The Reach of the Republic of Letters

Volume 1

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The Reach of the Republic of Letters

Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe

Volume 1

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On the cover: BnF. Manuscrits occidentaux—FR. 19184, f. 295. According to D. Hüe, *La poésie palinodique*, 299–302, the illustration shows the prince of the Puy of Rouen on a seat at the centre of the stage during a contest.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE COMPANIES OF *MEISTERGESANG* IN GERMANY

Michael Baldzuhn

The foundation of a bruderschaft der sengerye *in Freiburg*

In a charter issued on 5 May 1513, the mayor and city council of the city of Freiburg/Breisgau reported that several citizens wanted to be allowed to establish a *bruderschaft der sengerye*, a confraternity of singing. "God, the almighty, would be praised thereby, the souls would be consoled, and all men listening to the concerts would be kept from blasphemy, gaming and other secular vices" ("gott der allmechtig [würde] dardurch gelopt, die selen getröst und die menschen zu zyten, so sy dem gesang zuhorten, von gotslesterung, ouch vom spyl vnd anderer weltlicher uppigkeyt gezogen"). Considering not least the "positive effects on the pour souls" ("guettaeten, so den armen selen dardurch nachgeschechen mocht"), the request was allowed. But the petitioners had to establish their *bruderschaft* in exactly the form that is described in detail in the regulations (*ordnung*) added to the request and cited "word for word" ("von wort zu wort") in 17 articles in the foundation charter of the confraternity.[1]

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[1] The foundation charter is kept in the local archive of the city of Freiburg as no. 1 in a file with the shelf mark "Urkundenbestand A 1 XIIIᶠ, Nr.1–8" containing all charters relating to the *Meistersinger* in Freiburg that have come down to us. A first complete printing of the charter was published by the former archivist Heinrich Schreiber, "Urkunden der Meistersinger zu Freiburg im Breisgau," *Badisches Archiv zur Vaterlandskunde* 2 (1827), 195–209, esp. 195–202. Later on Antonia E. Harter-Böhm gave a more reliable edition, *Zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau um 1500* (Freiburg/Breisgau: Wagner, 1968), 96–102. This edition is cited here and below. A concept of the charter is kept in "Aktenbestand C 1 Meistersinger" as no. 1, that is fol. 1–3 of the modern foliation of the whole collection. Harter-Böhm has included this concept in the critical apparatus of her edition. Two double folios and one single folio made of very solid parchment have been used for the original charter. The pages are in folio format (39 × 29.5 cm) and are delineated very accurately. The charter was definitely not designed for preservation in the archive of the city but for possession by the confraternity itself. The last sentence of its text reads: "*Des zu warem urkhund haben wir*, burgermeister und rat zu Fryburg, obbestympt *den syngern* uff ihr beger *diesen*

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Without the 17 articles of the *ordnung* it would be quite difficult to determine what special kind of society the Freiburger singers wanted to establish because of the meagre data of the charter itself. Michel Punt, Jacob Rumel, Rudolff Balduff, Ludwig Wurtzburger and Heinrich Wyßlandt are mentioned by name, but none of these founders is known to us as a writer or at least as a singer of songs.[2] Not even a single name of a singer or an author of texts and/or of melodies of the Freiburger *bruderschaft* has come down to us: not from Freiburg, nor from concerts in other towns.[3] No songs from Freiburg are preserved that could give us any information about the special character of the meetings. And finally even the designation of the society in the charter throws no further light on it. *Bruderschaft* is no *terminus technicus* reserved to designate a gathering of singers, neither in Freiburg[4] nor in other towns.[5] Only some articles of the *ordnung* show us that the Freiburger

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brief, doch anders nit, dann mit dem vorbehalt und den ußgedrucken meynungen, wie obstat, under unser statt secret insigel, doch uns allen, unsern nachkommen und gemeyner statt Fryburg in alweg on schaden, *mitteylt und geben* [...]" (my emphasis). The *synger* had been using their *brief* as a prestigious document of their official legitimation through the city council. Therefore the two registers of the possessions of the Freiburger *Meistersinger* (today in "Aktenbestand C 1 Meistersinger," no. 5, that is fols. 8–16 of the modern foliation of the whole collection; Schreiber, 209, gave an erroneous impression of extracts) dating to 1651 mention it: "Jtem Ein Bergammentin Ordnung" (fol. 9v) resp. "Jtem Ein bergamentin Ordnung wie sich die Maistersinger zu haldten haben" (fol. 10r). The charter apparently was not used as a working-copy, for example, to look up single articles; it shows no traces of frequent use such as additions, corrections, damaged parchment etc.

[2] This is the result of my review of all volumes of the *Repertorium der Sangsprüche und Meisterlieder*. The *Repertorium* lists all preserved texts and melodies of *Meistergesang* in 16 volumes: *Repertorium der Sangsprüche und Meisterlieder des 12. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Horst Brunner and Burghart Wachinger (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1986–2007).

[3] This is based again on a review of the *Repertorium*. Every article on a single author is preceded by short biographical notices. The city of Freiburg is mentioned in none of these articles.

[4] At the beginning of the sixteenth century all handcrafts in Freiburg were organized into only twelve guilds. The head of all these guilds was the so-called *Obristenmeister*. More particular unions of craftsmen could be established only within this general framework of the twelve main guilds, and they could be named *bruderschafft*. The founder member Michel Punt for example is called *der schumacher bruderschafft meister* (the master of the confraternity of the shoemakers) in the charter of 1513, and the head of the Freiburger *Meistersinger* is also called *bruderschaft-meister* (master of the confraternity). This indefiniteness of the contemporary designations is ignored by Hellmut Rosenfeld, "Singschule und Meistersinger vor 1500. Zur Problematik der Meistersangforschung," in *Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Rudolf Schützeichel (Bonn: Bouvier, 1979), 687–712, esp. 687–690.

[5] The *Donauwörther Chronik*, written 1528/29 by Johannes Knebel, a Cistercian from Kaisheim, reports some concerts of the *Meistersinger* in Donauwörth. The report is significantly flexible in denoting the form of organization and changes between *geselschafft*

wanted to establish a company of *Meistergesang*. Although the words *meistersinger* or *meistergesang* are not used in the charter, article no. 10 mentions a *hawptsingen* (main concert), that should take place two times a year and should be arranged as a competition for prize-money (a *toppel*).[6] Article no. 11 states that only inscribed members are allowed to sing in order to win a prize (*umb die gaben*). In addition nos. 8 and 12 outline the conditions for determining the winner. Four "geistliche und weltliche mercker" ("clerical and lay judges") need to be present during the performance of a song (no. 12). Two members of the jury (no. 8) should also be members of the *bruderschaft*, and two other external members should, as far as possible, be provided by the local Dominicans, "or learned men from somewhere else, or at the least one man, who are familiar with the Bible" ("oder anderßwa zwen gelert man, oder doch zum wenigsten einen, die sich der heiligen gottlichen geschrift verstanden"). The winner of the competition will rise in rank and himself become a *mercker* (no. 13). Besides these *hawptsingen* other concerts might be held, especially before, during and after common banquets of the company and afterwards in convivial circles—but only if no foolish songs (*torliche lieder*) are sung and if the meetings remain respectable and virtuous (*erbarlich und zuchtigklich*) (no. 15).

Summarizing the information in the *ordnung* in its substantial points results in the following picture. The Freiburger *sengerye* should take place in the context of collective meetings (article no. 12 speaks of the

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(society, company) and *bruderschafft* (confraternity): "da sang ain ydlicher der jn diser geselschafft oder bruderschafft waß eingeschriben ain lied" ("there everyone who was a member of the society or confraternity sang a song"—quoted according to the latest edition of the passage by Frieder Schanze, *Meisterliche Liedkunst zwischen Heinrich von Mügeln und Hans Sachs* (München: Artemis, 1983/84), vol. 1, 384–386, esp. 385). As far as we can see from the recent state of research no company of *Meistergesang* chose confraternity exclusively as its denomination. The denomination of the *Meistersinger* in Iglau as *bruderschafft* (confraternity) in their own *handelsbuch* (book of dealings)—this book reports the most important events of the company between 1613 and 1621—alternates with *gesellschaft* (society); see Franz Streinz, *Die Singschule in Iglau und ihre Beziehungen zum allgemeinen deutschen Meistergesang* (München: Lerche, 1958), 150. Therefore the reading of the Iglauer record as a source only for confraternity by Mertens is one-sided: Volker Mertens, "Meistergesang und Predigt. Formen der Performanz als Legitimationsstrategien im späten Mittelalter," in *Sangspruchtradition. Aufführung, Geltungsstrategien, Spannungsfelder*, ed. Margreth Egidi, Volker Mertens and Nine Miedema (Frankfurt/Main et al.: Lang, 2004), 125–142, esp. 133 ff.

⁶ *Toppel* is a well-known Middle High German word for the deposit in games of chance. Cf. Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch. Nachdruck der Ausgabe Leipzig 1872–1878 mit einer Einleitung von Kurt Gärtner* (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1992), vol. 2, cols. 1461 ff.: *topel/toppel, topelære, topel-bret, topelen/toppeln, topel-schuole, topel-spil, topel-stein, topel-var.*

presence of at least three or four *merker* and implies several competitors). The songs of the concerts should not be disseminated in written form and read by isolated single readers, but sung in front of an audience. The performance did not aim at a free and easy amusement of listeners, but was the centre of a communicative interaction following the agonistic pattern of a competition among the singers present (because the performances were judged by a group of experts, the *merker*, and because the winner should receive an award). The strong connection of singing in Freiburg with a special form of public performance, the pattern of agonistic interaction, the collective judging of the performance by a group of experts, the naming of these judges as *merker* and last but not least the stipulation that they had to be four in number: these issues represent the core elements of the Freiburger *bruderschaft der sengerye*. They also represent the core elements of several other gatherings of craftsmen mainly in southern German towns, who organized themselves in groups just like the Freiburger *Meistersinger* to perform *Meisterlieder* in their own *singschule* (singing-school) as the central event of these companies.[7] Therefore a glass panel endowed by the Nuremberg citizen Philipp Hager[8] dating from 1637 visualizes the self-fashioning of

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[7] For the central importance of the *singschule* see below section II. The designation of the interaction in the *gemerk* as *singschule* is tied to the lexical practice of the *Meistersinger* themselves, who for their part again are tied to an older use of the word in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. To avoid a manifest misunderstanding: the word *singschule* does not mean a school in the sense of an institution of less or more learned instruction (or even the housing of such an institution), but simply a concert, the singing of a song in front of an audience. Cf. Horst Brunner, *Die alten Meister. Studien zu Überlieferung und Rezeption der mittelhochdeutschen Sangspruchdichter im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (München: Beck, 1975), 16–21, and Christoph Petzsch, "Singschule. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Begriffs," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 95 (1976), 400–416. Without need Schanze, vol. 1, 381, restricts the meaning of *singschule*: "'organisierte' Gruppe von Meistersingern, die 'Meistersingergesellschaft' mit eigener 'Verfassung' als […] Träger der Gesangsveranstaltung" ("organized group of *Meistersinger*, the company of *Meistergesang* with a constitution of its own as the responsible body of a concert"). Schanze's explication conceals two things: firstly, the fact that the companies of *Meistergesang*, if they call themselves by name, do not have a fixed term at their disposal abstracting from the concert towards an institution and towards a responsible body in the background of the concert (and e.g. also the fact that the imprecise term confraternity can be used, see note 4 above). Secondly, Schanze's proposition conceals the central importance of the face-to-face interaction in the concert itself for the funding and self-understanding of these companies (see also below section II).

