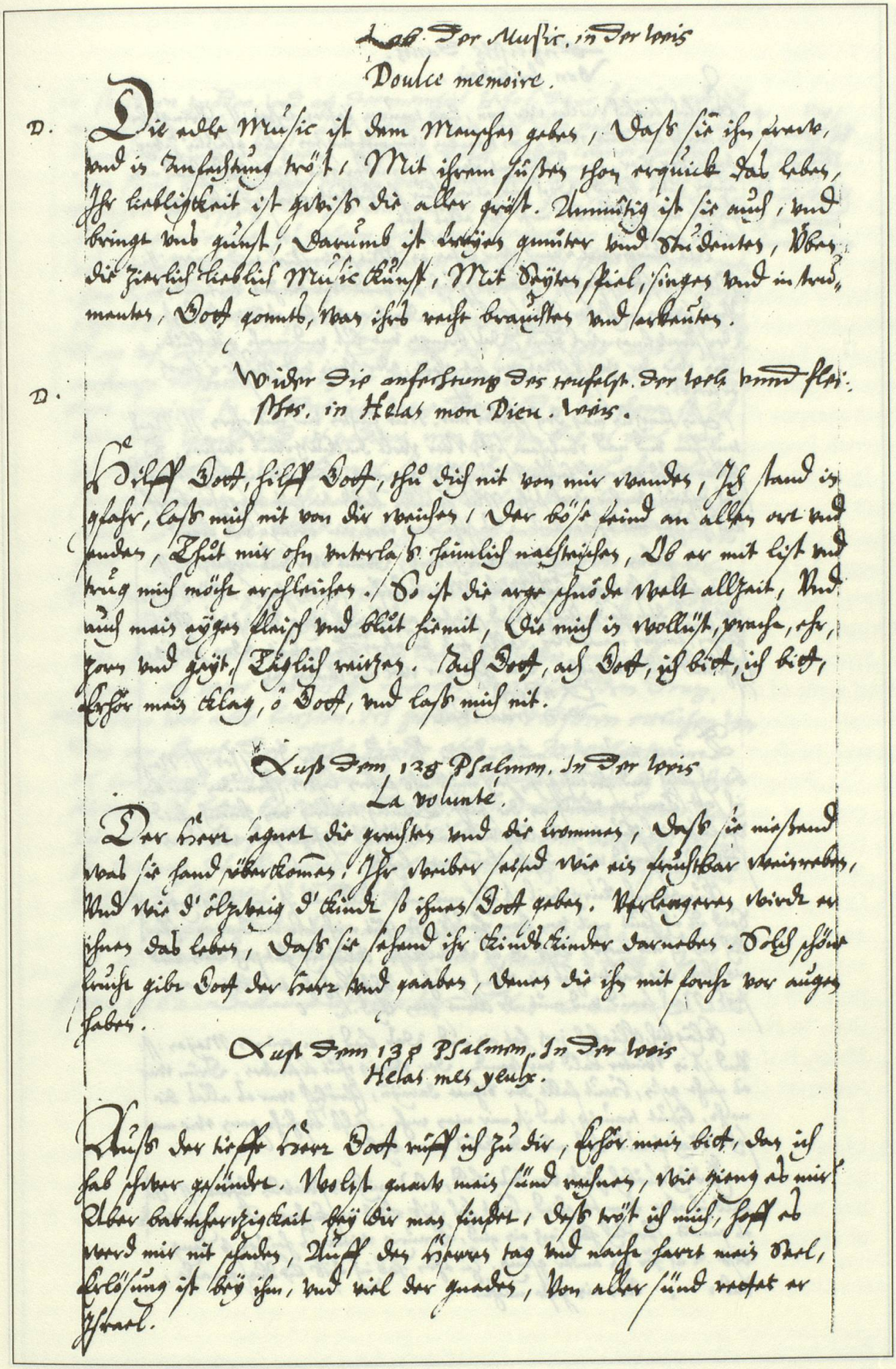


Figure 7.3. Scribe S2 supplementing the work of scribe S1 (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.244)



Lob der Music, in der weis
Doulce memoire.

D. Die edle Music ist dem Menschen geben, Dass sie ihn erfreu, und in Anfechtung tröst, Mit ihrem Süssen thon erquickt das leben, Ihr Lieblichkeit ist gewisslich die aller gröst. Nutzbahr ist sie auch, und bringt nutz und gunst, Darumb ist billichs gemeiner hand zu deuten, Vber die zierlich lieblich Music Kunst, Mit Dichten, spil, singen und in truments, mauten, Doch gemelt, was ihro nicht brauchen und anhangen.

D. Wider die anfechtung des teufels. der welt und fleisches. in Helas mon Dieu. weis.

O Hilff Gott, hilff Gott, thu dich nit von mir wenden, Ich stand in gfahr, lass mich nit von dir wenden / Der böse feind an allen ort und enden, Thut mir ohn unterlass heimlich nachstellen, Ob er mit list und trug mich möcht erfellen. / Do ist die arge schnöde welt allzeit, Und auch mein eigen fleisch und blut darmit, Die mich in wollust, pracht, ehr, gut und gelt, Täglich reitzen. Ach Gott, ach Gott, ich bitt, ich bitt, erhör mein klag, o Gott, und lass mich nit.

Auss dem 128 Psalmen. in der weis
La volunté.

Der herr sagt die genaden und die frommen, Dass sie nimmer wol sie kund überkommen, Ihr weiber selig wie ein fruchtbar weinreben, Und wie d'ölzweig d'kind ob ihrem Gott geben. Vberlangeres wirdt es ihnen dah leben, Dass sie sehend ihr kindskinder darneben. Solch schöne früchte gibt Gott der herr und gnaden, Wenn die ihn mit forcht vor augen haben.

Auss dem 138 Psalmen, In der weis
Helas mes yeulx.

Auss der tiefe herr Gott ruff ich zu dir, erhör mein bitt, das ich hab ehrer gründe. Wolst gnad mein sünd nemen, wie gring ab mir Aber barmhertzigkeit bey dir man findet, Dass trost ich mich, sonst ab werd mir nit standen, Auff den herren tag und nacht fahrt mein thun, erlösung ist bey ihm, und viel der gnaden, Von aller sünd wirdt er ihsrael.

Figure 7.4. Scribe S2 rubricating scribe S1's verses (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.228)

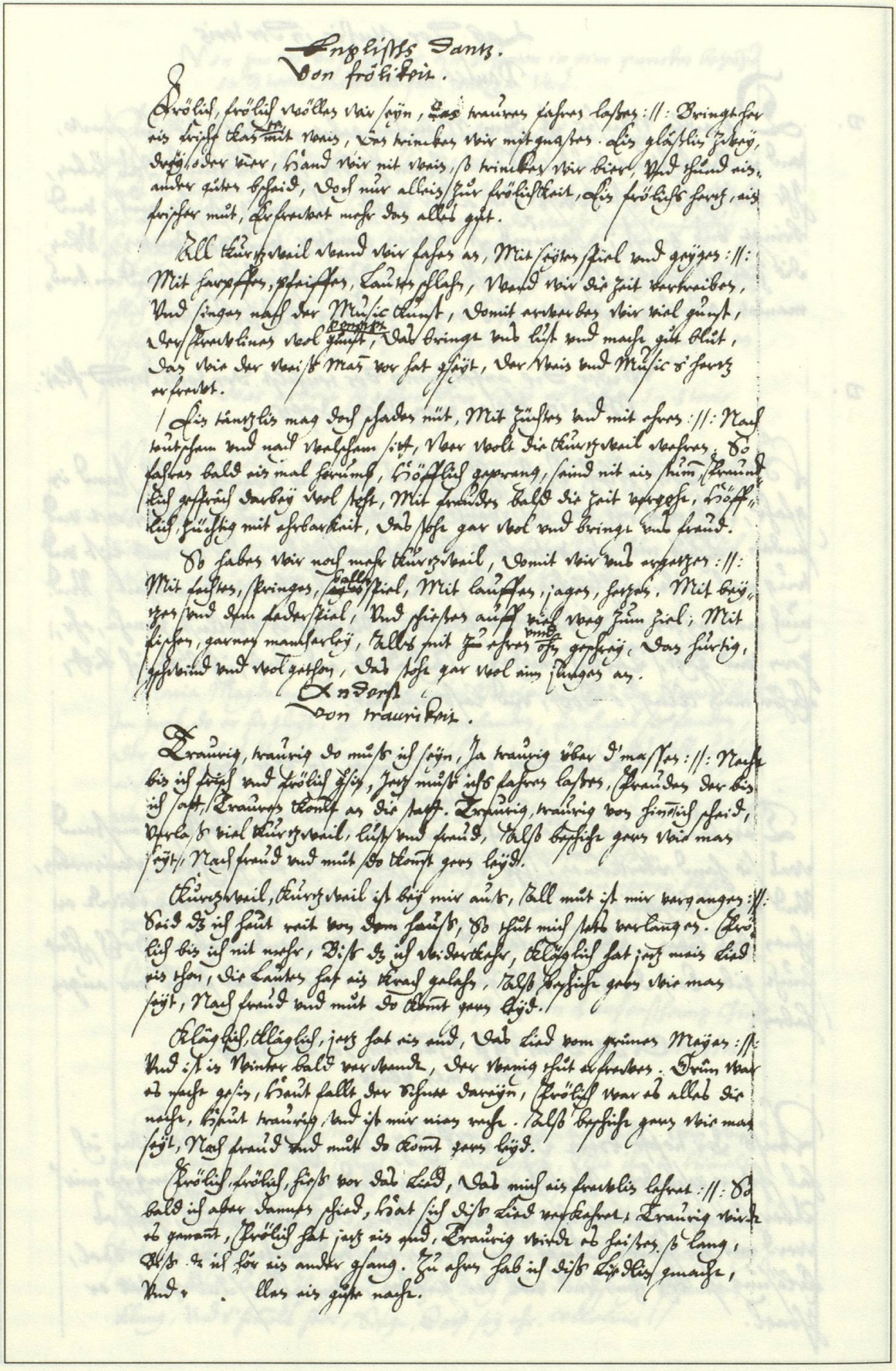


Figure 7.5. Scribe S2 rubricating and correcting the work of scribe S1 (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.260)

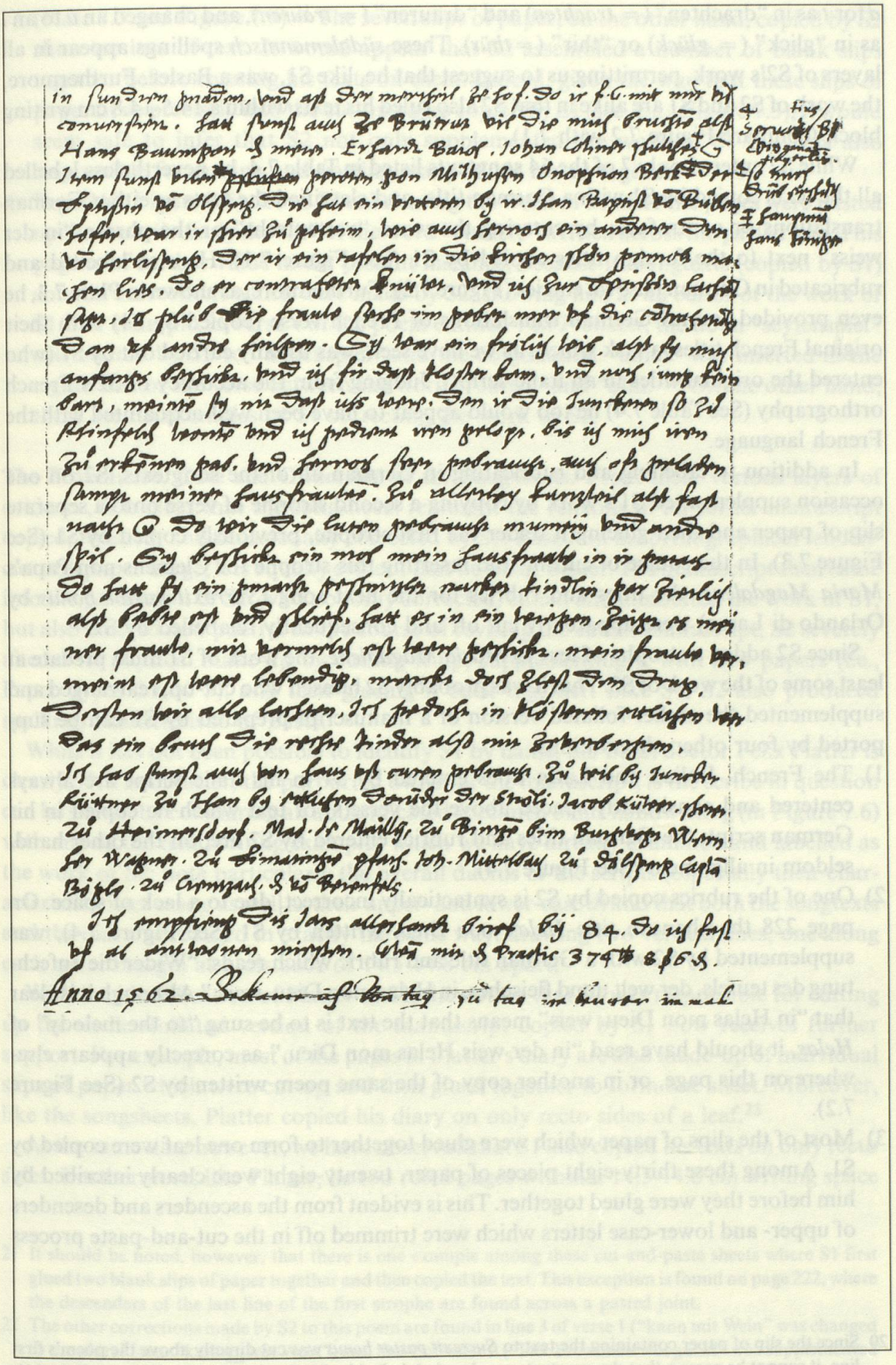


Figure 7.6. Sample page from Felix Platter's [=Scribe S2] diary (CH-Bu Mscr. A lambda III 3, fol.137r)

d for *t* as in "drachten" (= *trachten*) and "drauren" (= *trauren*), and changed an *ü* to an *i* as in "glick" (= *glück*) or "thir" (= *thür*). These *südalemannisch* spellings appear in all layers of S2's work, permitting us to suggest that he, like S1, was a Basler. Furthermore, the work of S2 and S1 are alike in that S2 also ruled his texts within a 14.5-14.8 cm writing block (compare Figure 7.2 with 7.1).

While S2 entered only 7 of the 64 songtexts listed in Table 7.4, he nevertheless labelled all the texts copied by S1 with a German title, and classified the texts as either German translations or contrafacta by entering the word "verteutscht" or the phrase "in der weiss" next to the foreign titles copied by S1 (See Figure 7.1). He also labelled and rubricated in German his own entries (Figure 7.2). Furthermore, as shown in Plate 7.3, he even provided several German translations of French verse (copied by S1) with their original French titles; a task which, as we have seen, was usually carried out by S1 (who entered the original titles in an italic script). Judging from the accuracy of S2's French orthography (See Table 7.4) he too would appear to have been well-acquainted with the French language.

In addition to labelling and rubricating in German all of the songtexts, S2 on one occasion supplemented S1's work by copying a second strophe of verse onto a separate slip of paper and then glueing it under the first strophe, previously copied by S1 (See Figure 7.3). In the course of cutting and inserting this strophe for Clemens non Papa's *Maria Magdalene*, the titles and rubrics for the next song (*Surrexit pastor bonus* by Orlando di Lasso) were apparently cut off and consequently relabelled by S2.[20]

Since S2 added a strophe of text to *Maria Magdalene*, the work of S1 must predate at least some of the work of S2. That it was probably S2 himself who cut-up, rearranged and supplemented the earlier-foliated version of a manuscript prepared by S1 can be supported by four other observations:

1) The French, Italian and Latin titles entered by S1 in his italic script are always centered and consistently spaced above the verse(s) of text which he copied in his German script; the German titles and rubrics entered by S2 are, on the other hand, seldom in alignment (See Figure 7.4).
2) One of the rubrics copied by S2 is syntactically incorrect, due to a lack of space. On page 228 the chanson title *Helas mon Dieu*, written by S1 (See Figure 7.4), was supplemented by S2 with a German title and rubric which reads: "Wider die anfechtung des teufels. der welt unnd fleisches, in Helas mon Dieu. weis." Although it is clear that "in Helas mon Dieu. weis" means that the text is to be sung "to the melody" of *Helas*, it should have read "in der weis Helas mon Dieu," as correctly appears elsewhere on this page, or in another copy of the same poem written by S2 (See Figure 7.2).
3) Most of the slips of paper which were glued together to form one leaf were copied by S1. Among these thirty-eight pieces of paper, twenty-eight were clearly inscribed by him before they were glued together. This is evident from the ascenders and desenders of upper- and lower-case letters which were trimmed off in the cut-and-paste process

20 Since the slip of paper containing the text to *Surrexit pastor bonus* was cut directly above the poem's first line, it cannot be proven that the songtext was already labelled by S1. On the other hand, since all the S1's songtexts (made-up of only one strophe) were labelled by him, one can assume that *Surrexit pastor* was among them.

(Plate 7.3 and Figure 7.9).[21] The seven slips of paper, on the other hand, copied by S2 show no loss of text. It would appear that S2 assembled a number of blank slips together before entering his texts on them. Indeed, given the way that these slips of paper fit so precisely into the cut-up pages copied by S1 (see, e.g., Figure 7.3), it would seem safe to infer that S2 not only supplemented the work of S1 but was also responsible for cutting and pasting many of his leaves together.

4) Page 260 (Figure 7.5) shows S2 rubricating the work of S1 after the pages were pasted up: note particularly the "A" of the word "Anders" written across the pasted join. This page is of further value in the present instance, because its songtexts (copied by S1) contain corrections which were made by S2, showing him as an editor of the work of S1. For example, in verse 4 of the poem entitled *Von Frölikeit*, the noun "seytenspiel" was altered by S2 to "ballenspiel" and the conjunction "unnd" was inserted in the eighth line of the verse between the words "ehren" and "ohn."[22] On the other hand, there are no examples of S1 correcting the work of S2.

The Provenance, Date and Ownership of the Songsheets. From these various layers of evidence, it is clear that the songsheets represent the remains of an earlier manuscript copied, foliated, and occasionally corrected by S1. Based on his orthographical tendencies and paper usage, it is equally evident that he was a Basler. The manuscript then came into the possession of S2, who not only corrected, edited and annotated the work of S1, but also entered new poetry. In the course of revising the earlier manuscript, S2 severely altered its physical make-up by cutting it up, supplementing it with new papers (i.e., Paper Types 2 and 3), and then glueing it back together. Like S1, S2 also produced spellings characteristic of Basel.

While it has not been possible to identify S1 by name, the Basel doctor Felix Platter is clearly S2. That Platter, the purported owner of the manuscript, is the scribe in question can be shown by comparing an authenticated specimen of his handwriting (in Figure 7.6) with any of the handwriting examples which we have already examined and labelled as the work of S2: note particularly the overall ductus of the scripts (especially their characteristic lower case *g* as well as their upper- and lower-case *d*) and that both the songtexts and the diary were ruled in exactly the same way: drawing two vertical lines, one along each outer margin at a distance of 14.5-14.8 cm apart.

With the identification of Platter as S2, the notion that S2 was responsible for cutting up the earlier-foliated version of the manuscript copied by S1 now receives further support. For example, most of the pages in Platter's diary are also made-up of individual slips of paper which were cut-up and then glued together to form one sheet. Moreover, like the songsheets, Platter copied his diary on only recto sides of a leaf.[23]

At the same time however, we have observed that S1 also copied his texts on only recto sides. Furthermore, like Platter, he too ruled pages within a 14.5-14.8 cm writing space

21 It should be noted, however, that there is one example among these cut-and-paste sheets where S1 first glued two blank slips of paper together and then copied the text. This exception is found on page 222, where the descenders of the last line of the first strophe are found across a pasted joint.

22 The other corrections made by S2 to this poem are found in line 3 of verse 1 ("kann mit Wein" was changed to the plural form "kannen mit Wein") and line 7 of verse 2 ("Der Frewlinen wol gunst" was supplemented with additional syllables to complete the rhyme scheme "Der Frewlinen wolgeneigt gunst").

23 A detailed account of the diary's physical make-up, together with a discussion of Platter's copying habits, is given by Valentin Lötscher in his edition of the Platter diary (See Lötscher 1976, 32-35).

and, on at least one occasion, assembled a songtext from individual slips of paper (see fn. 21). Admittedly, it is possible that S1 could have prepared his texts in the same way as Platter without ever having been influenced by him. Yet, we have seen that Platter not only annotated and corrected the work of S1 but also classified all of S1's texts. Since S1 copied and assembled his manuscript in a format which conforms so closely to that used by Platter (and even used the same paper which Platter wrote large portions of his diary on), it would seem reasonable to conclude that Platter was supervising the work of S1, and (from the paper evidence) that the manuscript was copied in Basel at roughly the same time that Platter compiled his diary, namely in the 1590s.

The Songtexts and Their Authorship. While there is no overt evidence in the manuscript to attribute these unique texts to Platter, there are enough indications at least to suggest it. Some evidence for this hypothesis is offered by the correction that Platter made to his redaction of *Guten wein geben*, a newly-composed German text which he designated to be sung to the melody of *Margot labore les vignes*. As shown in Table 7.6, the correction is located in the last line of the first strophe and entailed crossing-out the words "ein guten".

Table 7.6. First strophe of *Guten wein geben* and *Margot labourez les vignes*

Strophes	Syllable count
Guten wein geben, die reben	8
reben, reben reben gut,	7
der frist das leben,	5
unnd bringt ~~ein guten~~ uns ein mut.	5
Margot labourez les vignes	8
vignes, vignes, vignolet	7
Margot labourez	5
les vignes bien tost	5

Aside from having more syllables than the corresponding line of *Margot laborez les vignes*, this line of German verse (before it was corrected) had two direct and two indirect objects: "unnd bringt ein guten (masculine object missing)" and "unnd bringt uns ein mut." While Platter could have made this mistake by unconsciously following a corrupt exemplar, or by simply copying the line incorrectly, I believe that the correction shows Platter editing/composing the text as he entered it.

This hypothesis would entail that Platter originally intended the line to read "unnd bringt ein guten mut" and not "unnd bringt uns ein mut" as it does today. (Such a claim is supported by the fact that the adjective "guten" was declined to take a masculine noun: namely "Mut"). However before copying the direct object "Mut", Platter realized that he was going to have six, rather than the necessary five syllables needed to sing the line to a setting of *Margot laborere des vignes*. Consequently, while copying the line he crossed out the three syllables of "ein guten" and entered two syllables in its place, "uns ein". If this scenario is correct, Platter was obviously altering the readings as he was copying the text;

this would strongly suggest that he knew the original French version and probably wrote this German contrafactum himself.[24]

Another layer of evidence implying Platter's authorship for some, if not all, of these texts lies in the rubrics that S2 (= Platter) entered next to the German translations of those French verses which had not previously been set to music. For example, the translation of *Reveillez vous Madame* found on page 224 was copied by S1, yet rubricated by Platter with the remark that it was to be set to the melody of the *Passomezo Gassenhawer*, and accompanied by lutes ("Reveillez vous Madame verteutscht. in der weiss Passomezo Gassenhawer. Singt man zur lauten"). This meant that Platter, or someone else, discovered that the music of the Passomezo could be used to sing the translated version of *Reveillez*, and that the lute (Platter's favorite instrument) would provide an appropriate accompaniment. While it is possible that Platter acquired this information from an exemplar, there are good reasons for favoring him as the source of the information.

1) Although S1 copied this songtext as well as most of the others, it was Platter who classified all of the texts as either translations or contrafacta; implying that he, and not S1, knew whether a songtext was a translation or not.
2) For several of the French poems not previously set to music, Platter did not enter the title of a corresponding musical setting which would accommodate the German translations copied by S1. Yet on two occasions he clearly intended to do so, since he wrote in the margin the phrase "in der weiss."[25] This would suggest that Platter was making decisions as to which music would be used to sing the German translations; and
3) On page 264, Platter copied a newly-composed German text and prefaced it with a lengthy note (in Basel German) describing in detail how the song should be performed to the melody of *Icons vous paven Angleterra*. The performance indication found above the first strophe of text reads as follows:

> A song: to be sung while sitting at a table; one of the participants should be drinking and directing the ensemble. The first strophe, and thereafter the others are sung by he who has the goblet. And so forth. With the last strophe, the first two syllables should be sung as many times as is needed for the person to drink. And only until he has drunk, does one sing the last strophe.[26]

Whether this performance note and its accompanying four strophes were composed by Platter cannot be proven. Yet Platter's authorship can be suggested based on one correction which he made to the performance rubric. Although the end of the first line today reads "one of the participants should be drinking and directing the ensemble (*die gselschaft*)," it originally read "one of the participants should be drinking and directing the strophes (*die gsatze*)." Admittedly, Platter could be editing someone else's text or cor-

24 For another example of Platter clearly changing texts and not simply correcting mistakes see Figure 7.5, above.

25 The two songtexts which carry the phrase "in der weiss" but not the corresponding musical setting are no.9 *(Vernunfft, begierd)*, and no.56 *(Mir gliebt im grünen Meyen)*.

26 "Ein liedt: singt mann ob tischs. eim so einen / aussdrincken soll, unnd farht die gselschaft / dass erst gsatz an, darnoch dass ander der den / becher hatt. Unnd also fort an. Am lecsten gesatz / sollen die zwe ersten silben gesungen werden, / so offt, biss er aussgedruncken hatt. alss dan singt / man erst dass uberig darzu."

recting his own copying mistake. However, in light of the other evidence we have seen which shows Platter changing readings, classifying all of the songtexts, and deciding which pre-existent compositions would accommodate texts never set to music before, one has to at least suspect that Platter was emending his own poetry and rubrics and not editing another's.[27]

The Songtexts of AG V 30: their contents and function

Classification. The sixty-seven songtexts fall into three categories. The first, as illustrated in Figure 7.7, represents German translations of foreign texts which had previously been set to music. These translations, usually of only the first verse, were copied mostly by S1 and labelled by him with the piece's original title. Platter then rubricated each entry with a German title and entered next to the piece's original title the verb "verteutscht" – indicating that the text was unquestionably a translation. On several occasions Platter and S1 even entered the name of a composer who set the original text. (See Figure 7.3). One will find in the Inventory K twenty-seven pieces in this category, whose original incipits are supplemented with the symbol "trs." (= translation).

The second category consists of newly-composed texts intended to be sung to specific melodies or settings. Like the translations, most of the these contrafacta were also copied and labelled with a foreign title by S1, yet rubricated by Platter. As seen in Figure 7.8, these songtexts were entered with a German title followed by the phrase "in der weiss" and the name of the piece to which the new text was to be sung. Here too, S1 attributed several pieces to composers (see Figure 7.3). Twenty-nine German texts can be classified within this category and are labelled in the Inventory with the symbol "ctf." (=contrafactum).

The final category represents a hybrid of the two just discussed, in that it contains translations of French verse, but to be sung to the music of German Tenorlieder or to instrumental compositions. These texts, none of which were set to music before, were also rubricated by Platter. Yet they are different from the other texts, in that their original French incipits were all copied by Platter, and not by S1. As seen in the example reproduced in Figure 7.9, these entries contain an original French title accompanied by the verb "verteutscht": the name of the piece to which the germanized text was to be sung was entered in the adjacent margin under the phrase "in der weiss". However, on several occasions the pieces which were to be sung to these German translations were never entered (Figure 7.10). The nine texts which can be identified within this category are listed in the Inventory and marked with the symbol "trs.-ctf." (=translation-contrafactum).[28]

Attributions. As we have mentioned, several of the songtexts' original titles are attributed to composers. Among the fourteen texts which carry an attribution six were assigned to Orlando di Lasso, three to Phillipe Verdelot, and one each to Clemens non Papa, Claudin

27 In addition to Platter's activities as an amateur musician, he is known to have written his own poetry. This is evident not only by those poems found in AG V 30 which can be attributed to him (see fn.6), but also by an entry in his diary which establishes that he wrote German verse, and studied Latin poetry, while enrolled as a student at the University of Montpellier in 1551 (see Lötscher, *Felix Platter. Tagebuch*, 120).

