

# **Sounding the Past**

**Music as History and Memory**

# Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance Université de Tours, UMR 7323 du CNRS

Collection « Épitome musical »  
directed by Philippe Vendrix & Philippe Canguilhem

**Editorial Committee:** Hyacinthe Belliot, Vincent Besson, Camilla Cavicchi, David Fiala, Daniel Saulnier, Solveig Serre, Vasco Zara

**Advisory board:** Andrew Kirkman (University of Birmingham), Yolanda Plumley (University of Exeter), Jesse Rodin (Stanford University), Richard Freedman (Haverford College), Massimo Privitera (Università di Palermo), Kate van Orden (Harvard University), Emilio Ros-Fabregas (CSIC-Barcelona), Thomas Schmidt (University of Huddersfield), Giuseppe Gerbino (Columbia University), Vincenzo Borghetti (Università di Verona), Marie-Alexis Colin (Université Libre de Bruxelles), Laurenz Lütteken (Universität Zürich), Katelijne Schiltz (Universität Regensburg), Pedro Memelsdorff (Chercheur associé, Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance–Tours)

**Layout:** Vincent Besson



The editors and authors represented in this book gratefully acknowledge funding through the HERA UP project Sound Memories: The Musical Past in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (soundme.eu). This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement no. 649307.

**Cover illustrations:** Giambattista Martini, *Esemplare o sia Saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto*, vol. 1 (Bologna, 1774), p. 135 (cote R 48-1, Bibliothèques de l'Université de Strasbourg), and Plates 3.2; 3.5; 4.1; 6.1; 8.1; 12.3 (cf. List of Illustrations, p. 6).

This is an open access publication made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>.

© 2020 Brepols Publishers NV

Some rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, for commercial purposes, without the prior permission of the publisher, or as expressly permitted by law, by license or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics rights organization.

D/2020/0095/174

ISBN 978-2-503-58831-5

e-ISBN 978-2-503-58997-8

DOI 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.120601

ISSN 2565-8166

E-ISSN 2565-9510

Printed in the EU on acid-free paper

# **Sounding the Past**

## **Music as History and Memory**

Edited by Karl Kügle

BREPOLS

## CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	◇	6
List of Music Examples	◇	8
Notes on Contributors	◇	9
Abbreviations	◇	12
Preface and Acknowledgements	◇	14
Introduction: Towards a New History of the Musical Past	◇	17
<b>Karl Kügle</b>		

### PART I. SINGING HISTORIES

Introduction: Sung Histories	◇	37
<b>Susan Rankin</b>		
1. Making Music into History	◇	45
<b>Susan Rankin</b>		
2. Collecting <i>Clausulae</i> , Shaping the Past	◇	59
<b>Adam Mathias</b>		
3. Using the Past as Model: Musical Scripts in Books of the Prague Diocese	◇	75
<b>David Eben and Susan Rankin</b>		
4. Operation Libroni: Franchinus Gaffurius and the Construction of a Repertory for Milan's Duomo	◇	101
<b>Daniele V. Filippi</b>		

### PART II. TRADITIONS

Introduction: Tradition in the Musical Past	◇	117
<b>Paweł Gancarczyk</b>		
5. From Tolerated Addition to Keepers of Tradition: The Authority of the 'Past' in Latin Song in Central Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries	◇	121
<b>Jan Ciglbauer</b>		

6. Memory of Genre: The Polytextual Motet in Central Europe and its Two Traditions ◊ 141

**Paweł Gancarczyk**

7. Tradition and Experimentation in Choirbooks Printed in Late Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Italy ◊ 157

**Emanuel Signer**

### PART III. PERSISTENCE IN TIMES OF CHANGE

- Introduction: Religious Reforms and their Links with the Past ◊ 191

**Inga Mai Groote and Lenka Hlávková**

8. Using the Past, Shaping the Present: Tracing the Tradition of Specific Polyphonic Repertories in Bohemian Utraquist Sources (c.1450–1540) ◊ 199

**Lenka Hlávková**

9. Flexible Uniformity or Stability over the Years? The Liturgy of Monastic Houses Affiliated with the Windesheim Congregation ◊ 215

