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Autor: Kmetz, John

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

in memory of Valentin Löttscher

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

While Thomas Guérin was engaged to the maiden from the */Haus/ zum Falken* (= Elisabeth Isengrin, living at Freie Straße 51, see Plate 5.1), Guérin asked me if I could arrange for some music so as to serenade his beloved. This request came at a time when Guérin and Bempelfort³ frequently called upon me. Although I did promise Guérin to make the necessary arrangements, I did so only under the condition that this music should also be performed in a location that pleased me. Therefore we got together one night late after dinner but first proceeded to the home of my fiancée (= *Haus zum Schöneck*, Freie Straße 20, see Plate 5.1). In addition to bringing my harp, we brought two lutes which were played by myself and Mr. Thiebolt Schöna-

1. On the life and works of this important Basel printer, see Peter G. Bomanhole, *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century: The Basle Humanists and Printers in Their Contacts with Francophone Culture* (Toronto, 1971), 76-78; Josef Bausling, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen*, XII (Wiesbaden, 1963), 39; A. Fluri, "Die Bärenbibel," *Schweizerisches Gutenbergmuseum*, IX (1973), 35-41, 52-92; J. and H. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise* (Lyon, 1896-1921), V, 34 and X, 362ff; P. Heitz and C.C. Berngull, *Basler Altbüchereien bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Straßburg, 1895), XXXViff; and F. F. Lecouvet-Garin, "Thomas Guérin, journaliste imprimeur à Bâle 16. siècle," *Messenger des sciences historiques de Belgique*, (1858).

2. See, for example, Wilhelm Merian, "Felix Platter als Musiker," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, XIII (1917), 281.

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

Handwriting. As mentioned earlier, the manuscript is in one hand, with the music, text incipits and staves of each piece entered in the same ink.⁵⁶ Using an uninked stylus, the scribe produced his writing block (4.5 cm wide) 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. The scribe lost the ends of many 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 staff 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 32-33), 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 elite, as well as the extent to which a local music teacher functioned within such a setting.

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

Chapter 5

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

In memory of Valentin Lötscher

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

While Thomas Guérin was engaged to the maiden from the [*Haus*] zum *Falken* (= Elisabeth Isengrin, living at Freie Straße 51, see Plate 5.1), Guérin asked me if I could arrange for some music so as to serenade his beloved. This request came at a time when Guérin and Bempelfort³ frequently called upon me. Although I did promise Guérin to make the necessary arrangements, I did so only under the condition that this music should also be performed in a location that pleased me. Therefore we got together one night late after dinner but first proceeded to the home of my fiancée (= *Haus zum Schöneck*, Freie Straße 20, see Plate 5.1). In addition to bringing my harp, we brought two lutes which were played by myself and Mr. Thiebolt Schonau-

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

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

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

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

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

5 On the life of this Basel goldsmith see below.

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

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

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

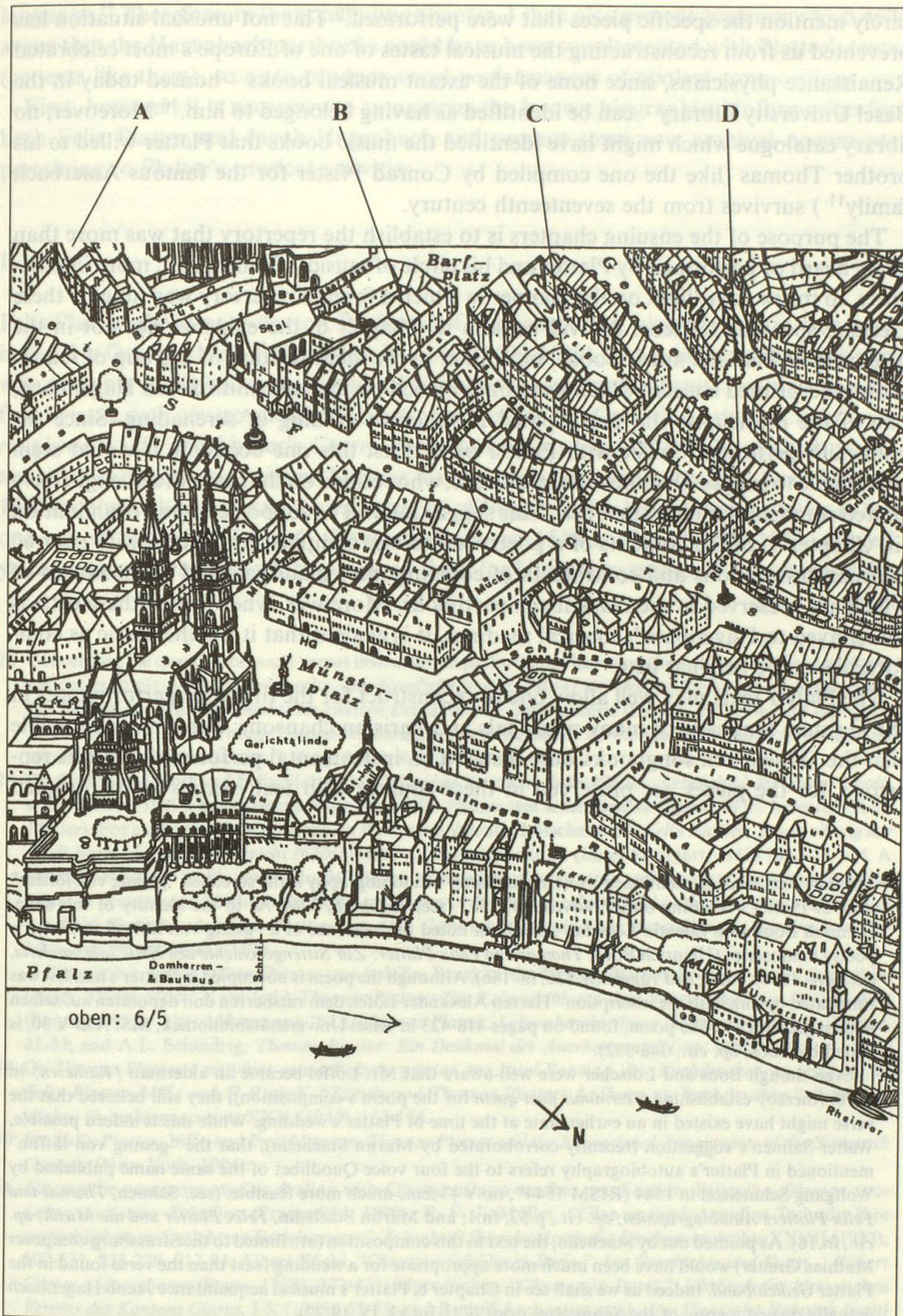


Plate 5.1. Detail from the 1615 map of Basel by Matthäus Merian: A. Freie Straße 90 (= Felix Platter's *Haus zum Gejagd*); B. Freie Straße 51 (= Elisabeth Isengrin's *Haus zum Falken*); C. Freie Straße 37 (= Jacob Hagenbach's *Haus zum Drachen*); D. Freie Straße 20 (= Magdalena Jeckelmann's *Haus zum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

rarely mention the specific pieces that were performed.⁹ This not unusual situation has prevented us from reconstructing the musical tastes of one of Europe's most celebrated Renaissance physicians, since none of the extant musical books – housed today in the Basel University Library – can be identified as having belonged to him.¹⁰ Moreover, no library catalogue which might have identified the music books that Platter willed to his brother Thomas (like the one compiled by Conrad Pfister for the famous Amerbach family¹¹) survives from the seventeenth century.

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

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

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

Even though Boos and Lötscher were well-aware that Mr. Löffel became an alderman (*Ratherrn*) in 1578, (thereby establishing a *terminus post quem* for the poem's composition), they still believed that the verse might have existed in an earlier state at the time of Platter's wedding. While this is indeed possible, Walter Salmen's suggestion (recently corroborated by Martin Staehelin), that the "gesang von löfflin" mentioned in Platter's autobiography refers to the four voice Quodlibet of the same name published by Wolfgang Schmeltzel in 1544 (RISM 1544¹⁹, no.V) seems much more feasible. (see, Salmen, *Thomas und Felix Platters Autobiographien*, *op. cit.*, p.52, fn.1; and Martin Staehelin, *Felix Platter und die Musik*, *op. cit.*, fn.18). As pointed out by Staehelin, the text to this composition (attributed to the Strassburg composer Mathias Greiter) would have been much more appropriate for a wedding feast than the verse found in the Platter *Gedichtband*. Indeed as we shall see in Chapter 6, Platter's musical acquaintance Jacob Hagenbach actually owned a copy of the Schmeltzel print (CH-Bu kk IV 19-22).

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

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

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

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

I

Felix Platter, the famous doctor, Professor of Medicine and University rector, was born in Basel in October 1536.¹³ His father, Thomas (1499-1582), was a respected Basel printer who not only published many standard philological and medical texts but was also the first to issue such controversial reformation tracts as John Calvin's *Institutio Christianae religionis* (1536) and Luther's *Contra Portentosas Quasdam* (1541).¹⁴ In addition to his activities as a scholarly printer, Thomas was an important educator, who from 1541 to 1570 ran the highly-respected *Gymnasium* "Auf Burg".¹⁵ This Latin school, similar to the one run in Basel by Heinrich Glareanus between 1514-1517 and 1522-1529, offered young men a curriculum which prepared them for University studies.¹⁶ As witnessed by

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Although the "Ordnung" does not identify what music was studied and performed by Thomas's students, one can say with reasonable certainty that music was heard in connection with the performances of Latin school plays. Felix records in his diary that the comedies of Plautus and Terenz were performed at his father's *Gymnasium*:¹⁸ and it is well-known that the choruses of such plays were often sung and that instrumental music was performed between acts.¹⁹ Indeed, music for the choruses of Plautus' *Aulularia* still survives in the University Library of Basel, where it is found in a source from another Basel Latin school copied around 1534.²⁰ Moreover, Felix himself states in his autobiography that at the age of ten (in 1546) he attended Valentin Boltz's *Pauli Bekehrung*, as well as the *Historia von der frommen und Gottesfürchtigen Frauen Susanna* written by the Basel school teacher Sixtus Birk.²¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By far the most valuable source for identifying these music teachers and documenting Felix's musical activities is his *Tagebuch*.²⁴ This autobiography, covering the first-half of Platter's life (1536-1567), contains a wealth of information which enables one to reconstruct in considerable detail the circumstances under which he learned music, identify the types of music he played or heard, and single out the instruments upon which he frequently performed.²⁵ For example, we learn from the diary that already at the age of eight (in 1544) Felix was taking lute lessons from Peter Dorn²⁶ and Johannes von Schallen,²⁷ both of whom were residing at his father's boarding house. In the same year, he also reported studying the lute with two other boarders from his father's home, Thiebold

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Musicalische Instrument. /

Item iiiii Spineten. It[em] i Regal mit 2 Blasbelgen. /

It[em] iiiii Clavicordii.³² It[em] i Clavicymbalum. /

It[em] vii violen de la gamba. It[em] i Tenor & noch /

ii discant.³³ It[em] i Trumschen.³⁴ /

It[em] vi Lauten, darund[er] 1 Teorbe. /

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Item x fleüten. / Item ii Mandoren. [Item] i lobsa.³⁵ /
Item i Zittern. Item i hölzinglechen. [= small cornet?] fol.12.13³⁶

Of the instruments cited above, the lute was by far the most frequently mentioned instrument in Platter's diary and in his extant correspondence. These references often mention performances, either as a soloist³⁷ or in an ensemble³⁸ and also have many comments on how he acquired strings and music for the instrument³⁹ or descriptions of lutes which he owned or wished to purchase.⁴⁰ Moreover, one passage in the diary establishes that while Platter was enrolled at the University of Montpellier (autumn of 1552 to May of 1556) he composed or intabulated his own lute pieces, and posted copies of his work to his lute teacher Thiebolt Schoenauer.⁴¹

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

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

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

36 While this list of instruments has been quoted on several occasions before, the transcription offered here is the first to record the passage correctly. For earlier discussions and/or diplomatic transcriptions of the list, see Friedrich Miescher, *Die medizinische Facultät in Basel* (Basel, 1860), 39, fn.1; Wilhelm Merian, "Felix Platter als Musiker," *op. cit.*, 272; and *Felix Platter*, 142.

(The folio numbers 12 and 13 entered at the end of the passage might refer to the foliation of the exemplar from which the list was compiled).

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

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

39 *Tagebuch*, 192, 194, 217, 271 and 272; *Thomas Platters Briefe an seinen Sohn Felix*, *op. cit.*, 32, 34, 36, 74 and *passim*. While most of these excerpts demonstrate that Platter received lute music and strings through the mail, the passage found on page 272 of the *Tagebuch* discusses Platter's encounter with a Swiss dealer of stringed instruments residing in Bordeaux. Aside from these documents, the University library of Basel possesses a number of unpublished letters addressed to Felix by his lute teacher, Thiebald Schoenauer. This correspondence, dating from 1554 and 1555 while Platter was residing in Montpellier, discusses the shipment of lute strings via post or messenger ("Nun als mit die seitten anlangt schick ich euch guter seyten, quint seitten, gesang seyten, und mitell seitten.." Mscr. Fr. Gr. I 8, fol.157) as well as the exchange of lute music ("schick euch auch hie noch ewerm begeren etlich luten stick, ein gut posoememo . . .eine kleine schlacht . . .und zwey guter Recercarj . . ." Mscr. Fr. Gr. I 5, fol.228;). These, as well as other unpublished letters pertaining to Platter's musical activities, will be transcribed and discussed in detail by the present author in a forthcoming study.

40 *Tagebuch*, 232, 252.

41 *Tagebuch*, 218.

42 *Tagebuch*, 192.

43 *Tagebuch*, 72.

44 *Tagebuch*, 275.

1552.⁴⁵ The passage states that he, his lute teacher Thiebold Schoenauer, and Hans Jacob Wecker himself played lute music together on 21 July 1557 in Basel.⁴⁶ It is also possible that Platter and his fellow musicians performed music from the tabulature volume of another well-known *oberrheinische* lutenist, Wolff Heckel from Strassburg. Aside from a passage found in the Platter diary which states that Platter performed lute music in Strassburg with “ein guter lutenist . . . meister Wolf”,⁴⁷ a recently discovered letter written by Schoenauer to Platter in 1556 again makes mention of a “Monsieur Wolff von Strassburg” within the context of lute playing.⁴⁸

While the *Tagebuch* and correspondence are important documents for reconstructing the musical activities of a prominent Basel citizen and for tracing the musical tastes of an emerging bourgeois society, the *Reisebuch* that Platter kept during the second half of his life is a valuable source for the musical world associated with some of Europe’s princely courts.⁴⁹ By 1583, with the publication of his first medical treatise, *De corporis humani structura et usu*, Platter was already a well-established physician and a highly respected Professor of medicine, and his expertise was often called upon by several of Germany’s noble families, particularly the dukes of Lothringen, Württemberg, and Saxony, as well as by members of the Hohenzollern dynasty. As a distinguished servant of nobility, Felix was often invited to royal or noble weddings, baptisms and banquets, also attended by some of the best known composers, singers and instrumentalists of German-speaking lands. For example, at the wedding of Count Johann Georg von Hohenzollern in 1598,

Although the Wecker anthology is today missing, twenty of its pieces were fortunately reprinted in 1556 by the Straßburg lutenist Wolff Heckel, whose *Lautten Buch, von mancherley schönen und lieblichen stucken, mit zweyen Lautten zusammen zuchlagen* is still extant. For an inventory and discussion of Heckel’s duet book, see H.M. Brown, *Instrumental Music, op. cit.*, 171: (1556s).

45 Toward the end of the Second World War, the only surviving copy of the print was lost (Brown [1552]₉). Fortunately, before the Tenor volume disappeared from the Preußischen Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, Jenny Dieckmann (*Die in deutscher Lautentabulatur überlieferten Tänze des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Kassel, 1935, *passim*) and Ernst Radecke (“Das deutsche weltliche Lied in der Lautenmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, VII (1891), 285ff) examined the volume, transcribed its title page and recorded some of its contents, which included: “Vonn mancherley schönen und lieblichen stucken mit zweyen lauten zusammen zu schlagen, Italienische lieder, Pass’emezi, Saltarelli, Paduane. Weiter Frantzösische, Teutsche, mit sampt mancherley dänzen.” For a description and partial inventory of the print (based on the work of Dieckmann and Radecke), see Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965) 143: [1552]₁₀.

46 *Tagebuch*, 301. Concerning Johann Jacob Wecker, see *Tagebuch*, 253, fn.788 as well as Vol. VI, 348ff. of *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz, op. cit.*, where Wecker’s association with Felix’s lute teacher Johann von Schallen is documented.

47 *Tagebuch*, 353.

48 Mscr. Fr. Gr.I 8, fol. 157; While these documents establish that Platter personally knew a “good lutenist” from Straßburg whose first name was Wolff, the identity of this lutenist as Wolff Heckel can at present not be proven. Concerning the contents of the Heckel lute duet book see above, fn. 45.

49 The *Reisebuch* (Basel University Library Mscr. A lambda III 3, Abt. 7a-c), partially copied by Platter himself, consists of three sections: 1. “Reiß gon Simringen auf graf Christof von Zollern hochzeit” [= 7a]; 2. “Reiß Margroffen Georg Friderichen zu Baden unnd Hochburg gon Stuttgarten inn Württemberg zu der kindtstauffe des hertogen von Württenbergs suns Augusti genandt, sampt den herligkeiten, so domohlen gehalten sindt wordenn anno 1596” [= 7b]; 3. “Reiß margrafen Georg Friderich zu Baden unnd Hochberg etc. nach Hechingen in der Grafschaft Zolleren, auf die hochzeit, so zwischen graf Johan Georg von Zollern unnd freuwlin Francisca Wildt- unnd Rheingrefin gehalten worden, wie solche abgangen, anno 1598.” [= 7c].

Among the several editions of these texts, by far the most scholarly is the one prepared by Valentin Lötscher (*Felix Platter, Tagebuch, op. cit.*, chapters 12, 13 and 14).

Platter not only recorded the leading guests, describing what they wore and ate, but also documented in painstaking detail the musical extravaganza, which included no less than thirty musicians.⁵⁰

From this brief sketch, it is evident that Platter's musical interests were always more than a mere reflection of his cultivated surroundings. However, while music played an important role in his life, it was by no means his only pastime. Like his friend Basilius Amerbach, Platter was an avid connoisseur of the visual arts, who amassed during the course of his life a collection of eighty-eight paintings.⁵¹ Among the *oberrheinische* artists associated with Platter were Hans Kluber and Hans Michel, as well as Hans Bock the older, whose magnificent portrait of Felix (painted in 1584 when Platter was at the zenith of his career) can be viewed today in the Basel *Kunstmuseum* (Plate 5.2). The Platter cabinet, however, was not an art collection in the modern sense of the word. Rather it was a colorful art and rarities cabinet, the heart of which was apparently a library of manuscript and printed volumes. The diversity of the objects which Platter willed to his brother Thomas indeed mirrors the spirit of the humanist age within which he lived:

Bequeathed to the brother Thomas Platter . . . my library, writings, together with my museum and the contents of the coin collection consisting of sovereigns of gold, of silver, and of distinction, as well as the other pennys and miscellaneous coins found there; In the same manner all of the collectibles: paintings, clocks, art works, *mineralia maritima*, and whatever is kept in the study and in the two other halls devoted to specimens of *naturalia* and *artificialia*; also the workshop and the implements contained therein, as well as my musical instruments and music books, and whatever else is to be found.⁵²

Elisabeth Landolt has been able to demonstrate, from the Platter correspondence and other archival documents in the Platter *Nachlass*, that this collection easily rivaled in size the famous cabinet owned by the Amerbachs. Unfortunately, very little remains of what must have been a magnificent collection.⁵³

50 *Tagebuch*, 494. According to Platter, some of the well-known musicians who were in attendance included the Kapellmeister Narcissus Zangkel, the organist Hans Leo Hassler, Ferdinand de Lasso (son of Orlando), and Melchior Schramm. Concerning the importance of Platter's *Tagebuch* as a witness to the musical activities at these princely German courts, see Ernst Fritz Schmid, *Musik an den schwäbischen Zollerhöfen*, *op. cit.*, *passim.*; and Wilhelm Merian, "Felix Platter als Musiker," *op. cit.*, 282ff., where most of the musical references in the *Reisebuch* are quoted and discussed.

51 see *Felix Platter*, 143.

52 Basel University Library Mscr. A lambda V 9, folio 33r (Testament of Felix Platter). The author's translation is based on his own transcription of the original passage: "Legat für den Bruder Thomas Platter: . . . meine Bibliothek, Schriften sampt meinem Cabinet, und was darinnen in der Kestlinen, von Guldinen, Silbernen, Ehrenen undt anderen Pfenningen und Müntzen befunden wirdt, gleicher gestaltten auch alle Contrafeituren, gemahlte taffelen, Uehrlin, Kunst stück, mineralia maritima und was ferners möchte in dem studierstüblin undt beiden nderen Sälen für Naturalia und Artificialia, sampt dem Werckemmerlin dar neben im Werckzeug, wie auch meine Instrument und bücher zu der Music gehörig, und anderen gefunden werden." For a partial transcription of this and other passages from Felix's will, see *Felix Platter*, 164ff.

53 Concerning Platter's connections with Basel artists as well as with some of the royal families of Alsace with whom he shared his collecting interests, see Elisabeth Landolt, "Materialien zu Felix Platter als Sammler und Kunstfreund," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 72 (1972), 245-306. For a general introduction to Platter's collecting interests see *Felix Platter*, 131ff.

Given Platter's multi-faceted career, which brought him in contact with several members of Europe's intellectual élite, it would seem reasonable to suspect that his tastes in music were not restricted to what was German in origin or in language. We know that his lute teacher, Thiebald Schoenauer, travelled in Italy.⁵⁴ It would seem safe to assume that he, like other sixteenth-century German lutenists, would have brought back some specimens of Italian music and, in turn, would have shared them with his fellow musicians. Moreover, Platter's interest in the natural sciences brought him in contact with the famous botanist and bibliographer Konrad Gesner,⁵⁵ whose encyclopedic knowledge of printed music books has been studied.⁵⁶ Finally, mention should be made of Platter's five-year sojourn in France, which not only brought him to Montpellier, but allowed him to visit such important centers of music and music printing as Paris, Lyon and Avignon.

The documents from the period of his study at Montpellier reinforce a belief that he was interested in "foreign music." As can be seen from the diary, this was a period of his life in which music was frequently discussed, and when he cultivated a taste for poetry.⁵⁷ Secondly, since Felix was often more inclined to write home about his musical activities than about his medical studies, his father on occasion expressed concern about Felix's medical career.⁵⁸ In fact, Felix was an excellent student and graduated from the Universities in Montpellier and in Basel *summa cum laude*; yet it would be stretching the bounds of imagination to think that this young Francophile who loved music so much would not have acquired a taste for the popular secular repertory made available by such printers as Attaignant,⁵⁹ Moderne⁶⁰ and Du Chemin.⁶¹ This is pure speculation: yet, the

54 *Tagebuch*, 185.

55 On Platter's association with Gesner, see *Tagebuch*, 343, fn.43, as well as Elisabeth Landolt, "Eine verschollene Basler Kunstkammer des 16. Jahrhunderts," (unpublished paper read at a meeting of the *Verein der Freunde des Kunstmuseums Basel*, 4 May 1987). On Platter's collection of plants, flowers, and exotic herbs, see Peter Merian, "Nachrichten über Felix Platters Naturalien-Sammlung," *Verhandlungen der naturforschenden Geschichte in Basel*, IV (1840), 101ff.; and Walther Rytz, "Das Herbarium Felix Platters. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Botanik im XVI. Jahrhundert," *Verhandlungen der naturforschenden Geschichte in Basel*, XLVI/1 (1935) 21ff.

56 Lawrence F. Bernstein, "The Bibliography of Music in Conrad Gesner's *Pandectae* (1548)," *Acta musicologica*, XLV (1973), 119-64.

57 Aside from the poetry volume kept by Platter (see below, Chapter 7), several passages in Felix's autobiography document that he composed Latin verse (*Tagebuch*, 120) as well as demonstrate that he owned a volume of poetry written by Clément Marot, the famous French court poet whose verses were frequently set to music (*Tagebuch*, 292). Indeed, many of the German translations of French verse found in Platter's poetry manuscript are of Marot texts.

58 For example, on 25 August 1556, Felix recalled having received a letter from his father warning him that "while music was no doubt a pleasant pastime it should not interfere with my studies" (*Tagebuch*, 250-251). In addition to this passage, a rather amusing anecdote documenting Thomas Platter's concern for his son is found on page 215 of Lötscher's edition of the *Platter Tagebuch*. Here again, Felix recalls that his father told him that, "being a good lutenist, and also a good dancer, I must be on my guard against the seductions of French women...".

59 See Daniel Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant: Royal Printer of Music. A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1969).

60 See Samuel Pogue, *Jacques Moderne, Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva, 1969).

61 On this Parisian music printer and his works, see F. Lesure and G. Thibault, "Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin," *Annales musicologiques*, I (1953), 269-373; suppl., IV (1956), 251ff.; VI (1958-63), 403ff.



Plate 5.2. Hans Bock d.Ae. Portrait of Felix Platter, 1584 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum. Inv.84)

following discussions of Platter's poetry book and of a group of manuscript and printed sources owned by his fellow musician Jacob Hagenbach, will show that Platter's musical tastes were indeed international in scope, with a predictable emphasis towards what was French.

II

While the life and interests of Felix Platter are well-documented, those of his musical companion, whose partbooks we do possess, are unfortunately not.⁶² Jacob Hagenbach, the son of the Basel weaver Martin Hagenbach, was baptised at St. Leonhard in Gross Basel on 20 April, 1532.⁶³ According to a published eulogy lamenting the death of Hagenbach's son Beat in 1631, Jacob worked as a young man at the court of Maximilian II.⁶⁴ While it is not known in which capacity Jacob served this famous musical patron, it would seem a reasonable inference that it was here he became a goldsmith. Perhaps he also acquired at this court his musical training, which included not only performing but also (as we will see) copying and composing as well.⁶⁵ In 1555 Jacob became a member of the *Zunft zu Hausgenossen* (one of Basel's prestigious gentlemen's guilds)⁶⁶ and in the following year on 5 September acquired his father's home, the *Haus zum Drachen*, on the Freie Straße (see Plate 5.1). He lived there with his wife Sophia Bratteler and only son Beat until his death in 1565 or 1566.

Although no specimens of his goldsmithing work have survived, we do have a number of engravings produced by his colleague Daniel Buchwalt, which clearly demonstrate that Jacob was a talented goldsmith.⁶⁷ Moreover, an entry found in the account books of the

62 On Hagenbach's life, see *Tagebuch*, 302, fn.67; *Wappenbuch der Stadt Basel*, edited by W. R. Staehelin (Basel, s.d) "Hagenbach"; V. Brun (ed.), *Schweizerisches Künstler-Lexikon*, 4 vols. (Frauenfeld, 1905-17) II, 8; Ulrich Barth, *Zur Geschichte des Basler Goldschmieden-Handwerks (1261-1820) mit Verzeichnissen der Meister, Gesellen & Lehrknaben* (Ph.D. Diss, University of Basel, 1978), *passim*; and the handwritten notes of the Basel genealogist Arnold Lotz: *Sammelwerk zur Geschichte der Basler Familien*, Stadt-Archiv Basel, Privat-Archiv 355, C 199. I would like to thank Dr. Ulrich Barth (Basel Stadt-Archiv) most cordially for having brought to my attention the archival documents pertaining to Hagenbach and his family.

63 Stadt-Archiv Basel-Stadt, Ki. Ar. BB23, 19.

64 A copy of this *Leichenpredigt* is housed today in the University Library of Basel under the call number Kr. Ar. G X 5, no.20. It was published in 1631 by the well-known Basel printer Johann Jacob Genath, who 14 years earlier (in 1617) brought out Johann Woltz's volume of organ tabulature (RISM 1617²⁴). Aside from documenting Jacob Hagenbach's association with the court of Maximilian II, the funeral oration enables us to establish that Jacob Hagenbach died between 17. Sept 1565 and 17. Sept. 1566: "Von dem abgestorbenen Herren seligen [Beat Hagenbach]. Es ist derselbige im Jahr Christi 1557. den 17. Sept. in dise Welt geboren worden. Sein Vater war Herren Jacob Hagenbach welcher in seiner jugend an dem Hoof Keyzers Maximiliani II. in angenehmen diensten sich verhalten: dessen aber unser verstorbene Herr selig zeitlich in dem achten jahr seines alters ist beraubet worden. Sein Großvater war Herren Martin Hagenbach, Landvogt zu Homburg, hernaher Pflieger zu S. Alban..."

65 On the musical court of Maximilian II, see Walter Pass, *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilians II.* Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft, XX (Tutzing, 1980).

66 On this important Basel guild of bankers, money changers and artists, see August Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Zunft zu Hausgenossen* (Basel, 1950).

67 For a facsimile and discussion of the artistic works attributed to Hagenbach, see Carsten-Peter Warncke, *Die ornamentale Grotteske in Deutschland 1500-1650*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1979) I, 53-56, 67-68, and figures 472-478; and Peter Jessen, *Der Ornamentstich. Geschichte der Vorlagen des Kunsthandwerks seit dem Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1920) 110ff.

famous printing house of Froben and Episcopus demonstrates that in 1560 Jacob also made a living as a typesetter.⁶⁸ However, since the only archival document to mention Hagenbach's abilities as a musician is the Platter *Tagebuch* (in the passage from which we have already quoted), let us now turn to the extant legacy of Hagenbach's musical interests and abilities, the set of manuscript and printed partbooks housed today in the University Library of Basel.

In memory of Eduard Bernoulli
and Hans Joachim Moser

Basel University Library manuscripts F IX 59-62 and F X 17-20 are two well-known and important collections of sixteenth-century secular polyphony. Apart from their significance as repositories for a large portion of the German Renardied repertory of Seuff's generation, they preserve an equally large number of contemporary madrigals and chansons. While both sets of partbooks are valuable in that they contain many compositions not to be found elsewhere, each set can be singled out for particular reasons: F IX 59-62 because of the notational interest of one of its four-part compositions (pictured in Plates 6.1 and 6.2); and F X 17-20 because it represents one of the few complete sets of manuscript partbooks in a true *restadecimo* pocket format.

Despite the importance of these sources, their origins have never been established or indeed even seriously discussed.³ However, these are the collections which I propose to assign to Jacob Hagenbach, together with two newly-discovered manuscripts appended

1 This chapter, together with chapter 7, is an expanded version of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Cleveland, 1986, under the title "New *Liederhandschriften* from Renaissance Basel." A longer, German version was also read at the Universities of Basel and Zurich in November, 1986 and February, 1987 respectively.

2 F IX 59-62 and F X 17-20 were first described and inventoried in Julius Richter, *Katalog der Musik-Sammlung der Universitätsbibliothek in Basel (Schweiz)*. Beilage zu den Monatsheften für Musikwissenschaft, 7:24 (1891/92), 69-75 (= F X 17-20), and 75-78 (= F IX 59-62). Although Richter did not come to any conclusions concerning the manuscripts' provenance, he did tacitly propose a compilation date "nach der Wirtz n. 16. Blatts" for both sources, and noted that the partbooks were scribally concordant. Between 1911 and 1936, the Basel librarians Carl Roth and Gustav Binz produced a new set of descriptions for both manuscripts. While Binz and Roth relied on Richter's catalogue for the identification of compositions, they did supplement Richter's discussions with information pertaining to the manuscripts' physical attributes. Aside from identifying some of the papers found in the partbooks, they described the handwriting as characteristic of the second half of the sixteenth century, and noted the engraving found in F X 20. However, their comments on this engraved *Ex Libris* were based on research conducted in 1917 by Dr. Karl Reinle, who incorrectly identified the device as belonging to Jacob Hagenbach's younger brother Nicolaus (1546-1618; see below in 35). These valuable handwritten descriptions, unfortunately never published, can be found today in the manuscript department of the University Library (MSS without call number).