28 Songtext no.11 cannot be classified into any one of these three categories, since it was not rubricated. Moreover, there are no known musical setting of this text.

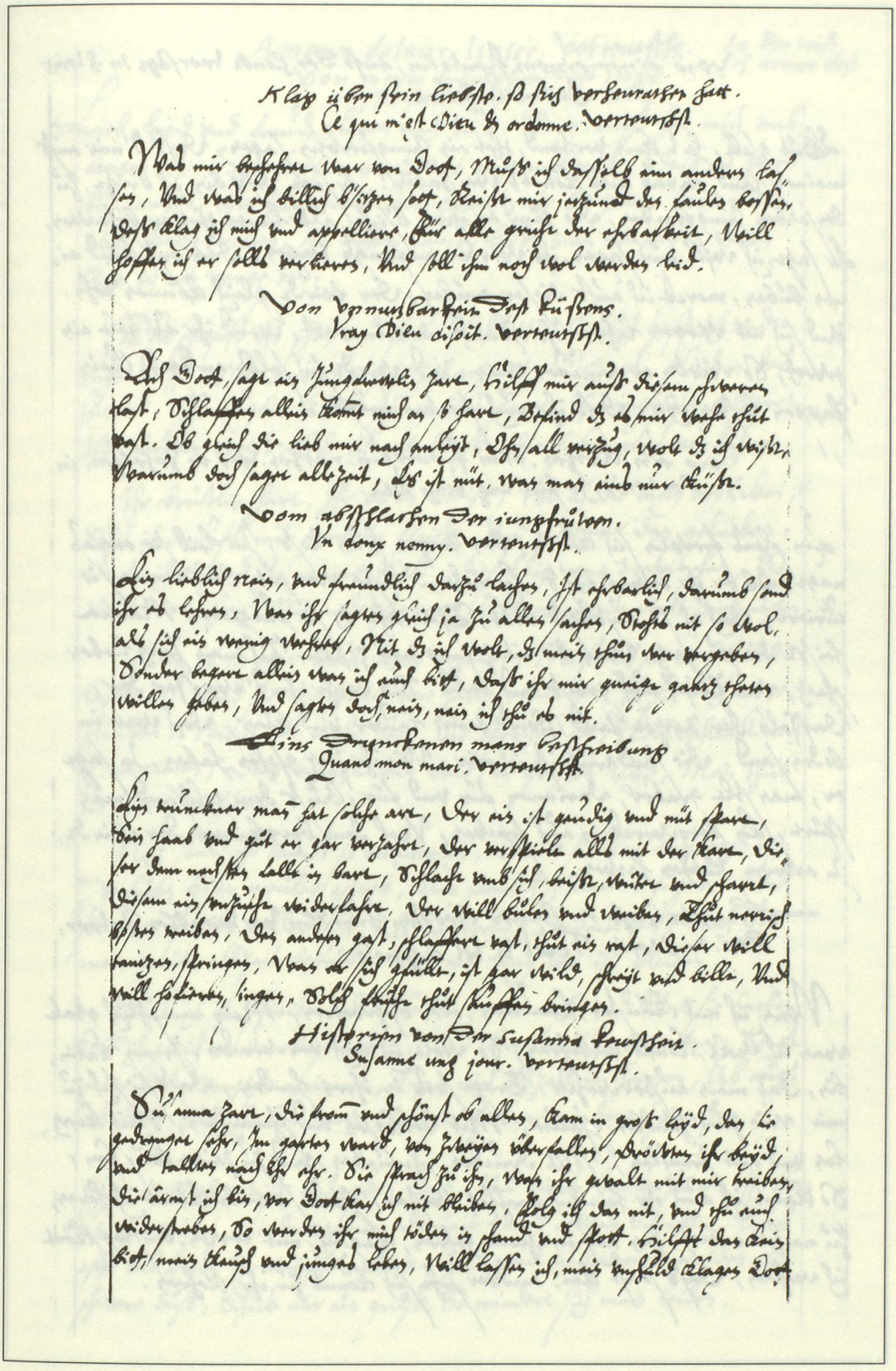


Figure 7.7. German translations ("verteutscht") of foreign song texts (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.234)

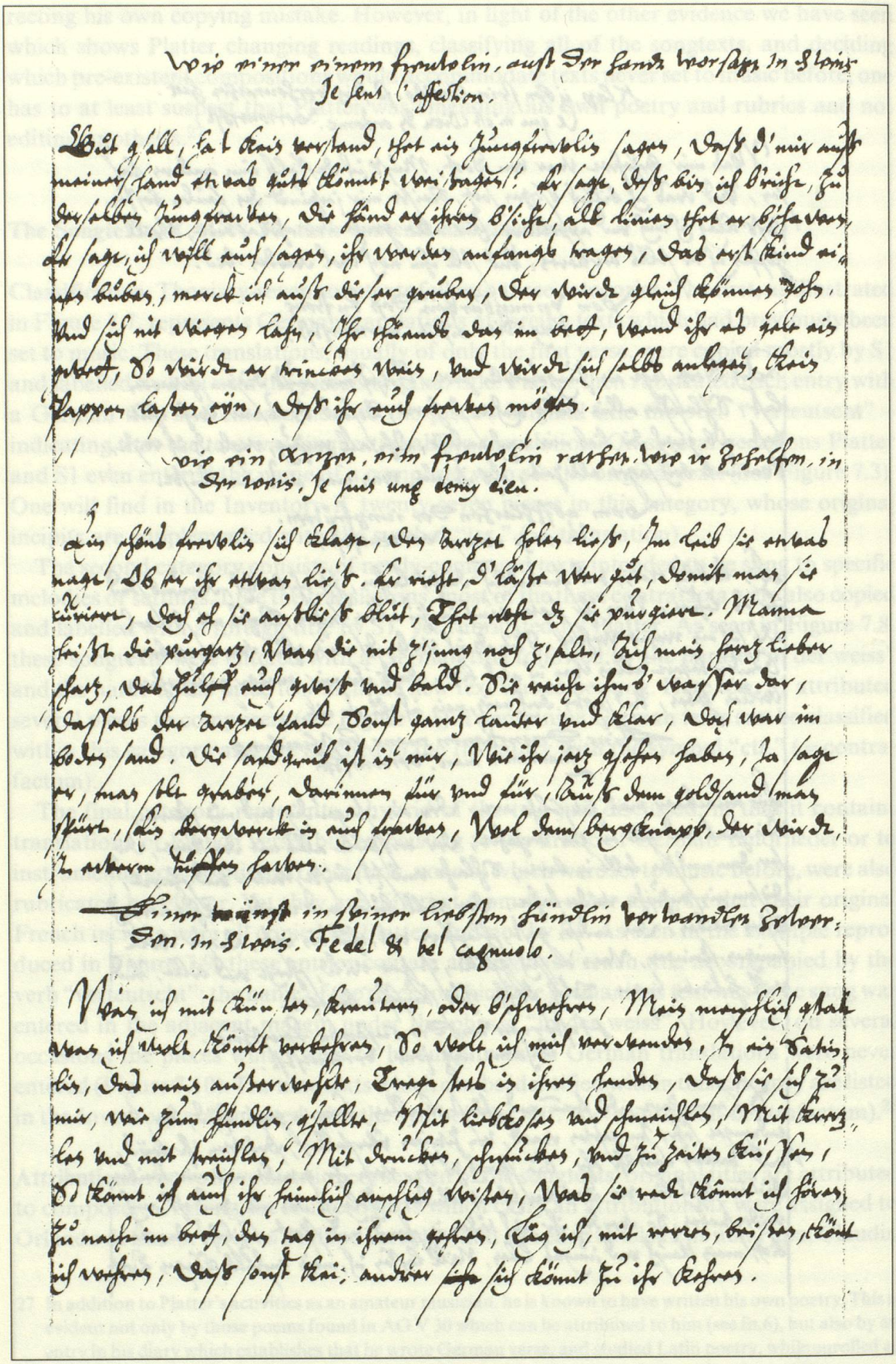


Figure 7.8. German contrafacta ("in der weis") of foreign song texts (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.236)

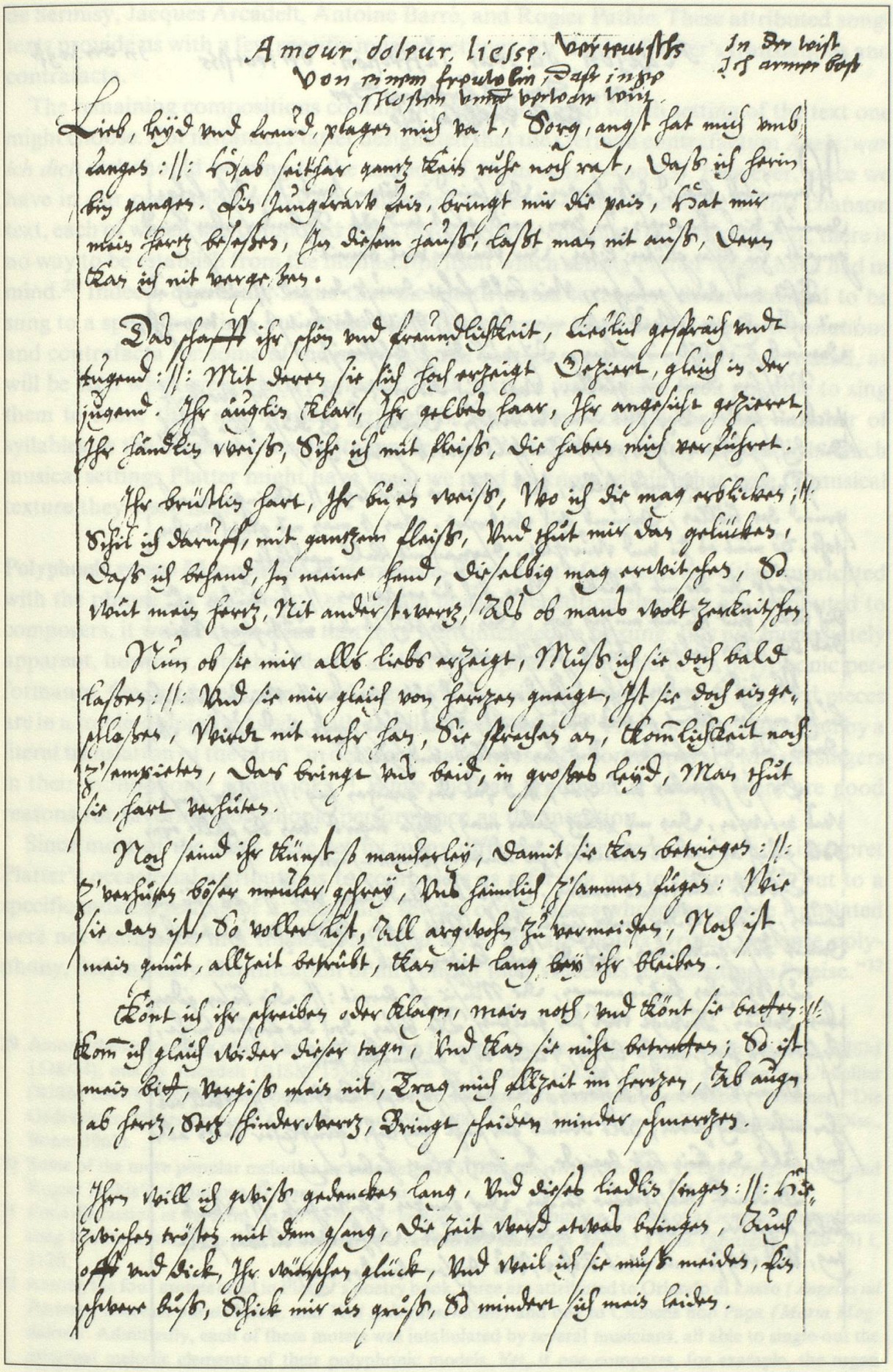


Figure 7.9. German translation of *Amour, doleur* to be sung to the melody, or to a polyphonic setting, of *Ich armer boß* (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.226)

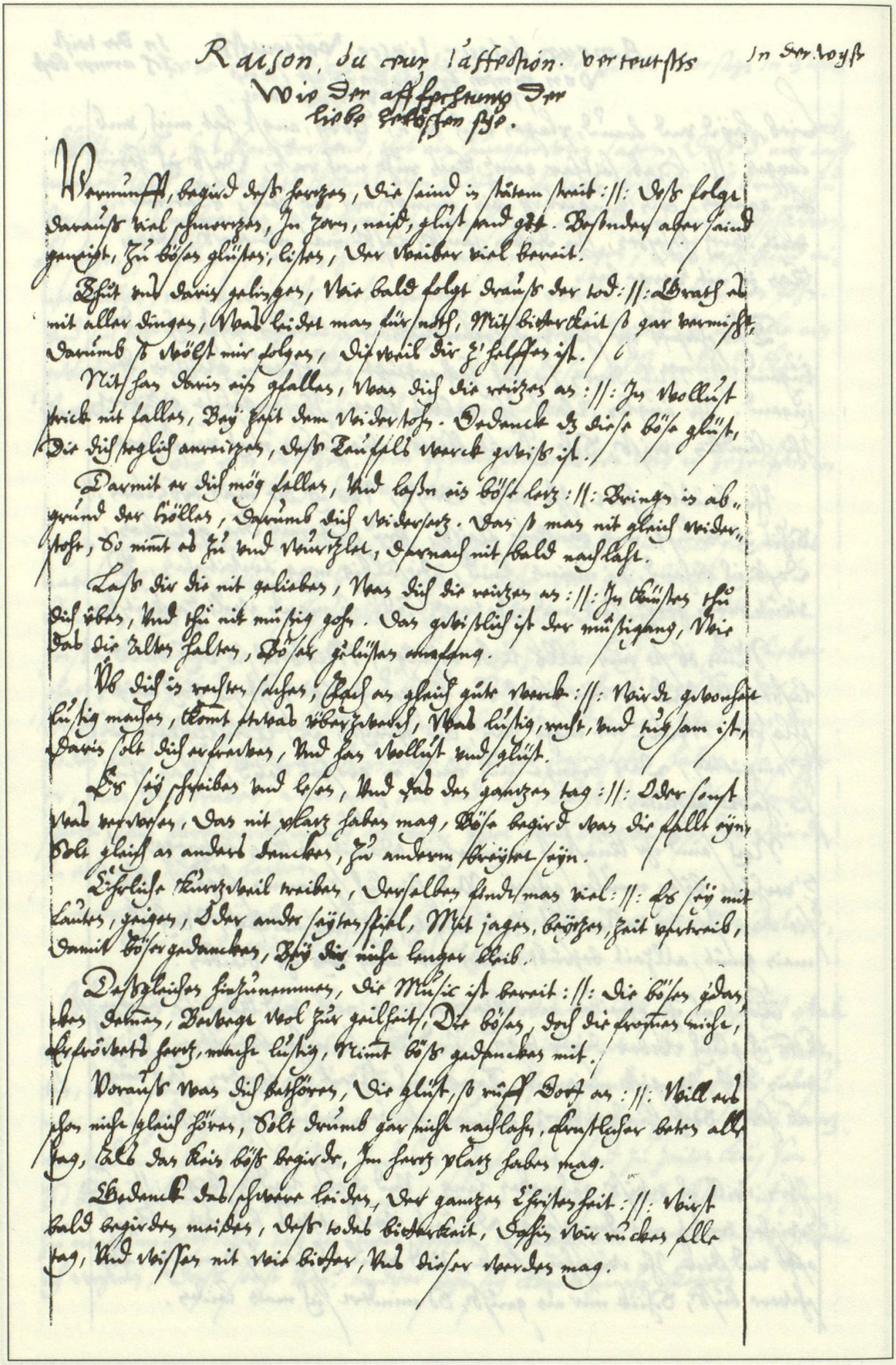


Figure 7.10. German translation of *Raison du coeur* to be sung to the melody, or to a polyphonic setting, of a "weise" that was never recorded (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.212)

de Sermisy, Jacques Arcadelt, Antoine Barré, and Rogier Pathie. These attributed songtexts provide us with a few specific musical settings, for singing Platter's translations and contrafacta.

The remaining compositions contain no indication as to which setting of the text one might choose. For instance, Platter designated that the German contrafactum *Anele, wan ich dich sich* should be sung to the melody of *Helas amy* (=no.25). However, since we have in our possession today nine different sixteenth-century settings of this chanson text, each of which was composed years before Platter compiled these songsheets, there is no way to be establish from the manuscript itself which setting Platter might have had in mind.[29] Indeed, one could argue that the unattributed texts were never intended to be sung to a specific setting, but rather that Platter simply assembled German translations and contrafacta for some of the more popular foreign songtexts of the time. Indeed, as will be seen when we underlay some of these texts, it would have been possible to sing them to more than one musical setting: the texts often contain the same number of syllables as the original French, Italian or Latin texts. Before we try to establish which musical settings Platter might have used, we need to know within what type of musical texture they were heard.

Polyphonic versus Monophonic Performance. Since most of the texts are either rubricated with the phrase "in der weiss," or contain musical repetition signs, or are attributed to composers, it would seem clear that they were intended to be sung. It is not immediately apparent, however, whether Platter and S1 anticipated monophonic or polyphonic performance. On one hand, one could argue for solo singing, since most of the cited pieces are in a treble-dominated style, with a well defined "tune".[30] This could be supported by a literal translation of the term "in der weiss," a term used by contemporary Meistersingers in their monophonic songbooks.[31] While such an argument is strong, there are good reasons for favoring polyphonic performance as the intention.

Since most of the texts were set by many different composers, we have to interpret Platter's occasional attributions to composers as referring not to the melody, but to a specific musical setting of it. Secondly, several of the pieces whose texts were translated were not composed in a treble-dominated style, but are motets written in dense polyphony, defying easy identification of any one of their voices as representing a "weise."[32]

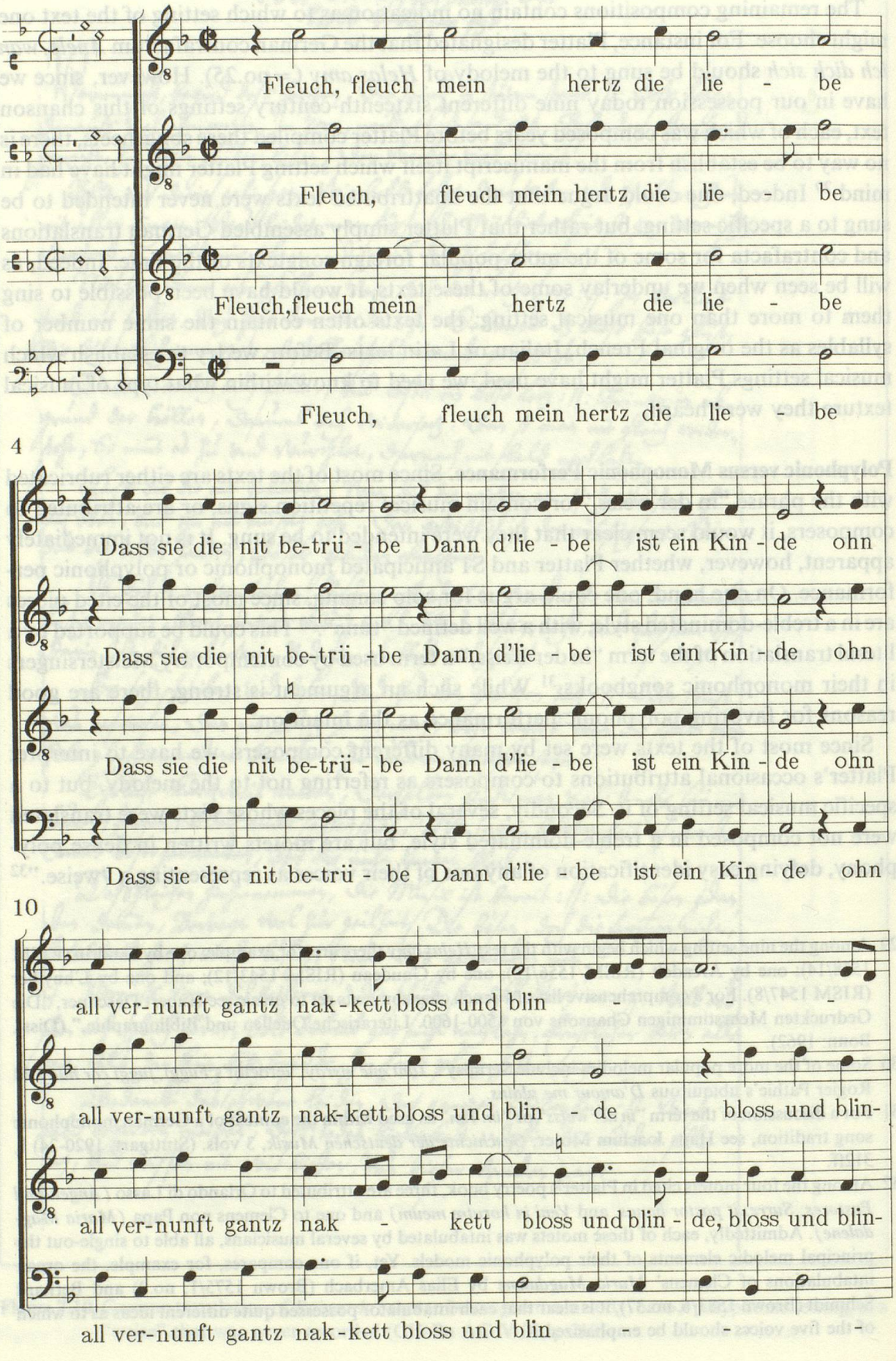
29 Among the nine setting which begin with the text *Helas amy* there are, for example: one by Sandrin (RISM 1538/14); one by Arcadelt (RISM 1556/15); one by Goudeau (RISM 1543/12); and one by L'huyllier (RISM 1547/8). For a comprehensive list of French chanson texts set to music see Hubert Daschner, "Die Gedruckten Mehrstimmigen Chansons von 1500-1600. Literarische Quellen und Bibliographie," (Diss., Bonn: 1962).

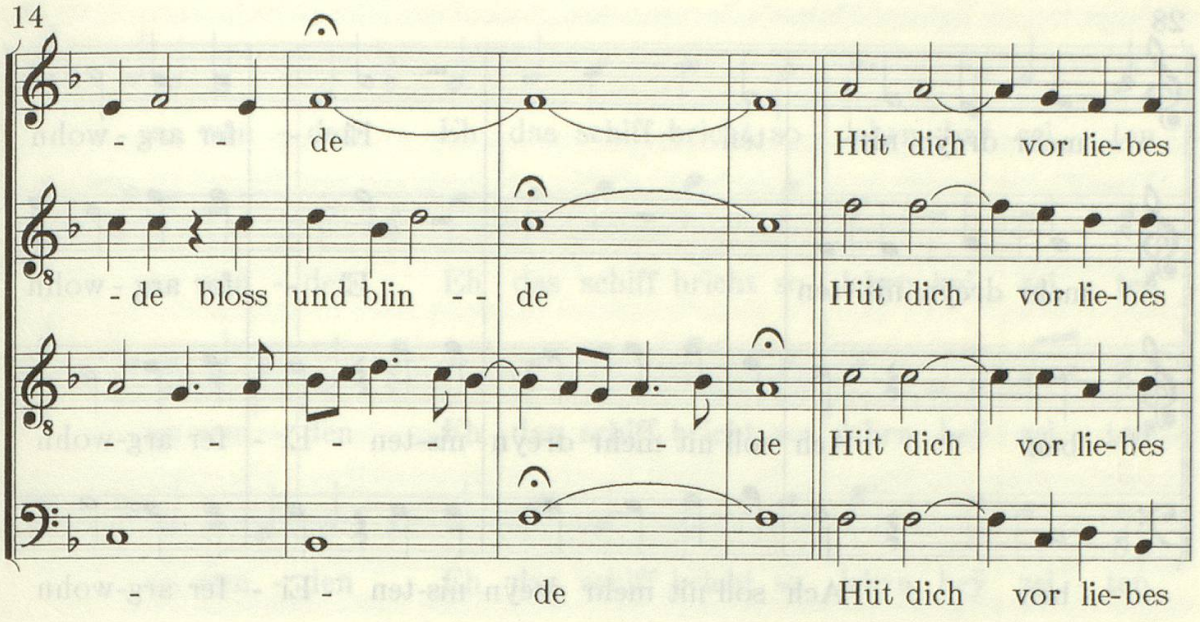
30 Some of the more popular melodies include Sermisy's *Tant que vivray*, Verdelot's *Fuggi, fuggi cor mio* and Rogier Pathie's ubiquitous *D'amour me plains*.

31 For a discussion of the term *"in der weiss"* or *"im Ton"* as used within the context of a German monophonic song tradition, see Hans Joachim Moser, *Geschichte der deutschen Musik*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1920-24) I, 312ff.

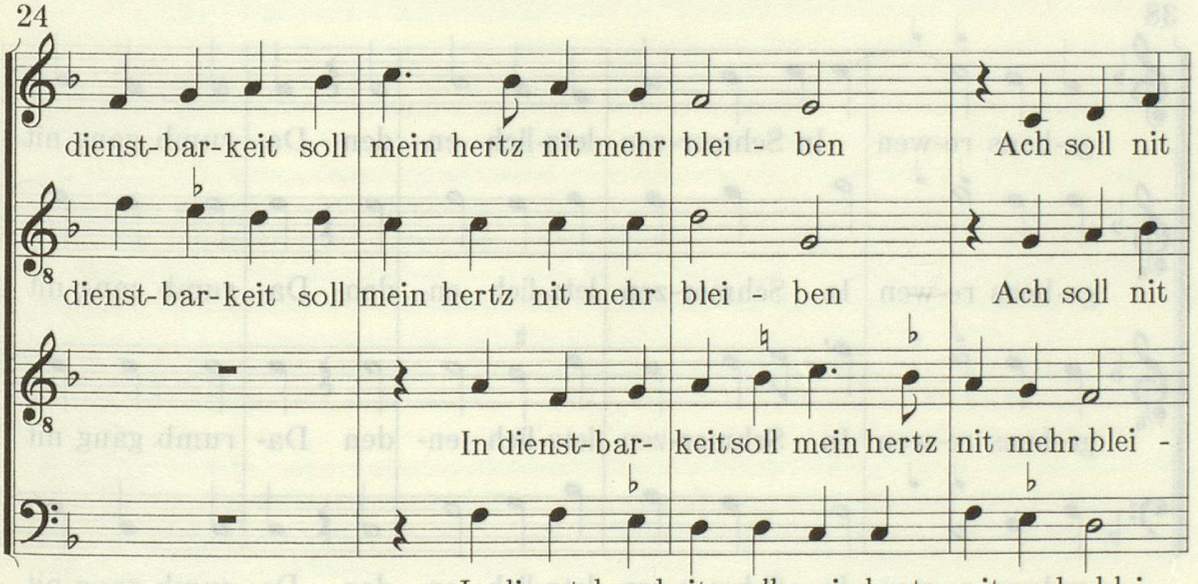
32 Among the four motets cited in Platter's poetry book, three are attributed to Orlando di Lasso *(Angelus ad Pastores, Surrexit pastor bonus,* and *Veni in horutm meum)* and one to Clemens non Papa *(Maria Magdalene)*. Admittedly, each of these motets was intabulated by several musicians, all able to single-out the principal melodic elements of their polyphonic models. Yet, if one compares, for example, the organ intabulations of Clemens' *Maria Magdalene* by Elias Amerbach (Brown 1575/1, no.9) and Bernard Schmidt (Brown 1583/6, no.37), it is clear that each intabulator possessed quite different ideas as to which of the five voices should be emphasized.

