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# The Amerbach-Iselin Dynasty and their Collection of Music

In memory of Wilhelm Meier

## Part I

### The Amerbach Collection

I seem to myself to be 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!

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 *Albus Silvius Piccolomini*, had himself participated in the Great Church Council of Basel and was apparently well-acquainted with the city.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 Pelikanus (the prominent Hebrew scholar), Sebastian Brant (Dean of the University’s Faculty of Jurisprudence and the author of *The Ship of Fools*), Philippus Paracelsus

<sup>1</sup> Erasmus, letter of February 1516 to Johannes Wilt (Sapientia). Translation taken from A. B. Mynder and D. F. S. Thomas, *Correspondence of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1976), vol. 1, no. 297a, lines 10-15. For an edition of the original Latin version, see P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen and H. W. Garrod (eds.), *Opus Sapientiarum Deorum Rerumque, 12 vols.* (Oxford, 1906-1958), no. 106, lines 8-13.

<sup>2</sup> See Florence A. Grazi (tr.), *Memories of a Renaissance Page: The Commentaries of Pius II* (New York, 1959), p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. Hossfeld, “Johannes Heynlin aus Stein,” *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, vol. 6 (1907), 309-336 and vol. 7 (1908), 235-431; Rudolf Wackerly, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel* (Basel, 1907-1908), vol. 2, 398ff. and Peter G. Bietenholz, *Basel and France in the Sixteenth Century: The Books, Humanists and Printers in Their Contact with French Humanistic Culture* (Toronto, 1971), 100ff.

<sup>4</sup> On the lives of Johannes Amerbach, Sebastian Brant, Philippus Paracelsus and other noted scholars living in Basel at this time, see Peter G. Bietenholz (ed.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols. (Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1985-1987), pp. 200-201, 203-204, 206-207.



# 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.<sup>1</sup>

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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.

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(Professor of Medicine), and Heinrich Loriti Glareanus (noted poet, musicologist and historian).<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

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 successfully manufactured in the city’s St. Albanthal region since the time of the Great Church Council.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, several of the city’s monastic houses possessed sizeable libraries accessible to scholars, whether they were associated with the church or not.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

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 Monatsschrift*, 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.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup>

Among Johannes' three sons, the youngest, Bonifacius, was by far the most talented, and was to become the most famous.<sup>12</sup> 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 successor 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 Wurstbrock. 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)<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

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 activitives 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.<sup>16</sup>

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 gschriften uf pfifen".<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

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."<sup>19</sup> 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: "Pfisen futer mit 5 pfisen und 2 klein deren einer mit silber."<sup>20</sup>

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,<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> Twenty-two years later, Hans Joachim Marx, while editing the Amerbach tabulature volumes, shed new light on the manuscripts' history by identifying two other scribes by name: the Freiburg i.B organist Johann Weck and Bonifacius Amerbach himself.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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*.<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup>

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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> Further evidence documenting Amerbach's keyboard collection includes: two letters written in 1519 discussing the transport of Bonifacius' clavichord from Freiburg im Breisgau;<sup>30</sup> a letter of 1528 describing in detail a clavichord and positive organ which Bonifacius was later to purchase;<sup>31</sup> and an entry found in the Amerbach Inventory of 1602 listing among the family's possessions a "seligen clavicordum."<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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."<sup>35</sup>

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.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> Often they reveal names of local musicians, instrument

28 AK II, no.507, p.22. Unfortunately, Margarete did not identify 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.<sup>38</sup> On occasion, the letters bear witness to the transmission of music sent by messenger or post,<sup>39</sup> discuss the genesis of a specific printed music book,<sup>40</sup> and even provide a glimpse into the workshop of a famous composer.<sup>41</sup>

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.<sup>42</sup>

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).<sup>43</sup>

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.<sup>44</sup>

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 Pipelinus, (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.

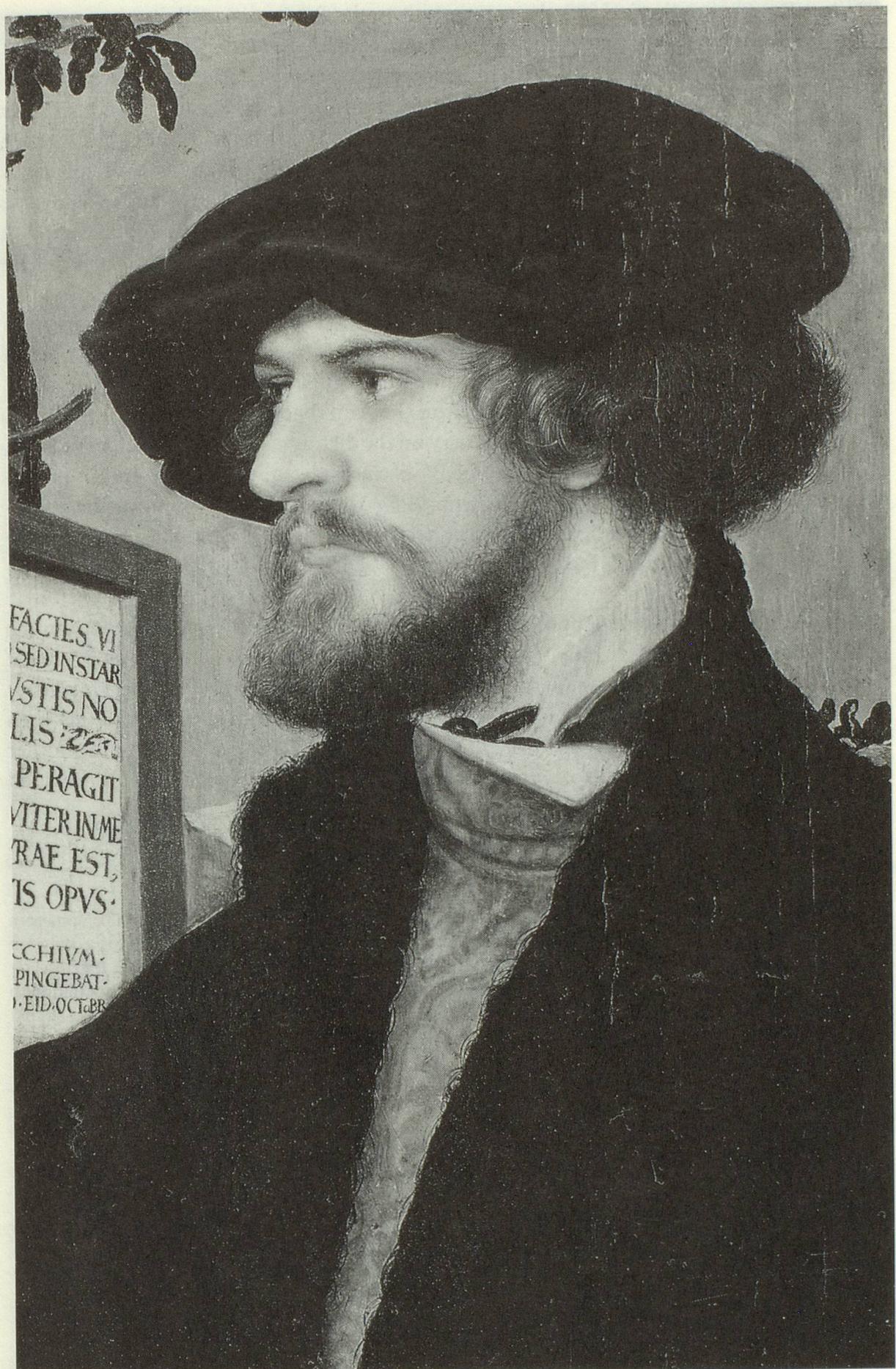


Plate 1.1. Hans Holbein d. J. Portrait of Bonifacius Amerbach, 1519 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum. Inv. 310)

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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup>

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.<sup>47</sup> 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,<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> These volumes, taken together with two other manuscript songbooks owned by Iselin in 1575,<sup>50</sup> 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 activities 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).

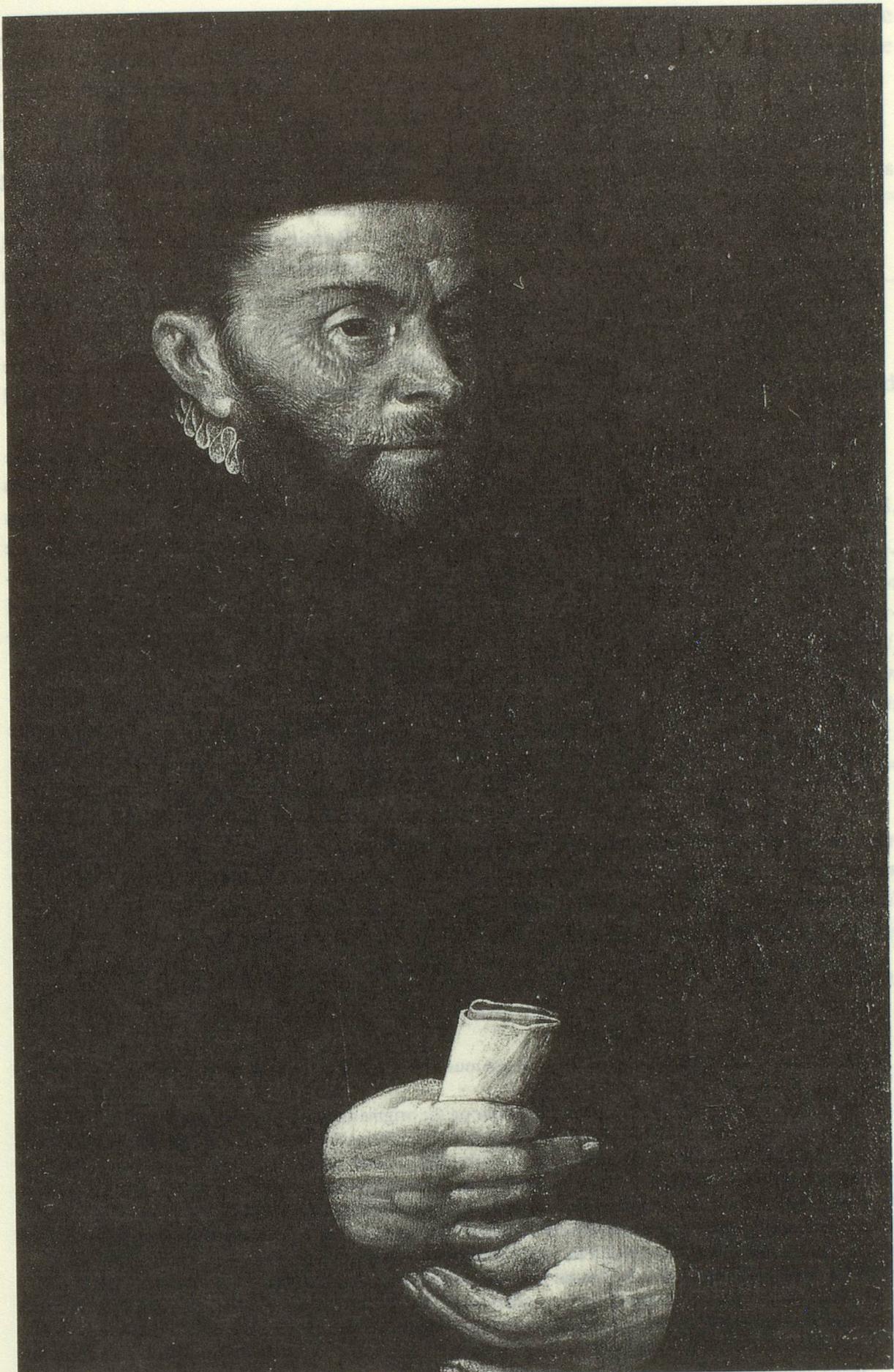


Plate 1.2. Hans Bock d. Ae. Portrait of Basilius Amerbach, 1591 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum. Inv. 1876)

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,<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

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.<sup>53</sup> The set of manuscript catalogues contains listings for nearly 10,000 manuscript and printed items.<sup>54</sup> All the music books found in the catalogue were entered in the volume entitled *Philosophicae facultatis bibliothecae Amerbachiana Iseliana ... 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<sup>55</sup> and Basel *Kupferstichkabinett* MS Inventory A.<sup>56</sup> 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," *Jubiläumblätter* 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 Amerbachiana," 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.<sup>57</sup> 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	<i>Tütsche gschribne liedlin 4 part. in gold inbunden 4</i> (partbooks); = CH-Bu F X 1-4 <sup>58</sup>
Inv. A	<i>Tütsche mes Strasburg 8° inbunden 1</i> (partbook); an unknown printed German mass, probably published in Strassburg.
Inv. A	<i>Tütsch getruckter liedlin Altus 1</i> (partbook); identity unknown.
Inv. A	<i>Introductio gschriben uf pfisen 1</i> (volume); probably = CH-Bu F X 38.
A.R. I 8	<i>Balthasari Musculi ausserlesene, anmutige, schöne, mit trostreich, geistlichen Texten gestelte und colligirte gesänglein, von newem ybersehen und gebessert: darbey auch etliche liebliche und künstliche 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 Erasmus 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;</i> <sup>59</sup> = CH-Bu kk II 18-22.
A.R. I 8	<i>E.1.9 D. Balthasser Praspergij Merspurgens. Musicae interpretatio clarissima plane atque choralis, cum certissimis regulis atque Exemplorum annotationibus et figuris multum splendididis. in alma Basileorum universitate exercitata. Per Michaelem Furter Ao. 1507. 4°;</i> <sup>60</sup> = CH-Bu kk II 26.
A.R. I 8	<i>M.1.17 Cantilenae Latinae et Germanicae prophanae ad musicos modulos decantandae manuscriptae charta 16° forma oblonga;</i> probably = CH-Bu F X 21.

<sup>57</sup> 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.

<sup>58</sup> 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. 4° 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.

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

<sup>60</sup> Also entered in A.R. I 8 as *Musicae interpretatio choralis, cum regulis certissimis 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. Coclacum Noricum Theologum. Basileae per Henricum Petri 1547 folio; probably = 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.<sup>61</sup>*

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 Prasbergii 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 Antij 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 Chürfürstlichen 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;*<sup>62</sup> = 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, [unreadable ...] *geistliche Lieder; identity unknown.*  
no.I, 28

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

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

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

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

<sup>62</sup> 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 acquisition 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.<sup>63</sup> 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.

<sup>63</sup> 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 Bri-xiae 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 <sup>b</sup> .]
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 Vocom. 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 <sup>11</sup> ; 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<sup>12</sup>; 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 trostreich geistlichen Texten gestellte und colligirte Gesänglien, von newen übersehen und gebessert*, Nuremberg: Simon Halbmayer 1622 (= RISM 1622<sup>15</sup>); Ex Libris of Basilius Iselin, 1624.

kk IV 23-27 Johann Walter, *Wittembergisch deudsche geistliche Gesangbüchlein*, Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw 1544 (= RISM DKL 1544<sup>12</sup>) 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<sup>11</sup>); Ex Libris of Basilius Amerbach, 1547.

unknown Georg Fabricius, 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 illustratum*. 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<sup>64</sup> or the Fuggers of Augsburg.<sup>65</sup> 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,<sup>66</sup> Antonio Gardano of Venice,<sup>67</sup> and Pierre Attaingnant of Paris,<sup>68</sup> (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 unavailability 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.<sup>1</sup> 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;<sup>2</sup> 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

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

<sup>2</sup> 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
Benedictus Ducis	1	0
Lupus Hellinck	1	0
Leo X	1	0
Jean Mouton	1	1
Mathias Pipelare	1	0
<i>Totals</i>	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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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."<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

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),<sup>10</sup> between the court of Maximilian I and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS 3155,<sup>11</sup> and between Bonifacius Amerbach and Basel Universitätsbibliothek F IX 22.<sup>12</sup>

F X 1-4 contains a large number of pieces attributed to composers who either flourished at the court of Duke Ulrich of Württemberg,<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> The manuscript also preserves an *unicum* (*Ich stand an einem morgen*, no.66).

9 Lothar Hoffmann-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.<sup>15</sup> 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 Heinrich 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, Benedictus 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

**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.

<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>), 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 *Achfroewlin 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.

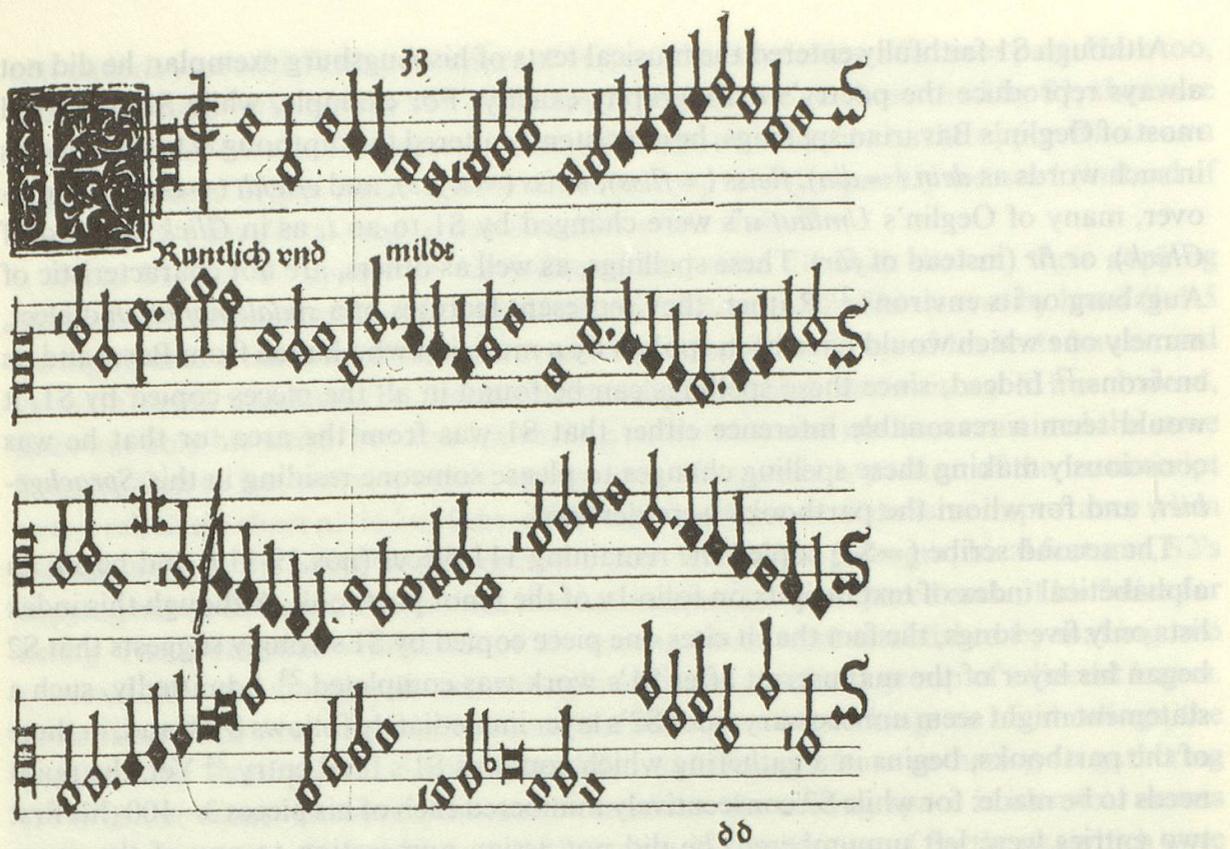


Figure 2.1. Isaac. *Fruntlich und milde* (RISM 1512<sup>1</sup>, Altus, no.33)