3 Aside from a few brief remarks on the manuscripts offered by Knud Jeppesen, *La Frottola*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1969 = *Acta Jutlandica*, vol. 41) II, 8 and 191; and by Arnold Geering et al. (eds.), *Ludwig Seuff. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. III (Wolfenbüttel-Zürich, 1938-) V, 199, a complete list of their musical and textual incipits has recently been published by Norbert Böker-Hell, Harald Heckmann and Ilse Kuderman, *Das Renardied. Mehrstimmige Lieder in deutschen Quellen 1450-1560*, 3 vols., *Catalogus Musicus*, 813M, Sonderband IX-XI (Kassel, 1979-1986) I, 14ff. (= F IX 59-62) and 37ff. (= F X 17-20). Proper inventories of the manuscripts' contents are given below in Part III, and can be found in the author's study, *The Hand-*

68 See Rudolf F. Wackernagel (ed.), *Rechnungsbuch von Froben & Episcopus, Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zu Basel, 1557-1564* (Basel, 1881), 19.

Chapter 6

The Songbooks of Jacob Hagenbach: A New Collector and Composer of Polyphony from Renaissance Basel¹

In memory of Eduard Bernoulli
and Hans Joachim Moser

Basel University Library manuscripts F IX 59-62 and F X 17-20 are two well-known and important collections of sixteenth-century secular polyphony. Apart from their significance as repositories for a large portion of the German Tenorlied repertory of Senfl's generation, they preserve an equally large number of contemporary madrigals and chansons. While both sets of partbooks are valuable in that they contain many compositions not to be found elsewhere, each set can be singled out for particular reasons: F IX 59-62 because of the notational interest of one of its four-part compositions (pictured in Plates 6.1 and 6.2); and F X 17-20 because it represents one of the few complete sets of manuscript partbooks in a true *sestodecimo* pocket format.

Despite the importance of these sources, their origins have never been established or indeed even seriously discussed.² However, these are the collections which I propose to assign to Jacob Hagenbach, together with two newly-discovered manuscripts appended

1 This chapter, together with chapter 7, is an expanded version of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Cleveland, 1986, under the title "New *Liederhandschriften* from Renaissance Basel." A longer German version was also read at the Universities of Basel and Zurich in November, 1986 and February, 1987 respectively.

2 F IX 59-62 and F X 17-20 were first described and inventoried in Julius Richter, *Katalog der Musik-Sammlung auf der Universitäts-Bibliothek in Basel (Schweiz)*. Beilage zu den Monatsheften für Musikgeschichte, 23/24 (1891/92), 69-75 (= F X 17-20), and 75-78 (= F IX 59-62). Although Richter did not come to any conclusions concerning the manuscripts' provenance, he did tacitly propose a compilation date "nach der Mitte d. 16. Jhdts" for both sources, and noted that the partbooks were scribally concordant. Between 1911 and 1936, the Basel librarians Carl Roth and Gustav Binz produced a new set of descriptions for both manuscripts. While Binz and Roth relied on Richter's catalogue for the identification of compositions, they did supplement Richter's discussions with information pertaining to the manuscripts' physical attributes. Aside from identifying some of the papers found in the partbooks, they described the handwriting as characteristic of the second half of the sixteenth century, and noted the escutcheon found in F X 20. However, their comments on this engraved *Ex Libris* were based on research conducted in 1917 by Dr. Karl Reinle, who incorrectly identified the device as belonging to Jacob Hagenbach's younger brother Nicolaus (1546-1618; see below fn.35). These valuable handwritten descriptions, unfortunately never published, can be found today in the manuscript department of the University Library (MSS without call number).

Aside from a few brief remarks on the manuscripts offered by Knud Jeppesen, *La Frottola*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1969 = Acta Jutlandica, vol.41) II, 8 and 101; and by Arnold Geering et al. (eds.), *Ludwig Senfl. Sämtliche Werke*, vol.Iff. (Wolfenbüttel-Zurich, 1938-) V, 109, a complete list of their musical and textual incipits has recently been published by Norbert Böker-Heil, Harald Heckmann and Ilse Kinderman, *Das Tenorlied. Mehrstimmige Lieder in deutschen Quellen 1450-1580*, 3 vols., *Catalogus Musicus*. RISM, Sonderband IX-XI (Kassel, 1979-1986) I, 14ff. (= F IX 59-62) and 37ff. (= F X 17-20). Proper inventories of the manuscripts' contents are given below in Part III, and can be found in the author's study: *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel. Katalog der Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts: Quellenkritische und historische Untersuchung* (Basel, 1988; hereafter KatK).

to printed partbooks, which are also housed in the University Library of Basel.³ The evidence lies in library catalogues, in the identification of individuals cited in the musical texts, and in the presence of Hagenbach's monogram and family heraldry. Much of this evidence will argue that Hagenbach not only copied, illustrated and owned these sources, listed in Table 6.1, but also that he composed some of the *unica* – two of which have been previously attributed to Heinrich Isaac.

To this end we must discuss each set of partbooks individually. I will begin with an analysis of the manuscripts' scribal and physical make-up, evidence enabling one to relate the sources to each other and to Basel. After a consideration of the partbook's papers, handwritings, bindings and illustrations (Table 6.1), I will then proceed to the external evidence, outlined in Table 6.2 which associates the group with this Basel goldsmith.

Table 6.1. The Hagenbach manuscripts: codicological and artistic evidence relating the sources to each other and to Basel

<u>Basel University Library F IX 59-62: MS Appendix to RISM 1543²⁴</u>
<i>Scribe:</i> S1 (Basel Scribe)
<i>Binding:</i> B1
<i>Paper:</i> Basel Crozier, c.1560.
<i>Illustrations:</i> Watercolor/Pen.
<u>Basel University Library F X 17-20</u>
<i>Scribes:</i> S1 (Basel Scribe) + S2 (Augsburg Scribe)
<i>Paper:</i> Augsburg Paper, c.1550
<i>Illustrations:</i> Pen.
<u>Basel University Library F IX 63: MS Appendix to RISM [1519]⁵</u>
<i>Scribe:</i> S1 (Basel Scribe)
<i>Paper:</i> No Watermark
<i>Illustrations:</i> None.
<u>Basel University Library kk IV 19-22: MS Appendix to RISM 1544¹⁹</u>
<i>Scribe:</i> S1 (Basel Scribe)
<i>Binding:</i> B1
<i>Paper:</i> Basel/Upper-Rhein Papers, 1531-1551
<i>Illustrations:</i> Watercolor/ Pen.

3 Although Richter noted in his catalogue that the library possessed a copy of Arnt von Aich's *Liederbuch* (RISM [1519]⁵) and of Wolfgang Schmeltzel's anthology of German Quodlibets (RISM 1544¹⁹), he did not mention the existence of their manuscript supplements (Richter, *Katalog*, 10). The Schmeltzel print is still found today under the class mark kk IV 19-22: the von Aich songbook was recently assigned the signature F IX 63 (*olim* kk IV 11-14).

Table 6.2. The Hagenbach manuscripts: textual and archival evidence relating the sources to Jacob Hagenbach

Basel University Library F IX 59-62: MS Appendix to RISM 1543²⁴

Ex Libris: None

17th-Century Catalogue No.: Z II 86-89

Attributions: I[jacob] H[agenbach]

Texts (Individual cited): S[opfia] B[ratteler]

Basel University Library F X 17-20

Ex Libris: Jacob Hagenbach and Sopfia Bratteler

17th-Century Catalogue No.: F X 17-20

Basel University Library F IX 63: MS Appendix to RISM [1519]⁵

Ex Libris: None

17th-Century Catalogue No.: Z II 90-93

Basel University Library kk IV 19-22: MS Appendix to RISM 1544¹⁹

Ex Libris: None

17th-Century Catalogue No.: Z II 82-85

Texts (Individual cited): Jacob (Hagenbach?)

Basel University Library MS F IX 59-62 (Olim Z II 86-89)

Contents. This set of four partbooks, measuring 12.5 X 18 cm, consists of three distinct layers in their original sixteenth-century binding (see below, “Binding”). The first layer contains only the four-part drinking song *Paule Paule liebster Stahlbruder mein*, a piece frequently reproduced and discussed in the musicological literature because of the novelty of its musical notation.⁴ As seen in Plate 6.1, the parts are notated with a number of eating and drinking symbols, each of which is equivalent to a specific musical value, as indicated by the explanatory leaf (reproduced in Plate 6.2).

The second, and by far the largest, layer of the source is a copy of the second edition of Georg Forster’s well-known *Frische teutsche Liedlein* (RISM 1543²⁴): an anthology consisting of no less than 130 “guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlein...zu singen und

⁴ For a discussion, color facsimile, and edition of this drinking song, see C. Russel Crosby, Jr., *Die flötnerischen Spielkarten und andere Curiosa der Musiküberlieferung des 16. Jahrhunderts aus Franken*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern, Neue Folge, Sonderband 1 (Wiesbaden, 1967), 29-31 (discussion), 73-76 (transcription), and 98-99 (facsimile). Another edition and description of the piece is also found on pages 75 and 76 of Richter’s catalogue (*op. cit.*). Additional studies mentioning the composition are listed by Crosby.

auff allerley Instrumenten zebrauchen.”⁵ The popularity of this Nuremberg volume, first issued by Johannes Petreius in 1539, is evident from its five editions, the last three printed by the firm of Berg and Neuber between 1549 and 1560.

The third, and perhaps most important layer, comprises a manuscript appendix of 73 compositions, copied entirely by one scribe and supplemented with an alphabetical index of text incipits. In the tenor book, the section was prefaced by the scribe with a title page that reads: “Hernach volgt allerley Compositzion” (F IX 61, fol.1r). This manuscript supplement, primarily consisting of an “international hit parade” of secular music issued by such printers as Attaignant and Gardano, is frequently cited by scholars because it represents one of the largest extant manuscript sources for the transmission of the so-called Parisian chanson.⁶ As shown in Inventory G, only one composer is cited within the manuscript: the monogram I.H. (= Heinrich Isaac?) appears over one composition. Yet concordances enable us to identify an additional 59 pieces as the work of Adam von Fulda (1 piece), Arcadelt (16), Belin (1), Boyvin (1), von Bruck (1), Cara (1), Certon (4), Clemens non Papa (1), Crecquillon (1), Gardano (1), Janequin (1), Josquin (1), Didier Lupi Second (1), Maillard (2), Pathie (1), Sandrin (7), Senfl (1), Sermisy (14), Verdelot (1) Villiers (1), and Zirler (1).⁷

Among the 43 French secular pieces, one will find such favorites as Sandrin’s *Doulce memoire*, Sermisy’s *Tant que vivray*, and *Au pres de vous*, as well as Rogier Pathie’s ubiquitous *Damour me plais*. In addition to the French repertory, the section includes 15 madrigals, most of which were composed by Jacques Arcadelt and first published by Antonio Gardano in 1539. Like the collection of chansons, the madrigals preserved in this section represent some of the most popular secular music of the time. Aside from such well-known pieces as Arcadelt’s *Il bianco e dolce cigno*, *Pungente dardo* and *Quanta belta*, one may encounter a copy of Verdelot’s *Fuggi, fuggi cor mio* – a madrigal whose popularity is evident from its frequent appearance in printed books of intabulations.

Although this layer consists primarily of an international repertory, it does contain eleven Tenorlieder, three of which are unique to F IX 59-62. These *unica*, *Vergangen ist mir glück und heyl* (no.1), *Becklag dich nit so hertziglich* (no.2), and *Ich Stell licht ab von sollicher hab* (no.71), are also noteworthy in that they are the only compositions to possess a full text underlay (nos.1 and 2) or to be supplemented with further strophes of text (all three). Moreover, *Vergangen ist mir glück und heyl* and *Becklag dich nit so hertziglich* received special attention in that they were the first two pieces entered in the

5 The Forster anthology of 1539 (RISM 1539²⁷) and its subsequent four editions (RISM 1543²⁴, 1549³⁵, 1552²⁷, and 1560²⁵) have been catalogued, edited and discussed on several occasions. For an inventory of its musical and textual incipits see Nobert Böker-Heil, *Das Tenorlied*, op. cit., I, 91-102 (= 1539²⁷), 117-128 (= 1543²⁴), 169-181 (= 1549³⁵), 221-233 (= 1552²⁷), 280-291 (= 1560²⁵). Aside from the well-known edition of the music, prepared by Kurt Gudewill and W. Heiske (*Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, vol.20, Berlin, 1942), the earlier edition by E. Marriage is still valuable for its complete transcriptions of text: E. Marriage (ed.), *Georg Forsters Frische teutsche Liedlein in fünf Teilen*. Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, nos.203-06 (Halle, 1903) no.203. For a historical study of Forster and his anthologies, see H. Kallenbach, “Georg Forsters Frische teutsche Liedlein,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Giessen, 1931); and Kurt Gudewill, “Bemerkungen zur Herausgebereitigkeit Georg Forsters,” *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag* (Kassel, 1968) 299f.

6 For a study of the French chanson with particular emphasis on its stylistic diversity, see Lawrence F. Bernstein, “The ‘Parisian Chanson’: Problems of Style and Terminology,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 31 (1978), 193-240.

7 As shown in Inventory G of Part III however, not every one of these attributions is secure.



Plate 6.1. Tenor part of *Paule, Paule liebster Stahlbruder mein* (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F IX 61, fol.1r)

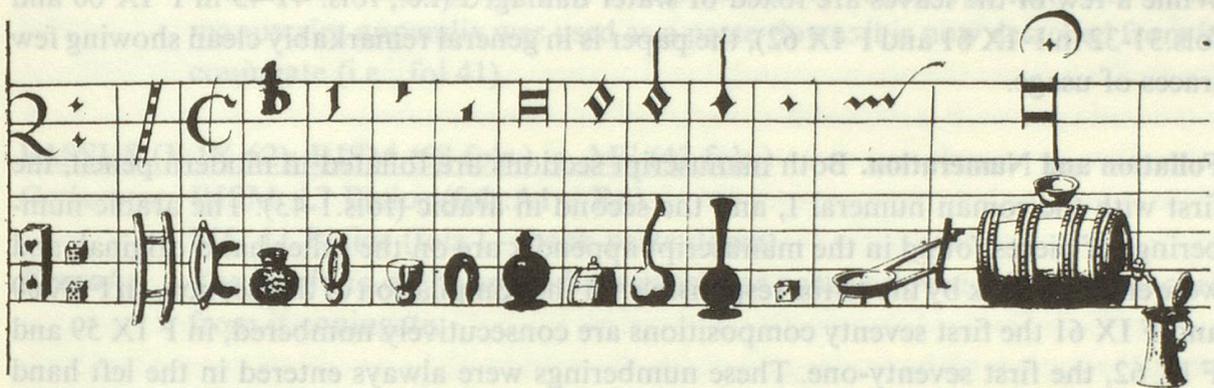


Plate 6.2. Key to the notation of *Paule, Paule* (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F IX 61, fol.44r)

manuscript appendix, and perhaps more importantly, were the only compositions attributed and dated.

Given this evidence, we should suspect that F IX 59-62 was compiled by a German speaker. Indeed, if we may now turn our attention to the manuscript's scribal and physical make-up, evidence for Basel provenance for the source will begin to emerge.

Physical Description

Paper. The single folio in the front of each partbook (fol. I = 12.5 X 20.5 cm), containing on each recto side the song *Paule, Paule*, together with the key to this notation pasted on the inside back cover of the tenor book (fol.44r = 5.2 X 17 cm), is copied on one paper type with a running bear watermark (see KatK, 449: Abb.78). This mark, representing the heraldic device of Bern, shows a strong resemblance to Briquet no.12327 and Lindt

no.33.⁸ According to these paper specialists, the watermark is encountered in sources written in the upper-Rhein region during the middle of the century.

Although the watermark is found on only one of the five leaves (F IX 62), it is clear that the remaining leaves were couched from the same mold given the density of the paper and the disposition of their chain- and laidlines. Each of the five leaves is somewhat foxed and waterstained and was apparently handled frequently, given the abundance of smudges and dirt found along the outer edges, especially on the verso sides. The four voice parts have been trimmed and folded once along the fore-edge, so as to conform to the size of the volume in which they are bound. Moreover, remnants of glue are visible on the verso side of each leaf where the fold was made. Finally, in the middle of each of the five leaves there exists a light vertical fold. In the discant, altus, tenor and bass leaves, the fold was made at the same 87° angle. However the direction of the fold in the discant and bassus leans to the left, while the altus and tenor to the right. The smaller explanatory leaf, on the other hand, contains a perfect perpendicular fold of 90°.

The manuscript appendix consisting of 44 leaves (in each partbook) was also compiled from one paper type but couched from two molds (see KatK, 450: Abb.81-82). This pair of companion marks, featuring the heraldic device of Basel, generally resembles a Basel crozier identified by Paul Heitz in *oberrheinische* documents dating from around 1565.⁹ As there are no other marks in the volume, it is instructive to record how many instances of each mold there are: Mold A appears sixteen times, Mold B twenty-eight times.¹⁰ While a few of the leaves are foxed or water damaged (i.e., fols. 41-43 in F IX 60 and fols.31-32 in F IX 61 and F IX 62), the paper is in general remarkably clean showing few traces of usage.

Foliation and Numeration. Both manuscript sections are foliated in modern pencil, the first with the roman numeral I, and the second in arabic (fols.1-43). The arabic numberings of pieces found in the manuscript appendix are on the other hand original, and were entered in ink by the scribe responsible for the compilation of this section. In F IX 60 and F IX 61 the first seventy compositions are consecutively numbered, in F IX 59 and F IX 62, the first seventy-one. These numberings were always entered in the left hand margins next to the initial system of each composition and in the alphabetical index of text incipits. The last two pieces in this section, Stephan Zirler's *Bewar mich herr* (no.72) and Thomas Crecquillon's *Ung gay bergier* (no.73), were not numbered by the scribe in either place.

Collation. As would be expected, the two manuscript sections were folded and cut in the same oblong quarto format as the printed book with which they were bound. Conse-

8 Briquet, *Les Filigranes*. III, no.12,327; Johann Lindt, *The Paper-Mills of Berne and their watermarks*. Monumenta chartae papyrae historiam illustrantia, vol.7 (Hilversum, 1964), no.33.

9 Paul Heitz, *Les filigranes avec la crose de Bâle* (Strassburg, 1904), no.7.

10 Mold A is found in the discantus on folios 7/8, 15/16, 25/26, 37/38, in the altus on folios 1/2, 5/6, 25/26, 29/30, 41/42, in the tenor on folios 9/10, 13/14, 21/22, 25/26, in the bassus on folios 1/2, 29/30, 43/back paste-down.

Mold B is located in the discantus on folios, 3/4, 9/10, 17/18, 23/24, 31/32, 43/back paste-down, in the altus on folios 11/12, 15/16, 19/20, 23/24, 35/36, 39/40, in the tenor on folios 3/4, 7/8, 19/20, 31/32, 35/36, 39/40, 43/back paste-down, in the bassus on folios 7/8, 11/12, 14/15, 17/18, 23/24, 27/28, 35/36, 39/40.

quently, the gathering structure of the manuscript appendix matches the gathering structure of the printed partbooks:

DISCANTUS (F IX 59): RISM (68 fols.) + MS (43 fols.)

Gatherings: RISM: 17 Binios (fols.AA1-RR4)

MS: 11 Binios (fols.1 – back paste-down).

Remarks: The last folio of the appendix was used as a paste-down: it is now detached from its conjugate (i.e., fol.41).

ALTUS (F IX 60): RISM (68 fols.) + MS (43 fols.)

Gatherings: RISM: 17 Binios (fols.aa1-rr4).

MS: 11 Binios (fols.1 – back paste-down).

Remarks: The last folio of the appendix was used as a paste-down: it is now detached from its conjugate (i.e., fol.41).

TENOR (F IX 61): RISM (93 fols.) + MS (43 fols.)

Gatherings: RISM: 1 Ternio (fols.a1 – a6) + 21 Binios (fols.b1 – u4) + 1 (Binio minus fol.v4) (fols.v1 – v3).

MS: 11 Binios (fols.1 – back paste-down).

Remarks: Since folio v3^v of the printed book contains the printer's colophon, the subsequent missing leaf (v4) was presumably blank. The last folio of the manuscript appendix was used as a paste-down: it is now detached from its conjugate (i.e., fol.41).

BASSUS (F IX 62): RISM (68 fols.) + MS (43 fols.)

Gatherings: RISM: 17 Binios (fols.A1 – R4).

MS: 11 Binios (fols.1 – back paste-down).

Remarks: The last folio of the appendix was used as a paste-down: it is now detached from it conjugate.

Although the four leaves containing the drinking song *Paule, Paule* were tipped-in and/or reinforced when the bindings were rebaked in the early twentieth century, one can argue that they were probably part of the original binding or at least predate the restoration. The description of the manuscript by Julius Richter in 1892 makes it is clear that the leaves were present before the bindings were restored:

Jedem Stb. vorgebunden ist ein handschriftliches Blatt in scherzhafter Notenschrift... Am Schlusse des Ten.-Stb. ist ein Blatt eingebunden, welches den Schlüssel zu dieser Tonschrift giebt.¹¹

Each voice part is at present tipped-on to the inner edge of the front pasted endsheets: originally, however, the outer edge of each verso side was glued-down to the inner edge of each printed title page. This resulted in the texted sides facing the printed book block

¹¹ Richter, *op. cit.*, 75.

rather than the binding, as they do today. Not only are there remnants of glue on the inner edge of each printed title page, with the same patterns of glue on the folded edge on the verso of each manuscript leaf, but the paper along these edges is also considerably thinner.

Yet, since portions of text are missing because each leaf has been trimmed in order to accommodate the size of the printed book (see Plate 6.1), this four-part composition apparently had a separate earlier existence. Indeed, a number of bibliographical facts permit one to propose that the four leaves with music originally existed together on one sheet of paper and were laid-out in choirbook format, as shown in Table 6.3.

First of all, as was noted above, the leaves are all copied on the same paper. Second, the only watermark to be found among the five leaves is preserved on the upper edge of the bass leaf and is incomplete, suggesting that this voice, at least, occupied what would be its traditional place in choirbook format. Finally, in the middle of each leaf, there is one vertical fold which, in the four voice parts, was made at the same 87° angle: yet, as already noted, the angles do not always move in the same direction. However, if one sets out each voice part according to the normal practice of a choirbook format and then folds the bifolium three times so as to produce an octavo packet, it is possible to explain why the folds in the discant and tenor parts (and, in turn, those in the altus and bass) form identical yet convex and concave angles with each other. On the other hand, since the leaf containing the key to the notation (F IX 63, fol.44) shows an upright vertical fold of 90°, it must have been folded somewhere in the middle of the sheet.

Handwriting. Since the two manuscript sections are copied using two completely different notational systems, it is impossible, working from this manuscript alone, to say if we have two scribes, or one who possessed artistic talent. However, as will be seen later, the scribe of the music in the manuscript kk IV 19-22 (the scribe of the present manuscript appendix) was also responsible for drawing into the source fourteen pen and watercolor illustrations which bear a striking resemblance to the artistically rendered musical notation of F IX 59-62. Moreover, this scribe of kk IV 19-22 or the recipient of his work was a Basler, since one of the drawings contains the emblem of the city. In the meantime, I will discuss these two notational hands as if they were copied by different people.

The notation, initials and one voice designation found in the redaction of the anonymous drinking song *Paule, Paule* were clearly produced by the same person. Although the systems were drawn by hand, they consistently measure 2 cm wide: the scribe pricked each leaf with a double-pronged device. The writing block in each of the four voice parts was probably also the same. Each now contains three staves with their horizontal and vertical boundaries equalling the size of the leaf; however, before the leaves were trimmed by the binder, the writing block was at least five centimeters larger.

Its text, consisting only of the initial “P” and voice designation “TENOR”, was executed in roman majuscule characters, which during the sixteenth century were one of the most popular upper-case alphabets to be taught by German writing masters.¹² This *antiqua* script, together with the staves, were copied in the same dark black ink.

12 See, for example, Wolfgang Fugger, *Ein nutzlich und wolgegründt / Formular Manncherley schöner schriefften / Als Teutscher, Lateinscher, Griechischer, unnd / Hebrayscher Buchstaben, sampt unterrichtung, / wie ein yede gebraucht und gelernt soll werden...* (Nuremberg, 1553) fols.v1-cciiii. A facsimile edition of this important writing manual, with an introduction by Fritz Funke, has been published by Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig: 1958.

print) is today missing, one can conclude that the composition began on the recto side of this blank leaf and that the hand drawn by S1 was entered in order to bring the user's attention to the unorthodox layout of the opening (fol.v4 recto – v3 verso).

Since the scribe's hand appears in the printed book, it is evident that the print was once in his possession and that the music copied therein was completed no earlier than 1543, the year in which the print was issued. Moreover, since our scribe used up the available space at the end of the print, yet left many folios blank toward the end of his manuscript, it would seem reasonable that the music in the print was copied before the appendix was written. Although the evidence is by no means conclusive, one can demonstrate, by bibliographical means, that folio v4 and its composition were already missing when the manuscript was compiled and that the manuscript (like the handwritten music in the print) could not have been copied before the printed partbooks were published.

Firstly, the wording of the title page "Hernach volgt allerley Compositzion" suggests that the scribe wrote the appendix with the intention of supplementing the collection of printed music already in his possession. This hypothesis can be confirmed by examining the method in which the scribe prepared each of the folios for ruling. The horizontal boundaries of the writing block were established by drawing two uninked vertical lines along the left margins of every other opening. Since the scribe applied enough pressure to the writing implement to leave an impression on the adjacent folios, four identical margins were created.

The width of the writing block does vary within a gathering (14.5 – 16 cm wide), and the bounding lines drawn by the scribe on folio 2v of the appendix left their impression on the last page of each of the printed songbooks. Consequently, it is clear that the manuscript was copied no earlier than 1543 (the date of the Forster print) and that it was compiled after the book was bound. From this evidence, one can also suggest that folio v4 of the printed book and in turn the composition copied on that opening (v3 verso – v4 recto) were already missing, since the bounding lines on folio v3 are so clearly visible as to preclude the existence of an intervening leaf.

Having prepared an opening for copy, the scribe then entered the number of staves necessary for laying out a composition. This required four systems on each page for most of the pieces, except for the German Lieder which were accompanied with text. Here, the scribe left either one page blank, or entered only the number of staves needed to leave room for the strophes of text which followed the music. Given the fact that the distances between the lines of a system differ from one to another example, it is clear that all the systems were drawn by hand. Yet, the overall height of each staff is remarkably regular, measuring either 11 or 12 mm, even though there is now no evidence of prickings or other markings which would have guided S1 in the placement of his ruler.

As we see from the samples of the scribe's handwriting in Figures 6.1-6.6, he writes in a cursive text hand, and uses predominantly lozenge-shaped semibreve and minim forms. The characteristics of his German script hand (Figures 6.1 and 6.2) can also be found among the Latin, French and Italian text incipits, in the examples reproduced in Figures 6.3 and 6.4. This is most clearly evident by comparing the ductus and graphemes of certain letters: note particularly the ubiquitous *er* and *es* construction, or the ductus of such individual letters as an internal *a* or final *s*. While the scribe upheld good German and Latin orthography, his knowledge of French and Italian seems not to have been very extensive: indeed, the spelling of text incipits for the international repertory is often so corrupt that the identity of the piece is obscured: e.g., no.13. *De mull emays* [= *De mille*

Der gangen ist mir glück und heyl und
 alle fründt off er den / Elend bin ich
 vor laß: den gar nit mag mir bößers
 vor den / Bis in den to: It lid ich

Figure 6.1. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (I.H., *Vergangen ist mir glück*, CH-Bu F IX 59, fol.1v)

Ich stell licht ab von sollicher hab:
 Ich stell licht ab / von sollicher hab / der ist nit was er singt / den
 gleich wol ich / singen sollich dir / vor mein solz bößers
 zginck / aber ist alle reub hirt / Mein dienst und zinkt / den ist
 lang sit zu hochon ghan / das der ist fründt / der allzeit gthwind /
 mit lappen wunden und vil wigen!

Figure 6.2. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Anonymous. *Ich stell licht ab von sollicher hab*, CH-Bu F IX 61, fol.36v)

ennuis]; no.21 *Viate tansionis* [= *Vivray je tousjours*]; no.29 *Deb dinimus* [= *Deh dimm'amour se l'alma*]; and no.57 *Qui demoeurt* [= *Quesse d'amour*].

While the scribe's text hand is strikingly consistent, his music hand is not. In addition to the two obviously different custodes (for example, in Figures 6.1-6.2), mensuration signs differ from one to another example: moreover, the angle of the clefs, flats or descending tails of the minims and semiminims varies by as much as 20°. These notational features, often used by scholars to distinguish the work of one scribe from that of another, could easily lead to a conclusion that more than one music hand was involved. Yet a close examination of the pages demonstrates that the scribe who wrote the texts also copied the music, for the text and notation for each composition are always entered in the same ink and written with the same quill. Moreover, in the few instances where there is a change in ink or quill state, these changes occur in all four partbooks at the same point.¹⁵

As to the identity of this scribe, details of his German orthography clearly point in the direction of Basel and its environs. Two of the salient features identifying an *oberrheinisch-süddalemannische* dialect in the manuscript are the use of an *i* for an *ü*, as in *Glick* instead of *Glück*, and the contraction of the diphthong *ei* to an *i* (or *y*), as in *Zyt* instead of *Zeit*, or *din* instead of *dein*. Since these spellings, as well as others, can be found throughout all layers of the manuscript where German text exists, it is evident that they are the product of the scribe's unconscious habits (rather than a reflection of his exemplar).

Binding. The four partbooks are preserved today in a matching set of calf leather covers over paper boards, executed in Basel sometime during the mid-sixteenth century. (Detailed evidence for the provenance of this binding will be offered in the description of the manuscript kk IV 19-22). Front and back covers are decorated with a hand-tooled blind edge, supplemented with an ornamental leaf stamped once in each corner. This same ornament was used four times in the center of each back cover so as to create a rosette-shaped device. In the center of the front covers are the appropriate voice designations, stamped in gold using upper-case punches taken from a set of roman majuscule characters: "DISCANTVS" (F IX 59); "ALTVS" (F IX 60); "TENOR" (F IX 61); and "BASVS" (F IX 62).

Sometime around the turn of this century, all four volumes were rebacked in brown suede and the last two gatherings of F IX 59 reinforced with a second set of stitching. The covers of each binding are extremely worn and wormed and contain only remnants of four leather tie threads. On the other hand, the original sewing bands, gray and white cotton headbands, and pasted endsheets have survived and are in good condition. In F IX 60 and 62, the paper boards consist of remnants of a Greek printed text, visible principally along the cracked fore-edges of the covers. The bindings are preserved today in a modern cardboard slipcase.

As we have seen, the scribe's orthography and paper usage suggests that the manuscript and its printed partbooks were owned by a musician who hailed from either Basel or its environs. This probability is strengthened by analysis of some of the unique repertory preserved in this manuscript.

15 For example, the music and text for piece numbers 1 and 2 are in a black ink; numbers 3-31 in brown, numbers 32-33 in black and number 34 in brown.