**Manon Louviot**

10. The Presence of the Past in Lutheran Music and Liturgy: A Commentary on David Chytraeus's Agenda of 1578 ◊ 233

**Christine Roth**

### PART IV. PERSPECTIVES

- Introduction: Dilemmas of Historicism ◊ 249

**Karl Kügle**

11. The Memory of Meaning: Polychorality in Venice and the *Cori Spezzati* Meme ◊ 257

**Bartłomiej Gembicki**

12. Visions of the Past: A Conversation with Michał Gondko and Paweł Szamburski ◊ 273

**Antonio Chemotti**

- Bibliography ◊ 285

- General Index ◊ 305

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## Plates

- 3.1 Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly Cim 4 ('St Vitus Troper'), fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly
- 3.2 The Introit *Gaudete* notated in German adialematic neumes in Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea XIV D 12, fol. 45<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Knihovna Národního muzea, Prague
- 3.3 A page from the tonary in Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 215, fol. 209<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cologne
- 3.4 German adialematic neumes (right-hand column) in the breviary Prague, Národní knihovna XIV A 19, fol. 147<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Národní knihovna, Prague
- 3.5 German Gothic notation on staves in the antiphoner Prague, Národní knihovna XIV B 13, fol. 23<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Národní knihovna, Prague
- 3.6 Bohemian staff notation in the book of special Offices Prague, Národní knihovna XIV G 46 fol. 4<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Národní knihovna, Prague
- 4.1 Librone 1, fol. 2<sup>va</sup>, detail: decorated initial with the emblem of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo. © Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano
- 4.2 *Pontificalia Ambrosianae ecclesiae, Pars hyemalis*, second choir (Milan: G. Rolla, 1619), title page (from the copy at AVFDMi, pressmark: Librone 1obis). © Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano
- 6.1 *Voce cordis/Pulchre Syon* in the manuscript Ústí nad Orlicí, Státní okresní archiv, MS A 3, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Státní okresní archiv, Ústí nad Orlicí
- 8.1 Anon., *Veni sancte spiritus/Da gaudiorum premia/Veni sancte*, Prague, Národní knihovna, MS 59 R 5116, pp. 652–3. Reproduced with permission of the Národní knihovna, Prague
- 9.1 Comparison of the ligatures and groups of notes of the *Alleluia* melisma in *Cum Rex glorie*: (a) Utrecht 432, fol. 46<sup>v</sup>; (b) Wolfenbüttel 1028, fol. 33<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, and the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel
- 9.2 Comparison of the ligatures and groups of notes of the melismas on *claritatis* and *terrore* in the chant *Sedit angelus*: (a) Utrecht 432, fol. 47<sup>v</sup> (staves 4 and 5); (b) Wolfenbüttel 1028, fol. 35<sup>v</sup> (staves 3 and 5). Reproduced with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, and the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel
- 9.3 Examples of different placements of vertical lines between Utrecht 432 and Wolfenbüttel 1028: (a) Utrecht 432, fols. 47<sup>v</sup> and 52<sup>r</sup>; (b) Wolfenbüttel 1028, fols. 35<sup>r</sup> and 39<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, and the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel
- 9.4 Variation in repetition of pitches in the chant *Surgite sancti dei*: (a) Utrecht 432, fol. 51<sup>v</sup>; (b) Wolfenbüttel 1028, fol. 38<sup>r</sup> (penultimate note doubled). Reproduced with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, and the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel
- 11.1 Poster for the concert entitled *Cori spezzati* by the Forum Vocale Köln, La Filosofia Musicale, dir. Jürgen Erdmann Schulz, 25 September 2016—Bergisch Gladbach, 3 October 2016—Cologne

## List of illustrations

- 11.2 Poster for the concert entitled *Cori spezzati* by The Vancouver Cantata Singers with I Tromboni, 13 February 2009—Vancouver. Reproduced with permission of the Vancouver Cantata Singers
- 11.3 Front cover of the album *Cori Spezzati. En concert*, France 2008. Reproduced with permission of the French Ensemble vocal Cori Spezzati, dir. Olivier Opdebeeck
- 11.4 Front cover of the album *Woefully Arrayed. Sacred & Secular Choral & Polychoral Works of Jonathan David Little*, Navona Records 2017 (NV 6113). Reproduced with the permission of the composer
- 12.1 CD cover of La Morra, *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz: Fifteenth-Century Music from Central Europe*. Photograph by Susanna Drescher, courtesy of Glossa Music
- 12.2 CD cover of Bastarda, *Promitat Eterno*. Artwork by Hanna Cieślak, courtesy of LadoABC
- 12.3 A sample of Bastarda's preparatory material for the Kyrie *Fons bonitatis*. Reproduced with the permission of Paweł Szamburski