Music Example 7. Phillipe Verdelot. *Fuggi, fuggi cor mio*: German text by Felix Platter (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.208); music text based on a version transmitted by Jacob Hagenbach (CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.70)




14
- - de Hüt dich vor lie-bes
- de bloss und blin - - de Hüt dich vor lie-bes
- - - - - - de Hüt dich vor lie-bes
- - de Hüt dich vor lie-bes


20
lis-ten mit fal-schem trüg fahr hin du heim-lichs lei - den In
lis-ten mit fal-schem trüg fahr hin du heim-lichs lei - den In
lis-ten mit fal-schem trüg fahr hin du heim-lichs lei - den
lis-ten mit fal-schem trüg fahr hin du heim-lichs lei - den


24
dienst-bar-keit soll mein hertz nit mehr blei - ben Ach soll nit
dienst-bar-keit soll mein hertz nit mehr blei - ben Ach soll nit
In dienst-bar- keit soll mein hertz nit mehr blei -
In dienst-bar-keit soll mein hertz nit mehr blei -

28


mehr dreÿn nis - ten Ei - fer arg - wohn
mehr dreÿn nis - ten Ei - fer arg - wohn
ben Ach soll nit mehr dreÿn nis-ten Ei - fer arg-wohn
ben Ach soll nit mehr dreÿn nis-ten Ei - fer arg-wohn

32


gleiss-ne-reÿ dan ü-bel tre - - wen wohnt dem bü- len all-zeit beÿ ver-
gleiss-ne-reÿ dan ü-bel tre - - wen wohnt dem bü- len all-zeit beÿ ver-
gleiss-ne-reÿ dan ü-bel tre - - wen wohnt dem bü- len all- zeit beÿ ver-
gleiss-ne-reÿ dan ü-bel tre - - wen wohnt dem bü- len all-zeit beÿ ver-

38


ge-bens re-wen In Schmer-zen letz-lich en- den Da- rumb gang nit
ge-bens re-wen In Schmer-zen letz-lich en- den Da- rumb gang nit
ge-bens re-wen In Schmer-zen letz-lich en- den Da- rumb gang nit
ge-bens re-wen In Schmer-zen letz-lich en- den Da- rumb gang nit


43
an wen - den Eh das schiff bricht so lehrn beÿ zei - ten
an wen - den Eh das schiff bricht so lehrn beÿ zei - ten
an wen - den Eh das schiff bricht so lehrn beÿ zei - ten
an wen - den Eh das schiff bricht so lehrn beÿ zei - ten
47
len - - - - - den.
len - den len - - den len - - den.
len - - - - - - - - den.
len - - - - - den.

Perhaps too, in light of Platter's documented musical activites (which, as we have seen, included performing lute music in ensembles and playing a number of different keyboard and string instruments), it would seem logical that these texts would have been performed in a manner befitting his musical abilities.

That Platter's texts were likely heard within a polyphonic context can also be argued on the basis of the contents of the songbooks owned by his musical acquaintance Jacob Hagenbach.

Platter's Songtexts and Hagenbach's Songbooks. As indicated in Inventory K, twenty-four pieces transmitted in the poetry volume are also found in the Hagenbach partbooks. Moreover, when any of these texts is underlayed to Hagenbach's musical readings, it is evident – as seen in Example 7. – that it fits the music as well as if the original text were underlayed.[33] The concinnity between Platter's texts and Hagenbach's music is not difficult to explain. On the one hand Platter's German texts obsequiously follow the syllable count of the original text, deviating from it only when there was no choice but to do otherwise.[34] Even in those few instances where the syllable count is different, Platter's texts rarely exceed the number of syllables found in the original. On the other hand Hagenbach's corresponding musical texts transmit faithfully the rhythm and pitch content of the piece as it was known with its original foreign text.

Since these twenty-four songtexts clearly fit the musical settings in the Hagenbach songbooks, it would seem reasonable to suggest that Platter's German texts might have been sung to these specific chansons and madrigals. This theory is indeed supported by the fact that both Platter and Hagenbach were amateur musicians who, as mentioned in Chapter 5, performed music together in Basel on at least one occasion. At the same time, however, since Platter's texts contain the same syllable count as the original texts, Platter texts could also have been sung to other setting as well.

Conclusions. A normal up-to-date scholarly view of the Hagenbach manuscripts, preserving as they do only the original text incipits, would presume that they were used only for instrumental performance.[35] While the evidence for such an interpretation would appear to be strong when dealing with Italian manuscripts of the first half of the cen-

33 On occasion one must make small adjustments to the rhythms in order to produce a correct declamation of the text (see, Example 7., meas.38). However, since these alterations – usually constituting nothing more than subdividing a semibreve – are often necessary when one performs a madrigal or chanson in the original language, there is no reason to believe that such changes would have caused more problems to a German speaker. An edition of these texts, underlayed to the music in the Hagenbach partbooks, will appear in the author's forthcoming volume entitled: *Musik aus Basler Liederbüchern des 16. Jahrhunderts. Die Sammlungen von Jacob Hagenbach und Felix Platter (Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler*, in preparation).

34 For instance, Platter's German translation of the French chanson text *De mille ennuis que je*, contains one extra syllable in the first line because Platter could only translate the word "mille" with two syllables: "tausent".

35 On the question of vocal versus instrumental performance based on the presence or absence of text see, for example, Louise Litterick, "Performing Franco-Netherlandish secular music," *op. cit.*, 474-485. Although Litterick, and other authors, argue that the disposition of text within a source is a reflection of performance practice, Litterick does believe that compositions possessing only incipits of text could have been song to solmization syllables just as easily as having been performed on instruments (Litterick 480, fn.11). However Litterick's theory ignores the fact that solmization syllables were (to quote only Gaspar Stocker) "a pedagogical device invented solely for the purpose of expressing the text." Thus, it would seem reasonable

tury,[36] I believe that a different conclusion has to be reached when considering the Hagenbach-Platter *Liederhandschriften*.

While Platter's translations and contrafacta are apparently unique, they are nevertheless cast in a format which bears a striking resemblance to contemporary German *Flugblätter*.[37] In addition to containing similar formulaic rubrication, consisting of a German title, followed by the phrase "in der weiss" and the name of the piece or melody to which the newly composed text was to be sung, Platter's texts and the popular printed songsheets are similar in their physical format. For as we have seen, Platter's poetry originally existed – like the *Flugblätter* – in the form of individual leaves or bifolia.

That musicians sang directly from these printed songsheets containing only Lied texts is evident from an early sixteenth-century woodcut which depicts singers having memorized the music of a song, but not the words.[38] This iconographical evidence can be supported by examining the songsheets themselves. Because the *Flugblätter* were printed on the poorest quality papers and always issued in portable formats, it could be argued that they were intended exclusively for practical use.[39] Secondly, the pieces to be sung to the newly-composed texts represent the most popular German melodies of the time; thus it would seem reasonable to infer that these "tunes" were often committed to memory.[40] Finally, since many of the printed songtexts containing da capo sections were supplemented with musical repetition signs, there would have been no need (if the music was memorized) to consult a written version of these syllabically-conceived melodies in order to produce a correct text underlay.[41]

Since it is clear that the printed songsheets enabled German speakers (whether they were musically literate or not), to produce newly texted versions for their popular repertory, I believe that Platter's texts were transmitted in a similar format with the specific intention of serving the same purpose. The manuscript rubrics and layout argue that at least the melody, and perhaps all the parts, to such pieces as *Tant que vivray* or *Fuggi fuggi cor mio* (both preserved in the Hagenbach partbooks) could have been memorized by a singer and fitted to Platter's songtexts. Indeed, with the reference to such overtly syllabic

to conclude that such syllables were used by the Renaissance singer, like they are by us today, to learn the music, and not as a viable means of performance as Litterick has suggested. For an extensive discussion on how Renaissance singers could have produced texted performances from song collections without text see John Kmetz, "Singing Texted Songs from Untexted Songbooks: The Evidence of the Basler Liederhandschriften," *Le Concert des Voix et des Instruments a la Renaissance. XXXIVe Colloque International*, edited by Jean-Michel Vaccaro (in press).

36 See, for example, Susan Forscher Weiss, "Bologna Q 18: Some Reflections on Content and Context," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XLI/1 (Spring, 1988), 63-101.

37 For a comprehensive catalogue and study of these popular German songsheets see Rolf Wilhlem Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, 60 (Baden-Baden, 1974 & 1975).

38 For a reproduction of this German woodcut which depicts a group of singers performing a song by holding in their hands only a songtext see Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik*, Figure 139, Lewis W. Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation 1517-1559* (New York, 1987), Figure 11 and John Kmetz, "Singing Texted Songs from Untexted Songbooks," Figure 4.

39 The most common format was the single leaf or bifolium. It is notable, indeed, that it was precisely this format in which the ubiquitous political broadsheets and reformation pamphlets of the time were issued, printed material which was clearly intended to be read and not just consulted.

40 Among the melodies cited, by far the most frequently encountered were *Ich stund an einem Morgen, Entlaubet ist der Walde* and *Innsbruck ich muss dich lassen*. For a comprehensive list of the melodies named on these printed songsheets see Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik, passim*.

41 In addition to these secular songsheets, mention should be made of the many printed Protestant hymnals of the time, which, like the *Flugblätter*, often consisted of only poetry to be sung to simple, tuneful melodies.

and homophonic da-capo chansons and madrigals, it is difficult to see any other function for Platter's poetry.

With the identification of the Hagenbach songbooks, taken together with the discovery of Platter's songtexts, we now have in our possession the necessary ingredients for reconstructing what might have been heard on that evening in Basel when Platter and Hagenbach serenaded Thomas Guérin's fiancée on the Freie Straße 440 years ago. Moreover, the Platter diary and archival documents from his estate enable us to place the music and poetry within a precise historical and sociological context, and even permit us to supplement this repertory with appropriate instrumentation. Indeed, it may be that the Platter-Hagenbach volumes also define, for the first time, the extent to which German-speaking musicians actually sang (rather than played) the songs of Sermisy, Sandrin and Arcadelt[42], as well as the extent to which Platter's audiences (like those of the Mönch von Salzburg, Heinrich von Laufenberg and Oswald von Wolkenstein) needed a text to be in the vernacular.

42 That the chanson and madrigal repertory issued by such printers as Attaingnant and Gardano was sung in German is evident by the fact that several songs are transmitted in German sources with German text incipits. Some of these pieces and their manuscripts include, for example: Anonymous, *Ce moys de mais* (= *Erstanden ist heut der heilig Christ*, D-LEu TH-.K MS 49/50, fol.153); Arcadelt's *Cest a grand tort* (= *Dan sprachen wir goth*, D-WGL MS 403/1048, no.56), and *O sio potessi donna* (= *Erhalt uns her bei*, D-HB MS XXXII-XXXIV/6, no.1); Crecquillon's *Ung gay bergier* (= *Wach auf du allerschoenste*, D-Usch 236A-D, no.119); Sandrin's *Doulce memoire* (= *Buess wierscht in mir*, D-Usch 235A-D, no.12); Sermisy's *Le content est riche* (= *Vatter unser im himmelreich*, D-Rp A.R. 940/41, no.109); and Pierre de Villier's *Languisant suys* (= *O holder bluth*, Altus part of CH-Bu F X 22-24, no.24).

Aside from this repertory from the first half of the century, German translations and contrafacta were published by Johann Pühler in 1582 for many of the Lasso chansons. The volume, issued by the house of Adam Berg (Munich) and dedicated to Oktavian Schrenck von Notzing (the chancellor of the Regensburg cathedral chapter), is entitled: "Orlando di Lasso, etliche außerleßne/kurtze/gute geistliche und weltliche Liedlein mit 4 Stimmen/so zuuor in Frantzösischer Sprach außgangen/jetzund aber allen Teutschen Liebhabern der Edlen Music zu günstigem gefallen mit Teutschen Texten/souil jmmer möglich gewest/und mit des Herrn Authoris bewilligung/in truck gegeben.." While a few chansons in the Pühler-Lasso print are also found in the Platter manuscript, the texts are not the same. On Pühler's German texts and their relationship to Lasso's original French versions see Wolfgang Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit* (Kassel-Basel, 1958), 596-99.

Conclusion

During the sixteenth century kings and aristocrats ceased to be the only patrons of art, and the rich urban professionals had their share in artistic life. "Chamber music" became a veritable fad among the upper classes of urban society, and music teachers, instrument builders and printed music were in great demand. Intellectual and religious life was reawakened by humanists and reformed theologians, and a musical education became the inalienable right of anyone who attended a Latin school or university. Although scholars of early music have long recognized that the acoustical landscape of Renaissance Europe clearly changed to accommodate the needs of the emerging bourgeois society, it is surprising how little research has been conducted on the musical life of this new social class.

Granted, the activities of amateur musicians are difficult to establish for almost any period in the history of western music. Unlike the musical life of a major court, the music-making of lawyers, doctors, artisians and craftsmen is much less susceptible to study through documentation (archival, musical or otherwise), since "house music," by definition, was conducted in a non-institutional setting, where source material was often broken up and sold by a greedy heir, or simply consigned to the fire. However, due to the remarkable foresight shown by several seventeenth-century Basel burghers, many of city's sixteenth-century private libraries and household documents (several rich in musical material) survive today in their original state.

Working from these catalogues, letters, inventories and music books we have been able to shed light on the musical tastes and activities of four prominent citizens of Basel's cultured élite, which, in turn, enables us now to draw some conclusions regarding several aspects of private music-making in an important center of Renaissance commerce, learning and culture.

First, and foremost, the songbooks reflect the interests and talents of a specific group of amateurs, who collected, studied and performed music as a private pastime. As would be expected, German songs by Hofhaimer, Isaac, Senfl and their contemporaries make up an important part of the manuscripts' contents, thus providing us with not only an overview of the Tenorlied in the first half of the century, but also a tangible record of the music which middle-class citizens performed for their own pleasure. Their musical tastes, however, were not confined to a menu of German polyphony alone. Indeed, the Basel songbooks demonstrate that the Amerbachs, Hagenbachs and Platters of Basel were equally fond of the French chanson, Italian madrigal and motet repertories of their day as well. The six manuscript songbooks owned by Bonifacius Amerbach, and his son Basilius, – F X 1-4 (compiled by Jacob Ceir and Jann Wüst between c.1518 and c.1524), F X 5-9 (copied between 1510 and 1547 by two Basel music teachers), F X 10 (copied around 1510, probably by the Basel University student Ambrosius Kettenaker) and F IX 32-35, F X 22-24 and kk IV 23-27 (each copied during the winter of 1546/47 by Basilius Amerbach and his music teacher Christoph Piperinus) – demonstrate that these lawyers

had already cultivated such cosmopolitan tastes while enrolled as Latin school pupils or matriculated as university students. The five *Liederhandschriften* F IX 59-62 (copied by Jacob Hagenbach between c.1564 and 1566), F X 17-20 (copied in part by Jacob Hagenbach between 1545 and 1560), AG V 30 (a retrospective collection compiled by Felix Platter around 1590), and F IX 63 and kk IV 19-22 (both written by Hagenbach around 1560) show us that the repertory performed by the goldsmith Hagenbach and by his musical acquaintance Doctor Felix Platter was as diversified and as sophisticated as the Amerbachs', and could easily be compared with the musical tastes cultivated by Maximilian I, Duke Ulrich of Stuttgart, and the Fuggers and Herwarts of Augsburg. The Basel songbooks and related archival documents also reveal that these music-loving amateurs were not only capable singers and instrumentalists, who personally knew several professional musicians, but that they were even competent scribes and composers; thus demonstrating that their musical abilities were far more advanced than one would have previously imagined.

These musical and archival documents are thus a rich source of materials for the student of Basel music history, and for those tracing the repertories and performance conventions cultivated by the upper middle-class of Europe's intellectual élite. In short, they represent an important collection of documents, whose neglected (or hitherto unknown) items could also prove indispensable for sorting out a number of musicological issues presently in vogue. Aside from containing a few newly identified composer autographs, each demonstrating the composer's concern for precise text underlay (Chapter 6), the collection:

a) documents a manuscript transmission for the Tenorlied repertory of the Hofhaimer generation predating the earliest printed sources of Oeglin, Schoeffer and Arnt von Aich; thereby suggesting that such publishers did not necessarily "establish musical taste" in the German-speaking realm, but rather capitalized on it (Chapter 3);
b) reveals that the Basel scribes, with few exceptions, faithfully reproduced the musical reading of the exemplars from which they worked; thus permitting one to conclude that by the sixteenth century the modern-day concept of an *Urtext* might have already been valid (Chapters 2, 4 and 6);
c) resolves questions of authenticity involving Isaac and Senfl, which force us to readdress the nineteenth-century idea of "Major" and "minor" composers: as we have seen, a sixteenth-century Basel goldsmith was capable of writing polyphonic music that could be mistaken, by modern-day scholars, for the work of Heinrich Isaac (Chapter 6);
d) sheds light on how a thirteen-year-old boy was taught (in terms of both repertory and methodology) the art of singing polyphony (Chapter 4);
e) enables one to reconstruct for the first time German language performances of many well-known sixteenth-century madrigals, chansons and motets (Chapter 7); and
f) provides evidence for postulating the theory that our ubiquitous untexted partbooks of Renaissance vocal polyphony could have been supplemented with songtext sheets, so as to produce vocal performances of textless compositions (Chapter 7).

Each of these sets of conclusions throws new light on the place of music in the life of the affluent burgher of Basel during the sixteenth century, and thus also illumines our view of the social status of music, itself.

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Part III
Manuscript Inventories

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Manuscript Inventories

Prefatory Note

The inventories which follow are largely self-explanatory, but a few remarks are necessary to clarify editorial procedures.

Each inventory records the items in the sequence in which they are found in the manuscript. All transcriptions retain the original orthography. Title pages, marginal notes and rubrics are often transcribed in full, and are placed in quotation marks.

For each item, I give the text incipit and the name of the composer. When dealing with a composition preserved in a set of partbooks, I have chosen to transcribe the Tenor incipit, since it often gives the most text. However, if another partbook is cited, I have identified it by including, next to the incipit, one of the following abbreviations: D = Discantus, A = Altus, B = Bassus, and Q = Quintus. Further, on those occasions when a composition transmits more than one text, additional incipits are given. When an incipit is orthographically corrupt, paleographically ambiguous, or a German version (translation or contrafactum) of an original text in a different language, the original incipit is given in parentheses. Attributions for the music are spelled out as in the sources in which they occur. These names appear alongside the incipit(s), but the ascriptions not entered in the Basel manuscripts are in brackets. Conflicting attributions are indicated by placing a virgule (/) between the composers' names. Square brackets ([ ]) are used to denote editorial intervention or problems of interpretation. References to both foliation and numeration reproduce the type of numeral (arabic or roman) entered in the source.

Number of Voices. The number of voices in a composition and the disposition of text in each part is recorded within a single line directly under the foliation. The amount of text in a part is indicated by "t" (= full text underlay), "x" (= textual incipit only), or "-" (= no text at all). These symbols are arranged in the following sequence: Discantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus, Quintus (i.e., in the order the volumes are usually listed in the foliation line). When one of these symbols is supplemented with an arabic numeral, the number indicates how many strophes of text were copied below the music. For example, in the case of *Hertz liebstes pild* by Paul Hofhaimer (F X 1-4, no. 4), the formula

x, x, -3, x

implies that the composition is for four voices, that the Discantus, Altus and Bassus possess only a text incipit, and that the Tenor voice, while untexted, does contain 3 strophes of text entered at the end of the voice part. When two voices were copied in the same partbook (i.e., a primus and secundus tenor), both voices are recorded together. For example,

x, -, tt, x

signifies that the composition is for five voices, that the Discantus and Bassus preserve only a text incipit, the Altus no text at all, and that there are two parts in the Tenor book, both with a full text underlay.

Concordances (=C). I have not attempted to record all the known concordances for a given item. Yet I have endeavored to list, for each, the earliest known printed source and all concordances within Basel manuscripts. If a group of consecutive pieces within a manuscript corresponds in order with a group of items found in another manuscript or print, I have listed these sources as well.

With regard to the international repertory, I have also tried to list all manuscript concordances produced in a German-speaking region, since stemmatic work with this music continues to show that a distinct German transmission did exist. However, I have not tried to list concordant sources from non-German-speaking areas. Concordances for pieces written by such composers as Josquin, Sermisy and Arcadelt can usually be found in the composers' collected works, or in the scholarly editions and literature which I have cited under the sigla "E" (= Edition) and "L" (=Literature). Concordances for the Tenorlied repertory can be found in the recently completed catalogue of printed and manuscript sources prepared by Norbert Böker-Heil (=BökTL).

RISM sigla are consistently used for manuscript citations. When a library is not so far listed in the published volumes of RISM, I have spelled out the library's name in full (rather than devising a siglum which might not conform to RISM criteria). When recording printed sources, I have relied on RISM numbers, Brown numbers, or, in a few cases, Eitner numbers. The few printed volumes not found in these catalogues are cited by means of a short title, followed by the place and date of publication.

Editions (=E). If a modern edition of a piece is available, the edition is recorded in the form of an abbreviated reference. The expansions of these abbreviations can be found in the bibliography following this note.

Literature (=L). This section includes only modern writings discussing the specific composition in detail: there is no value in providing a bibliography of every mention of a piece, even if that were feasible. Abbreviated citations, when they occur, can be traced through the list of sigla which follows.

General Abbreviations

A	Altus
B	Bassus
Bd.	Band (= volume)
C	Concordance
Ch	Chanson
cft.	contrafactum
D	Discant
Diss.	Dissertation
E	Edition
fol.	folio
Inst.	Instrument(al)
Intab.	Intabulation
L	Literature
Md	Madrigal
Mod.	Modern
MS	Manuscript
Mt	Motet
no.	Number
Orig.	Original
p.	page
Q	Quintus
r	recto
t	text underlayed
T	Tenor
Tl	Tenorlied
trs.	translation
v	verso
vol.	volume
x	text incipit only
-	textless

Sigla for Modern Editions, Catalogues and Literature

AERM	*An Anthology of Early Renaissance Music*. Edited by Noah Greenberg and Paul Maynard. 1975.
AfMw	*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 1918/1919-.
AichLB	*Das Liederbuch des Arnt von Aich*. Edited by Hans J. Moser and Eduard Bernoulli. 1930.
Ann. Mus.	*Annales Musicologiques*, 1953-.
BenteNW	Martin Bente. *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls*. 1968.
BernCT	Eduard Bernoulli (ed.). *Chansons und Tänze, Pariser Tabulaturdrucke für Tasteninstrumente aus dem Jahre 1530 von Pierre Attaingnant*. 1914.
BernHZ	Eduard Bernoulli (ed.). *Aus Liederbüchern der Humanistenzeit*. 1910.
BernsteinFC	Lawrence Bernstein. "A Florentine chansonnier of the early sixteenth century: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabechi XIX 117." *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music*. Iain Fenlon (ed.), Vol.6 (1986), 1-108.
BöhmeAl	Franz M. Böhme. *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*. 1877.
BökTL	*Das Tenorlied*. Edited by Norbert Böker-Heil *et al.*, 3 Vols., 1979-1986.
Brown	Howard Mayer Brown. *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600. A Bibliography*. 1965.
BrownFST	Howard Mayer Brown. *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400-1500*. 1963.
BrownTC	Howard Mayer Brown (ed.). *Theatrical Chansons of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*. 1963.
CertonCP	Pierre Certon. *Chansons polyphoniques publiées par Attaingnant*. Edited by H. Expert and A. Agnel. 3 vols., 1967-1968.
CMM	*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*. Edited for The American Institute of Musicology. Vols. 1ff., 1948-.
CrosbyFS	C. Russel Crosby. *Die Flötnerschen Spielkarten und andere Curiosa der Musiküberlieferung des 16. Jahrhunderts* (=DTB. Neue Folge, Sonderband 1). 1967.
Cw	*Das Chorwerk*. Edited by F. Blume und K. Gudewill. Vol.1ff., 1929-.
Daschner	Herbert Daschner. "Die gedruckten mehrstimmigen Chansons von 1500-1600. Literarische Quellen und Bibliographie." Diss. Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1962.
DDT	*Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst*. Edited by R. von Liliencron, H. Kretzschmar, *et al.* Vol. 1ff., 1892-.
DKL	*Das deutsche Kirchenlied. Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Melodien*. Edited by Konrad Ameln, Markus Jenny and Walther Lipphardt. Vol.1, Part 1: Verzeichnis der Drucke (= RISM B 8/1), 1975.
DTB	*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern* (until 1943 = DDT, 2 Series). Edited by A. Sandberger *et al.*, Vol. 1ff., 1900-.
DTÖ	*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*. Edited by Guido Adler *et al.*, Vol.1ff., 1894-.
DübiCA	Heinrich Dübi, *Cosmas Alder und die bernische Reformation*. Neujahrsblätter der Literarischen Gesellschaft Bern, New Series, Vol.8. 1930.
EDM	*Das Erbe deutscher Musik*. Edited by Staatl. Institut für deutsche Musikforschung, Vol.1ff., 1935-.
EitnerB	Robert Eitner. *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*. 1877.
GeeringBS	Arnold Geering. "Von den Berner Stadtpfeifern." *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, Series 3, Vol.1 (1972), 105ff.
GeeringPS	Arnold Geering (ed.). *Psalmen und Geistliche Gesänge von Johannes Wannenmacher (Vannius) und Cosmas Alder (Alderinus)*. Musikalische Werke schweizerischer Komponisten des 16., 17. u. 18. Jh., Fasz. 3., 1934.
GeeringVM	Arnold Geering. *Die Vokalmusik in der Schweiz zur Zeit der Reformation*. Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft, Vol.6, 1933.

HAM	*Historical Anthology of Music*. Edited by Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel. Vol.1, 1946.
HeartzPCD	Daniel Heartz (ed.). *Preludes, Chansons, and Dances for Lute. Published by Pierre Attaingnant, Paris (1529-1530)*. 1964.
HewO	Helen Hewitt (ed.). *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A*. 1942.
HofhaimerGA	Hans Joachim Moser. *Paul Hofhaimer. Ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus*. 1929.
JAMS	*Journal of the American Musicological Society*. Vol.1ff., 1948-.
JanequinCP	*Clément Janequin, Chansons polyphoniques*. Edited by Tilmann Merritt and F. Lesure. 6 Vols., 1965-1971.
JennyGGS	Markus Jenny. *Geschichte des deutsch-schweizerischen evangelischen Gesangbuches im 16. Jahrhundert*. 1962.
JosquinGA	*Josquin des Pres: Werken*. Edited by Albert Smijers. Vol.1ff., 1921-. (Mt = Motets; WW = Wereldliijke Werken).
KatK	John Kmetz. *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel. Katalog der Musikhandschriften des 16 Jahrhunderts. Quellenkritische und historische Untersuchung*. 1988.
KirschQM	Winfried Kirsch. *Die Quellen der mehrstimmigen Magnificat- und Te Deum-Vertonungen bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. 1966.
KmetzDJ	John Kmetz. "*Da Jacob nun das Kleid ansah* and Zürich Zentralbibliothek T410-413: a well-known motet in a little-known 16th-century manuscript." *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, New Series 4 (1984), 63ff.
LevySUJ	Kenneth Levy. "Susanne ung jour. The History of a 16th-century Chanson." *Annales musicologiques* 1 (1953), 375ff.
Mbs1516	"Munich, Mus. MS. 1516: A Critical Edition." Edited by Bruce Allen Whisler. (Ph.D Diss., University of Rochester 1974).
MerianGW	Wilhelm Merian (ed.). *Geistliche Werke des 16. Jahrhunderts*. 1927.
MfM	*Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*. Vol.1ff., 1869-1905.
MoserAvF	Hans Joachim Moser. "Leben und Lieder des Adam von Fulda," *Jahrbuch der Staatl. Akademie für Kirchen- und Schulmusik Berlin*, Vol.1, 1927/1928, 17ff.
MQ	*The Musical Quarterly*. Vol.1ff., 1915-.
MRM	*Monuments of Renaissance Music*. Edited by Edward Lowinsky *et al*. Vol.1ff., 1964-.
PÄMw	*Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke*. Edited by Die Gesellschaft für Musikforschung. Vols.1-29, 1873-1905.
PickerCA	Martin Picker (ed.). *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria*. 1965.
PogueJM	Samuel F. Pogue. *Jacques Moderne. Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century*. 1969.
Richter	Julius Richter. *Katalog der Musik-Sammlung auf der Universitäts-Bibliothek in Basel (Schweiz)*. Supplement to MfM 23/24, 1892/1893.
RhauMD	Georg Rhau, *Musikdrucke aus den Jahren 1538-1545*. Edited by H. Albrecht. 1955-.
RISM	*Répertoire International des Sources* Musicales: Recueils Imprimés XVI^{e}-XVII^{e} Siècles. I. Liste Chronologique, 1960.
RRMR	*Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*. Edited by James Haar and Howard Mayer Brown. Vol.1ff., 1964-.
SeayTC	Albert Seay (ed.). *Thirty Chansons for Three and Four Voices from Attaingnant's Collections*. 1960.
SCCh	*The Sixteenth-Century Chanson*. Edited by Jane Bernstein. Vol.1ff., 1987-.
SCMd	*Sixteenth-Century Madrigals*. Edited by Jessie Ann Owens. Vol.1ff., 1987-.
SchöfferLB	Hans Joachim Moser (ed.). *65 deutsche Lieder*. 1967.
SenflGA	*Ludwig Senfl, Sämtliche Werke*. Hrsg. von der Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft. Vol.1ff., 1962-.
SlimGMM	H. Colin Slim (ed.). *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*. 1972.
SlimINST	H. Colin Slim. "Instrumental versions, c.1515-1544, of a late-fifteenth-century Flemish chanson, *O waerde mont*." *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*. Edited by Iain Fenlon. 1981, 128ff.
SMD	*Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler*. Hrsg. von der Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft. Vol.1ff., 1955-.
StaehelinMI	Martin Staehelin. *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*. Publikationen der Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, Series 2, Vol.28. 1977.