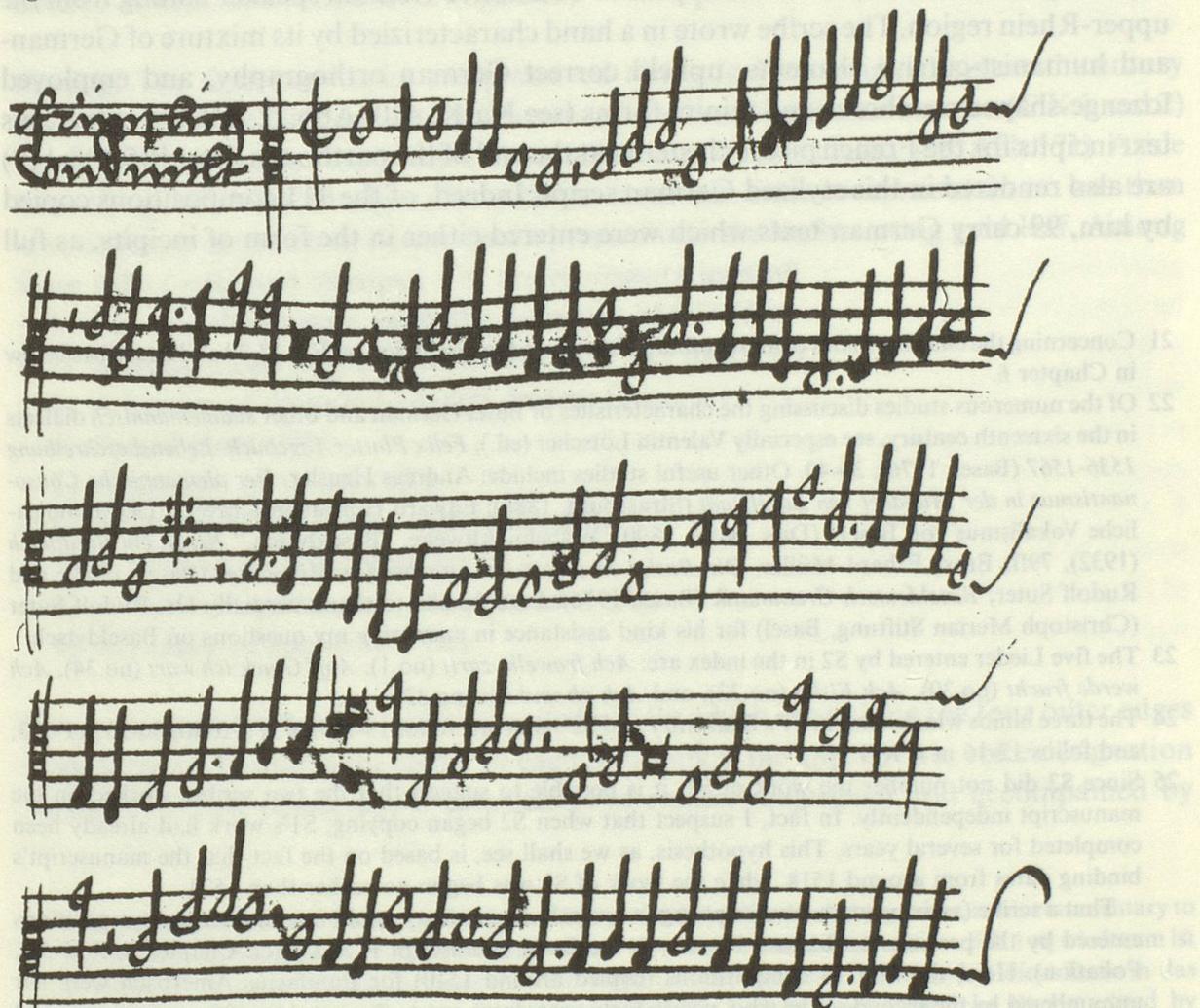


Figure 2.2. Isaac. *Fruntlich und milde* (CH-Bu F X 2, Altus, no.5)

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 diphthong *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.<sup>21</sup> Rather, they represent features of a *südalemisch* dialect, namely one which would have been spoken by a musician who hailed from Basel and its environs.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> Like S1, S2 would appear to be a native German speaker hailing from the upper-Rhein region. The scribe wrote in a hand characterized 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 *südalemisch* dialects in the sixteenth century, see especially Valentin Löttscher (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 Altwege, "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, *südalemisch* 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*).<sup>26</sup>

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 Altwege 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 Altwege, Vol.II, 1962/R, 135).

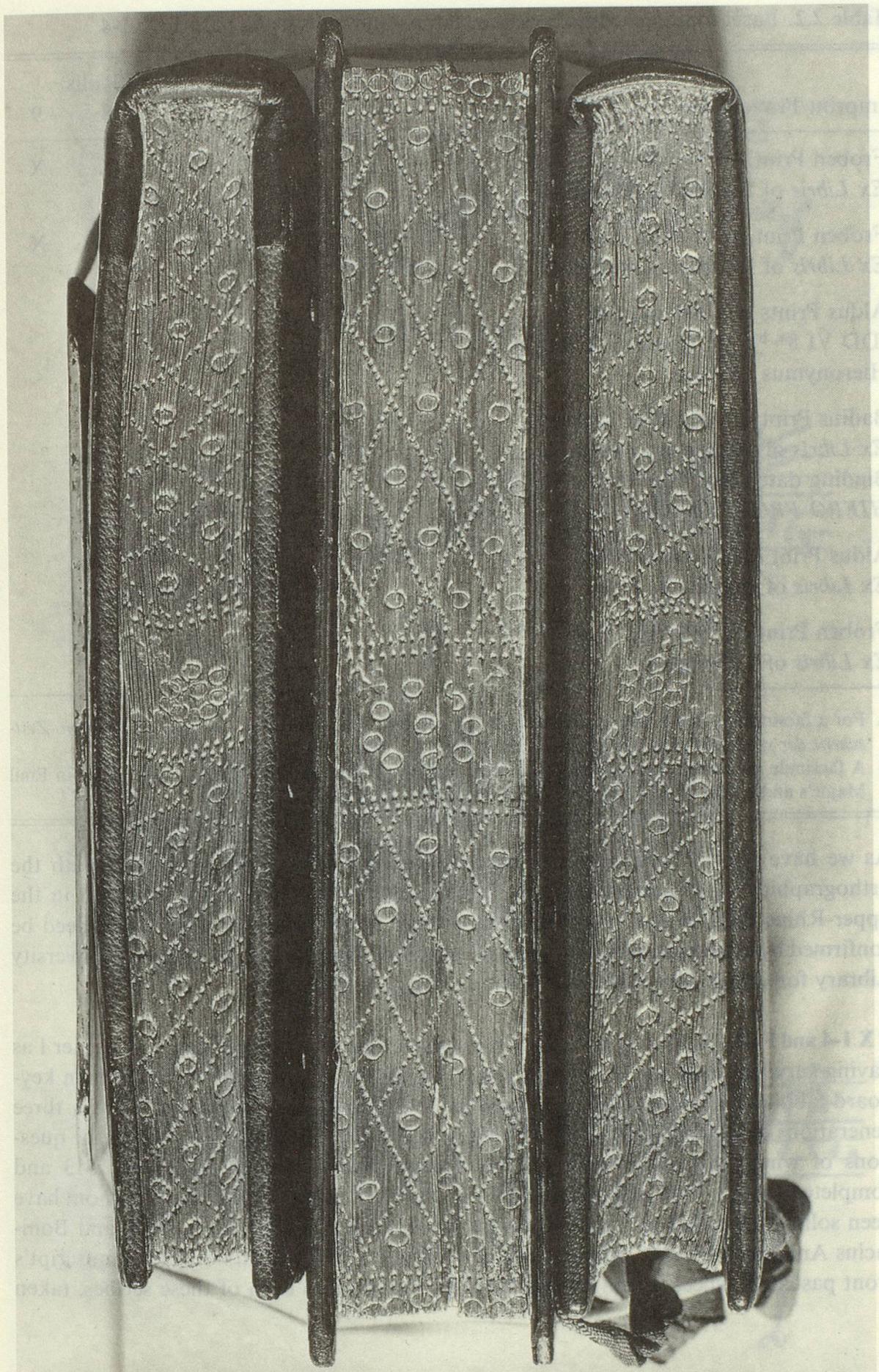
either one or two stamped leaves: (leaf) "DISCANTVS"; "ALTVS" (leaf); (leaf) "TENOR" (leaf); and (leaf) "BASSVS." Along their fore-edges, the partbooks also show remnants of the original two pairs of green linen tie-threads.

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.<sup>27</sup> 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 Kunsthissenschaft*, 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<sup>2</sup> (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); <i>Ex Libris</i> of Bonifacius Amerbach. <sup>A</sup>	X	X	X		X	X
Froben Print, 1519 (FG VIII <sup>2</sup> 19); <i>Ex Libris</i> of Bonifacius Amerbach. <sup>B</sup>	X	X	X			X
Aldus Prints of 1494 and 1497 (DD VI 8 <sup>a, b</sup> ); <i>Ex Libris</i> of Johannes and Hieronymus Froben.		X			X	
Badius Print of 1516 (CH II 20 <sup>a</sup> ); <i>Ex Libris</i> of Hieronymus Froben; Binding dated and initialed: <i>HIERO FROB. AN MDXVIII.</i>		X			X	
Aldus Print of 1516 (BC I 80) <i>Ex Libris</i> of Bonifacius Amerbach		X			X	
Froben Print of 1520 (FG VIII <sup>2</sup> 24 <sup>A</sup> ); <i>Ex Libris</i> 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

<sup>27</sup> On the history of the manuscript see Hans-Peter Bär, "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des spätgotischen Klavierspiels in Basel," in: Hans-Peter Bär and Frank Hennig (eds.), *Untersuchungen zu Buchdruckerei und Buchkunst im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Basel, 1981), pp. 117-120; a useful website is [www.ubg.bfh.ch/1513/](http://www.ubg.bfh.ch/1513/).

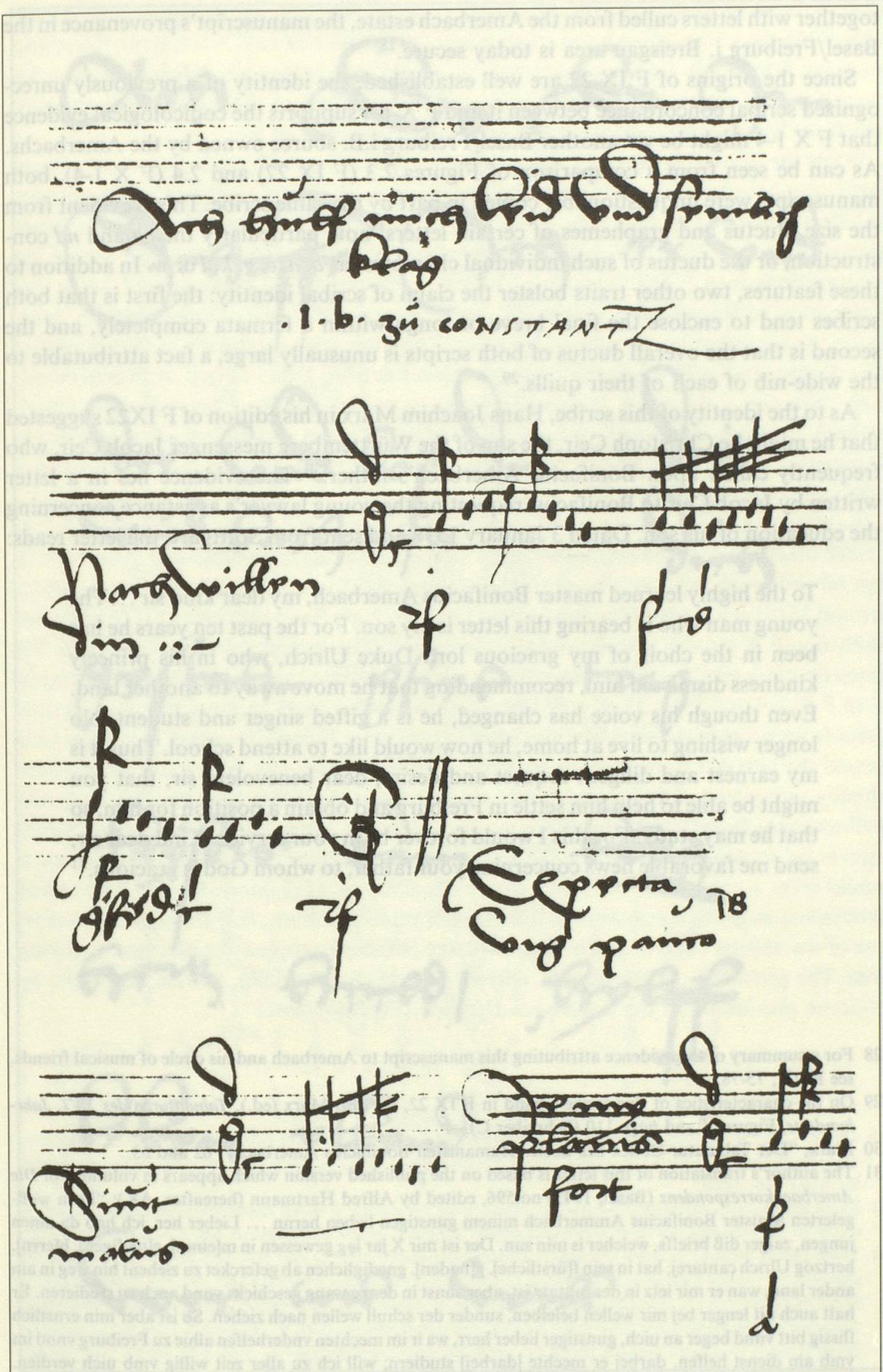


Figure 2.3. Music and text hands of S1 in CH-Bu F IX 22, fols. 75r, 82v, 74r, 80v, and 79v respectively.

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

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.<sup>29</sup>

As to the identity of this scribe, Hans Joachim Marx in his edition of F IX 22 suggested that he might be Christoph Ceir, the son of the Württemberg messenger Jacob Ceir, who frequently called upon Bonifacius Amerbach's father.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup>

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 woll-gelerten 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 bei 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 Stuttgart vff zeinstag nach dem Nuwen Jars tag Anno XVIII."

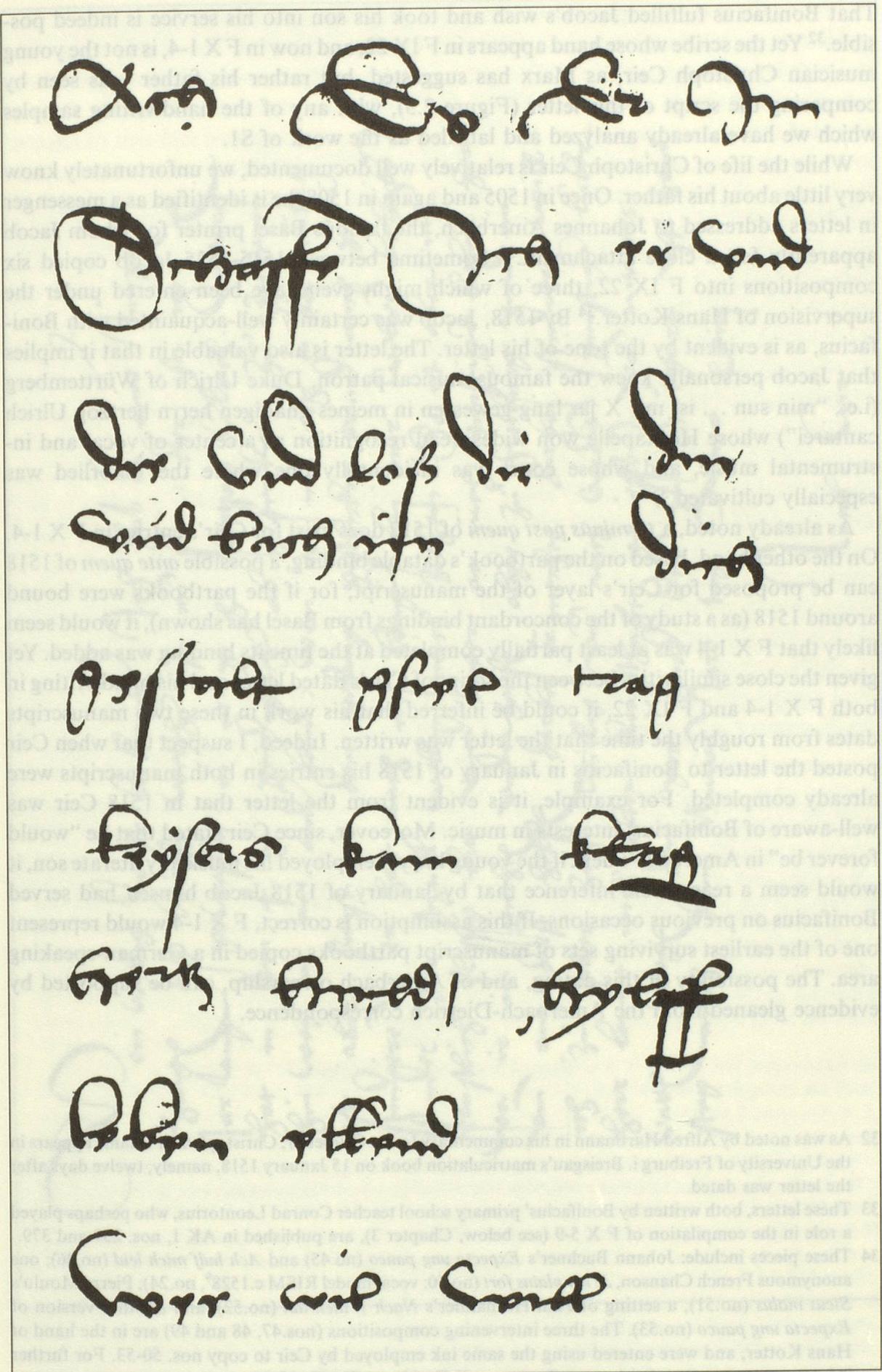


Figure 2.4. Samples of SI's text hand in CH-Bu F X 3

That Bonifacius fulfilled Jacob's wish and took his son into his service is indeed possible.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>, 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.