## Figures

- 3.1 Characteristics of Lotharingian script in Cim 4: (a) two descending notes; (b) single note; (c) descending series (scribes A and B)
- 3.2 Other characteristic neumes in the notations in Cim 4: (a) *quilisma*; (b) 'descending' *quilisma*; (c) short repeated notes (tropes); (d) short repeated notes (offertory verses)

## LIST OF MUSIC EXAMPLES

- 1.1 *Clausula* openings: (a) *F*, fol. 158<sup>r</sup>, III; (b) *F*, fol. 158<sup>v</sup>, II
- 1.2 Passage from the chant melisma '[immo]la[tus est]'
- 1.3 *Clausula* passages: (a) with upper-voice ostinato (*F*, fol. 158<sup>r</sup>, III); (b) with part of a longer upper-voice ostinato (*F*, fol. 158<sup>v</sup>, III)
- 1.4 Motet *O Maria mater pia* (*W*<sub>2</sub>, fols. 183<sup>v</sup>–184<sup>r</sup>)
- 1.5 Motet *Deduisant m'aloie ier mein* (*W*<sub>2</sub>, fols. 183<sup>v</sup>–184<sup>r</sup>)
- 1.6 The song *Ecce tempus gaudii* (*F*, fol. 468<sup>v</sup>)
- 2.1 Opening of manere *clausulae*: (a) nos. 42–6; (b) no. 49
- 2.2 *Gaudete clausulae* from MS *F*: (a) fol. 166<sup>r</sup> IV; (b) fol. 176<sup>r</sup>, V, 2
- 6.1 *Ave coronata/Alma parens/Ave regina celorum*, bb. 1–12 (reconstruction). Based on *Vícetextová moteta 14. a 15. století*, ed. Černý, 131–7, and *Historical Anthology of Music*, ed. Černý, 144–50
- 6.2 *Veni sancte spiritus/Da gaudiorum/Veni sancte spiritus*, bb. 1–5 (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, lat. 243, fols. 49<sup>v</sup>–50<sup>r</sup>). Based on *Vícetextová moteta 14. a 15. století*, ed. Černý, 14–22, and *Historical Anthology of Music*, ed. Černý, 91–5
- 6.3 Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, *Pneuma eucaristiarum/Veni vere/Dator eia/Paraclito tripudia*, bb. 1–5 (Utraquist version). Based on *Petrus Wilhelmi*, ed. Černý, 81–5
- 6.4 Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, *Probitate eminentem/Ploditando exarare*, bb. 1–8 (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. 40098, Discantus, fols. e11<sup>v</sup>–12<sup>r</sup>; Contratenor, fols. f5<sup>v</sup>–6<sup>r</sup> and f5bis; Tenor, fols. fr<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>r</sup>). Based on *Petrus Wilhelmi*, ed. Černý, 92–100
- 6.5 Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, *Probitate eminentem/Ploditando exarare*, bb. 64–8
- 12.1 Petrus Wilhelmi's Kyrie *Fons bonitatis* according to the fifteenth-century manuscript Trento, Archivio Diocesano, MS 93, fols. 94<sup>v</sup>–95<sup>r</sup> (Transcription: Antonio Chemotti)



**Antonio Chemotti** studied at the Faculty of Musicology in Cremona (University of Pavia). From 2013 to 2016 he held a position as *wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter* at Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich. As member of the Munich doctoral programme MIMESIS (Elite Network of Bavaria) he worked on a doctoral dissertation that examined polyphonic music for the liturgy for the dead (c.1550–1650). From 2016 to 2019 he was postdoctoral researcher in the HERA Project *Sound Memories: The Musical Past in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, working on the musical culture of early modern Silesia. He is currently based at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw).

**Jan Ciglbauer** studied Musicology at Charles University in Prague, completing his Ph.D. studies in 2017 with a dissertation entitled *Cantiones Bohemicae – Komposition und Tradition*. He continues to explore the tradition and historical context of Central European Latin songs during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially songs in the life of late medieval students and intellectuals. He is currently preparing editions and publications of Latin songs belonging to various Central European repertoires.

**David Eben** has been working since 1993 at the Institute of Musicology of Charles University in Prague, where he lectures on topics related to Gregorian chant and liturgy. From 2008 to 2013 he was Professor of Gregorian chant at the University of Lucerne. He regularly tutors in summer courses on the theory and practice of Gregorian chant in France, Switzerland, and Belgium. In 1987 he founded the vocal ensemble Schola Gregoriana Pragensis ([www.gregoriana.cz](http://www.gregoriana.cz)), which has been intensively recording and giving concerts in almost all European countries, Japan, and Israel.