[8] For the person of Philipp Hager (1599–1662), see Irene Stahl, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg Archivalische Studien* (Nürnberg: Stadtarchiv, 1982), 186–188. Stahl's fundamental study is up to now the only one that makes accessible the whole range of persons of a single company of *Meistergesang* systematically using all available sources beyond the literary ones.

Fig. 7.1. Philipp Hager as *Meistersinger* during a singing-school with the prizes for the winner of the competition, a wreath and a necklace made of silver (Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg).

Hager as a *Meistersinger*, who had been a singer since 1612 and also a *merker* since 1634, by showing just the core elements mentioned above: the competition of the singing-school, the public appearance of the singer and the four *merker* sitting in the so-called *gemerk*.

The construction of sense-making in the singschul: *keeping connection to literary tradition*

In 1513 Michel Punt, Jacob Rumel, Rudolff Balduff, Ludwig Wurtz-burger and Heinrich Wyßlandt aimed at holding singing-schools just as Philipp Hager did in Nuremberg. From a modern view on lyric poetry these concerts certainly seem strange: in particular the close connection of the reception of literary songs to their performance and to a collective audience, the agonistic structure of literary interaction, the awarding of a prize to the best singer, the assessment of the quality of a song by a whole collective of consultants, and not least the attempt to fix the criteria for evaluation in written form. The glass panel shows an inkpot on the table in front of the *merker*, thus referring to the practice of writing down the errors in the singing of a song during its performance in the so-called *tabulatur*.[9] By contrast, up until fairly recently we have been used to thinking of individual and lonely readers of lyric poetry. This has been a tacit presupposition in research on *Meistergesang* in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. But a special pattern of

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[9] *Tabulaturen* have come down to us from several companies of *Meistergesang*. In recent times the Australian scholar Brian Taylor has studied them in detail. The sources that have come down to us are completely taken into account in his study *Adam Puschman: 'Gründlicher Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs'. (Die drei Fassungen von 1571, 1584, 1596). Texte in Abbildung mit Anhang und einleitendem Kommentar*, ed. Brian Taylor (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1984). Cf. also his articles: "Prolegomena to a history of the Tabulatur of the German Meistersinger from its fifteenth century metapoetic antecedents to its treatment in Richard Wagner's opera," *Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association* 54 (1980), 201–219; "Der Beitrag des Hans Sachs und seiner Nürnberger Vorgänger zu der Entwicklung der Meistersinger-Tabulatur," in *Hans Sachs und Nürnberg. Bedingungen und Probleme reichsstädtischer Literatur. Hans Sachs zum 400. Todestag am 19. Januar 1976*, ed. Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hirschmann and Fritz Schnelbögl (Nürnberg: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1976), 245–274; "Die verschollene Straßburger Meistersinger-Tabulatur von 1494 und eine bisher übersehene Kolmarer Tabulatur von 1546 im cgm 4997," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 105 (1976), 304–310.

interpretation helped scholars to eliminate their irritations following from this presupposition: although the urban *Meistersinger* would have left rather simple, but aesthetically not really pleasing texts, their literary work should be estimated as produced in a very serious and sincere manner latently thought of as typically German.[10] However the alterity of *Meistergesang* gave no reason to take into account the conditions and limitations allowing urban craftsmen of the fifteenth and sixteenth century to act as men of letters at all or to inquire after the origin of the strange performances of songs in a singing-school and their meaning.

To catch the specific sense of the interaction in the *gemerk* one has to take into account the history of the songs in the singing-school: their genre after all reaches back to the twelfth century. The basis for surveying the whole relevant corpus of texts was not established until recent years with the publication of the *Repertorium der Sangsprüche und Meisterlieder*. The *Repertorium* for the first time records every single song preserved and all melodies, every manuscript and all imprints. Moreover, several contributors to the *Repertorium* have presented important studies setting up and accompanying the project.[11] Their works have shown that the long continuity of the textual genre perpetuated by the *Meistersinger*, the *Sangspruchtradition* ranging from the twelfth to the eighteenth century, has to be understood in a more differentiated manner than the references by the *Meistersinger* themselves to their literary tradition would have us believe. The *Meistersinger* derived their own singing from admired archetypes of twelve old masters, and they claimed to continue their old practices.[12] But their register of the twelve old masters comprehends

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[10] See for example Wilibald Nagel, *Studien zur Geschichte der Meistersänger* (Langensalza: Hermann Beyer & Söhne, 1909), 12, or Rudolph Genée, *Hans Sachs und seine Zeit. Ein Lebens- und Kulturbild aus der Zeit der Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Weber, 1902), 279.

[11] Just to name the most important studies (in chronological order) in addition to those already cited: Burghart Wachinger, *Sängerkrieg. Untersuchungen zur Spruchdichtung des 13. Jahrhunderts* (München: Beck, 1973); Eva Klesatschke, *Lienhard Nunnenbeck: Die Meisterlieder und der Spruch. Edition und Untersuchungen* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1984); Dieter Merzbacher, *Meistergesang in Nürnberg um 1600. Untersuchungen zu den Texten und Sammlungen des Benedict von Watt (1569–1616)* (Nürnberg: Stadtarchiv, 1987); Johannes Rettelbach, *Variation—Derivation—Imitation. Untersuchungen zu den Tönen der Sangspruchdichter und Meistersinger* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993).

[12] The idea of the twelve old masters most notably can be found in catalogues of names preserved in single poems. Cf. Brunner, 12 ff., and the following more recent contributions: Nikolaus Henkel, "Die Zwölf alten Meister. Beobachtungen zur Entstehung des Katalogs," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 109 (1987),

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miscellaneous artists: both Middle High German *Sangspruchdichter*—poets by profession of the twelfth up to the early fourteenth century moving from court to court singing their *Sangsprüche*[13]—and subsequent singers of the fourteenth century, who nowadays are called *meisterliche Lieddichter* and who belonged to a second phase of the *Sangspruchtradition*, that differed from the prior tradition of courtly *Sangspruchdichtung*.[14] The *meisterli-*

375–389; Horst Brunner, "Dichter ohne Werk. Zu einer überlieferungsbedingten Grenze mittelalterlicher Literaturgeschichte. (Mit einem Textanhang: Die Dichterkataloge des Konrad Nachtigall, des Valentin Voigt und des Hans Folz)," in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Editionen und Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Kurt Ruh zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Konrad Kunze, Johannes F. Mayer and Bernhard Schnell (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1989), 1–31; Michael Baldzuhn, "Ein meisterliches Streitgedicht. Zum poetologischen Horizont der Lieder Nr. 89–94 des Hans Folz," in *Lied im deutschen Mittelalter. Überlieferung, Typen, Gebrauch. Chiemsee-Colloquium 1991*, ed. Cyril Edwards, Ernst Hellgardt and Norbert H. Ott (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), 227–243. Beside the catalogues of names and in addition to visual media (see below) ever since the sixteenth century an early modern literary history of *Meistergesang* takes place in its own legend of origin. This legend derives the art of *Meistergesang* even from the emperor Otto the Great. Essential remarks concerning this legend are again to be found in Brunner, *Die alten Meister*, 13 ff. and 24–31.

[13] For an initial orientation, see the summarizing article of Ursula Schulze, "Sangspruch," in *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Harald Fricke, Jan-Dirk Müller and Klaus Weimar (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1997–2003), vol. 3, 352–355, and the essential introduction of Helmut Tervooren, *Sangspruchdichtung* (Stuttgart/Weimar: Metzler 1995). For a summary of the state of recent research, see Horst Brunner and Helmut Tervooren, "Einleitung: Zur Situation der Sangspruch- und Meistergesangsforschung," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 119 (2000), special edition: *Neue Forschungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Sangspruchdichtung*, ed. Horst Brunner and Helmut Tervooren, 1–9.

[14] These terminological determinations are based on the fundamental distinctions proposed by Schanze, vol. 1, 7–11. Schanze was the first to point out the characteristics of the *meisterliche Lieddichtung* and to enforce them with respect to terminology. Cf. also the basic introduction of the *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 1–7. Further studies especially addressing the *meisterliche Liedkunst* are still rare. It remains an exigent task of research to shed light on the poetics of this historical phase of the *Sangspruchtradition*. Above all reliable editions are missing. In the meantime anthologies would be most suitable that could provide a survey of the vast corpus of texts. Some recent studies of my own address this task from different perspectives: *Vom Sangspruch zum Meisterlied. Untersuchungen zu einem literarischen Traditionszusammenhang auf der Grundlage der Kolmarer Liederhandschrift* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002); "Wege ins Meisterlied. Thesen zum Prozess seiner Herausbildung und Beobachtungen am k-Bestand unikaler Strophen in unfesten Liedern," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 119 (2000), special edition: *Neue Forschungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Sangspruchdichtung*, ed. Horst Brunner and Helmut Tervooren, 252–277; "Ein Feld formiert sich. Beobachtungen zur poetologischen Begrifflichkeit in den Tabulaturen der Meistersinger," in *Im Wortfeld des Textes. Worthistorische Beiträge zu den Bezeichnungen von Rede und Schrift im Mittelalter*, ed. Gerd Dicke, Manfred Eikelmann and Burkhard Hasebrink (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter 2006), 165–185; "Minne in den Sangspruchtönen Regenbogens. Eine Überschau in typologischer Absicht," in *Sangspruchdichtung. Gattungs-*

che Liedkunst arose from the latter without an obvious changeover, and in the fifteenth century finally *Meistergesang* in its institutionalized form developed from the *meisterliche Liedkunst. Meistergesang*, therefore, represents only the latest period of the whole *Sangspruchtradition*.[15] In contrast to these modern distinctions it was continuity that shaped the thinking of the *Meistersinger* about their own literary history—just as visualized in an impressive manner by an anonymous engraving of the nineteenth century reproducing a painting of the seventeenth. The painting shows how the face-to-face interaction in the *gemerk* evens out the historical differences among the different phases of the *Sangspruchtradition*. Instead of showing contemporary *Meistersinger* the engraving imagines three Middle High German *Sangspruchdichter* of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century as *merker*—<Her>r *Frawenlob* (that is Heinrich von Meißen, called Frauenlob), *Herr Regenbogen* and *Herr Mörner* (that is the Marner)—as well as *herr Mügling* (that is Heinrich von Mügeln), who was a *meisterlicher Liederdichter* in the middle of the fourteenth century.[16] These four *merker* judge a performance of Hans Sachs, after all a *Meistersinger* already of the sixteenth century.[17]

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konstitution und Gattungsinterferenzen im europäischen Kontext, ed. Dorothea Klein (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2007), 187–242.