ThürlingsIB	Adolf Thürlings. "Insbruck ich muss dich lassen," *Festschrift zum 2. Kongress der internat. Musikgesellschaft* (1906), 54ff.
TschudiLB	Donald Glenn Loach. "Aegidius Tschudi's Songbook (St. Gall MS 463): A Humanistic Document from the Circle of Heinrich Glarean." Ph.D Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 1969.
WalterSW	*Johann Walter, Sämtliche Werke*. Edited by Otto Schröder. Vol.1ff., 1953-.
Wüst	Alfred Quellmalz, "Der Spielmann, Komponist und Schulmeister Paul Wüst (um 1470 – um 1540)." *Zum 70. Geburtstag von Joseph Müller-Blattau*, 1966, 221ff.

Inventory A
Basel University Library MS F X 1-4

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
	[Blank] D, B: Ir-IIv; A: Ir-IVv; T: Ir	
	[Alphabetical Index, incomplete] T: Iv	
	[Blank] T: IIr-1r	
1	**Ach frowelin zart lieplich von artt** D: 1r; A, B: 1r-1v; T: 1r-2v x,x,x3,x C: CH-Bu FX21, no.24: [Anonymous]. D-W 292, fol.7: [Anonymous].	**S[ixt]. D[ietrich].**
2	**Nit lang by nacht hett mich bedacht** D: 1v; A, B: 1v-2r; T: 2v-3v x,x,x3,x C: none. E: EDM 55.2, no.34.	**M. Ioan [=Magister Iohann Buchner]**
3	**Min hertz hat sich mit lieb** D, B: 2r-2v; A: 2r-3v; T: 4r-5r x,x,x3,x C: 1512[1], no.20: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.62; [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.60: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.24a: [Anonymous]. D-As 142a, fol.35: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 3155, fol.21: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.78.	**[Anonymous]**
4	**Hertz liebstes pild beweis dich milt** D, B: 2v-3r; A: 3r-3v; T: 5v-6v x,x,-3,x C: 1512[1], no.37: Paul Hoffhaymer. CH-Bu FIX32-35, no.15: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 3155, fol.43: [Anonymous]. E: HofhaimerGA, p.52; EDM 20, no.63.	**[Paul Hofhaimer]**
5	**Früntlich und milt zart raines pild** D: 3r-3v; A: 3v-4v; T: 7r-8v; B: 3v-4r x,x,t3,x C: 1512[1], no.33: [Anonymous]. 1544[20], no.72: Heinrich Isaac. D-W 292, fol.11v: [Anonymous]. E: DT– XIV/1, p.10.	**[Heinrich Isaac]**
6	**Zucht er und lob** D: 3v-4v; A: 4v-5r; T: 8v-13r; B: 4r-4v x,x,t8,x C: 1512[1], no.39: [Anonymous]. [1515][3], no.36: [Anonymous]. 1539[27], no.30: Paulus Hoffheimer. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.74: [Anonymous]. CH-SAMp M30/31. CH-SGs 463, no.174: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.30; PÄM IX, no.39; HofhaimerGA, p.99.	**[Paul Hofhaimer]**
7	**Früntlicher grus mit pus ward mir** D, B: 4v-5r; A: 5v-6r; T: 13v-14v x,x,x3,x C: 1512[1], no.14: [Anonymous]. 1539[27], no.68: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.37: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 3155, fol.76: [Anonymous]. D-Usch 236A-D, no.69: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.30; PÄMx IX, no.14.	**[Anonymous]**
8	**Ach gutter gsell von wannen her** D: 5r-5v; A: 6r-6v; T: 15r-16v; B: 5v x,x,x3,x C: 1512[1], no.30: [Anonymous]. E: PÄMw IX, no.30.	**[Anonymous]**
9	**Cupido hat im yetz erdacht** D: 5v-6v; A: 6v-7r; T: 17r-18v; B: 6r x,x,x3,x C: 1512[1], no.5: [Anonymous]. [1519][5], no.25: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.72: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 462, fol.34v: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.65: [Anonymous]. E: SMD 5, no.38; AichLB, no.24.	**[Anonymous]**
10	**Es wült ein meitlin nussen gan** D, B: 6v-7r; A: 7r-7v; T: 19r-21r x,x,x7,x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
	Lüg für dich B: 7r Text incipit only.	**[Anonymous]**
11	**Ach höchster hort** D, A, B: 7v-8r; T: 21v x,x,x,x C: [1519][5], no.53: [Anonymous]. 1539[27], no.45: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.45; AichLB, no.51.	**[Anonymous]**
	[Blank and unruled] T: 22r-22v	
12	**Min freud allein** D, B: 8r-8v; A: 8v-9r; T: 23r x,x,x,x C: 1540[7], no.77: [Anonymous]. 1544[20], no.3: H. Isaac. CH-Bu FX21, no.45: [Anonymous]. E: DTÖ XIV/1, p.17.	**[Heinrich Isaac]**
	[Blank and unruled] T: 23v-24r	
13	**Mütterlin ich bin uff der schul gelegen** **Mütterlin ich bin uff der pulschaft gesest (A)** D: 13r-13v; A: 10r-10v; T: 24v-25r; B: 9v-10r x,x,x,x C: CH-SGs 463, no.72: [Anonymous]. E: TschudiLB 2, no.72.	**[Anonymous]**
	[Blank and unruled] T: 25v	
14	**Ein junckfrow bild** D, A: 9r-9v; T: 26r; B: 8v-9v x,x,x,x C: [1513][3], fol.5: [Anonymous].	**[Anonymous]**
	[Blank and unruled] T: 26v-27r	
15	**Dich als mich selbs** D: 9v-10r; A: 11r-11v; T: 27v; B: 10v-11r x,x,x,x C: D-W 292, fol.5: [Anonymous].	**[Anonymous]**
	[Blank and unruled] T: 28r-28v	

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
16	**Ich seuft und clag all min tag** D: 10v-11r; A: 11v-12r; T: 29r-29v; B: 11r-11v x,x,x,x C: none. **[Blank and unruled]** T: 30r-30v	**S[ixt]. D[ietrich].**
17	**Nur nerrisch sie ist min manier** D: 11r-11v; A: 12v-13r; T: 31r; B11v-12r x,x,x,x C: 1535[11], no.17: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 462, fol.73r: Sixt Dietrich. D-Usch 236A-D, no.20 [Anonymous]. D-W 292, fol.3: [Anonymous]. E: SchöfferLB, no.34. **[Blank and unruled]** T: 31v-32v	**[Sixt Dietrich]**
18	**Ich hof es say fast wol muglich (B)** D: 12r-12v; A: 13v-14r; T: 33r-33v; B: 12v-13r x,x,x,x C: 1513[2], no.16: Jorg Brack. **[Blank and unruled]** T: 13r-13v; A: 14v; T: 34r; B: 13v	**[Georg Brack]**
19	**Ich stond an einem morgen** D, B: 14r-14v; A: 15r; T: 34v-35r x,x,x,x C: 1534[17], no.22: Ludovicus Senfle. D-B 40092, fol.39: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 3155, no.63: [Anonymous]. D-Usch 236A-D, no.52: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA IV, no.2.	**Ludovicus Senfl (A)**
20	**Ich stond an einem morgen** D: 14r; A: 15v; T: 35r; B: 14v-15r x,x,x,x B (at the close of the Text incipit): "Bassus accinit Lass sy faren". C: [1535[15]], no.6: [Anonymous]. D-W 292, fol.21: [Anonymous].	**Mathias Gritter 1524 (= Matthias Greiter)**
21	**Ich stond an einem morgen** D, B: 15r-15v; A: 16r; T: 35v-36r x,x,x,x C: none.	**M[agister]. Johann Schlend Org[anista]. Zarbernie**
22	**Ach elselin ach elselin wilt mit mir** D, B: 15v-16r; A: 16r; T: 36r x,x,x,x A (at the close of the text incipit): "Ex tenore in epidiapenthe fugat post duo tempora et modula ut jacet". C: none.	**Guolffgangus Dachstein Argentinensis Organista**
23	**Elslin liebes Elselin** D: 16r; A: 16v; T: 36v; B: 16r-16v x,x,x,x C: 1534[17], no.37: Ludouicus Senflius D-B 40092, fol.141v: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA IV, no.17.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
24	**Es taget vor dem walde** **Elsle liebes Elselin (D)** **Elslin liepstes Elselin (A)** D: 16v; A: 17r; T: 37r; B:16v-17r x,x,x,x C: 1544[20], no.15: Ludovicus Senfl. CH-Zz Q901, no.8: [Anonymous]. D-B 40092, fol.42: [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.102: [Anonymous]. D-Usch 236A-D, no.39: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.7.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
25	**Lust mag my hertz** D, B: 17r; A: 17v; T: 37v-38r x,x,x3,x T (at close of the third strophe): "15.JW.22 / Ops elthon / Jann Obsenus Vindelicus" [=Jann Wüst of Augsburg?]. C: D-Mu 328-331, no.22: [Anonymous]. D-W 292, fol.26v: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.8.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
26	**Unfal wann ist dinss wesens genug** D, B: 17v; A: 17v-18r; T: 38v x,x,x,x C: 1534[17], no.50: Ludouicus Senflius. D-B 40092, fol.35v: [Anonymous]. D-W 292, fol.26: L[udwig]. S[enfl]. E: SenflGA IV, no.30.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
27	**Erst ist beniegt das hertze myn** D, B: 18r; A: 18v; T: 39r x,x,x,x C: D-Mu 328-331, no.8: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.9.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
28	**Grosmechtig** D, B: 18v; A: 19r; T: 39v x,x,x,x C: 1534[17], no.89: Ludouicus Senflius. D-B 40092, fol.32v: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA IV, no.28.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
29	**Ein gmeiner bruch** D, B: 19r; A: 19v; T 40r x,x,x,x C: none. E: SenflGA II, no.10.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
30	**Ach werde frucht** D, B: 19v; A: 20r; T: 40v-41r x,x3,x,x C: 1534[17], no.86: Ludouicus Senflius. E: SenflGA IV, no.30.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
31	**Meniger stelt nach gelt** D, B: 20r; A: 20v; T: 41v x,x,x,x C: none. E: SenflGA II, no.11.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
32	**Als ab und hin** D, B: 20v; A: 21r; T: 42r x,x,x,x C: none. E: SenflGA II, no.12.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
33	**Dich als mich selbs** D, B: 21r; A: 21v; T: 42v-43r x,x,x3,x C: none. E: SenflGA II, no.13.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
34	**Auff glück ich wart** D, B: 21v; A: 22r; T 43v-44r x,x,x3,x C: D-W 292, fol.27: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.14.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
35	**Ich hoff der zitt** D, B: 22r; A: 22v; t: 44v x,x,x,x C: none. E: SenflGA II, no.15.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
36	**Elslin liepstes Elselin** D, B: 22v; A: 23r; T: 45r x,x,x,x C: none. E: Wüst, p.230.	**P. Wiest [=Paul Wüst]**

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
37	**Hertzliches pild** D, B: 22v-23r; A: 23r-23v; T: 45v x,x,x,x A (at the end): "Vigesimum modulanem scilicet Endlin vertente folio invenies". C: none. E: SenflGA II, no.16.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
38	**Endlin** D, B; 23v; A: 24v; T: 46r x,x,x,x C: none. E; Wüst, p.230.	**P[aul]. W[üst].**
39	**Zarte liepste frucht** D, B: 23v-24r; A: 24r-24v; T: 46r-46v x,x,x,x A (fol.24v): mistakenly attributed to P[aul]. W[üst].; see above no.38. C: A-Wn 18810, fol.12: Heinrich Isaac. E: DTÖ XIV/1, p.111.	**H[einrich]. Y[saac].**
40	**Kein ding auf erd** D, B: 24v; A: 25r; T: 47r x,x,x,x C: 1539^{27}, no.79: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 3155, no.5: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.79.	**[Anonymous]**
41	**Wie kompt der May** **Wol kumpt der May (S, A, B)** D, B: 25r; A; 25v; T: 47v x,x,x,x C: 1534^{17}, no.56: L. Senfl. 1539^{27}, no.66: Wolff Grefinger. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.24: [Anonymous]. CH-Zz Q 901, no.56: [Anonymous]. D-B 40092, fol.49v: [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.14: [Anonymous]. D-Usch 236A-D, no.4: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA IV, no.36; EDM 20, no.66.	**[Wolfgang Grefinger/ Ludwig Senfl]**
42	**Vil sorg ich trag** D, B: 25v; A: 26r; T: 48r x,x,x,x C: none.	**W. Lausser**
43	**Het ich in aller welt die wal** D, B: 26r; A: 26v; T: 48v-49r x,x3,x,x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
44	**Schwerlangckwilig ist mir myn zyt** D, B: 26v; A: 27r; T: 49v x,x,x,x C: 1539^{27}, no.98: Wolff Grefinger. CH-Bu FX21, no.66: [Anonymous]. D-Usch 236A-D, no.15: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.98.	**[Wolfgang Grefinger]**
45	**Wan ander lyt lugen und schlaffen** **Elselin liepstes Elselin myn (D)** **Es taget vor dem walde (A)** **Gryner zancker wie gefelt dir das (B)** D, B: 27r; A: 27v; T: 50r C: $(1535)^{15}$, no.42: [Anonymous]. 1544^{19}, no.10: [Anonymous].	**M[atthias]. G[reiter].**
46	**Enzindt pin ich** D, B: 27v; A: 28r; T: 50v x,x,x,x Name of the Composer: "M[agister]. H[ans]. Org[anista]. Constan[tiensis]. (A) C: CH-Bu FX21, no.42: [Anonymous]. D-W 292, fol.23v: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 55/2, no.33.	**[Hans Buchner]**
47	**Crist ist erstanden** D, B: 28r; A: 28v; T: 51r x,t,t,x C: A-Wn 18810, no.34: Henricus Isaac. D-Mu 328-331, no.110: [Anonymous]. E: DTÖ XIV/1, p.4.	**H[einrich]. Y[saac].**
48	**Min gluck get uff der sytten uss** D, B: 28v; A: 29r; T: 51v-52r x,x,x3,x C: 1512^{1}, no.9: [Anonymous]. D-As 142a, no.68: [Anonymous]. D-W 292, fol.24: [Anonymous]. E: PÄMw IX, no.9.	**[Anonymous]**
49	**Elslin liebstes Elselin** D, B: 29r; A: 29v; T: 52v x,x,x,x C: none. E: Wüst, p.231.	**P[aul]. W[üst].**
50	**O werder mund** D, A, B: 29v-30r; T: 52v-53r x,x,x,x T (Name of the composer): "M[agister]. F[ranciscus]. Strus Org[anista]. Colonie"; (Below the attribution): "Canon tenor in duplo". C: CH-Bu FX21, no.11: [Anonymous]. E: PickerCA, p.270. L: SlimINST.	**F[ranciscus]. Strus**
51	**In mynem sinn** **(=Entre je suis en grant pensee)** D, B: 30r-30v; A: 30v-31r; T: 53v x,x,x,x C: $(1535)^{11}$, no.37: Josquin. A-Wn 18810, no.6: Josquin de pres. D-As 142a, fols.42v-43r: [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.49: [Anonymous]. E: PickerCA, p.285; JosquinGA WW/V, no.57. L: Martin Picker, "Polyphonic Settings c.1500 of the Flemish Tune *In minem sin*," *JAMS* XII (1959), p.94ff.	**Josquin**
52	**In mynem sinn** D, A: 31r-31v; T: 54r-54v; B: 30v-31r x,x,x,x C: 1535^{15}, no.8: [Anonymous]. L: Picker, see above no.51.	**M[athias]. G[reiter]. 1522 (D)**
53	**Ach hulff leyd** **Ach hulff mich layd (D, A, B)** D, B: 31v-32r; A: 32v: T: 54v-55r C: 1513^{2}, no.1: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 462, fol.69: [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.145: [Anonymous]. D-W 292, fol.19v: [Anonymous]. E: SMD 5, no.83.	**Pirson [=Pierre de la Rue / Bauldeweyn / Josquin]**
54	**Offt wünsch ich dir** D, B: 32r-32v; A: 32v-33r; T: 55r x,x,x,x C: none.	**P[aul]. W[üst].**
55	**Es wolt ein man versuchen sin wyb** D, B: 33r; A: 33v; T: 56v-57r x,x,x,x D (above the first system): "Ad sonos". A, T, B (above the first system): "Ad equale". C: none. E: SenflGA II, no.17.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
56	**Kein frewd** D, B: 33v; A: 34r; T: 56v-57r x,x,x3,x C: none. E: DTÖ XIV/1, p.16.	**H[einrich]. Y[saac].**
57	**Was frewet mich** D, B: 34r; A: 34v; T: 57v-58r x,x,x3,x C: none. E: DTÖ XIV/1, p.25.	**H[einrich]. Y[saac].**

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58	**Ach hertzigs K** D, B: 34v; A: 35r; T: 58v x,x,x,x C: none. E: DTÖ XIV/1, p.61.	**H[einrich]. Y[saac].**
59	**Von erst so well wir loben** D, B: 35r; A: 35v; T: 59r x,x,x,x C: none.	**S[ixt]. D[ietrich].**
60	**Ellend print pin** D, B: 35v; A: 36r; T: 59v x,x,x,x C: 1539[27], no.92: Benedictus Ducis. CH-Bu FX21, no.1: [Anonymous]. D-Usch 236A-D, no.19: [Anonymous]. D-W 292, fol.4v: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.92; SchöfferLB, no.43.	**Benedictus Ducis 1511 (D)**
61	**Ich seufftz und klag** D, B: 36r; A: 36v; T: 60r x,x,x,x C: D-W 292, fol.5: [Anonymous].	**J. Schrem**
62	**Nun griess dich got myn fine krot** D, B: 36v; A: 37r; T: 60v-61r x,x,x3,x C: 1539[27], no.71: Sixt Dietrich. E: EDM 20, no.71.	**S[ixt]. D[ietrich].**
63	**Nun griess dich got min Truselin** D, B: 37r; A: 37v; T: 61v-62r x,x,x3,x C: 1539[27], no.82: Sixt Dietrich. D-W 292, fol.14: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.82.	**S[ixt]. D[ietrich].**
64	**Ich stond an einem morgen** D, B: 37v-38r; A: 38r-38v; T: 62v x,x,x,x C: 1536[9], no.18: Heinrich Finck. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.46 [Anonymous]. E: CMM 70, no.28.	**Henricus Finck**
65	**Ergib mich der** **(=Wem gelt gebrist)** D, B: 38r; A: 39r; T: 63r x,x,x,x C: 1539[27], no.119: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.52: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.50 (Wem gelt): [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.24a (Wem gelt): [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.119a.	**[Anonymous]**
66	**Ich stond an einem morgen** D, B: 38v; A: 39v; T: 63v x,x,x,x C: none.	**Jo. Füchswild (D, A)**
67	**Recht zierlich lebt** D, B: 39r; A: 40r; T: 64r x,x,x,x C: none.	**Georgius Cesar (D, A)**
68	**Der welt fund** D, B: 39v; A: 40v; T: 64v x,x,x,x C: none. E: DTÖ XIV/1, p.68.	**H[einrich]. Y[saac].**
69	**Eren wert uff erd** D, B: 40r; A: 41r; T: 64v-65r x,x,x,x C: 1539[27], no.107: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.79: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.107.	**[Anonymous]**
70	**Was all myn tag erlitt myn hertz** D: 40r-41v; A: 41v; T: 65r-66r; B: 40r-40v x,x,x3,x C: 1534[17], no.90: Ludouicus Senflius. D-Mbs 3155, no.3: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA IV, no.70.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
71	**Nun merck ich wol** D, B: 41r; A: 42r; T: 66v-67r x,x,x2,x C: D-Mbs 3155, no.73: [Anonymous]. D-W 292, fol.22: L[udwig]. S[enfl]. E: SenflGA II, no.18.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
72	**Ach medlin rein** D, B: 41v; A: 42v; T: 67v-68r x,x,x2,x C: 1534[17], no.102: Ludovicus Senflius. 1539[27], no.62: Wolff Grefinger. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.76: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 3155, no.6: [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.10: [Anonymous] . D-Usch 236A-D, no.16: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA IV, no.82; EDM 20, no.62	**L[udwig]. S[enfl]. [/ W. Grefinger]**
73	**Hoch wol gefallen** D, B: 42r; A: 43r; T: 68v-69r x,x,x3,x T (above the text): "Cristoferus Echa". C: D-Mbs 3155, no.7: [Anonymous]. D-W 292, fol.25v: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.19.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
74	**Hör zu von nuwen sachen** D, B: 42v-43r; A: 43v-44r; T: 69v x,x,x,x T: "Paulus Wiest composuit Huteno" (= for Ulrich von Hutten?) C: none.	**Paulus Wiest [=Wüst]**
75	**Ich weis mir ein hüpsche graserin** D, B: 43r; A: 44r; T: 70r t,x,x,x C: [1535][15], no.7: [Anonymous].	**Mathias Gritter [= Greiter] De Aycha**
76	**Mich wunder ser, ye lenger ye mer** D, B: 43v-44r; A: 44v-45r; T: 70v x,x,x,x T (at the end): "Text such in Mentzer Truck" (= 1515[3]?) C: 1534[17], no.54: Ludouicus Senflius. D-Mbs 3155, no.2 : [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.80: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA IV, no.34.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
77	**Elsslin** D, B: 44r; A: 45r; T: 71r x,x,x,x C: none. E: Wüst, p.231.	**P[aul]. W[üst].**
78	**Gross we ich lyd** D, B: 44v; A: 45v; T: 71v x,x,x,x C: D-Mbs 3155, no.37: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.20.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
79	**On schertz myn hertz** D, B: 45r; A: 46r; T: 72r x,x,x,x C: D-Mbs 3155, no.36: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.21.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
80	**Nichts on ursach** D, B: 45v; A: 46v; T: 72v x,x,x,x C: none. E; SenflGA II, no.22.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
81	**Ach unfal was zeychstu mich** D, B; 46r; A: 47r; T: 73r x,x,x,x C: none. E; SenflGA II, no.23.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**

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82	**Wie wol vil horter orden send** D, B: 46v; A: 47v; T: 73v x,x,x,x C: D-Mbs 3155, no.53: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.24.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
83	**Zwen gesellen gut** D, B: 47r; A: 48r; T: 74r x,x,x,x C: D-Mbs 3155, no.27: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.25.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
84	**So gluck und stund** D, B: 47v; A: 48v; T: 74v x,x,x,x C: D-Mbs 3155, no.34: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.26.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
85	**Hab grossen danck der liebe din** D, B: 48r; A: 49r; T: 75r x,x,x,x C: D-Mbs 3155, no.35: [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.32: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.27.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
86	**Recht ursach pringt** D, B: 48v; A: 49v; T: 75v x,x,x,x C: D-Mbs 3155, no.33: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.28.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
87	**Noch bin ich din** **(=Mich wundert hart)** D: 49r; A: 50r; T: 76r; B: 49r-48v x,x,x,x C: 1544[20], no.33 (Mich wundert): Heinricus Isaac. D-Mbs 3155, no.2 (Mich wundert): [Anonymous]. E: DTÖ XIV/1, p.19.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].** **[/Heinrich Isaac]**
88	**Ach holdseligs medlin** D, B: 49v; A: 50v; T: 76v x,x,x,x C: none. E: SenflGA II, no.29.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl]** **4° [=4 vocum]** **(D)**
89	**Parce domine populo tuo** D, B: 50r; A: 51r; T: 77r x,x,t,t C: 1538[8], no.46: Heinricus Isaac. D-SGs 463, no.129: Heinricus Isaac. D-Mu 328-331, no.112: [Anonymous]. E: RhauMD III, no.46.	**H[einrich].** **Y[saac].**
90	**Patris sapientia veritas divina** D, B: 50v; A: 51v; T: 77v t,t,t,t T (above the first system): "Robertus Niderholtzer discipulus illius Fincken. Quoque incipiunt carmina latina partim / Tenor ad duo carmina scilicet patris etc. / et cane ut jacet secundum carmen / composuit Georgius Cesar Vindelicus". C: none.	**Robertus Niderholtzer**
91	**Patris sapientia veritas divina** D, B: 51r; A: 52r; T: 77v t,t,t,t C: none.	**Georgius Cesar Vindelicus**
92	**Domine fili (D)** D, B: 51v; A: 52v x,x,x C: none. **[Remark:]** "Quinque sequuntur" (T); "Quinque" (D, A, B) D, B: 52r; A: 53r; T: 78r **[Blank]** D: 52v; A: 53v **[Ruled, otherwise blank]** B: 52v	**S[ixtus].** **T[heodoricus].** **[=Sixtus Dietrich]**
93	**Es taget vor dem walde** D, B: 53r; A: 54r; T; 78v-79r x,x,xx,x C: 1556[29], no.43: Ludivicus Senfl. D-B 40092, fol.8: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 3155, no.78: [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.65: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.30.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].** **W[olfgang].** **G[refinger?]. (B)**
94	**Maria du pist genaden vol** **Maria zart von edler art (T1)** D, B: 53v; A: 54v; T: 79v-80r x,x,xx,x C: D-B 40092, fol.10: [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.66: [Anonymous]. I-Rvat Lat. 11953, fol.45: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.31.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
95	**Gottes namen faren wir** D, B: 54r; A: 55r; T: 80v-81r x,x,xx,x C: D-B 40092, fol.14v: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 3155, no.67: [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.55: [Anonymous]. D-Rp C120, p.20: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.4.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
96	**Wann ich des morgen frue uff stand** D, B: 54v; A: 55v; T: 82v-83r x,x,xt,x C: 1534[17], no.68: Ludouicus Senflius. D-B 40092, fol.9: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 3155, no.68: [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.57: [Anonymous]. I-Rvat Lat. 11953, fol.24: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA IV, no.48.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
97	**Wolauf wir wollens wecken** D, B: 55r; A: 56r; T: 81v-82r t,t,tt,x T (at the end of T2): "Vertensendo [sic] folio invenies septuagesimum modulamen / scilicet Wan ich des morgens frie auf stand". C: 1534[17], no.92: Ludouicus Senflius. CH-Bu FX21, no.78: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 3155, no.66: [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.67: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA IV, no.72.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
98	**Ich armer man** D, B: 55v; A: 56v; T: 83v-84r x,x,xx,x C: none.	**Paulus Wiest;** **P. Obscoenus (A)** **[=Paul Wüst]**
99	**Anfang mine lieb** D, B: 56r; A: 57r; T: 84v-85r x,x,xx,x C: none.	**P[aul]. W[üst].**
100	**Ursach zwingst mich** D: 56v-57r; A: 57v; T: 85v; B; 56v xx,x,x,x C: CH-Bu FX21, no.100 (text only).	**P[aul]. W[üst].**
101	**Fraw pin ich din** **Du hertzings myn (D1, D2)** D: 57v-58r; A: 58r; T: 86r; B: 57r tt,t,t,t C: D-W 292, fol.8: [Anonymous].	**S[ixtus].** **T[heodoricus].** **[= Sixt Dietrich]**
102	**Crist ist erstanden** **Cristus surrexit (A, T2, B)** D, A: 58v; T: 86v-87r; B; 57v t,t,tt,t C: none.	**M[athias].** **G[reiter].**
103	**Gluck eer und gut** D, A: 59r; T: 87v-88r; B: 58r x,x,xx,x C: D-ZW LXXVIII, fol.31: [Anonymous].	**L[upus].** **H[ellinck?].**