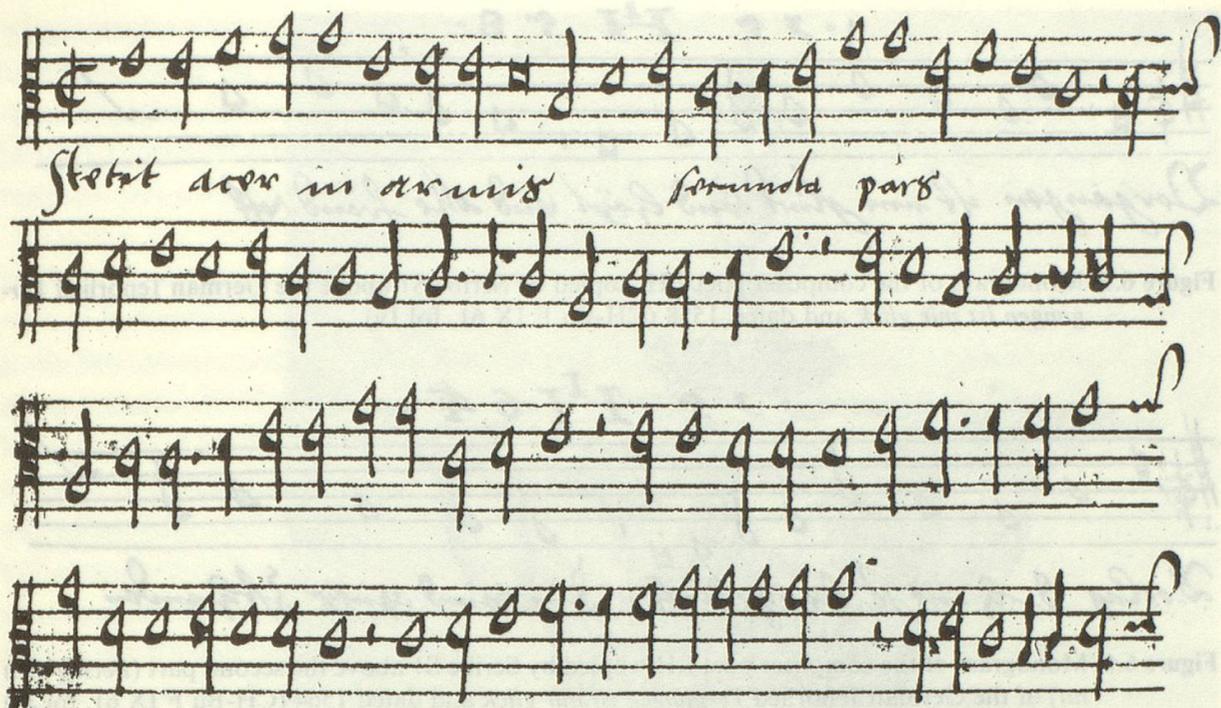


Figure 6.3. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Anonymous. *Stetit acer im armis*: pars. 2 of *Ille humilis*, CH-Bu F IX 61, fol.30v)

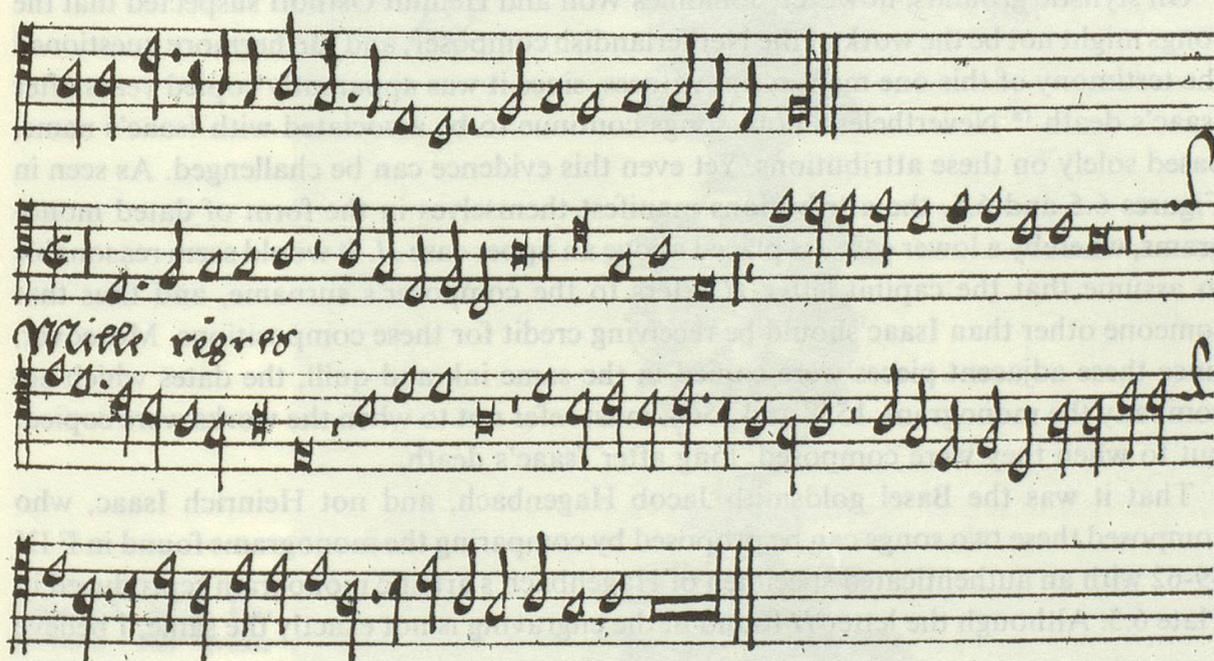


Figure 6.4. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Sandrin. *Douce memoire*; Josquin. *Mille regres*, CH-Bu F IX 61, fol.29r)



Figure 6.5. Monogram of the composer/poet I.H. copied by Scribe S1 above the German Tenorlied *Vergangen ist mir glick* and dated 1558 (CH-Bu F IX 61, fol.1v)

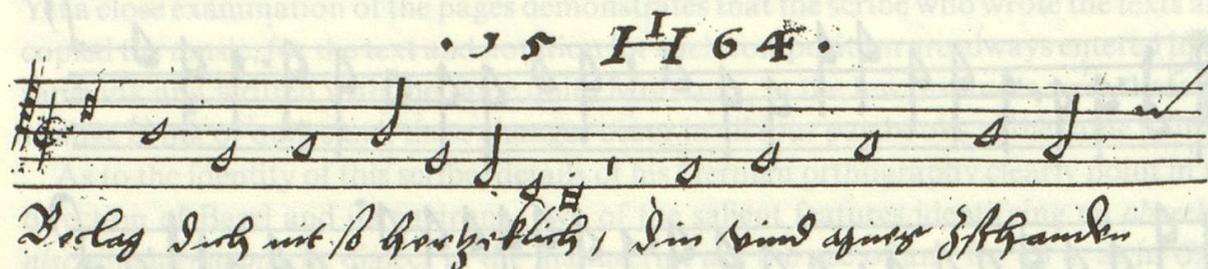


Figure 6.6. Monogram of the composer/poet I.H. copied by Scribe S1 above the second part (*Beclag dich nit*) of the German Tenorlied *Vergangen ist mir glick* and dated 1564 (CH-Bu F IX 61, fol.2v)

The Hagenbach Lieder. Of the 73 compositions copied by S1, only the two *unica Vergangen ist mir Glück und Heyl* and *Beklag dich nit so hertziglich* were given attributions. In addition, these songs received special attention in that they were dated, were the only pieces with full text underlay, and perhaps more importantly, were the first two compositions entered in the manuscript appendix. Since both pieces (as seen in Figure 6.5 and 6.6) were assigned to a composer whose initials consisted of the letters *H* and *I*, the songs have found their way into the collected works of Heinrich Isaac¹⁶, and the monogram has been associated with Isaac's name by Richard Schaal.¹⁷

On stylistic grounds, however, Johannes Wolf and Helmut Osthoff suspected that the songs might not be the work of the Netherlandish composer, and furthermore questioned the testimony of this one manuscript witness, since it was apparently copied years after Isaac's death.¹⁸ Nevertheless, both songs continue to be associated with Isaac's name, based solely on these attributions. Yet even this evidence can be challenged. As seen in Figures 6.5 and 6.6, the attributions manifest themselves in the form of dated monograms, whereby a lower case *I* is placed above an upper case *H*. It would seem reasonable to assume that the capital letter *H* refers to the composer's surname, and thus that someone other than Isaac should be receiving credit for these compositions. Moreover, since these adjacent pieces were copied in the same ink and quill, the dates which accompany the monogram, 1558 and 1564, must refer not to when the works were copied, but to when they were composed, long after Isaac's death.

That it was the Basel goldsmith Jacob Hagenbach, and not Heinrich Isaac, who composed these two songs can be proposed by comparing the monograms found in F IX 59-62 with an authenticated specimen of Hagenbach's artistic monogram reproduced in Plate 6.3. Although the letter *H* found in the engraving is not exactly the same, I believe

16 Johannes Wolf (ed.), *Heinrich Isaac: Weltliche Werke*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, vol. 28 (Vienna, 1907), 129-131

17 Richard Schaal, *Musik-Monogramme: Ein Verzeichnis*, Taschenbücher zur Musikwissenschaft, vol.27 (Wiesbaden, 1963), 59.

18 Wolf, *Heinrich Isaac, 202*; and Helmut Osthoff, *Die Niederländer und das deutsche Lied* (Berlin, 1938), 81f.

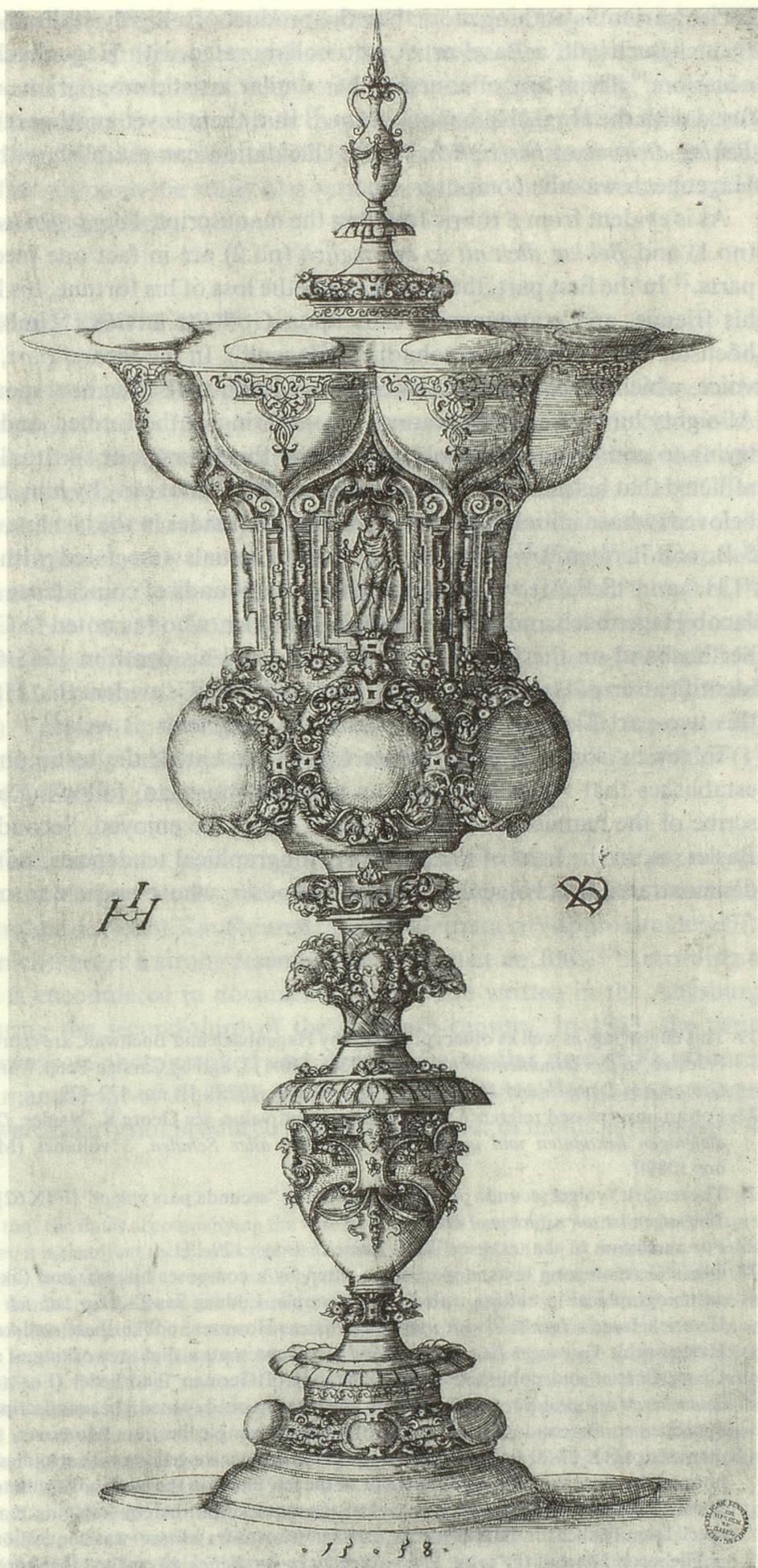


Plate 6.3. Jacob Hagenbach, *Der grosse Pokal*. Engraving by Daniel Buchwalt, Basel, 1558 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. Bi.I.237)

such a variant is nothing more than the product of a highly-stylized copper engraving by Daniel Buchwalt, a Basel artist who collaborated with Hagenbach on more than one occasion.¹⁹ There are, of course, other similar artistic monograms which might be confused with the Hagenbach monogram.²⁰ But, there is yet another reference in the text of *Beklag dich nit so hertzlich*, whose elucidation can establish without any doubt that Hagenbach was the composer.

As is evident from a rubric found in the manuscript, *Vergangen ist mir Glück und Heyl* (no.1) and *Beklag dich nit so hertzlich* (no.2) are in fact one piece composed in two parts.²¹ In the first part, the poet laments the loss of his fortune, his happiness, and all of his friends, and consequently calls upon God for advice (“Umb Hülf ich rüf, mein höchster Hort, erhör mein sehdlich Klagen!”). In the second part, there is a change of voice, which is accompanied by a change in outlook. The new speaker, apparently the Almighty himself, is well aware of the suffering of the former, and spends three verses trying to comfort and console him. In the third verse our spiritual advisor assures the afflicted that his misfortune shall pass, a wish held not only by him, but also by the poet’s beloved, whose initials S.B. are revealed to the reader in the last line of verse (“das wunst S.B. von hertzen”).²² Thus the two sets of initials associated with the same piece are “I.H.” and “S.B.” It would be stretching the bounds of coincidence to look further than Jacob Hagenbach and his wife Sophia Bratteler, who (as noted in Chapter 5) lived with her husband on the Freie Straße in Basel until his death in 1565/66. Indeed, with the identification of Hagenbach as the initial speaker, it is evident that Hagenbach composed this two-part Lied, and perhaps wrote the song texts as well.²³

To review some of the evidence I have presented; the testimony of Platter’s diary establishes that Hagenbach was an amateur musician, following a pastime which the scribe of the manuscript appendix must also have enjoyed. Second, Hagenbach was a Basler, as, in the light of the scribe’s orthographical tendencies, was he. Third, we have demonstrated that Hagenbach was a composer, whose music our scribe seemed to have

19 This engraving, as well as others produced by Hagenbach and Buchwalt, are reproduced and discussed by P. Jessen, in *Der Ornamentstich* (Berlin, 1920), 110-113, and by Carsten-Peter Warncke, in *Die ornamentale Grotteske in Deutschland 1500-1650*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1979), II, nos.472-479.

20 For an unsurpassed reference work of permanent value, see Georg K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten und diejenigen bekannten und unbekanntenen Künstler aller Schulen*, 5 volumes (Munich, 1858-1879), III, nos.1089ff.

21 The remark “volget secunda pars” (F IX 59-61) or “secunda pars volget” (F IX 62) was copied at the end of *Vergangen ist mir Glück und Heyl*.

22 For an edition of the texts see Wolf, *Heinrich Isaac*, 129-131.

23 Other German song texts, apparently written by a composer himself, and (like the Hagenbach verse) autobiographical in nature, include, for example, Ludwig Senfl’s *Lust hab ich g’habt zuer Musica* and Heinrich Isaac’s *Innsbruck ich muss dich lassen*. However, unlike these well-known songs, the text of Hagenbach’s *Vergangen ist mir Glück und Heyl* represents a slight reworking of a song text attributed to Georg Forster and published in his anthology of German Tenorlieder (For an edition see, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, vol. 20, no.15). Indeed, as we have already noted, the manuscript section of F IX 59-62 is appended to a second edition copy of the Forster song collection. Moreover, the scribally-concordant manuscript F X 17-20 also contains a copy of the Forster song along with strophes of text. This is especially noteworthy since the song represents one of the few pieces in the partbooks with text, and also because the first two strophes of text were torn out of the manuscript; thereby implying that Forster’s verse carried special significance for the manuscript’s owner, who (as we will see) was unquestionably Jacob Hagenbach.

The second part of the song, *Beklag dich nit so hertzlich*, is, on the other hand, unique to F IX 59-62.

had an interest in preserving. From this evidence alone, one cannot help but suggest that Hagenbach is the scribe in question, or at least the commissioner of the manuscript. Indeed, who else would have been more concerned with attributing, dating, and underlaying text only to Hagenbach's compositions than the goldsmith himself.²⁴ Admittedly, the evidence upon which this conclusion is based is in need of some support: this, however, we can offer, through the study of a scribally-concordant source unquestionably owned by Jacob Hagenbach.

Basel University Library MS F X 17-20

Contents. As shown in Inventory H, eighty-six compositions are preserved today in this set of four manuscript partbooks. Included are 61 German secular pieces, 15 chansons, 5 madrigals, 4 motets and 1 Latin/Italian composition. All of the compositions have only text incipits, except for two Lieder which were supplemented with strophes of text: Georg Forster's *Vergangen ist mir Glück und Heyl* (no.83) and the anonymous *unicum Zum zwire zum zware* (no.84). Moreover, only one ascription is to be found within the folios of our manuscript: the name of Cesar (= Georgius Cesar?) appears next to the text incipit of the motet entitled *Benedicite* (no.59). Concordances offer attributions, not always trustworthy, for fifty-six compositions, as the work of Adam von Fulda (1 piece), Arcadelt (3), Boyvin (1), Brack (1), Arnoldus de Bruck (1), Conseil (1), Dider Lupi Second (1), Eytelwein (1), Finck (3), Forster (1), Grefinger (1), Hofhaimer (5), Isaac (1), Janequin (1), Josquin (2), Malchinger (1), Othmayr (10), Rogirius (1), Sandrin (1), Schönfelder (1), Senfl (9), Sermisy (7), Stolzer (1), and Wolff (1).

Paper. Each of the four partbooks, measuring 7.5 X 10.5 cm, is written on one paper type, couched from two molds (see KatK, 475: Abb.158-159). The watermark, ostensibly representing the heraldic device of Kaufbeuren (a small German city approximately fifty miles south of Munich), bears a strong resemblance to Briquet no.1009.²⁵ According to Briquet, the mark is encountered in documents which were written in the Augsburg-Munich region during the second-third of the sixteenth century. In 1963, the paper specialist Allan Stevenson photographed and described a similar pair of Kaufbeuren shields found in a manuscript of Austrian provenance dated 1556.²⁶ Although Stevenson's watermarks were clearly not produced from the same pair of molds as found in F X

24 Having established that the dates accompanying the first two songs document the years in which Hagenbach composed them, it is clear that the manuscript was copied no earlier than 1564. A *terminus ante quem*, however, is not as easy to establish. It is most unlikely, that it would have been compiled much later than 1570. For while the manuscript does contain repertory which remained popular in Germany well into the beginning of the seventeenth century, it does not preserve any of the songs of those composers whose work represented the new musical trends in Germany in the mid 1560s. For example, not one song by Mattheus Le Maistre (RISM 1566⁷¹), Orlando di Lasso (RISM 1567⁷¹, 1569⁷²), Antonio Scandello (1568⁷¹) or Jakob Meiland (1569⁷³) is to be found in this collection. Admittedly, it is possible that this music was not available to S1, or that these new sound textures did not conform to S1's tastes. However, if it was Hagenbach himself who compiled the manuscript, the exclusion of this repertory can be explained: the goldsmith died between September of 1565 and September of 1566.

25 Charles M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, no.1009. Concerning the identification of the shield as the arms of Kaufbeuren see E. Heawood, *Watermarks* (Hilversum, 1950), 490 and 509.

26 Allan Stevenson, "Watermarks Are Twins," *Studies in Bibliography*, IV (1951-52), 72-73 and Figure 1.

17-20, their size, shape and the disposition of their attendant chainlines are similar enough to suggest that both pairs of marks were made by the same paper mill. The mark found in F X 17-20 occurs elsewhere in the rich collection of sixteenth-century correspondence housed today in the University Library of Basel, always on paper written by a citizen of Augsburg during the fourth decade of the century.²⁷ As there are no other watermarks in F X 17-20, it is perhaps instructive to note that each mark is distributed evenly throughout the partbooks and in equal numbers: watermark A (KatK, 475: Abb.158) appears 12 times and watermark B (KatK, 475: Abb.159) 11 times.

Given the condition of the paper, which is very dirty, it is clear that this set of partbooks (made to fit in a gentleman's pocket) was frequently used. The leaves transmitting pieces 54, 58, 83 and 84 in each partbook are especially smudged and dirtied, suggesting that these compositions were among the favorites of the collection.

Foliation and Numeration. Two systems of modern pencil foliation in arabic numerals are found in the upper-right corner of each recto leaf. The first system includes only those folios which contain music. Each partbook was thus foliated as follows: discantus, 1 – 53 (followed by 35 blank folios); altus, 1-49 (followed by 43 blank folios); tenor, 1-55 (followed by 19 blank folios), 56-74 (followed by 1 blank folio); bassus, 1-55, (followed by 36 blank folios). Using this earlier foliation, the second system (entered by myself in 1985) takes into account the blank folios: discantus, 1-88; altus, I (= modern flyleaf) + 1-92; tenor, 1-91; bassus, 1-91.

The partbooks also contain the original numeration of the pieces, entered by the two scribes responsible for the manuscript's compilation. The first 52 compositions are copied in one hand with each piece numbered by the same scribe in ink (nos.3-53). These arabic numerals were usually entered above the mensuration sign of each composition. Although the number 32 was applied to two consecutive pieces, this inaccuracy has been corrected in the present study, by labelling the compositions as 32a and 32b respectively.

The remaining 35 compositions were entered by the other scribe. Upon completing this layer, he numbered each of his pieces, following on from the previous numeration (nos.54-88), but consistently placed his arabic numbers *next* to the initial system of each piece rather than *above*. Moreover, the second scribe copied into the tenor book an alphabetical index of text incipits, which included both sets of pieces. Since the index does not contain any pieces assigned the numbers 1 or 2, the initial two compositions (which are missing today), were already absent when the second scribe entered the index. Indeed, evidence of the gathering structure will show not only that the partbooks are now missing a number of leaves, but also that several leaves were inserted into the original structure.

Collation. The manuscript's paper was collated in a format especially convenient for a portable volume, namely *sestodecimo*. While this pocket format (usually no larger in size than a package of cigarettes) is frequently encountered today among sixteenth-century prayerbooks or in the many editions of classical and biblical texts from the house of the Parisian Robert Estienne,²⁸ very few music books in this format have survived in either

27 For a list of these documents see Kmetz, *Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, F X 17-20, Papier.

28 See Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer* (Cambridge, 1954).

print or manuscript.²⁹ Since the format was clearly designed to be for every-day use, it is not surprising that the manuscript's original gathering structure of quaternios was altered several times in the course of collecting, entering, and correcting the music:

F X 17 (Discant): 89 folios.

Gatherings: 1 Bifolium + fols. 1, 2 and 5 (fols. 1-5)
1 Quaternio (fols. 6-13)
1 Ternio (fols. 14-19)
1 Quaternio (fols. 20-27)
1 Quaternio – 2nd leaf (fols.28-34)
6 Quaternios (fols. 35-82)
1 Quaternio (fols.83-back paste down).

Remarks: Folios 1-5 ostensibly represent the remains of the manuscript's initial quaternio. Although folios 3 and 4 are described as a bifolium, these two leaves are conjugate only because they have been tipped-onto a binding slip. Folios 2 and 5 were then glued to this "bifolium;" and folio 1 attached to the inner edge of the front paste down.

A few of the custodes on verso sides of a leaf were copied by S1 onto these binding slips/stubs; thus it is evident that it was S1 himself who glued these leaves together. Indeed, since the manuscript's initial two pieces are today missing (which in view of the repertory would have taken only two sides of a leaf) and since each partbook contains two blank flyleaves pasted down to the inner front covers, I suspect that the initial gathering of each partbook looked something like:

paste down 1 / folio 5
paste down 2 / folio 4
[missing leaf] / folio 3
folio 1 / folio 2

On folio 33r, the final system of music was copied on a slip of paper which was tipped onto the leaf. Folio 83 and the back pasted endsheet were originally conjugate, but are now detached.

F X 19 (Altus): 91 folios.

Gatherings: 1 Bifolium + folio 2 (fols.1-3)
1 Quaternio + folios 4 and 5 (fols.4-13)
9 Quaternios (fols.14-85)
1 Quaternio (fols.86-back paste down)

²⁹ Aside from the few well-known printed partbooks issued by Christian Egenolff around 1535 (see Nanie Bridgman, "Christian Egenolff, Imprimeur de Musique," *Annales Musicologiques*, III (1955), 88-177), *sestodecimo* format was also used for copying Basel University Library Manuscripts F X 21, F X 25-26 (Iselin Songbooks), and F X 22-24 (Songbook of Basilius Amerbach); and Zurich Zentralbibliothek Mscr. Q 906. On the Amerbach partbooks F X 22-24 see above, Chapter 4. Detailed bibliographical information on the Basel songbooks can also be found in Kmetz, *Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, F X 21-26. Concerning the origins of the Zurich partbook see Martin Staehelin, "Neue Quellen zur mehrstimmigen Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in der Schweiz," *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, Series 3/III (1978), 57f.

Remarks: Folio 83 and the back pasted endsheet were originally conjugate, but, as in F X 17, are now detached.

F X 18 (Tenor): 91 folios.

Gatherings: 1 Bifolium + folios 1 and 4 (fols. 1-4)
1 Quaternio + folio 5 (fols.5-13)
4 Quaternios (fols.14-45)
1 Quaternio – 5th folio (fols. 46-52)
4 Quaternios (fols.53-84)
1 Quaternio (fols.85-back paste down).

Remarks: Folio 85 and the back pasted endsheet were originally conjugate, but are now detached.

F X 20 (Bassus): 91 folios.

Gatherings: 1 Bifolium + folio 2 (fols.1-3)
1 Quaternio – 4th folio + folios 4 and 5 (fols.4-12)
9 Quaternios (fols.13-83)
1 Quaternio (fols.84-back paste down).

Remarks: Folios 4 and 5 were originally tipped onto a binding slip so as to form a bifolium. Folio 5 was then glued to folio 6 (the initial leaf of the following gathering). Folio 85 and the back pasted endsheet were originally conjugate, but, as in F X 17, are now detached.

Scribes. As was first noted by Julius Richter,³⁰ the manuscript consists of two distinct scribal layers. The first scribe (hereafter S2), copied music and text for pieces 3 – 53, numbered each of his entries, and drew the two drinking glasses on folio 14v of F X 20. Both the glasses are in the same grayish brown ink as the music and text entered in this layer of the manuscript. While the writing block is not always consistent from gathering to gathering (c.5-6.5 X c.9-9.5 cm), the horizontal boundaries for individual gatherings usually are. These margins were established by pricking each gathering six times, three times along the gutter, and three times along the fore-edge. Since the prickings made in one gathering are often found on the outer leaves of the adjacent gatherings, the quaternios were apparently sewn together before the scribe began preparing the sheets. This can be confirmed: when ruling his staves, S2 often extended the top line of each staff into the inner margin of an opening, apparently in order to line-up adjacent systems. This even happens on openings which lie across the join between two gatherings, indicating that the partbooks must have been sewn together before the music was entered. The systems were ostensibly drawn by hand, the overall width of the staves varying by as much as 5 mm (0.7-1.2 cm).³¹

As shown in Figures 6.8, S2 writes in a Fraktur text hand, maintains impeccable German orthography, and uses lozenge-shaped semibreve and minim forms. Further, he always copies the text incipits for the French and Italian pieces in a stylized German script (Figure 6.7) and with a Germanic approach to the actual texts. For example, Sermisy's

30 Richter, *Katalog*, 69 and 73.

31 A few systems, however, would appear to have been drawn with a single staff rastrum; see, for example, the third systems on folios 28r and 41r in F X 20.



Figure 6.7. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2 (Josquin. *Mille reges*, CH-Bu F X 18, fol.11v)

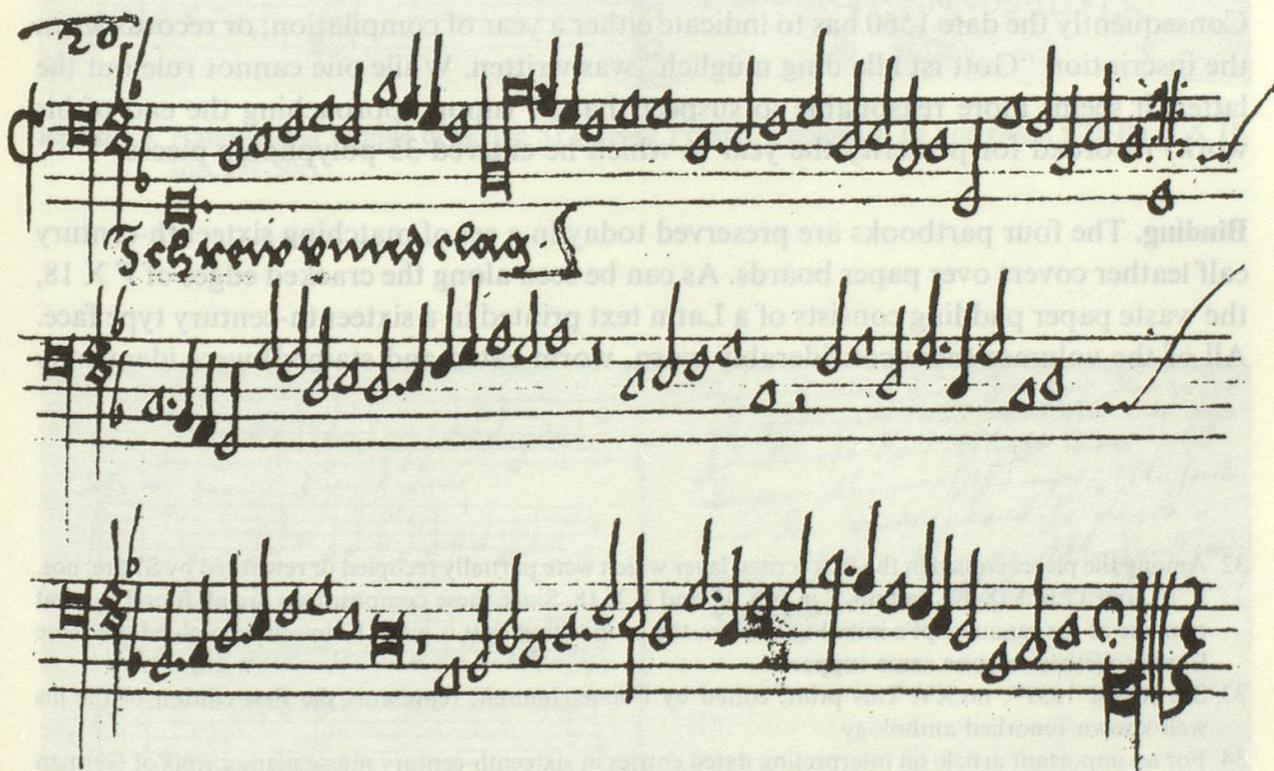


Figure 6.8. Handwriting sample of Scribe S2 (Georg Brack. *Ich rew und clag*, CH-Bu F X 20, fol. 10r)

Tant que vivray is spelled *Danque vivere*; Sermisy's *C'est grant tort* is read as *Cesta grandt dort* and Jean Conseil's *Le corps s'en va* is copied as if it were a German Zusammensetzung, *Lecorpor seiua*.