[15] For an initial orientation cf. Horst Brunner, "Meistergesang," in *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*, vol. 2, 254–257, and, as already mentioned, the introduction of the *Repertorium*, esp. 4–7. The introductory study of Bert Nagel, *Meistersang*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971), is in many cases antiquated and must be used with great care. More reliable information can be drawn from the survey given by Reinhard Hahn, *Meistergesang* (Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1985).

[16] Cf. the authoritative articles in the *Verfasserlexikon*: Karl Stackmann, "Frauenlob; (Meister) Heinrich Frauenlob; Meister Heinrich von Meißen der Frauenlob," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Kurt Ruh et al., 2nd ed. (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1978–2007), vol. 2, cols. 865–877; Frieder Schanze, "Regenbogen," in *Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 7, cols. 1077–1097; Burghart Wachinger, "Der Marner," in *Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 6, cols. 70–79; Karl Stackmann, "Heinrich von Mügeln," in *Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 3, cols. 815–827.

[17] Hans Sachs (1494–1576) was a famous poet already in his own time and is still a famous poet in Germany up to this day. Cf. the survey of Barbara Könneker, "Sachs, Hans," in *Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache*, ed. Walther Killy (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1988–93), vol. 10, 99–102.

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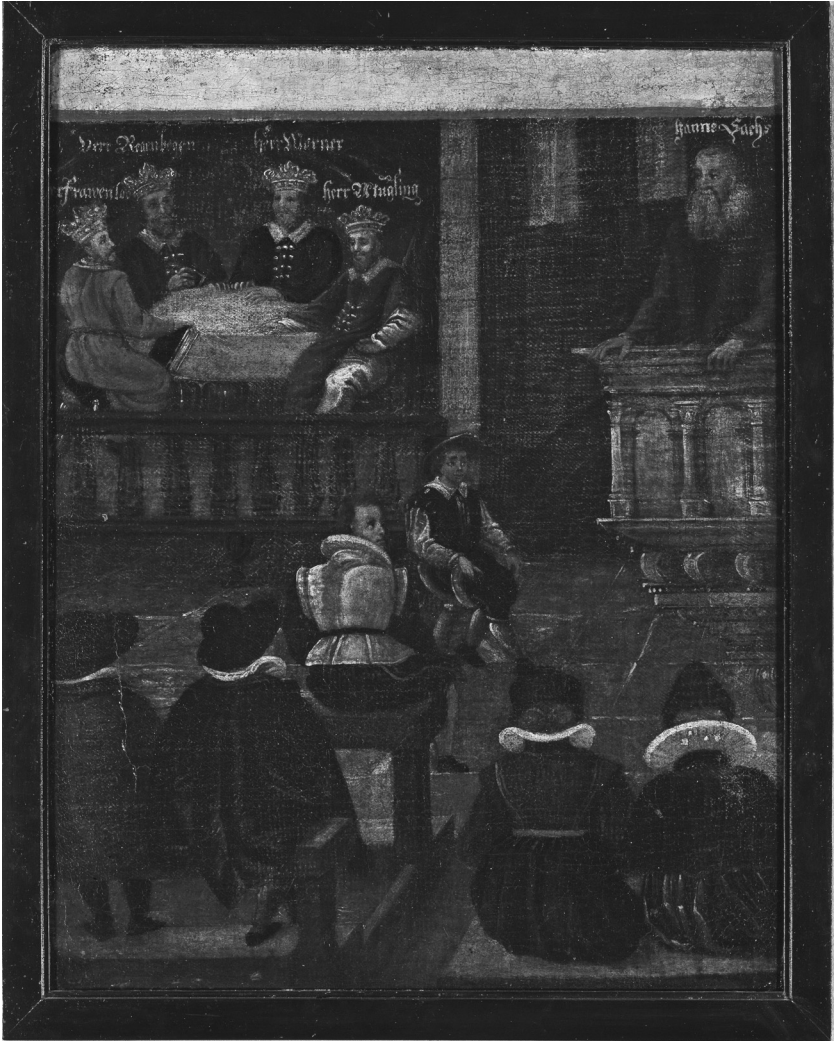Fig. 7.2. Engraving of the nineteenth century, showing a *singschule* with four old masters and Hans Sachs (Nuremberg, Gemälde- und Skulpturensamm-lung—Museen der Stadt Nürnberg).[18]

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[18] The painting is now kept in the Gemälde- und Skulpturensammlung—Museen der Stadt Nürnberg (Inv.-Nr. Gm 0173). Formerly it was possessed by the *Meistersinger* of Nuremberg serving them as a placard to announce public concerts.

Up to the middle of the twentieth century German researchers found it difficult to develop an adequate terminology that differs from the effort of the *Meistersinger* to connect to their literary prehistory and to even out historical differences. One of the reasons was that much more research had been done on only one of the two most important textual genres of Middle High German medieval lyric, namely *Minnesang* and its courtly love songs. The *Sangspruchdichtung* of the twelfth up to the fourteenth century remained without specific contour. For example, in the year 1811—to refer to the beginning of scientific research on *Meistergesang*—Jacob Grimm knew and spoke of *Minnesang* as a matter of course, but he could only address the *Sangspruchdichtung* using the term *Meistergesang*.[19] Only after a discussion spanning several decades—with the focus mainly on the different arrangement of strophes in the courtly love song and the *Sangspruch* (the first one generally uses several strophes, the other one for a long time only one strophe)[20]—German researchers gradually reached a more precise concept of the *Sangspruchdichtung* as a second prominent textual genre of Middle High German lyrics. In addition, a more nuanced view of the prehistory of *Meistergesang* was made difficult by a lack of understanding of some very unconventional works of later *Sangspruchdichter* like Frauenlob or *meisterliche Lieddichter* like Heinrich von Mügeln. These hermeneutical difficulties—some researchers seriously thought Frauenlob to be insane—supported a pattern of interpretation, whose traces range up even to Bert Nagel's introductory monograph on *Meistergesang* published in a second edition in 1971. Bringing Frauenlob in touch with the pretended establishing of a first company of *Meistergesang* in Mainz,[21] Nagel displaces an oeuvre aesthetically dubious looking to him towards the later production of the Meistersinger. (Such a practice was brought forward by the fact that the later *Meistersinger* idolised Frauenlob and Mügeln as old masters and esteemed some of their *Töne* [tones] as *gekrönte* [crowned]. That is, by the way, the reason for Frauenlob and Mügeln wearing crowns in the painting mentioned above.) But the last decades of research are fortunately characterized by an orientation towards the sources that

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[19] Jacob Grimm, *Ueber den altdeutschen Meistergesang* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1811).

[20] The most important positions in this discussion are connected with the names of Karl Simrock, Hermann Schneider and Kurt Ruh. The relevant essays are collected in *Mittelhochdeutsche Spruchdichtung*, ed. Hugo Moser (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972).

[21] Nagel, *Meistersang*, 25–27.

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essentially have come down to us. Thus a detail like a first society of *Meistergesang* in Mainz already in the days of Frauenlob has been found to be a fiction. Concerning the historical preconditions of the appearance of urban singing-schools since the last quarter of the fourteenth century two problems of clarifying this process can be seen much more clearly now:

Firstly, one has to give up the focus on prominent authors. Already in the late period of the *Sangspruchdichtung* and in the early period of the *meisterliche Liedkunst* we not only have to take into account well-known singers like Frauenlob or Regenbogen, but also many anonymous poets called *Nachsänger* (re-singers). They made use of the *Töne* of more prominent masters, but added new texts to them. The term *Ton* means the sum of all formal features of a strophe, its melody, but also the scheme of the single verses and their rhymes, and re-use of a *Ton* is a core element of the textual genre *Sangspruch*.[22] Use of well-known *Töne* by the anonymous re-singers increases in the fourteenth century. In extreme cases this leads to highly distorted results in the manuscript tradition. For example more than a thousand strophes ascribed to the Middle High German *Sangspruchdichter* and inventor of melodies Regenbogen have come down to us, but only a small number of them can be authentic in the narrower sense of having been invented by Regenbogen himself. The authors of the other ones are unknown. The anonymity of a vast number of texts seriously constrains recent endeavours to assign them to single phases of the history of the evolution of the textual genre between the early fourteenth and the late fifteenth century.

Secondly, an anomaly of manuscript transmission limits our access to the developments in the run-up to the *gemerk*. The wider documentation of the Middle High German *Sangspruchdichtung* breaks off in the middle of the fourteenth century. Not until after a gap of three-quarters of a century and after the descent of manuscript transmission towards smaller entities and towards manuscripts primarily designed for direct use (and therefore towards manuscripts less representative in nature and exposed to a greater risk of destruction) did a stronger tendency emerge that again led to manuscripts with better chances of preservation. In the second quarter of the fifteenth century the so-called *Meisterliederhand-*

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[22] Cf. Horst Brunner's article "Ton" in the *Reallexikon*, vol. 3, 645 ff.

schriften came into being.[23] Their scribes collected the anonymous songs mentioned above to a great extent. Nevertheless none of these scribes worked with an active practice of singing-schools in his background. Thus the anonymous mass of songs in the *Meisterliederhandschriften* can not be qualified sociologically in more detail. Up to now the songs have been taken as evidence for the existence of an early *Meistergesang* that was not yet institutionalized. In this context Brunner in 1975 supposed the concept of Rhenish and Swabian societies—despite the fact that no evidence for the existence of such societies can be provided beyond these songs as such. Nevertheless his concept continues to circulate up to the present.[24] But by contrast the sources could by all means also be read in a more 'positive' way, if we take the *Meisterliederhandschriften* as documents of a revived interest in the old art of the former masters—but an interest initially reduced, because it took place in the form of just making their art accessible again in written form only. The new manuscripts may be conceived of as documents of an emerging interest aiming in the first instance at collecting the preserved assets that by all means may have belonged to an older period of the textual genre, that is to the late *Sangspruchdichtung* and the early *meisterliche Liedkunst*. In fact it can be shown that the scribes of the *Meisterliederhandschriften* often had access to strophes and songs already produced in the fourteenth century. An important consequence of this assumption is that the later

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[23] This model of transmission counts on some unknown facts (missed manuscripts for direct use). I have argued for it more in detail in *Vom Sangspruch zum Meisterlied*. For a first overview on the relevant manuscripts see the article of Frieder Schanze, "Meisterliederhandschriften," in *Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 6, cols. 342–356.