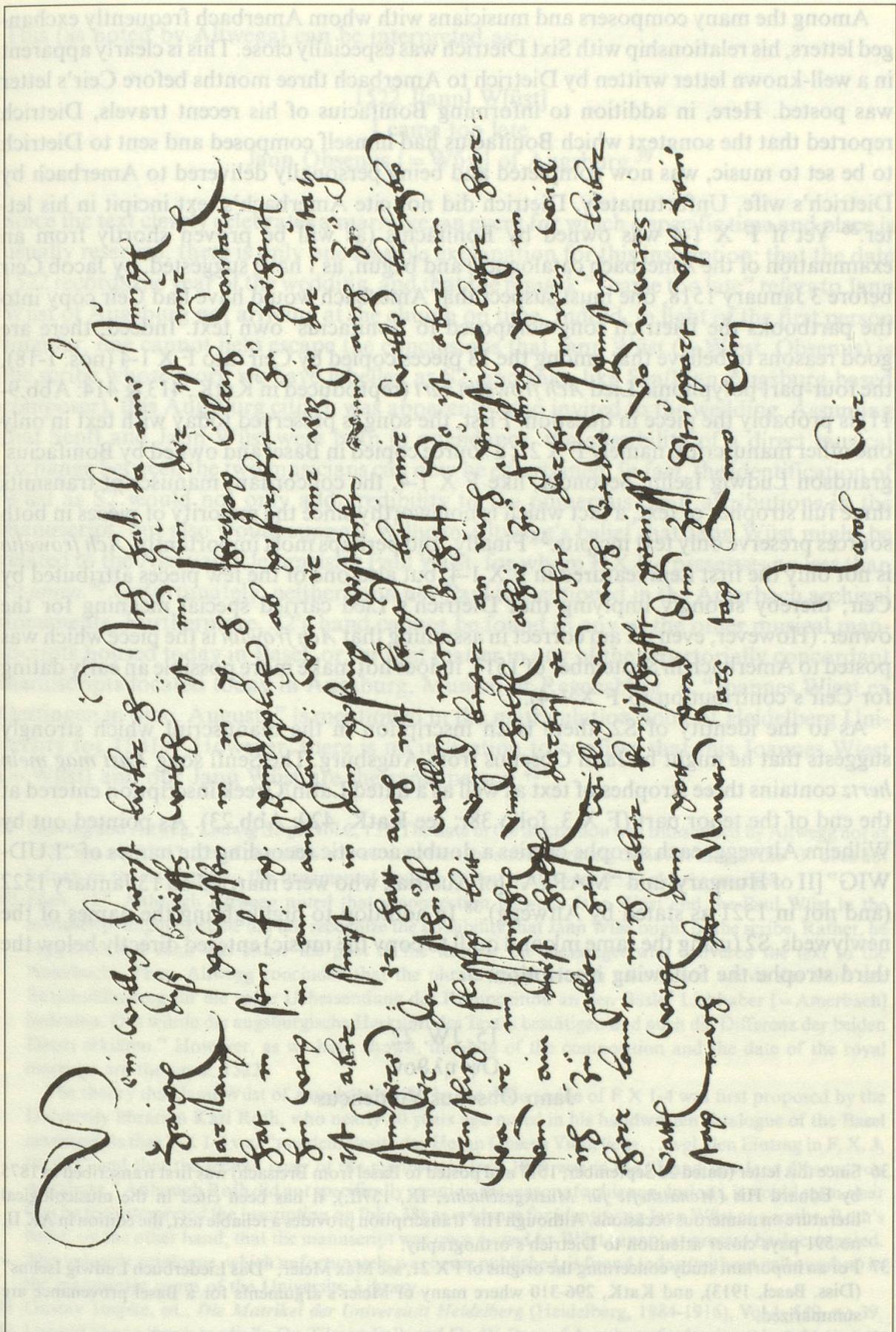


Figure 2.5. Letter of Jacob Ceir (= S1) to Bonifacius Amerbach, 3 January 1518 (CH-Bu G II 29, fol. 135r)

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.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> 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 strope 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).<sup>38</sup> 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 strope the following inscription:

15. JW. 22  
ΟΨ 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.<sup>39</sup>

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*.<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> However, there is no indication to confirm that this Joannes Wiest (=Wüst) and our Jann Wüst are the same person.<sup>42</sup>

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 Entschuldigung 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 Herrn 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 identifying 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 Toepe, 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 stand 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	<i>Mich wunder ser “Text such in Mentzer Truck”</i> (=RISM [1515] <sup>3</sup> ; 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.<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup>

The *terminus ante quem* for S2's entries is harder to determine. 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 Hoffmann-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 <sup>A</sup>	1515-1524 (1st Layer)	22
WolfenbüttelHA 292 <sup>B</sup>	c.1525	17
MunichU 328-331 <sup>C</sup>	1527	16
BaselU F X 21 <sup>D</sup>	1529-1544 (Nos.1-107)	9
BaselU F X 17-20 <sup>E</sup>	c.1540 (1st Layer)	7
BerlinS 40092 <sup>F</sup>	1st Half 16th century	11
UlmS 236a-d <sup>G</sup>	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 Smithers, "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 patrician 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 Schermer'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 <sup>A</sup>	c.1499-1513	2
RegensburgB C120 <sup>B</sup>	Early 1520's	7
RomeVat. Lat 11953 <sup>C</sup>	c.1525	5
MunichU 328-331 <sup>D</sup>	1527	2
ViennaN 18810 <sup>E</sup>	c.1530	3
St.GallenS 463 <sup>F</sup>	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.<sup>45</sup> 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<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>

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.<sup>48</sup>

46 Basel, Kupferstichkabinett 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 Kunstkabinetts*, 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<sup>or</sup> 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

M.1.17 Cantilenae Latinae et Germaniae profanae ad musicos modulus decantandae manuscriptae charta 16° forma oblonga.<sup>49</sup>

Zwinger Catalogue of 1678

F.X.21 Cantilenae Latinae et Germaniae profanae ad musicos modulus decantandae in 16° forma oblonga.<sup>50</sup>

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 surprising 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;<sup>51</sup> 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.

## F X 5-9 and F X 10: Filling the Gap between the Glogau and Oeglin Songbooks

At the end of the previous section, I mentioned that Basel University Library Manuscripts F X 5-9 and F X 10 fill the gap between the *Glogauer Liederbuch* (ca. 1480) and the printed collection of songs issued by Edward Oeglin in 1512.<sup>1</sup> In memory of Arnold Geisinger, the author of the first study of the *Glogauer Liederbuch*, I would like to add a few words about these two manuscripts.

No period in the history of German polyphonic song was more eventful than the years which elapsed between the compilation of the *Glogauer Liederbuch* (ca. 1480) and the appearance of Germany's first printed collection of songs issued by Edward Oeglin in 1512.<sup>2</sup> 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 pre-classical "wood-cut-like" texture into a sophisticated hybrid combining German and Franco-Netherlandish techniques, are Heinrich Isaac, Paul Hofhaimer, and Heinrich Finck.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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 (ca. 1480): eine ms. 40993 Berlin (Staatsbibliothek)," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, XV (1933), 49-60. Much of the music appears in a modern edition in *Das frühe deutsche Lied*, vols. 1 and 2, edited by Heribert Ringmann and J. Klippen (Kassel, 1926 and 1937). The Oeglin Liederbuch of 1512 has been edited by R. Eitner and A. Mainar in *Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1939). For a discussion of the print, see R. Eitner "Ein Liederbuch von Oeglin," *Archiv für Musikgeschichte*, XXII (1939), 21-42.

2. Among the numerous studies which discuss the evolution of German secular music at this time, see Ernst Büchler, *Das deutsche Lied* (Hamburg, 1937); Hermann Krebschmidt, *Geschichte des neuen deutschen Liedes* (Leipzig, 1911); Heinrich Oothoff, *Die Niederländer und das deutsche Lied (1490-1540)* (Berlin, 1938); and especially Hans Joachim Moser's monumental study, *Paul Hofhaimer. Ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus* (Stuttgart-Böblin, 1939).

3. For example, the earliest source for most of Heinrich Finck's vocal songs is the printed anthology issued nearly ten years after Finck's death by Hieronymus Fornschreiter (RISM, 1530). 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 manuscript: "Schöne saechsische, Bayreuth, der hoch berühmten Heinrich Finckens, sempit andern neuen Liedern . . . Vor die im druck auszugeben." (See also the note below.)



## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>9</sup>). 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

## 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 (verwischte) MDXX (?)*. Von anderer Hand hinzugefügt: *Dem ersamen vnd waisen maister Johann Kotter.*"<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

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) VIIIf.).

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°, fol. 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<sup>10</sup> to Knud Jeppesen's placing it around the middle.<sup>11</sup> 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 <sup>A</sup> (Tschudi Songbook)	c.1540; Glarus	7
St. GallenS 462 <sup>B</sup> (Heer Songbook)	1510-c.1530; Paris/Glarus	7
RISM [1519] <sup>C</sup>	c.1519; Cologne	5
BaselUB F VI 26f <sup>D</sup>	1st Quarter of the 16th Century; Basel	3
BaselUB F X 17-20 <sup>E</sup> (Hagenbach Songbook)	c.1540-1560; Augsburg/Basel	3
BaselUB F X 21 <sup>F</sup> (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 <sup>G</sup> (Hagenbach Songbook)	1564-c.1566; Basel	2
Glarean, <i>Dodecachordon</i> <sup>H</sup>	1547; Basel	2
MunichUB 328-331 <sup>I</sup> (Welser Songbook)	1527; Augsburg	2A

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 coucheted 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup> 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

	1
	<i>[glued to fol.1]</i>
	2 wm.B
	3
	4
	5 wm.B
	6
	7
	8 wm.A
	9 wm.B
	10
	11
	12 wm.B
	13 wm.A
	14
	15
	16 wm.B
	17 wm.A
	18 wm.A
	19 wm.B
	20

**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.<sup>15</sup> 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 minuscule 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.

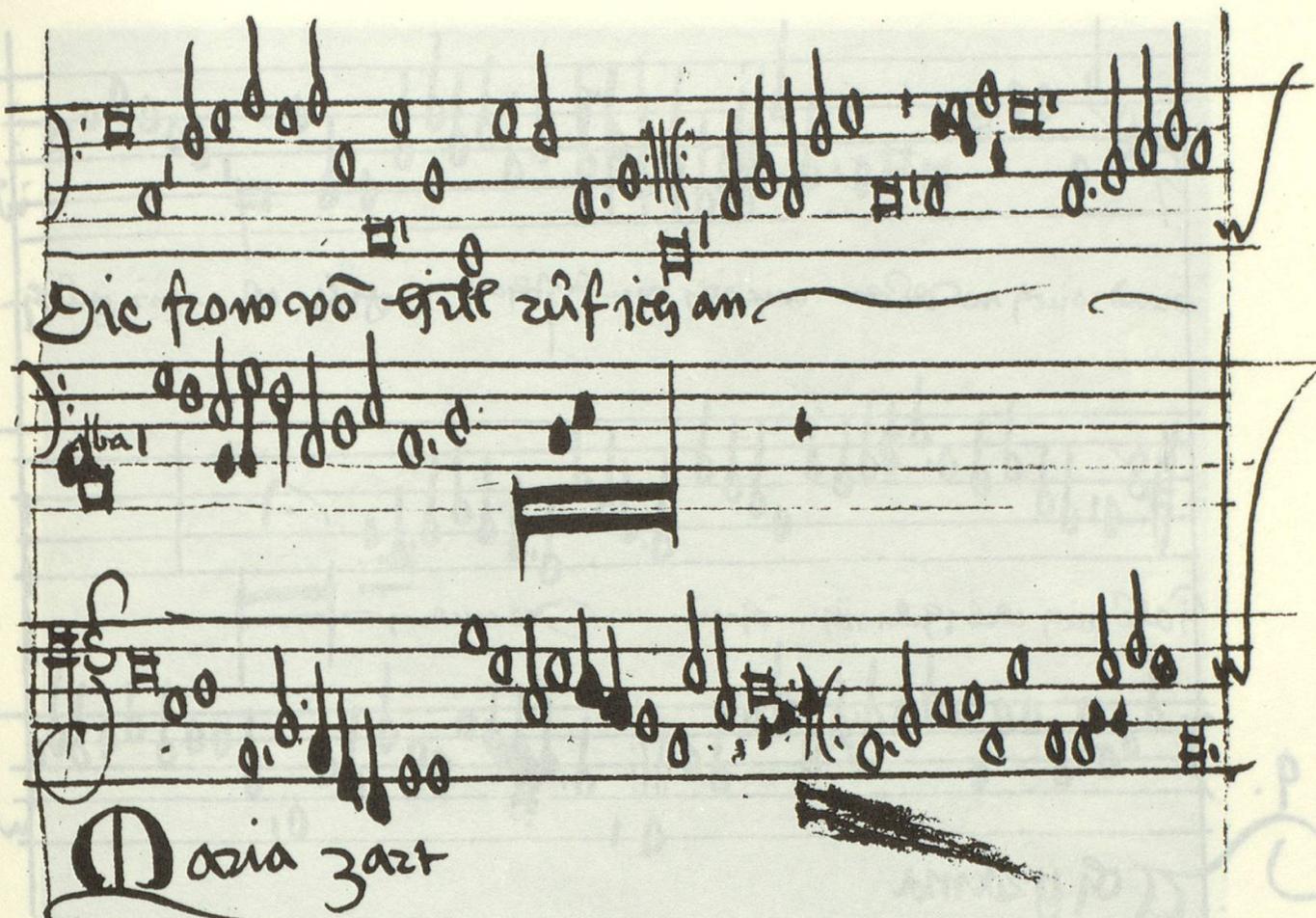


Figure 3.1. CH-Bu F X 10, fol.9v



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

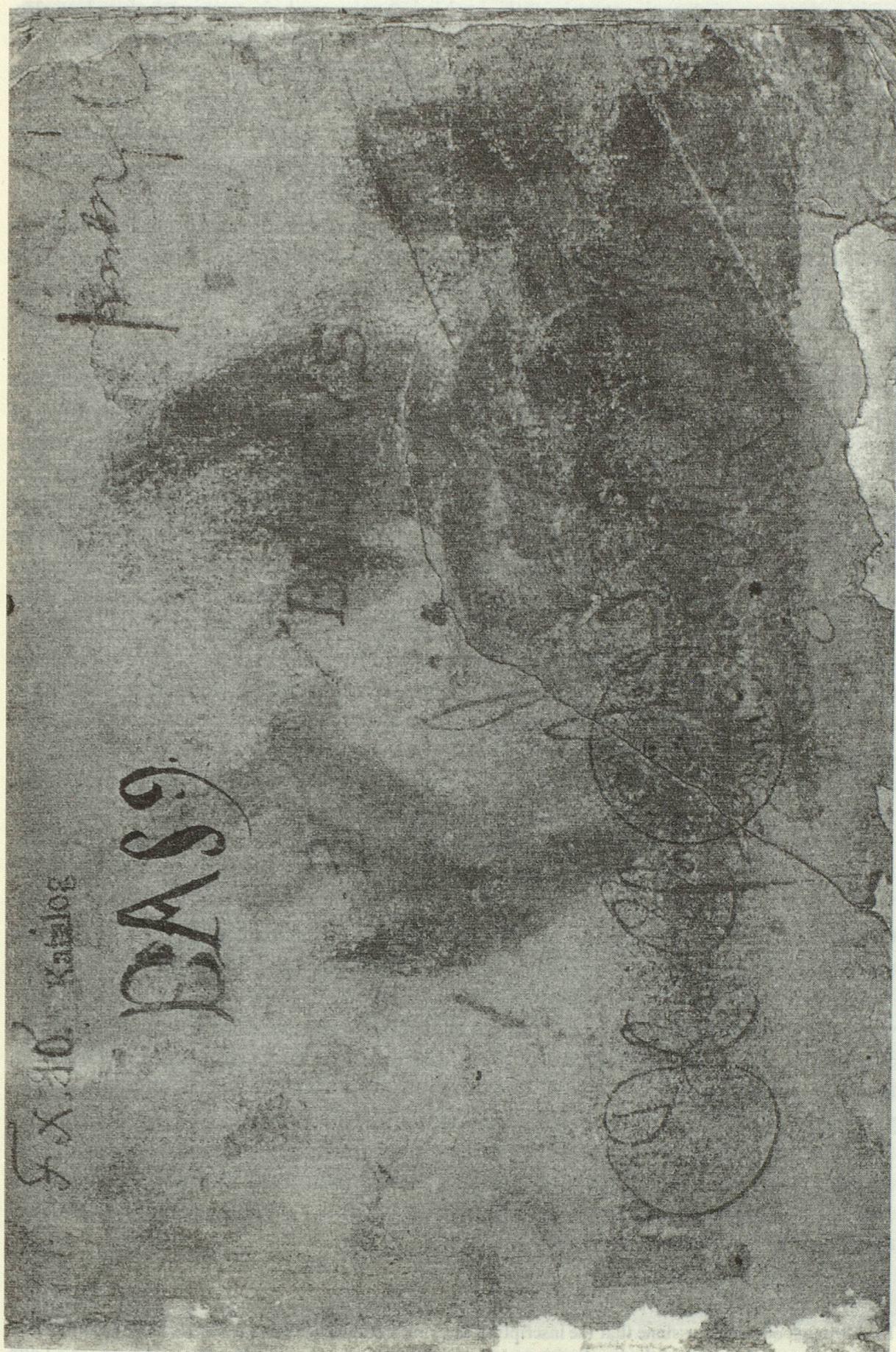


Figure 3.3. CH-Bu F X 10, fol.4v

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 underlaid 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.

<sup>17</sup> 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,<sup>18</sup> 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.

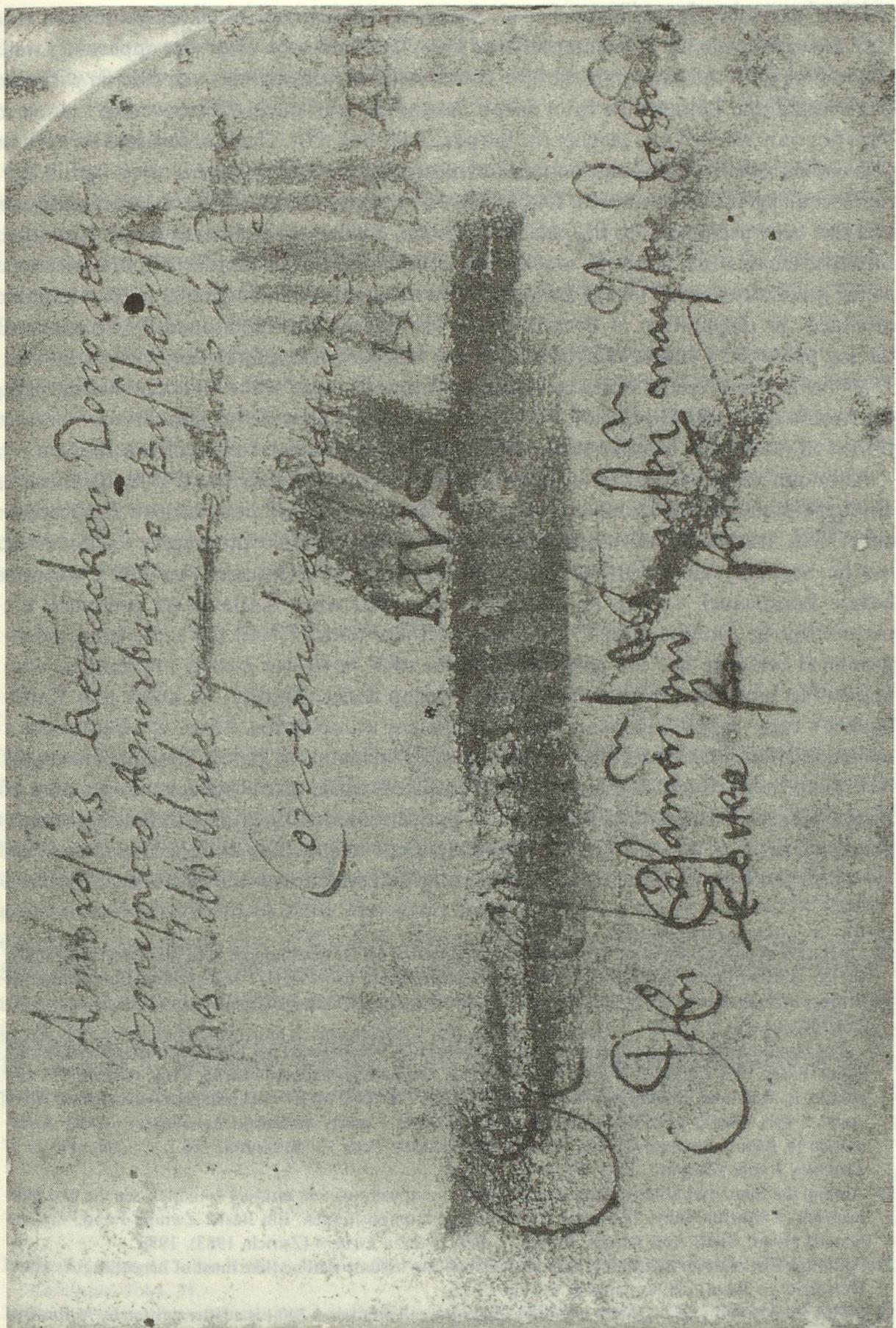


Figure 3.5. Back cover of CH-Bu F X 10, fol.20v

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 met 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.<sup>19</sup> 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,<sup>20</sup> 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 Gnadalental 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;<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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."<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup>

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.