**Daniele V. Filippi** (Ph.D. 2004, Pavia/Cremona) is an SNF research fellow at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis FHNW. Among his recent publications is “‘Audire missam non est verba missae intelligere...’: The Low Mass and the *Motetti missales* in Sforza Milan’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9 (2017). He has edited, together with Agnese Pavanello, *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca* (Lucca, 2019) and *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy* (Basel, 2019). For further information, see <http://www.selvarmonica.com/> and <https://scb.academia.edu/DanieleVFilippi>.

**Paweł Gancarczyk** is Associate Professor at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw), as well as Editor-in-Chief of the quarterly *Muzyka*. His main areas of research are the musical culture of Central Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, manuscript studies, and early music printing. Recently he published *La musique et la révolution de l'imprimerie: Les mutations de la culture musicale au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Lyon, 2015), which was the recipient of the 2016 Prix des Muses, and edited *Ars musica and its Context in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Warsaw, 2016).

**Bartłomiej Gembicki** works for the Institute of Art (Department of Musicology) at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. In the framework of the *Sound Memories* project he prepared his Ph.D. thesis entitled ‘Psalms, Myths and Memes: Vespers in Venice from Willaert to Gardiner’. In his research he focuses on issues such as myth and meaning in music and musicology as well as early-music reception and record production. He is also an assistant editor in the editorial series *Monumenta Musicae in Polonia*, which is dedicated to critical editions of Polish musical sources.

**Inga Mai Groote** is Professor of Musicology at the University of Zurich. She read Musicology, History, and Italian Philology at the University of Bonn and has held positions at the Universities of Munich, Fribourg, and Heidelberg. She was awarded the 2018 Dent Medal of the Royal Musical Association. Her current research examines the history of early modern music theory and its book culture, the impacts of confessionalization on German musical culture, and French music history around 1900.

**Lenka Hlávková** (née Mráčková) is Senior Lecturer in Music History before 1600, Music Palaeography and Philology at the Institute of Musicology, Charles University in Prague. She has published several studies on fifteenth-century music in Bohemia and Central Europe, with special focus on the polyphonic sources (Strahov Codex, Speciálník Codex).

**Karl Kügle** is Professor in the History of Music before 1800 at Utrecht University and ERC Research Professor in Music at the University of Oxford, as well as a Senior Research Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. From 2016 to 2019 he was Project Leader and Principal Investigator of the Utrecht team in the *Sound Memories* project, funded by HERA (Humanities in the European Research Area). His research interests focus on European music cultures of the long fourteenth century and the historiography of music. Recent publications include an introductory study and facsimile of codex Ivrea 115 (Lucca, 2019) and work on late-medieval musical fragments which he discovered in Koblenz (Middle Rhine).

**Manon Louvriot** is an Affiliate Researcher at Utrecht University. She obtained a Bachelor of Music at the Université de Bourgogne (Dijon) in 2013. She subsequently studied at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance (Tours) and at the Universität Regensburg, graduating as a Research Master in 2015. Between 2016 and 2019 she worked at Utrecht University on her doctoral dissertation within the HERA project *Sound Memories*. Combining historical, liturgical, and musical perspectives, her dissertation investigates authority and power relationships, the use(s) of monastic space, and the role of chant and voice in the liturgical practices of Windesheim. She is currently a Lecturer at the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique et de Danse, Paris.

**Adam Mathias** is a Ph.D. candidate in Historical Musicology at the University of Cambridge. His research focuses on twelfth- and thirteenth-century polyphonic music associated with Notre-Dame de Paris. He is also a prize-winning organist and a conductor. As part of the

*Sound Memories* project he established a vocal ensemble, Anonymous III, specializing in the performance of medieval music.

II

**Susan Rankin** is Professor of Medieval Music at the University of Cambridge, Fellow of the British Academy, Corresponding Member of the American Musicological Society, and Corresponding Fellow of the Medieval Academy of America. Her research interests are anchored by direct work with manuscript sources, reading notations or studying liturgical rituals and the books in which they are recorded. She has recently published a monograph on the earliest medieval musical notations and their scripts, *Writing Sounds: The Carolingian Invention of Musical Notation* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), and is currently working on diverse manifestations of dramatic expression in the Middle Ages.