[24] Franz-Josef Holznagel, "Mittelalter," in *Geschichte der deutschen Lyrik*, ed. Franz-Josef Holznagel et al. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2004), 11–94, esp. 67 n. 14; Johannes Rettelbach, "Sangspruchdichtung zwischen Frauenlob und Heinrich von Mügeln—eine Skizze," in *Studien zu Frauenlob und Heinrich von Mügeln. Festschrift für Karl Stackmann zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Jens Haustein and Ralf-Henning Steinmetz (Freiburg/Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 2002), 154–174, esp. 147 ff., n. 9; Johannes Rettelbach, "Späte Sangspruchdichtung—früher Meistergesang. Bilanz der jüngeren Forschung," *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft* 12 (2000), 185–201, esp. 186. Cf. also Horst Brunner and Johannes Rettelbach, "'Der vrsprung des maystergesangs'. Eine Schulkunst aus dem frühen 16. Jahrhundert und die Kolmarer Liederhandschrift," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 114 (1985), 221–240, esp. 236: "Die reiche Textüberlieferung der vor-reformatorischen Meistersingerhss., die ja zahlreiche, wenn auch überwiegend anonym bleibende Autoren bezeugt, steht in krassem Gegensatz zur offensichtlichen Beweisnot, wenn es darum geht, die Existenz einzelner Gesellschaften zu belegen."

Meistersinger could get an idea of the former art of their old ancestors chiefly on the basis of written documents only.[25]

The poetics of the anonymous songs preserved in the later manuscripts of the fifteenth century have not yet been studied in detail. But many of these songs might already belong to the very productive period of the late *Sangspruchdichtung* and early *meisterliche Lieddichtung*. Perhaps the texts of this former period were not preserved in contemporary manuscripts of the fourteenth century to a greater extent because they were considered to be too modern and their anonymous authors too little well-known. After all scholars are able to see now that their songs often show a strong poetological bias. Especially the songs mentioning the idea of a competition between singers demonstrate a particular awareness of artistic questions, problems and themes. These songs deserve special interest, because they sometimes show fictitious little contentions, i.e. they often appear to be spoken by a grammatical 'I' claiming to be a prominent *Sangspruchdichter*. But the use of competition to profile one's own art, by contrast, may also be limited to suggestive notions slightly evoking agonistic interaction. The courtly audience of such songs, of course, was able to recognize their performance was fictitious, because in face-to-face interaction the listener present was able to see that a singer using a textual 'I' that acts as Frauenlob, for example, was just performing this role. And of course further elements of the evoked illusion—the local *plan* (a green meadow), the singer armed and combat-ready, the wreath to be achieved by the winner—were absent in the actual performance.[26]

If one takes these competition poems only in their written form without the original form of presentation, when ones reads them instead of hearing and seeing them, then one might be in danger of misinterpretation: one might mistake the 'I' of the singer with the 'I' of the text. These poems then support the impression of representing real contests. This was the misinterpretation of the early *Meistersinger*—with the most serious consequences. This thesis of a misinterpretation takes into account two basic understandings: firstly that the *Meistersinger's* knowledge of the art of their predecessors was not based on a living

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[25] More detailed reasons for this thesis are given in Baldzuhn, *Vom Sangspruch zum Meisterlied*.

[26] The most prominent sample of a competition song might be the "Krieg von Würzburg." Cf. the edition in *Meisterlieder der Kolmarer Handschrift*, ed. Karl Bartsch (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1862), 351–362.

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tradition of immediate contact, that their knowledge, on the contrary, was mainly based on manuscripts and their predecessors' written texts, and secondly that the manuscripts found in the fifteenth century more resemble late fourteenth century texts than those of an early phase of the *Meistergesang*. Both of these assumptions need more elaborate confirmation. The main thesis however explains the remarkable construction of the interaction in the *gemerk* well enough. I only want to name four aspects:

(1) The interaction in the *gemerk* can be comprehended as a re-enactment of older competition-poems of the fourteenth century that have been taken too literally by the *Meistersinger*. In our times we may be acquainted with the knowledge of the past, knowledge of literary traditions and so be familiar with the potential for distancing ourselves. This form of understanding and of dealing with the past is however connected to the context of a modern society based on literacy to a large extent. In contrast the *Meistersinger* of the early modern ages did not keep their knowledge of the past largely in a written form. They preferred to keep literary traditions alive through actual performance.

(2) The use of writing in the *gemerk* was truly conservative. It aimed at reproduction instead of production. The main instrument of the court, the *tabulatur*, does not give positive indications of how a *Meisterlied* had to be made. *Tabulaturen* did not teach a writer "how it was to be done" but "how it was not to be done." So their implicit construction is based on the idea of a severe and mandatory example to follow. For example we find mandatory instructions by Adam Puschman (1532–1600) in his *Gründlichem Bericht*, where he discusses the value of different notes and instructions with explicit reference to the old masters. And in the Nuremberg *Ordnung* of 1540 it is specified that every *Ton* should be performed as if "it was coming from the master or from old times" ("wie er von dem maister ausgegangen ist oder von alter her kumen ist").[27] The implicit poetry of the *tabulatur* concurs with the strong bias of the art of *Meistergesang* towards the example of the old masters and their re-production.

(3) The four *merker* in the *gemerk* act as physical representatives of the earlier literary tradition. Therefore the wooden panel of the seventeenth century could name them as Middle High German *Sangspruchdichter*. They do not act in the name of literary tradition, they act as embodying

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[27] Cf. Genée, 410.

it. It was a custom to enable the winner of the competition to become a judge himself in the next *singschule*. If you successfully master the literary tradition, you enter it physically.

(4) The *Meistersinger* resisted to the new medium of book printing. Older research even thought of the *Meistersinger* suppressing the use of printing.[28] This is understandable in light of the conservatism in the judging of the performance of a poem. Book printing decouples the production of a text and its reception systematically, and its ideal is the anonymous reader and an isolated, simplified reading situation. The use of printing therefore would dissolve the narrow cohesion of production and coeval re-production in the *gemerk*.

Deconstructing the gemerk: *the modernism of the* singschule

The resistance of the *Meistersinger* of the sixteenth century to book printing and the conservative use of writing in their *tabulatur* reveal an inconsistent relation of the *Meistersinger* to the medium of writing. On the one hand the increasing use of writing and production of manuscripts in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century in general had enabled the craftsmen in the cities to attain a certain level of knowledge of the Middle High German *Sangspruchdichtng*. On the other hand writing in the *tabulatur* is used by them in a restricted manner and the *Meistersinger* resist book printing. The writing medium kept a subsidiary meaning in their hands, and the ability of the medium to widen communication is used only in a very restricted way.[29] In a characteristic medieval manner the use of writing in the *gemerk* stays bound to the co-presence of the participants communicating with each other.

Nevertheless the binding of the performance of a *Meisterlied* to face-to-face interaction does not simply prolong medieval conditions into the early modern time. When one compares the situation of performing a *Meisterlied* with that of an old *Sangspruch* by a *Sangspruchdichter* from a

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[28] This opinion does not match the facts. Hundreds of poems have been printed—but mostly poems of a certain style, for example songs in very popular melodies. More demanding songs on theological subjects for example stay assigned especially to the *gemerk*. Cf. the catalogue of printed *Meisterlieder* in the first volume of the *Repertorium*, 325–508, and the clarifying remarks in Schanze, *Liedkunst*, vol. 1, 33 ff.

[29] Cf. Konrad Ehlich, "Funktion und Struktur schriftlicher Kommunikation," in *Schrift und Schriftlichkeit. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. Hartmut Günther and Otto Ludwig (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1994), vol. 1, 18–41, esp. 19.

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pragmatic point of view we see that central parameters (of place, time, audience) have changed. We know however very little about the exact circumstances of performing Middle High German *Sangsprüche*, but certain general findings can be mentioned. Festivities at court generally seem to have been important places for recitations. The singers may have taken the chance to perform their song on a particular occasion. The audience was as a rule not a homogeneous one, so that the singer could not calculate the expectations of the recipients and the success of his performance in advance. All this is quite different from the situation in the fifteenth/sixteenth century:

(1) The time at which the performance of the singing-school would take place was announced to the public on so-called *schulzettel* (hand-written letters on paper). The performance was scheduled. Thus literary interaction could be planned in advance.[30]

(2) The *schulzettel* also mentioned the place where the performance was to be held. Thus the place of literary interaction did not just emerge by chance from a feast or ordinary interaction of an accidentally present audience. On the contrary, it was carefully highlighted and defined in space. The tables and desks for the judges, chairs, curtains and writing materials and the *singstuhl* (pulpit for the singer) already marked it.[31] In

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[30] For reproductions of letters of invitation, see Hahn, 57 (Nuremberg, seventeenth century, now preserved in Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Will III 780 [ink and water-colour on paper, format 27.2 × 29.8 cm]) and 59 (Nuremberg, end sixteenth century, now Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, MP 20517ᵃ [woodcut and printing, format 15 × 25.7 cm]). On both letters: *Hans Sachs und die Meistersinger in ihrer Zeit*, ed. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg (Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1981), 126 fig. 93 ff. and the reproduction on p. 119. A third letter (Nuremberg 1646) has been published by Theodor Hampe, "Spruchsprecher, Meistersinger und Hochzeitlader, vornehmlich in Nürnberg," *Mitteilungen aus dem germanischen Nationalmuseum* 7 (1894), 25–44 and 60–69: cf. the reproduction in fig. 1 and on p. 41 (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Merkelsche Porträtsammlung, Inventarnr. Mp 26362a [written by hand, with a portrait of Simon Wolff, covering colour, format 18 × 29.5 cm]). A letter from the company in Freiburg (before 1630) is preserved in the local city archive, "Urkundenbestand A 1 XIIIᶠ," therein no. 7. This letter has perhaps been used as a model and therefore could have been designed in an untypical accurate manner. It is mentioned in the two registers of possessions of the company: "Jtem Ein schuollbrief wie man die Singer Vf die schuoll laden duodt" (fol. 9r), "Jtem Ein schuolbrief wie man die Maistersinger auf die Singschuoll laden duodt" (fol. 10r). Its text has been printed by Schreiber, 205–207 (erroneous). The letter, a large-sized single leaf, has been written by hand on thick paper with tightend corners and had to serve as a public placard just like the Nuremberg ones. For a general survey on the type of source see Nagel, *Meistersang*, 59–61.

[31] The registers of possessions in Freiburg mention "Jtem Zwen gemolte Vmheng Vnd zway Jsinig stenglin dar zuo" (fol. 9r; in the second register fol. 10r: "Jtem Zwenn

Fig. 7.3. The *postenbrief* of the Freiburg *Meistersinger* (original: Stadtarchiv Freiburg, A 1 XIIIᵉ V.2).

addition the place of performance also could be marked by a *postenbrief*, a kind of poster, that demarcated the terrain of the *singschule* actually being held. Such a *postenbrief* in general did not put out the (changing) place and time of every single performance but, just like the poster still preserved in Freiburg made of strong and large-sized paper, was carried to the various performance sites. The coloured illustrations on the Freiburg *postenbrief* display prominently the crowning of the Virgin Mary, the official escutcheons of Freiburg and Austria and the images of Tubal, Thales, Socrates, Pythagoras, and Priscian. Taken together they give the poster of the company in Freiburg a representative look.[32]

(3) The determination of time and place changes important framing conditions of literary reception. The performer now can assume what his audience will attend. His auditor has decided to visit a *singschule*, has entered the room of performance by intention and—in general—is willing to respect special rules implied by the situation. The artist has—in principle—his public's attention and interest. Occasional unexpected reactions are kept to a minimum—as is the fact in a theatre nowadays where there is a sort of pre-arranged understanding: everyone already knows what to expect; pre-arranged etiquette makes sure that there will be no disturbance during the performance; uninterested people stay away. In contrast Middle High German *Sangspruchdichter* could be confronted with an unhappy or uninterested public. They had to ensure their own recital, even in comparison to other rivals at the court, against ongoing disturbances and disinterest.