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.<sup>26</sup> 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,<sup>27</sup> Eduard Bernoulli<sup>28</sup> and Heinrich Dübi,<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup>

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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup>

**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.<sup>34</sup> 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.”<sup>35</sup>

Propertius *Elegiae* Liber 2, 12, 9-10]:

Et merito hamatis manus/manus est armata sagittis/Et pharetra ex umero/gnoscia utroque jacet.

(And he was right to make love’s arrows barbed, and sling the quiver ready to the hand).<sup>36</sup>

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).<sup>37</sup>

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

Semper ardentesasuens 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).<sup>38</sup>

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

Omnes humanos sanat medicina dolores/Solus amor morbi non amat artificem.<sup>39</sup>

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.

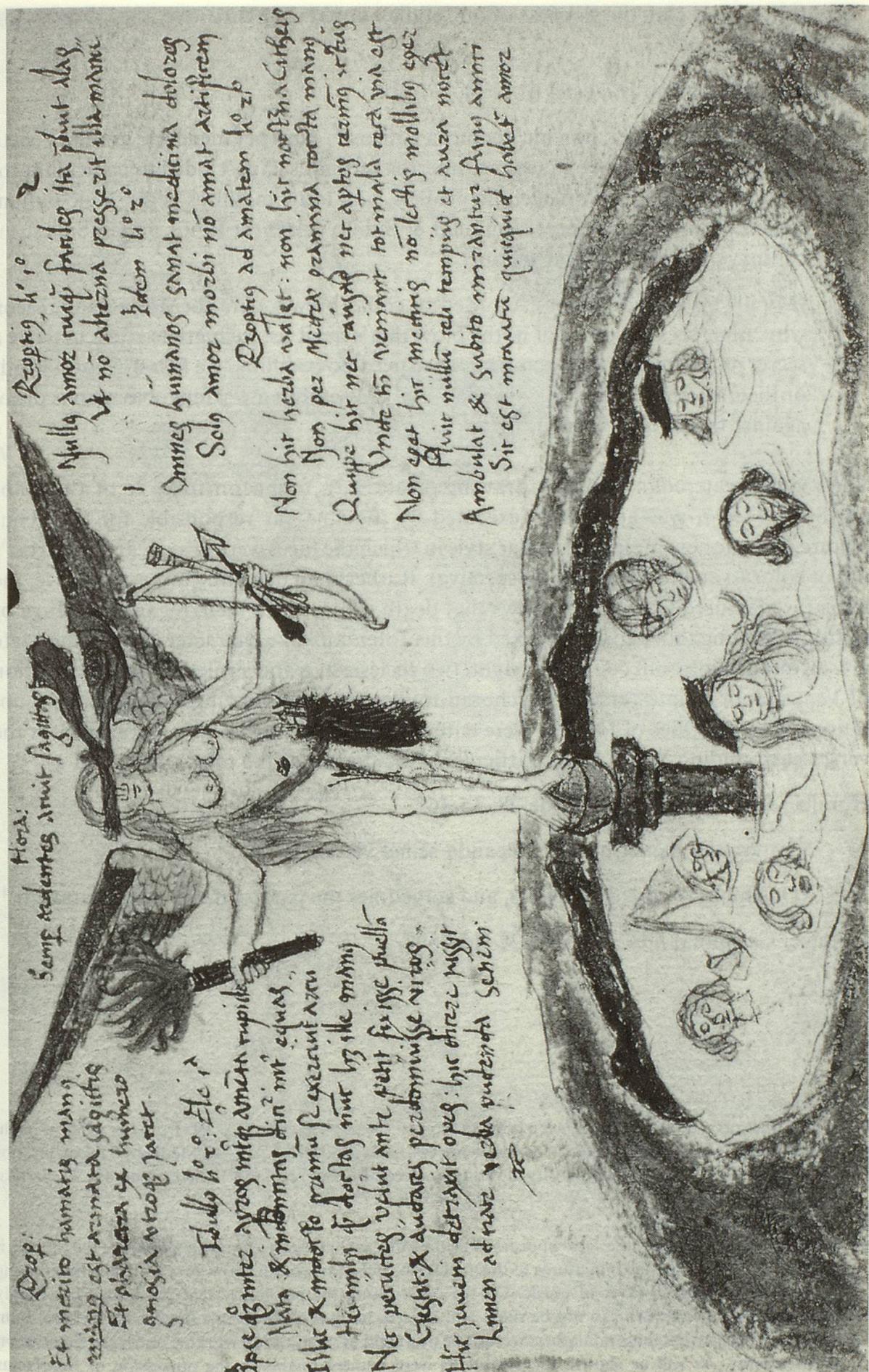


Plate 3.1. Watercolor drawing of Venus (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F X 5, fol.2r)

(Physicians cure the sickness of our bodies: could they cure love, they'd only gain love's hate).<sup>40</sup>

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

Non hic herba valet, non hic nocturna Cithaeis<sup>41</sup> / Non per medeae<sup>42</sup> 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).<sup>43</sup>

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 responsible for the verses surrounding Venus (note particularly the ductus of the minuscule a and g).<sup>44</sup>

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).<sup>45</sup>

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.

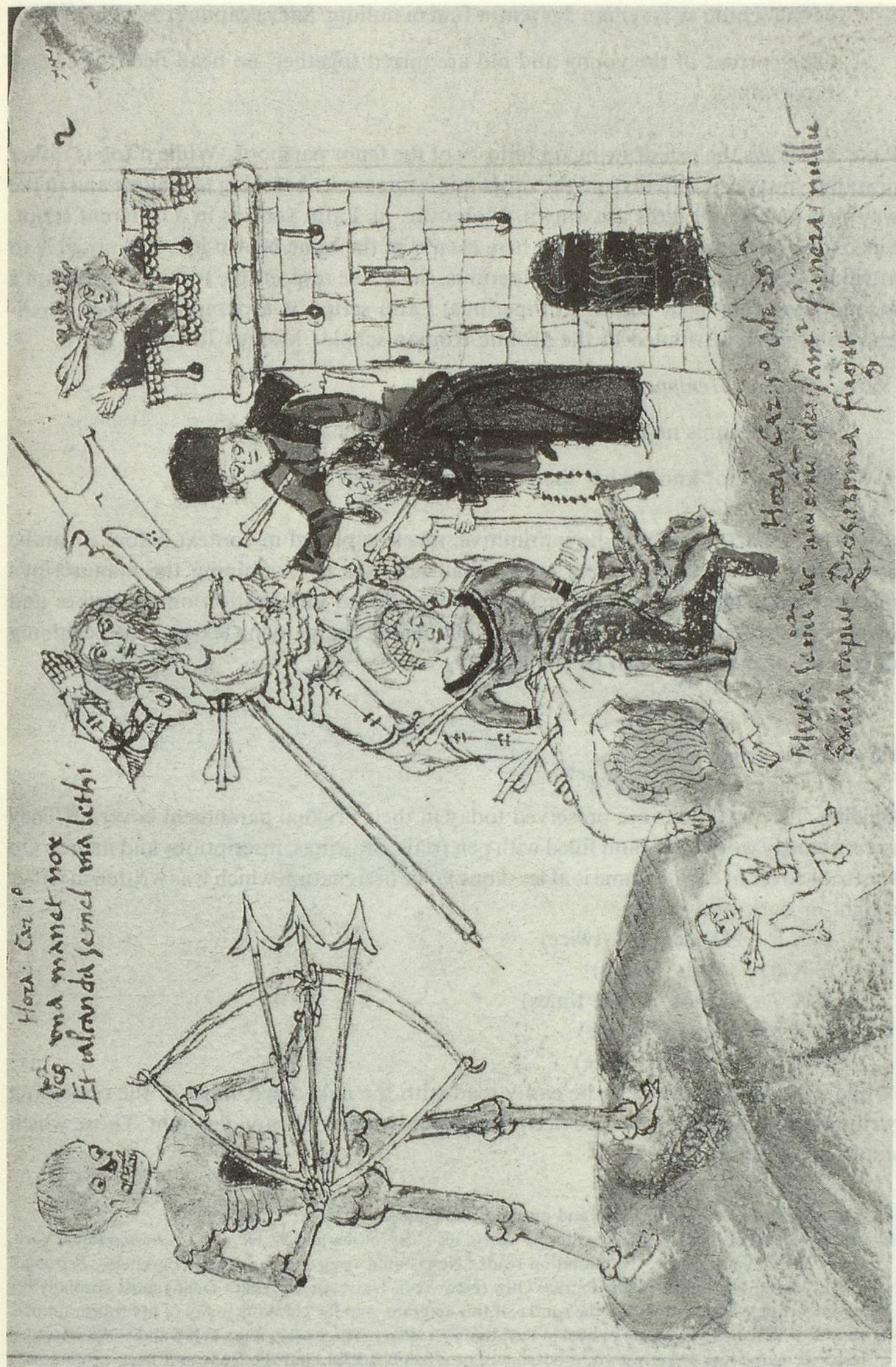


Plate 3.2. Watercolor drawing depicting death (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F X 7, fol.2r)

Mixta senum ac iuvenum densusentur funera nullum/ Saeva caput Proserpina<sup>46</sup> 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, *Satura Menippaea*, Paragraph no.333]

Ne quid nimis nescis/enim quid seras/Vesper vehat

(You do not know what the late night brings).<sup>47</sup>

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.<sup>48</sup> 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.



Me quid nimis nys  
enim quid seru  
cognoscere vobis.

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.<sup>49</sup> 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 thoroughly scraped so as to accept copy. That the cover of F X 9 is different is not at all surprising; 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 blotting, 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.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> 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.

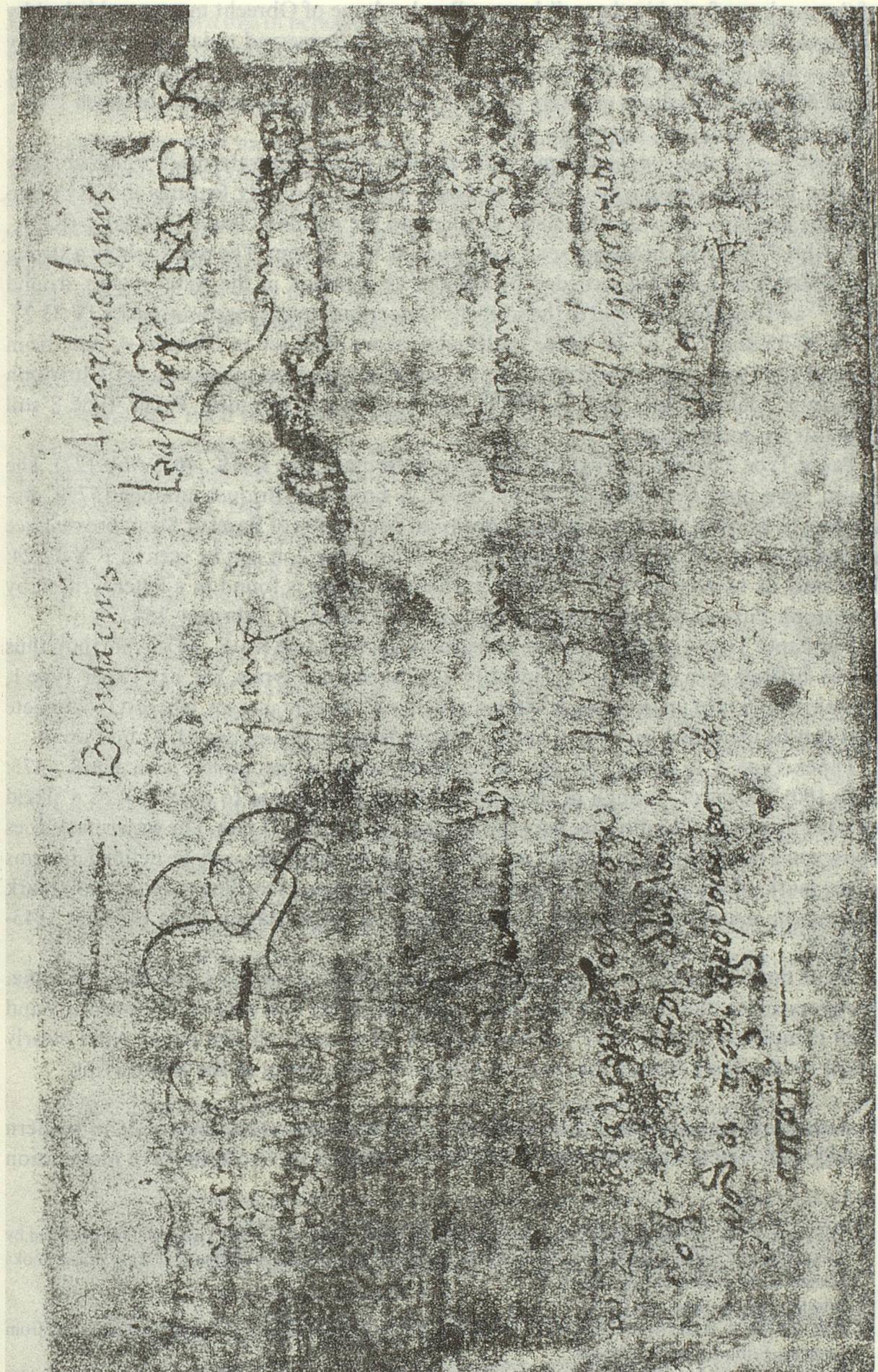


Figure 3.6. Back cover of CH-Bu F X 8: Dated *ex libris* of Bonifacius Amerbach, 1510

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.<sup>52</sup>

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,<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup>

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.<sup>56</sup>

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 Coblenz.

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),<sup>57</sup> 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 system 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.<sup>58</sup>

**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,<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup>

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.<sup>61</sup>

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.

<i>Gatherings:</i>	1 <i>Septernio</i> = fol. 1-14;	Paper 1
	1 <i>Quaternio</i> = fol. 15-22;	Paper 1
	1 ( <i>Octonio-1 leaf</i> ) = 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.

<i>Gatherings:</i>	1 ( <i>Octonio-1 leaf</i> ) = fol. I-13	Paper 1
	1 <i>Quaternio</i> = fol. 14-21	Paper 2
	1 ( <i>Octonio-3 + 4 leaves</i> ) = fol. 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 (= fol. 34-37) is tipped-in. The first gathering (= fol. 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.

<i>Gatherings:</i>	1 <i>Septernio</i> = fol. 1-14	Paper 1
	1 ( <i>Senio-2 leaves</i> ) = fol. 15-24	Paper 4
	1 ( <i>Septernio-3 leaves</i> ) = fol. 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.

<i>Gatherings:</i>	1 <i>Leaf</i> = fol. I	Paper 1
	1 <i>Binio</i> = fol. 1-4	Paper 1
	1 ( <i>Senio-2 leaves</i> ) = fol. 5-14	Paper 1
	1 ( <i>Senio-3 leaves</i> ) = fol. 15-23	Paper 1
	1 ( <i>Senio-1 + 2 leaves</i> ) = fol. 24-36	Paper 1

*Remarks:* Folio 1, originally a paste-down, was unglued in 1985 when the part-book 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.

<i>Gatherings:</i>	1 <i>Quaternio</i> = fols. 1-5	Paper 2
	1 <i>Quaternio</i> = fols. 6-13	Paper 5
	1 <i>Quaternio</i> = fols. 14-21	Paper 2
	1 <i>Binio</i> = 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.

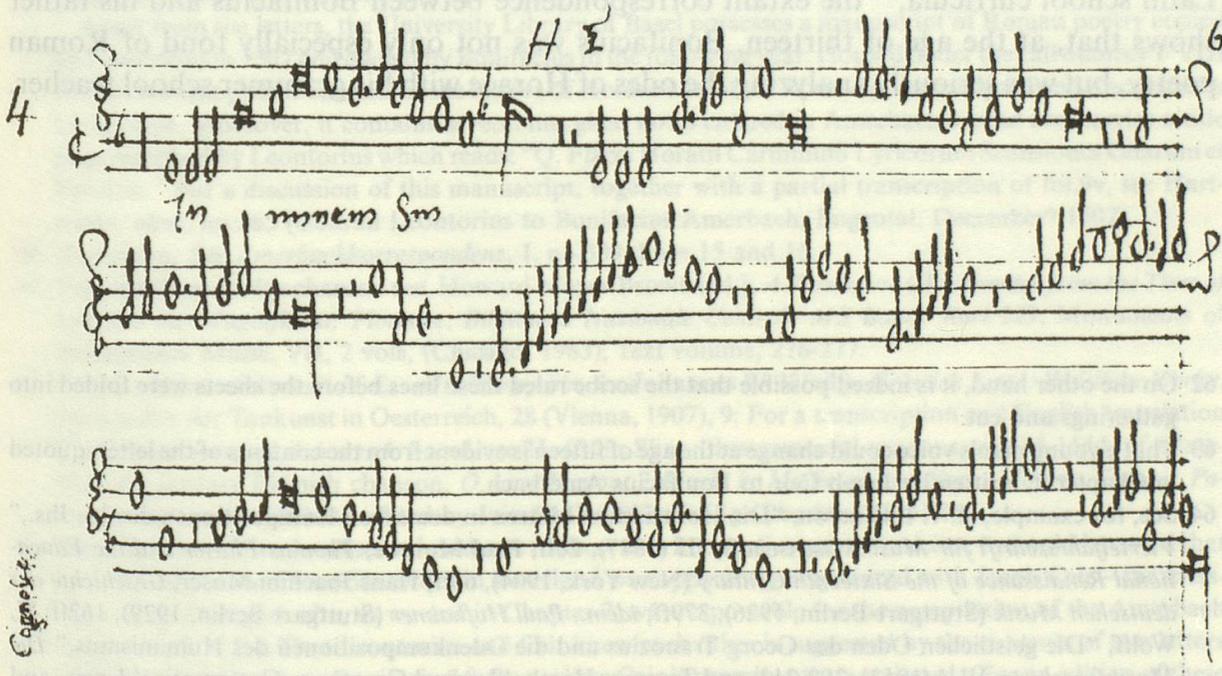


Figure 3.7. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (=Conrad Leontorius?) in CH-Bu F X 7, fol.6r

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.<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup> 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 strength 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,<sup>64</sup> 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,<sup>65</sup> described the young latinist in 1507 as “et ingenio et indole nobilis.”<sup>66</sup>

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 Loiset 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.<sup>67</sup> 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<sup>68</sup>. 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.<sup>69</sup>

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.<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, on one occasion Piperinus even entered a missing voice part for a German song left incomplete by S1.<sup>72</sup> 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,<sup>73</sup> it is clear that Piperinus (born ca.1525)<sup>74</sup> wrote his layer of the manuscript after S1's work (copied in Basel no later than 1510) was completed.<sup>75</sup>

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 surprising 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."<sup>76</sup> 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, <i>Noe?</i> ) <sup>A</sup>
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.<sup>77</sup> 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").