**Christine Roth** studied Musicology and French Philology at Heidelberg University and at King's College London. In 2016–19 she was a Ph.D. student in the HERA project *Sound Memories*. Currently she is Head of Communications at the Internationale Bachakademie Stuttgart.

**Emanuel Signer** graduated with undergraduate and graduate degrees in Musicology and English Language and Literature from the University of Zurich, and undertook further musical studies at the Zurich University of the Arts. He completed his Ph.D. in Music at the University of Cambridge and Queens' College, Cambridge in 2018, with a project examining paratext in printed editions of sacred music in Italy between 1550 and 1650. Subsequently he has been a teaching fellow in Early Modern Music at King's College, London. He is now editor for orchestral and chamber music at Bärenreiter-Verlag, Germany.

## ABBREVIATIONS

**Manuscript sigla**

Basel II 46	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Musiksammlung (CH-Bu), AN II 46
Berlin 40580	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Musikabteilung (D-B), Mus. 40580
Bratislava 318-I	Bratislava, Univerzitná knižnica (SK-BRu), Inc. 318-I (Košice/Kaschau fragments)
Budapešť 243	Budapešť, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (H-Bn), lat. 243 (Trnava manuscript)
Budapešť 534	Budapešť, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (H-Bn), 534 (Zips fragments)
Chrudim 12580	Chrudim, Regionální muzeum (CZ-CHm), 12580
Cim 4	Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly (CZ-PAk), Cim 4 (St Vitus Troper)
Engelberg 314	Engelberg, Benediktinerkloster, Musikbibliothek (CH-EN), 314 (Engelberg codex)
<i>F</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (I-Fl), Pluteus 29.1
Franus Codex	see Hradec Králové II A 6
Gdańsk 2153a	Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska (PL-GD), 2153a
Gdańsk 2315	Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska (PL-GD), 2315
Göttingen XXX,1	Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (D-Gs), Nachlass Ludwig XXX,1
Hohenfurter	
Liederhandschrift	see Vyšší Brod 42
Hradec Králové II A 6	Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech (CZ-HK <sub>m</sub> ), II A 6 (Franus Codex)
Hradec Králové II A 7	Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech (CZ-HK <sub>m</sub> ), II A 7 (Speciálník Codex)
Jištebnice Cationale	see Prague II C 7
Jištebnice Gradual	see Prague XII F 14
Klatovy 403	Klatovy, Vlastivědné muzeum Dr. Hoštaše v Klatovech (CZ-KL <sub>m</sub> ), 403
Kraków 2464	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (PL-Kj), 2464
Kraków 40098	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (PL-Kj), Mus. 40098 (Żagań partbooks)
Kraków 40580	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (PL-Kj), Mus. 40580
Kutná Hora 88/85	Kutná Hora, Oblaštní muzeum (CZ-KU), 88/85
Leipzig 1236	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek (D-LEu), MS 1236
Leipzig 1494	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 'Bibliotheca Albertina' (D-LEu), 1494
Lviv fragments	see Poznań 7022
London 27630	London, British Library (GB-Lbl), Add. MS 27630
Lübeck 16	Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Musikabteilung (D-LÜh), theol. lat. 2° 16
Merseburg 13b	Merseburg, Domstiftsarchiv und Domstiftsbibliothek (D-MERa), 13b
Munich 716	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Staatsbibliothek (D-Mbs), cgm 716 (Tegernsee Cantional)
Munich 4660	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Staatsbibliothek (D-Mbs), clm 4660
Munich 5023	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Staatsbibliothek (D-Mbs), clm 5023
Munich 14274	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Staatsbibliothek (D-Mbs), clm 14274 (St. Emmeram Codex)
Nuremberg lat. 9	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek (D-Nst), Fragm. lat. 9
Olomouc 406	Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna (CZ-OLu), 46
Opava 4	Opava, Knihovna Slezského zemského muzea (CZ-OP), RC 4