In fact the scribe's provenance can be narrowed down to a specific region. Of the 53 pieces copied by S2, 43 carry German text incipits. Many of these contain spellings which point to Augsburg and its Swabian-Bavarian region. By far the most characteristic identifying feature is the substitution of the diphthong *ai* for *ei* (or *ey*) as in *ain* instead of *ein*, *waiss* instead of *weiss* or *lait* instead of *leyd*. These spellings are found in all layers of the scribe's work (see Inventory H, nos. 6, 28, 39, 46, 50, and 51). This provenance can in turn be supported by the manuscript's paper which, as already discussed, was manufactured and used in the area.

While this scribe was apparently from the Augsburg region, the second scribe (who copied the remaining 35 pieces, nos. 54-88, entered the index in F X 18, and revised a few pieces copied by S2)³² was definitely not. Rather he is S1, the Basel scribe who compiled the manuscript appendix in F IX 59-62. Figures 6.9 and 6.10 show the work of this scribe in F X 17-20. These reproductions should be compared with those from F IX 59-62 (see Figures 6.1-6.6). In addition to the similar clefs and custodes, the notational ductus in F X 17-20 is virtually identical with that in Figures 6.2-6.4. Detailed confirmation of this scribal concordance, first recognized by Julius Richter, is presented in the sections of text.

As in F IX 59-62, S1 created the writing block by drawing two uninked vertical lines along the left margins of every other opening, consequently producing uniform margins (8 or 9 cm wide) for the adjacent folios. The scribe also drew each of his systems by hand (0.9-1.1 cm wide), provided text for only German pieces, and dated one of his final entries 1560 (as shown in the reproduction featured in Figure 6.9). This date, however, unlike those in F IX 59-62, does not represent a time of composition, since the Forster Lied copied on this opening appears in a printed source published twenty-one years earlier.³³ Consequently the date 1560 has to indicate either a year of compilation, or records when the inscription "Gott ist alle ding möglich" was written. While one cannot rule out the latter, it seems more reasonable to suspect that S1 (upon approaching the end of his work) recorded for posterity the year in which he entered 35 polyphonic pieces.³⁴

Binding. The four partbooks are preserved today in a set of matching sixteenth-century calf leather covers over paper boards. As can be seen along the cracked edges of F X 18, the waste paper padding consists of a Latin text printed in a sixteenth-century type face. All of the volumes (now considerably worn, worm-eaten and stained) were identically

32 Among the pieces copied in the first scribal layer which were partially recopied or reworked by S1 are: nos. 6, 10, and 12 in F X 17, and no. 7 in F X 17 and F X 18. Since these compositions are all found in what remains of the manuscript's initial quaternio, the proposition that it was S1 himself who glued the loose leaves together receives some support.

33 See RISM 1539²⁷, no. XV. This print, edited by Forster himself, represents the first edition of the his well-known Tenorlied anthology.

34 For an important article on interpreting dated entries in sixteenth-century music manuscripts of German provenance, see Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, "Datierungsprobleme bei Kompositionen in deutschen Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift Helmuth Osthoff zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tutzing, 1961), 47-60.

decorated. Along the outer edge of each cover is a double hand-tooled line. In the middle of the front cover, the appropriate voice designation was stamped in gold using a *Fraktur* display type (F X 17 “Discant”, F X 18 “Tenor”, F X 19 “Altus”, and F X 20 “Basus”); and directly below each voice name, two ornamental leaves were punched in goldleaf. The original sewing-bands which hold the gatherings together are still firmly intact, even though all four partbooks were rebaked in brown leather and flyleaves of laid paper were added sometime during the first quarter of the present century. It was apparently at the time of this restoration that the bindings were placed in their modern cardboard case.

That Jacob Hagenbach owned these partbooks appears from an engraving preserved on the front pasted endsheet of F X 20 (see Plate 6.4). This double escutcheon, serving the purpose of an *Ex Libris*, can be identified from published and handwritten collections of Basel heraldry, where each half is identified separately – the one on the left with the family

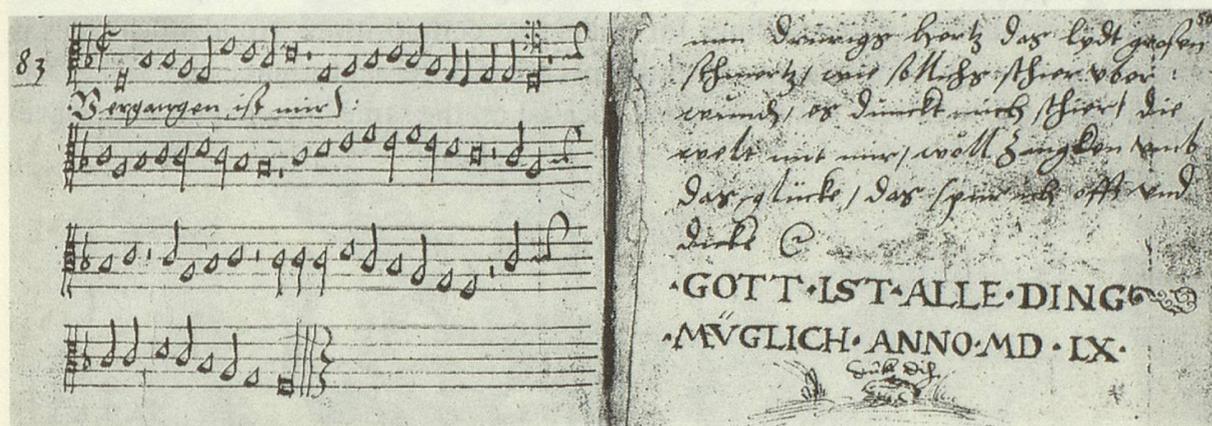


Figure 6.9. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Georg Forster. *Vergangen ist mir glück*, CH-Bu F X 18, fols.49v-50r)

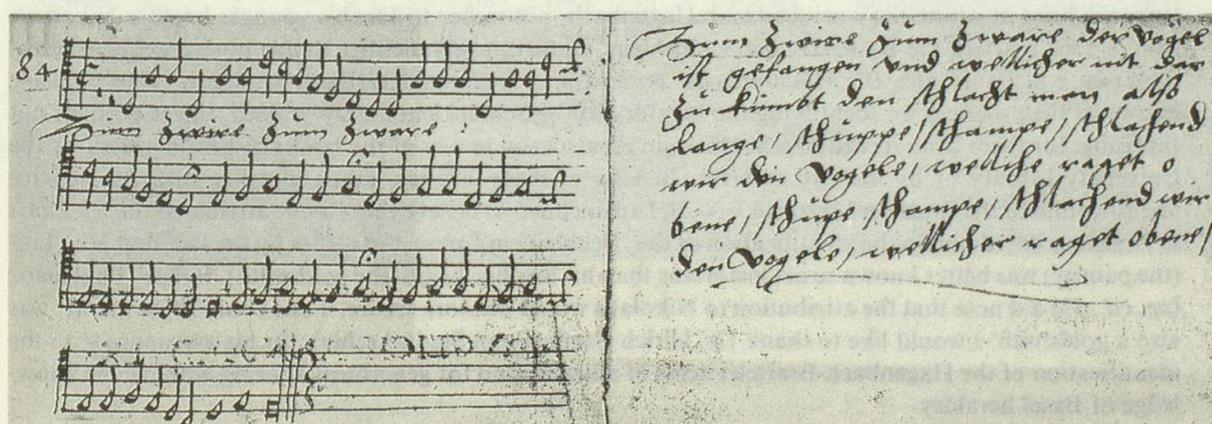


Figure 6.10. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Anonymous. *Zum zwire zum zware*, CH-Bu F X 18, fol.50v-51r)

Hagenbach, the one on the right with the Bratteler family.³⁵ Such a double escutcheon could only represent a married couple; and indeed the only liaison known between these two families involves the Basel goldsmith and composer Jacob Hagenbach and his wife Sophia Bratteler.

*

When Julius Richter catalogued the Basel manuscripts nearly 100 years ago, he not only noticed that F IX 59-62 and F X 17-20 were scribally concordant but also that they shared many of the same compositions.³⁶ As seen in Table 6.4, over fifty percent of the repertory in F X 17-20 (46 of 83 pieces) appears either in the printed or in the manuscript section of F IX 59-62. Among these 46 compositions, 14 were copied by S1 in both sources. Although only two of these pieces are in the same consecutive order,³⁷ philological evidence suggests that all fourteen were copied directly from one manuscript into the other (or that the concordant repertory was at least copied from another closely related source). The evidence supporting this claim can be summarized as follows: 1) Most of the pieces contain exactly the same readings, in some cases unique to the two sources; 2) A number of line-endings for individual compositions are identical: this is especially noteworthy since the two manuscripts are in different formats; and 3) the rests in each piece are, with very few exceptions, located on the same line or space of a stave.

35 A reproduction of the Hagenbach escutcheon is found in W.R. Staehelin, *Wappenbuch der Stadt Basel*, 3 vols. (Basel, 1917) II, Hagenbach. The device of the Bratteler family can be found in the collections of heraldry (Wappensammlungen) kept in the Basel Stadt-Archiv under the call number A3 and B1.

The artistic merits of this unique engraving were first discussed by Karl E. Reinle in his catalogue *Ausstellung alter Ex Libris aus dem Besitze der Basler Universitäts-Bibliothek* (Basel, 1917), 8-10. However, Reinle did not attribute the work to Jacob Hagenbach, but rather to Jacob's younger brother Nikolaus, who in 1567 married the Basler Ursula Schlücklein. Unfortunately, neither Reinle nor subsequent historians (see, e.g., Paul Ganz, *Die Miniaturen der Basler Universitätsmatrikel* [Basel-Stuttgart, 1960], 53) have ever cited their sources for identifying the heraldry of the Schlücklein family. Indeed, this is perhaps not surprising: for there is no record of a Schlücklein escutcheon in any of the books of heraldry kept by the University Library or by the city archives. In view of these lacunae, taken together with the positive identification of the Bratteler blazon in F X 20, I am inclined to believe that Reinle attributed the *Ex Libris* to Nikolaus based not on the identification of the "Schlücklein" arms, but rather by the fact that Nikolaus (the painter) was better known to art historians than his brother Jacob (the goldsmith). Indeed, Paul Ganz (*op. cit.*, 53) did note that the attribution to Nikolaus would be more secure, if one could show that he was also a goldsmith! I would like to thank Dr. Ulrich Barth (Basel Stadt-Archiv), for his assistance with the identification of the Hagenbach-Bratteler arms of alliance, and for generously sharing with me his knowledge of Basel heraldry.

36 Richter, *Katalog*, 76.

37 Arcadelt's *Gravi pene in amor* and *In giustissimus amor* are nos. 81 and 82 in F X 17-20 and nos. 64 and 65 in F IX 59-62.

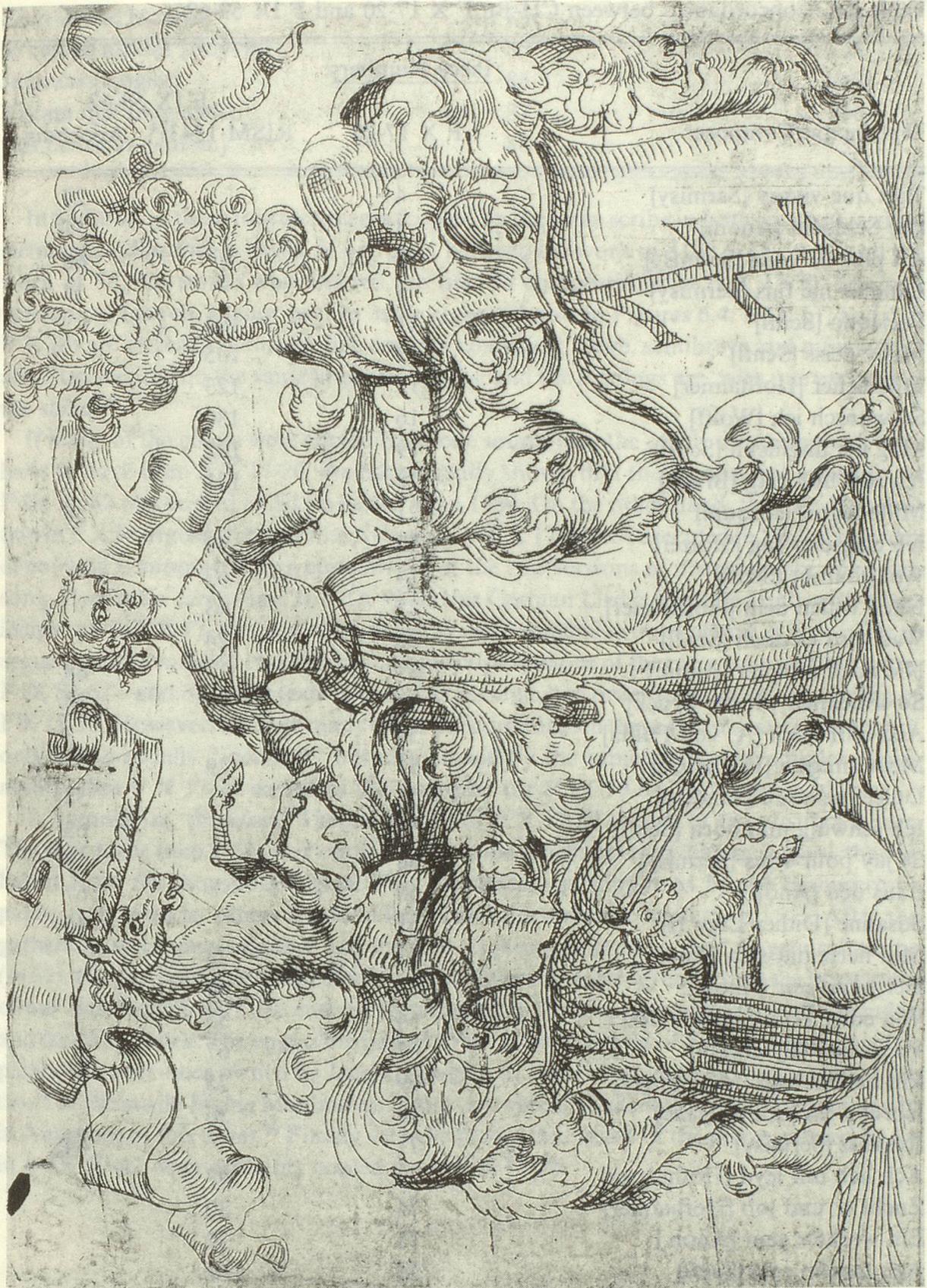


Plate 6.4. Hagenbach-Bratteler Coat of Arms (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F X 20, front paste-down)

Table 6.4. Concordances between CH-Bu F X 17-20 and F IX 59-62

Text Incipit/Composer	Piece Numbers:	
	F X 17-20	F IX 59-62 RISM 1543 ²⁴ Appendix
Tant que vivray [Sermisy]	4	27
Die Schlacht [Anon.]	5	31
Au pres de vous [Sermisy]	8	66
Languir me fais [Sermisy]	9	32
Pacientia [Senfl]	11	104
Mein vleiss [Senfl]	12	105
Tröstlicher [Hofhaimer]	13	123
So wunsch ich [Wolff]	16	130
Mag ich unglückh [Senfl]	19	102
Ich rew und clag [Brack]	20	121
Mille regres [Josquin]	21	59
Ich clag den Tag [Stolzer]	22	33
Wol khumbt [Senfl]	24	63
Nach willen dein [Hofhaimer]	25	43
Was wird es doch [Senfl]	26	24
Nie noch nimmer [Anon.]	27	68
So trinckhen wir [de Bruck]	29	34
Ach hilff mich [A. von Fulda]	50	3
Mein ainigs a [Hofhaimer]	51	29
Dulce memoire [Sandrin]	54	58
Ich schwing min horn [Senfl]	57	63
Se jay pour vous [Sermisy]	58	53
Laus deo [Anon.]	60	67
Susanne [Didier Lupi II]	61	45
Min hertz hat sich [Anon.]	62	78
Der hund mir [Anon.]	63	44
Von edler arth [Schönfelder]	64	35
Vil freund [Eytelwein]	67	67
Ein medlin sagt [Malchinger]	69	25
Isbruck ich muess [Isaac]	70	36
Joisantz [Sermisy]	71	44
Ach lieb mit leyd [Hofhaimer]	73	97
Zucht er und lob [Hofhaimer]	74	30
Ein wechter geut [Anon.]	75	32
Ach medlin rein [Senfl]	76	62
Il est jour [Sermisy]	78	56
Ern wert uff erdt [Anon.]	79	107
Ich stoll ich ab [Grefinger]	80	18
Gravi pene [Arcadelt]	81	64
In giustissimus [Arcadelt]	82	65
Vergangen ist mir [Forster]	83	15

Zum Zwire [Anon.]	84	4
Je cherche autant [Boyvin]	85	35
Je prens [Rogier]	86	12
Vittam que [Arcadelt]	87	16
Ces fascheux [Anon.]	88	33

In addition to these fourteen pieces (copied by the same scribe in both sources), a close stemmatic relationship exists, in one case, between the work of S1 in F IX 59-62 and the work of S2, the scribe who entered the first 53 compositions in F X 17-20. The two versions of Josquin's tenor part to *Mille regres* (shown in Figures 6.4: F IX 61, and 6.7: F X 18) are virtually identical: line endings coincide; breve, semibreve and minim rests are often located on the same lines and spaces; and the readings are, with one exception, the same.³⁸

If many of the pieces were copied from one source into the other, the exemplar would have to have been F X 17-20. We have already shown that the manuscript appendix of F IX 59-62 was copied by S1 no earlier than 1564. On the other hand, the dated inscription in F X 18 argues strongly that S1's work in F X 17-20 was executed in 1560. The order of copying is supported by a comparison of the two versions of the otherwise unknown song, *Zum zwire zum zware*. In F IX 59-62 this German Lied is identified only with a text incipit, yet in F X 17-20 it is accompanied by one complete strophe of text. It is possible to argue that S1 conflated two different manuscript versions of the piece (one without text – F IX 59-62 – and one with text – a now lost exemplar) in order to produce the reading of F X 17-20. However, since so many other concordances in these two manuscripts are not only stemmatically “identical” but also copied by the same scribe, the simpler explanation, that F X 17-20 served as the exemplar for F IX 59-62, seems unavoidable.

To summarize, therefore: The partbooks of F X 17-20 consist of two distinct layers. The first layer (nos.3-53) was copied by a scribe whose spelling habits suggest that he hailed from the Augsburg region. This provenance is supported by the manuscript's paper, paralleled by others found in letters and documents copied circa 1545. After the gatherings were sewn together and the first 52 pieces entered by the “Augsburg” scribe (= S2), the partbooks (with the first two pieces already missing) came into the possession of our Basel scribe (S1). He entered the remaining 36 compositions, compiled the index and dated his work. The engraving pasted to the front endsheet of F X 20, shows that the partbooks were once owned by Jacob Hagenbach, who in his youth (1540s) served at the court of the music-loving Maximilian II (a court which, incidentally, was based primarily in Augsburg at this time).³⁹ Finally we have shown that many of the pieces entered by S1 in F IX 59-62 were probably copied from F X 17-20.

38 The one exception is found at the first cadence in the second system. In F X 18 a dotted minim (a) is followed by two semiminims (g,g; which should be a semiminim and minim); In F IX 61 a semibreve (a) is followed by one minim (g).

39 For biographical information on Hagenbach's life see above, Chapter 5.

Since F X 17-20 was once in Hagenbach's possession, and also partially copied by S1 (the scribe who took such care with Hagenbach's compositions in F IX 59-62) we have to consider the possibility that S1 and this Basel goldsmith, composer, and amateur musician are the same person. While it could equally be argued that the scribe was rather a musician employed by Hagenbach, we will find, in one of the newly-discovered sources, kk IV 19-22, that S1 was, like Hagenbach, artistically gifted.

Basel University Library MS kk IV 19-22 (olim Z II 82-85)

This set of four partbooks, measuring 12.0 X 17.5 cm (kk IV 19: 13.0 X 19.0 cm), consists of two sections which, until 1985, were preserved in their original sixteenth-century Basel binding. The first, and larger section, is a copy of Wolfgang Schmeltzel's volume of German Lieder (RISM 1544¹⁹), published by the Nuremberg printer Johannes Petreius.⁴⁰ The anthology is especially valuable, as the first major collection of Quodlibets to appear in Germany. Among its 25 compositions, the best known is Senfl's six-part *Das gleut zu Speier*, a song which has been cited as "one of the strongest dominant-tonic monuments of the sixteenth-century."⁴¹ This particular copy of the edition, however, has commanded special attention for two reasons: firstly, it is one of the few complete copies to have survived; and, secondly, thirteen of its texts are illustrated with watercolor and pen drawings.

While this copy of Schmeltzel's volume is well known, it has gone completely unnoticed that three of the partbooks are supplemented by a manuscript appendix preserving three voices of what was originally a four voice Latin motet (See Inventory I). Unfortunately this unique composition is anonymous. However, the motet is in the hand of our principal scribe (S1), is stylistically similar to the Hagenbach Lieder and contains a text which might be taken as alluding to this goldsmith. Moreover, as I shall argue, the scribe was responsible not only for the watercolor and pen illustrations in kk IV 19, but also for the eccentric musical notation in F IX 59-62, discussed above.

Paper. The manuscript appendix, together with the flyleaves inserted into the front of each partbook, consists of two paper types, each type couched from a pair of molds. The paper in the discant partbook (kk IV 20) contains a pair of running bear watermarks which closely resemble two marks recorded by Briquet and Piccard (see KatK, 449: Abb.76-77).⁴² The two crown watermarks found in the altus and bass partbooks (kk IV 21 and kk IV 22 respectively) are reproduced in KatK, 465: Abb.125-126. They too represent another pair of companion molds and are similar in appearance to numbers 83 and 84 in one of Piccard's watermark *Findbücher*.⁴³ Both pairs of marks are reported as common to the *oberrheinische* region between the years 1531 – 1551.

40 An inventory of the print, listing all of its musical incipits, is found in Nibert Böker-Heil's valuable catalogue *Das Tenorlied*, I, 128-133. On Schmeltzel and his collection, see E. Bienenfeld, "Wolfgang Schmeltzel, sein Liederbuch (1544) und das Quodlibet des XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, VI (1904), 80ff.

41 Hans Joachim Moser, "Instrumentalisten bei Ludwig Senfl," *Festschrift Johannes Wolf* (Berlin, 1929), 123ff.

42 Charles M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, vol.4, nos. 12383 and 12382; and Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen. Raubtiere* (Stuttgart, 1963), nos. 1020 and 1021.

43 Gerhard Piccard, *Die Kronen-Wasserzeichen* (Stuttgart, 1961), Section IX.

The papers have been trimmed so that they would correspond in size to their printed companion. Since these trimmings, on several occasions, resulted in loss of text (especially in kk IV 22), it is clear the manuscript originally existed as an independent unit. Apart from light foxing, the papers are in good condition and show few traces of use.

Collation/Foliation. Like the printed book, the paper of the manuscript was folded and cut into oblong quarto format. The printed and manuscript leaves were foliated in a single system, in pencil, by a modern user (discant, fols.1-90; altus, fols.1-100; tenor, fols.1-79; bassus, fols.1-88).

kk IV 20 (Discantus): 90 folios.

Gatherings: 1 Bifolium (front paste-down – fol.1)

RISM: 19 Binios (fols.2-77)

1 Binio – 3rd, 4th fols. (fols.78-79)

MS: 2 Binios (fols. 80-87)

1 Binio (fols.88-back paste-down)

Remarks: After folio 79, two leaves of the printed book (presumably blank) were cut out. Folio 88 and the back pasted endsheet, originally conjugate, are now detached. The manuscript appendix, the initial flyleaf and the paste downs consist of only the running bear paper.

kk IV 21 (Altus): 100 folios.

Gatherings: 1 Bifolium (front paste-down – fol.1)

RISM: 21 Binios (fols.2-85)

MS: 3 Binios (fols.86-97)

1 Binio (fols.98-back paste-down)

Remarks: The manuscript appendix, the initial flyleaf and the paste-downs consist of only the crown paper.

kk IV 19 (Tenor): 80 folios.

Gatherings: 1 Bifolium (front paste-down – fol.1)

RISM: 19 Binios (fols.2-77)

1 Binio – 3rd, 4th fols. (fols.78-79)

MS: None; no evidence of excised leaves.

1 Bifolium (fol.80-back paste-down).

Remarks: The two bifolia appended to the front and back of the print consist of the crown paper.

kk IV 22 (Bassus): 88 folios.

Gatherings: 1 Bifolium (front paste-down – fol.1)

RISM: 19 Binios (fols.2-77)

MS: 2 Binios (fols.78-85)

1 Binio (fols.86-back paste-down).

Remarks: The manuscript appendix, the initial flyleaf and the paste-downs consist only of the crown paper.

Allms. 86

jubilate deo omnis terra servite Domino in laetitia alleluia jubilate deo omnis terra psalms.
Dixit nomen eius alleluia jubilate deo omnis terra in psalmis jubilate mus ti omnis

Figure 6.11. Variant hand of Scribe S1 (Anonymous. *Jubilate deo*, CH-Bu kk IV 21, fol.86r)

Handwriting. The manuscript was copied by one individual, who in addition to writing the music and text drew a number of staves in the tenor partbook of Schmeltzel's print.⁴⁴ These systems were produced from the single-stave rastrum (1.1 cm wide) used in the appendix, and they were drawn in the distinctive yellowish brown ink employed for the music and text in the altus and bass partbooks.⁴⁵ Consequently, it would seem safe to infer that the printed partbooks were once in the scribe's possession.

As shown in Figure 6.11, the scribe wrote in a cursive text hand and (like S1) consistently employed rounded semibreve and minim forms. While his Latin orthography provides no clues to his identity, the calligraphic features of his script strongly suggest that he was fluent in the German language. His text hand may be characterized as a mixture of humanist and German scripts. Among the many Germanic characters, the most salient are the lower-case letters *d*, *e*, or *g*, as seen in such words as *deo* or *gentes*, or his *se* constructions (see *servite*).

Although kk IV 19-22 contains styles of clef and custos not to be found in the work I have already attributed to S1 (our principal scribe), we can identify it as having been copied by him or by a scribe working under his close supervision. Both S1 and the writer of this piece drew minims with ascending tails in one of the traditional manners, by making two distinct strokes with the quill, the first to form the head of the note, the

44 These staves are found on folios 11-16, pages in which only a third of the leaf was utilized by the printer.

45 The music and text in the discant partbook was written in a dark brown ink. This detail, taken together with the fact that the discant part was copied on different paper from that of the other partbooks, suggests that the parts were not copied out at the same time.

III Ein Quodlibet von Nasen/ Johannes Purstaller.

Ort zu ein news gedicht/ von nasen zugericht/ der sein sehr

vil vñ gñug/ ein yeder will mit fug/ damit sein in dem spil/ Schön nasen nasen baz

ben will/ dem soll mans lassen zu rü/ es sein andere nasen mer/ Fratte frumpe pucflete/

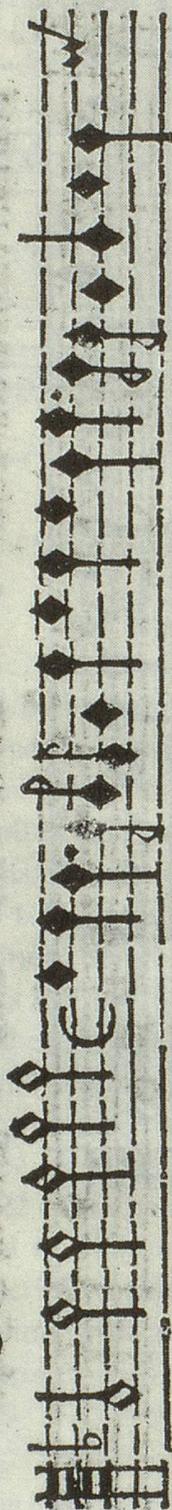
einpogne marrete/ dicke breite gspigste maset schrammet/ gflichte diecket/

Plate 6.5. Watercolor and pen drawing of noses, *Quodlibet von Nasen* (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. kk IV 19, fol.16v)

VII. Ade mit leyd.



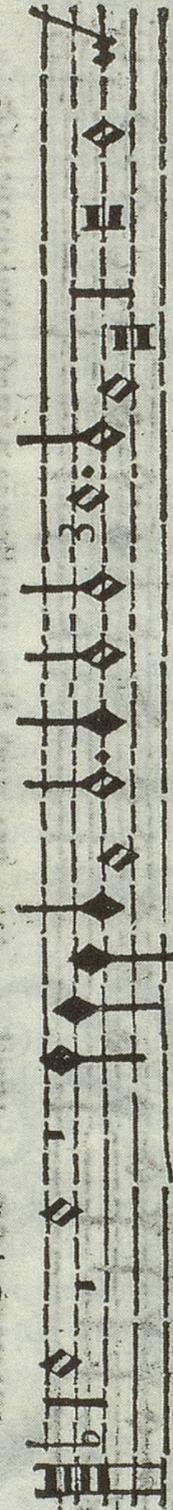
Ich armer man was hab ich gerhan ein altes weib hab ich genom



men ich hets wol onter glan die armit bat mir die lantten geschlagen das ellend



bat mir gepfif fen/ Ach hilff mit leyd vñ send lich flag/



Lauff lauff wunde wille lauff/ Gutter mutt ist halber leyb büt dich
g üf

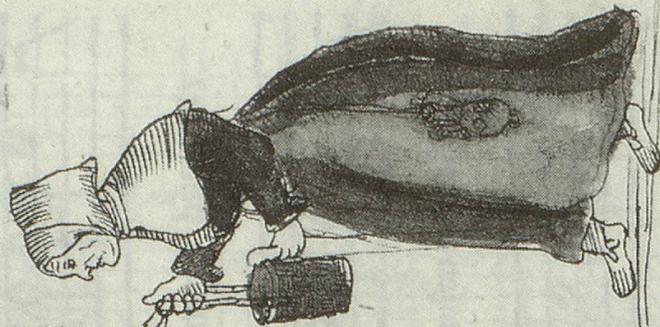
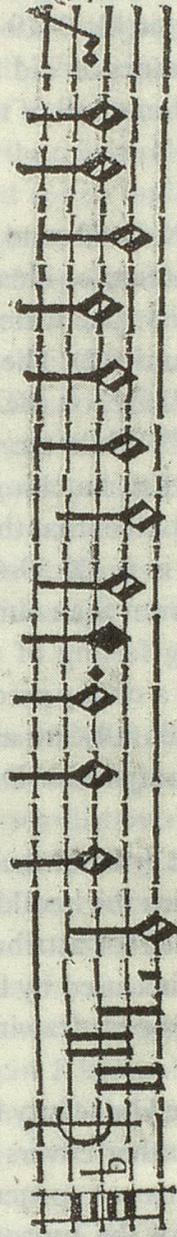
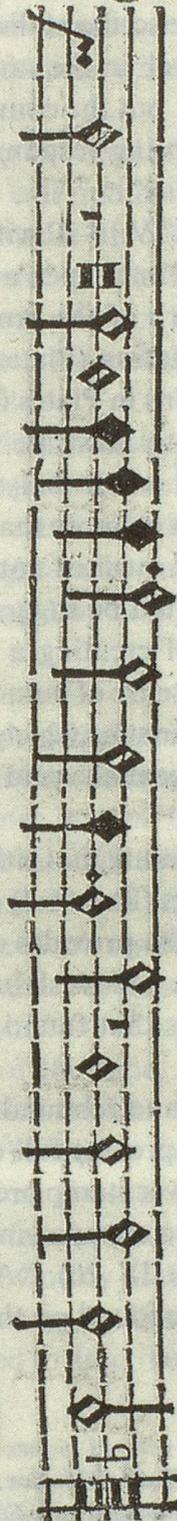


Plate 6.6. Watercolor and pen drawing of an old lady, *Ade mit Leyd* (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. kk IV 19, fol.28r)

XXI. Von Secken ein Quodlibet.



Schmeinder Secken/ kein allein/ der Secken



sind vil groß vnd klein/ die stecken all vol blun ders/ in



yedem etwas bson ders/ Ein Wirtshaus stet an einem eck/ da sülte man



vil der pli seck/ darzu vil meng der flaschen/ die Krämer hand groß

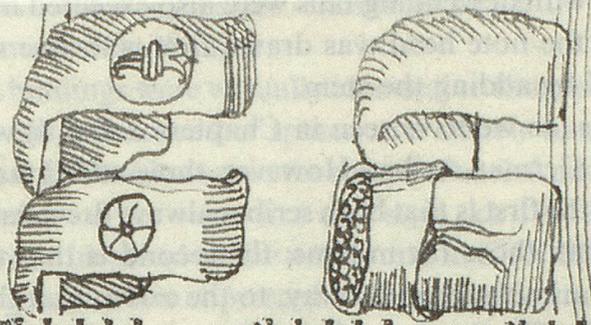


Plate 6.7. Pen drawing of sacks with a Basel crozier, *Quodlibet von Secken* (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. kk IV 19, fol.66r)

second to add the tail. Minims with descending tails were also executed in a similar way by both scribes: two-thirds of the note head was drawn first with one stroke and the remaining third was closed off by adding the stem.