<sup>77</sup> 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 Helmut Osthoff zum 65. Geburtstage* (Tutzing, 1961), 47-60.

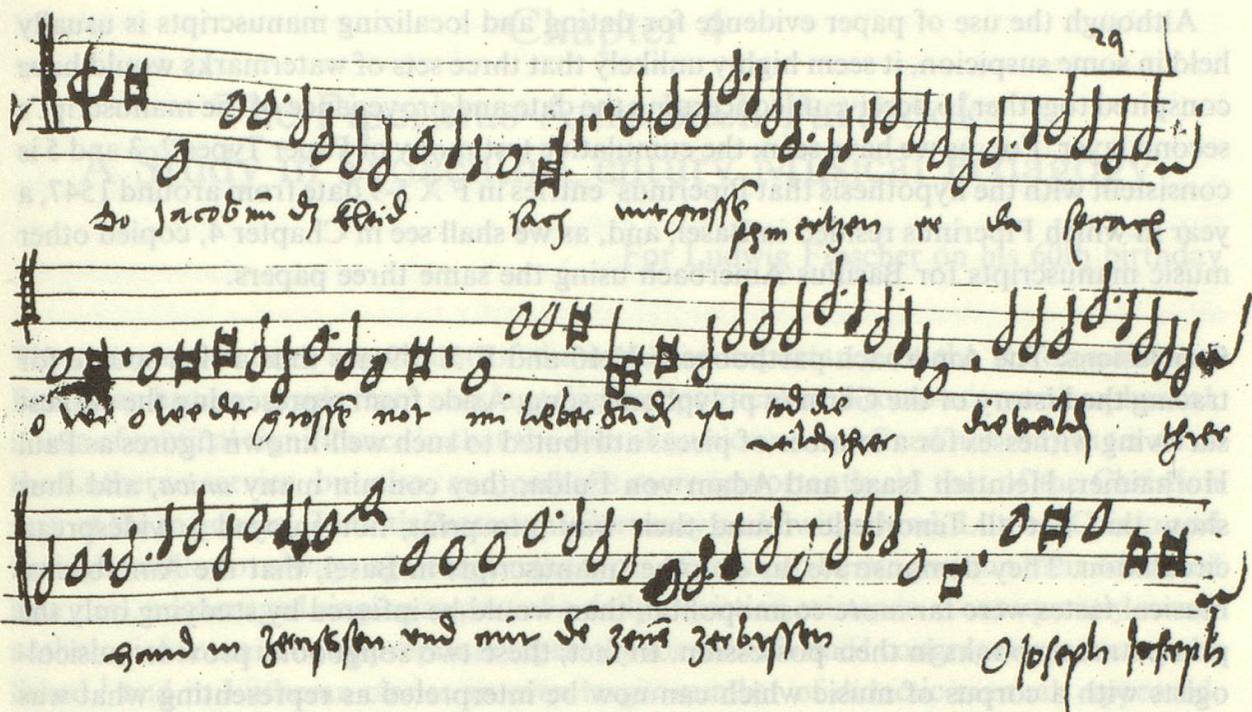


Figure 3.9. Handwriting sample of Scribe S3 (= Christoph Piperinus) in CH-Bu F X 7, fol.29r

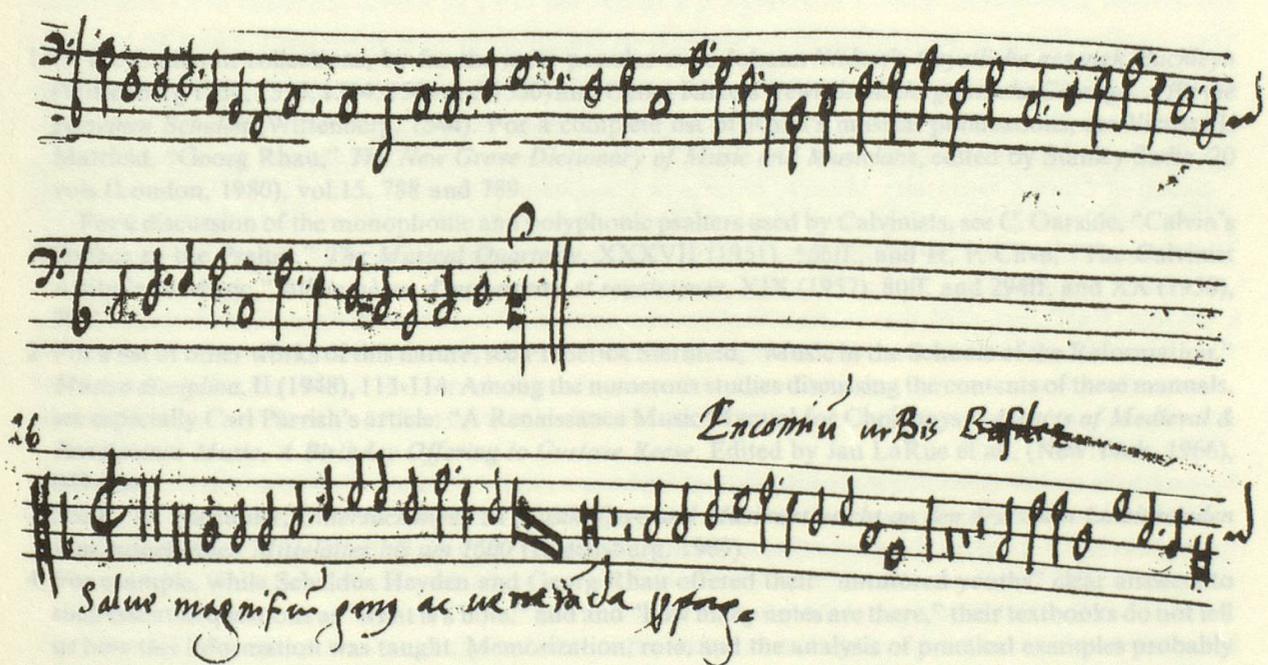


Figure 3.10. Handwriting and inscription by C. Piperinus in CH-Bu FX 9, fol.5r

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.

If these inscriptions and dated compositions mean that Piperinus' work was still in progress in 1547, then it is reasonable to assume that the entries in F X 5-9 were 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 3, present in F X 5-9, is not found in Basel documents from this period.) Piperinus' use of the printed Basel paper for his entries in F X 5-9, while perhaps unusual, is not unique. The date 1547, also found in Basel documents dating from around 1547, also appears in a letter written by Piperinus to Basilius Amerbach and posted from Basel on 10 February 1547 (see above, "Dated and signed").

<sup>77</sup> For a recent discussion of how to interpret dates in sixteenth-century German sources, see Luther Hoffmann-Erbrecht, "Datierungsprobleme bei Kompositionen in deutschem Musikmanuskripten des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift*, 60 (2007) 161-172, and *notizien aus grünewald*, 1, 01, E, 2007.

## 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

While these music books have provided historians with a good idea of what was heard and taught at *die gemeine Schule*,<sup>3</sup> 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.”<sup>4</sup>

1 Of the Lutheran collections, by far the most popular were Johann Walter's *Geystliche gesangk Buchlein* (Wittenberg 1524, 1525, 1534, 1544 and 1550) and Georg Rhau's *Neue 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.

2 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.

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 “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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup> 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 Dictionary 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup>

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

<b>Basel University Library MS F IX 32-35</b>
<i>Ex Libris/Dates:</i> Basilius Amerbach; 13 IX 1546
<i>Manuscript Dates:</i> None
<i>Scribes:</i> S1 (=Piperinus) and S2 (=Basilius Amerbach)
<i>Rastrum:</i> R1 (used by S1)
<i>Paper Types:</i> 1 and 2.
<b>Basel University Library kk IV 23-27: MS Appendix to RISM 1544<sup>71</sup></b>
<i>Ex Libris/Dates:</i> Basilius Amerbach; 31 XII 1546
<i>Manuscript Dates:</i> None
<i>Scribes:</i> S2 (=Basilius Amerbach)
<i>Rastrum:</i> R1 (used by S1)
<i>Paper Type:</i> 2.
<b>Basel University Library MS F X 5-9</b>
<i>Ex Libris/Dates:</i> Bonifacius and Basilius Amerbach; 1510
<i>Manuscript Dates:</i> 1535, 1544 and 1546
<i>Scribes:</i> S1 (=Piperinus)
<i>Rastrum:</i> R1 (used by S1)
<i>Paper Types:</i> 2 and 5.
<b>Basel University Library F X 22-24: MS Appendix to RISM 1535<sup>11</sup></b>
<i>Ex Libris/Dates:</i> Basilius Amerbach; 1548 and 1551
<i>Manuscript Dates:</i> 1547
<i>Scribes:</i> S1 (=Piperinus)
<i>Rastrum:</i> R2 (used by S1)
<i>Paper Types:</i> 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.

**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), Claudio 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).<sup>13</sup>

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 deudsche geistlich Gesangbüchlein* (RISM 1544<sup>71</sup>), by far one of the most popular collections of German sacred songs published for teaching purposes during the Reformation.<sup>14</sup>

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;<sup>15</sup> 2) the lines and spaces of staves are on several occasions identified by a letter name or solmization syllable<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup>

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.<sup>20</sup> 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.

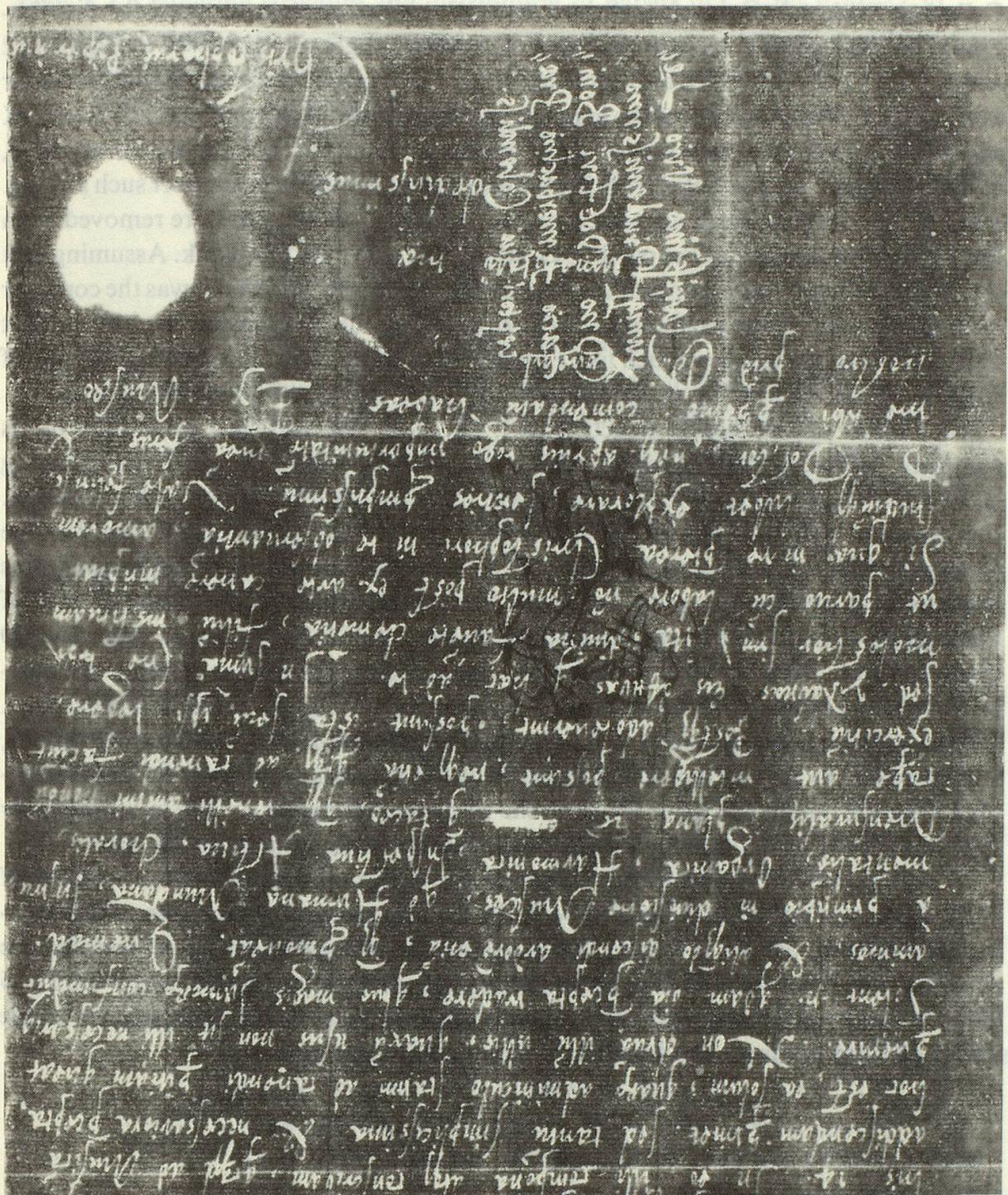
Several gaps obviously exist in this biographical sketch, yet from November of 1543 to the Summer of 1547 it is evident that Piperinus resided in Basel and that he gave Basilius Amerbach music lessons during this time. If the sources listed in Table 4.1 were copied by

17 Briquet, *Le filigranes*, no.1378. Evidence (external or internal) enabling us to date the sources

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,<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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."

The last seven compositions (nos. 27-33) are also numbered using Arabic numerals; however, these numbers are in pencil and were added by the present author in 1985.

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.

<i>Gatherings:</i>	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.

<i>Gatherings:</i>	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.

<i>Gatherings:</i>	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.

<i>Gatherings:</i>	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),<sup>24</sup> and the geographical notes tipped into the discant partbook,<sup>25</sup> 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.

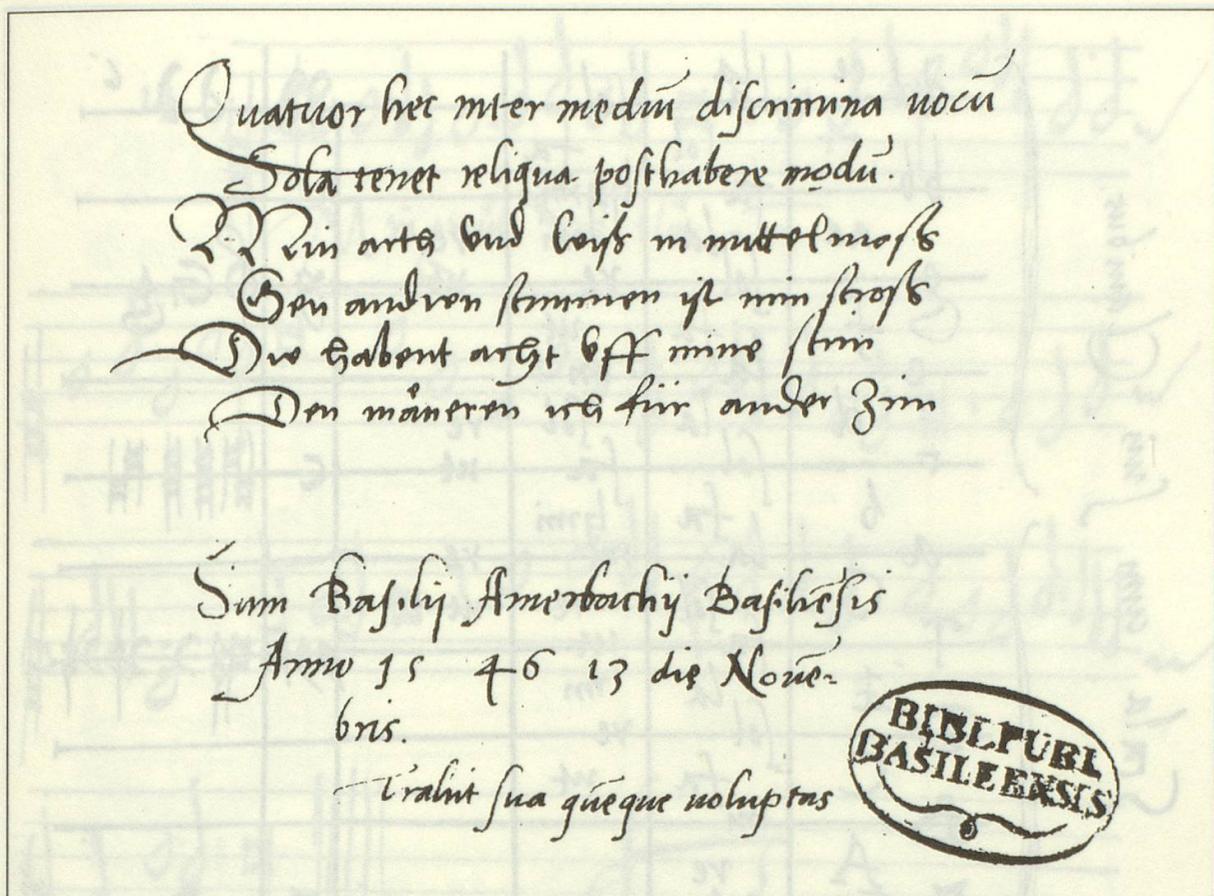


Figure 4.1. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Title page of CH-Bu F IX 33, fol.1r)