(4) Furthermore the composition of the audience of a *singschule* changed and became more complex. Instead of a mixed audience consisting of interested and non-interested listeners and aficionados we now find a clear separation between these groups and even between the public as a whole and its performer. The judges in the court now take up the place of the aficionados; they appear as a kind of primary

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gemoldte Vmheg mit sambdt Zwaij Jsinin stenglin wie mans bey dem Maistersang Jn dem gemerrkh vorhangen duodt") and "Jtem Der Singstuohll wie man darauf singen duodt" (fol. 9r; fol. 10r: "Jtem der singstuoll wie Man darauf sitz wan man singen duodt").

   [32] Freiburg, Stadtarchiv, "Urkundenbestand A 1 XIII^f," no. 2. Edition of the text: Harter-Böhm, 102 ff. The wooden panel of figure 2 above also was used as a *postenbrief*; cf. Hampe, 41 "[…] das eine öffentliche Singschule darstellt und gelegentlich solcher Singschulen neben der Einladung als Aushängeschild diente." The most prominent *postenbrief* is the one from the company in Iglau; cf. the reproduction in Hahn, 72, and the basic remarks of Streinz, 17 ff. A survey of this type of source in general is given in Nagel, *Meistersang*, 57–61.

audience of the singer. They are complemented by a public of interested listeners who visit the recital as a performance (the wooden panel of the seventeenth century clearly shows this separation between the different types of audience). And the reaction of the primary audience can be efficiently calculated by the singer: the judges are not only no longer unknown to him, but also part of the local entourage of his company of *Meistergesang*. The performer may now act together with a captive and artistically competent audience.

(5) In the *gemerk* social and literary event are uncoupled. This becomes clear from the fact that a recital no longer brings in revenue: the *Sangspruchdichter* had to earn money with his art, and he tried to promote his artistic products with the traditional argument that he could sell reputation to the court and receive a fee for it. In other words, "guot umbe ere geben" ("give funds and receive esteem"). In contrast, the later craftsmen perform their art in their leisure time. They make their income as a cobbler, painter etc.—but not by a brilliant performance. In the *gemerk* income is less important than symbolic worth: to be valued among the peers of the company of *Meistergesang* is the prize.[33]

(6) Writing becomes an item of the performance itself. What kind of importance it had for the performance of the former *Sangspruchdichter* we do not know: whether the poems had been learned by heart or read from a manuscript or even if changes were permitted; all that remains unknown. In the *gemerk* however the strictly defined written rules of the *tabulatur* were applied. The Bible was used as the reference for poems on theological subjects. The way in which the performance was handled and the results of it were written down in minutes, nowadays called *Gemerk-Bücher* or *Gemerk-Protokolle*.[34] The demand to fix typical mistakes in the *tabulatur* even led to the development of a specific poetological terminology describing the texts, the melodies and the performances more in detail than ever before. This terminology in fact is tied to the older competition poems out of the productive phase of the late

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[33] Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital," in *Soziale Ungleichheiten*, ed. Reinhard Kreckel (Göttingen: Schwartz, 1983), 183–198.

[34] Augsburg: *Die Schulordnung und das Gemerkbuch der Augsburger Meistersinger*, ed. Horst Brunner et al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991); Iglau: Streinz, 150–175; Nuremberg: *Das Gemerkbüchlein des Hans Sachs (1555–1561) nebst einem Anhange: Die Nürnberger Meistersinger-Protocolle von 1595–1605*, ed. Karl Drescher (Halle/Saale: Niemeyer, 1898), *Nürnberger Meistersinger-Protokolle von 1575–1689*, ed. Karl Drescher (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1897).

Sangspruchdichtung of the fourteenth century, but there the poetological terms are an integral part of the poem itself and their semantics are quite different and much more complex than in the discursive texts of the *tabulatur* in prose in the later *Meistergesang*.[35]

So if we look at the pragmatics of communication then the performance in the *gemerk* in sum seems much more tied to preconditions than the occasional performance of the Middle High German *Sangspruch-dichter*—or speaking in terms of system theory: a lot more unlikely.[36] Just to name one more detail: the *Meistersinger* as a rule had to ask the city officials for special agreements to hold a *singschule*. On the other hand the increased improbability of the *gemerk*-performance also has its advantages: the performance may take place in a stabilized and calculable context with artistic freedom for literary interaction as such. The textual products of this kind of literary interaction are permitted to follow rather their own artistic than extrapoetic rules. The *gemerk* as a whole therefore can be understood as a phenomenon of literaliza-tion and institutionalisation of literature—although these early modern phenomena are nowadays usually associated with the medium of book printing.[37] To 'read' the *gemerk* as a mere prolongation of the Middle Ages in early modern times therefore would be basically wrong. Quite the contrary, the *gemerk* is a very modern phenomenon. But in contrast to book printing, where the processes mentioned are tied to a certain farewell to the medium of a present 'body,' this 'body' keeps its older medieval readability[38] and its potential to establish presence.[39]

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[35] Cf. Baldzuhn, "Ein Feld formiert sich."

[36] Cf. Niklas Luhmann, "Die Unwahrscheinlichkeit der Kommunikation," in *Soziologische Aufklärung 3. Soziales System, Gesellschaft, Organisation* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1981), 25–34.

[37] Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "Beginn von 'Literatur'/Abschied vom Körper?," in *Der Ursprung von Literatur. Medien, Rollen, Kommunikationssituationen zwischen 1450 und 1650*, ed. Gisela Smolka-Koerdt, Peter M. Spangenberg and Dagmar Tillmann-Bartylla (München: Fink, 1988), 14–50.

[38] Horst Wenzel, "Partizipation und Mimesis. Die Lesbarkeit der Körper am Hof und in der höfischen Literatur," in *Materialität der Kommunikation*, ed. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and Klaus Ludwig Pfeiffer (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1988), 178–202.

[39] Christian Kiening, "Vorspiel: Zwischen Körper und Schrift," in *Zwischen Körper und Schrift. Texte vor dem Zeitalter der Literatur* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 2003), 7–31.

The dissemination of the companies

The emergence of a meaningful and complex phenomenon like the
gemerk is practically impossible to comprehend if we only think of a
continuous evolution without breaks. The *singschule* had to be 'invented'
at a particular time. This thesis has an important methodological con-
sequence, because an existing *singschule* in its best form then gives us the
constitutional criteria needed to be able to speak of a fully developed
company of *Meistergesang*. To emphasize this is absolutely not futile: what
really constitutes a company of *Meistergesang* has up to now never been
made explicit. Answers first had to come from the historians, but they
hardly occupied themselves with this issue. On the other hand we find
an ongoing interest of researchers in German literature that already
goes back to the nineteenth century.[40] But this interest is dominated
by questions of literary history and literary genres, and the companies
as historical phenomena in and of themselves have never thoroughly
been investigated. Among German scholars there is only an unspoken
consensus about what is meant, when one speaks of *Meistergesang* in
an institutionalised form, and there is however no reliable survey of
existing societies based on explicit criteria. Already in 1938 Archer
Taylor saw that clearly, he being the only one who ever presented a
systematic bibliography of *Meistergesang*.[41] His bibliography only speaks
of "places, where Meistergesang flourished," and it lists many places, on
which Taylor comments, where there was never the slightest evidence
of a *singschule*. There have always been critical voices,[42] but even Bert
Nagel's introduction in *Meistergesang* of 1971 still presents a substantial
number of companies based only on a mix of criteria. And even in
the fundamental introduction of the *Repertorium* we find some mistakes.
(See Appendix: Places with companies of *Meistergesang*.)

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[40] Cf. Horst Brunner, "Stand und Aufgaben der Meistergesangsforschung," in
Quaestiones in musica. Festschrift für Franz Krautwurst zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Friedhelm
Brusniak and Horst Leuchtmann (Tutzing: Schneider, 1989), 33–47; Horst Brunner,
"Zur Geschichte der Meistergesangsforschung," in *Deutsches Handwerk in Spätmittelalter und
Früher Neuzeit. Sozialgeschichte, Volkskunde, Literaturgeschichte*, ed. Rainer S. Elkar (Göttingen:
Schwartz, 1983), 223–243; Reinhard Hahn, "Der Meistergesang in der Geschichte der
Germanistik," *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 4 (1983), 450–462.

[41] Archer Taylor and Frances Hankemeier Ellis, *A bibliography of Meistergesang* (Bloom-
ington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1936).

[42] Cf. Archer Taylor, *The literary history of Meistergesang* (New York/London: Modern
Language Association of America/Oxford University Press, 1937), 16–18.

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The extensive list of 64 towns can be reduced to a few where singing-schools existed without doubt (14: Augsburg, Breslau, Donauwörth, Freiburg/Breisgau, Iglau, Kolmar, Mainz, Memmingen, Nördlingen, Nürnberg, Schwaz, Steyr, Straßburg, Ulm). Besides those there are about a dozen places that deserve further study (15: Brieg, Dinkelsbühl, Eferding, Eisenerz, Esslingen, Frankfurt/Main, Kempten, Mährisch-Schönberg, Magdeburg, München, Regensburg, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Weissenburg, Wels, Zwickau). But the rest, more than twice this amount, are questionable (35).

The list of towns has extended to its unusual length due to many reasons. Contemporary sets of town, for example, always fulfil a function in their own time. The city catalogue in the prologue of Puschman's *Gründlichem Bericht* aims to show the amplification of *Meistergesang* and thereby tries to grant importance to Puschman's influence. The catalogues of towns in a *Meisterlied* of 1597 from Straßburg and the *Memminger Lobspruch* by Michael Schuester from 1626[43] show a comparable intention; thus they can not serve modern historians as reliable records on the dissemination of *Meistergesang*. Even the detailed report in the *Donauwörther Chronik* can be taken seriously only regarding the local situation in Donauwörth itself. By mentioning several bordering places where *Meistergesang* was practised the chronicler might have wanted to put Donauwörth on the map as being something like the world centre of *Meistergesang*. Sometimes older research took single towns into account because a later *Meistersinger* was born there, sometimes only because a place had been visited by a *Meistersinger*. Only scrutinizing the archives will lead to an authentic repertory of companies of *Meistergesang*. And only archival studies will provide an insight into the proportions between productive members composing their own songs and melodies and members just performing texts and melodies taken from other authors and other passive members like founders, visitors or further supporters of a company. Only through these means can one grasp the importance of a company in the social network of a single town.

Looking back on the question of the emanation and dissemination of the companies it may not be the primary goal to use only these findings to generate a core-list of well established companies and exclude dubious cases. Especially the doubtful companies lead to a broader question: what was needed in early modern times to achieve a sustained

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[43] Cf. the extracts in Nagel, *Studien*, 133 ff. and 189 ff.