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104	**Geduld um huld** D, A: 59v; T: 88v-89r; B: 58v x,x,xx,x C: D-40092, fol.7v: [Anonymous]. D-Mu 328-331, no.60 [Anonymous]. D-Rp C120, p.212: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.6.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
105	**Cela zons plus** D: 59v-60r; A: 60r; T: 89v-90r; B: 59r x,x,xx,x C: CH-SGs 463, no.203: Leo papa decimus. D-Rp C120, p.26: [Anonymous]. I-Fn 107bis, fols.15v-16r: Jo. cardinale d. Medici. E: TschudiLB 2, no.203.	**Io[hannes]. cardinalis de Medicis, Leo papa decimus**
106	**Es taget vor dem walde** **Wann ich des morgens frie uff stand (T2)** **Elslin liebes Elselin (D2)** D: 60v-61r; A: 60v; T: 90v-91r; B: 59v xx,x,xx,x C: D-Mu 328-331, no.58: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA II, no.32.	**L[udwig]. S[enfl].**
107	**Ich weiss mir ein freye maget** D: 61v-62r; A: 61r; T: 91v-92r; B: 60r xx,x,xx,x C: none.	**Georgius Cesar Vindelicus (A)**
108	**Troplus secret** D: 62v; A: 61v; T; 92v; B: 60v x,x,x,x D: The composer's name is spelled with a rebus. C: D-Rp C120, p.268-69: P. la Rue. I-Rvat. Lat.11953, fols.7v-8r: P. de la Rue. E: PickerCA, p.200.	**Pirson [=Pierre de la Rue]**
109	**Toussles regres** **(= Tous les regretz)** D: 63r; A: 62r; T: 93r; B: 61r x,x,x,x T: The composer's name is spelled with a rebus. B (above the first system): "4^{or} et sic deincips". C: 1502^{2}, fol.25v-26: Pe de la Rue. A-Wn 18810, no.64: Petri de la Rue. D-Rp C120, p.264-65: Josquin. I-Rvat Lat.11953, fol.8v-9: Rue. E: PickerCA, p.180; MRM II, no.22; Josquin WW, no.32.	**Pirson alias Pe. de la Rue [/Josquin]**
110	**Pour quoi non** D: 63v; A: 62v; T: 93v; B: 61v x,x,x,x C: 1501, fol.17v-18: Pe de la Rue. CH-SGs 463, (in the index only): Petrus de la Rue. I-Rvat Lat. 11953, fol.7-7v: P. de la Rue. E: PickerCA, p.211; HewO, no.15.	**Pirson [=Pierre de la Rue]**
111	**Tant que nostre argent** **[Amours fait moult]** **[El est de bonne heure ne]** D: 64r; A: 63r; T: 94r; B: 62r x,x,x,x C: 1501, fol.33v-34: [Anonymous]. D-Rp C120, p.214-215: [Anonymous]. I-Rvat. Lat.11953, fol.9-9v: [Anonymous]. E: HewO, no.31; MRM VII, no.157.	**Pirson [=Pierre de la Rue / Japart]**
112	**Mement** D: 64v; A: 63v; T: 94v; B: 62v x,x,x,x C: none.	**P[aul]. W[üst].**
113	**Plus nultz regres** D: 64v-65r; A: 63v-64r; T: 94v-95r; B: 62v-63r x,x,x,x C: [1535]^{14}, no.3: [Anonymous]. 1540^{7}, no.53: Josquin. A-Wn 18810, no.15: Josquin de Pres. D-As 142a, fol.38v-40: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1508, no.65: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.107: [Anonymous]. D-Rp C120, p.300-303: Josquin. I-Rvat. Lat. 11953, fol.4-4v: Josquin. E: PickerCA, p.280; JosquinGA WW, no.29.	**Josquin**
114	**Lome arme** D: 65v; A: 64v; T: 95v; B: 63v x,x,x,x C: none.	**Falsum (?) (D)**
115	**Mon seul plasier** D: 65v-66r; A: 64v-65r; T: 95v-96r; B: 63v-64r x,x,x,x C: B-Br 11239, fol.25v-27: [Anonymous]. I-Fc 2439, fols.1v-3r: Nino le petit. E: PickerCA, p.451.	**Josquin [/Ninot le Petit]**
116	**Adieu amours** D: 66v; A: 65v; T: 96v; B: 64v x,x,x,x A: "Altus ex cantu fugat ad semibrevem in / subdiatesseron Adieu etc." B: "Bassus ad semibrevem fugat in subdiatesseron / Adieu amours. Io Mouton. In tenore". C: none. E: BernHZ, p.66.	**I[ean]. Mouton**
117	**Dentelore** D: 67r; A: 65v-66r; T; 97r; B; 64v-65r x,x,x,x C: none.	**S[ixtus]. T[heodoricus]. [= Sixt Dietrich]**
118	**Fors seulement** D: 67v; A: 66v; T: 97v; B: 65v x,x,x,x C: 1502^{2}, fol.31v-32: Pe. de la Rue. [1519]^{5}, no.73: [Anonymous]. [1535]^{14}, no.31: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 461, p.8-9: M. Pipilere. D-Rp C120, p.336-337: Pipilere. E: PickerCA, p.233; MRM II, no.28; AichLB, no.72.	**Mathias Pipelare [/Pierre de la Rue]**
119	**Lordault** D: 68r; A: 67r; T: 97v-99r; B: 66r x,x,x,x C: 1502^{2}, fol.8v-9: Compere. D-Rp C120, p.260-61: Compere. E: MRM II, no.5; BrownTC, no.50. **[Blank and unruled]** D: 68v-92v; A: 67v-88v; T; 98v-116v; B; 66v-91v	**Josquin [Compère/Ninot le Petit]**

Inventory B
Basel University Library MS F X 10

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
	[Binding] fols.1r-1v	
1	**Von suftzen tief** fol.2r x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
2	**Wand wir aber sygen** fol.2r x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
3	**Venus ich clag** fol.2v x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
4	**F du min schatz** fols.2v-3r x C: 1535[11], no.81: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.80: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.172: [Anonymous]. E: TschudiLB, no.172.	**[Anonymous]**
5	**Wen ich gedenck** fol.3r x C: CH-Bu FX17-20, no.65: [Anonymous]. I-TRc 1947/4, no.2: [Anonymous].	**[Anonymous]**
6	**Zu trost erwellt** fol.3v x C: CH-SGs 462, fols.19v-20r: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.81: [Anonymous]. E: SMD 5, no.36.	**[Anonymous]**
7	**Frow bin ich din** fol.4r t C: A-Wn 18810, no.49: Paulus Hofhaymer. D-Mu 328-331, no.119: [Anonymous]. E: HofhaimerGA, p.44; DTÖ 37/2, p.36.	**[Paul Hofhaimer]**
8	**Frölich wesen** fols.4r-4v t C: 1538[9], no.28: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 462, fols.28v-29r: Obrecht. CH-SGs 463, no.153: Jacobus Obrecht. D-Mu 328-331, no.109: [Anonymous]. E: SMD 5, no.32.	**[Barbireau/ Obrecht]**
9	**Ach gramma** fols.4v-5r x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
10	**An dich kan ich nit froewen mich** fol.5r x C: [1519][5], no.5: [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.5.	**[Anonymous]**
11	**Min hertz ist bekümberet** fol.5v x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
12	**Isbrüg ich [muss dich lassen]** fols.5v-6r x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
13	**Wer das ellend büwen wel** fol.6r x C: 1541[2], no.50: [Anonymous].	**[Anonymous]**
14	**Fruntlicher grutz in trüwen gar** fol.6v x C: CH-SGs 462, fol.26: [Anonymous]. E: SMD 5, no.10.	**[Anonymous]**
15	**Der katzen reyen** fol.7r x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
16	**Us hertzen grund** fol.7v x (Inscription:) "bassus stat in (Alto) hoc est in alio libro". C: [1519][5], no.13: [Anonymous]. *Dodecachordon* p.430-31: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FVI26f, no.2: [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.13.	**[Anonymous]**
17	**Fortuna [desperata]** fol.8r x C: CH-SGs 462, fols.6v-7r: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.144: [Anonymous]. E: SMD 5, no.7.	**[Busnois?]**
18	**Nach lust han** fol.8v x C: [1519][5], no.25: [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.25.	**[Anonymous]**
19	**Sant Cristoffel** fols.8v-9r x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
20	**Die vollen bruöder kon ouch darzu** fol.9r x C: CH-Bu FX21, no.67: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 462, fol.25: [Anonymous]. E: SMD 5, no.27.	**[Anonymous]**
21	**Die frow von himell ruf ich an** fol.9v x C: CH-Bu FVI26f, no.1: [Anonymous].	**[Anonymous]**
22	**Maria zart** fols.9v-10r C: D-Herdringen Bibliotheca Fuerstenbergiana FUE9822, no.21: [Anonymous].	**[Anonymous]**
23	**Ich scheid mit leid** fol.10v x C: CH-Bu FVI26f, no.4: [Anonymous].	**[Anonymous]**

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
24	**Unfal wie tust** fols.10v-11r x C: CH-SGs 462, fols.32v-33r: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.67: [Anonymous]. E: SMD 5, no.36.	**[Anonymous]**
25	**Frow ich graw** fol.11r x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
26	**Ach hulf mich leid** fols.11v-12r x C: [1513]^{3}, fol.24v: [Anonymous]. [1519]^{5}, no.22: [Anonymous]. Dodecachordon, p.262: Adam ab Fulda. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.3: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.50: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.53: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 462, fol.3v-4r: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.163: Adam de Fulda. E: SMD 5, no.4; AichLB, no.21.	**[Adam von Fulda]**
27	**Nie noch niemer end min gemut** fol.12v x C: [1519]^{5}, no.3: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.68: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.27: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.49: [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.3	**[Anonymous]**
28	**Mary zu dir ich schry** fol.13r x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
	[Ruled, otherwise blank] fols.13v-16r	
	[Blank] fols.16v-19v	
	[Binding] fols.20r-20v	

Inventory C
Basel University Library MS F X 5-9

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
1	**[Magnificat primi toni]** **Et exultavit (Verse 2)** **Fecit (Verse 6)** **Esurientes (Verse 8)** A: Ir x C: Magnificat octo tonorum (Strassburg: Schöffer, 1535). **[Rastrum trials, otherwise blank]** A: Iv-IIv; B: Ir-Iv; B: Ir-IIv **[Ex Libris:]** "Sum Basilii Amerbachii". D: 1r **[Title page:]** "Der alt ghört jungen gesellen zu / Die lauffen uf und ab on rhu. / Sum Basilii Amerbachii." A: 1r C: 1539^{27}, Title page of the altus partbook. CH-Bu FIX34, fol.1r. **[Ex Libris:]** "Bonifacius Amerbach". T: 1r **[Greek Inscription:]** "to kalon dia autou aireton". **[Blank and unruled]** D, A: 1v; B: 1v-2v **[Ruled, otherwise blank]** A: 2r-3v **[Pen drawings, see Chapter 3: miniatures]** D: 2r; T: 1v-2r **[Ruled, otherwise blank]** T: 2v-3v; B: 3r-4v **[Blank and unruled]** D: 2v	**[Sixt Dietrich]**
1a	**Ach werder mund** D: 3r; T: 4r x Bass copied in the Tenor partbook. C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
1b	**Ach werder mund** D: 3r-3v x C: $[1519]^{5}$, no.16: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FIX59, no.69: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.68: [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.16	**[Anonymous]**
2a	**[Maria zart von edler art]** D: 3v-4r; T: 4v -,- Bass copied in the Tenor partbook. C: D-Es 345, fol.509: [Anonymous].	**[Anonymous]**
2b	**[Ich seufftz und klag]** D: 4r; T: 4r-4v -,- Bass copied in the Tenor partbook. C: $[1540]^{8}$, no.25: [Anonymous].	**[Anonymous]**
2c	**[Textless]** D: 4v - C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
2d	**[Textless]** T, B: 5r -,- Bass copied in the Tenor partbook; Tenor in the Bass partbook. C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
3	**Es wolt ein meidlin grasen gan** D: 5r; A: 4r; T, B: 5v x,x,t,x Bass copied in the Tenor partbook; Tenor in the Bass partbook. C: 1513^{2}, no.61: [Anonymous]. 1540^{21}, no.XLIII: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.62: Ysaac. D-Mu 328-331, no.44: [Anonymous]. E: DTÖ XIV/1, p.9; EDM 60, no.44. **[Ruled, otherwise blank]** A: 4v-7v	**Heinrich Isaac (B)**
4	**In minem sin** D: 5v; T: 6r; B: 5v-6r x,x,x Bass in the Tenor partbook; Tenor in the Bass partbook. C: D-Mu 328-331, no.45: [Anonymous]. D-Rp C120, p.290: Ysaac. E: DTÖ XIV/1, p.81.	**H[einrich]. I[saac].**
5	**In minem sin** D: 6r-6v; T, B: 6v x,x,x D: "eiusdem" [=Heinrich Isaac]. Bass in the Tenor partbook; Tenor in the Bass partbook. C: D-Mu 328-331, no.46: [Anonymous]. D-Rp C120, p.292: Ysaac. E: DTÖ XIV/1, p.82.	**Heinrich Isaac**
6	**[Wat willen wij metten budel spelen]** D: 6v-7v; T, B: 7r-7v x,x,x Bass in the Tenor partbook; Tenor in the Bass partbook. -,-,- C: 1502^{2}, fol. 38v-39v: Obrecht. E: MRM 2, p.188.	**Jacob Obrecht**
7	**Ong franck [=Un franc archier]** D, T: 7v; B: 7v-8r x,x,- Bass in the Tenor partbook and incomplete; Tenor in the Bass partbook. C: 1501, fol.30v: Compere. E: CMM 15/5, p.57; HewO, no.28.	**[Loyset Compère]**
8	**Ein pur gab (D) [=Ein bauer sucht]** D: 8r; B: 8r-8v x,x C: $[1519]^{5}$, no.32: [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.32. **[Ruled, otherwise blank]** D: 8v; B: 9r-9v	**[Anonymous]**

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
9	**Ich armes meitlin klag** D: 9r-9v; A, T: 8r; B: 10r t,x,t,x T (at the close of the text:) "Hie Schwitz/ hie Basel". C: 1549[37], no.31 : Ludo. Senfl. CH-Bu FX21, no.110 (only Text). E: SenflGA 6/4, p.14.	[Ludwig Senfl]
10	**Ich weiss mir ein stoltze mullerin** D: 9v-10r; A, T: 8v; B: 10v t,x,x,x A (inscription:) "Die mullerin". C: none.	[Anonymous]
11	**Grates domino iugiter referamus** D: 10r-10v; A: 9r; T: 8v-9r; B: 11r t,x,t,x C: none. E: MerianGW, no.2.	Vannius faciebat [=Johannes Wannenmacher]
12	**Sy suys** **[=Je suis?]** D: 10v; A: 9v; T: 9r; B: 11r x,x,x,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
13	**A desiuner labelle (A)** D: 10v; A, T: 9v; B: 11v x,x,x,x C: [1528][8], no.2: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 20, p.51.	[Anonymous]
14	**Amour et mort** D: 11r; A: 10r; T: 9v; B: 11v-12r x,x,x,x T (at the end:) "Hie Schwitz". C: 1529[3], no.13: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.17: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.42: [Anonymous]. E: SeayTC, no.7.	[Anonymous]
15	**Es het ein biderman ein weib (D)** D: 11r; A, T: 10r; B: 12r t,x,x,x C: 1549[36], no.XXV: L. Senfl. E: SenflGA 5, no.2.	[Ludwig Senfl]
16	**Martin menoit** D: 11v-12r; A; 10v; T: 10r-10v; B: 12r-13r x,x,x,x A is incomplete. C: 1535[6], no.21: Jennequin. E: JanequinCP 2, no.61.	[Clément Janequin]
17	**Misterium ecclesie hymnum** D: 12r-12v; A: 11r-11v; T: 11r; B: 13r t,t,t,t **[Textless, pars 2]** D: 12v-13r; A: 11v-12r; T: 11r-11v; B: 13r -,-,-,- C: none.	[Anonymous]
18	**De profundis clamavi ad te Domine** D: 13r-14v; A: 12r-13r; T: 11v-12r; B: 13v-14r t,t,t,t **A custodia matutina usque ad moctem (D; pars 2)** D: 14r-15r; A: 132r-14r; 12v-13v; B: 14v-15v t,t,t,t C: 1539[9], no.30: Josquin. D-Kl 24, no.65: Josquin. E: JosquinGA Mt, Nr.91.	[Josquin]
19	**Super flumina Babilonis** D: 15r-16v; A: 14r-15r; T: 13v-15r; B: 15v-17r; Q: 1r-2r x,t,x,x,x **Si oblitus fuero tui Hierusalem (A, pars 2)** D: 16v-18r; A: 15v-17r; T: 15r-16v; B: 17r-18v; Q: 2v-4r x,x,x,x,x T (at the end:) "Laus XPO". C: 1534[5], fol.18: La Fage. 1539[9], no.37: La Fage. D-Rp 940/41, no.306: La Fage. D-Rp B211-15, no.32: [Anonymous].	[Jean de la Fage]
20	**Chorea** D: 18v; A: 17r-17v; T: 17r; B: 19r x,x,x,x C: none. E: GeeringBS, p.111.	[Anonymous]
21	**Et pariet filium** D: 19r; A: 18r; T: 17v; B: 19v x,x,t,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
22	**Resonet in laudibus** D: 19v; A: 18v-19r; T: 18r-18v; B: 19v-20r x,x,t,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
23	**Proportio** D: 20r; A: 19r; T: 18v; B: 20v x,x,x,x C: none. E: GeeringBS, p.113.	[Anonymous]
24	**Veni electa mea** D: 20r-21v; A: 19v-20r; T: 19r; B: 20v-21r; Q: 4v-5r t,x,x,x,x T: "Cosmas Alderinus faciebat uf pusunen Berne / 1546 in actu Noe". C: none. E: GeeringPS no.5. L: GeeringVM, p.85 and 170.	Cosmas Alder
25	**O Jesu christ** **O Jesu Christ der mechtigest (D)** **O Jesu Christ der heiligest (A)** **O Jesu Christ dornoch du bist (B)** D: 21r; A: 20r-20v; T: 19v; B: 21v t,t,x,x D is incomplete. C: [1513][3], no.67: [Anonymous]. [1519][5], no.31: [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.30.	[Anonymous]
26	**Salve magnificum genus ac veneranda** D, A: 21v-22r; T: 20r-20v; B: 22r-22v; Q: 5r-6v t,x,t,x,x T (over the first system:) "Fuga in diapentem". Q (over the first system:) "Encomium urbis Berne"; in another hand and ink "Berne" is altered to "Basilee". **Qua te mente feram (pars 2)** **Tu bonitate deos (D)** D: 22v-23r; A: 22r-23r; T: 20v-21v; B: 23r-23v; Q: 6r-6v t,x,t,x,x T (over the first system:) "Fuga in daipentem". D (in the first system:) "Encomium urbis Berne par. secunda / a Wannio 1535". Q (at the end:) "Vannius faciebat 1535". C: none. L: GeeringVM, p.149.	[Anonymous] Johannes Wannenmacher

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
27	**De profundis** D: 23v-24r; A: 23v-24r; T: 21v-22v; B: 23v-24v; Q: 7r-8r t,x,t,x,x Q (at the end:) solmisation syllables **A custodia matutina (pars 2)** D, B: 24v-25r; A: 24r-24v; T: 22v-23r; Q: 8r-8v C: 1537[1], no.30. D-B 40013: fol.181v: Senfl. D-Dl 1/D/3, fol.29: Josquin/Senfl. E: SenflGA 3, p.86.	**Lud[wig]. Senfl/ [Josquin]**
27a	**[Textless]** T: 23v-24r xx Discant and Altus parts are in the Tenor and are incomplete. Discant is crossed out. C: none.	**Petrus**
28	**Inssbruck muss ich dich lossen** D: 25r-25v; A: 25r; T: 24v; B: 25v x,x,x,x A: underlayed text erased. C: none. E: ThürlingsIB, p.84. L: GeeringVM, p.158 and 176.	**Cos[mas]. Ald[er]. (A)**
29	**Rex autem David** D, B: 25v-26r; A: 25v; T: 25r t,x,t,x C: 1538[8], no.43: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.108: Adrianus Villaert. D-Mu 326, fol.18v: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R. 940/41, no.29: [Anonymous]. D-Rp B 220-222, no.49: [Anonymous]. E: RhauMD 3, no.43.	**[Adrian Willaert]**
30	**Invidie telum** D, A, B: 26r-26v; T: 25v-26r t,t,t,t A (at the end:) "1544 Novemb[er].”; (26v, crossed out:) "Vannius". T (over the first system:) "I. Vannius 44 Novemb. Interlacus" (=Interlaken). C: none.	**I[ohannes]. Vannius [=Wannenmacher]**
31	**In diebus illis** D, A: 26v-27v; T: 26r-27r; B: 27r-27v; Q: 8v-9r t,x,t,-,x **Et senos (T, B: pars 2)** **Susanna aliquando (D, A, Q)** D, A: 28r-28v; T: 27r-27v; B: 27v-28r; Q: 9r-9v t,x,t,x,x **Deus qui absconditorum (pars 3)** D, B: 28v-29r; A: 29r-29v; T: 28r-28v; Q: 9v t,x,t,x,x Q (at the end:) Solmisation syllables. C: 1537[1]. D-Mu 326-327. E: CMM 3/4, p.67. **[Ruled, otherwise blank]** Q: 10r-26r **[Blank]** Q: 26v	**A[drian]. Willa[e]rt (D)**
32	**Da Jacob nun das kleid ansach (B)** D, A: 30r-30v; T: 29r-29v; B: 29v-30r x,x,t,x B: "C. Alderinus 4° [=4 vocum].” C: 1544[21], no.CXX: ludo. Senffel. E: HAM, no.110; AERM, no.18; SenflGA 6/4, no.20. L: KmetzDJ.	**Cosmas Alder [/ Ludwig Senfl]**
33	**Wie Joseph in Egipten landt** D, A: 31r; T, B: 30r-30v x,x,t,- C: none. E: GeeringPS, no.6. L: GeeringVM, p.173.	**[Cosmas Alder?]**
34	**Floreat Ursine gentis** D, A: 31v-32v; T, B: 30v-31v x,x,x,x D, A, T (over the first system:) "Musicorum Bernensium catalogus et eorundem encomium"; (Names of the musicians are not given). **Splendeat o gracilis (pars 2)** D, A: 32v-33v; T: 31v-33r; B: 31v-32v x,x,x,x B (at the end:) "finis das ist uss, das do lauft / das ist ein muss". C: none. L: GeeringVM, p.172.	**[Cosmas Alder?]**
35	**Ich weiss ein stoltze müllerin** **Ein stoltze müllerin (D, B)** D: 33v-34r; A: 34r-34v; T, B: 33r-33v t,t,t,t D (at the end:) "1545 Juni". C: D-Rp A.R. 940/41, no.259: Cosmas Alderius. L: GeeringVM, p.183.	**C[osmas]. Ald[er]. (B)**
36	**Wir sagen dir her lob** D, A: 35r-35v; T, B: 34r-34v t,t,t,t A (Inscription:) "Gratias 4° [=4 vocum]". C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
37	**In jamers thal lid ich gross** D, A: 35v-36r; T: 34v; B: 34v-35r t,t,t,t B (above the first system:) "1545 Junio facieb[at]. Xistus Dieterich". C: none.	**Sixtus Theodoricus [=Sixt Dietrich]**
38	**Joseph lieber zimmerman (D, A)** **Was da was da ja ja (T, B)** D, A: 36v; T: 35r; B: 35v t,t,t,t C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
39	**Dont vientzela** **(=Dont vient cela)** D, A: 37r; T: 35v; B: 36r x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], fol.3v: Claudin. CH-Bu FIX32-35, no.26: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.13: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.14: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.32: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.15: [Anonymous]. D-DZs MS 4003, Bk.1, no.8: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.43: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.20: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.110: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.43. **[Stamp of the University Library of Basel]** D, A: 37v; B: 36v **[Blank]** A: 38r **[Latin words with German translations]** A: 38v	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**

Inventory D
Basel University Library MS F IX 32-35

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
	[Titlepage, Discant, fol.1r:] "I T 1547 / Qui non vestitur teneras lanugine malas / Hos modulos dulci personet ore puer. / Ir knäben und ir meidtlin rein / Euwer stimlin schalen also fein. / Den Dysscant lernen unbeschwärth / Kein ander stim uch zugehörth. / 1547. / Sum Basilii Amerbachii Basiliensis / Anno domini 15.47 / die 13 Novembris / B[asilius] A[merbach]."	
	C: 1539[27], Titlepage, Discant (only the German verse).	
	[Titlepage, Altus, fol.1r:] "Si potes excelsas cantu transcendere nubes / Me cape nam munus altius ipse meum est. / Der Alt ghört jungen gesellen zu / Die lauffen uff und ab on rhu / Also ist auch des Altes wiss / Drum lernet mich mit allem fliss / Sum Basilii Amerbachii Basiliensis / Anno domini 1546 / 13 die Novembris".	
	C: 1539[27], Titlepage, Altus (only the German verse). CH-Bu FX6, fol.1r (only the German verse).	
	[Titlepage, Tenor, fol.1r:] "Quatuor hec inter medium discrimina vocum / Sola tenet reliqua posthabere modum. / Min arth und wiss in mittelmoss / Gen andren stimmen ist min stross / Die habent acht uff mine stim / Den mäneren ich fär ander zim / Sum Basilii Amerbachii Basiliensis / Anno 15 46 13 die Novem- / bris. / Trahit sua quemque voluptas".	
	C: 1539[27], Titlepage, Tenor (only the German verse).	
	[Titlepage, Bassus, fol.1r:] "1546 / Accipit horrendo vox hec a murmure nomen. / Quare stentoreum gutture prome sonum. / Min ampthe ist im nidern stat / Drum wer ein bstanden alter hat / Und brummeth wie ein rauher Bär / Der kom zu miner stimme härr. / 1546 / Sum Basilii Amerbachii Basiliensis / Anno 1546 13 die Novembris / 1546".	
	C: 1539[27], Title page, Bassus (only the German verse). CH-Bu FX24, fol.25r (only the Latin verse).	
	[Blank]	
	D: 1v-2v; A: 1v-3v; T: 1v-4v; B: 1v-3v	
	[Lessons outlining the rudiments of music:]	
	Quid est Musica?	
	Quid est clavis?	
	Quott sund claves?	
	T: fol.5r	
	C: Lampadius, *Compendium musices* (Berne: M. Apiarius, 1537), fols.B[r]-B[v].	
	Quid est Scala?	
	Quid est vox Musicalibus?	
	Quid sunt voces?	
	Quid est voces mutatio?	
	Quot vocibus fit?	
	T: fol.5v	
	C: Lampadius, *Compendium*, fols.Biii[r], Biiii[v], and Bv[r].	
	Scala cum suis clavibus	
	T: fol.6r	
	C: Lampadius, *Compendium*, fols.Biii[v]-Biiii[r].	
	Quott ex prodictis clavibus dicuntur signatae?	
	Cur vocantur signatae	
	Quam ob ratione	
	Quae autem potissimium signatur?	
	T: fol.6v	
	C: Lampadius, *Compendium*, fol.Biiii[r]	
	[Three vocal exercises]	
	T: 7r	
	Quott sunt Notarum species Octo?	
	T: 7v	
	C: Lampadius, *Compendium*, fol.Cviii[r].	
	Quid est Pausa?	
	T: 8r	
	Tabula qua cuis slibet notae quatitas pro signorum varietate explicatur.	
	T: 8v	
	[Natural, soft and hard hexachords]	
	T: 9r	
	[Blank]	
	T: 9v-11v	
1	**Gott geb üch hint ein gute nacht**	**[Anonymous]**
	Ein gutt nacht (D, A, B)	
	D: 3r; A, B: 4r; T: 12r	
	x,x,x,x	
	C: none.	
2	**Labor**	**[Anonymous]**
	(=Laborett dominus laborette)	
	D: 3r; A, B: 4r; T: 12r	
	x,x,x,x	
	C: 1535[11], no.3: [Anonymous].	
3	**Es wolt ein [jäger jagen]**	**[Anonymous]**
	D: 3v; A, B: 4v; T: 12v	
	x,x,x,x	
	C: [1535][13], no.7: [Anonymous].	
4	**Gelobet systu Jesu Christ**	**[Johann Walter]**
	D: 4r; A, B: 5r; T: 13r	
	t,x,x,t	
	C: 1544[71], no.13: Johann Walter.	
	E: WalterSW 1, no.13.	
5	**Hilff herre gott dem dinen knecht (D)**	**[Anonymous]**
	D: 4v; A, B: 5r; T: 13v	
	x,x,x,x	
	C: CH-Bu FX25-26, no.17: [Anonymous].	
	L: JennyGGB, p.192.	
6	**Nun welche hie ir hoffnung gar (D)**	**[Anonymous]**
	D: 5r; A, B: 6r; T: 14r	
	x,x,x,x	
	C: CH-Bu FX25-26, no.16: [Anonymous].	
	L: JennyGGB, p.193.	
7	**Uss tiefer not**	**[Johann Walter]**
	D: 5v; A, B: 6v; T: 14v	
	x,x,x,x	
	C: 1524[71], no.4: Johann Walter.	
	1544[71], no.15: Johann Walter.	
	E: WalterSW 1, no.15.	
8	**Frölich wellen wir Alleluia singen (B)**	**[Johann Walter]**
	D: 6r; A, B: 7r; T: 15r	
	x,x,x,x	
	C: 1524[71], no.25: Johann Walter.	
	1544[71], no.17: Johann Walter.	
	E: WalterSW 1, no.17.	
9	**Din armer huff herr thut klagen (D)**	**[Johann Walter]**
	D: 6v; A, B: 7v; T: 15v	
	x,x,x,x	
	C: 1524[71], no.7: Johann Walter.	
	1544[71], no.5: Johann Walter.	
	E; WalterSW 1, no.5.	