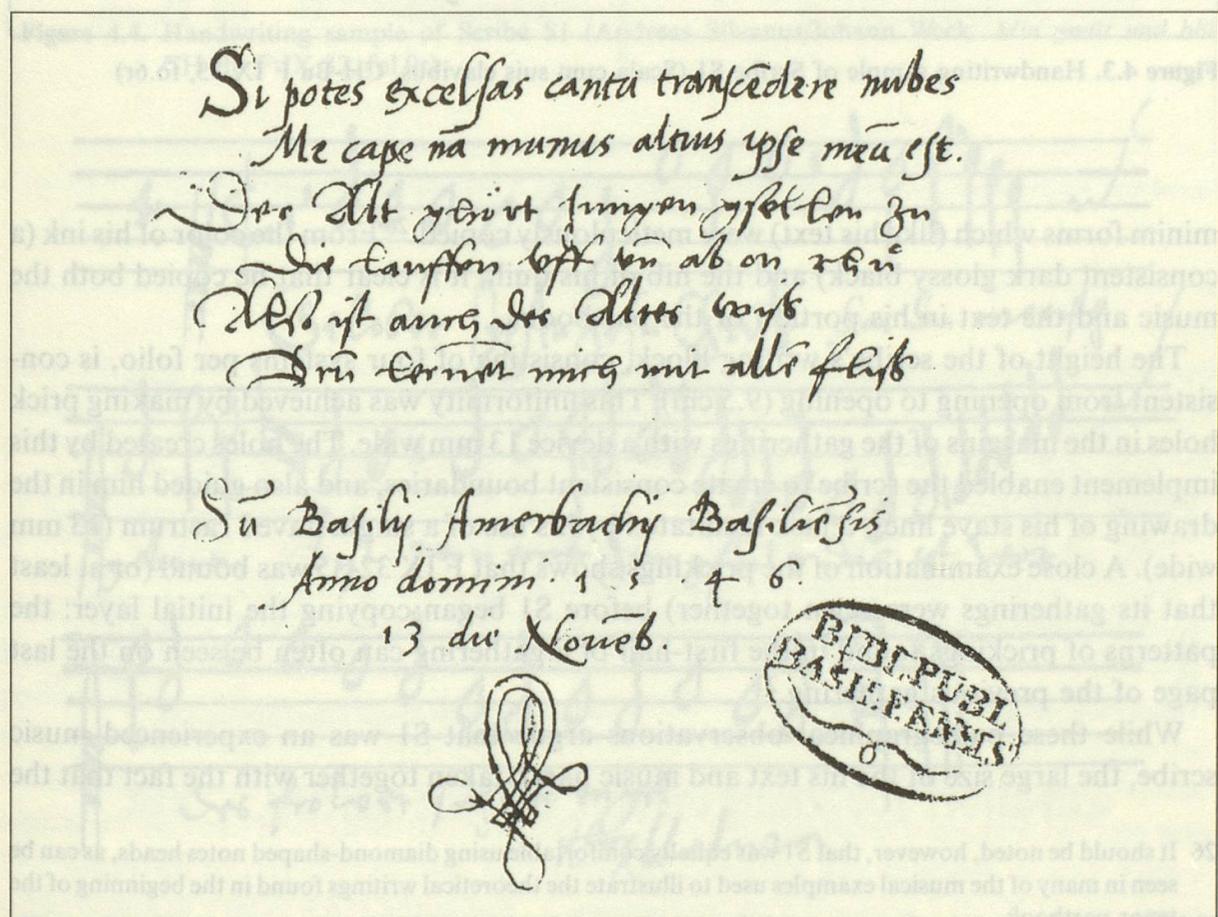
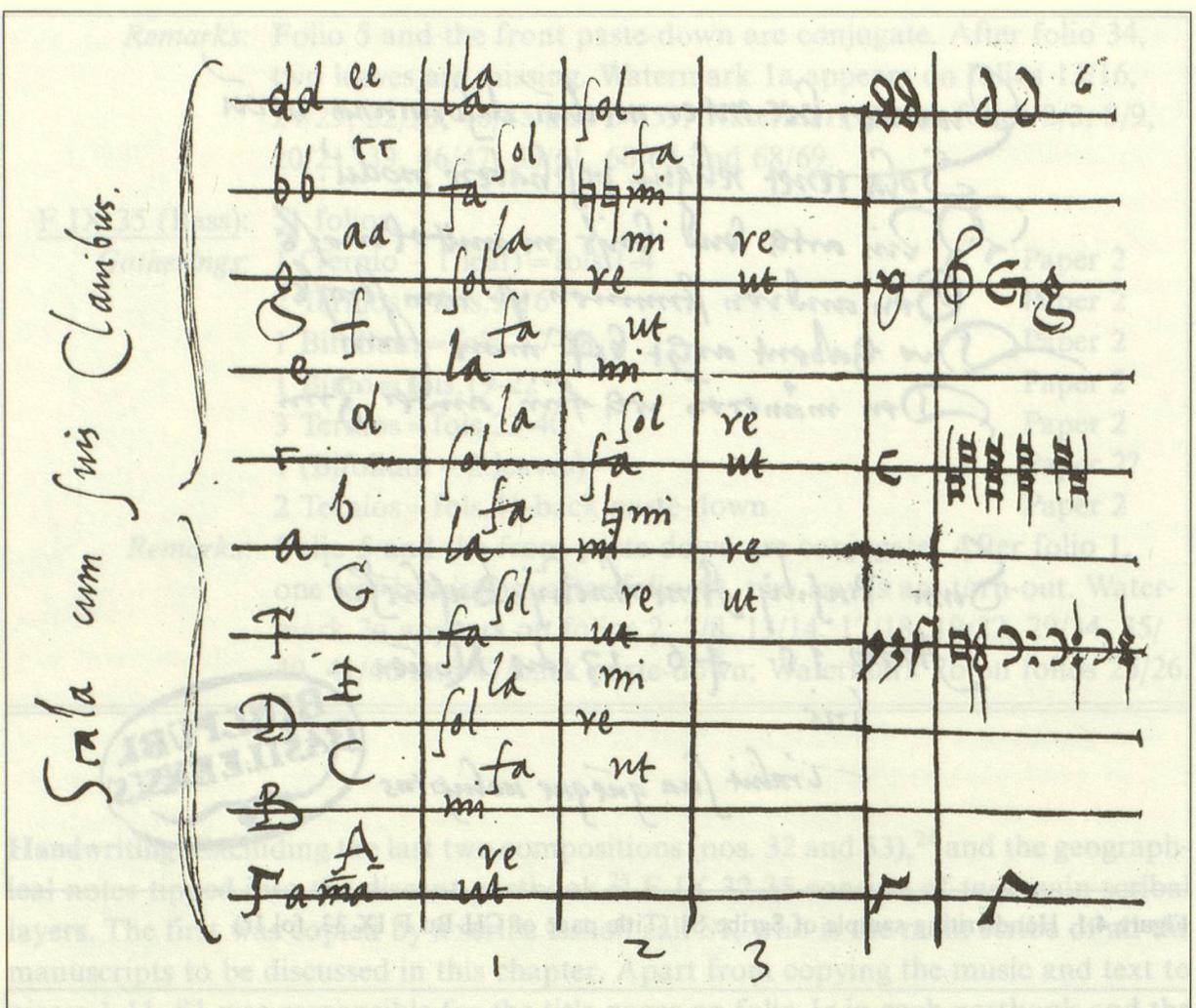


Figure 4.2. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Title page of CH-Bu F IX 34, fol. 1r)



**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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

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.

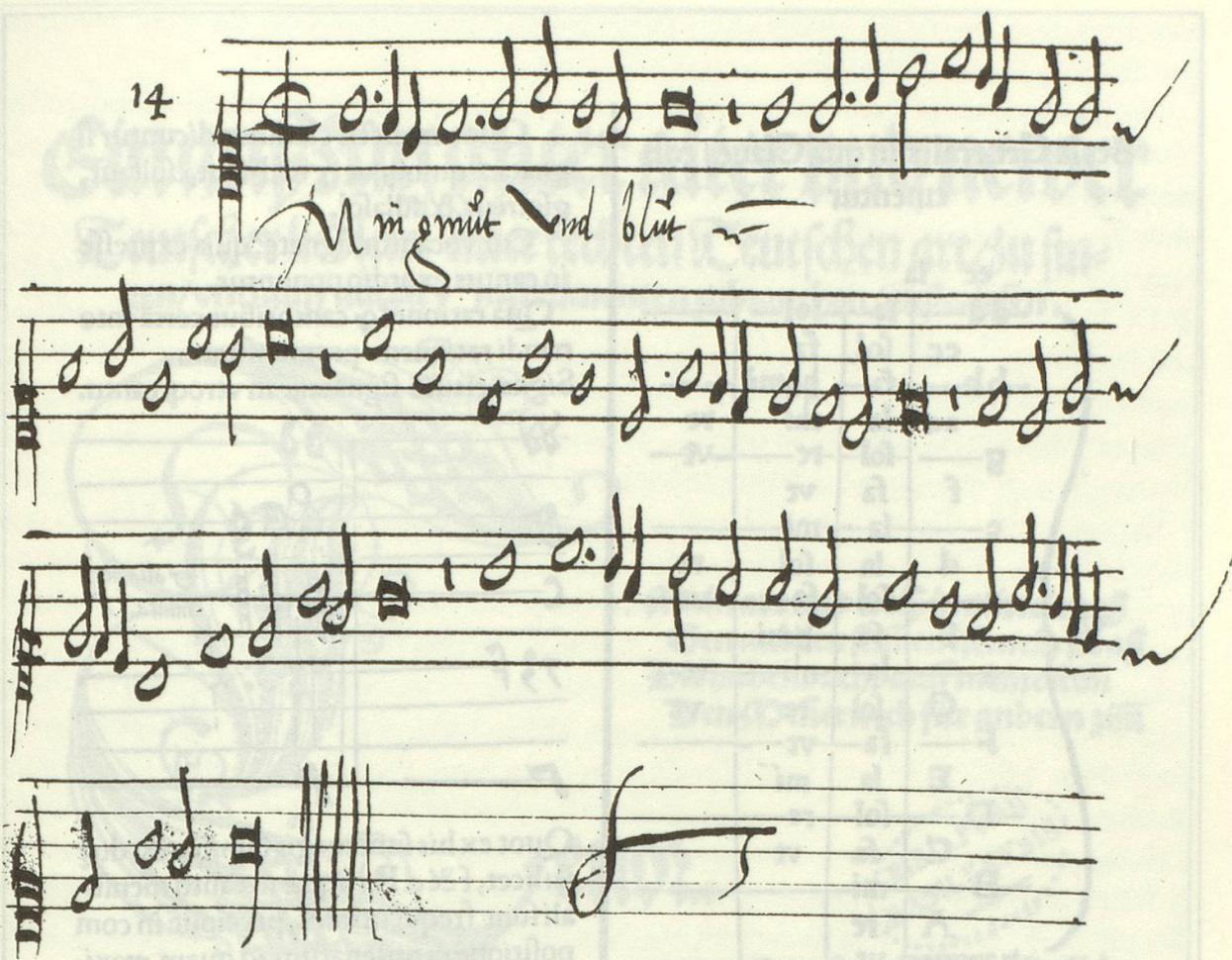


Figure 4.4. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Andreas Silvanus/Johann Weck. *Min gmüt und blüt*, CH-Bu F IX 32, fol.9r)



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

ee	la	sol	fa	mi	re	vt
dd	la	sol	fa	mi	re	vt
cc	sol	fa	mi	re	vt	
bb	fa	mi	re	vt		
aa	la	mi	re	vt		
g	sol	re				
f	fa	vt				
c	la	mi				
d	la	sol			re	
c	sol	fa			vt	
b	fa	mi				
a	la	mi			re	
G	sol	re			vt	
F	fa	vt				
E	la	mi				
D	sol	re				
C	fa	vt				
B	mi					
A	re					
Namna	vt					

Quot ex dictis clavisbus dicuntur si  
gnatae: quinq<sup>u</sup>at, ut Ffaut, c<sup>o</sup>lfaut,  
g<sup>o</sup>lreut, & dd<sup>o</sup>lasol.

**Cur vocantur signatæ? quia expresse  
in cantus exordio ponuntur.**

Qua ratione: q̄ cantoribus certā into  
nandi rationem premonstrant.  
Signa claviū signataꝝ in utroq; cantu.



Quot ex his sunt magis familiares? duę  
scilicet, f & c. Reliquę in cantu mensu-  
ali sunt frequentiores, pręcipue in com-  
positione cantilenarum ad quam maxi-  
me conducunt. B. iij. De dist-

**Figure 4.6.** Auctor Lampadius. *Compendium musices* (Bern, 1537), fols. Biii<sup>v</sup>-Biii<sup>r</sup>

Ein Lobgesang von der Geburt Christi. XIII.

Elobet seistu Jesu Christ/ das du mensch geboren bist/

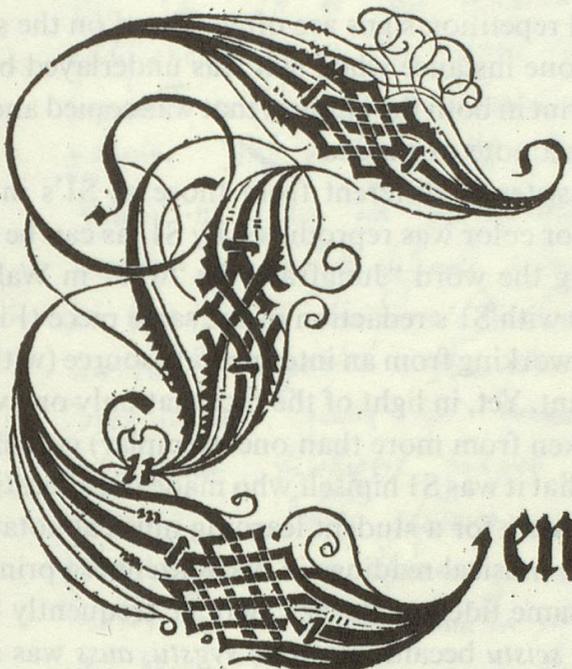
Von einer Jungfrau das ist wahr/ des freuet sich die Engel schar/ Kyrieleison.

Ein ander Lobgesang von der Geburt Christi. XIII.

**Figure 4.7.** Johann Walter. *Wittembergisch deudsche geistliche Gesangbüchlein* (=RISM 1544<sup>71</sup>), Discant, no.XIII (=Johann Walter. *Gelobet seistu Jhesu Christ*)

# Ein außzug guter alter vnd newer

Deutscher liedlein/ einer rechten Deutschen art/ zu singen/ vnd auß allerley Instrumenten zu brauchen/ auferlesen.



enor.

Mein art vnd weiss in mittelmaß  
Gen andern stimen ist mein straß  
Die habent acht auff meine stim  
Den Menen ich für andern zim



Getruckt in Nürnberg bey Johann Petreio/anno M. D. X. L. H.

Figure 4.8. Georg Forster, *Frische teutsche Liedlein* (= RISM 1543<sup>24</sup>), 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 deudsche 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 underlaid 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,<sup>28</sup> 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 *südalemisch* 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<sup>24</sup>). 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<sup>24</sup> 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/characteristic 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.

S. Dñe Doctor, fuit hodie filius nūs meū, cui salte principiū aliq  
 Musices demonstrauit. Iusū illū sibi parare quātor partis ex pura  
 charta, in unaquāq; 12 quaterniones, in Tenore, aut una  
 hīs 14. In eo illi cōponā atq; conscribam, gradū ad Musicā  
 addiscendam p̄met. sed tantū simplicissima & necessaria p̄cepta,  
 hoc est, ea solum, quāq; ad miniculū statim ad canendi p̄itiam gnat  
 p̄memire. Non obvā illū ultis, quārū usus non sit illi necessariq.  
 Solent n̄ q̄dam s̄ia p̄cepta tradere, q̄us magis summa confundit  
 animos, & aliq̄do discandi ardore s̄ia, q̄ p̄mōreāt. Quemad;  
 à principio in divisione Musices, q̄d Humana, Mundana, Insu,  
 mentalis, Organica, Harmonica, Instinctiva, Activa, Choralis,  
 Mensuralis, Organica et. ~~et.~~ q̄ taceo; q̄n renelli animi nondu  
 rāpe aut intelligere possunt, neq; s̄ia q̄q; ad canendi faciunt  
 exercitū. Postq; adotuerint, possunt ista seu iissi legere,  
 sed & dāvōas eis cōfūas q̄ hac ad h̄. In summa, (me libi  
 mōto b̄ior s̄im) ita, diuina fāuste clementia, filiū instituam,  
 ut paruo cū labore mō multo post ex arte canere mōpiat.  
 Si qua, in re p̄terea Christophori n̄ te obseruantia, amorem,  
 hūmānū libet explorare, sentias p̄mōfissimū. Vnde felicis.  
 D. Doctor, neq; aprius rogo p̄ importunitatē meā foras, &  
 me libi p̄ p̄tereo cōmandāt habeas. Ex Musico  
 mōstro p̄rid. Id. Novemb.

Humanitati mō

dedicissimus

Christophorus Piperinus

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

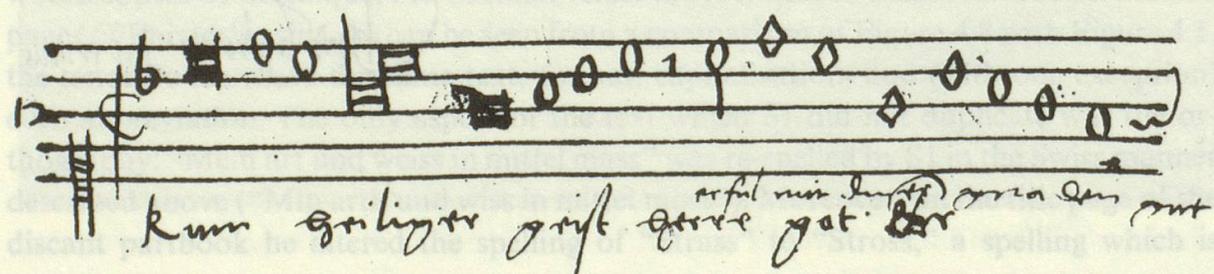
indeed still commonly found today in any tabloid, advertisement or public notice printed in Basel.

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)

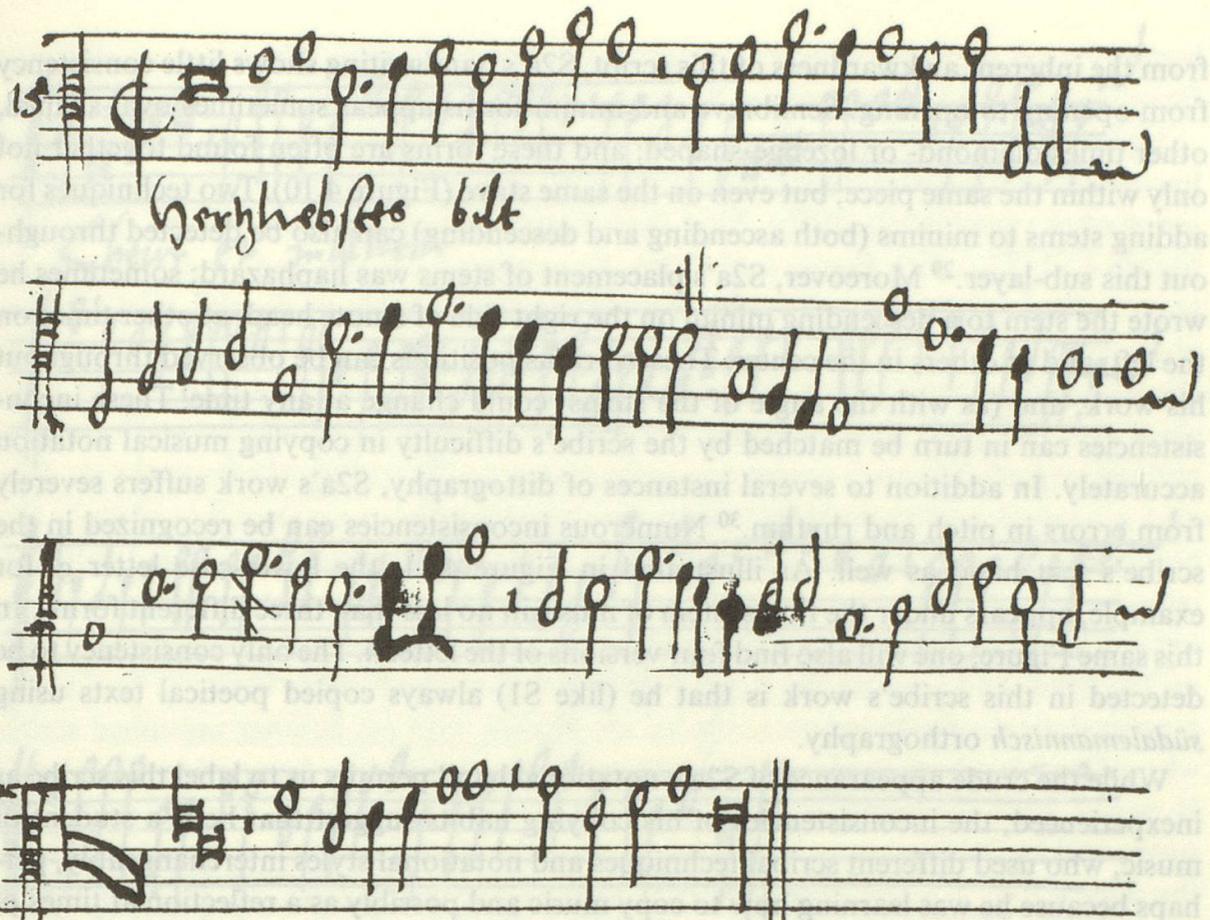


Figure 4.11. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2a (Anonymous. *Kum heiliger geist*, CH-Bu F IX 34, fol.9r)