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basis for organizing people into groups that no longer were founded on the grounds of traditional institutional structures, e.g. the church, the school, the guild, the regiment of the city or the principality? The companies of *Meistergesang* did not sprout from established structures, just modifying them, but were based on structures drawn from late medieval practices in performing literature. What characterizes organisations that were not based on or amplified out of state structures but emerged from the people themselves? Looking at the question this way leads to the conclusion that further study on the companies of *Meistergesang* might provide a valuable methodological basis for the analysis also of other organisations to be created in the early modern age: regarding for example the increasing degrees of institutionalization and pragmatic preconditions accompanying the formation of the companies.

Established companies of Meistergesang—*some aspects of their organisational basis*

We may not know in full detail how a single company of *Meistergesang* was organized, but base lines can be sketched out without doubt. Companies existed from the late fifteenth century through to the seventeenth century and even partially up to the eighteenth. The *Trägergruppen* (sustainers) were, first, citizens and, second, craftsmen from the working lower and middle classes. Of course there were exceptions but this rule mainly applies: aristocratic singers are exceptions and learned poets too (clergy, lawyers, teachers). From these circles the *Meistersinger* might expect rather mockery than assistance. Even the higher middle classes, such as the literary world (humanists) and the patrician houses, did not accept them.[44] The manuscripts (over a 100) and the song production of the *Meistersinger* are respectable in size: more than 12,000 songs in the days after the Reformation have come down to us, numbering about 4300 from Hans Sachs (1494–1576) and about 3000 from the university-magister Ambrosius Metzger (1573–1632), both of them poets in

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[44] Kästner for example points out a considerable gap between the most famous *Meistersinger* Hans Sachs and his contemporaries in Nuremberg with scholarly erudition: Hannes Kästner, "Antikes Wissen für den 'gemeinen Mann'. Rezeption und Popularisierung griechisch-römischer Literatur durch Jörg Wickram und Hans Sachs," in *Latein und Nationalsprachen in der Renaissance*, ed. Bodo Guthmüller (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 345–378, esp. 362.

Nuremberg. The text production aimed at the presentation in the *gemerk*, although some poems also were intendend only for reading.[45] For their singing-schools the *Meistersinger* did not have a designated house but had to make use of what was available. The performances took place in churches or in local hotels. The Nuremberg singers made a distinction between three types of performance, the *Freisingen* (uncommitted singing), the *Hauptsingen* (main singing) and the *Zechsingen* (singing in a tavern). The *Freisingen* was held before the *Hauptsingen* and was done in public places and without competition. It is not mentioned in the protocol writings; songs on more worldly themes were performed. The *Hauptsingen*, by contrast, was competitive and accompanied by protocol writings, and the songs show a clear inclination to deal with ambitious theological themes. The *Zechsingen* was a more private performance held in taverns or held in the fashion of "singing in a tavern." These three different forms of concerts were performed in Nuremberg about fifteen times a year. The account books of the *Meistersinger* in Freiburg speak of only two or three performances a year. The performances were mostly held on Whitsunday and Christmas and sometimes on Easter. The books however show that the performances held on Easter 1578 were done only by the assistant craftsmen and not by the master craftsmen. And instead of the performances by the master craftsmen held in the church the assistants in 1578 sang only *vff beden stuben* (in special taverns used by the guilds?).

Whether the term *meister* (master) in Freiburg always means a master of the arts of singing or a master of craftsmanship is not clear—nor whether the term *geselle* means the follower of the arts or just the social dimension (an apprentice). Here we have to analyse each case separately. But the question as such is a very important one, because the different use of the term *meister* sheds light on the liminal distinction between the internal (artistic) and external (social) status of a particular person. In Nuremberg the circumstances are a lot more precise and expanded. The heart of the company was made up of the twelve oldest singers and three elected *merker* acted as a kind of managing committee, or board. The younger one of these three was also the recording clerk. This management was joined by two *büchsenmeister* (accountants) that

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[45] Cf. Johannes Rettelbach, "Aufführung und Schrift im Meistergesang des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 155 (2003), 241–287.

kept books about the finances of the company. Everyone had to pay membership. The management was elected yearly. Annually a new-membership application took place, and the applicants had to prove their ability in the arts by a probationary recital. Once more the account books in Freiburg show a minor degree of differentiation.[46] Only a single so-called *bruderschaftsmeister* acted as a head of the company, and he also had to hold the office of the *büchsenmeister* and check the accounts. His written reports were not given annually but only once every three to five years. No records on the way the elections or probationary auditions were held have come down to us—perhaps because these activities were organized in a more informal, non-written way. The admitted persons in Freiburg however had to pay for their admission just as in Nuremberg.

The rights and duties of the members are not known in detail and deserve further study. Were the members obligated to visit the singing-schools or to perform songs? Although we can not answer such questions, even so it is clear that the acceptance of a member was based on different things such as his qualities as an artist and as well as his social esteem within the company. Perhaps artistic prestige affected social prestige—but social reputation in general seems to have been more important than artistic skills. Even in German shooting clubs of the twenty-first century it is not always the best shooter who wins the annual competition and becomes "king" for one year. (On the contrary this is due more to the vast responsibilities of a "king" concerning his financial situation, his social reputation, his political influence etc.) To give just one example from Freiburg: in 1579 the *bruderschaftsmeister* Hans Schultheiß had to bear the costs for the service of a guest visiting the company, Jörg Kruß. The member Hans Daner had instructed him to do so. We do not know anything about this Hans Daner, except that he had been one of the singers from Freiburg who brought a manuscript written by Hans Sachs to the colleagues in Colmar already in 1549:

> These songs written down here I took from a manuscript lent to me and the company by Klauss Gruoben and Hans Tanner, singers from Freiburg,

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[46] The information concerning Freiburg is drawn from several account books preserved in Freiburg, Stadtarchiv, "Aktenbestand C 1 Meistersinger" (Nr. 6), and covering the years 1575–1674. They are still unpublished, but Dr. Ulrich Ecker, Stadtarchiv Freiburg, and I are preparing an edition. For the other companies cf. the brief outline given by Horst Brunner, "Hans Sachs und Nürnbergs Meistersinger," in *Hans Sachs und die Meistersinger*, 9–24.

and I wrote them down working day and night and finished this copy
the 29th of August. The manuscript lent to me had been written down
by Hans Sachs from Nuremberg in his own hand […].[47]

Thirty years later, in 1579, Daner's reputation still carries on, and we
see the internal hierarchy of the company traversed by other hierarchies:
Daner's reputation, his age, his long-enduring membership, perhaps
also his social status. Artistic reputation is not the only factor and has
its worth only in the core of the company, the interaction in the *gemerk*.
Acting in other fields of the company, the reputation of a member
always seems to be tied to other forms of reputation and we have to
take into account complex negotiations among these different forms.

Prospects

Because of their strong linkage to the older literary genre of *Sang-
spruchdichtung* and the special development of this genre already in the
fourteenth century stimulating the emergence of the *gemerk* in the late
fifteenth, the companies of *Meistergesang* without doubt represent a very
special formation of a social, artistic and learned community. However
the German company of *Meistergesang* with its *singschule* should not be
regarded as an incomparable and abstruse phenomenon. New social
groups, heretofore unused to writing and to literature now gained access
to the practice of literary genres: this process can be seen in the late
Middle Ages in different aspects all over Europe, especially in the late
medieval towns. Scholars already have alluded to the *rederijkers* (the
chambers of rhetoric) in the Netherlands and also to the *Puys* in North-
ern France and the *Companhia de gay saber* in Toulouse as phenomena
comparable to the German *Meistergesang*.[48] But direct contact—e.g. main
figures in contact with each other or the interchanging of manuscripts,

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[47] "Dise vorgeschribnenn lieder hab ich allesamenn geschribenn auß einem büchlin,
So mir vnd der geselschaft zuogestandenn ist vnd geluhenn von Klauß Gruobenn vnd
Hansenn Tanner, beid senger vonn Friburg, vnd hab eß also gar außgeschribenn vnd
vollendet by lauter nacht vnd ann feürtagenn vff den 29 Augusti. Eß hat auch gemeltes
büchlin Hans Sax vonn Nürenberg mit seiner eigen hand geschribenn […]."

[48] Cf. Taylor, *Literary History*, 13–15; Ursula Peters, *Literatur in der Stadt. Studien zu den
sozialen Voraussetzungen und kulturellen Organisationsformen städtischer Literatur im 13. und 14.
Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1983), 219–223; Brunner and Tervooren, "Einleitung",
6 ff. For discussions of these institutions, see the articles by Arjan van Dixhoorn, Dylan
Reid, and Laura Kendrick in the present volume.

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books, texts—are unknown up to now. And they are highly improbable as well. A broader mutual influence having a lasting effect between Southern France or the Western Netherlands and Southern Germany: that would imply something like a European network. Although in early modern times we know of the idea and partially vivid network of the *res publica litteraria* we nevertheless have to bear in mind that this network was based on really learned members who, in addition, could make use of the Latin language as their *lingua franca*. But the *Meistersinger* are strongly coupled to the use of the vernacular. Furthermore one must not overlook the importance of the printing press in the practice and the ideal of the republic of letters, e.g. for the dissemination of texts and ideas.[49] In contrast the core media of communication among the singing craftsmen in Southern Germany still were strongly linked to medieval preconditions: using manuscripts instead of book printing, listening instead of reading, performing (literary) history physically instead of discussing it in a critical manner.[50]

Viewed on a European level one can only find parallels in the basic structures. They were based on comparable economic, social, literary structures and comparable limitations and enhancements in the pragmatics of oral/written communication:

1. *Meistergesang* is a phenomenon not of the court or the countryside but of the city. Its precondition is the economic and cultural wealth of the cities already rising since the high Middle Ages. The increasing exoneration of the population from the needs of substantial work in the cities however did not instantly encourage a rising interest in

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[49] *Res publica litteraria. Die Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Sebastian Neumeister and Conrad Wiedemann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987); Herbert Jaumann, "Das Projekt des Universalismus. Zum Konzept der Respublica litteraria in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Über Texte. Festschrift für Karl-Ludwig Selig*, ed. Peter-Eckhard Knabe and Johannes Thiele (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1997), 149–163; Herbert Jaumann, "Respublica litteraria/Republic of Letters. Concept and Perspectives of Research," in *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus/The European Republic of Letters in the Age of Confessionalism*, ed. Anthony Grafton and Herbert Jaumann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 11–19.

[50] One important consequence of these pragmatics of communication can be seen in the fact that the foundation of many companies is strongly tied to the commitment of a single person. The company from Colmar dissolved very quickly after the departure of their initiator Georg Wickram. Hans Sachs was connected with important secession movements of the early years of the company in Nuremberg. Adam Puschman was the central point in Breslau. The schoolmaster Johann Suppius was the main figure for the company in Memmingen.

literature, education and scholarship as such, but it enabled the use of leisure time. For the lower and middle classes this leisure time gave occasion to look for individual instruments that allowed these groups to distinguish themselves in the social networks of the cities as a particular group with its own identity and a consciousness of its own.