Admittedly, these techniques (as we have seen in Chapters 3 and 4) were shared by several other sixteenth-century German scribes. However, three additional features bolster a claim for scribal identity: the first is that both scribes always drew semiminims with demonstrably smaller heads than those for minims; the second is that they produced descending note stems in a remarkably irregular way, to the extent that the angle of the stem fluctuates by as much as 25°. Finally, the scribe of the motet in kk IV 19-22 prepared the horizontal boundaries of the writing block in the same manner as did S1. None of these items on its own would be remarkable: but the combination of all of them in each source argues strongly for the same scribe being responsible.

Illustrations. Further evidence associating kk IV 19-22 with F IX 59-62 (and incidentally confirming a Basel provenance for both) lies in the pen and watercolor illustrations: on stylistic grounds, these appear to be the work of the same artist. The watercolor illustrations in F IX 59-62 represent musical notation (Plates 6.1 and 6.2). The 14 pen and watercolor drawing in kk IV 19 (reproductions in Plates 6.5-6.7) are, on the other hand, much more conventional in that they serve to illustrate texts.⁴⁶ While the drawings in kk IV 19 were executed by one person (based on an analysis of their hatching technique, among other elements), it is probable (though no more than probable) that this artist was also responsible for the artistically rendered musical notation in F IX 59-62. That the illustrations were done by the same artist could be suggested from their similar uses of color, with the intention (in many cases) of creating a strong feeling of perspective. Moreover, the illustrations display a definite sense of humor and a strong predilection for subjects drawn from bourgeois life, characteristics which incidentally are also encountered in engravings attributed to Jacob Hagenbach and his companion Daniel Buchwalt.⁴⁷

One can say, however, with reasonable certainty that either the artist or the recipient of his work was a Basler, for one of the drawings (Plate 6.7) contains the heraldic device of the city, the Basel crozier. This illustration also provides evidence for attributing the 14 illustrations in kk IV 19 to S1: the distinctive yellowish brown ink used by him to copy music and text in kk IV 21-22 is the same as that found in this pen drawing.

Binding. In 1985, the partbooks were re sewn and rebound by the University bookbinder B. Demund in the style of the original. The present full calf leather covers over paper boards are identically decorated with one flower stamp pressed in each corner using gold leaf. On the front cover of each partbook (also stamped in gold) is the appropriate voice designation. The spellings "DISCANT" (kk IV 20), "ALT" (kk IV 21), "TENOR" (kk IV 19), and "BAS" (kk IV 22), were those found on the original bindings. When the

46 A complete list of the illustrations is to be found in KatK, 326. For additional facsimiles, see KatK, 439: Abb. 57 & 60 and, E. Löhner and O. Ursprung (eds.), *Ludwig Senfl: Sämtliche Werke* (Zurich-Wolfenbüttel, 1962) IV, XIII.

47 See above, fn. 19. I would like to thank Dr. Elisabeth Landolt (Basel) most cordially for her advice and friendly assistance in these art historical matters.

set was rebound, the back pasted endsheets of kk IV 19 and 22 were removed and replaced with modern laid paper.

The original bindings were virtually identical to those of F IX 59-62: they had the same calf leather covers, suede leather spines, and double hand tooled edges. The voice designations, as in F IX 59-62, were in the center of each front cover and were pressed in gold leaf using punches of the same size and style. kk IV 19-22 contained a flower stamp which, though not identical to the one found in F IX 59-62, was employed in the same manner: using gold leaf it was pressed once in each corner. As in F IX 59-62, the original binding was extremely worn and wormed, and showed no traces of having been re sewn. It was apparently the original binder who trimmed the manuscript so that it would conform to the size of the printed book.

Although the original binding has been replaced, the boards and the covers survive and are preserved today under the call number kk IV 19A-22A. Under the leather covers, each of the paper boards was made up of waste paper from a manuscript copied in a sixteenth-century German cursive script. These texts (copied predominantly on Basel paper), represent fragments from account books of a large Basel institution during the early sixteenth century: we must assume that kk IV 19-22 and, in turn, F IX 59-62 were bound by a Basel craftsman.⁴⁸

Thus, the paper, the illustrations, and the binding suggest that kk IV 19-22, as well as F IX 59-62, was compiled in Basel. Moreover, the manuscript appendices and illustrations in both sources are the work of S1, and the drawings bear a resemblance to authenticated specimens of Hagenbach's artistic output. This probability, that S1 is the goldsmith himself, is strengthened by analysis of the unique motet preserved in kk IV 20-22.

The Hagenbach Motet. S1, our principal scribe, copied 116 pieces, yet decided to underlay text for only two compositions. One of these is by Hagenbach: one may suspect that the other, the newly-discovered motet *Jubilate Deo*, is also by him. Although the tenor of this motet is today missing, there is enough extant music to suggest that the composer was Hagenbach. The evidence does not lie in the identity of melodic, rhythmic, or harmonic details characteristic of a "Hagenbach style" (a style which would be difficult to establish from only one piece), nor even, that the music of the motet and that of the Lied were both generated almost exclusively by means of parallel writing.⁴⁹ This technique, employed by many German Kleinmeisters of the time, does provide one element drawing the two pieces together. However, as with the text of the Hagenbach Lied, the text of the motet (so carefully underlayed by S1) supplies the strongest evidence for its composer.

"When a composer at this time chooses the text for a single composition from many disparate parts of the Bible, when he thus constructs a text that occurs neither in the liturgy nor anywhere else, he obviously wishes to say, this is a unique text; it fits a unique situation." These criteria, drawn up by Edward Lowinsky when discussing the text of a Festa motet,⁵⁰ could also be used to describe the text of *Jubilate Deo*. While our composer

48 For a discussion of the binder's waste in kk IV 19-22, see KatK, 326: *Einband*.

49 A transcription and analysis of this motet will appear in the author's forthcoming edition, *Musik aus Basler Liederhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts. Die Sammlungen von Jacob Hagenbach und Felix Platter*, Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler.

50 Edward E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino*. *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, nos. 3-5 (Chicago, 1968) III, 46.

drew his text from only two parts of the Bible (and not from five, as did Festa) he nevertheless gathered phrases from no fewer than nine different psalms. Moreover, as seen in Table 6.5, he took considerable liberties with the text – leaving parts out, changing the word order, and altering syntax.

Table 6.5. Text of *Jubilare deo* (in roman type) and its Biblical sources (in *italic*)

Prima Pars

Jubilare deo omnis terra, servite domino in laetitia, alleluia.

Jubilare Domino omnis terra, servite Domino in laetitia, (Ps. 99.2)

Jubilare deo omnis terra, psalmum dicite nomini eius, alleluia.

Jubilare Deo omnis terra, psalmum dicite nomini eius, (Ps. 65,1)

Jubilare omnis terra in psalmis, iubilemus ei.

Jubilare Deo omnis terra, in psalmis iubelemus ei, (Ps. 94.2)

Omnes gentes plaudite manibus, iubilate in voce exultationis, alleluia.

Omnes gentes plaudite manibus, iubilate Deo in voce exultationis. (Ps. 46.2)

Deo laudem dicite,

Laudem dicite Deo (Apc. 19.1)

Ipse iudicabit orbem terrae in aequitate. Iubilate in veritate sua,

Iudicabit orbem terrae in aequitate et populos in veritate sua. (Ps. 95.13)

iubilate deo omnis terra.

iubilate Deo omnis terra. (Ps. 65.1 and 94.2)

Secunda Pars

Jubilare deo omnis terra.

Jubilare Deo omnis terra. (Ps. 65.1 and 94.2)

Jubilare deo in conspectu regis domini cum iubilo.

Jubilare in conspectu regis Domnini (Ps.97.6)

Jubilare cum iubilo, iubilate eum cantate et exultate,

Jubilare Domino omnis terra cantate et exultate psallite Domino, (Ps. 97.5)

psallite deo nostro, praecinite domino in confessione cum iubilo,

praecinite Domino in confessione psallite Deo (Ps. 146.7)

iubilate qui timetis dominum cum iubilo,

qui timetis Dominum laudate eum (Ps. 21.24)

iubilate deo Jacob Alleluia.

Jubilare Deo Jacob Alleluia. (Ps. 80.2)

He further chose all the lines from these psalms which contain the verb “jubilo,” but did not present them in the order in which he found them. In fact, the principal result of his re-arrangement is that the final exhortation in all voices consists of the phrase “Jubilare deo Jacob Jacob Alleluia.” That a composer would reserve the name Jacob, a metaphor for the land of Israel, as the penultimate word in a motet praising Yahweh would be of little significance if we did not suspect that the composer’s first name was also Jacob. This seems to corroborate a belief that Hagenbach was the composer of this motet, for, if he could quote his wife’s name in the last line of one of his compositions, there is no reason why he should not have made some reference to his own in another.

Basel University Library MS F IX 63 (olim Z II 90-93)

These four partbooks, measuring 9.5 X 14.5 cm, consist of one printed and one manuscript layer bound together in an elaborately decorated set of sixteenth-century calf leather covers. The printed volume, entitled *In dissem buechlyn fynt Man LXXV hubscher Lieder . . .*, is a copy of Arnt von Aich’s well-known and important anthology of German Lieder.⁵¹ Published in Köln during the second decade of the sixteenth century, this collection (RISM [1519]⁵) has been edited and described several times in the musicological literature, because it is one of the first large collections of German secular polyphony to appear after the the Glogauer Liederbuch of ca.1480.⁵² This particular copy of the book however, is especially valuable. In addition to being one of only two complete copies of the print to have survived, the Basel exemplar is filled with marginalia, entered in a contemporary hand, which provide some clues concerning the musical tastes of an original owner. On the last folios of the altus and bass partbooks (fols. ff iiiii verso and F iiiii verso, respectively), someone copied 12 text incipits of German Tenorlieder in a sloppy German cursive hand. While a few of the pieces in Arnt von Aich’s Liederbuch have the same incipits, most of the compositions (as apparent from Table 6.6) are found in Christoph Egenolff’s popular anthology of German street songs (*Gassenhawerlin*) published in Frankfurt a. M. in 1535 (RISM 1535¹⁰).⁵³

51 For an edition of the print, see *Das Liederbuch des Arnt von Aich*, edited by Eduard Bernoulli and Hans Joachim Moser (Kassel, 1930). A inventory of the source (including textual and musical incipits), together with a complete list of concordances, can be found in the recently published catalogue of Tenorlied sources edited by Norbert Böker-Heil *et al.*, *op. cit.*, I, 17-22. Among numerous studies on the partbooks, see especially the introduction by Hans Joachim Moser to *Das Liederbuch des Arnt von Aich*, *op. cit.*, pp.III-XVI; and G. Domel and G. Köntzner, “Arnt von Aich und Nachkommen . . .,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1935), 119ff. On the importance of the von Aich Liederbuch as a source for the works of Hofhaimer and his “school”, see Hans Joachim Moser, *Paul Hofhaimer. Ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1929), 33, 114, 116, 119 and 125.

52 The other German collections of polyphonic song, printed during the second decade of the century, are discussed in the opening section of Chapter 3, above.

53 The contents of these partbooks, one of several issued by Christian Egenolff in pocket format, are listed by Norber Böker-Heil in: *Das Tenorlied*, I, 43-46. See also Nanie Bridgman, “Christian Egenolff,” *op. cit.*

Table 6.6. German text incipits copied in *RISM* [1519]⁵ (CH-Bu F IX 63, altus and bass partbooks, fols. ffⁱⁱⁱⁱ and Fⁱⁱⁱⁱ respectively)

<i>Text Incipits</i>	<i>Concordances</i>	
Jetzt scheyden	[1519] ⁵ , no.2.	1535 ¹⁰ , no.29
Ich rew vnd klag	[1519] ⁵ , no.52.	1535 ¹⁰ , no.33.
Nie noch nimmer	[1519] ⁵ , no.3.	1535 ¹⁰ , no.30.
Meyn hertigs a	[1519] ⁵ , no.6.	1535 ¹⁰ , no.32.
Nach willen din		1535 ¹⁰ , no.16.
Ach lieb mit leyd		1535 ¹⁰ , no.19.
Was wurt es doch		1539 ²⁷ , no.24.
Troestslicher lieb		1535 ¹⁰ , no.20.
Ich hatt mir fuer		1535 ¹⁰ , no.14.
Von edler art		1535 ¹⁰ , no.21.
Zart schoene frow		1535 ¹⁰ , no.26.
Nun hab ich all		1535 ¹⁰ , no.27.

The order of pieces does not really correspond to that of Egenolff's edition, although there is presumably some loose stemmatic connection. Yet it is curious that the writer should include four compositions which were already in his copy of Arnt von Aich's book. Whatever was intended, it is clear that the print was frequently used, for many of its leaves are heavily smudged and dirty. This is especially true of the first and last pages in each partbook, which are extremely worn, stained and filled with pen trials.

While the printed book in F IX 63 was frequently handled, its hitherto unnoticed manuscript appendix was apparently not. Its one composition, an anonymous motet (concordant only with F IX 59-62; see Inventory J), is preserved on paper that would appear to be as clean and crisp as the day when it was manufactured. Moreover, several of its folios were left uncut. Although the manuscript suggests no date or provenance, its one three-voice motet was copied by S1, apparently from F IX 59-62 or a closely related source.

Paper. The manuscript appendix, as well as the flyleaves inserted into the front of each partbook, is of one paper type. Although the paper contains no watermark, its consistency is evident from its density, from its grainy texture, from its yellowish color, and, most importantly, from its chain- and laid-line measurements.

Foliation/Collation. The manuscript was foliated in pencil by the present author in 1985. The flyleaves found in the front of each partbook were accorded roman numbers, the manuscript appendix arabic. Although the manuscript conforms in size with its printed companion, the paper of the appendix was not consistently collated in the same oblong octavo format. In fact, most of the manuscript gatherings are folded and cut in oblong quarto.

- Discant:** V + 45 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Binio + fol.I (fols.I-V) +
RISM +
 5 Quaternios (fols.1-40) +
 1 Binio + fol. 45 (fols.41-45).
Remarks: All gatherings are in quarto format, except gatherings 3 (fols.9-16) and 7 (fols.41-45) which are in octavo. Folios 31 and 32 are uncut.
- Altus:** I + 45 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Leaf (fol.I) +
RISM +
 5 Quaternios (fols.1-40) +
 1 Binio + fol.45 (fols.41-45).
Remarks: The manuscript is in octavo format, except gatherings 3 (fols.17-24) and 5 (fols.25-32) which are in quarto. Folios 17-18, 23-24, 35-36 and 37-38 are uncut.
- Tenor:** I + 45 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Leaf (fol.I) +
RISM +
 2 Quaternios (fols.1-16) +
 1 Quinio (fols.17-26) +
 1 Bifolium + fols. 27 & 30 (fols.27-30).
Remarks: Except for one bifolium folded in octavo format (fols.21-22), the manuscript is in oblong quarto. Folios 9-10, and 15-16 are uncut.
- Bassus:** I + 37 folios.
Gatherings: 1 Leaf (fol.I) +
RISM +
 4 Quaternios (fols.1-32) +
 1 Binio + fol. 37 (fols.33-37).
Remarks: Folios I and 37 are in octavo format. The remainder of the manuscript is in quarto.

Handwriting. The manuscript is copied in one hand, with the music, text and staves in each partbook entered in the same dark brown ink. As can be seen by comparing the specimen of the scribe's handwriting pictured in Figure 6.12, with those reproduced in Figures 6.2-6.4, and 6.9-6.10, F IX 63 was evidently copied by S1. In addition to the similar clefs and custodes, the notational ductus in F IX 63 is virtually identical to that in Figures 6.2-6.3. This scribal concordance can be confirmed by comparing especially the ductus and graphemes of the text hands featured in Figures 6.12 (F IX 63) and 6.3 (F IX 60): note particularly the letters *a*, *e*, and *s*, as well as the overall ductus of the scripts.⁵⁴ These two examples are also valuable in that they illustrate some of the evidence

⁵⁴ As in the other manuscripts copied by S1, F IX 63 was also prepared by drawing two uninked vertical lines along left margins of every other opening. Here too, the bounding lines in the initial gathering left their impression on the last page of each printed partbook: thus, the manuscript must have been written no earlier than 1519 (*i.e.*, the year that the print was published). After the pages were ruled and the writing block established (11-12 X 17 cm), the scribe entered four staves by hand on each folio, the width varying by as much as 1 cm (10-11 cm wide).

for suggesting that F IX 63 and F X 59-62 were copied, one from the other. While it is difficult to establish which source was the exemplar, the fact that both versions of the piece transmit identical readings, have semibreve and minim rests on the same lines or spaces of a stave and often have note stems drawn in the same direction strongly points to one of them having been used as a copy text for the other.

Binding. The volume is preserved today in its original sixteenth-century calf leather covers over paper boards. The front and back covers were identically decorated, using four different stamps (roll 1: flowering vine; roll 2: vase in a circle; single 1: bird with a bell; single 2: flowering twig), framed within a hand tooled-edge (see KatK, 480: Abb.170). Each partbook contains four pairs of rose, green or yellow tie threads which are, today, in part damaged or severely trimmed. The book edges are stained in yellow. Using German Fraktur characters, the appropriate voice designation is copied in black ink on the front cover of each partbook. On the front cover of the discantus book, the date "1617" has been written in the same ink used for the voice names.

All four partbooks were rebacked sometime during the first half of the twentieth century. While most of the tie threads are damaged and the leather corners rubbed, the bindings are otherwise in excellent condition. They are preserved today in a modern cardboard solander box.

Although the binding is dated, it is clear that the date 1617 does not refer to the year that the binding was made. These particular rolls and stamps appear often on German book bindings of the mid-sixteenth century, but unfortunately not confined to a specific region.⁵⁵ However, it is possible to suggest that F IX 63, like kk IV 19-22 and F IX 59-62, was bound in Basel. Firstly, given the large amounts of dirt and wear to the outer folios of each printed book, one can conclude that the print was unbound for quite some time. On the other hand, the manuscript paper, like the binding, is remarkably well-preserved and shows little traces of usage. Since the flyleaves and endsheets in each partbook are made up of the paper used by the scribe to copy the manuscript appendix, the partbooks were probably bound under the direction of S1, who as we have seen flourished in Basel around 1560. It is perhaps not unreasonable, therefore, to date the binding of F IX 63 at c.1560 and assign it to a Basel craftsman.⁵⁶

Conclusion. As is evident from Table 6.1, several layers of paleographical and codicological evidence relate the four manuscripts in an interlocking pattern, in which each is connected closely with at least one other, and all are linked with Basel. At the same time,

55 In his catalogue of sixteenth-century German bindings, Konrad Haebler described two stamps which would appear to be Roll 1 (bird with a bell) and Stamp 1 (flowering twig) pictured in KatK, 480: Abb.170 (see Haebler, *Rollen- und Plattenstempel des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten vols.41 and 42 [Leipzig, 1928], 1550.8 and Augs.12 respectively). According to Haebler, these stamps are found in bindings of Bavarian, Swabian and/or Austrian provenance dating from around 1550. Stamp 1 can also be found on the binding of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Mus. Pr. 35 8° (= RISM 1535¹⁷ and 1536⁹), a set of printed partbooks carrying the *Ex Libris* of the royal library of Bavaria ("Ex Electori Bibliotheca Sereniss Vtriusque Bavariae Ducum").

56 At the same time, however, one cannot rule out the possibility that F IX 63 was already bound in the present covers when the partbooks came into S1's possession. Indeed, S1 could have removed the binding, inserted the manuscript paper and flyleaves, and then glued the "case binding" back onto the spine and new endsheets without altering the original sewings.

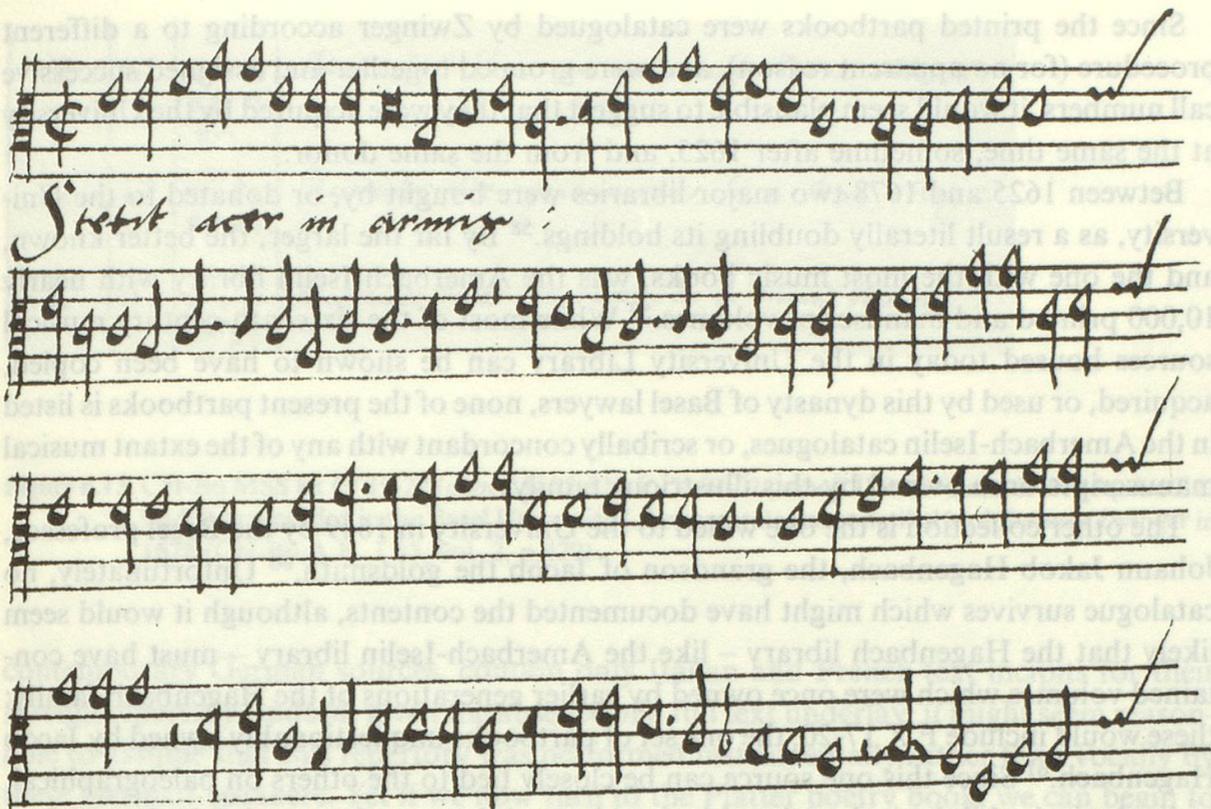


Figure 6.12. Handwriting sample of Scribe S1 (Anonymous. *Stetit acer in armis*: pars. 2 of *Ille humilis*, CH-Bu F IX 63, fol.3v)

by examining the repertory, art and heraldry, we can associate the manuscripts with Jacob Hagenbach, a Basel artist and composer whose music was so prominently featured by our principal scribe, S1 (see Table 6.2).

That the three sets of partbooks without *Ex Libris* marks were also once in Hagenbach's possession can be inferred from evidence culled from the catalogues and known acquisitions of Basel University. Most important is the catalogue of printed books compiled by Johannes Zwinger for the Basel University Library in 1678. This catalogue, entitled *Libri Philosophici Impressi* (CH-Bu Katalog A R I 45), contains many printed music books, entered either by author, by compiler, or (when this information was unavailable) by the book's title. After the main entry, Zwinger then recorded the date and place of the book's publication. This format was used by Zwinger for every music book – except for three sets of partbooks; the entries for these are reproduced in Figure 6.13. These anomalous entries describe three of the sets of partbooks under discussion. The obsolete *sigla* found in Zwinger's catalogue are still present today on the front pasted endsheets of each of our three sets of partbooks: Z II 82-85 corresponds with kk IV 19-22, Z II 86-89 with F IX 59-62, and Z II 90-93 with F IX 63. None of these books, nor the partbooks F X 17-20 which carry an Hagenbach *Ex Libris*, is listed in the catalogue compiled 53 years earlier, in 1625, by Zwinger's predecessor, Conrad Pfister.⁵⁷

57 For a list of other music books entered in Zwinger's catalogue or in the Pfister-Amerbach catalogue (CH-Bu A R I 26-30), see Chapter 1, above; Wilhelm Merian, "Bonifacius Amerbach und Hans Kotter," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XVI/1 (1917), 158-162; and KatK, *passim*.

The manuscript F X 17-20 is also found in one of the Zwinger catalogues of 1678. This set of partbooks does not contain any printed music, thus, Zwinger entered it in his catalogue of manuscript sources: CH-Bu Kat Vb Schweiz 201 (*Catalogus librorum philosophicorum manuscriptorum*), folio 195r ("F X 17. 18. 19.

Since the printed partbooks were catalogued by Zwinger according to a different procedure (for no apparent reason), and were grouped together and assigned successive call numbers, it would seem plausible to suggest that they were acquired by the University at the same time, sometime after 1625, and from the same donor.

Between 1625 and 1678 two major libraries were bought by, or donated to the University, as a result literally doubling its holdings.⁵⁸ By far the larger, the better known, and the one with the most music books, was the Amerbach-Iselin library with nearly 10,000 printed and manuscript volumes.⁵⁹ While most of the sixteenth-century musical sources housed today in the University Library can be shown to have been copied, acquired, or used by this dynasty of Basel lawyers, none of the present partbooks is listed in the Amerbach-Iselin catalogues, or scribally concordant with any of the extant musical manuscripts once owned by this illustrious family.

The other collection is the one willed to the University in 1649 by the Basel professor, Johann Jakob Hagenbach, the grandson of Jacob the goldsmith.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, no catalogue survives which might have documented the contents, although it would seem likely that the Hagenbach library – like the Amerbach-Iselin library – must have contained volumes which were once owned by earlier generations of the Hagenbach family: these would include F X 17-20, the one set of partbooks unquestionably owned by Jacob Hagenbach.⁶¹ Since this one source can be closely tied to the others on paleographical, codicological, philological, and archival evidence, it is more than probable that all four were once in Jacob Hagenbach's possession, and that our principal scribe is the goldsmith himself, who in addition to copying his own compositions and illustrating the partbooks, assembled a collection of manuscript music of international scope.

While the discovery of a new sixteenth-century Swiss composer and his music books is itself noteworthy, the fact that this collection was owned by a member of Platter's musical world provides musicologists with what they have long been looking for: chansons, madrigals, motets and Lieder which were probably heard or performed by Felix Platter and his circle of musical friends. However, the Hagenbach manuscripts, like most other

20. Musicales voces quatuor. in 8. forma oblonga"; the format was incorrectly recorded by Zwinger as oblong octavo instead of sestodecimo). F X 17-20, unlike the printed volumes without *Ex Libris* (F IX 59-62, F IX 63, and kk IV 19-22), was entered in the catalogue following the same format used by Zwinger for most of the Amerbach partbooks (F X 1-4, 5-9, 10, 22-24 and F IX 32-35). However, it should be noted that while Zwinger catalogued the manuscripts F IX 59-62, F IX 63 and kk IV 19-22 according to their printed music, he did not do the same for all of the printed music books with manuscript additions owned by the Amerbachs (e.g., F X 22-24, a manuscript appendix to RISM 1535¹¹).

58 On the origins and known acquisitions of the Basel University Library, see Andreas Heusler, *Geschichte der Oeffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel* (Basel, 1896), 24-26.

59 On the history of the Amerbach-Iselin Library, see Berthold Wessendorf, "Basler Büchersammler, Die Familie Amerbach (15./16. Jahrhundert)," *Librarium. Zeitschrift der schweizerischen Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft*, 20/1 (May 1977), 27-42.

60 On the library of Johann Jakob Hagenbach, see Heusler, *Geschichte*, 26f.

61 Among the volumes from the estate of Johann Jacob Hagenbach carrying his *Ex Libris* or that of his son Beat there are a Froschauer print of 1564 (alpha E XI 32a, Beatus Hagenbach, anno 1583); Heinrich Faber's *Compendiolum musicae* of 1597 and F. Beurhusius' *Erotematum musicae* of 1580 (DD VIII 14, nos. 1 and 2, [Johann] Jacob Hagenbach, 1612); Heinrich Glarean's *Auss Glareani* of 1559 (AN VI 11, [Johann] Jacob Hagenbach, no date), and Georg Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica* of 1508 (DA V 18, [Johann] Jacob Hagenbach, 1625). Unfortunately, none of the volumes listed here and published before the death of Jacob Hagenbach the goldsmith in 1565/66 contains the goldsmith's handwritten *Ex Libris*, or marginalia which might have been scribally-concordant with the handwriting specimens which we have labelled as the work of S1.

Z	II	82-83 84 cl 85	Musicales Voces quatuor. In 4. Formâ oblongâ.
Z	II	86-87 88-89	Musicales alia quatuor voces. In 4. Formâ oblongâ.
Z	II	90-91 92-93	Musicales Voces quatuor. In 8. Formâ oblongâ.

Figure 6.13. CH-Bu MSS kk IV 19-22 (*olim* Z II 82-85), F IX 59-62 (*olim* Z II 86-89), and F IX 63 (*olim* Z II 90-93) as recorded in the Basel University Library catalogue compiled by Johannes Zwinger in 1678 (CH-Bu A.R. I 45, vol. 2, p.429)

contemporary German sources, contain only Italian and French text incipits for their foreign repertory. Indeed, given the absence of a full text underlay, it might seem reasonable to assume that this repertory was performed instrumentally rather than vocally by these German-speakers. Yet if we now turn to the Platter poetry book, we can begin to suggest that Platter and Hagenbach shared similar musical tastes and that many of the madrigals and chansons preserved in the Hagenbach songbooks were sung in German.