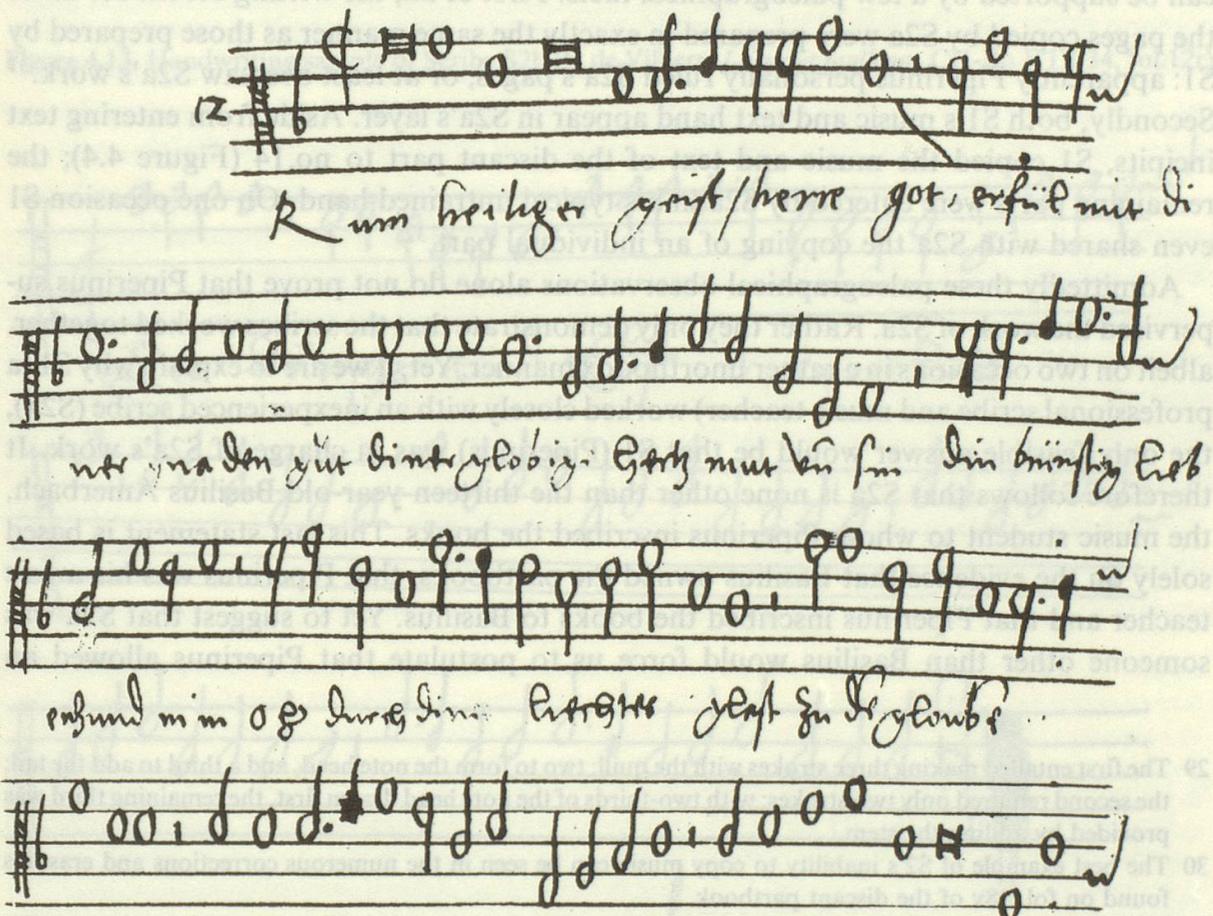


Figure 4.12. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2a (Paul Hofhaimer. *Hertzliebtestes bilt*, CH-Bu F IX 34, fol.11v)

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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup>

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.

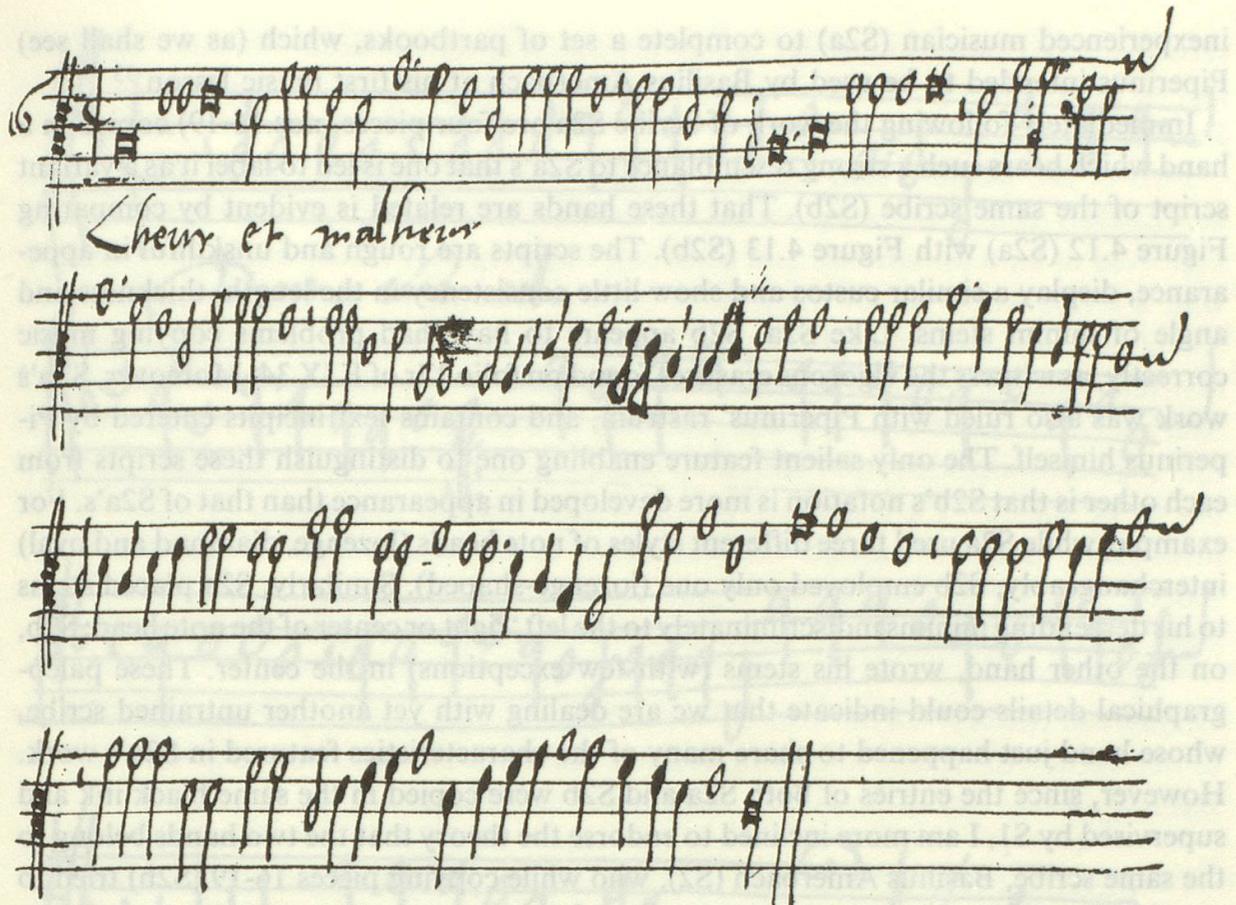


Figure 4.13. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2b (P. de Villiers. *L'heure et malheur*, CH-Bu F IX 34, fol.12r)

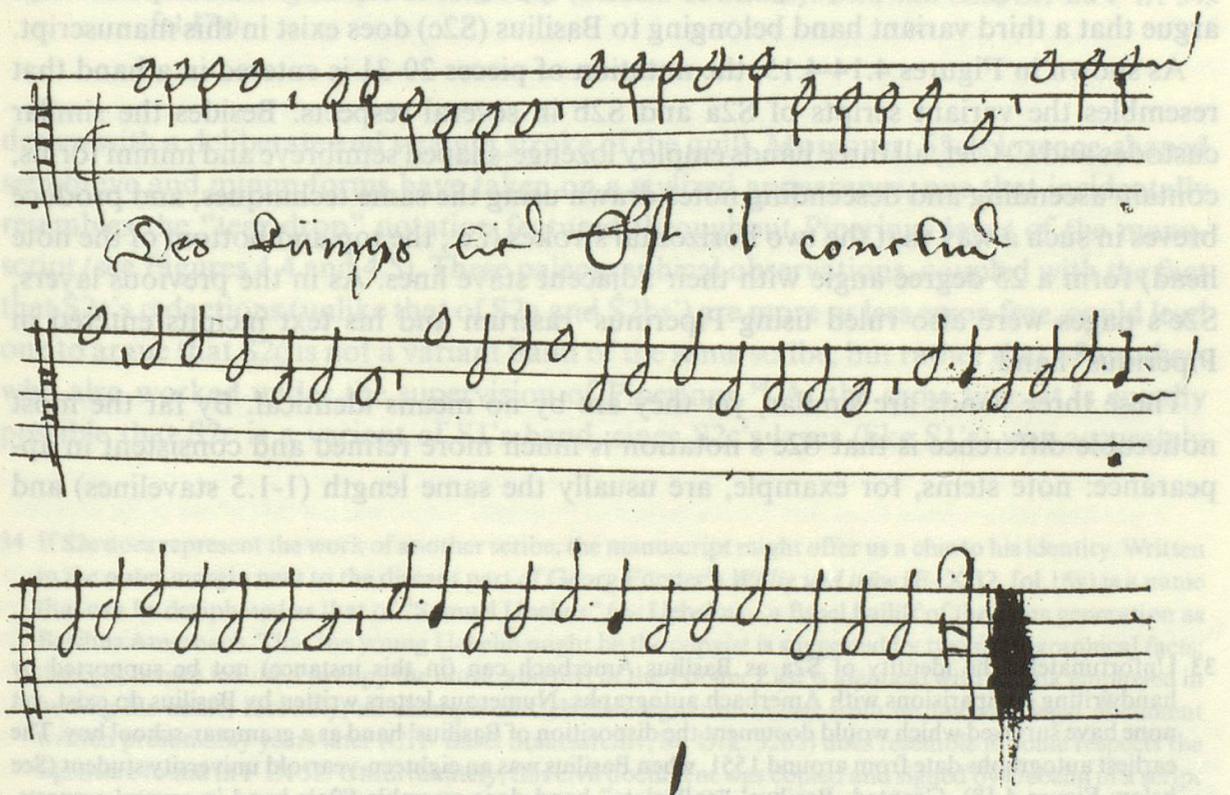


Figure 4.14. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2c (Anonymous. *Des künigs lied. Est il conclud*, CH-Bu F IX 34, fol.15r)

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.<sup>33</sup>

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.

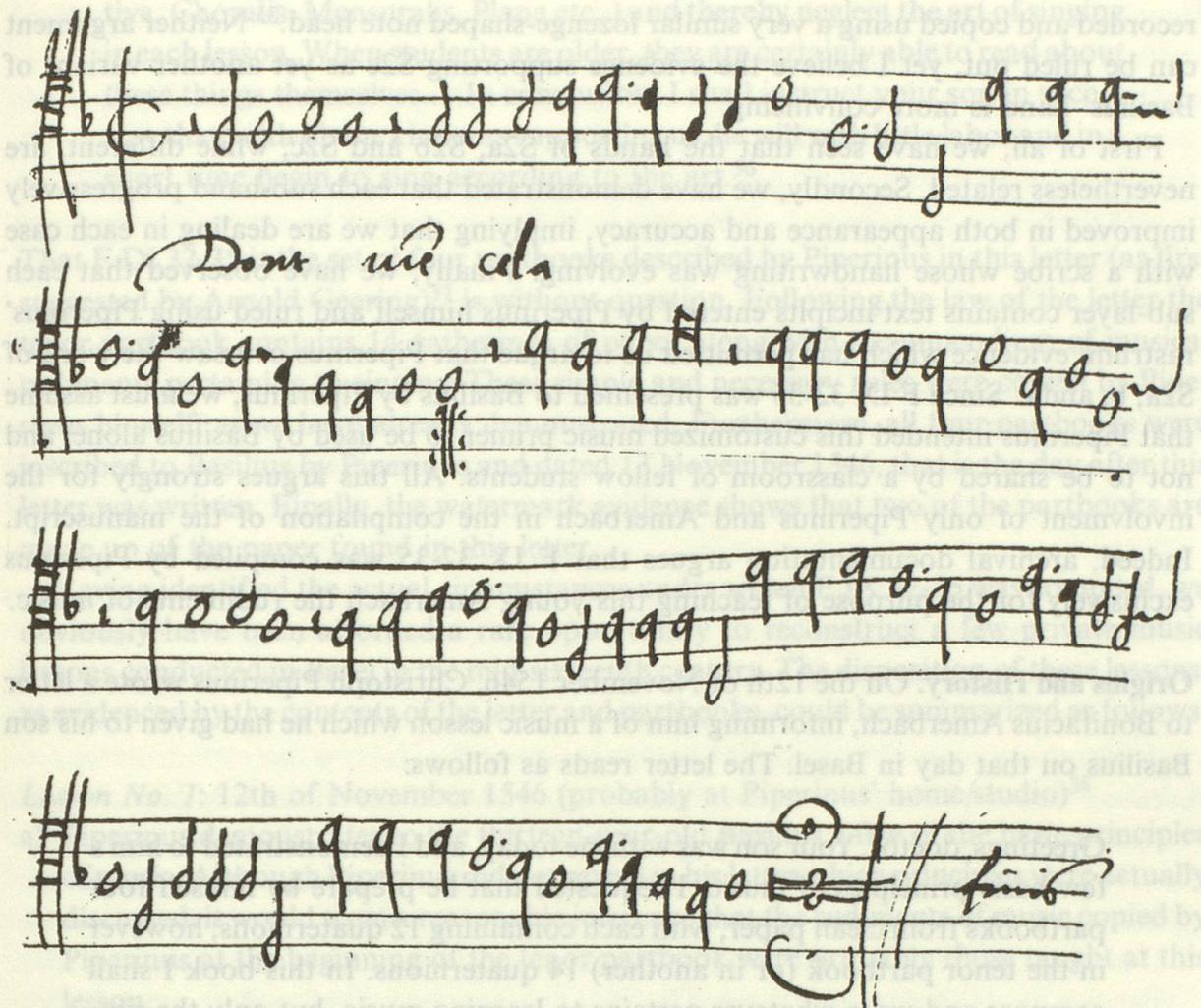


Figure 4.15. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2c (Claudin de Sermisy. *Dont vien cela*, CH-Bu F IX 34, fol.17v)

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*.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup> 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 involvement 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.<sup>36</sup>

That F IX 32-35 is the set of four partbooks described by Piperinus in this letter (as first suggested by Arnold Geering)<sup>37</sup> 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)<sup>38</sup>*

- 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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup>

*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.<sup>41</sup>

*Lesson No. 3: (exact date unknown).*

Working under the supervision of Piperinus, Basilius (= S2a) tries 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 quaternios 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 successful.

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.

**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.<sup>42</sup> The first, and by far the largest, layer is a printed book, a copy of the fifth edition of Johann Walter's *Wittembergisch deudsche geistliche Gesangbüchlein* (RISM, 1544<sup>71</sup>), a pedagogic collection of sacred polyphonic songs and motets from which (as we have seen) Piperinus copied 5 compositions into F IX 32-35.<sup>43</sup> 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 Basiliij Amerbachij Basiliensis") and the other entered in Basilius' hand and dated 31 December 1546 ("Basiliij Amerbachij Basileiensis Anno 1547. / Pridie Calend. Januarij"), a date ostensibly recording when Basilius acquired the partbooks from his teacher.<sup>44</sup>

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.<sup>45</sup>

The third layer, hitherto unknown,<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> 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<sup>71</sup>) 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.

# Wittembergisch deutsch Geistlich Gesangbüchlein.

Mit vier vnd fünff Stimmen.

Durch Johann Walthern / Chur  
fürstlichen von Sachsen Sangermeistern /  
außs new mit oleis corrigirt / vnd mit  
vielen schönen Liedern gebe-  
sert vnd gemehret.

Gedruckt zu Wittemberg / Durch Georgen Dham,  
ANNO M. D. XLIII.

Basilij Amerbachij Bassiliensis anno 1547.  
pridie Calend. Januarii



Plate 4.2. Title page of Johann Walter's *Wittembergisch deutsch Geistlich Gesangbüchlein* (RISM 1544<sup>71</sup>) 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 fol.

*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 fol.

*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.