2. Looking on *Meistergesang* with respect to the pragmatics of communication and media we see, on the one hand, that the use of writing in general is no longer the sole right of select groups in the court, the clergy etc. as in the high Middle Ages, but has been made accessible to other social groups. On the other hand, the craftsmen in the cities confined themselves to writing by hand rather than resorting to publishing their songs in print. The medium of the printing press was not yet fully spread and was not taken for granted as by humanists and scholars. This intermediate position explains the outstanding importance of face-to-face interaction in *Meistergesang*: it enabled the members of a company to conceive of themselves as a distinct social group and appear as such to all 'others.' And it explains the strong linkage of their literary production to agonistic competition. Face-to-face interaction and competition enabled the members to deal with an abstract phenomenon such as the artistic or literary quality of a given text in a palpable way and enabled them to discuss it in a collective manner. Perhaps we should consider the competition in the *gemerk* as some sort of a functional equivalent to the *Artes poeticae* or *rhetoricae* in more scholarly contexts of textual production and textual reception in early modern times.

3. A precondition enabling social groups in the fifteenth and sixteenth century to make use of literary productions of times gone by as a medium of their community building is that these older literary genres had become unattractive for their former *Trägergruppen* (in *Meistergesang*: the sustainers of the *Sangspruch*-tradition at the courts in the thirteenth and fourteenth century). This process refers to wide-ranging structural and functional changes in the production and reception of literature as such in the late Middle Ages. Without detailed knowledge of these former changes, without taking into account the specific literary history of the single literary genres then forming the basis of the new production in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, we can hardly arrive at a sufficient understanding of these later phenomena.
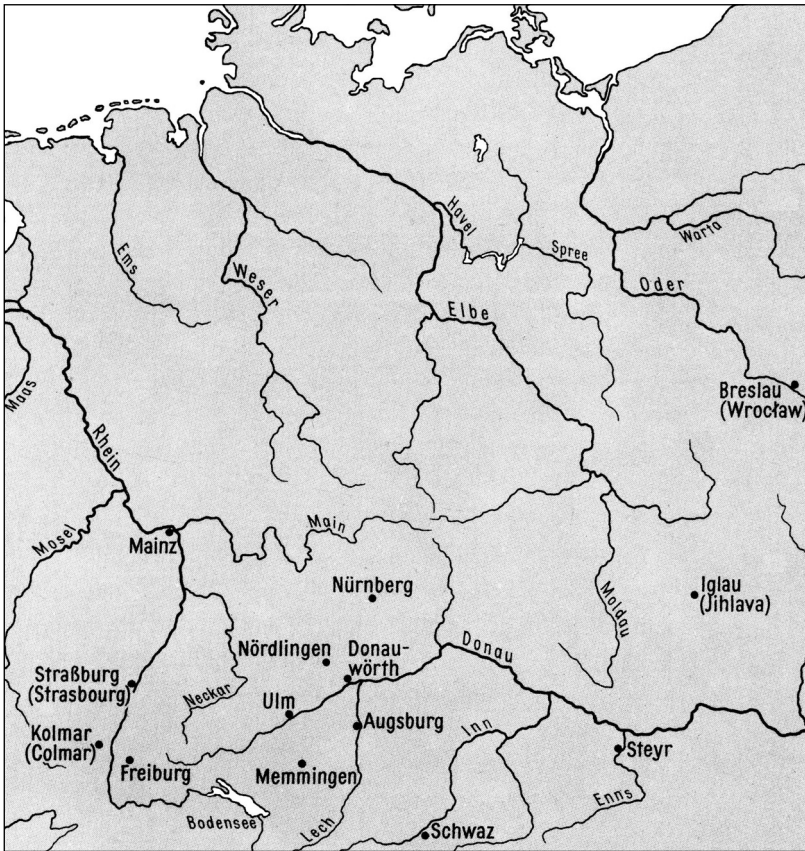
Fig. 7.4. Places with companies of *Meistergesang*—according to Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 27 (including two doubtful ones, Eferding and Wels).

The German companies of *Meistergesang* in the early modern age made it possible for their members to find other means of filling their leisure time, gave access to their own forms of entertainment and to 'education' in a wide sense. The companies were the forum for acquiring social esteem in one's own social group, and they enabled the members to take part in the social life of their cities. Last but not least they allowed their members to work on their own salvation and to worship by producing, listening and distributing songs on theological themes. How these different forces stood in opposition to one another can only be understood by comparing various forms of less or more learned literate societies in early modern Europe.

Appendix: Repertory of places with companies of Meistergesang

The following list names all the towns that, rightfully or not, have been connected to *Meistergesang* in older and recent research. It is based on a review of the collections of Goedeke,[51] W. Nagel (*Studien*), Taylor/Ellis and B. Nagel (*Meistersang*), on the introduction of the *Repertorium*, on Brian Taylor's research on the *tabulatur*,[52] on Hahn's introduction to *Meistergesang*, his report on the *Meistergesang* in Silesia[53] and on the monograph of Schanze (*Liedkunst*). Towns with companies in their institutionalized form are underlined twice; towns where companies might perhaps have existed are just underlined; the name of towns that definitely never had a company appear without further marks. The references to research are divided in two sections. Firstly (*L1*) the main works mentioned above are named, secondly (*L2*) selected further research, chiefly more recent studies, will be listed. Two further sections aim at the sources, distinguishing records directly connected to the interaction in the *gemerk* (*Q1*)—here one finds charters of constitution (*gesellschaftsordnungen*: Augsburg, Breslau, Freiburg, Iglau, Kolmar, Nürnberg, Straßburg, Ulm), *tabulaturen* (Augsburg, Breslau, Brieg?, Iglau, Kolmar, Nürnberg, Steyr, Straßburg, Ulm), minutes of *singschulen* (*protokolle*: Augsburg, Iglau und Nürnberg), *postenbriefe* (Freiburg, Iglau, Kolmar, Memmingen, Nürnberg, Straßburg, Ulm), *schulzettel* (Freiburg, Nürnberg) and further requisites of the *singschule* like necklaces or goblets (Memmingen, Nördlingen, Ulm)—and other types of sources (*Q2*) like archival records for example or references in chronicles or reports of contemporaries.

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[51] Karl Goedeke, *Grundrisz zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen. 2. Bd.: Das Reformationszeitalter*, 2nd ed. (Dresden: Ehlermann, 1886), 247–264.

[52] See note 9 above.

[53] Reinhard Hahn, "Meistersinger in Schlesien," in *Oberschlesische Dichter und Gelehrte vom Humanismus bis zum Barock*, ed. G. Kosellek (Bielefeld: Aisthesis-Verlag, 2000), 175–202.

Augsburg (1534–1772)   *L1*: Goedeke, 252 ff.; Nagel, *Studien*, 133–179; Taylor/ Ellis, 53 ff.; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 27–30; Schanze, *Liedkunst*, vol. 1, 383–388; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 46 ff.; Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 64 ff., 94 ff.; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff. *L2*: Fritz Schnell, *Zur Geschichte der Augsburger Meistersingerschule* (Augsburg: Die Brigg, 1958); Brunner, *Die alten Meister*, 14–31; Horst Brunner, "Der Augsburger Meistergesang," in *Von der Augsburger Bibelhandschrift zu Bertolt Brecht*, ed. Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Weißenhorn: Konrad, 1991), 203–208; *Die Schulordnung und das Gemerkbuch der Augsburger Meistersinger*, ed. Horst Brunner et al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991). *Q1*: constitution, *tabulatur*, minutes. *Q2*: archival records/charters; 'Donauwörther Chronik.'

Basel/CH   *L1*: Goedeke, 257 (cf. also 247); Nagel, *Studien*, 121 ff. (cf. also 113); Taylor/Ellis, 54; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 39.

Bautzen   *L1*: *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; Hahn, *Meistersinger*, 77ff. *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Biel/CH   *L1*: Goedeke, 257 (cf. also 247).

Breslau (Wrocław/PL) (1598–2. half 17th cent.)   *L1*: Goedeke, 253; Nagel, *Studien*, 116–121 (cf. also 113); Taylor/Ellis, 54; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 45 ff.; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 44 ff.; Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 72 ff., 95; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff.; Hahn, *Meistersinger*, 84–102. *L2*: Hellmuth Seidel, "Die Meistersingerschule in Breslau" (Ph.D. diss., Breslau University, 1925); Reinhard Hahn, '*Die löbliche Kunst*'. *Studien zu Dichtung und Poetik des späten Meistergesangs am Beispiel Adam Puschmans (1532–1600)* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1984); Reinhard Hahn, "Die Quellen des Meistergesangs in Breslau (Wrocław). Eine aktuelle Bestandsaufnahme," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte* 27 (1984), 85–98. *Q1*: constitution; *tabulatur*. *Q2*: archival records/charters; dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Brieg (Brzeg/PL)   *L1*: *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, 12, 22 ff., 58; Hahn, *Meistersinger*, 82 ff.[54] *Q1*: *tabulatur* (a first draft?).

Brtnice/ČR see Pirnitz.

Brzeg/PL see Brieg.

Coburg   *L1*: Goedeke, 247 (cf. also 260).

Colmar/F see Kolmar.

Danzig (Gdańsk/PL)   *L1*: Goedeke, 247; Nagel, *Studien*, 121 (cf. also 113); Taylor/Ellis, 54; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 19.

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[54] Cf. also Hahn, *Löbliche Kunst*, 10: "In der Lausitz wie in Schlesien […] gab es (mit der Ausnahme Wrocław […]) keine fest organisierten Meistersingergesellschaften, wohl aber einzelne Meistersinger—so in Görlitz, Lubań, Żagań, Klodzko, Brzeg und Swidnica—, die sich zur Ausübung ihrer Kunst in bestimmten Abständen zusammenfanden. Auf Grund ihrer mangelnden Organisation jedoch sind keine Protokolle oder ähnliche Zeugnisse überliefert, wie sie für die süddeutschen Meistersingergesellschaften charakteristisch sind."

Dinkelsbühl   *L1*: Taylor/Ellis, 55; Schanze, *Liedkunst*, vol. 1, 385. *Q2*: 'Donau-wörther Chronik.'

Donauwörth (1. quarter 16th cent.–?)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 125 ff.; Taylor/Ellis, 55; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 38 ff.; Schanze, *Liedkunst*, vol. 1, 384–388; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff. *L2*: Franz Ludwig Baumann, "Die Meistersänger und ein Volksfest zu Donauwörth," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* 3 (1876), 108–114; Rosenfeld, 699–705. *Q2*: 'Donauwörther Chronik.'

Dresden   *L1*: Goedeke, 262; Nagel, *Studien*, 116 (cf. also 113); Taylor/Ellis, 55; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 19.

Eferding/AU   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 128; Taylor/Ellis, 55; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 43; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 39; Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 69 ff., 94; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff.

Eisenerz/AU   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 128 ff.; Taylor/Ellis, 55.

Esslingen   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 123 (cf. also 113); Taylor/Ellis, 55; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 39; Schanze, *Liedkunst*, vol. 1, 385 ff. *Q2*: 'Donauwörther Chronik.'