In addition to the sixty-seven German songtexts listed in Inventory K of the appendix, the volume contains poetry written for special occasions in Platter's life, or in the life of some of his friends. Among these *Gelegenheitsgedichte* are, for example, verses celebrating a birthday, wishing the best to a married couple, and honoring an individual on his achievements. The manuscript also contains several German translations made by Platter of Roman comedy, entertaining accounts of life which he experienced at a Renaissance bath, and hundreds of rhyming epigrams with either a moralistic or comical message.

Although the diverse contents of AG V 30 are bound today as a single volume and carry a title page (apparently written by Theodor Falckeyen himself) associating them

¹ For example, see Karl Buxtorf-Falckeyen, "Blicks in das Privatleben Dr. F. Platters," *Basler Taschenbuch* (1809), 97-105; *Baslerische Stadt- und Landgenossen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. (Basel, 1867-68), I, 115-122; Heinrich Roos, *Thomas und Felix Platter aus der Stättengeschichte des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1878), 146-152; *Basler Sprachproben aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, *Basler Taschenbuch* (1879), 211-221; Rudolf Suter, *Die baslerische Dichtung vor J. P. Hebel* (Basel, 1949), 61; Elisabeth Landolt-Wagner, "Schülerleben zu Felix Platter als Sammler und Kunstfreund," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 32 (1932), 273, 282 and 305; *Basel*, "Des Mulbery Bads Beschreibung," *Das Markgräflerland*, New Series 3 (1974), 86-75; and Valentin Lüscher, *Felix Platter und seine Freunde* (Basel, 1975), 126-127. Although many of these texts were studied and transcribed in a seminar class conducted by Wilhelm Altwegg at the University of Basel in 1961, the transcripts (CH-Bu AG V 30a) were unfortunately never printed, nor was the existence of these texts brought to the attention of the musicological community in any published edition.

² The acquisition of the manuscript is recorded in the library's nineteenth-century *Gerichtsbuch* (CH-Bu AN II 35, p.63). While the manuscript today contains 464 pages, it should be noted that when it was first described by Heinrich Roos in 1878 (*Thomas und Felix Platter*, p.345) it apparently consisted of only 433 pages.

Chapter 7

Felix Platter's "Musica getütscht": Madrigals and Chansons in Renaissance Basel

In Memory of
Wilhelm Altwegg

Basel University Library Manuscript AG V 30, more commonly known as Platter's *Gedichtband*, has received considerable attention. As an important source of sixteenth-century German verse – some copied by Platter himself – much of its contents has been edited or described by Platter scholars or by historians of Renaissance literature,¹ with the general exception of one section consisting predominantly of poetry in translation. While this fascicle might not interest the literary historian, it is a significant musicological document, enabling one to reconstruct for the first time performances in the German language of many well-known sixteenth-century madrigals, chansons and motets.²

The Platter poetry book, presently consisting of 464 pages, was acquired by the University Library in 1860 from Karl Buxtorf-Falkeisen, the nephew of the Basel clergyman Theodor Falkeisen (1725-1815) whose *Ex Libris* appears on the front paste-down.³ In addition to the sixty-seven German songtexts listed in Inventory K of the appendix, the volume contains poetry written for special occasions in Platter's life, or in the life of some of his friends. Among these *Gelegenheitsgedichte* are, for example, verses celebrating a birthday, wishing the best to a married couple, and honoring an individual on his achievements. The manuscript also contains several German translations made by Platter of Roman comedy, entertaining accounts of life which he experienced at a Renaissance bath, and hundreds of rhyming epigrams with either a moralistic or comical message.

Although the diverse contents of AG V 30 are bound today as a single volume and carry a title page (apparently written by Theodor Falkeisen himself) associating them

- 1 For example, see Karl Buxtorf-Falkeisen, "Blicke in das Privatleben Dr. F. Platters," *Basler Taschenbuch* (1850), 88-105; *ibid.*, *Baslerische Stadt- und Landgeschichten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. (Basel, 1863-68) I, 115-129; Heinrich Boos, *Thomas und Felix Platter zur Sittengeschichte des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1878), 346-352; *ibid.*, "Basler Spruchpoesie aus dem 16. Jahrhundert," *Basler Taschenbuch* (1879), 211-221; Rudolf Suter, *Die baseldeutsche Dichtung vor J. P. Hebel* (Basel, 1949), 6f.; Elisabeth Landolt-Wegener, "Materialien zu Felix Platter als Sammler und Kunstfreund," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 72 (1972), 273, 282 and 305; *ibid.*, "Des Mulberg Badts Beschreibung," *Das Markgräflerland*, New Series 5 (1974), 66-75; and Valentin Lötscher, *Felix Platter und seine Familie* (Basel, 1975), 126-127.
- 2 Although many of these texts were studied and transcribed in a seminar class conducted by Wilhelm Altwegg at the University of Basel in 1961, the transcripts (CH-Bu AG V 30a) were unfortunately never printed, nor was the existence of these texts brought to the attention of the musicological community in any published citation.
- 3 The acquisition of the manuscript is recorded in the library's nineteenth-century *Geschenkbuch* (CH-Bu AN II 28, p.63). While the manuscript today contains 464 pages, it should be noted that when it was first described by Heinrich Boos in 1878 (*Thomas und Felix Platter*, p.345) it apparently consisted of only 435 pages.

with Felix Platter,⁴ an examination of the manuscript's physical and scribal make-up demonstrates that it originally existed in the form of independent leaves, bifolia or gatherings, most of which are of different origins.

The convolute nature of AG V 30 can be first detected from its variety of formats. For example, while the volume is predominantly in folio with each leaf measuring c.31.5 high and c.19 cm wide, several gatherings are cast in quarto or octavo and consequently are considerably smaller in size.⁵ The diversity of formats is in turn matched by the large number of different hands and paper types preserved in the source. Indeed, as one browses through this collection of not only handwritten, but also printed pages of verse, the function of the volume becomes apparent: it represents a type of scrap book in which Platter over the course of his life assembled poetical matter which he had either composed or copied himself,⁶ or had acquired from a friend.⁷

However, this is not to imply that the manuscript was bound by Platter. Rather, its diverse parts were simply kept loose, and apparently brought together for the first time when the material came into the possession of the Falkeysen family. This point is well illustrated by the sections of songtexts found today between pages 208-264 and 424-426.

The Songtext Leaves of AG V 30: Physical Description

Paper. The twenty-eight manuscript leaves of songtexts, each measuring 30.5 X 19.5 cm,⁸ consist of four different paper types. While each of these papers is presently in good condition, with only slight foxing, the leaves were apparently often handled. Apart from the finger smudges and dirt located along the outer edges, water damage can be detected, for example, on pages 244-247, and ink blottings on pages 250-251. Moreover, many of the leaves contain remnants of glue, the reasons for which will be discussed in detail when we examine how the sheets were collated.

Paper Type I, by far the most frequently encountered, was couched from a pair of molds in the Basel paper mill of Nicolaus Heussler whose monogrammed device is

4 The title, which reads "Felix Platter: Sammlung allerhand meist lächerlichen gedichten," was written in a large cursive script on a sheet of eighteenth-century Basel paper which today serves as the manuscript's initial flyleaf. (concerning this paper see fn. 17).

5 For example, pp.372-377 are in octavo (18.5 X 13 cm); pp.276-299 and pp.120-140 are in quarto (21.5 X 15.5 and 32 X 10 cm resp.).

6 A few poems which can be solidly attributed to Platter include: the so-called *Liebesgedicht Felix Platters* ("Dass blatt hab ich dir drumb geschenckt", AG V 30, p.40) which Felix composed for his wife Magdalena Jeckelmann, see Valentin Lötscher, *Felix Platter. Tagebuch* (Basel, 1976), 517; a poem in praise of Alchemy ("Glub ich nit dass ein grosser sy uff erden über di Alchimy," AG V 30, pp.382 and 385); a poem which Platter composed for the entry way of one of his Basel homes ("An dem thurn in meinem haus stoth anno 1577," AG V 30, p.68; see Lötscher, *Felix Platter und seine Familie, op. cit.*, 126); and a poetical dialogue between Platter and Mr. Wolfgang Wissenburg ("Ein Dialogus oder Gespräch einer Glickwünschung," AG V 30, p.113).

7 Among the many poems not in Platter's hand found in the manuscript, by far some of the most interesting are those bound today between pages 173-207. Here are a number of verses celebrating special occasions in Platter's life. These poems which would appear to represent a type of "modern day greeting card" were sent to Platter via messenger, by Dorothea Gsmusein, the wife of the Basel printer Hieronymus Gsmuseus. Several of the leaves are dated between 1591-1597 and still carry the wax seal of the sender. Each poem also carries Platter's Basel address.

8 However, the conjugate pages 254/[255] – 256/[257] measure 15 X 20 cm.

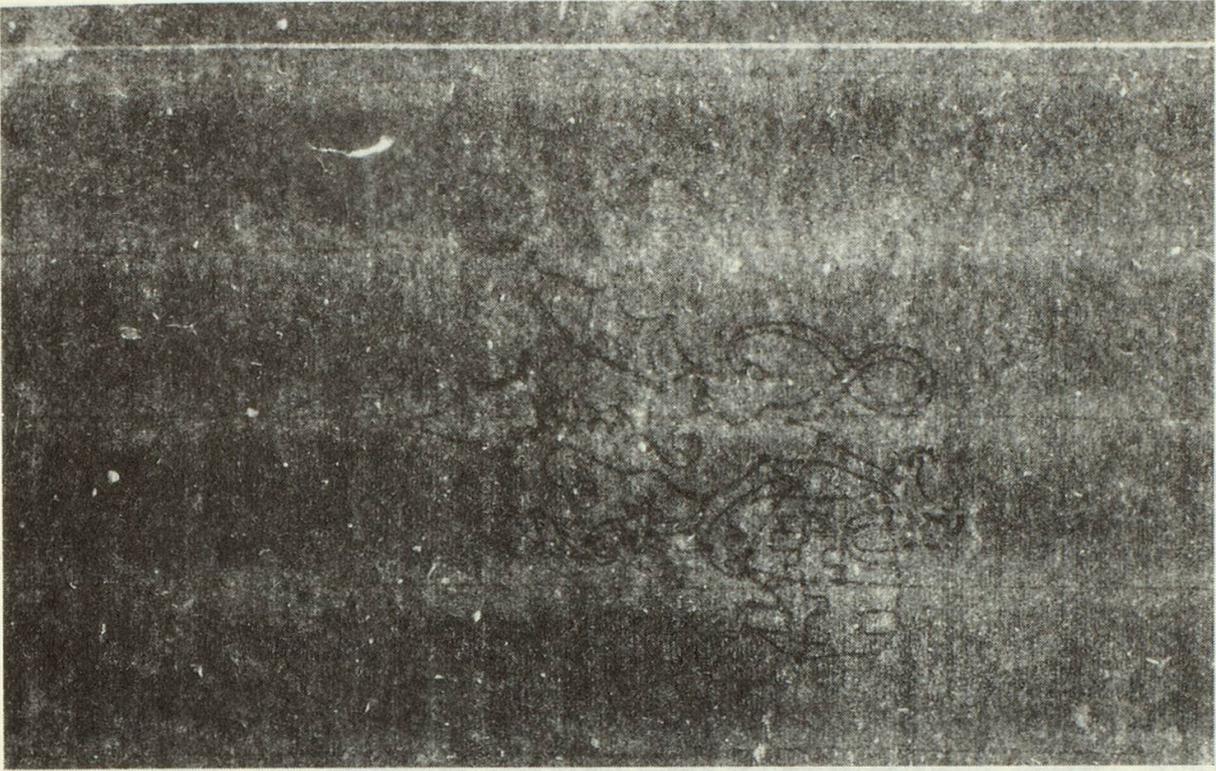


Plate 7.1. Basel watermark from the paper mill of Nicolaus Heussler, as found in the poetry manuscript of Felix Platter (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. AG V 30, p.248; = Paper Type I)

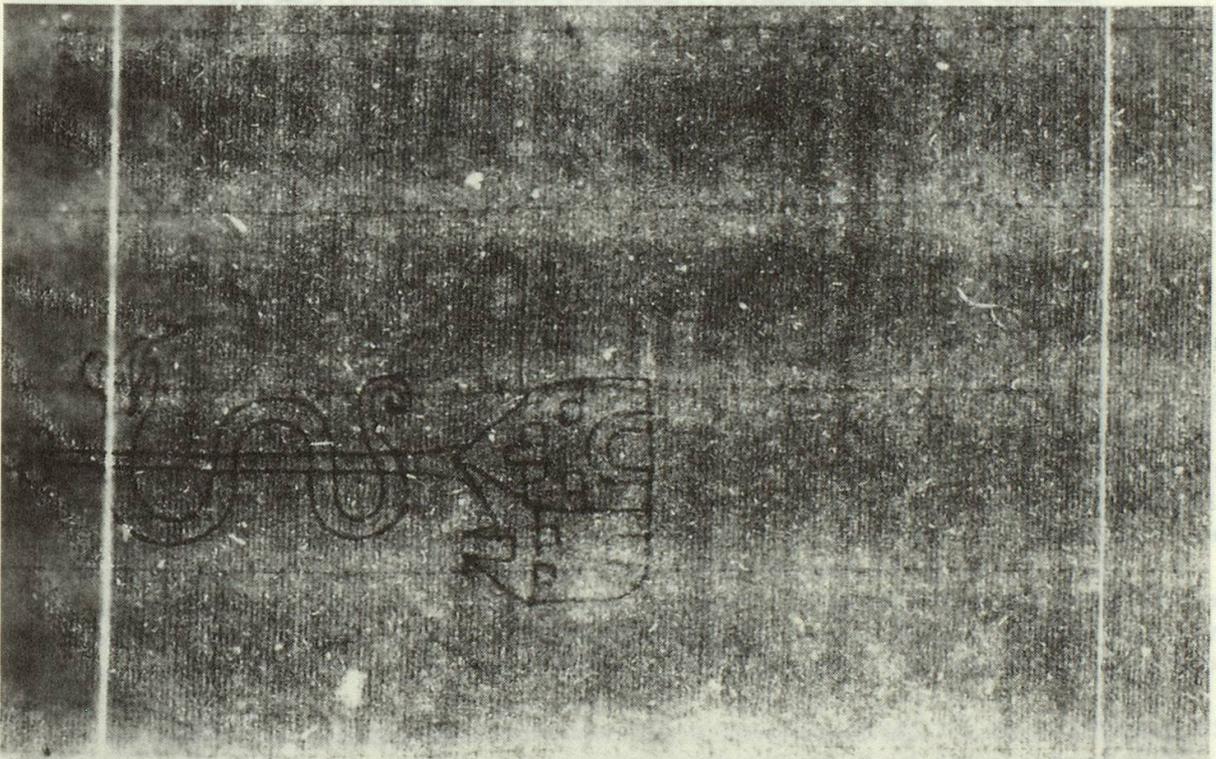


Plate 7.2. Basel watermark as found in the Platter poetry manuscript (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS AG V 30, p.220; = Paper Type II)

La lettre au milieu d'A.B.C. vortuntstun.
 Darin siß ein fruchtbar so bald so fort sein.

216

Das nicht bist du im a b c, Du frucht mich über I m a s t a r : //: Was
 wol er mir bringe / auf und reise, Mit freude mit still laß es. Wohl frucht
 er mich, Was ist es / ist, Und ist mir Wohlgefallen, Das kommt alle mir,
 Das Gott, was ist, Sie mir geliebe ob aller.

Was ist im fremdes vater land, Was mein frucht hab mich reines //:
 Viel traure siß mir so zu sand, Und ist mir gar mit schenck, Das seß
 ist, Ihr ange / ist, Wird mir der künner vater, So bis ist jbar, Viel
 mehr das vor, trauer er aller ander.

Was ist / ist nit anfarbar mag, Mais traure ist / ist mehren : //: Do
 sich ist der eis große klag, Was soll ist mich freuden? Als ist umb / ist,
 Mich siß / ist / ist, Was mit für traure ist, Ist vater der zeit,
 Sie ist nit vater, trauer ist mich anseher.

Das ist so das ist klag mit, Die ist mir gute erzeiger : //: Do ist
 do jbar ist er der zeit, Das ist vater der jbar erzeiger, Das frucht mich
 vater, Was das ist vater, Das künner der vater vater, Ist jbar und
 vater, Einre gute jbar, Die frucht vater bald so jbar.

Das künner vater / ist ander, Der tag der künner jbar : //: Der
 frucht vater / ist vater, Die mehr vater lang erzeiger. Die künner gut,
 Bringt mich mit, Wird vater vater mehren, Ist jbar ist vater, Bald
 jbar vater, Und soll die vater vater.

Lang vater und viel jbar, Das vater / ist ander bald : //:
 Drauf vater ist d' jbar jbar, Als vater vater vater. Alles
 jung und alt, Ist manigfalt, Mit jbar an / ist vater, Das ist
 mich jbar, Mit vater mit jbar, Was sie mich ist mehren erzeiger.

Das vater die künner vater, Laster sie / ist ganz mit erzeiger : //: Das
 sie vater vater jbar, Und vater hat vater. Drauf sie ist, Mais
 vater mit vater, Ist vater ist mit vater, Ist jbar vater, Die vater mich,
 Mit glück mehr jbar mehren.

Das vater die künner vater, Der hat viel ganz jbar : //:
 Lige dort zu mehr er jbar, Und das ist vater vater. Als
 vater / ist vater, Und vater vater, Das alle bald vater, Was
 er vater, Als vater mich jbar, Das vater bei vater vater.

Plate 7.3. Leaf from the Platter poetry manuscript illustrating the cut-and-paste technique used to assemble each songtext sheet (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS AG V 30, p.216)

proudly featured in the paper's watermark (See Plate 7.1). These companion marks bear a close resemblance to tracings recorded by Tschudin and Briquet as being common in the Basel region during the 1590s⁹. Further, they are identical to a number of marks found today in the autograph copy of Platter's diary (dating from 1594) or in a number of letters written by Basel citizens in 1598/99.¹⁰

Paper Type II carries the watermark shown in Plate 7.2. Although this mark is not found in any of the standard watermark *Findbücher*, it bears enough of a resemblance to authenticated specimens of Heussler watermarks to identify it as either a Heussler paper or a paper which was manufactured by someone trying to pass-off his product as made by Heussler.¹¹ Like Paper Type I, this paper also is of a good sturdy quality, with each leaf containing a generous amount of the vatman's mixture.

Paper Type III is without a watermark. Yet distinguishing it from the others is not difficult, for it is remarkably thin in texture and white in color, very similar in fact to modern-day tracing paper. Moreover, its chain- and laid-line measurements, when compared with the other papers are equally distinctive.

Paper Type IV carries a watermark depicting the heraldic device of Basel, the Basel crozier. Owing to its location in the inner most margin, this attractive mark unfortunately could not be photographed. Yet, enough of the mark is visible to make comparisons with recorded types: The mark bears a striking resemblance to Tschudin no. 171, which according to this paper specialist appears in Basel documents dating from around 1565.¹²

Numbering of the Leaves. Two systems for numbering leaves may be found on the songsheets. In the upper right hand corners of only recto sides is a modern pagination entered in pencil (208-264 and 424-[427]). These numberings begin on the recto side of page 57 and run through to the end of the manuscript (p.464). However in the course of paginating each recto side with an odd number (and leaving verso sides blank), the scribe skipped a page and incorrectly entered an even number on a recto leaf (i.e., p.116). The pagination from this point on is consecutive, but now with even numbers appearing always on recto sides of a page, as they do on each of the songsheets.¹³

The second system, copied in the same brown ink used to enter most of the song texts, represents remnants of an original foliation, although at first glance this is not evident. As

9 See, W. Fritz Tschudin, *The Ancient Paper-Mills of Basle and their Marks*, no.290; or Charles M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, no.1383.

10 In Platter's diary (CH-Bu A lambda III 3) the marks are located today on folios 17, 19, 20, 24, 40, 44, 45, 48, 72, 74, 76, 79, 81, 85, 86, 88, 91a, 91b, 93, 96, 97, 112, 117, 120, 121, 124, and 126. While we do know from a letter preserved today in the UB of Basel that Platter began the final redaction of his diary in 1609, the manuscript itself is not dated. However, based on the evidence of its paper, taken together with changes in Platter's handwriting and orthography, Valentin Lötscher has proposed a date of 1580-1600 for the compilation of the diary as a whole (Lötscher, *Felix Platter. Tagebuch*, 32-33).

That this paper type was in fact being used in Basel during the 1590s can be supported by the following dated letters written by Basel citizens in 1598/99: CH-Bu Frey-Gryn. Mscr. II 5, Nos.104-110 (letters from Martin Weyss to Theodor Zwinger I) and Frey-Gryn. I 8, fol.69 (letter from Wernher Eglinger to Jacob Zwinger I).

11 See especially W. Fritz Tschudin, *The Ancient paper Mills of Basle*, nos. 136-145, 289, 291, 292, 294, and 295. Like the mark reproduced in Plate 7.2, these marks prominently feature the picture of a papermill.

12 *Ibid.*, no.171.

13 The recto sides of pages 1-55 are also paginated. This pagination entered in a brown ink probably dates from the 18th century when the manuscript was first bound (See below, fn. 17).

seen in Table 7.1, ten pages contain various numberings, on either recto or verso sides, although not now in order.¹⁴

Table 7.1. The original foliation and modern pagination of the Platter songtext fascicle (CH-Bu AG V 30)

Foliation	Pagination
10	212 (recto side)
11	213 (verso side)
12	214 (recto side)
4	216 (recto side)
5	220 (recto side)
7	222 (recto side)
8	224 (recto side)
15	250 (recto side)
9[?]	252 (recto side)
26	426 (recto side)

These numbers seldom appear in the upper or lower right hand corners of a page, as would be expected when foliating leaves. Rather, as illustrated in Table 7.2, they are located in different places within each of their right hand margins.¹⁵

Table 7.2. Schematic diagram showing the placement of the original foliation in the Platter songtext fascicle (CH-Bu AG V 30)

Pagination:	212	213	214	216	220	222	224	250	252	426
Top of the page	10	11								
			12	4						
					5					
						7	8			
								15		
									(9?)	
										26
Bottom of the page										

14 Since the recto and verso sides of page 212 carry two consecutive numbers (i.e., 10 and 11 respectively) in their upper margins, one could argue for pagination. However, if these numbers were to represent the remains of an earlier pagination, the number 10 should have appeared on the verso side of the leaf and the number 11 on the recto; for it was already customary in the sixteenth-century to paginate recto sides with odd numbers and verso sides with even, as it is today. Another argument against pagination is the fact that the number 11 is not entered in the outer left hand margin as would be expected when paginating verso sides of a volume. Rather it is located in the inner margin as if it were once a foliated recto.

15 While these observations could lead one to suspect that the numbers represent a system of numeration, only one number appears at the beginning of a songtext (i.e., no. 10, p. 212 *Raison du cœur l'affection*). On the other hand, it should be noted, that there is no consistent correspondence between these numbers and the number of verses on a page, lines in a verse or syllables in a line.

While the present location of these numberings argue against their use as foliation, they can indeed be shown to represent the remains of an earlier-foliated state of the manuscript.

Collation. If one examines each leaf closely, it is apparent that most of the leaves comprise remnants of manuscript pages, cut-up, rearranged, supplemented with new poetry and papers and, then put back together. In the course of this assembling process, the manuscript's original structure was severely altered. For example, as can be seen in Plate 7.3, page 216 consists of three slips of paper which were glued together to form one sheet with a poetic text on the recto side. This cut-and-paste technique is clearly shown in the reproduction, with the two horizontal joins found at the beginning of verse 2 and the end of verse 8, by the irregular ruling located along the right margin, and, by the old foliation number, at the head of verse 2, which was partially cut off in the collation process. In fact, the third part of the page is of a different paper and format.¹⁶

As can be seen in Table 7.3 seventeen of the thirty manuscript songsheets were assembled in this cut-and-paste manner, some containing as many as six slips of paper of two different types. Since forming a sheet in this way normally precludes the presence of conjugate leaves, it is not surprising that each of these folios is presently tipped onto a modern cloth binding-slip and sewn into the volume. The original foliation numbers are today out of order as a result of this collating technique.

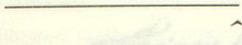
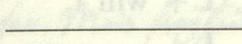
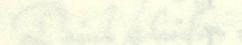
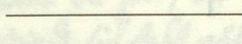
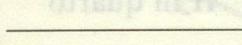
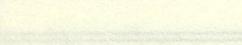
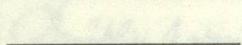
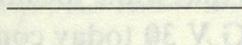
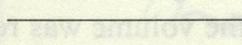
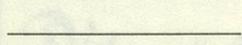
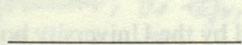
The following Table shows the disposition of each songtext sheet. A single-straight horizontal line means that the leaf is not sophisticated (i.e., one sheet of paper). Staggered-shorter lines adjoined with a pyramid (^) mean that the leaf is made-up of several smaller leaves glued together (^) to form a single sheet. The virgule (/) found at the end of each sheet shows that the leaf has been tipped into the volume.

Table 7.3. Schematic diagram showing the gathering structure and distribution of papers among the Platter songtext sheets

Mod. Pag.	Structure of Each Leaf (Upright folio, unless noted otherwise)	Paper
208 [209]	_____ /	I + wm.
210 [211]	_____ ^ ^ ^ _____ /	I III I
212	_____ / ^ _____ ^	I I?

16 The upper two-parts of the leaf consist of Paper Type I which were glued together in a folio format. The lower third of the sheet, on the other hand, is made up of Paper Type II and with its chain lines running horizontally across the page.

[213]									
214									I
									I
									I
									I + wm
[215]									
216									I
									I + wm
									II
[217]									
218									I + wm
									I
									I
									I
[219]									
220									I
									I
									I
									I
									II + wm in quarto
[221]									
222									I
									I
									I
									I + wm
									I
									I?
[223]									
224									I
									I
									I + wm
[225]									
226									I
									I + wm
									I
									I
[227]									
228									I
[229]									
230									I + wm
[231]									

232		I + wm	[261]
		I	[262]
[233]		I	[263]
234		I	[264]
[235]		I	[265]
236		I	[266]
[237]		I	[267]
238		I + wm	[268]
[239]		I	[269]
240		Printed Sheet in upright quarto	[270]
[241]		I	[271]
242		I	[272]
[243]		I + wm	[273]
244		III	[274]
[245]		I	[275]
246		III	[276]
[247]		I + wm	[277]
248		I + wm	[278]
[249]		I	[279]
250		I	[280]
[251]		II + wm in quarto	[281]
252		I	[282]
[253]		I	[283]
254		I	[284]
[255]		I?	[285]
256		IV	[286]
[257]		IV	[287]
258		I	[288]
[259]		I	[289]
260		I	[290]

Oblong quarto: 15 X 20 cm

[261]			
262	_____ /	I	
[263]			
264	_____ /	I	
[265]			
424	_____ ^	I + wm 1	
	_____ ^	I	
	_____ ^	I	
	_____ /	I + wm 1	
[425]			
426	_____ ^	I	
	_____ ^	I	
	_____ /	II in quarto	
[427]			

The remaining thirteen leaves, on the other hand, are each made-up of one complete sheet of Paper Type I (See Table 7.3). While some of these uncut sheets could once have been conjugate with each other, it is presently impossible to establish whether any of these leaves formed bifolia, since they too were each tipped onto modern binding slips when the volume was restored in 1955.¹⁷ Yet it should be noted that while the university binder glued each of these leaves into the volume, much of AG V 30 today consists of gatherings which he sewed in with white thread.¹⁸ Since the binder apparently left gathered bifolia intact, it would seem reasonable to assume that not only the cut-and-pasted sheets, but also the single leaves were already detached when the volume was restored. Indeed, this can be demonstrated by means of several other layers of bibliographical and textual evidence:

17 The manuscript is preserved today in a modern cloth case binding executed by the University bookbinder Hermann Sutter, whose name appears on the back pasted endsheet. It was apparently at the time of this binding that the manuscript was trimmed, resulting in the loss of text along the outer edges of some folio-sized leaves. Even though the manuscript is today tightly bound, earlier sewing holes can occasionally be seen in the gutters of gatherings. Indeed, from the evidence of the marbled-papers which are glued onto the insides of the present front and back covers, it is clear that Sutter was restoring a manuscript which had already once been bound.

The earlier binding probably was of the 18th century. The front pasted endsheet of marbled paper carries the engraved *Ex Libris* of Theodor Falkeysen (1725-1815). Moreover, the manuscript contains four 18th-century flyleaves, two bound at the front of the manuscript and two at the back. These guardsheets are all made-up of the same paper with a Basel watermark associated with the paper mill of Hans Jacob Düring, who flourished in the St. Albantal region of Basel between 1750-1756 (See W. Fritz Tschudin, *The Ancient Paper Mills of Basle*, 39ff. and watermark no.27.).

18 For example, as noted in Table 7.3 a bifolium in oblong quarto format is sewn into the volume between pages 253 and 258. These conjugate leaves, measuring 15 X 20 cm, consist of a duplicate copy of one of the songtexts cast in upright folio (see Inventory K, no.58 and no.9 respectively). Since the copy of *Vernunfft, begierd* on folios 254-257 (no.58) is not only in a different format, but also in a different hand and paper (= Paper Type IV) when compared to the other song text leaves, I suspect that no.58 might have served as the exemplar for no.9.

Einon steyt sich glich fastig, Dast in von der liebe lundig ist,
In d' wais d' gangen ist mir glück und fail.

Erlangt sich glück und fail, Und wirt is fragen oder, Was lufre
mich lang am wasser fail, Gatz bis ich lachig werden, Das d' wirt mich fast,
ich sech mit mehr, In licher sprich und bender, Dast ich was wackelhol
gar, Mais freigait ist wackelhol, Die mir lang was wackelhol.

D' ains glückes was noch wackelhol find, Bis mich alleis auf ar der,
bis andre Mitter sat auf linder, Mais still wackelhol mich noch werden,
Dast mir d' wackelhol, man sich wackelhol, Das soll gar bald gopfer, Was
kumt die zeit, die ist mit weit, Dast die wackelhol anders fast, Mais glück
wackelhol sich bald wackelhol.

Von Simon Brückmann. In der wais.
Der fern' amor. Ant. Barre.

Brückmann so wackelhol, so glück, Dast sie ains bender, Die selb' bender und
alabaster g'funder, Do licher, Is was die sand kamm m'ocher füllter, Do
frot, man kumt is flöcher d' wackelhol d' wackelhol, Do wackelhol, Was die selb' bender
bis gedraget, Dast die wackelhol is ains licher auf flöcher, Die selb' d' wackelhol
wackelhol, und kumt anders anwackelhol, Mit ains wackelhol ar d' wackelhol wackelhol,
Wackelhol dem, Das sie wackelhol d' wackelhol, und sie wackelhol, Dast die wackelhol, und sie
mit mehr auf füllter.

Von Josephin Dutton. In der wais.
Sia vil à gl' altri.

D' wackelhol, mit d' wackelhol, bender licher flöcher, Was kumt licher wackelhol
und mit gedraget, Was glückes sich wackelhol langem licher wackelhol, Dast die wackelhol, die
nach wackelhol und wackelhol wackelhol, In licher wackelhol sich sie wackelhol der
wackelhol, Do licher, man wackelhol is fallter, licher ar d' wackelhol. licher, wackelhol, licher
lange wackelhol dast die wackelhol, Was ich dast die wackelhol, ich wackelhol alle wackelhol
d' wackelhol.

Die motto eines Briefabenders.
Tout ce qu'on peut. Corroisist.