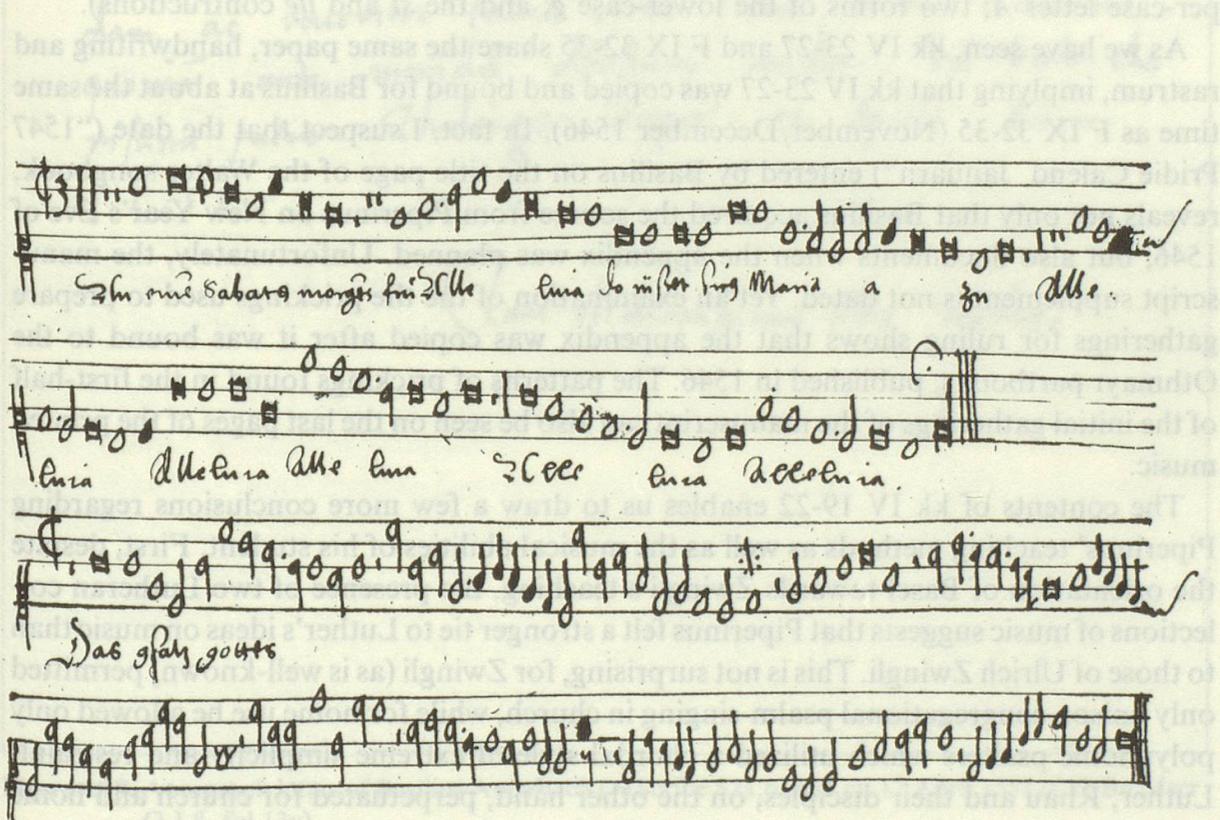
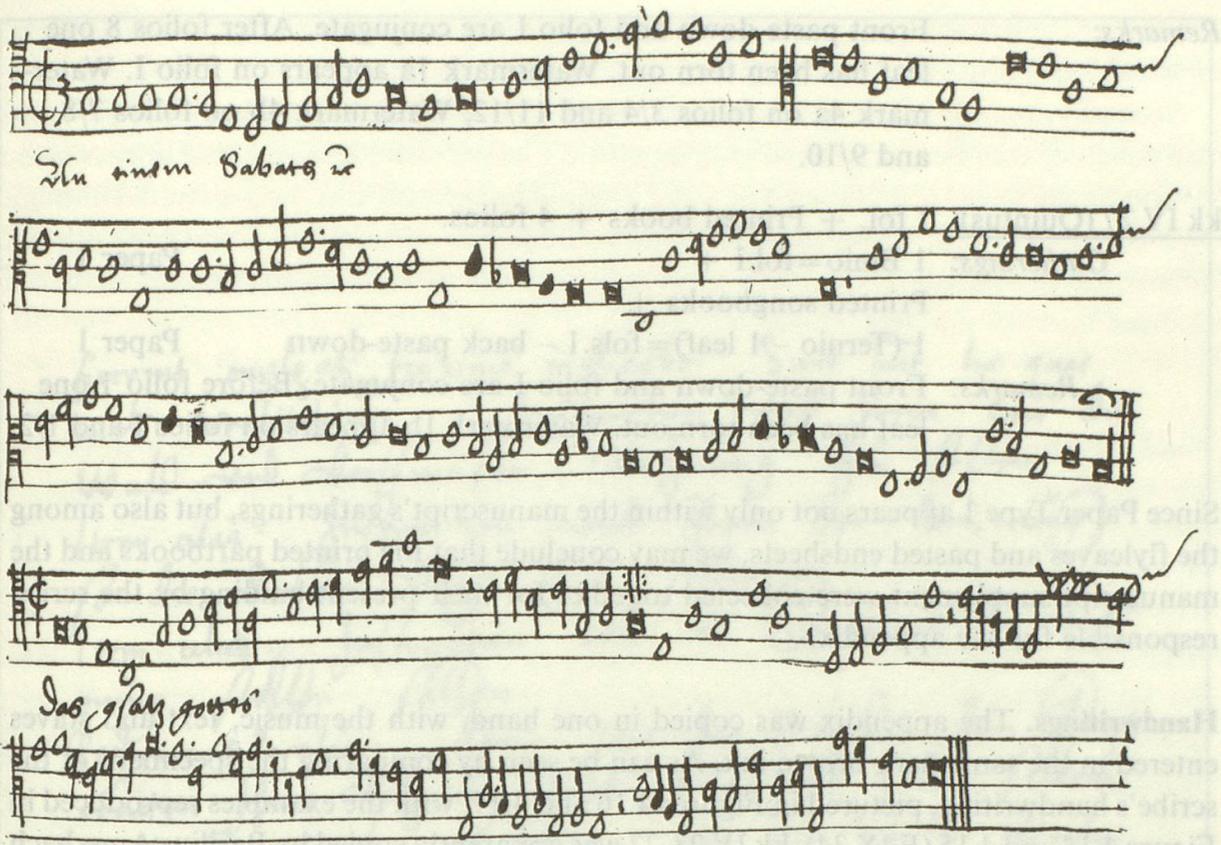
kk IV 25 (Altus): 1 fol. + Printed books + 16 folios.

*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): 1 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



<i>Remarks:</i>	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.
<u>kk IV 27 (Quintus):</u>	I fol. + Printed books + 4 folios.
<i>Gatherings:</i>	1 Binio = fol. I + Printed songbooks +
	1 (Ternio – 1 leaf) = fols. 1 – back paste-down
<i>Remarks:</i>	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* contractions).

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

fuerint cuncte ahi, proximo indicabo. Sunt autem haec quae  
in dii constitutio[n]es. Instructione und[er] formis eis[em] die  
Wahl und Verfassung[em] Xystus[em] p[ro]p[ter]a[em] p[er] p[re]l[ati]o[n]em  
Item alia. Instructione und formis der Verfassung[em]  
p[er] die Electione[em] p[ro]p[ter]a[em] p[er] p[re]l[ati]o[n]em  
Item alia. Instructione eis[em] die Amphitheatr[um] H[ab]it[um]  
m[od]i p[er] p[re]l[ati]o[n]em p[er] p[re]l[ati]o[n]em.  
Postremo et alia. Formis eis[em] die Verba[em] don[um] Amphit  
heatr[um] H[ab]it[um] Verfassung[em] Galo[em] h[ab]ent p[er] p[re]l[ati]o[n]em p[er] p[re]l[ati]o[n]em.  
D. Ioannes Jacobus Focklinus, haec die ad D. Nicolai  
seder, in quibus me habitare putabat, uenit, atque ex  
abitu[rum] mei m[is]salitatis protestatus est, quod mihi D.  
Nicolai in cana indicauit. Cum igit[ur] ut h[ab]et tra  
dam ac reverenter salutem, cras sumo mome e[st]uacionem,  
quoniam ante meridiem desceru[er]e anolis. B[ea]t[us] Vale, cha  
rissime pater. Thuringe Vesper. 12 Aprilis. Anno  
1551.

Clavis obediensissimus filius Basilius.

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.<sup>48</sup>

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 minimis

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).

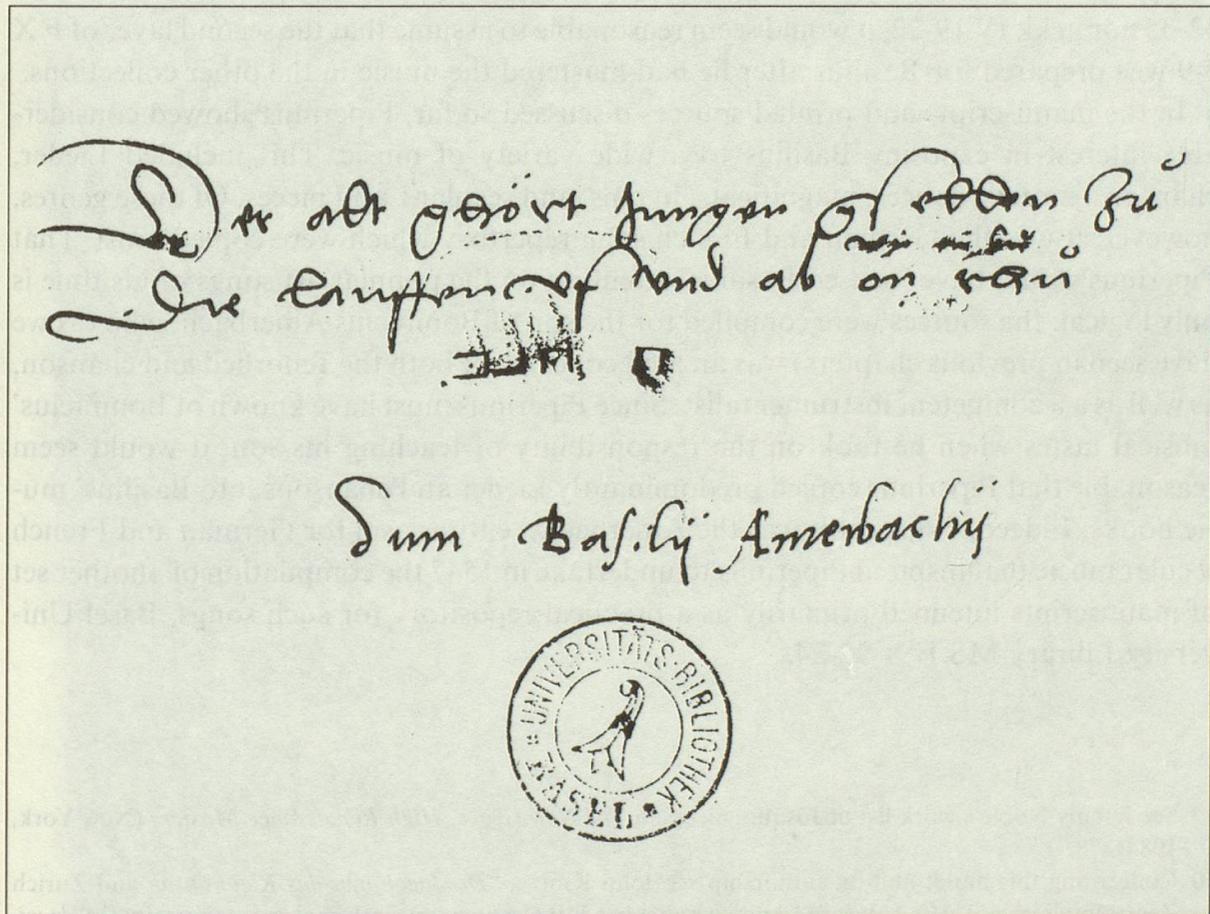


Figure 4.19. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (CH-Bu F X 6, fol.1r)

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).<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> 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 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.

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<sup>51</sup>).<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

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.<sup>53</sup> 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: "Basilius 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.<sup>54</sup>

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.

<i>Gatherings:</i>	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.

<i>Gatherings:</i>	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.

<i>Gatherings:</i>	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.

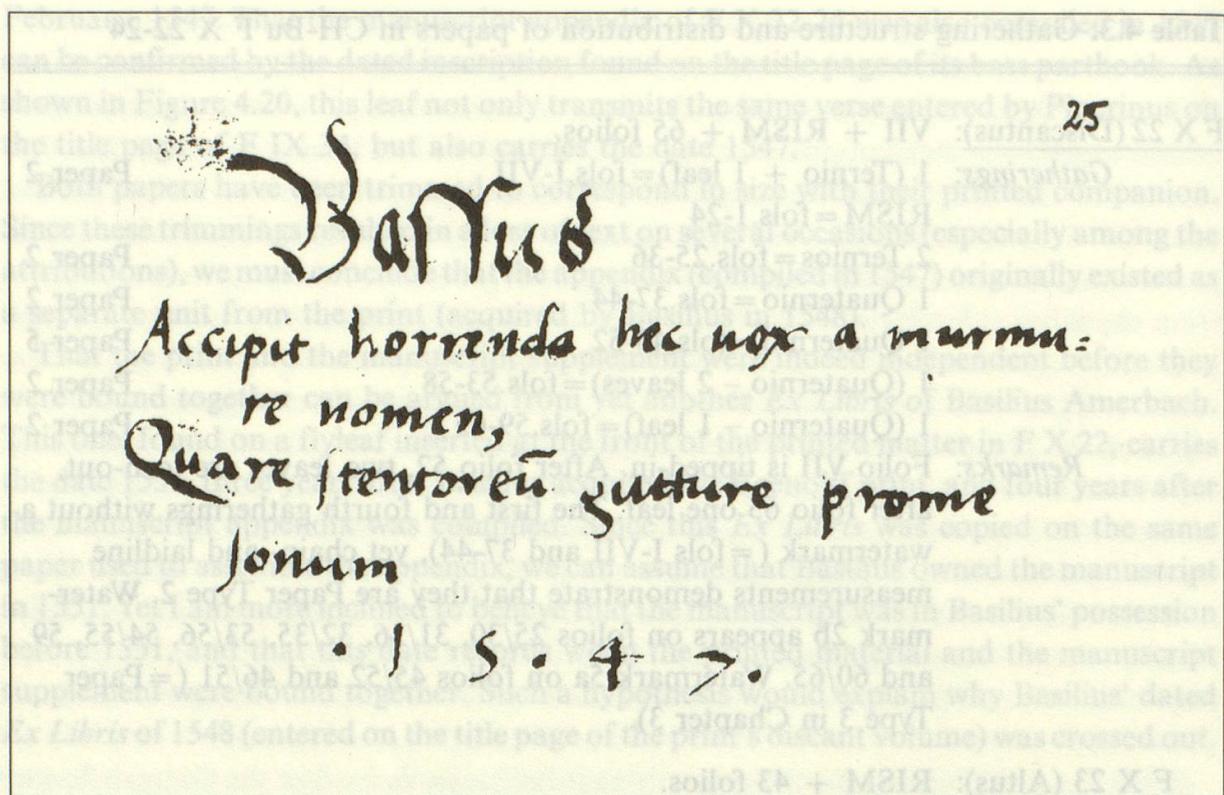
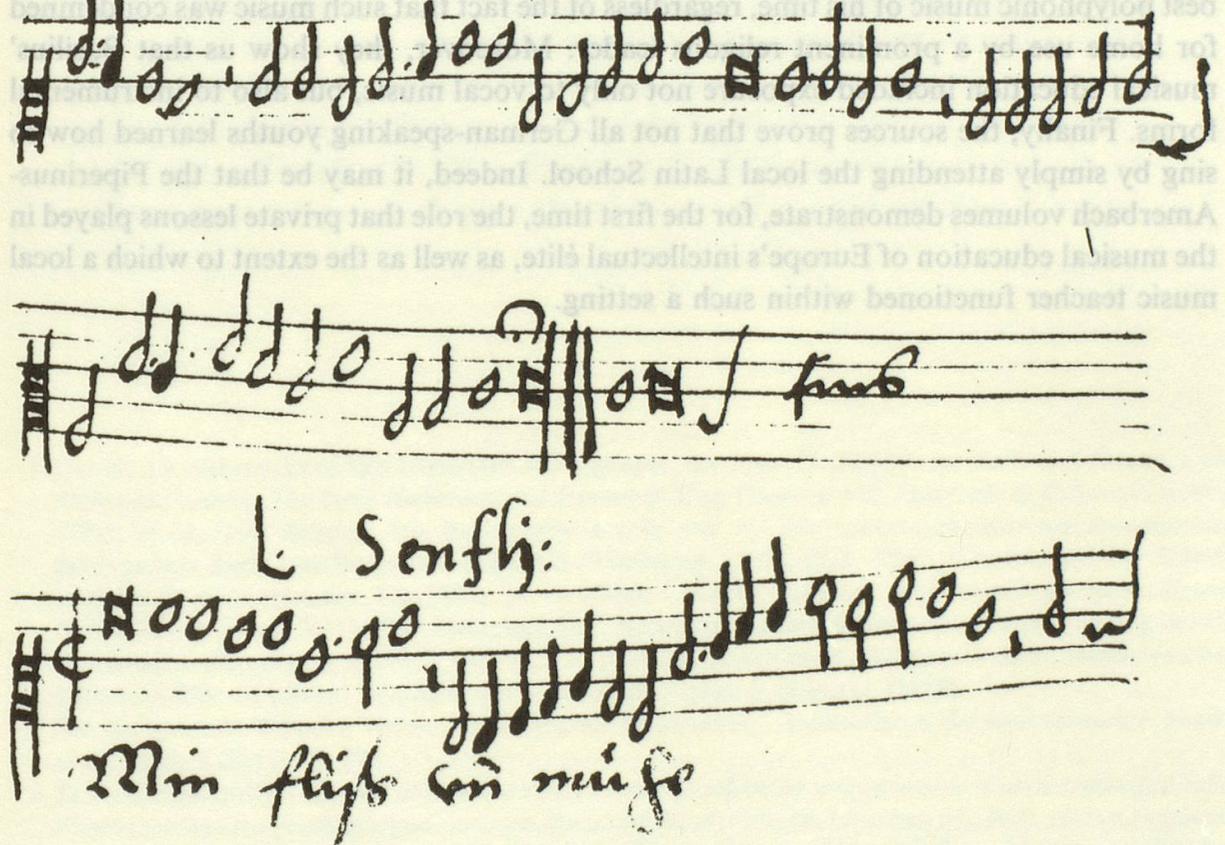
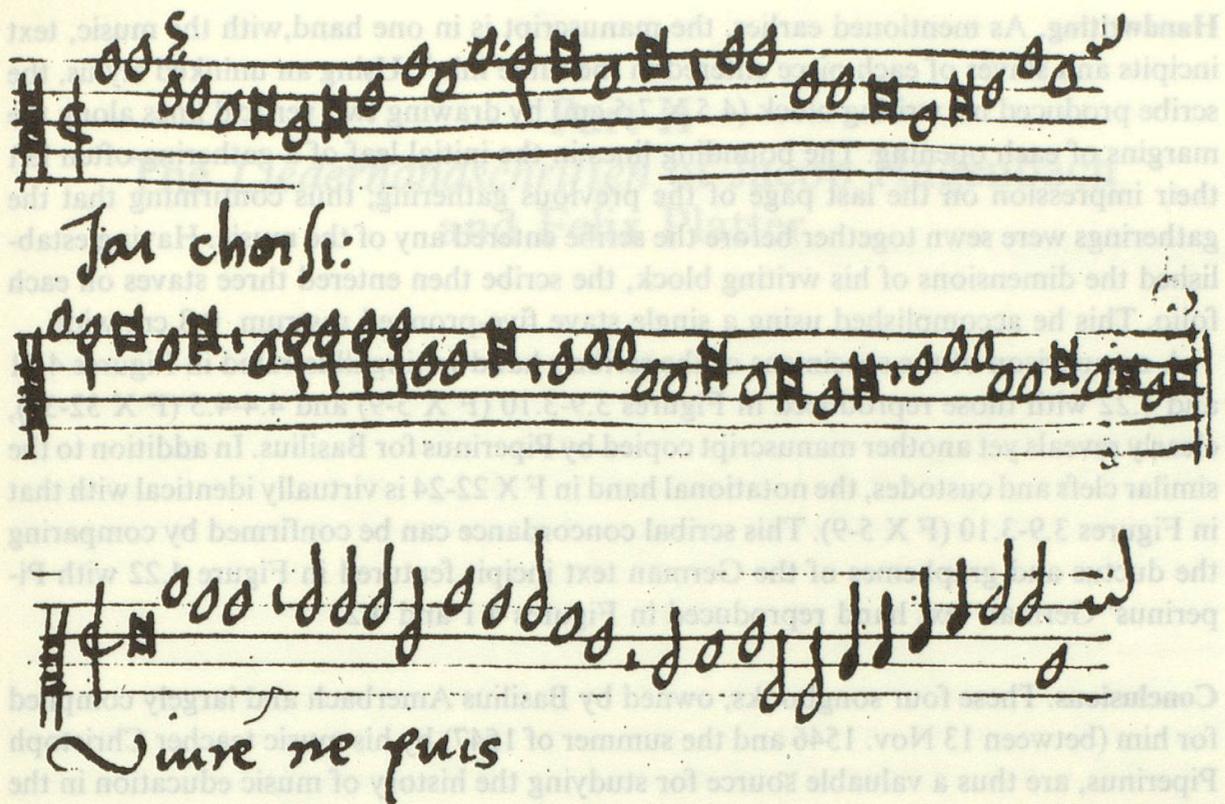


Figure 4.20. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2 (CH-Bu F X 24, fol.25r)

**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.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> 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.



**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.<sup>56</sup> 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 religious 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.

<sup>56</sup> 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.