Frankfurt/Main   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 114 ff. (cf. also 113); Nagel, *Meistersang*, 38; Schanze, *Liedkunst*, vol. 1, 386 note 64; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 3.

Freiburg/Breisgau (1513–4. quarter 17th cent.)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 104–110; Taylor/Ellis, 55; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 35 ff.; Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 45 ff., 93; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 5, 58. *L2*: Schreiber, *passim*; Harter-Böhm, 18–30 and 96–103. *Q1*: constitution; *postenbrief; schulzettel. Q2*: archival records/charters.

Friedland   *L1*: Taylor/Ellis, 55.

Gdańsk/PL see Danzig.

Glatz (Kłodzko/PL)   *L1*: Hahn, *Meistersinger*, 83.[55]

Görlitz   *L1*: Taylor/Ellis, 55; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 23, 39; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; Hahn, *Meistersinger*, 77 ff.[56] *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Gross-Meserebach see Großmeseritsch.

Großmeseritsch (Velké Meziříčí/ČR)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 133; Taylor/Ellis, 55.

Hagenau (Haguenau/F)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 122 (cf. also 113); Taylor/Ellis, 55; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 35.

Haguenau/F see Hagenau.

Hall/AU   *L1*: *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff.[57]

Heßen   *L1*: Goedeke, 247.

Hof   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 122 ff.; Taylor/Ellis, 55.

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[55] See also above note 54.

[56] See also above note 54.

[57] On my enquiry Horst Brunner could not name for me any source providing evidence for a company of *Meistergesang* in Hall. Cf. Horst Brunner, "Hans Sachs und Nürnbergs Meistersinger," in *Hans Sachs und die Meistersinger*, 9–24, esp. 17 (no sources mentioned).

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Iglau (Jihlava/ČR) (1571–1620)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 130–133; Taylor/Ellis, 55 ff.; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 43–45, 59f.; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 42–44 (repeatedly, cf. the register); Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 70–72, 94 ff.; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff. *L2*: Streinz, *Singschule*. *Q1*: constitution; *tabulatur*; minutes; *postenbrief*. *Q2*: archival records/charters.

Jihlava/ČR see Iglau.

Kamenice/ČR see Kamenitz.

Kamenz (Kamenice/ČR)   *L1*: *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; Hahn, *Meistersinger*, 77 ff. *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Kempten   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 126; Taylor/Ellis, 56; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 39. *Q2*: 'Chronik' by Christian Schwarz.

Kłodzko/PL see Glatz.

Kolmar (Colmar/F) (1549–2. half 16th cent.?)   *L1*: Goedeke, 263; Nagel, *Studien*, 110–113; Taylor/Ellis, 54; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 37; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, 22 ff. (repeatedly, cf. the register); Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 47 ff., 94; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff. *L2*: Taylor, "Straßburger Meistersinger-Tabulatur"; Christoph Petzsch, *Die Kolmarer Liederhandschrift. Entstehung und Geschichte* (München: Fink, 1978). *Q1*: constitution; *tabulatur; postenbrief*. *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Lauban (Lubań/PL)   *L1*: *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; Hahn, *Meistersinger*, 77ff.[58] *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Lubań/PL see Lauban.

Leipzig   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 116 (cf. also 113); Taylor/Ellis, 56; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 19.

Löbau   *L1*: *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; Hahn, *Meistersinger*, 77 ff. *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Löwenberg (Lwówek Śląski/PL)   *L1*: *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; Hahn, *Meistersinger*, 77 ff., 81 ff. *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Lwówek Śląski/PL see Löwenberg.

Mährisch-Schönberg (Šumperk/ČR)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 133; Taylor/Ellis, 56; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 40, 43. *Q2*: 'Handelsbuch' of the *Meistersinger* in Iglau.

Magdeburg   *L1*: Goedeke, 247, 261, 264; Nagel, *Studien*, 115 ff.; Taylor/Ellis, 56; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 39; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff.

Mainz (1562–ca. 1600)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 37–49; Taylor/Ellis, 56; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 25–27; Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 45, 94; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff. *L2*: Brunner/Rettelbach. *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's

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[58] See also above note 54.

'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Memmingen (ca. 1600–1875)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 188–198; Taylor/Ellis, 56; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 49–52; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 48–55; Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 55, 85–89, 95 ff.; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff. *L2*: *The Meistersingerschule at Memmingen and its 'Kurze Entwerffung,'* ed. Clair Hayden Bell (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952). *Q1*: *tabulatur; postenbrief*; requisites. *Q2*: archival records/charters.

Moravská Třebová/ČR see Trübau.

München   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 125; Taylor/Ellis, 57; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 37f.; Schanze, *Liedkunst*, vol. 1, 358. *L2*: Christoph Petzsch, "Zu Albrecht Lesch, Jörg Schechner und zur Frage der Münchener Meistersingerschule," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 94 (1965), 121–138. *Q2*: 'Donauwörther Chronik'; dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Nördlingen (1. quarter 16th cent.–1. half 17th cent.)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 123 ff. (cf. also 113); Taylor/Ellis, 57; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 37; Schanze, *Liedkunst*, vol. 1, 386 note 63; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 58. *Q1*: requisites. *Q2*: archival records/charters; 'Donauwörther Chronik.'

Nürnberg (before 1496–1778)   *L1*: Goedeke, 252; Nagel, *Studien*, 49–97; Taylor/Ellis, 57; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 30–32; Schanze, *Liedkunst*, vol. 1, 381–383 (repeatedly, cf. the register); *Puschman*, ed. Taylor 1984, vol. 1, 3, 6, 9 (repeatedly, cf. the register); Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 61–64, 93–95; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff. *L2*: Stahl; Merzbacher. *Q1*: constitution; *tabulatur*; minutes; *postenbrief; schulzettel*. *Q2*: archival records/charters; 'Donauwörther Chronik.'

Olmütz (Olomouc/ČR)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 133; Taylor/Ellis, 57; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58. *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Olomouc/ČR see Olmütz.

Pforzheim   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 122 (cf. also 113); Taylor/Ellis, 57; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 19.

Pirnitz (Brtnice/ČR)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 133; Taylor/Ellis, 57.

Ravensburg   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 125; Taylor/Ellis, 57. *Q2*: Cyriacus Spangenberg, 'Von der Musica und den Meistersängern.'[59]

Regensburg   *L1*: *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; Schanze, *Liedkunst*, vol. 1, 384–386. *Q2*: 'Donauwörther Chronik'; dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

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[59] Cyriacus Spangenberg, *Von der Musica und den Meistersängern*, ed. Adelbert von Keller (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1861), 136 ff.

Rothenburg ob der Tauber　*L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 125; Taylor/Ellis, 58; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 38; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58. *Q2*: Cyriacus Spangenberg, 'Von der Musica und den Meistersängern.'[60]

Sagan (Żagań/PL)　*L1*: *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; Hahn, *Meistersinger*, 77 ff., 81.[61] *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Schwaz/AU (1536–1. quarter 17th cent.)　*L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 129 ff.; Taylor/Ellis, 58; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 40 ff.; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff.; *Q2*: archival records/charters; so-called 'Meistersingersaal' with frescos?

Schweidnitz (Świdnica/PL)　*L1*: *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; Hahn, *Meistersinger*, 77 ff., 82.[62] *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Speyer　*L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 122 (cf. also 113 ff.); Taylor/Ellis, 58; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 33.

Steyr/AU (2. quarter 16th cent.–1. quarter 17th cent.)　*L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 127 ff. (cf. also 113); Taylor/Ellis, 58; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 41 ff.; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 26–30, 32 (repeatedly, cf. the register); Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 69 ff., 94 ff.; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff. *Q1*: *tabulatur*. *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Strasbourg/F see Straßburg.

Straßburg (Strasbourg/F) (end 15th cent.–1780)　*L1*: Goedeke, 253; Nagel, *Studien*, 97–104; Taylor/Ellis, 58; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 33–35; Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 67–69, 94 ff.; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff. *L2*: Walter Blank, "Straßburger Meistersang und C. Spangenbergs Traktat 'Von der Musica und den Meistersängern'," *Alemannisches Jahrbuch* (1973/75), 355–372; Taylor, "Straßburger Meistersinger-Tabulatur"; Erich Kleinschmidt, "Straßburger Meistergesang 1774," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 131 (2002), 213–221. *Q1*: constitution; *tabulatur; postenbrief*. *Q2*: archival records/charters; Cyriacus Spangenberg, 'Von der Musica und den Meistersängern.'[63]

Šumperk/ČR see Mährisch-Schönberg.

Świdnica/PL see Schweidnitz.

Trautenau (Trutnov/ČR)　*L1*: Taylor/Ellis, 59.

Třebíč/ČR see Trebitsch.

Trebitsch/ČR　*L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 133; Taylor/Ellis, 59.

Tribau see Trübau.

Trübau (Moravská Třebová/ČR)　*L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 133; Taylor/Ellis, 59.

Trutnov/ČR see Trautenau.

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[60]　Spangenberg, ed. Keller, 136.
[61]　Spangenberg, ed. Keller, 136.
[62]　Spangenberg, ed. Keller, 136.
[63]　Spangenberg, ed. Keller, 136.

BRILL

Ulm (1517–1839)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 179–188; Taylor/Ellis, 59; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 46–48; Schanze, *Liedkunst*, vol. 1, 384–386; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 47 ff. (repeatedly, cf. the register); Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 65–67, 93–96; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff. *Q1*: constitution; *tabulatur; postenbrief*; requisites. *Q2*: archival records/charters; 'Donauwörther Chronik.'

Velké Meziříčí/ČR see Großmeseritsch.

Waidhofen an der Ybbs/AU   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 128; Taylor/Ellis, 59; Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 69 ff.

Weidhofen see Waidhofen.

Weißenburg (Wissembourg/F)   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 122 (cf. also 113 ff.); Taylor/Ellis, 59; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 35. *Q2*: archival records/charters?

Wels/AU   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 127ff.; Taylor/Ellis, 59; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 42 ff.; *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; Hahn, *Meistergesang*, 69 ff., 94; *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 4 ff. *L2*: Gilbert Trathnigg, "Die Welser Meistersinger-Handschriften. Untersuchungen zum Welser Meistergesang," *Jahrbuch des Musealvereins Wels* (1954), 127–180.

Wien/AU   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 129 (cf. also 113); Taylor/Ellis, 59.

Wiener Neustadt/AU   *L1*: Taylor/Ellis, 59.

Wissembourg/F see Weißenburg.

Worms   *L1*: Nagel, *Meistersang*, 33.

Wrocław/PL see Breslau.

Żagań/PL see Sagan.

Zittau   *L1*: *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58; Hahn, *Meistersinger*, 77 ff. *Q2*: dedication to several cities in Adam Puschman's 'Gründlichem Bericht des deutschen Meistergesangs' (cf. *Puschman*, ed. Taylor, vol. 1, 58).

Zwickau   *L1*: Nagel, *Studien*, 116; Nagel, *Meistersang*, 39.