Alle was ich mir sich und wackelhol, An der freundlicher Creatur, Ist gut
und geringe gatz mir, licher, mit fast licher wackelhol. Was dast die wackelhol
ich dast die wackelhol wackelhol gar, Das was ich sie auf sich, Mais fast licher wackelhol
licher sich, Dast ich die wackelhol mit selb' wackelhol licher. Die ich sie mit, so mich ich
lacher, Die ich sie dast die wackelhol, Dast die wackelhol wackelhol sich sie wackelhol
lang ains sie, Was ich viel licher bringe.

Figure 7.1. Handwriting sample of scribes S1 (verse) and S2 (rubrics) taken from the Platter songtexts (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.242)

- 1) Bound among these thirty manuscript sheets is a printed poem, published as a separate leaf, and today tipped into AG V 30 in the same manner as the manuscript leaves;¹⁹
- 2) Like the printed leaf, each manuscript songsheet (with the exception of pages 208/209 and 210/211) forms an independent unit in that it contains one or more complete songtexts;
- 3) None of the songtexts were entered on verso sides of a single sheet or on verso sides of those sheets assembled from several slips of paper. Rather, the songtexts (like many printed sheets of verse at this time) always appear on a recto side, or on a verso which was originally a recto; and,
- 4) Some of the songtext leaves are heavily waterstained or inkstained, yet their adjacent leaves either show no traces of such damage or contain a different pattern of staining.

We shall return to the structure of this layer as we discuss the function of these songtexts. It is to the general issue of scribal hands that we turn our attention next.

Handwriting. The songtext sheets consist of two scribal layers with each layer generally corresponding to a different state of the manuscript's existence. The earlier state, which carried the system of foliation listed in Table 7.2 was copied by Scribe S1. As we see from the sample of his hand featured in Figure 7.1, he wrote the German translations and contrafacta in a script characterized by its mixture of German cursive and German *Fraktur* elements and always maintained an impeccable German orthography. Also, as seen in this Figure, the scribe labelled one of his texts with a German title using this script (*Vergangen ist mir glück und heil*).

Although all of his texts are predominantly in middle-high German, several contain spellings characteristic of Basel and its environs. By far the most frequently encountered is the contraction of the diphthong *ie* to an *i*, as in "sihe" instead of *siehe* (no.20, verse 2, line 7) or "dis" instead of *dies* (no.18, verse 7, line 12). Since this feature of a *südalemannisch* dialect, as well as others, can be detected throughout all layers of S1's work, it is evident that these spelling are a reflection of the scribe's unconscious habits and not a product of his exemplars.

In addition to his German script, S1 possessed an italic script which he used for copying foreign titles and names. That the italic titles pictured in Figure 7.1 belong to S1 can be shown from three different layers of paleographical evidence: 1) The German title *Vergangen ist mir glück und heil* which accompanies the first poem was entered by S1 in exactly the same place that the italic titles were: directly above the center of the German verse; 2) Like the italic script, S1's German script was copied using a narrow-nibbed quill and; 3) Both scripts were entered in the same brown ink.

While S1 was clearly a native German speaker and apparently a Basler, the accuracy of his French, Latin, and Italian orthography would indicate that he was familiar enough with these languages at least to copy them correctly.

19 This poem found on page 240 and entitled "Was der Adel sei: und wie ein / jeder der sich des Adels ruhmet," was clearly independent for some time. Unlike its adjacent leaves, it is heavily stained and dirtied and was apparently stored for some time as a quarto-packet since the printed leaf contains one vertical and one horizontal fold.

Table 7.4 summarizes the work of S1 and S2, the other scribe. S1 copied fifty-six of the sixty-seven German songtexts, labelled one text with a German title, forty-four with either French, Italian, or Latin titles, and attributed twelve texts to a specific composer. Using the same brown ink to copy these texts, titles, and attributions, S1 prepared the horizontal writing block of each page. This was done by drawing two vertical lines (each 14.5-14.8 cm apart) along the outer margins. The foliation numbers scattered throughout the songsheets (see Table 7.2) were also entered in this ink, suggesting that S1 was responsible for the original foliation as well. S1 also corrected and edited some of his texts. The corrections listed in Table 7.5 are in the same brown ink used for the text and are always found on a line of text and not above or below it: thus they were probably corrections made at the time of copying.

Table 7.4. The poems, titles, and attributions copied by scribe S1 (in roman type) and S2 (in *italics*) within the Platter songtext sheets

No.	German Incipit/title/attribution	Pagination
1.	Wan ich betracht mein leiden Quand'io pens al martire	208
2.	Fleuch, fleuch mein hertz Fuggi, fuggi cor mio Verd[elot].	208
3.	Mein hertz das gnadet Mon ceur recommande	208
4.	Mit euch mein lieb Avecques vous mon amour	208
5.	Es taget, singt die Nachtigall Il est jour	208/210
6.	Die erste liebe ist die best Jouissance	210
7.	<i>Guten wein, geben die reben</i> <i>Margot labore les vignes</i>	210
8.	Cupido ist darumb geboren Par ton regard	210
9.	Vernunfft, begierd des hertzen <i>Raison du ceur l'affection</i>	212/213
10.	Ach Gott, dir will ichs klagen <i>Mon Dieu a toi s'adresse</i>	214
11.	<i>Frisch, frölich und fromb</i> <i>Courage</i>	214
12.	Der mittlst buchstab im a b c <i>La lettre au milieu d'A.B.C.</i>	216
13.	Der sich vernügt, ist reich Le content est riche Claud[in]. [de Sermisy]	218

14.	Den tod nimm ich an mit gedult Je prens en gre la dure mort	218
15.	O dörfft ich euch von hertzen O sio potesti donna	218
16.	Mein lieb und dienst Si pour t'aimer	218
17.	Ich stund in einem garten <i>A mon iardin l'anguissant</i>	220
18.	Man ladt uns auff die Hochzeitfreud <i>Au nopces on convie</i>	222
19.	Wach auff mein trost ohn sorgen <i>Revielle vous Madame</i>	224
20.	Lieb, leyd und freud <i>Amour, douleur, liesse</i>	226
21.	Die edle Music Doulce memoire	228
22.	Hilff Gott, hilff Gott Helas mon Dieu	228
23.	Der Herr segnet die gerechten La volunte	228
24.	Auss der tieffe Herr Gott Helas mes yeulx	228
25.	Mein Anele Helas amy	230
26.	O Herre Gott von himmelreich Puis que vivre en servitude	230
27.	Von tausent hertzleyd De mille ennus	230
28.	Singend mit freuden Mais pourquoi	232
29.	Hab ich schon freud Si iay du bien	232
30.	Zum feur, zum feur Au feu au feu	232
31.	Der Liebe hab ich mich jetz Je cherch' autant	232
32.	Was mir beschehret Ce qui m'est Dieu	234
33.	Ach Gott, sagt ein Jungfrewlin Vray Dieu disoit	234
34.	Ein lieblich nein Ung doux nenny	234
35.	Ein trunckner mann Quand mon mari	234
36.	Susanna zart, die fromm und schönst Susanne ung jour	234

37.	Gut gsell, hast kein verstand Je sens l'affection	236
38.	Ein schöns frewlin sich klagt Je suis ung demy dieu	236
39.	Wan ich mit künsten, kreutern, Fedel & bel cagnuolo	236
40.	Dido in liebe wüetet, At trepida et caeptis	238
41.	Der Engel sach Angelus ad Pastores Orl[ando]. [di Lasso]	238
42.	Nüt liebers wolt O gri hor per voi suspiro Verd[elot].	238
43.	In allem sterben singt der Schwan Il bianco & dolce cigno Arcad[elt].	238
44.	Erlanget hab ich glück und heil Vergangen ist mir glück und heil	242
45.	Brüstlin so weiss, so glatt Deh ferm' amour Ant[onio]. Barre	242
46.	Dutten, nit brüstlin Sia vil a gl'altri	242
47.	Alls wan ich nur sich Tout ce qu'on peult	242
48.	Auff d'hochzeit kam gegangen Madonna qual certezza Verd[elot].	244
49.	Wer auss Holder ihm machen D'amour me plains Rog[ier]. [Pathie]	244
50a.	Maria Magdalena (Verse 1) Maria Magdalene Clemens n[on]. P[apa].	244
50b.	<i>Das er vom todt erstanden ist</i> (Verse 2) <i>II Thiel. Cito euntes</i>	
51.	Dass Christus ist erstanden <i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i> Orl[ando]. [di Lasso]	244
52.	Komm mit mir in den garten Veni in hortum Orl[ando]. [di Lasso]	246
53.	Guten morgen, mein hertz, Bon jour, mon ceur Orl[ando]. [di Lasso]	246

54.	Zum Abendtrunk was wollen wir Ace matin Orl[ando]. [di Lasso]	246
55.	<i>So lang ich leb</i> Tant que vivray	246
56.	Mir giebt im grünen Meyen <i>Au mois de Mai</i>	250
57.	Mit lieb ist gantz umbfangen <i>D'amour suis environne</i>	252/253
58.	Vernunfft, begierd (= no.9)	254-257
59.	<i>Ein fröhlich leben</i> <i>Ein frölich leben</i>	258
60.	Fröhlich, fröhlich wöllen wir seyn <i>Englischs Dantz</i>	260
61.	Traurig, traurig do muss ich seyn <i>Anderss (= Englischs Dantz)</i>	260
62.	<i>Die edle Music (= no.21)</i> <i>Doulce memoire</i>	262
63.	<i>Hilf Gott, hilf Gott, (= no.22)</i> <i>Helas mon Dieu</i>	262
64.	<i>Der herr segnet (= no.23)</i> <i>La Volante</i>	262
65.	<i>Wellen wir ietz von hinnen</i> <i>Icons vous paven Angleterre</i>	264
66.	Die kochensperger bauren <i>Die bauren von Sant Gol[pa]</i>	424/425
67.	Es fiel ein Baurin in den bach <i>Est ist ein mann in brunen gefallen</i>	426

Table 7.5. Corrections made by S1

Poem no	Verse/line	Correction
1	1 1	<i>mirs hertz leben</i> ; <i>hertz</i> is crossed-out.
9	16 2	<i>nicht thut beiten</i> ; <i>nicht/thut</i> are marked with the editorial sign of transposition:
39	1 8	<i>andrer sicht sich könnnt</i> ; <i>sicht</i> is crossed-out.
56	8 3	<i>und dienen soll</i> ; <i>soll</i> was crossed-out and replaced with <i>wol</i> .

The second layer was copied by Scribe S2. As we see from the sample of his handwriting in Figure 7.2, he also would appear to be a native German speaker, based on the accuracy of his German orthography and the clarity of his German cursive script. Moreover, as with S1, his German translations and contrafacta were mostly copied using middle-high German orthography, yet contain several spellings characteristic of Basel. In addition to contracting the diphthong *ie* to *i* or *y*, S2 occasionally substituted the letter

Lob der Musick in der weyß
Doulce memoire.

Die edle Musick ist dem menschen geben,
Das sie ihn freude vnd in ansehung tröst.
Mit ihrem süßem thon erquick das leben
Ihr lieblichkeit ist gleich die aller größt
Darumb ihr freyen juncker vnd Studenten
Vnd eben die herrlich lieblich Musick Kunst
Mit Spielfpiel, singen vnd Instrumenten,
Gott pfeudet, vnd ihres rich brauchen vnd erben.

Wider die ansehung des Teufels, der weyß
Vnd fleuchtes, in der weyß. Hela mo Ditu.

Hilff Gott, hilff Gott, thu dich mit von mir vanden.
Ich stand in pfar, laß mich nit von dir vanden.
Der böß finde, an allen ort vnd vnden,
Thu mit oßn vnterlaß heimlich nachtrisen.
Ob er mich list vnd ihrgung mich möß erpflisen.
So ist die argwöhnliche wech allzeit.
Vnd auß myn eygen fleuchtes vnd blut sie mit
Die mich in lechlich, prach, vnd, vnd vnd
Tajlich reizen, auf Gott, auf Gott, ich bit ich bit
Erher mein klag. o Gott, vnd laß mich nit.

Auff dem 128 Psalmen gezogen
In der weyß, 2a vobante

Der Herr segnet die frommen vnd die frommen
Das sie misstand was sie lunde vberkommen
Ihr vanden freude wie ein fruchtbar vanden
Vnd wie d'elcklich d'kind so ihnen Gott geben
Verlangten vanden er ihnen das leben
Das sy schon die kinder kinder darneben.
Solich stöme frucht gib Gott der Herr vnd palem
Denn die ihn mit forsch vor augen haben.

Non propter iniquitatem tuam in conspectu
179. *Madonna qual corteza. Verd.*

Du bist 9' fortzait dem ganges, die grober wogel, der velt bijm h; S
vaf branger, Diswid für der brant, hat viel unguete baganger, Velt
voolt er für funder, So antfallt ihm der laider, Ab dem me par is
für in die blinder, D'fprunge all jingelnder, die velt p
für glücker made er aller, Ab er velt antfall dem velt velt
velt für in die blinder, D'fprunge all jingelnder, die velt p
für glücker made er aller, Ab er velt antfall dem velt velt
velt für in die blinder, D'fprunge all jingelnder, die velt p

*Was arberis sye von dem hirt ab gessen. In S. Louis
D' amour me plains. Rog.*

Was ant' hirt der ihm macher das abbrauer, Was der blit, ist gela
nis velt für man, Und ihm selber sint lünger ant' hirt, Was die
ald bald finlerer das, Ist gro für jener und velt mit
die ant' hirt gar die velt fader, So laßt der hirt ant' hirt
für jener nist, Ist für, jese velt, und ist velt ant' hirt

*Ein Ostergesang, 3. Christ sy erstand.
Maria Magdalene. Clemens u. P. vortruget.*

Maria Magdalena, und ihr pferer Maria, Dinsten der hirt
Im grab, So er für glit, Er war mit velt fader, die
der sage, Christ ist erstand, Wie er velt für jener, Ab
ant' hirt für, Und der velt für, Ist man für kind, Dage
vord, Dage für vord, Im grab er lag, Alletis daj tag. Alleluia

11. Text. Cito euntes. vortruget.

Das er vom todt erstand ist. sende in dem iüngeren
vord. Und dem velt für jener. Ist für jener. Ist für jener.
von kindes kinden. Das sy loben für jener Christ, Alletis
mit munde, ant' hirt für, Und dinsten im, mit lauten
him. O hirt für dem glüben mer. Alleluia.

*Ein andrer Ostergesang, von 8 aufstehung Christ.
Surrexit pastor bonus. Cr. vortruget.*

Das Christ ist erstand, Dinsten velt für jener, Von velt
vord für vord für, Und velt für jener, Mit ihm in himal
vord. Dinsten velt für jener, Ist für jener, Ist für jener.
vord für jener, Ist für jener, Ist für jener, Ist für jener.
vord für jener, Ist für jener, Ist für jener, Ist für jener.
vord für jener, Ist für jener, Ist für jener, Ist für jener.

Figure 7.3. Scribe S2 supplementing the work of scribe S1 (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.244)

Das Der Musie, in Der Weiss

Doulee memoire.

D. Die alle Musie ist dem Manne gebo, Das sie ihn erwe, und is Anfassung tröst, Mit ihrem süßen Ton erquickt das Leben, Ihr Lieblichkeit ist gewis die aller größt. Amüßig ist sie auch, und bringt und quillt, Darumb ist Ludwig quinter und Die Dantes, Über die herrlich lieblich Musie Kunst, Mit Dichter Spiel, Singen und in Hand, munter, Doch gewis, Was ich weiß bewandter und bewandter.

D. Wieder die Ansetzung des trübsal. Der Weiss vom Flei. Her, in Helas mon Dieu. Weiss.

o Dief Dief, fief Dief, ich Dief mit von mir wandt, Ich fand is, gelaß, laß mich mit von dir verlas, Der böse Feind an aller Ort und pender, Tret mir oft unter die Füßlein nachtrifft, Ob er mit List und Trug mich möge erschleifft. So ist die arme schiede Welt allzeit, Und auch mein ärges Leid und Blut somit, Die mich is vollt, wach, oft, ganz und güt, Taglich rufft. Das Dief, ach Dief, ich Dief, ich Dief, Es ist mein Leid, o Dief, und laß mich mit.

Auf Dem 128 Psalmen, in Der Weiss

La volonte.

Das Herz agut die gütter und die frommen, Das sie mich fand, was sie fand überkommen, Ihr Lobes jauch wie ein süßlicher Anruf, Und wie I' elckig I' kind so ihu's Dief gebo. Verlangens wird er ihu's das Leben, Das sie sahen ihr Kind kinder daruber. Doch ich will nicht gibe Dief der Herz und gader, Denn die ich mit forst vor augen hab.

Auf Dem 138 Psalmen, in Der Weiss

Helas mes yeux.

Wißt der hochste Herr Dief nicht ich zu dir, Es ist mein Leid, das ich hab selber geschickt. Verliß ganz mein sünd verlas, Wie gang ab mich über Ansehensigkeit sey dir was findet, Das tröst ich mich, soß ab werd mir mit finden, Dief der Spure tag und nacht laßt mich Dief, Erlösung ist bey ihu, und viel der quader, Von aller sünd verlat er ist.

in sundrum gnaden, und als der merckel zu sof. So ir f. G. mit mir bis
 comungsin. Ick sumst aus zu Brütus vil die mis cruste als
 Hans Baumgertel & mein. Erhard Baier, Johan Chintz Schulz
 Ick sumst vilen pfeiffen vor dem von Nithusen Onoffion Birk
 Epistlin zu Olffing. Die hat ein vortem by ir. Han Bapst zu Büben
 . Sofer, war ir stur zu gefirn, wie aus hernos ein anderer dem
 zu forliffung. Der ir ein raffen in die kirchen stes gemacht ma.
 son lins. So er contrafette künler. und us zur Epistlin luffe
 sage, da plud die fraule stur im gebir mer by die edroffendy
 dan uf andre feilgen. Gy war ein frölich leit, als sy mit
 anfangs Epistlin, und us für das kloster kam, und was iung kün
 bart, meinte sy nu das us ware. Dem ir die künchen so zu
 Rheinfeld beorte und us padam von geloge. Bis us mit von
 zu erkennen gab, und hernos sum gebrauchs, aus als gelaten
 sampe meinte lausfraute. Zu allertay kunnert als fast
 nach @ So wir die luten gebrauchs muntig und andre
 spil. Gy besuche ein mal mein lausfraute in ir gma.
 So hat sy ein gmaße gestimmet nach den kinden per zierlich
 als hat er by die glich, hat es in ein beigen. Biege es mit
 mer fraute, mit vermittel of teer gestimmet, mein fraute vor,
 mein of teer lebendig, manche des glich dem drug.
 Dessen wir alle larten, des padise in klosteren ruffen vor
 Das ein bruch die reise kinder als ein zehnderten.
 Is hat sumst aus von laus of euren gebrauchs. Zu wil by künchen
 künner zu Han by ruffen sonder der stadi. Jacob künner. von
 zu Heimersdorf. Mad. Ir Mailly, zu Birge bin Burgher Wern
 der Wagner. Zu Simarige pfars. Joh. Mittelday zu Olffing Capla
 Bögle zu Amberg, & zu Brantels.

Is empfing die lant allerhandt brief by 84. So us fast
 of al antworten mir dem. Was mir & Practic 374 to 385.

Anno 1562. Bekam uf den tag zu tag in huser in mel.

4 fieg/
 3 pruch/B
 Disgnat
 10 hant
 10 hant
 7 laupma
 7ans künner

Figure 7.6. Sample page from Felix Platter's [=Scribe S2] diary (CH-Bu Mscr. A lambda III 3, fol.137r)

d for *t* as in “drachten” (= *trachten*) and “drauren” (= *trauren*), and changed an *ü* to an *i* as in “glick” (= *glück*) or “thir” (= *thür*). These *süddalemannisch* spellings appear in all layers of S2’s work, permitting us to suggest that he, like S1, was a Basler. Furthermore, the work of S2 and S1 are alike in that S2 also ruled his texts within a 14.5-14.8 cm writing block (compare Figure 7.2 with 7.1).

While S2 entered only 7 of the 64 songtexts listed in Table 7.4, he nevertheless labelled all the texts copied by S1 with a German title, and classified the texts as either German translations or contrafacta by entering the word “verteuscht” or the phrase “in der weis” next to the foreign titles copied by S1 (See Figure 7.1). He also labelled and rubricated in German his own entries (Figure 7.2). Furthermore, as shown in Plate 7.3, he even provided several German translations of French verse (copied by S1) with their original French titles; a task which, as we have seen, was usually carried out by S1 (who entered the original titles in an italic script). Judging from the accuracy of S2’s French orthography (See Table 7.4) he too would appear to have been well-acquainted with the French language.

In addition to labelling and rubricating in German all of the songtexts, S2 on one occasion supplemented S1’s work by copying a second strophe of verse onto a separate slip of paper and then glueing it under the first strophe, previously copied by S1 (See Figure 7.3). In the course of cutting and inserting this strophe for Clemens non Papa’s *Maria Magdalene*, the titles and rubrics for the next song (*Surrexit pastor bonus* by Orlando di Lasso) were apparently cut off and consequently relabelled by S2.²⁰

Since S2 added a strophe of text to *Maria Magdalene*, the work of S1 must predate at least some of the work of S2. That it was probably S2 himself who cut-up, rearranged and supplemented the earlier-foliated version of a manuscript prepared by S1 can be supported by four other observations:

- 1) The French, Italian and Latin titles entered by S1 in his italic script are always centered and consistently spaced above the verse(s) of text which he copied in his German script; the German titles and rubrics entered by S2 are, on the other hand, seldom in alignment (See Figure 7.4).
- 2) One of the rubrics copied by S2 is syntactically incorrect, due to a lack of space. On page 228 the chanson title *Helas mon Dieu*, written by S1 (See Figure 7.4), was supplemented by S2 with a German title and rubric which reads: “Wider die anfechtung des teufels. der welt unnd fleisches, in Helas mon Dieu. weis.” Although it is clear that “in Helas mon Dieu. weis” means that the text is to be sung “to the melody” of *Helas*, it should have read “in der weis Helas mon Dieu,” as correctly appears elsewhere on this page, or in another copy of the same poem written by S2 (See Figure 7.2).
- 3) Most of the slips of paper which were glued together to form one leaf were copied by S1. Among these thirty-eight pieces of paper, twenty-eight were clearly inscribed by him before they were glued together. This is evident from the ascenders and desenders of upper- and lower-case letters which were trimmed off in the cut-and-paste process

20 Since the slip of paper containing the text to *Surrexit pastor bonus* was cut directly above the poem’s first line, it cannot be proven that the songtext was already labelled by S1. On the other hand, since all the S1’s songtexts (made-up of only one strophe) were labelled by him, one can assume that *Surrexit pastor* was among them.

(Plate 7.3 and Figure 7.9).²¹ The seven slips of paper, on the other hand, copied by S2 show no loss of text. It would appear that S2 assembled a number of blank slips together before entering his texts on them. Indeed, given the way that these slips of paper fit so precisely into the cut-up pages copied by S1 (see, e.g., Figure 7.3), it would seem safe to infer that S2 not only supplemented the work of S1 but was also responsible for cutting and pasting many of his leaves together.

- 4) Page 260 (Figure 7.5) shows S2 rubricating the work of S1 after the pages were pasted up: note particularly the “A” of the word “Anders” written across the pasted join. This page is of further value in the present instance, because its songtexts (copied by S1) contain corrections which were made by S2, showing him as an editor of the work of S1. For example, in verse 4 of the poem entitled *Von Frölikeit*, the noun “seytenspiel” was altered by S2 to “ballenspiel” and the conjunction “unnd” was inserted in the eighth line of the verse between the words “ehren” and “ohn.”²² On the other hand, there are no examples of S1 correcting the work of S2.

The Provenance, Date and Ownership of the Songsheets. From these various layers of evidence, it is clear that the songsheets represent the remains of an earlier manuscript copied, foliated, and occasionally corrected by S1. Based on his orthographical tendencies and paper usage, it is equally evident that he was a Basler. The manuscript then came into the possession of S2, who not only corrected, edited and annotated the work of S1, but also entered new poetry. In the course of revising the earlier manuscript, S2 severely altered its physical make-up by cutting it up, supplementing it with new papers (i.e., Paper Types 2 and 3), and then glueing it back together. Like S1, S2 also produced spellings characteristic of Basel.

While it has not been possible to identify S1 by name, the Basel doctor Felix Platter is clearly S2. That Platter, the purported owner of the manuscript, is the scribe in question can be shown by comparing an authenticated specimen of his handwriting (in Figure 7.6) with any of the handwriting examples which we have already examined and labelled as the work of S2: note particularly the overall ductus of the scripts (especially their characteristic lower case *g* as well as their upper- and lower-case *d*) and that both the songtexts and the diary were ruled in exactly the same way: drawing two vertical lines, one along each outer margin at a distance of 14.5-14.8 cm apart.

With the identification of Platter as S2, the notion that S2 was responsible for cutting up the earlier-foliated version of the manuscript copied by S1 now receives further support. For example, most of the pages in Platter’s diary are also made-up of individual slips of paper which were cut-up and then glued together to form one sheet. Moreover, like the songsheets, Platter copied his diary on only recto sides of a leaf.²³

At the same time however, we have observed that S1 also copied his texts on only recto sides. Furthermore, like Platter, he too ruled pages within a 14.5-14.8 cm writing space

21 It should be noted, however, that there is one example among these cut-and-paste sheets where S1 first glued two blank slips of paper together and then copied the text. This exception is found on page 222, where the descenders of the last line of the first strophe are found across a pasted joint.

22 The other corrections made by S2 to this poem are found in line 3 of verse 1 (“kann mit Wein” was changed to the plural form “kannen mit Wein”) and line 7 of verse 2 (“Der Frewlinen wol gunst” was supplemented with additional syllables to complete the rhyme scheme “Der Frewlinen wolgeneigt gunst”).

23 A detailed account of the diary’s physical make-up, together with a discussion of Platter’s copying habits, is given by Valentin Lötscher in his edition of the Platter diary (See Lötscher 1976, 32-35).

and, on at least one occasion, assembled a songtext from individual slips of paper (see fn. 21). Admittedly, it is possible that S1 could have prepared his texts in the same way as Platter without ever having been influenced by him. Yet, we have seen that Platter not only annotated and corrected the work of S1 but also classified all of S1's texts. Since S1 copied and assembled his manuscript in a format which conforms so closely to that used by Platter (and even used the same paper which Platter wrote large portions of his diary on), it would seem reasonable to conclude that Platter was supervising the work of S1, and (from the paper evidence) that the manuscript was copied in Basel at roughly the same time that Platter compiled his diary, namely in the 1590s.

The Songtexts and Their Authorship. While there is no overt evidence in the manuscript to attribute these unique texts to Platter, there are enough indications at least to suggest it. Some evidence for this hypothesis is offered by the correction that Platter made to his redaction of *Guten wein geben*, a newly-composed German text which he designated to be sung to the melody of *Margot labore les vignes*. As shown in Table 7.6, the correction is located in the last line of the first strophe and entailed crossing-out the words “ein guten”.

Table 7.6. First strophe of *Guten wein geben* and *Margot laborez les vignes*

Strophes	Syllable count
Guten wein geben, die reben	8
reben, reben reben gut,	7
der frist das leben,	5
unnd bringt ein guten uns ein mut.	5
Margot laborez les vignes	8
vignes, vignes, vignolet	7
Margot laborez	5
les vignes bien tost	5

Aside from having more syllables than the corresponding line of *Margot laborez les vignes*, this line of German verse (before it was corrected) had two direct and two indirect objects: “unnd bringt ein guten (masculine object missing)” and “unnd bringt uns ein mut.” While Platter could have made this mistake by unconsciously following a corrupt exemplar, or by simply copying the line incorrectly, I believe that the correction shows Platter editing/composing the text as he entered it.

This hypothesis would entail that Platter originally intended the line to read “unnd bringt ein guten mut” and not “unnd bringt uns ein mut” as it does today. (Such a claim is supported by the fact that the adjective “guten” was declined to take a masculine noun: namely “Mut”). However before copying the direct object “Mut”, Platter realized that he was going to have six, rather than the necessary five syllables needed to sing the line to a setting of *Margot laborere des vignes*. Consequently, while copying the line he crossed out the three syllables of “ein guten” and entered two syllables in its place, “uns ein”. If this scenario is correct, Platter was obviously altering the readings as he was copying the text;

this would strongly suggest that he knew the original French version and probably wrote this German contrafactum himself.²⁴

Another layer of evidence implying Platter's authorship for some, if not all, of these texts lies in the rubrics that S2 (= Platter) entered next to the German translations of those French verses which had not previously been set to music. For example, the translation of *Reveillez vous Madame* found on page 224 was copied by S1, yet rubricated by Platter with the remark that it was to be set to the melody of the *Passomezo Gassenhawer*, and accompanied by lutes ("Reveillez vous Madame verteutsch. in der weiss Passomezo Gassenhawer. Singt man zur lauten"). This meant that Platter, or someone else, discovered that the music of the Passomezo could be used to sing the translated version of *Reveillez*, and that the lute (Platter's favorite instrument) would provide an appropriate accompaniment. While it is possible that Platter acquired this information from an exemplar, there are good reasons for favoring him as the source of the information.

- 1) Although S1 copied this songtext as well as most of the others, it was Platter who classified all of the texts as either translations or contrafacta; implying that he, and not S1, knew whether a songtext was a translation or not.
- 2) For several of the French poems not previously set to music, Platter did not enter the title of a corresponding musical setting which would accommodate the German translations copied by S1. Yet on two occasions he clearly intended to do so, since he wrote in the margin the phrase "in der weiss."²⁵ This would suggest that Platter was making decisions as to which music would be used to sing the German translations; and
- 3) On page 264, Platter copied a newly-composed German text and prefaced it with a lengthy note (in Basel German) describing in detail how the song should be performed to the melody of *Icons vous paven Angleterra*. The performance indication found above the first strophe of text reads as follows:

A song: to be sung while sitting at a table; one of the participants should be drinking and directing the ensemble. The first strophe, and thereafter the others are sung by he who has the goblet. And so forth. With the last strophe, the first two syllables should be sung as many times as is needed for the person to drink. And only until he has drunk, does one sing the last strophe.²⁶

Whether this performance note and its accompanying four strophes were composed by Platter cannot be proven. Yet Platter's authorship can be suggested based on one correction which he made to the performance rubric. Although the end of the first line today reads "one of the participants should be drinking and directing the ensemble (*die gseltschaft*)," it originally read "one of the participants should be drinking and directing the strophes (*die gsatzte*)." Admittedly, Platter could be editing someone else's text or cor-

24 For another example of Platter clearly changing texts and not simply correcting mistakes see Figure 7.5, above.

25 The two songtexts which carry the phrase "in der weiss" but not the corresponding musical setting are no.9 (*Vernunfft, begierd*), and no.56 (*Mir gliebt im grünen Meyen*).

26 "Ein liedt: singt mann ob tischs. eim so einen / aussdrincken soll, unnd farht die gseltschaft / dass erst gsatz an, darnoch dass ander der den / becher hatt. Unnd also fort an. Am lezten gesatz / sollen die zwe ersten silben gesungen werden, / so offft, biss er aussgedruncken hatt. alss dan singt / man erst dass uberig darzu."

recting his own copying mistake. However, in light of the other evidence we have seen which shows Platter changing readings, classifying all of the songtexts, and deciding which pre-existent compositions would accommodate texts never set to music before, one has to at least suspect that Platter was emending his own poetry and rubrics and not editing another's.²⁷

The Songtexts of AG V 30: their contents and function

Classification. The sixty-seven songtexts fall into three categories. The first, as illustrated in Figure 7.7, represents German translations of foreign texts which had previously been set to music. These translations, usually of only the first verse, were copied mostly by S1 and labelled by him with the piece's original title. Platter then rubricated each entry with a German title and entered next to the piece's original title the verb "verteuscht" – indicating that the text was unquestionably a translation. On several occasions Platter and S1 even entered the name of a composer who set the original text. (See Figure 7.3). One will find in the Inventory K twenty-seven pieces in this category, whose original incipits are supplemented with the symbol "trs." (= translation).