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
10	**Ich klag den tag** D: 7r; A, B: 8r; T: 16r x,x,x,x C: 1539[27], no.33: Thomas Stoltzer. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.22: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.80: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.18: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.33.	[Thomas Stolzer]
11	**Herr Christ der einig gottes sun** D: 7v; A, B: 8v; T: 16v x,x,x,x C: 1544[71], no.19: Johann Walter. CH-Bu FX21, no.72: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.9: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.22: [Anonymous]. E: WalterSW 1, no.19.	[Johann Walter]
12a	**Kum heiliger geist herre got** D: 8r-8v; A, B: 9r-9v; T: 17r-17v t,t,x,t D: "Eadem vox ad reliquam canitur compositionem". A: "Sequitur aliud eiusdem authoris." C: 1544[71], no.1 (only Discant).	[Anonymous]
12b	**Kum heiliger geist herre gott** D: 8v-9r; A, B: 10r-10v; T: 18r-18v t,x,x,x C: 1544[71], no.1 (only Discant).	[Anonymous]
13	**Ach her vernim min kleglich stim (B)** D: 8v-9r; A, B: 10r-10v; T: 18r-18v t,t,t,t C: none. E: GeeringPS, p.52.	[Cosmas Alder?]
14	**Mein gemüt und blüth** D: 9v; A, B: 11r; T: 18v x,x,x,x C: 1535[10], no.11: Andreas Siluanus. 1539[27], no.85: M. Johan. Wenck. CH-Bu FVI26c, fol.8v (Intab.): [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.85.	[Andreas Silvanus / Johann Weck]
15	**Hertzliebstes bild (D)** D: 10r; A, B: 11v; T: 19r x,x,x,x C: 1512[1], no.37: Paul Hoffhaymer. CH-Bu FX1-4, no.4: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 3155, fol.43: [Anonymous]. E: HofhaimerGA, p.52; EDM 20, no.63.	[Paul Hofhaimer]
16	**Lheur et malheur** D: 10v; A, B: 12r; T: 19v-20r x,x,x,x C: 1538[17], fol.29: Villiers. D-Rp A.R. 940/41, no.141: [Anonymous] E: PogueJM, p.357.	[P. de Villiers]
17	**Mon cueur uolut** D: 11r; A, B: 12v; T: 20r-20v x,x,x,x C: 1538[13], fol.10: Claudin. D-Rp A.R. 940/41, no.140: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/4, no.108.	[Claudin de Sermisy]
18	**Amour brusle** D: 11v; A, B: 13r; T: 20v-21r x,x,x,x C: 1538[17], fol.23: Maillart.	[Jean Maillard]
19	**Do ich min lieb von erst ansach** D: 12r; A, B: 13v; T: 22r x,x,x,x C: 1513[2], no.3: Joerg Schoenfelder	[Georg Schönfelder]
20	**Hört zu mit schal on lidens qual (D)** D: 12r-12v; A, B: 13v-14r; T: 22r x,x,x,x C: CH-Bu FX21, no.75: [Anonymous]. **[Tipped in Leaf, Discant, fols.13r-13v:]** Historical notes on the years 1587 and 1588 copied by Ludwig Iselin.	[Anonymous]
21	**Bywonung macht zum narren mich** D, B: 14r, A: 14v; T: 22v x,x,x,x D: "Quatuor vocum". C: none.	[Anonymous]
22	**Des künigs lied. Est il conclud (=Est-il conclu par un arret d'amour)** D: 14v; A, B: 15r; T: 23r x,x,x,x C: CH-Bu FIX22, no.49 (Intab.): [Anonymous]. E: SMD 6, p.70.	[Anonymous]
23	**In dulci jubilo wir singen** D: 15r-15v; A: 15v-16r; T: 23v-24r; B: 15r-16r t,t,t,t C: none.	[Anonymous]
24	**Glück mit der zit** D: 15v-16r; A, B: 16r-16v; T: 24v x,x,x,x C: 1539[27], no.41: Martin Wolff. E: EDM 20, no.41.	[Martin Wolff]
25	**Willig und trüw min meysche sy** D: 16v; A, B: 17r; T: 25r x,x,x,x D (in the margin, smeared): "Samuel Ubelius". C: 1539[27], no.42: Georg Forster. CH-Bu FX21, no.69: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.9a: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.23: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.42.	[Georg Forster]
26	**Dont vien cela** A: 17v; T: 25v; B: 26v x,x,x C: 1528[3], fol.3v: Claudin. CH-Bu FX5-9, no.26: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.15: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.13: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.14: [Anonymous]. D-DZs MS 4003, Bk. 1, no.8: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.43: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.20: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R. 940/41, no.110: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.43.	
27	**Dames** T: 26r x At the end of the part, the lines and spaces of a system are identified.	[Didier Lupi Second?]
28	**Susanna (=Susanna ung jour)** T: 26v-27r x C: Lupi, *Premier livre de chansons spirituelles* 1548. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.45: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.61: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.72: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.10: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.49: [Anonymous]. D-Usch 235A-D, no.26: [Anonymous]. E: LevySUJ, p.403.	[Didier Lupi Second?]

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29	**Ipsa te cogat** T: 27v-28r x C: none.	[Anonymous]
30	**Beatus vir** T: 28v x C: none. **[Ruled, otherwise blank]** D: 17r-21r; A: 18r-24r; T: 29r; B: 18r-20r	[Anonymous]
31	**Beatus vir** T: 29v-30r x C: none.	[Anonymous]
32	**[Textless]** D: 30v-31r - C: none.	[Anonymous]
33	**[Textless]** D: 31v - C: none. **[Blank]** D: 21v **[Ruled, otherwise blank]** D: 22r **[Blank]** D: 22v-59v; A: 24v-70v; T: 32r-66v; B: 20v-51v	[Anonymous]

Inventory E
Basel University Library MS kk IV 23-27

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
	[Blank] D, A, T, B, Q: I^{r}-I^{v}.	
	Johan Walter, Wittembergisch deudsch geistlich Gesangbüchlein, Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1544 (=DKL 1544^{12}); and Gaspar Otmaier, Epitaphium D. Martini Lutheri, Nürnberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1546.	
	[Blank] D, A, T, B, Q: 1r-1v	
1	**An einem Sabath morgens fru (D)** D, A, T, B: 2r t,x,x,x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
2	**Das gsatz gottes** D, A, T, B: 2r x,x,x,x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
	[Ruled, otherwise blank] D, A, T, B, Q: 2v-3r	
	[Blank] D, A, T, B: 3v-16v; Q: 3v-4v	

Inventory F
Basel University Library MS F X 22-24

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
	[Inscription:] "Ne quid nimis" D: fol.I^{r} C: CH-Bu FX7, fol.1v. **[Stamp of the University Library of Basel, otherwise blank]** B: fol.I^{r} **[Blank]** D: I^{v}; B: I^{v}-VII^{r} **[Ex Libris:]** "Basilij Amer- / bachij 15.51 / Quodcunque attigerit, sigue est stu- / diosa sinistri / Ad vitium mores instruet inde suos". D: fol.II^{r} **[Blank]** D: fols.III^{v}-VII^{r} **[Notes by Ludwig Sieber, University librarian 1871-1891]** D, B: fol.VII^{v} **Reutterliedlin, Frankfurt a.M., C. Egenolff: 1535 (=1535[11])** **[Titlepage:]** "BASSUS / Accipit horrenda hec vox a murmu- / re nomen, / Quare stentoreum gutture prome / sonum / .15.47." C: CH-Bu FIX 35, fol.1r **[Blank]** B: fol.25r	
1	**Her durch din blute** D, B: 16r; A: 25r x,x,x C: 1534[17], no.101: Ludouicus Senflius. E: SenflGA 4, p.134.	**Lud[wig]. Senfli**
2	**Ja choisi** D: 26r-v; A: 25v; B: 26v x,x,x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
3	**Vivre ne puis** D, B: 26v-27r; A: 25v-26r x,x,x C: 1536[3], no.9: Claudin. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.18: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/4, no.165.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
4	**Mein fliss und muhe** D, B: 27r-v; A: 26r-v x,x,x C: 1534[17], no.40: Ludouicus Senflius. 1539[27], no.105: Ludo. Senfl. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.12: [Anonymous]. CH-Zz Q901, no.6: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA 4, no.19; EDM 20, no.105.	**Ludovicus Senflius (B)**
5	**Ispruck muss ich dich lassen** D, B: 27v; A: 26v-27r x,x,x D, B: "Ad equales". A: "Ad socios". C: CH-Bu FX21, no.65: [Anonymous]. (Further concordances in StaehelinMI, Bd.I, p.27). E: DTÖ 14/1, p.83; AERM, no.23.	**Heinrichus Isaac (D)**
6	**Paduaner** D, B: 28r; A: 27r-v x,x,x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
7	**Ob allem werdt** D: 28v; A: 27v-28r; B: 28r-v x,x,x C: none.	**Sixt Dieterich (D)**
8	**Bolendisch giger liedlin** D: 29r; A: 28r-v; B: 28v-29r x,x,x C: none.	**Otmaier (D) [=Caspar Othmayr?]**
9	**Paduaner** D: 29v; A: 28v-29r; B: 29r-v x,x,x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
10	**Damour ie suis** D: 30r; A: 29r; B: 29v-30v x,x,x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
11	**Ave verum corpus (D)** **Ecce panis angelorum (A)** **O salutaris hostia (B)** D, B: 30r-v; A: 29v x,x,x C: D-Mbs 1516, no.170: [Anonymous]. E: Mbs1516, no.170.	**Josquin (D, B)**
12	**Languir me faict** **(=Languir me fais)** D: 31r; A: 30r; B: 30v-31r x,x,x C: 1528[3], fol.21v: Claudin. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.32: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.8: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.2: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.15: Mouton. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.102: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.87.	**[Sermisy/ Mouton]**
13	**Dont vien cela** D: 31v; A: 30v; B: 31r-v x,x,x A (above the first system): "Tenor". C: 1528[3], fol.3v: Claudin. CH-Bu FIX32-35, no.26: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX5-9, no.39: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.15: [Anonymous]. D-DZs MS 4003, Bk.1, no.8: [Anonymous] D-Mbs 1501, no.43: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.20: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.110: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.43.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
14	**Dont vien cela** D: 32r; A: 31r; B: 31v-32r x,x,x C: see above, no.13. E: see above, no.13.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**

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15	**Le berger** D: 32v-33r; A: 31r; B: 32r-33v x,x D, B: "Trium". A: "Le berger tacet". C: *Trente et une chansons musicales a troys* (Attaingnant, 1535), fol.i^{v}: [Anonymous]. *La Couronne et chansons fleur des à troy* (Antico, 1536), no.7: N. Revez. D-Mbs 1516, no.147: [Anonymous].	**[N. Revez]**
16	**Jattens secours** D: 33v; A: 31v; B: 33r-v x,x,x C: 1528^{3}, fol.20v: Claudin. D-Mbs 1501, no.46: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.73.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
17	**Amour et mort** D: 33v-34r; A: 31v-32r; B: 33v x,x,x C: 1529^{3}, no.13: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX5-9, no.14: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.42: [Anonymous]. E: SeayTC, no.7.	**[Anonymous]**
18	**Lecont est ryche** **(=Le content est riche)** D: 34r-v; A: 32r-v; B: 34r x,x,x C: 1528^{3}, fol.9v: Claudin. A-Wn 18811, fol.64: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.56: [Anonymous]. D-DZs 4003 Bk.2, no.52, 74: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.5: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R. 940/41, no.109: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/4, no.96.	**[Sermisy/ Gombert]**
19	**Tant que vivray** D: 35r; A: 32r; B: 34v x,x,x C: 1528^{3}, fol.2v: [Anonymous]. 1535^{7}, no.6: Claudin. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.27: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.4: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.1: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.108: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/4, no.150.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
20	**Il est iour** D: 35v-36r; A: 33r-v; B: 35r-v x,x,x C: 1528^{3}, fol.7v: Claudin. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.56: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.78: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.4: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.118: [Anonymous]. D-Usch 236A-D, no.38: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.59.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
21	**Frere thibant (A)** **(=Frere Thibault)** D: 36r-v; A: 33v-34r; B: 35v-36r x,x,x C: 1538^{13}, fol.i^{v}: Certon. E: CertonCP 1, no.31.	**[Pierre Certon]**
22	**Nostre vicaire** D: 37r-v; A: 34v-35r; B: 36v-37r x,x,x C: 1538^{14}, fol.x^{v}: Heurteur. E: PÄM 23, no.29.	**[Guillaume Le Heurteur]**
23	**Ce moys de may** D: 38r-v; A: 35v; B: 37r-v x,x,x C: 1538^{13}, fol.v^{v}: Godart. E: PÄM 23, no.25.	**[Godart/Lortin]**
24	**Languisant suys (A)** D: 38v-39r; A: 36r-v; B: 37v-38r x,x,x A (fol.36v, above the first system): "O holder bluth". C: 1540^{13}, fol.xvi^{v}: Villiers.	**[P. de Villiers]**
25	**Doulce mtoire (B)** **(=Doulce mémoire)** D: 39v; A: 36v-37r; B: 38v-39r x,x,x C: 1538^{11}, fol.iiii^{v}: Sandrin. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.58: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.54: [Anonymous]. CH-Sitten, Kapitalarchiv Tir 87-4, fol.8v-9r: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.24: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.25: Manchicourt. D-Usch 235A-D, no.12 (Buess wierscht): [Anonymous]. E; CMM 47, no.4.	**[Sandrin/ Manchicourt]**
26	**Si mon** **(=Sy mon travail vous peut donner)** D; 40r; A: 37r-v; B: 39r x,x,x C: 1538^{11}, fol.vii^{v}: Sandrin. E: CMM 47, no.7.	**[Pierre Sandrin]**
27	**Le devil** **(=Dueil, double dueil)** D: 40v; A: 37v-38r; B: 39r x,x,x C: 1538^{11}, fol.vii^{v}: Maillart.	**[Jean Maillard]**
28	**De retourner** D: 41r; A: 38r; B: 39r-v x,x,x C: 1529^{3}, fol.12v: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.62: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 20, p.162.	**[Claudin de Sermisy?]**
29	**Ami hellas** D: 41v; A: 38v; B: 40r x,x,x C: 1529^{3}, fol.6v: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.51: [Anonymous]. E: Mbs1516, no.51.	**[Anonymous]**
30	**Le coeur de vous (A)** D: 41v-42r; A: 38v-39r; B: 40v x,x,x C: 1529^{3}, fol.4v: Claudin. D-Mbs 1516, no.47: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/4, no.93.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
31	**Secourez moy (A)** D: 42r-v; A: 39r-v; B: 40v-41r x,x,x C: 1528^{3}, fol.1v: Claudin. D-Mbs 1501, no.37: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/4, no.139.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
32	**Dont vien cela** D: 42v-43r; A: 39v-40r; B: 41r-v x,x,x C: see above, no.13. E: see above, no.13.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
33	**Mon triste** D: 43r; A: 40r; B: 41v x,x,x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**

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34	**Le iaune** D: 43r-v; A: 40r-v; B: 41v-42r x,x,x C: [1528][7], fol.11v: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.96: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 20, p.108.	[Anonymous]
35	**Vostre bon (B)** **(=Vostre bon bruyt bonheurme?)** D: 43v; A: 40v; B: 42r x,x,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
36	**Iay deul (A)** **(=Jay double duell que?)** D: 44r; A: 41r; B: 42r x,x,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
37	**Deul** **(=Dueil, double dueil)** D: 44r-v; A: 41v; B: 43r x,x,x C: 1530[4], fol.v: [Anonymous]. 1536[3], no.11: Hesdin. D-Mbs 1501, no.39: [Anonymous]. E: Cw 15, p.4.	[Hesdin/Lupi]
38	**Or myrende** **(=Or my rendez)** D: 44v-45v; A: 42r-v; B: 43v-44r x,x,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
39	**Ales uous (B)** D: 45v-46r; A: 42v-43r; B: 44r-v x,x,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
40	**Dues vons labiche (A)** D: 46r-47r; A: 43r-v; B: 45r-v x,x,x D, A, B (above the first system): "Ein welsche schlacht". C: none.	[Anonymous]
41	**Ie ne scay** **(=Je ne scay pas comment)** D: 47r; B: 45v x,x C: 1529[4], fol.5v: [Anonymous]. CH-Sitten, Kapitalarchiv Tir.87-4, fol.17 : [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.33: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.114: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 20, p.37.	[Anonymous]
42	**Ie ne fays** D: 47v; B: 46r x,x C: 1528[4], fol.2: [Anonymous]. 1536[2], no.27: Claudin. E: CMM 20, p.157; CMM 52/3, no.77.	[Claudin de Sermisy]
43	**De tous bien** **(=De tous biens plaine)** D: 47v-48r; B: 46r-v C: cf. BrownFST, p.204, no.73.	[Anonymous]
44	**Ein tantz** D: 48r; B: 46v x,x D, B: "Trium". C: none.	[Anonymous]
45	**Ein tantz** D: 48v; B: 46v-47r x,x D, B: "Trium". C: none.	[Anonymous]
46	**Escoutes** **(=La guerre)** D: 48v-49r; B: 47r-48r x,x (Inscription:) "Weilender schlacht". **Fan fan frylaren (pars 2)** D: 49v-51v; B: 48r-50r x,- C: Chansons de maistre Clément Janequin (1528). E: JanequinCP 1, no.3.	[Clément Janequin]
47	**In te domine speravi** D: 52r; B: 50v x,x C: 1504[4], fol.50: Josquin Dascanio. 1538[8], no.1: Joskin Dascanio. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.68: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.25: Josquinos Pratensis. D-Mu 326, fol.13: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R. 940/41, no.42: Joskin Dascanio E: RhauMD 3, no.1; JosquinGA WM 2, no.25.	[Josquin des Prez]
48	**Ging gang glogen (B)** D: 52r-v; B: 50v-51r x,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
49	**[Jesaia dem Propheten]** B: 51v-52v - C: 1534[71],no.35: Johann Walter. 1544[71], no.48: Johann Walter. E: WalterSW 1, no.52. **[Notational pen trials]** B: 53r-54r (on folio.53r under the second system:) "Nostre vicaire". **[Blank]** D: 53r-65v; B: 54v-63v	[Johann Walter]

Inventory G
Basel University Library MS F IX 59-62

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
[I]	**P[aule, Paule]** D, A, T, B: Ir -,-,-,- C: D-Ngm HB 19187: [Anonymous]. E: Richter, p.75; CrosbyFS, p.98. L: CrosbyFS, p.29. **(Blank)** D, A, T, B: Iv **Ein ausszug guter alter und newer teutscher liedlein, Nürnberg: Johan Petreius 1543 [= RISM 1543[24]].** E: EDM 20. **(Blank)** D, A, B: 1r **(Title page:) Hernach volgt allerley Compositzion** T: 1r	**[Anonymous]**
1	**Vergangen ist mir glück (Pars. 1)** D, A, T, B: 1v-2r t,t,t2,t C: none. E: DTÖ 14/1, p.128.	**15.IH.58 [= Iacob Hagenbach 1558]**
2	**Beclag dich nit (Pars. 2)** D, A, T, B: 2v-3r t,t,t2,t C: none. E: DTÖ 14/1, p.131.	**15.IH.64 [= Iacob Hagenbach 1564]**
3	**Ach hülff mich leyd** D, A, T, B: 3v-4r x,x,x,x C: [1513][3], fol.24v: [Anonymous]. [1519][5], no.22: [Anonymous]. *Dodecachordon*, p.262: Adam ab Fulda. CH-Bu FX10, no.26: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.52: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.53: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 462, fol.3v: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, fol.58v, 116v: Adam de Fulda. E: SMD 5, no.4; AichLB, no.21.	**[Adam von Fulda]**
4	**Zum zwire zum zware** D, A, T, B: 4r x,x,x,x C: CH-Bu FX17-20, no.84: Anonymous.	**[Anonymous]**
5	**Il bianc e dolce** D, A, T, B: 4v x,x,x,x C: 1539[22], no.1: Archadelt. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.92: Archadelt. D-Usch 236A-D, no.106: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 31/2, no.18.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
6	**Elle voyant** D: 5v; A, T: 5v-6r; B: 5v x,x,x,x C: 1547[8], no.7: Certon E: CertonCP 3, no.98; SCCh 6, no.21.	**[Pierre Certon]**
7	**Pungente dardo** D: 5v; A, T: 5v-6r; B: 5v x,x,x,x C: 1539[22], no.2: Archadelt. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.88: Jachet Berchem. D-Usch 236A-D, no.108: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 31/2, no.41.	**[Arcadelt/ Berchem]**
8	**Quanta belta** D, A, T, B: 6r x,x,x,x C: 1539[22], no.33: Archadelt. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.59: Archadelt. E: CMM 31/2, no.46.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
9	**Poss io morir di mala morte** D, A, T, B: 6v x,x,x,x C: 1539[22], no.34: Archadelt. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.90: Archadelt. E: CMM 31/2, no.40.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
10	**Pleures mes** D, A, T, B: 7r x,x,x,x C: 1539[17], no.17: Sandrin. 1549[18], no.26: Sandrin. E: CMM 47, no.18.	**[Pierre Sandrin]**
11	**La palme** D, A, T, B: 7v x,x,x,x, C: 1549[18], no.27: Gardane.	**[Antonio Gardane]**
12	**Je prens** D, A, T, B: 8r x,x,x,x C: 1539[16], no.11: Clemens. 1540[16], fol.32: Janequin. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.86: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.131: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.53: Rogirus. E: CMM 4, p.16.	**[Clemens non papa/Baston/ Janequin/Rogier]**
13	**De müll emays (=De mille ennuis)** D, A, T, B: 8v x,x,x,x C: 1559[14], no.73: Archadelt E: CMM 31/9, no.73.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
14	**Helas mon Dieu** D, A, T, B: 8v-9r x,x,x,x C: 1549[18], no.22: Maillard. E: JanequinCP 3, no.111; SCCh 18, no.25.	**[Janequin/ Maillard]**
15	**Au feu** D, A, T, B: 9r x,x,x,x C: 1542[14], no.20: Maillard 1549[18], no.21: Maillard D-Mbs 1508, no.55: Maillart. E: SCCh 18, no.17.	**[Jean Maillard]**

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16	**Vitam que** D, A, T, B: 9v-10r x,x,x,x C: 1556[15], no.55: Archadelt CH-Bu FX17-20, no.87: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.107a (Text only): [Anonymous]. E: CMM 31/8, no.55.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
17	**Celle qui** D, A, T, B: 10v x,x,x,x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
18	**Ne veueille amy** D, T: 10v-11r; A, B: 11r x,x,x,x C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
19	**Au temps** D, A, T, B: 11v-12r x,x,x,x C: 1539[15], no.17: Archadelt E: CMM 31/8, no.4.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
20	**Mon dieu** **(=Si vous m'aymez donnez)** D, A, T, B: 12r x,x,x,x A (over the first system): "Der Alt is im Bass". B (over the first system): "Der Bass ist im Alt". C: 1532[12], fol.9v: Claudin E: CMM 52/4, no.148.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
21	**Viate tansionis** **(=Vivray je tousjours)** D, A, T, B: 12v x,x,x,x C: 1531[2], fol.7r: Claudin. D-DZs 4003 Bk.1, no.40: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.11: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/4, no.164.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
22	**En seupirant** **(=En soupirant les griefz)** D, A, T, B: 12v-13r x,x,x,x C: (1528)[8], no.9: [Anonymous].	**[Anonymous]**
23	**Poi chio vedo** D, A, T, B: 13r x,x,x,x C: 1520[7], fols. 24v-25v: Carra. CH-Bu FX21, no.7: [Anonymous].	**[Marcheto Carra]**
24	**Jay fays** **(=J'ay fait pour vous)** D, A, T, B: 13v x,x,x,x C: 1530[3], fol.11r: Claudin. E: CMM 52/3, no.63.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
25	**Ami suffre** **(=Amy souffrez)** D, A, T, B: 14r x,x,x,x C: 1529[4], fol.6v: [Anonymous] . *Premier livre de chanson*, Paris, Le Roy and Ballard, fol.18: Moulu. CH-Bu FIX22, no.48 (Intab.): [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FIX56, no.1 (Intab.): [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.16: [Anonymous] D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.105: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 20, p.155; CMM 52/3, no.9.	**[Sermisy/ Le Heurteur/ Moulu]**
26	**Domour me plaiis** **(=D'amour me plains)** D, A, T, B: 14v-15r x,x,x,x C: 1539[15-16], no.15: Rogier. D-Mbs 1501, no.12 [Anonymous]. E: PÄM 23, no.49.	**[Rogier Pathie]**
27	**Tant que vivray** D, A, T, B: 15r x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], fol.2v: [Anonymous]. 1535[7], no.6: Claudin. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.4: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.19: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.1: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.108: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/4, no.150.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
28	**No ch'io** D, A, T, B: 15v x,x,x,x C: 1539[22], no.5: Archadelt. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.93: Archadelt. E: CMM 31/2, no.32.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
29	**Deb dinimus** **(=Deh dimm'amor se l'alma]** D, A, T, B: 16r x,x,x,x C: 1539[22], no.35: Archadelt. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.94: Archadelt. E: CMM 31/2, no.11.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
30	**Io dico** D, A, T, B: 16v x,x,x,x C: 1539[22], no.36: Archadelt. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.95: Archadelt. E: CMM 31/2, no.23.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
31	**Die schlacht in kurtz** **Die kurtz schlacht (D,A,B)** D, A, T, B: 17r x,x,x,x C: Brown 154?[6], no.33: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.5: [Anonymous]. E: *Fröhliche Musik*, edited by F. J. Giesbert (Kassel, 1965), no.19.	**[Anonymous]**
32	**Languir [me fais]** D, A, T, B: 17v x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], fol.21v: Claudin. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.9: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.12: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.2: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.102: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.87.	**[Sermisy/ Mouton]**
33	**Ces fascheux sotz** D, A, T, B: 18r x,x,x,x C: 1529[4], no.8: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.88: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.19: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.103: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 20, p.131.	**[Anonymous]**
34	**So trinckhen wir alle** D, A, T, B: 18v xx,x,x,x C: 1536[9], no.45: Arnoldus de Bruck. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.29: [Anonymous].	**[Arnold von Bruck]**

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35	**Je cherche autant amour** D: 19r; A, T, B: 18v-19r x,x,x,x C: 1545[12], no.2: Boyvin. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.85: [Anonymous].	**[Boyvin/ Crecquillon]**
36	**Puis que [vivre en servitude]** D, A, T, B: 19r x,x,x,x C: 1548[3], no.20: Sandrin. E: CMM 47, no.45.	**[Sandrin/ Arcadelt]**
37	**O sio potessi donna** D, B: 19v; A, T: 19v-20r x,x,x,x C: 1539[22], no.20: Archadelt. D-HB XXXII-XXXIV/6, no.1 (Erhalt uns her): [Anonymous]. E: CMM 31/2, no.38.	**[Arcadelt/ Berchem]**
38	**La volunte** D, A, T, B: 20r x,x,x,x C: 1543[12], no.9: Sandrin. 1549[18], no.15: Sandrin. E: CMM 47, no.29.	**[Pierre Sandrin]**
39	**Helas amy** D, A, T, B: 20v x,x,x,x C: 1538[14], no.3: [Anonymous]. 1549[18], no.14: Sandrin. D-Mbs 1508, no.46: Sandrin. E: CMM 47, no.11.	**[Pierre Sandrin]**
40	**Coment puis** D, A, T, B: 20v-21r x,x,x,x C: 1545[12], fol.3v: Claudin. 1549[18], no.5: Claudin. E: CMM 52/3, no.31.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
41	**Helas mes** D, A, T, B: 21r x,x,x,x C: 1553[23], no.29: Archadelt. E: CMM 31/8, no.29.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
42	**Tant plus (je metz)** D, A, T, B: 21v x,x,x,x C: *Quart libre de chansons* [Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1561), fol.2. E: SCCh 18, no.35.	**[Jean Maillard]**
43	**Ryen** **(=Rien est plus)** D, A, T, B: 22r C: 1549[18], no.10: De villiers.	**[Pierre de Villiers]**
44	**Joi santz** **(=Joyssance vous donneray)** D, A, T, B: 22v x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], no.5: Claudin. A-Wn 18810, no.21: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.71: [Anonymous]. D-DZsa 4003 Bk.1, no.57: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.6: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.104: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.85.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
45	**Sussanna** **(=Susanne ung jour)** D, A, T, B: 22v-23r x,x,x,x C: Lupi, Premier livre de chansons spirituelles 1548. CH-Bu FIX32-35, no.29: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.61: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.72: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.10: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.4[a] [Anonymous]. D-Usch 235A-D, no.26: [Anonymous]. E: LevySUJ, p.403.	**[Pierre Sandrin]**
46	**Si ja du bien** D, A, T, B: 23r x,x,x,x C: 1547[9], no.10: Sandrin. E: CMM 47, no.40.	**[Pierre Sandrin]**
47	**Ce qui est** D, A, T, B: 23v x,x,x,x C: 1543[7], no.3: Sandrin. E: CMM 47, no.24.	**[Pierre Sandrin]**
48	**Amour voiant** D, A, T, B: 24r x,x,x,x C: 1534[13], no.21: Claudin. 1549[18], no.9: Claudin. E: CMM 53/3, no.8.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
49	**O come heureux** D, A, T, B: 24v x,x,x,x C: 1540[14], no.2: Certon. 1549[18], no.7: Certon. E: CertonPC 2, no.48; SCCh 6, no.39.	**[Pierre Certon]**
50	**Plus jele voi** **(=Plus je la voy)** D, A, T, B: 25r x,x,x,x C: 1543[12], no.8: Belin.	**[Guillaume Belin]**
51	**O triste adieu** D, A, T, B: 25v x,x,x,x C: 1540[14], no.1: Certon. 1549[18], no.6: Certon. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no. E: CertonPC 2, no.47.	**[Pierre Certon]**
52	**Je uai point** **(=Je n'ay point)** D, A, T, B: 25v-26r x,x,x,x C: 1545[12], no.7: Claudin. A-Wn 18811, fol.8: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.75.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
53	**Se jai pour vous** D, A, T, B: 26r x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], no.6: Claudin. A-Wn 18811, fol.63: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.58: [Anonymous]. D-DZs 4003 Bk.2, no.55: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.45: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/4, no.143.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
54	**Amour de moy** D, A, T, B: 26v x,x,x,x C: *Quart livre de chansons* (Paris: La Roy & Ballard 1533), fol.9. E: SCCh 6, no.17.	**[Pierre Certon]**

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55	**Veälant honneur** **(=Voulant honneur)** D, A, T, B: 27r x,x,x,x C: 1545[12], no.8: Sandrin. 1549[18], no.12: Sandrin. E: CMM 47, no.36.	**[Pierre Sandrin]**
56	**Ill es jour** D, A, T, B: 27v x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], no.7: Claudin. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.78: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.20: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.4: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.118: [Anonymous]. D-Usch 235A-D, no.38 (Gehab euch wol): [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.59.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
57	**Qui demoeurt** **(=Qu'esse d'amour)** D, A, T, B: 28r x,x,x,x C: [1528][6], no.6: [Anonymous]. 1529[3], no.6: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.44: [Anonymous]. E: Mbs1516, p.127.	**[Anonymous]**
58	**Dulce memori** **(=Doulce memoire)** D, A, T, B: 28v-29r x,x,x,x C: 1538[11], no.7: Sandrin. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.54: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.25: [Anonymous]. CH-Sitten, Kapitalarchiv Tir 87-4, fol.8v-9r: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.24: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.25: Manchicourt. D-Usch 235A-D, no.12 (Buess wierscht): [Anonymous]. D-Usch 236A-D, no.33: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 47, no.4.	**[Sandrin/ Manchicourt]**
59	**Mille regres** D, A, T, B: 29r x,x,x,x C: 1549[29], fol.9v: Io. de Pres. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.21: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.40: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.22: [Anonymous]. E: JosquinGA WW 3, no.24.	**[Josquin Desprez]**
60	**Ille humilis (Pars. 1)** D, A, T, B: 29v-30r x,x,x,x A: "Der Alt ist im Tenor". T: "Der Tenor ist im Alt". C: CH-Bu FIX63, no.1: [Anonymous].	**[Anonymous]**
61	**Stetit acer im armis (Pars.2)** D, A, T, B: 30v-31r x,x,x,x C: CH-Bu FIX63, no.2: [Anonymous].	**[Anonymous]**
62	**Quand'io pens al martire** D, A, T, B: 31v-32r x,x,x,x C: 1539[22], no.60: Archadelt. D-Mbs 1501, no.42: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.79: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 31/2. no.44.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
63	**Ich schwing min horn** D, A, T, B: 32v x,x,x,x C: 1544[20], no.57: Ludovicus Senfflius. 1549[37], no.9: Ludo. Senfl. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.57 : [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA 5, no.44; EDM 61, no.9.	**[Ludwig Senfl]**
64	**Gravi pene in amor** D, T, B: 32v-33r x,x,x C: 1542[18], no. 60: Archadelt CH-Bu FX17-20, no.81: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 31/7, no.60.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
65	**In giustissimus amor** D, T, B: 33v-34r x,x,x C: 1537[7], no.58: [Anonymous]. 1542[18], no.58: Archadelt. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.82: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 31/7, no.58.	**[Jacques Arcadelt]**
66	**Ampre de vous** **(=Au pres de vous)** D, T, B: 34v; A: 32v-33r x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], no.22: [Anonymous]. (1528[6]), no.3: Claudin. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.8: [Anonymous]. D-DZs 4003, Bk.1, no.1: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.36: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.42: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 20, p.57; CMM 52/3, no.14. L: Daniel Heartz, "*Au pres de vous*: Claudin's Chanson and the Commerce of Publishers' Arrangements," *JAMS* XXIV (1971), pp.193-225.	**[Sermisy/ Jacotin]**
67	**Laus deo** D, T, B: 35r; A: 33r x,x,x,x C: 1538[8], no.52: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.60: [Anonymous]. E: RhauMD 3, no.52.	**[Anonymous]**
68	**Nie noch nimer** D, T, B: 35r; A; 33v x,x,x,x C: [1513][3], fol.6r: [Anonymous]. [1519][5], no.3: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX17-20, no.27: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX10, no.27: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, fol.58, 116: [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.6.	**[Anonymous]**
69	**O werder mundt** D, T, B: 35v; A: 33v-34r x,x,x,x C: [1519][5], no.16 (Tenor only): [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.11: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX 1-4, no.50 (Tenor only): Franciscus Strus. CH-SGs 463, no.68 (Tenor only): [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.16.	**[F. Strus]**
70	**Fuggi fuggi [cor mio]** D, A, T, B: 35v-36r x,x,x,x C: 1537[9], no.6: Verdelot. D-Dlb MUS. 1/E/24, fol.32 (Freudt euch): [Anonymous]. E: SCMd 28, no.17.	**[Philippe Verdelot]**

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71	**Ich stell licht ab von sollicher hab** D, B: 36v; A: 35v; T: 36v-37r x,x,x3,x C: none. **[Blank]** D: 37v-40r; A: 36r-41r; T: 37v-38r; B: 37r-41r	[Anonymous]
72	**Bewar mich herr** D: 40v-41r; A: 41v-42r; T: 38v-39r; B: 41v-42r x,x,x,x C: 1578[71], no.16: [Anonymous]. CH-Sitten, Kapitalarchiv, Tir. 87-5: [Anonymous]. CH-Sitten, Kapitalarchiv, Tir.87-4, no.7: St. Zirler. CH-Zz T410-413, no.2: [Anonymous].	[Stephan Zirler]
73	**Vngay bergier** D: 41v-42r; A,B: 42v-43r; T: 39v-40r x,x,x,x C: 1543[16]: Crecquillon. D-Usch 236A-D, no.119 (Wach auf): [Anonymous]. **[Blank]** D: 42v-43r; T: 40v; B: 43r **[Alphabetical Index of Text Incipits]** T: 41r-43v **[University Library Stamp, otherwise blank]** A, T: 43v **[Key to the notation on folio Ir]** T: 44r	[Thomas Crecquillon]

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	[Blank and unruled] T: 1r-1v.	
3	**Mein selbs bin ich nit gewallttig** D: 1r; A: 1r; T: 2r; B: 1r. x,x,x,x C: 1549[37], no.20: Ludwig Senfl. E: SenflGA 4, p.12; EDM 61, no.21	**[Ludwig Senfl]**
4	**Danque uiuere** **(=Tant que vivray)** D: 1v; A: 1v; T: 2v; B: 2v. x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], fol.2v: [Anonymous]. 1537[7], no.6: Claudin. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.27 [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.19 [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.1 [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.108 [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/4, no.150.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**
5	**Die schlacht** D: 2r; A:1v-2r; T: 3r; B: 2r x,x,x,x C: Brown 154?[6], no.33: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.31 [Anonymous]. E: *Fröhliche Musik*, edited by F.J. Giesbert (Kassel, 1965), no.19.	**[Anonymous]**
6	**Ain Padoaner** D: 2v; A: 2v; T: 3v-4r; B: 2v x,x,x,x C: none. **[Ruled, otherwise blank]** A: 3r; B: 3r	**[Anonymous]**
7	**Cesta granndt dort** **[= C'est a grant tort]** D: 3r; A: 3v; T: 4v; B: 3v x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], fol.23v: Claudin. D-Mbs 1501, no.35: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.31: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.11: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.22.	**[Sermisy/ Jacotin]**
8	**Ampres** **[=Au pres de vous]** x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], fol.24v: [Anonymous]. (1528)[6], no.3: Claudin. 1536[2], no.18: Jacotin. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.66: [Anonymous]. D-DZs 4003 Bk.1, no.1: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.36: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.42: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 20, p.57; CMM 52/3, no.14. L: Daniel Heartz, *"Au pres de vous:* Claudin's Chanson and the Commerce of Publishers' Arrangements," *JAMS* XXIV (1971), 193ff.	**[Sermisy/ Jacotin]**
9	**Languir [me fais]** D: 4r; A: 4v; T: 5v; B: 4v x,x,x C: 1528[3], fol.21v: Claudin. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.32: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.12: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.2: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.102: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.87.	**[Sermisy/ Mouton]**
10	**Traditora** D: 4r; A: 4v; T: 5v; B: 4v x,x,x,x T: Text und music incipit only; B: Text incipit only. C: none.	**[Anonymous]**
11	**Pacientia** D: 5r; A: 5v; T: 6v; B: 5v x,x,x,x C: 1534[17], no.84: Ludovicus Senflius. 1539[27], no.104: Ludo.Senfl. E: SenflGA 4, no.65; EDM 20, 104.	**[Ludwig Senfl]**
12	**Mein vleiss vnd mühe** D; 5v; A: 6r; T: 7r; B: 6r x,x,x,x C: 1534[17], no.39: Ludovicus Senflius. 1539[27], no.105: Ludo. Senfl. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.4: Ludovicus Senflius. CH-Zz Q901, no.6: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA 4, no.19; EDM 20, no.105.	**[Ludwig Senfl]**
13	**Tröstlicher lieb** D: 6r; A: 6v; T: 7v; B: 6v x,x,x,x C: 1512[1], no.8: [Anonymous]. 1539[27], no.123: Paulus Hoffheymer. CH-Bu FX21, no.18: [Anonymous]. E: HofhaimerGA, p.86; EDM 20, no.123.	**[Paul Hofhaimer].**
14	**Zart schöne frau** D: 6v; A: 7r; T: 8r; B: 7r x,x,x,x C: 1513[2], no.46: [Anonymous]. 1535[10], no.26: [Anonymous]. E: Cw 29, no.28.	**[Anonymous]**
15	**Dant vienczela** **(=Dont vient cela)** D: 7r; A; 7v; T: 8v; B: 7v x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], fol.3v: Claudin. CH-Bu FIX32-35, no.26: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX5-9, no.39: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.13: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.14: [Anonymous]. D-DZs MS 4003, Bk.1, no.8: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.43: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.110: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.43.	**[Claudin de Sermisy]**

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16	**So wünsch ich ir ein guete nacht** D: 7v; A: 8r; T: 9v; B: 8r x,x,x,x C: 1513[2], no.32: [Anonymous]. 1535[10], no.25: Martin Wolff. 1539[27], no.130: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.90: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.130.	**[Wolff/Stolzer]**
17	**Ker wider gläckh mit freiden** D: 8r; A: 8v; T: 9v; B: 8v x,x,x,x C: 1513[2], no.51: [Anonymous]. 1535[10], no.27: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.77: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 61, no.25.	**[Anonymous]**
18	**Der unfaal reit mich gancz vnd gar** D: 8v; A: 9r; T; 10r; B: 9r x,x,x,x C: [1519][5], no.57: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.71: [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.55.	**[Anonymous]**
19	**Mag ich unglückh mit widerstan** D: 9r; A: 9v; T: 10v; B: 9v x,x,x,x C: 1539[27], no.102: Ludou. Senfl. E: SenflGA 5, no.13; EDM 20, no.102.	**[Ludwig Senfl]**
20	**Ich rew und clag** D: 9v; A: 10r; T: 11r; B: 10r x,x,x,x C: [1519][5], no.52: [Anonymous]. 1535[10], no.33: [Anonymous]. 1539[27], no.121: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.66: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.121; AichLB, no.50.	**[Georg Brack]**
21	**Mille regres** D: 10r; A: 10v; T: 11v; B: 10v x,x,x,x C: 1549[29], fol.9v: Io. de Pres. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.59: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.40: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.22: [Anonymous]. E: JosquinGA WW 3, no.24.	**[Josquin Desprez]**
22	**Ich clag den tag** D: 10v; A: 11r; T; 12r; B: 11r x,x,x,x C: 1539[27], no.33: Thomas Stoltzer. CH-Bu FIX32-35, no.10: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.80: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.18: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.33.	**[Thomas Stolzer]**
23	**Der Ludl und der Jänsl** D: 11r; A: 11v; T: 12v; B: 11v x,x,x,x C: 1536[9], no.10: Heinrich Finck. 1549[36], no.63: L. Heidenhamer.	**[Heidenhamer/ Finck]**
24	**Wolf khumbt der May** D: 11v; A: 12r; T: 13r; B: 12r x,x,x,x C: 1534[17], no.56: Ludovicus Senflius. 1539[27], no.66: Wolff Grefinger. CH-Bu FX1-4, no.41: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA 4, no.36; EDM 20, no.66.	**[Senfl/Grefinger]**
25	**Nach willen dein** D: 12r; A: 12v; T: 13v; B: 12v x,x,x,x C: 1512[1], no.26: [Anonymous]. 1539[27], no.43: Paulus Hoffheymer. CH-Bu FX21, no.3: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.15: [Anonymous]. E: HofhaimerGA, no.16; EDM 20, no.43.	**[Paul Hofhaimer]**
26	**Was wird es doch** D: 12v; A: 13r; T: 14r; B: 13r x,x,x,x C: 1534[17], no.46: Ludouicus Senflius. 1539[27], no.24: Lud. Senfl. CH-Bu FX21, no.2: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 462, fol.72v: Ludovicus Senflius. CH-SGs 463, no.78: [Anonymous]. CH-Zz Q901, no.11: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA 4, no.26; EDM 20, no.24; SMD 5, no.87.	**[Ludwig Senfl]**
27	**Nie noch nimmer** D: 13r; A: 13v; T: 14v; B: 13v x,x,x,x C: [1513][3], fol.6r: [Anonymous]. [1519][5], no.3: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.68: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX10, no.27: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.49: [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.3.	**[Anonymous]**
28	**Mein ainigs A** D: 13v; A: 14r; T; 15r; B: 14r x,x,x,x C: [1519][5], no.6: [Anonymous]. 1535[10], no.32: [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.6	**[Anonymous]**
29	**So trinckhen wir alle** **So essen wir alle** (D2) D: 14; A: 14v; T: 15v; B: 14v xx,x,x,x C: 1536[9], no.45: Arnoldus de Bruck. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.34: [Anonymous].	**[Arnoldus de Bruck]**
30	**Von edler art** D: 14v-15r; A: 15r; T: 16r: B: 15r x,x,x,x C: 1549[71], no.14: Caspar Othmayr.	**[Caspar Othmayr]**
31	**Ich soll und muss ein bulen han** D: 15v; A: 15v; T: 16v; B: 15v x,x,x,x C: 1544[20], no.7: Ludouicus Senfflius. 1549[37], no.60: G. Othmayr. E: EDM 61, no.60.	**[Othmayr/Senfl]**
32a	**Geduld solt han** D: 16r; A: 16r-16v; T: 17r; B: 16r x,x,xx,x T: "Fuga in diapente". C: 1549[71], no.32: Caspar Othmayr. L: JennyGGS, p.252.	**[Caspar Othmayr]**
32b	**O werder mund** D: 16v; A: 17r; T: 17v; B: 16v x,x,x,x C: 1549[71], no.49: Caspar Othmayr. E: BernHZ, p.102.	**[Caspar Othmayr]**
33	**Mit lust thet ich ausreitten** D: 17r; A: 17v; T: 18r; B: 17r x,x,x,x C: 1544[20], no.25: Ludouicus Senfflius 1549[37], no.30: G. Othmayr E: EDM 61, no.30.	**[Othmayr/Senfl]**
34	**Baur, baur was tregst im sackhe** D: 17v; A: 18r: T: 18v; B: 17v x,x,x,x C: 1549[71], no.10: Caspar Othmayr.	**[Caspar Othmayr]**
35	**Ich armer boss** D: 18r; A: 18v; T: 19r; B: 18r x,x,x,x C: 1549[71], no.11: Caspar Othmayr.	**[Caspar Othmayr]**
36	**Ich armer boss** D: 18v; A: 19r; T: 19v; B: 18v x,x,x,x C: 1549[71], no.17: Caspar Othmayr.	**[Caspar Othmayr]**

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37	**Ursach thut vill** D: 19r; A: 19v; T: 20r; B: 19r x,x,x,x C: 1549[71], no.47: Caspar Othmayr.	[Caspar Othmayr]
38	**Es ist ein schnee gefallen** D: 19v; A: 20r; T: 20v; B: 19v x,x,x,x C: 1549[71], no.48: Caspar Othmayr.	[Caspar Othmayr]
39	**Ich wais mir ein feins brauns maidelein** D: 20r-19v; A: 20v-21r; T: 21r-20v; B: 20r-19v x,x,x,x C: 1549[71], no.2: Caspar Othmayr.	[Caspar Othmayr]
40	**O höchste frucht** D: 20v; A: 21v; T: 21v; B: 20v x,x,x,x C: [1513][3], fol.18: [Anonymous].	[Anonymous]
41	**Holzsalige fraw dein stoltzer lieb** D: 21r; A: 22r; T: 22r; B: 21r x,x,x,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
42	**Nach dir ist all mein sach gericht** D: 21v; A: 22v; T: 22v; B: 21v x,x,x,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
43	**Bewar dich gott mein kaiserin** D: 22r; A: 23r; T: 23r; B: 22r x,x,x,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
44	**Ich brin und far dahin** D: 22v-23r; A: 23v-24r; T: 23v-24r; B: 22v-23r x,x,x,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
45	**Wach auf mein hochster hort** D: 23v; A: 24v; T: 24v; B: 23v x,x,x,x C: 1536[9], no.20: Heinrich Finck. E: CMM 70, no.30.	[Heinrich Finck]
46	**Ich stund an ainem morgen** D: 24r; A: 25r; T: 25r; B: 24r x,x,x,x C: 1536[9], no.18: Heinrich Finck. CH-Bu FX1-4, no.64: Henricus Finck. E: CMM 70, no.28.	[Heinrich Finck]
47	**Ein frolichs wesen** D: 24v; A: 25v; T: 25v; B: 24v x,x,x,x C: [1519][5], no.29: [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.28.	[Anonymous]
48	**Ein frolichs wesen** D: 25r; A: 26r; T: 26r; B: 25r x,x,x,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
49	**Die schlacht** (B) **(=Escoutez vous gentilz)** D: 25v-26r; A: 26v-27r; T: 26v-27r; B: 25v-26r x,x,x,x C: *Chanson de maistre Clement Janequin* (1528). CH-Bu FX22-24, no.46: [Anonymous]. E: JanequinCP 1, no.3.	[Clement Janequin?]
50	**Ach hilff mich lait** D: 26v-27r; A: 27v-28r; T: 27v-28r; B: 26v-27r x,x,x,x C: [1513][3], fol.24v: [Anonymous]. [1519][5], no.22: [Anonymous]. *Dodecachordon*, p.262: Adam ab Fulda. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.3: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX10, no.26: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.53: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 462, fol.3v: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.163: Adam de Fulda. E: SMD 5, no.4; AichLB, no.21.	[Adam von Fulda]
51	**Mein ainigs a** D: 27v; A: 28v; T: 28v; B: 27v x,x,x,x C: [1513][3], fol.30: [Anonymous]. [1519][5], no.12: [Anonymous]. 1539[27], no.29: Paulus Hoffheymer. CH-Bu FIX22, no.8 (Intab.): [Anonymous]. E: HofhaimerGA, p.66; EDM 20, no.29; AichLB, no.12.	[Paul Hofhaimer]
52	**Eer gib ich dir** D: 28r; A: 29r; T: 29r; B: 28r x,x,x,x C: 1539[27], no.119: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX1-4, no.65: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.50 (Wem gelt): [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.24a (Wem gelt): [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.119a.	[Anonymous]
53	**Lecorpor seiua** **(=Le corps s'en va)** D: 28v; T: 29v; B: 28v x,x,x C: [1528][5], no.9: [Anonymous]. *Second livre de chansons a 3*, Paris: Le Roy et Ballard 1578, fol.7v: Consilium. D-Mbs 1516, no.144: [Anonymous]. E: HeartzPCD, no.49. **[Ruled, otherwise blank]** D: 29r; T: 30r; B: 29r	[Jean Conseil]
54	**Dulce memore** D: 29v-30r; A: 29v-30r; T: 30v-31r: B: 29v-30r x,x,x,x C: 1538[11], no.7: Sandrin. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.58: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.25: [Anonymous]. CH-Sitten, Kapitalarchiv, Tir 87-4, fols.8v-9r: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.24: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.25: Manchicourt. D-Usch 235A-D, no.12 (Buess wierscht): [Anonymous]. E: CMM 47, no.4	[Sandrin/ Manchicourt]
55	**Das My** D: 30v-31r; T: 31v-32r; B: 30v-31r x,x,x C: none.	[Anonymous]
56	**Le Contant** **(=Le content est riche)** D: 31v-32r; A: 30v-31r; T: 32v-33r; B: 31v-32r x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], no.8: Claudin. A-Wn 18811, fol.64: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.18: [Anonymous]. D-DZs 4003 Bk.2, no.52, 74: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.5: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R. 940/41, no.109: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/4, no.96.	[Sermisy/ Gombert]
57	**Ich schwing min horn** D: 32v; A: 31v; T: 33v; B: 32v x,x,x,x C: 1544[20], no.57: Ludovicus Senfflius. 1549[37], no.9: Ludo. Senfl. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.63: [Anonymous]. E: SenflGA 5, no.44; EDM 61, no.9.	[Ludwig Senfl]

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58	**Se jay pour vous** D: 33r; A: 32r; T: 34r; B: 33r x,x,x,x C: [1528][3], no.6: Claudin. A-Wn 18811, fol.63: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.53: [Anonymous]. D-DZs 4003 Bk.2 no.55: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.45: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/4, no.143.	[Claudin de Sermisy]
59	**Ceser benedicite** D: 33v; A: 32v; T: 34v; B: 33v x,x,x,x C: D-Usch 235A-D, no.57: [Anonymous].	[Georgius Cesar?]
60	**Laus deo** D: 34r; A: 33r; T: 35r; B: 34r x,x,x,x C: 1538[8], no.52: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FIX 59-62, no.67: [Anonymous]. E: RhauMD 3, no.52.	[Anonymous]
61	**Sussanne** **(=Susanne ung jour)** D: 34v-35r; A: 33v-34r; T: 35v-36r; B: 34v-35r x,x,x,x C: Lupi, *Premier livre de chansons spirituelles* 1548. CH-Bu FIX32-35, no.29: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.45: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.72: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.10: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.49: [Anonymous]. D-Usch 235A-D, no.26: [Anonymous]. E: LevySUJ, p.403.	[Didier Lupi Second]
62	**Min hertz hat sich mit lieb verpflicht** D: 35v; A: 34v; T: 36v; B: 35v x,x,x,x C: 1512[1], no.20: [Anonymous]. 1539[27], no.78: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX1-4, no.3: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.60: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.24a: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.78.	[Anonymous]
63	**Der hund mir vor dem liecht** D: 36r; A: 35r; T: 37r; B: 36r x,x,x,x C: [1515][3], no.20: [Anonymous]. 1535[11], no.21: [Anonymous]. 1539[27], no.44: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.44.	[Anonymous]
64	**Von edler arth das alt** D: 35v-37r; A: 35v-36r; T: 37v; B: 36v-37r x,x,x,x C: 1513[2], no.7: Joerg Schoenfelder. 1539[27], no.35: Georgius Schoenfelder. CH-Bu FX21, no.15: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.115: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.35.	[Georg Schönfelder]
65	**Wann ich gedanck** D: 37r; A: 36r; T: 38r; B: 37r x,x,x,x C: CH-Bu FX10, no.5: [Anonymous]. D-Iserlohn, Stadtarchiv IV 36, no.129: [Anonymous].	[Anonymous]
66	**Nun hab ich all min tag gehört** D: 37v; A: 36v; T: 38v; B: 37v x,x,x,x C: 1513[2], no.50: [Anonymous]. 1535[10], no.27: [Anonymous]. D-Iserlohn, Stadtarchiv IV 36, no.36: [Anonymous].	[Anonymous]
67	**Vil freud ernert mich** D; 38r; A; 37r; T: 39r; B: 38r x,x,x,x C: 1513[2], no.38: H. Eytelwein. 1539[27], no.47: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.47.	[Heinrich Eytelwein]
68	**In te domine speravi** D: 38v; A: 37v-38r; T: 39v-40r; B: 38v x,x,x,x C: 1504[4], fol.50: Josquin Dascanio. 1538[8], no.1: Joskin Dascanio. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.47: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.25: Josquinos Pratensis. D-Mu 326, fol.13: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R. 940/41, no.42: Joskin Dascanio. E: RhauMD 3, no.1; JosquinGA WM 2, no.25.	[Josquin Desprez]
69	**Ein medlin sagt mir früntlich zu** D: 39r; A: 38r; T: 40r; B: 39r x,x,x,x C: 1513[2], no.4: Malchinger. 1539[27], no.25: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.88: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX25-26, no.25: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.25.	[Malchinger/ Senfl]
70	**Isbruck ich mues dich lassen** D: 39v; A: 38v; T: 40v; B: 39v x,x,x,x C: 1539[27], no.36: H Jsaac. E: DTÖ 14/1, p.5; EDM 20, no.36.	[Heinrich Isaac]
71	**Joisantz** **(=Joyssance vous donneray)** D: 40r; A: 39r; T; 41r; B: 40r x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], no.5: Claudin. A-Wn 18810, no.21: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.44: [Anonymous]. D-DZsa 4003 Bk.1, no.57: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.6: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.104: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.85.	[Sermisy/la Rue]
72	**Cupido** D: 40v; A: 39v; T; 41v; B; 40v x,x,x,x C: 1512[1], no.5: [Anonymous]. [1519][5], no.25: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX1-4, no.9: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 462, fol.34v: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.65: [Anonymous]. E: SMD 5, no.38; AichLB, no.24.	[Anonymous]
73	**Ach lieb mit leyd** D: 41r; A: 40r; T: 42; B: 41r x,x,x,x C: 1512[1], no.6: [Anonymous]. 1539[27], no.97: Paulus Hoffheymer. CH-Bu FX21, no.36: [Anonymous]. E: HofhaimerGA, p.26; EDM 20, no.97.	[Paul Hofhaimer]
74	**Zucht er und lob** D: 41v-42r; A: 40v-41r; T: 42v-43r; B: 41v-42r x,x,x,x C: 1512[1], no.39: [Anonymous]. [1515][3], no.36: [Anonymous]. 1539[27], no.30: Paulus Hoffheimer. CH-Bu FX1-4, no.6: [Anonymous]. CH-SGs 463, no.174: [Anonymous]. E: HofhaimerGA, p.99; EDM 20, no.30.	[Paul Hofhaimer]