The second category consists of newly-composed texts intended to be sung to specific melodies or settings. Like the translations, most of these contrafacta were also copied and labelled with a foreign title by S1, yet rubricated by Platter. As seen in Figure 7.8, these songtexts were entered with a German title followed by the phrase "in der weiss" and the name of the piece to which the new text was to be sung. Here too, S1 attributed several pieces to composers (see Figure 7.3). Twenty-nine German texts can be classified within this category and are labelled in the Inventory with the symbol "ctf." (= contrafactum).

The final category represents a hybrid of the two just discussed, in that it contains translations of French verse, but to be sung to the music of German Tenorlieder or to instrumental compositions. These texts, none of which were set to music before, were also rubricated by Platter. Yet they are different from the other texts, in that their original French incipits were all copied by Platter, and not by S1. As seen in the example reproduced in Figure 7.9, these entries contain an original French title accompanied by the verb "verteuscht": the name of the piece to which the germanized text was to be sung was entered in the adjacent margin under the phrase "in der weiss". However, on several occasions the pieces which were to be sung to these German translations were never entered (Figure 7.10). The nine texts which can be identified within this category are listed in the Inventory and marked with the symbol "trs.-ctf." (= translation-contrafactum).²⁸

Attributions. As we have mentioned, several of the songtexts' original titles are attributed to composers. Among the fourteen texts which carry an attribution six were assigned to Orlando di Lasso, three to Phillipe Verdelot, and one each to Clemens non Papa, Claudin

27 In addition to Platter's activities as an amateur musician, he is known to have written his own poetry. This is evident not only by those poems found in AG V 30 which can be attributed to him (see fn.6), but also by an entry in his diary which establishes that he wrote German verse, and studied Latin poetry, while enrolled as a student at the University of Montpellier in 1551 (see Lötscher, *Felix Platter. Tagebuch*, 120).

28 Songtext no.11 cannot be classified into any one of these three categories, since it was not rubricated. Moreover, there are no known musical setting of this text.

Klay ich bin sein Liedte. so fris vorgerurter Zeit.
Ce qui m'est Dieu & ordonne. verteutsch.

Was mir beschere was von Doot, Muß ich dusselb ain anders las-
sen, Und was ich bitten l'igen soot, Dinst mir jehind der faules besen,
Dass klay ich mich und appelliere, Für alle grüße der schadheit, Veill
soffer ich er solle verharren, Und soll ich noch vol werden leid.

Vom vnverbarhien Doot küßens.
Vray Dieu d'icet. verteutsch.

Dies Doot, sage ich Jungdumler, gawe, hilff mir auß die am fterren
last, Dflaffter allis tönt mich an, so gawe, Bekind ich ab mir vorse ofit
sagt. Ich grüß die lieb mir nach anlicht, Ich all müßig, wole ich ich ver-
warumb d'ich sage alle zeit, als ist mit, was was sind mir küßer.

Vom abfflarben der iungfrüwen.
En deux nemy. verteutsch.

Die lieblich reit, und freundlich dinsten laffer, Ist ofbarlich, darumb und
ich ab laffer, Was ich jaget grüß ja zu aller laffer, Dofte mit so vol,
als sich eis wenig verfert, Mit ich in vol, Ich man ofen der vergerer,
Dander laffer allis was ich and bist, Dast ich mir quize gaher ofen
willen gaber, Und sagter d'ich, reit, reit, ich ich ab mit.

Des Dreyermonnen mans beschreibung
Quand mon mari. verteutsch.

Die trüncher man jet selbe are, Der eis ist quendig und mit spaw,
die faab und git er gar verjager, Der wiffiele alle mit der kawe, Die
for dem nachter lalle in baw, Dflaffe und ich, bißer, wicker und fawer,
die am eis, wiffiele ver d'elafte, Der veill biler und reiber, Dfist norig
ofen reiber, Der andter gart, oflaffere waf, ofit eis waf, Die er veill
saniger, springer, Was er sich gühler, ist gar reiche, ofrige und balle, Und
veill fohinder, lingu, Dofst oflaffe ofit schiffen bringer.

Historien vom der Susanna Kraußens.
Susanne un jour. verteutsch.

Die Anna gawe, die from und ofönt ab alles, kam in grob löyd, der lo
gadenre ofe, im garter ward, vor jraiger überfaller, Drositer ich löyd,
und hallter nach ofe ofe. Die sprach zu ich, Was ich gewalt mit mir reiber,
die armt ich bis, vor Doot das ich mit bliter, Dofst ich das mit, und ofe auf
ver d'elafte, So ver d'elafte ich mich töder in fawnd und spott, Dficht das eis
bist, norig thang und jingad loben, Veill laffer ich, man vrschuld alliger Doot

Figure 7.7. German translations ("verteutsch") of foreign song texts (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.234)

Wie mir einem freublin, auß der landt vorfage in S. Louis
Je suis l'affection.

Zeit g'all, hat kein verstand, ist ein jungfräulich jaget, Was d' mir nicht
meinert/landt streubt nicht kömmt voni vagen! du sage, du bist ein brüder, zu
der selber jungfräulich, die find es isten B'ise, alle linien ist es B'isavon,
du sage, ist voffe auf jaget, ist vander anfangs vagen, das ist kind in
ins lüben, merck ist auß die/er quiden, der wird gleich kömmt zoff,
und ist mit vaders laf, ihr stund das in best, vander ist ab gale in
galt, do wird es vinders vander, und wird ist selbst anfangs, kein
Lappen laf er ein, ist ist auf vaders möget.

Wie ein arger, in freublin rathen. wie in Gofalson, in
der Louis. Je suis ung demy dieu.

ein pfend freublin ist elage, der vnder soler list, im land ist vnder
nagel, ob es ist vnder list. du nicht, d' löst vnder list, damit man ist
vinder, ist es ist vnder list, ist vnder ist ist vnder. Mamma
sist die vnder, was die mit z'jung noch z'alt, die man ist vnder
list, das ist auf vnder und bald. die vnder ist d' vnder der,
das ist der vnder land, d' ist ganz vnder und klar, das ist im
vnder land. die vnder ist ist mit, wie ist janz g'ofen fader, ja sage
er, was ist vnder, d' vnder ist vnder und list, d' ist dem gold/and man
ist, das vnder ist ist auf vnder, was dem vnder, der wird,
in vnder lister fader.

Wie ein vnder in seiner liebsten freublin vor vnder Gofalson,
Son. in S. Louis. Fedel & bel cagnuolo.

Wie ist mit vnder, vnder, oder Gofalson, was man ist vnder
was ist vnder kömmt vnder, do vnder ist mit vnder, in ist vnder,
list, das man ist vnder, was ist ist ist vnder, was ist ist zu
mit, was zum freublin, vnder, mit vnder und vnder, mit vnder,
list und mit vnder, mit vnder, vnder, und ist vnder vnder,
do kömmt ist auf ist vnder vnder, was ist vnder kömmt ist vnder,
zu nach im best, das tag in isten vnder, lag ist, mit vnder, vnder, kömmt
ist vnder, was sonst ist, vnder ist kömmt zu ist vnder.

Figure 7.8. German contrafacta ("in der weis") of foreign song texts (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.236)

Amour, douleur, liesse. Vorreussts

In der Weist
Ich armer Boß

Von einem freudlichen, daß in der
Küsten vnder verlorren vort.

Lied, Lijd und Laid, plaget mich recht, Sorg, angst sat mich umb
langes :||: Es ab seitlar ganz teils rüß noch recht, Daß ich ferin
bey gangen. Es Jüngelwirts Laid, bringt mir die pais, hat mir
meis furey besetzt, Es diesem jäuß, laßt man nit auß, Des
Laid ich nit werget bey.

Das pflegt ich pfer und freundschaft, Laidlich gesprach und
tugend :||: Mit davor sie sich solt erzücht Dagegen, gleich in der
jugend. Es änglich Laid, Es gelbes faar, Es angeßelt gezeuget,
Es Laidlich veris, Dese ich mit fließ, Die fader mich verpfecht.

Es brüchlich furey, Es die is veris, Was ich die mag verlicher :||:
Dese ich daruff, mit ganzem fließ, Und pfüt mich das gelücker,
Daß ich besand, In maine fund, Die selbig mag verlicher, Es
vort mais furey, Mit andrer freuung, Alß ob man velt zündlich.

Nun ob sie mich alle lide erzücht, Miß ich sie doch bald
lasser :||: Und sie mich gleich von furey erzücht, Ist sie doch erzücht,
pflücker, Nicht nit mehr far, Die spruch ar, Laidlichheit nach
z'amplicher, Das bringe mich Laid, in geschick Laid, Man pfüt
sie furey verlicher.

Nach sind ich Laidlich so mancherley, Damit sie Laid verlicher :||:
z'amplicher böser mancherley pfurey, Und Laidlich z'amplicher furey: Nicht
sie das ist, Es vollen Laid, Alß arglicher zu verlicher, Nach ist
mais quitt, allzeit verlicher, Laid nit lang bey ich blaid.

Lönt ich ich pfurey oder Laid, mais noch, und Lönt sie Laid :||:
Lönt ich gleich vider die tagen, Und Laid sie mich verlicher; Es ist
mais Laid, Veris mais nit, Trag mich allzeit im furey, Alß ang
ab furey, Das pfunderbey, Bringt pfunder minder pfurey.

Es will ich geißt gelücker lang, Und dieß Laidlich furey :||: Es
z'amplicher trüß mit dem gang, Die zeit vord atterbey furey, Laid
offt und Laid, Es vollen glück, Und weil ich sie miß verlicher, Es
pfurey Laid, Dese mich die geißt, Es minder ich mais Laid.

Figure 7.9. German translation of *Amour, douleur* to be sung to the melody, or to a polyphonic setting, of *Ich armer boß* (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.226)

de Sermisy, Jacques Arcadelt, Antoine Barré, and Rogier Pathie. These attributed song-texts provide us with a few specific musical settings, for singing Platter's translations and contrafacta.

The remaining compositions contain no indication as to which setting of the text one might choose. For instance, Platter designated that the German contrafactum *Anele, wan ich dich sich* should be sung to the melody of *Helas amy* (= no.25). However, since we have in our possession today nine different sixteenth-century settings of this chanson text, each of which was composed years before Platter compiled these songsheets, there is no way to be established from the manuscript itself which setting Platter might have had in mind.²⁹ Indeed, one could argue that the unattributed texts were never intended to be sung to a specific setting, but rather that Platter simply assembled German translations and contrafacta for some of the more popular foreign songtexts of the time. Indeed, as will be seen when we underlay some of these texts, it would have been possible to sing them to more than one musical setting: the texts often contain the same number of syllables as the original French, Italian or Latin texts. Before we try to establish which musical settings Platter might have used, we need to know within what type of musical texture they were heard.

Polyphonic versus Monophonic Performance. Since most of the texts are either rubricated with the phrase "in der weiss," or contain musical repetition signs, or are attributed to composers, it would seem clear that they were intended to be sung. It is not immediately apparent, however, whether Platter and S1 anticipated monophonic or polyphonic performance. On one hand, one could argue for solo singing, since most of the cited pieces are in a treble-dominated style, with a well defined "tune".³⁰ This could be supported by a literal translation of the term "in der weiss," a term used by contemporary Meistersingers in their monophonic songbooks.³¹ While such an argument is strong, there are good reasons for favoring polyphonic performance as the intention.

Since most of the texts were set by many different composers, we have to interpret Platter's occasional attributions to composers as referring not to the melody, but to a specific musical setting of it. Secondly, several of the pieces whose texts were translated were not composed in a treble-dominated style, but are motets written in dense polyphony, defying easy identification of any one of their voices as representing a "weise."³²

29 Among the nine settings which begin with the text *Helas amy* there are, for example: one by Sandrin (RISM 1538/14); one by Arcadelt (RISM 1556/15); one by Goudeau (RISM 1543/12); and one by L'huyllier (RISM 1547/8). For a comprehensive list of French chanson texts set to music see Hubert Daschner, "Die Gedruckten Mehrstimmigen Chansons von 1500-1600. Literarische Quellen und Bibliographie," (Diss., Bonn: 1962).

30 Some of the more popular melodies include Sermisy's *Tant que vivray*, Verdelot's *Fuggi, fuggi cor mio* and Rogier Pathie's ubiquitous *D'amour me plains*.

31 For a discussion of the term "in der weiss" or "im Ton" as used within the context of a German monophonic song tradition, see Hans Joachim Moser, *Geschichte der deutschen Musik*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1920-24) I, 312ff.

32 Among the four motets cited in Platter's poetry book, three are attributed to Orlando di Lasso (*Angelus ad Pastores*, *Surrexit pastor bonus*, and *Veni in horum meum*) and one to Clemens non Papa (*Maria Magdalene*). Admittedly, each of these motets was intabulated by several musicians, all able to single-out the principal melodic elements of their polyphonic models. Yet, if one compares, for example, the organ intabulations of Clemens' *Maria Magdalene* by Elias Amerbach (Brown 1575/1, no.9) and Bernard Schmidt (Brown 1583/6, no.37), it is clear that each intabulator possessed quite different ideas as to which of the five voices should be emphasized.

Music Example 7. Philippe Verdelot. *Fuggi, fuggi cor mio*: German text by Felix Platter (CH-Bu AG V 30, p.208); music text based on a version transmitted by Jacob Hagenbach (CH-Bu F IX 59-62, no.70)

Fleuch, fleuch mein hertz die lie - be

4

Dass sie die nit be-trü - be Dann d'lie - be ist ein Kin - de ohn

Dass sie die nit be-trü - be Dann d'lie - be ist ein Kin - de ohn

Dass sie die nit be-trü - be Dann d'lie - be ist ein Kin - de ohn

Dass sie die nit be-trü - be Dann d'lie - be ist ein Kin - de ohn

10

all ver-nunft gantz nak-kett bloss und blin - de bloss und blin - de, bloss und blin - de

all ver-nunft gantz nak-kett bloss und blin - de bloss und blin - de, bloss und blin - de

all ver-nunft gantz nak-kett bloss und blin - de, bloss und blin - de

all ver-nunft gantz nak-kett bloss und blin - de

14

de Hüt dich vor lie-bes
 - de bloss und blin - - de Hüt dich vor lie-bes
 - - - - - de Hüt dich vor lie-bes
 - - - - - de Hüt dich vor lie-bes

20

lis-ten mit fal-schem trüg fahr hin du heim-lichs lei - den In
 lis-ten mit fal-schem trüg fahr hin du heim-lichs lei - den In
 lis-ten mit fal-schem trüg fahr hin du heim-lichs lei - den
 lis-ten mit fal-schem trüg fahr hin du heim-lichs lei - den

24

dienst-bar-keit soll mein hertz nit mehr blei - ben Ach soll nit
 dienst-bar-keit soll mein hertz nit mehr blei - ben Ach soll nit
 In dienst-bar-keit soll mein hertz nit mehr blei -
 In dienst-bar-keit soll mein hertz nit mehr blei -

mehr dreÿn nis - ten Ei - fer arg - wohn

mehr dreÿn nis - ten Ei - fer arg - wohn

ben Ach soll nit mehr dreÿn nis - ten Ei - fer arg - wohn

ben Ach soll nit mehr dreÿn nis - ten Ei - fer arg - wohn

gleiss-ne-reÿ dan ü-bel tre - - wen wohnt dem bü-len all-zeit beÿ ver-

gleiss-ne-reÿ dan ü-bel tre - - wen wohnt dem bü-len all-zeit beÿ ver-

gleiss-ne-reÿ dan ü-bel tre - - wen wohnt dem bü-len all-zeit beÿ ver-

gleiss-ne-reÿ dan ü-bel tre - - wen wohnt dem bü-len all-zeit beÿ ver-

ge-bens re-wen In Schmer-zen letz-lich en-den Da-rumb gang nit

ge-bens re-wen In Schmer-zen letz-lich en-den Da-rumb gang nit

ge-bens re-wen In Schmer-zen letz-lich en-den Da-rumb gang nit

ge-bens re-wen In Schmer-zen letz-lich en-den Da-rumb gang nit

an wen - den Eh das schiff bricht so lehrn beÿ zei - ten

an wen - den Eh das schiff bricht so lehrn beÿ zei - ten

an wen - den Eh das schiff bricht so lehrn beÿ zei - ten

an wen - den Eh das schiff bricht so lehrn beÿ zei - ten

len - - - den.

len - den len - - den len - - den.

len - - - den.

len - - - den.

Perhaps too, in light of Platter's documented musical activities (which, as we have seen, included performing lute music in ensembles and playing a number of different keyboard and string instruments), it would seem logical that these texts would have been performed in a manner befitting his musical abilities.

That Platter's texts were likely heard within a polyphonic context can also be argued on the basis of the contents of the songbooks owned by his musical acquaintance Jacob Hagenbach.

Platter's Songtexts and Hagenbach's Songbooks. As indicated in Inventory K, twenty-four pieces transmitted in the poetry volume are also found in the Hagenbach partbooks. Moreover, when any of these texts is underlayed to Hagenbach's musical readings, it is evident – as seen in Example 7. – that it fits the music as well as if the original text were underlayed.³³ The concinnity between Platter's texts and Hagenbach's music is not difficult to explain. On the one hand Platter's German texts obsequiously follow the syllable count of the original text, deviating from it only when there was no choice but to do otherwise.³⁴ Even in those few instances where the syllable count is different, Platter's texts rarely exceed the number of syllables found in the original. On the other hand Hagenbach's corresponding musical texts transmit faithfully the rhythm and pitch content of the piece as it was known with its original foreign text.

Since these twenty-four songtexts clearly fit the musical settings in the Hagenbach songbooks, it would seem reasonable to suggest that Platter's German texts might have been sung to these specific chansons and madrigals. This theory is indeed supported by the fact that both Platter and Hagenbach were amateur musicians who, as mentioned in Chapter 5, performed music together in Basel on at least one occasion. At the same time, however, since Platter's texts contain the same syllable count as the original texts, Platter texts could also have been sung to other setting as well.

Conclusions. A normal up-to-date scholarly view of the Hagenbach manuscripts, preserving as they do only the original text incipits, would presume that they were used only for instrumental performance.³⁵ While the evidence for such an interpretation would appear to be strong when dealing with Italian manuscripts of the first half of the cen-

33 On occasion one must make small adjustments to the rhythms in order to produce a correct declamation of the text (see, Example 7., meas.38). However, since these alterations – usually constituting nothing more than subdividing a semibreve – are often necessary when one performs a madrigal or chanson in the original language, there is no reason to believe that such changes would have caused more problems to a German speaker. An edition of these texts, underlayed to the music in the Hagenbach partbooks, will appear in the author's forthcoming volume entitled: *Musik aus Basler Liederbüchern des 16. Jahrhunderts. Die Sammlungen von Jacob Hagenbach und Felix Platter* (*Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler*, in preparation).

34 For instance, Platter's German translation of the French chanson text *De mille ennuis que je*, contains one extra syllable in the first line because Platter could only translate the word "mille" with two syllables: "tausent".

35 On the question of vocal versus instrumental performance based on the presence or absence of text see, for example, Louise Litterick, "Performing Franco-Netherlandish secular music," *op. cit.*, 474-485. Although Litterick, and other authors, argue that the disposition of text within a source is a reflection of performance practice, Litterick does believe that compositions possessing only incipits of text could have been sung to solmization syllables just as easily as having been performed on instruments (Litterick 480, fn.11). However Litterick's theory ignores the fact that solmization syllables were (to quote only Gaspar Stocker) "a pedagogical device invented solely for the purpose of expressing the text." Thus, it would seem reasonable

ture,³⁶ I believe that a different conclusion has to be reached when considering the Hagenbach-Platter *Liederhandschriften*.

While Platter's translations and contrafacta are apparently unique, they are nevertheless cast in a format which bears a striking resemblance to contemporary German *Flugblätter*.³⁷ In addition to containing similar formulaic rubrication, consisting of a German title, followed by the phrase "in der weiss" and the name of the piece or melody to which the newly composed text was to be sung, Platter's texts and the popular printed songsheets are similar in their physical format. For as we have seen, Platter's poetry originally existed – like the *Flugblätter* – in the form of individual leaves or bifolia.

That musicians sang directly from these printed songsheets containing only Lied texts is evident from an early sixteenth-century woodcut which depicts singers having memorized the music of a song, but not the words.³⁸ This iconographical evidence can be supported by examining the songsheets themselves. Because the *Flugblätter* were printed on the poorest quality papers and always issued in portable formats, it could be argued that they were intended exclusively for practical use.³⁹ Secondly, the pieces to be sung to the newly-composed texts represent the most popular German melodies of the time; thus it would seem reasonable to infer that these "tunes" were often committed to memory.⁴⁰ Finally, since many of the printed songtexts containing da capo sections were supplemented with musical repetition signs, there would have been no need (if the music was memorized) to consult a written version of these syllabically-conceived melodies in order to produce a correct text underlay.⁴¹

Since it is clear that the printed songsheets enabled German speakers (whether they were musically literate or not), to produce newly texted versions for their popular repertory, I believe that Platter's texts were transmitted in a similar format with the specific intention of serving the same purpose. The manuscript rubrics and layout argue that at least the melody, and perhaps all the parts, to such pieces as *Tant que vivray* or *Fuggi fuggi cor mio* (both preserved in the Hagenbach partbooks) could have been memorized by a singer and fitted to Platter's songtexts. Indeed, with the reference to such overtly syllabic

to conclude that such syllables were used by the Renaissance singer, like they are by us today, to learn the music, and not as a viable means of performance as Litterick has suggested. For an extensive discussion on how Renaissance singers could have produced texted performances from song collections without text see John Kmetz, "Singing Texted Songs from Untexted Songbooks: The Evidence of the Basler Liederhandschriften," *Le Concert des Voix et des Instruments a la Renaissance. XXXIVe Colloque International*, edited by Jean-Michel Vaccaro (in press).

36 See, for example, Susan Forscher Weiss, "Bologna Q 18: Some Reflections on Content and Context," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XLI/1 (Spring, 1988), 63-101.

37 For a comprehensive catalogue and study of these popular German songsheets see Rolf Wilhlem Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, 60 (Baden-Baden, 1974 & 1975).

38 For a reproduction of this German woodcut which depicts a group of singers performing a song by holding in their hands only a songtext see Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik*, Figure 139, Lewis W. Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation 1517-1559* (New York, 1987), Figure 11 and John Kmetz, "Singing Texted Songs from Untexted Songbooks," Figure 4.

39 The most common format was the single leaf or bifolium. It is notable, indeed, that it was precisely this format in which the ubiquitous political broadsheets and reformation pamphlets of the time were issued, printed material which was clearly intended to be read and not just consulted.

40 Among the melodies cited, by far the most frequently encountered were *Ich stund an einem Morgen*, *Entlaubet ist der Walde* and *Innsbruck ich muss dich lassen*. For a comprehensive list of the melodies named on these printed songsheets see Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik*, *passim*.

41 In addition to these secular songsheets, mention should be made of the many printed Protestant hymnals of the time, which, like the *Flugblätter*, often consisted of only poetry to be sung to simple, tuneful melodies.

and homophonic da-capo chansons and madrigals, it is difficult to see any other function for Platter's poetry.

With the identification of the Hagenbach songbooks, taken together with the discovery of Platter's songtexts, we now have in our possession the necessary ingredients for reconstructing what might have been heard on that evening in Basel when Platter and Hagenbach serenaded Thomas Guérin's fiancée on the Freie Straße 440 years ago. Moreover, the Platter diary and archival documents from his estate enable us to place the music and poetry within a precise historical and sociological context, and even permit us to supplement this repertory with appropriate instrumentation. Indeed, it may be that the Platter-Hagenbach volumes also define, for the first time, the extent to which German-speaking musicians actually sang (rather than played) the songs of Sermisy, Sandrin and Arcadelt⁴², as well as the extent to which Platter's audiences (like those of the Mönch von Salzburg, Heinrich von Laufenberg and Oswald von Wolkenstein) needed a text to be in the vernacular.

42 That the chanson and madrigal repertory issued by such printers as Attaignant and Gardano was sung in German is evident by the fact that several songs are transmitted in German sources with German text incipits. Some of these pieces and their manuscripts include, for example: Anonymous, *Ce moys de mais* (= *Erstanden ist heut der heilig Christ*, D-LEu TH-.K MS 49/50, fol.153); Arcadelt's *Cest a grand tort* (= *Dan sprachen wir goth*, D-WGL MS 403/1048, no.56), and *O sio potessi donna* (= *Erhalt uns her bei*, D-HB MS XXXII-XXXIV/6, no.1); Crecquillon's *Ung gay bergier* (= *Wach auf du allerschoenste*, D-USch 236A-D, no.119); Sandrin's *Doulce memoire* (= *Buess wierscht in mir*, D-USch 235A-D, no.12); Sermisy's *Le content est riche* (= *Vatter unser im himmelreich*, D-Rp A.R. 940/41, no.109); and Pierre de Villier's *Languissant suys* (= *O holder bluth*, Altus part of CH-Bu F X 22-24, no.24).

Aside from this repertory from the first half of the century, German translations and contrafacta were published by Johann Pühler in 1582 for many of the Lasso chansons. The volume, issued by the house of Adam Berg (Munich) and dedicated to Oktavian Schrenck von Notzing (the chancellor of the Regensburg cathedral chapter), is entitled: "Orlando di Lasso, etliche außerleßne/kurtze/gute geistliche und weltliche Liedlein mit 4 Stimmen/so zuuor in Frantzösischer Sprach außgangen/jetzund aber allen Teutschen Liebhabern der Edlen Music zu günstigem gefallen mit Teutschen Texten/so uil jimmer möglich gewest/und mit des Herrn Authoris bewilligung/in truck gegeben." While a few chansons in the Pühler-Lasso print are also found in the Platter manuscript, the texts are not the same. On Pühler's German texts and their relationship to Lasso's original French versions see Wolfgang Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit* (Kassel-Basel, 1958), 596-99.

Conclusion

During the sixteenth century kings and aristocrats ceased to be the only patrons of art, and the rich urban professionals had their share in artistic life. "Chamber music" became a veritable fad among the upper classes of urban society, and music teachers, instrument builders and printed music were in great demand. Intellectual and religious life was reawakened by humanists and reformed theologians, and a musical education became the inalienable right of anyone who attended a Latin school or university. Although scholars of early music have long recognized that the acoustical landscape of Renaissance Europe clearly changed to accommodate the needs of the emerging bourgeois society, it is surprising how little research has been conducted on the musical life of this new social class.

Granted, the activities of amateur musicians are difficult to establish for almost any period in the history of western music. Unlike the musical life of a major court, the music-making of lawyers, doctors, artisans and craftsmen is much less susceptible to study through documentation (archival, musical or otherwise), since "house music," by definition, was conducted in a non-institutional setting, where source material was often broken up and sold by a greedy heir, or simply consigned to the fire. However, due to the remarkable foresight shown by several seventeenth-century Basel burghers, many of city's sixteenth-century private libraries and household documents (several rich in musical material) survive today in their original state.

Working from these catalogues, letters, inventories and music books we have been able to shed light on the musical tastes and activities of four prominent citizens of Basel's cultured élite, which, in turn, enables us now to draw some conclusions regarding several aspects of private music-making in an important center of Renaissance commerce, learning and culture.

First, and foremost, the songbooks reflect the interests and talents of a specific group of amateurs, who collected, studied and performed music as a private pastime. As would be expected, German songs by Hofhaimer, Isaac, Senfl and their contemporaries make up an important part of the manuscripts' contents, thus providing us with not only an overview of the Tenorlied in the first half of the century, but also a tangible record of the music which middle-class citizens performed for their own pleasure. Their musical tastes, however, were not confined to a menu of German polyphony alone. Indeed, the Basel songbooks demonstrate that the Amerbachs, Hagenbachs and Platters of Basel were equally fond of the French chanson, Italian madrigal and motet repertoires of their day as well. The six manuscript songbooks owned by Bonifacius Amerbach, and his son Basilius, – F X 1-4 (compiled by Jacob Ceir and Jann Wüst between c.1518 and c.1524), F X 5-9 (copied between 1510 and 1547 by two Basel music teachers), F X 10 (copied around 1510, probably by the Basel University student Ambrosius Kettenaker) and F IX 32-35, F X 22-24 and kk IV 23-27 (each copied during the winter of 1546/47 by Basilius Amerbach and his music teacher Christoph Piperinus) – demonstrate that these lawyers

had already cultivated such cosmopolitan tastes while enrolled as Latin school pupils or matriculated as university students. The five *Liederhandschriften* F IX 59-62 (copied by Jacob Hagenbach between c.1564 and 1566), F X 17-20 (copied in part by Jacob Hagenbach between 1545 and 1560), AG V 30 (a retrospective collection compiled by Felix Platter around 1590), and F IX 63 and kk IV 19-22 (both written by Hagenbach around 1560) show us that the repertory performed by the goldsmith Hagenbach and by his musical acquaintance Doctor Felix Platter was as diversified and as sophisticated as the Amerbachs', and could easily be compared with the musical tastes cultivated by Maximilian I, Duke Ulrich of Stuttgart, and the Fuggers and Herwarts of Augsburg. The Basel songbooks and related archival documents also reveal that these music-loving amateurs were not only capable singers and instrumentalists, who personally knew several professional musicians, but that they were even competent scribes and composers; thus demonstrating that their musical abilities were far more advanced than one would have previously imagined.

These musical and archival documents are thus a rich source of materials for the student of Basel music history, and for those tracing the repertoires and performance conventions cultivated by the upper middle-class of Europe's intellectual élite. In short, they represent an important collection of documents, whose neglected (or hitherto unknown) items could also prove indispensable for sorting out a number of musicological issues presently in vogue. Aside from containing a few newly identified composer autographs, each demonstrating the composer's concern for precise text underlay (Chapter 6), the collection:

- a) documents a manuscript transmission for the Tenorlied repertory of the Hofhaimer generation predating the earliest printed sources of Oeglin, Schoeffer and Arnt von Aich; thereby suggesting that such publishers did not necessarily "establish musical taste" in the German-speaking realm, but rather capitalized on it (Chapter 3);
- b) reveals that the Basel scribes, with few exceptions, faithfully reproduced the musical reading of the exemplars from which they worked; thus permitting one to conclude that by the sixteenth century the modern-day concept of an *Urtext* might have already been valid (Chapters 2, 4 and 6);
- c) resolves questions of authenticity involving Isaac and Senfl, which force us to readdress the nineteenth-century idea of "Major" and "minor" composers: as we have seen, a sixteenth-century Basel goldsmith was capable of writing polyphonic music that could be mistaken, by modern-day scholars, for the work of Heinrich Isaac (Chapter 6);
- d) sheds light on how a thirteen-year-old boy was taught (in terms of both repertory and methodology) the art of singing polyphony (Chapter 4);
- e) enables one to reconstruct for the first time German language performances of many well-known sixteenth-century madrigals, chansons and motets (Chapter 7); and
- f) provides evidence for postulating the theory that our ubiquitous untexted partbooks of Renaissance vocal polyphony could have been supplemented with songtext sheets, so as to produce vocal performances of textless compositions (Chapter 7).

Each of these sets of conclusions throws new light on the place of music in the life of the affluent burgher of Basel during the sixteenth century, and thus also illumines our view of the social status of music, itself.

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