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75	**Ein wechter guet** D: 42v-43r; A: 41v-42r; T: 43v-44r; B: 42v-43r x,x,x,x C: 1539[27], no.32: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.32.	[Anonymous]
76	**Ach medlin rein** D: 43v-44r; A: 42v-43r; T: 44v; B: 43v-44r x,x,x,x C: 1534[17], no.102: Ludovicus Senflius. 1539[27], no.62: Wolff Grefinger. CH-Bu FX1-4, no.72: L[udwig]. S[enfl]. E: SenflGA 4, no.82; EDM 20, no.62.	[Senfl/Grefinger]
77	**Jetz scheiden pringt mir schwer** D: 44r; A: 43v; T: 45r; B: 44r x,x,x,x C: [1519][5], no.2: [Anonymous]. 1535[10], no.29: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX21, no.112 (Text only): [Anonymous]. E: AichLB, no.2.	[Anonymous]
78	**Il est jour** D: 44v-45r; A: 44v; T: 45v-46r; B: 44v-45r x,x,x,x C: 1528[3], no.7: Claudin. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.56: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX22-24, no.20: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.4: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.118: [Anonymous]. D-Usch 236A-D, no.38: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 52/3, no.59.	[Claudin de Sermisy]
79	**Ern wert uff erdt** D: 45v; A: 44v; T: 46v; B: 45v x,x,x,x C: 1539[27], no.107: [Anonymous]. CH-Bu FX1-4, no.69: [Anonymous]. E: EDM 20, no.107.	[Anonymous]
80	**Ich stöll licht ab von sollicher hab** D: 46r; A: 45r; T: 47r; B: 46r x,x,x,x C: [1519][5], no.51: [Anonymous]. 1539[27], no.18: Wolffg. Grefinger. E: EDM 20, no.18; AichLB, no.49.	[Wolfgang Grefinger]
81	**Gravi peni in amor** D: 46v-47r; T: 47v-48r; B: 46v-47r x,x,x C: 1542[18], no.60: Archadelt. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.64: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 31/7, no.60.	[Jacques Arcadelt]
82	**In giustissimus amor** D: 47v-48r; T: 48v-49r; B: 47v-48r x,x,x C: 1537[7], no.58: [Anonymous]. 1542[18], no.58: Archadelt. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.65: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 31/7, no.58.	[Jacques Arcadelt]
83	**Vergangen ist mir glück und heyl** (B) D: 48v; A: 45v; T: 49v-50r; B: 48v x,x,x1,x T (at the end of the text): "Gott ist alle ding / müglich. Anno MDLX"; below the inscription a pen drawing of a rabbit and the words: "duk dich". C: 1539[27], no.15: Georg Forster. E: EDM 20, no.15.	[Georg Forster]
84	**Zum zwire zum zware** D: 49r; A: 46r; T: 50v-51r; B: 49r x,x,x1,x C: CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.4: [Anonymous].	[Anonymous]
85	**Je cerche autant amour** D: 49v-50r; A: 46v-47r; T: 51v-52r; B: 49v-50r x,x,x,x C: 1545[12], no.2: Boyvin. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.35: [Anonymous].	[Boyvin/ Crecquillon]
86	**Je prens** D: 50v-51r; A: 47v-48r; T: 52v-53r; B: 50v-51r x,x,x,x C: 1539[16], no.11: Clemens. 1540[16], fol.32: Janequin. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.12: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1501, no.13: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.53: Rogirus. E: CMM 4, p.14.	[Clemens non Papa/Baston/ Janequin/ Rogirius]
87	**Vittam que** D: 51v-52r; A: 48v-49r; T: 53v-54r; B: 51v-52r x,x,x,x C: 1556[15], no.55: Archadelt. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.16: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 31/8, no.55.	[Jacques Arcadelt]
88	**Ces fascheux sotz** D: 52v-53r; T: 54v-55r; B: 52v-53r x,x,x (Altus missing) C: 1529[4], no.8: Anonymous. CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.33: [Anonymous]. D-Mbs 1516, no.19: [Anonymous]. D-Rp A.R.940/41, no.103: [Anonymous]. E: CMM 20, p.131.	[Anonymous]
	[Ruled, otherwise blank] B: 53v-55r	
	[Blank] D: 53v-88v; A: 49v-92v; T: 55v-74v; B: 55v-91v	
	[Alphabetical Index of Text Incipits] T: 75r-90v	
	[Blank] T: 91r-91v	

Inventory I
Basel University Library MS kk IV 19-22

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
	(Blank and unruled) D, A, T, B: 1r-1v.	
	Guter...teutscher Gesang, Nürnberg, J. Petreius 1544 [= RISM 1544[19]]. D: 2r-79v; A: 2r-85v; T: 2r-79v; B: 2r-77v	
1	**Iubilate deo (pars 1)** **Iubilate domino (B)** D: 80r-81v; A: 86r-87r; B: 78r-78v t,t,t (T missing) C: unknown.	**[Jacob Hagenbach?]**
	Iubilate deo (pars 2) D: 81r-81v; A: 87r-88r; B: 79r-79v t,t,t (T missing) C: unknown.	
	(Ruled, otherwise blank) D: 82r-83r; A: 88v-89r; B: 80r-81r	
	(Blank) D: 83v-90r; A: 89v-100v; T: 80r-80v; B: 81v-89v	

Inventory J
Basel University Library F IX 63

Nr. Mod.	Text Incipit/Content: foliation, number of voices/disposition of text, concordances, editions, literature	Attribution
	In dissem buechlyn fynt man LXXV hubscher Lieder, Koeln, Arnt von Aich [= RISM [1519][5]].	
	E: AichLB.	
	[Blank]	
	D, A, T: 1r-2r; B: 1r-3r	
1	**Ille humilis (pars 1)**	**[Anonymous]**
	D, A, T: 2v-3r; B: 3v-4r	
	x,x,x,x	
	C: CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.60: [Anonymous].	
	Stetit acer in armis (pars 2)	
	D, A, T: 3v-4r; B: 4v-5r	
	x,x,x,x	
	C: CH-Bu FIX59-62, no.61: [Anonymous].	
	[Blank]	
	D, A: 4v-45v; T: 4v-30v; B: 5v-37v	

Inventory K
Basel University Library MS AG V 30: The Songtext Sheets

Key to Symbols: **Md** = Madrigal; **Ch** = Chanson; **Tl** = Tenorlied; **Inst** = Instrumental; **Mt** = Motet; **trs.** = translation; **ctf.** = contrafactum

Pag.	Incipit/Rubric/Titles/ Nr. of Verses/Remarks	Poetic Form	Musical Setting of the Original Text.
208	Wan ich betracht mein leiden **Rubric:** Quand'io pens al matire verteutscht. **Title:** Von schwären leiden eins liebhabers. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Arcadelt setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.62.	**Md/trs.**	[Arcadelt/Merulo/Wynant/Colaianni/Castro]
208	Fleuch, fleuch mein hertz **Rubric:** Fuggi, fuggi cor mio verteutscht. **Title:** Das man die liebe fliechen soll. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Verdelot setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.70.	**Md/trs.**	**Verd.** [=Phillipe Verdelot]
208	Mein hertz das gnadet **Rubric:** Mon ceur recommende verteutscht. **Title:** Es gnadet seiner liebsten **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** RISM 1564 is the earliest printed concordance for the Lasso setting.	**Ch/trs.**	**Orl.** [=Orlando di Lasso]
208	Mit euch mein lieb **Rubric:** Avecques vous mon amour verteutscht. **Title:** Er vermacht im Testament sein hertz die liebsten **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** see Daschner, p.18 for further musical settings.	**Ch/trs.**	[Lassus/L'huyllier/Puy]
208 -210	Es taget, singt die Nachtigall **Rubric:** Il est jour verteutscht. **Title:** Eine klage ab ihrem alten man **Verses:** 2 **Remarks:** Sermisy setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.36 and F X 17-20, no.78.	**Ch/trs.**	[Sermisy/Certon]
209	(Blank)		
210	Die erste liebe ist die best **Rubric:** in der weiss Jouissance. **Title:** Von bestendiger liebe. **Verses:** 2 **Remarks:** Sermisy setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.44.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Sermisy/Willaert/Gardane/Turnhout]
210	Guten wein, geben die reben **Rubric:** in der weiss Margot labore les vignes **Title:** Wie mans ein anderen plegt zu bringen **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** none of the settings found in any Basel songbooks; probably sung to either the Lasso or Arcadelt.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Lasso/Arcadelt/de Castro]
210	Cupido ist darumb geboren blind **Rubric:** in der weiss Par ton regard **Title:** Was Cupido unnd Venus bethenten **Verses:** 3 **Remarks:** none of the settings found in any Basel songbooks; probably sung to Sermisy.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Sermisy/Gosse/Buus]
211	(Blank)		
212 -213	Vernunfft, begierd des hertzen **Rubric:** Raison de ceur l'affection verteutscht, in der wyss (piece never entered) **Title:** Wie der affechtung der liebe **Verses:** 20, each with a musical repetition sign. **Remarks:** German translation of a French poem never set to music; translation was clearly intended to be sung: "in der wyss".	**Ch/trs.-ctf.**	[None]
214	Ach Gott, dir will ichs klagen **Rubric:** Mon Dieu a toi s'adresse verteutschet, in der weiss La nuct qui me tourmente Gaillarde **Title:** Bitt zu Gott wider die anfechtung der liebe **Verses:** 5 with a Reprise **Remarks:** German translation of a French poem never set to music before; translation is to be sung to this unknown Galliarde.	**Ch/trs.-ctf.**	[None]
214	Frisch, frölich und fromb **Rubric:** None **Title:** Courage **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** No known musical setting with this text incipit.		[None]
215	(Blank)		
216	Der mittlst buchstab im a b c **Rubric:** La lettre au milieu d'A B C verteutschet **Title:** Darin sich ein freutert so bald sol hochzeit han **Verses:** 8, each with a musical repetiton sign. **Remarks:** German translation of a French poem never set to music; probably intended as a contrafactum.	**Ch/trs.-(ctf.)**	[None]
217	(Blank)		
218	Dersich vernügt, ist reich auf erden **Rubric:** in der weiss Le content est riche **Title:** Der stich vermiegte sye **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Sermisy setting in CH-Bu F X 17-20, no.56.	**Ch/ctf.**	**Claud.** [= Claudin de Sermisy]

Pag.	Incipit/Rubric/Titles/ Nr. of Verses/Remarks	Poetic Form	Musical Setting of the Original Text.
218	Den tod nimm ich an mit gedult **Rubric:** Je prens en gre la dure mort verteutscht **Title:** Ein liebhaber begert au sterben **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Clemens setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.12 and F X 17-20, no.86.	**Ch/trs.**	[Janequin/ Clemens non Papa/Susato/ Baston]
218	O dörfft ich euch von hertzen **Rubric:** O sio potesti donna verteutscht **Title:** Umbestendikeit des gemiets eines liebhabers **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Arcadelt setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.37.	**Md/trs.**	[Berhem/ de Castro/ Arcadelt]
218	Mein lieb und dienst **Rubric:** Si pour t'aimer (et desirer) verteutscht **Title:** Ein gibt seiner liebsten den sack **Verses:** 3 **Remarks:** no musical setting found in any Basel songbook.	**Ch/trs.**	[Sandrin/ Manchicourt]
219	(Blank)		
220	Ich stund in einem garten **Rubric:** A mon iardin l'anguissant verteutschet **Title:** Wie eim liebhaber geholfen worden **Verses:** 12, each marked with a musical repetition sign. **Remarks:** no known musical setting of this Chanson text; probably intended as a contrafactum.	**Ch/trs.-ctf.)**	[None]
221	(Blank)		
222 -223	Man ladt uns auff die Hochzeitfreud **Rubric:** Au nopces on convie verteutschet (in der weiss) Dantz **Title:** Die Burgerliche Hochzeit **Verses:** 7, each marked with a musical repetition sign. **Remarks:** German translation of a French poem to be sung to the melody of a "Dance" (= Man ladt uns auff die Hochzeitfreud, Brown 1577[6]); no known musical setting of the French poem exists.	**Ch/trs.-ctf.**	[Anonymous]
224	Wach auff mein trost ohn sorgen **Rubric:** Revielle vous Madame verteutscht, in der wyss Passoemezo Gassenhuwer. Singt man zur lauten. **Title:** Der liebsten vor der thir **Verses:** 19, each marked with a musical repetition sign. **Remarks:** German translation of a French poem to be sung to the melody of a Passomezzo Gassenhawer (=Brown 1562/3, no.39?); no known musical setting of the French poem.	**Ch/trs.-ctf.**	[None]
225	(Blank)		
226	Lieb, leyd und freud **Rubric:** Amour, doleur, liesse verteutscht, in der wyss Ich armer boss **Title:** Von einem frewlin **Verses:** 7, each marked with a musical repetition sign. **Remarks:** German translation of a French poem to be sung to the melody of Ich armer boss; no musical setting of the French poem exists. Both musical settings of Ich armer boss are found in CH-Bu F X 17-20, no.35 (Othmayr) and no.36 (Anonymous).	**Ch/trs.-ctf.**	[Anonymous/ Othmayr]
227	(Blank)		
228	Die edle Music **Rubric:** in der weis Doulce memoire **Title:** Lob der Music **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Sandrin setting is found in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.58 and F X 17-20, no.54.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Sandrin/Susato/ Baston]
228	Hilff Gott, hilff Gott **Rubric:** in Helas mon Dieu. weis **Title:** Wider die anfechtung des teufelss **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Maillard-Janequin setting is found in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.14.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Maillard-Janequin/Certon/ Le Roy/Lasso/ Villers/Symon/ Gentien/Clereau/Janequin]
228	Der Herr segnet die gerechten **Rubric:** in der weis La volunté **Title:** Auss dem 138 Psalmen **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Sandrin setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.38.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Sandrin/Goudimel/Gardane]
228	Auss der tieffe Herr Gott **Rubric:** in der weis Helas mes yeulx **Title:** Auss dem 130 Psalmen **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Arcadelt setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.41.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Arcadelt/Besancourt]
229	(Blank)		
230	Mein Anele, wach ich dich sich **Rubric:** wie Helas amy zesingen **Title:** Von dem namen Anele **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Sandrin setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.35.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Sandrin/ Goudeau/ Martin/ Arcadelt/ Janequin/ L'huyllier/ Gervaise]
230	O Herre Gott von himmelreich **Rubric:** in der weis Puis que vivre en servitude **Title:** Von dess menschen herlikeit **Verses:** 3 **Remarks:** Sandrin setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.39.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Sandrin/Arcadelt/Lasso/ Certon/ Le Roy]
230	Von tausent hertzleyd **Rubric:** De mille ennuis verteutschet **Title:** Klag über eine so sich verheurat hatt **Verses:** 2 **Remarks:** Arcadelt setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.13. Von tausent hertzleyd was originally rubricated as a contrafactum.	**Ch/trs.**	[Arcadelt]
231	(Blank)		

Pag.	Incipit/Rubric/Titles/ Nr. of Verses/Remarks	Poetic Form	Musical Setting of the Original Text.
232	Singend mit freuden überlaut **Rubric:** in Mais pourquoi weis zesingen **Title:** Wie man den hochzeitleuthen vor der kammer singt. **Verses:** 2 **Remarks:** Sandrin setting not in the Basel songbooks.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Sandrin]
232	Hab ich schon freud **Rubric:** Si iay du bien verteutschet **Title:** Von unriewigen treumen, wegen seiner liebsten. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Sandrin setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.46.	**Ch/trs.**	[Sermisy/Sandrin/Maille/Gervaise/Gardane]
232	Zum feur, zum feur **Rubric:** Au feu au feu verteutscht **Title:** Von der liebe so einen verbrennen wil. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Maillard setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.15.	**Md/trs.**	[Gardane/Maillard/de Villa]
232	Der Liebe hab ich mich jetzund **Rubric:** in der weiss Je cherch' autant **Title:** Wider die unerlaubte liebe. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Boyvin setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.35 and F X 17-20, no. 85.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Gardane/Boyvin]
233	(Blank)		
234	Was mir beschehret war von Gott **Rubric:** Ce qui m'est Dieu & ordonné verteutscht **Title:** Klag über sein liebste, so sich verheurathen hatt. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Sandrin setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.47.	**Ch/trs.**	[Sandrin]
234	Ach Gott, sagt ein Jungfrewlin zart **Rubric:** Vray Dieu disoit verteutscht **Title:** Von unutzbarkeit dess Kussens. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** neither setting in any of the Basel songbooks, yet probably sung to the Lasso.	**Ch/trs.**	[Lasso/Castro]
234	Ein lieblich nein **Rubric:** Un(g) doux nenny verteutscht **Title:** Vom abschlachen der iungfuwen. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** none of the settings is in the Basel songbooks, yet probably sung to the Lasso.	**Ch/trs.**	[Lasso/Crecquillon/Turnhout]
234	Ein trunckner mann hat solche art **Rubric:** Quand mon mari verteutscht **Title:** Eins drunckenen mans beschreibung. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** neither setting in the Basel songbooks, yet probably sung to the Lasso.	**Ch/trs.**	[Lasso/Castro]
234	Susanna zart, die fromm **Rubric:** Susanne ung jour verteutscht **Title:** Historien von der Susanna keuschheit. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Lupi setting is found in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.45 and F X 17-20, no.61.	**Ch/trs.**	[Bacchius/Lasso/Castro/Certon/Faignient/Rore/Turnhout/Millot/Nicolas/Lejeune/Cornet/Roussel/Lupi II/Monte/Le Blanc/La Grotte/Sweelinck]
235	(Blank)		
236	Gut gsell, hast kein verstand **Rubric:** in d(er) weis Je sens l'affection **Title:** Wie einer einem frewlin auss der handt vorsagt. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** neither setting found in any of the Basel songbooks.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Boyvin/Goudimel]
236	Ein schöns frewlin sich klagt **Rubric:** in der weiss Je suis ung demy dieu **Title:** Wie ein Artzet eim frewlin rathet, wie ir zehelfen. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** neither setting found in any of the Basel songbooks.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Certon/Bertrand]
236	Wan ich mit künsten, kreutern **Rubric:** in der weis Fedel & bel cagnuolo **Title:** Einer wünscht in seiner liebsten hündlin verwandlet zewerden. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Verdelot setting not in the Basel songbooks.	**Md/ctf.**	[Verdelot]
237	(Blank)		
238	Dido in liebe wütet **Rubric:** At trepida & caeptis immanibus effera Dido verteutschet **Title:** Wie sich die keunegin Dido, von liebe wegen umgebracht hatt.**Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Arcadelt setting not in the Basel songbooks.	**Md/trs.**	[Arcadelt]
238	Der Engel sach **Rubric:** Angelus ad Pastores verteutschet **Title:** Ein wienacht gesang. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Lasso's famous setting appeared in print for the first time in 1562.	**Mt/trs.**	**Orl.** [=Orlando di Lasso]
238	Nüt liebers wolt ich jetz auff erden **Rubric:** in der weis O gri hor per voi suspiro **Title:** Einer wünscht in ein floch verwandlet zewerden. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** RISM 1534[16] is the first printed concordance for the Verdelot setting.	**Md/ctf.**	**Verd.** [=Verdelot]
238	In allem sterben singt der Schwan **Rubric:** in der weiss Il bianco & dolce cigno **Title:** Man solt im sterben mer freudt haben dan traurens. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Arcadelt setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.5.	**Md/ctf.**	**Arcad.** [=Arcadelt]
239	(Blank)		

Pag.	Incipit/Rubric/Titles/ Nr. of Verses/Remarks	Poetic Form	Musical Setting of the Original Text.
240	(**Printed Poem**:) Der gmeine Mann **Title:** Was der Adel sei: und wie ein jeder der sich des Adels ruhmet **Author:** Esaiaeckio Glogouiensi		
241	(Blank)		
242	Erlanget hab ich glück und heil **Rubric:** in der weiss Vergangen ist mir glück und heil **Title:** Einer schetz sich glickhaftig, dass er von der liebe ledig ist. **Verses:** 2 **Remarks:** Hagenbach setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no. 1; Forster setting in CH-Bu F X 17-20, no. 83.	**Tl/ctf.**	[Hagenbach/ Forster]
242	Brüstlin so weiss, so glatt **Rubric:** in der weis Deh ferm'amour **Title:** Von schönen brüstlenen. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** RISM 1555^{27}, first printed concordance for the Barré setting.	**Md/ctf.**	**Ant. Barré**
242	Dutten, nit brüstlin **Rubric:** in der weis Sia vil a gl'altri **Title:** Von hesslichen Dutten. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** none of the musical settings is in the Basel songbooks.	**Md/ctf.**	[Bercham/Dorati/Fidelis/Martelli/Venitiano/ Castro/Rore]
242	Alls wan ich nur sich und gespür **Rubric:** Tout ce qu'on peult verteutscht **Title:** Die marter eins liebhabendens. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** none of the musical settings is in the Basel songbooks.	**Ch/trs.**	[Cartier/Rore/ Castro/Certon/ Nicolas/Faignient/Millot]
243	(Blank)		
244	Auff d'hochzeit kam gegangen **Rubric:** in der weis Madonna qual certezza **Title:** Von grober unzucht die ein hofman **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** RISM 1540^{20} is the first printed concordance for the Verdelot setting.	**Md/ctf.**	**Verd.** [= Verdelot]
244	Wer auss Holder ihm machen kan **Rubric:** in der weis D'amour me plains **Title:** Was arbeit sye von der liebe abzeston. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** RISM 1539^{15-16} is the first printed concordance for the Pathie setting.	**Ch/ctf.**	**Rog.** [= Rogier Pathie]
244	Maria Magdalena, und ihr schwester **Rubric:** Maria Magdalene verteutscht **Title:** Ein Ostergesant, dass Christ sy erstang. **Verses:** 2 **Remarks:** RISM 1546^{6} is the first printed concordance for the Clemens setting.	**Mt/trs.**	**Clemens n.**[on] **P.**[apa]
244	Dass Christus ist erstanden **Rubric:** Surrexit pastor bonus verteutschet **Title:** Ein ander Ostergesang, von der auferstheung Christi. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** *[25] Sacrae cantiones* (Nuremberg, 1562), is the first printed concordance for the Lasso setting.	**Mt/trs.**	**Orl.** [=Orlando di Lasso]
245	(Blank)		
246	Komm mit mir in den garten **Rubric:** Veni in hortum verteutschet **Title:** Von schönen gewegsten der gerten, die Gott ziert. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** *[25] Sacrae cantiones* (Nuremberg, 1562) is the first printed concordance for the Lasso setting.	**Mt/trs.**	**Orl.** [=Orlando di Lasso]
246	Guten morgen, mein hertz, mein trost **Rubric:** Bon jour, mon ceur verteutschet **Title:** Ein guten morgen wünschet einer seiner liebsten. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** *Le premier livre de chansons* (Antwerp, 1564) is the first printed concordance for the Lasso setting.	**Ch/trs.**	**Orl.** [=Orlando di Lasso]
246	Zum Abendtrunck was wollen wir guts **Rubric:** in der weis Ace matin **Title:** Ein abendrunck, wol angestelt. **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** *Le premier livre de chansons* (Antwerp, 1564) is the first printed concordance for the Lasso setting.	**Ch/ctf.**	**Orl.** [=Orlando di Lasso]
246	So lang ich leb in dieser welt **Rubric:** in der weis Tant que vivray **Title:** Ein christenliches leben **Verses:** 1 **Remarks:** Sermisy setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.27 and F X 17-20, no.4.	**Ch/ctf.**	[Sermisy/Certon/Gero]
247 -249	(Blank)		
250	Mir gliebt im grünen Meyen **Rubric:** Au mois de Mai verteutschet **Title:** Klag der liebe, da kein hofnung ist. **Verses:** 11 **Remarks:** no known musical setting for the French poem; probably intended as a contrafactum.	**Ch/trs.-(ctf.)**	[None]
251	(Blank)		
252 -253	Mit lieb ist gantz umbfangen **Rubric:** D'amour suis environne verteutschet **Title:** Von grosser noth so ein liebhaber leidet. **Verses:** 12, each marked with the sign for musical repetition. **Remarks:** no known musical setting for the French poem; probably intended as a contrafactum.	**Ch/trs.-(ctf.)**	[None]

Pag.	Incipit/Rubric/Titles/ Nr. of Verses/Remarks	Poetic Form	Musical Setting of the Original Text.
254 -256	(Duplicate of Vernunfft, begierd des hertzen, pp.212/213)		
257	(Blank)		
258	Ein fröhlich leben, hie auf erden **Rubric:** Gesangs weiss, in der weis Vitam que faciunt **Title:** Ein frölich leben. **Verses:** 3 **Remarks:** Arcadelt setting in CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.16 and F X 17-20, no.84.	**Mt/ctf.**	[Arcadelt]
259	(Blank)		
260	Fröhlich, fröhlich wöllen wir seyn **Rubric:** (in der weis) Englischs Dantz **Title:** Von frölikeit. **Verses:** 4, each marked with musical repetetion signs. **Remarks:** Englischs Dantz = Brown 1577_6, no.56.	**Inst/ctf.**	[Anonymous]
260	Traurig, traurig do muss ich seyn **Rubric:** (in der weiss) Anderss (=Englischs Dantz) **Title:** Von traurikeit. **Verses:** 4, each marked with musical repetetion signs. **Remarks:** see previous item.	**Inst/ctf.**	[Anonymous]
261	(Blank)		
262	(Duplicate of Die edle Music, p.228)		
262	(Duplicate of Hilff Gott, p.228)		
262	(Duplicate of Der Herr segnet, p.228)		
263	(Blank)		
264	Wellen wir ietz von hinnen wandren **Rubric:** in der wyss Icons vous paven Angleterra **Title:** Ein liedt: singt man ob tischs. eim so einen aussdrinken soll, unnd farht die gselschaft. dass erst gsatz an. darnoch dass ander der den becher hat. Unnd also fort an. Am lecsten gesatz sollen die zwe ersten silben gsungen werden, so offt, biss er aussgedruncken hatt. alss dan singt man erst dass uberig darzu. **Verses:** 4 **Remarks:** Possibly concordant with the Pavan d' Angleterra (=Brown 1552_2, no.63).	**Inst/ctf.**	[Anonymous]
265	(Blank)		
424	Die kochensperger bauren **Rubric:** in der wyss Die bauren von Sant Gol(pa) **Title:** Dass kochenspergischs hochzeit. **Verses:** 22. **Remarks:** no known Tenorlied by this name.	**Tl/ctf.**	[None]
425	(Blank)		
426 -427	Es fiel ein Baurin in den bach **Rubric:** in der wyss Es ist ein man in brunnen gfallen **Title:** Ein dantz liedt, wie ein burin unnd ir man in bach gefallen sindt. **Verses:** 5, each marked with the sign of musical repetition. **Remarks:** no known Tenorlied by this name.	**Tl/ctf.**	[None]

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