## Abbreviations

13

Poznań 7022	Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (PL-Pu), 7022 (Lviv fragments)
Prague 59 R 5116	Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky (CZ-Pu), 59 R 5116 ( <i>olim</i> : 59 Rs 1)
Prague 376	Prague, Národní archiv (CZ-Pa), 376
Prague I G 39	Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky (CZ-Pu), I G 39
Prague II C 7	Prague, Národní muzeum, České muzeum hudby, hudebně-historické oddělení (CZ-Pnm), II C 7 (Jištebnice Cationale)
Prague III D 10	Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky (CZ-Pu), III D 10
Prague V H 11	Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky (CZ-Pu), V H 11
Prague VI B 24	Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky (CZ-Pu), VI B 24
Prague VI C 20a	Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky (CZ-Pu), VI C 20a
Prague XII F 14	Prague, Národní muzeum, České muzeum hudby, hudebně-historické oddělení (CZ-Pnm), XII F 14 (Jištebnice Gradual)
Prague XIII A 2	Prague, Národní muzeum, České muzeum hudby, hudebně-historické oddělení (CZ-Pnm), XIII A 2
Prague XIV G 17	Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky (CZ-Pu), XIV G 17
Prague A 59.3	Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu (CZ-Pak), A 59.3
Prague D.A.III.17	Prague, Památník národního písemnictví (Strahov) (CZ-Ps), D.A.III.17
Prague M 104	Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu (CZ-Pak), M 104
Prague O G 39	Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky (CZ-Pu), O G 39
Speciálník Codex	see Hradec Králové II A 7
St Emmeram Codex	see Munich 14274
St Vitus Troper	see Cim 4
Stary Sącz D.2	Stary Sącz, Klasztoru SS. Klarysek (PL-STk), D.2
Třeboň 4	Třeboň, Státní oblaštní archiv (CZ-TRE), MS A 4
Trier 322/1992	Trier, Stadtbibliothek (D-TRs), 322/1992
Trnava MS	see Budapešť 243
Ústí nad Orlicí A 3	Ústí nad Orlicí, Státní okresní archiv (CZ-UO), A 3 (Vysoké Mýto fragments)
Utrecht 432	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek (NL-Uu), MS 432 (4 F 16)
Vorau 401	Vorau, Chorherrenstift (A-VOR), 401
Vysoké Mýto fragments	see Ústí nad Orlicí A 3
Vyšší Brod 42	Vyšší Brod, Knihovna cišterciáckého kláštera (CZ-VB), 42 ('Hohenfurter Liederhandschrift')
Vyšší Brod 65	Vyšší Brod, Knihovna cišterciáckého kláštera (CZ-VB), 65
<i>W</i> <sub>1</sub>	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (D-W), Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.
<i>W</i> <sub>2</sub>	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (D-W), Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.
Wolfenbüttel 30.9.2	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (D-W), Cod. Guelf. 30.9.2.Aug.4 <sup>o</sup>
Wolfenbüttel 1028	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (D-W), Cod. Guelf. Helmst. 1028
Wrocław 58	Wrocław, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne i Biblioteka Kapitulna (PL-WRk), 58
Wrocław 269	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (PL-WRu), MS I.F.269
Zips fragments	see Budapešť 434

### Other abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
DKL	<i>Das deutsche Kirchenlied</i> (Kassel, 1993-)

The present collection of essays is a result of the collaborative research project *Sound Memories: The Musical Past in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* ([www.soundme.eu](http://www.soundme.eu)). Funding for the project was provided by a collaborative research grant from the HERA (Humanities in the European Research Era) network of national research agencies and the European Commission under its 2016 call ‘Uses of the Past’, and is herewith gratefully acknowledged.

From July 2016 to September 2019, fourteen scholars from eight European countries jointly explored one of the biggest blank spots remaining on the map of European music history: the cultural, political, and social role played by the musical past during the period c.1200–1600. The scholars worked in five teams based in six different cities: Cambridge, Heidelberg (later Zurich), Prague, Utrecht, and Warsaw. Team members included early-career scholars (doctoral students and post-docs), mid-career scholars, and senior musicologists. Together the group pursued a research project that encompassed an unusually wide chronological range. The *Sound Memories* project also consciously put a spotlight on repertoires and geographical areas that continue to suffer from long-standing neglect by musicologists because of their seemingly reticent attitudes towards complexity and innovation in music—two key criteria leading to inclusion in the canonic narratives of European music history established during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was the project’s explicit goal to help develop a revisionist counterpart to this view. The results of the research group’s endeavours are presented in this volume, and are elaborated in further detail in the publications prepared by the *Sound Memories* team members and listed on [www.soundme.eu](http://www.soundme.eu).

Offering a synoptic perspective on four vibrant centuries of European music history across the European continent as expressed through a diverse range of musical practices and sources, this volume combines studies that take the reader from the early thirteenth century through to the early modern period, covering music from France, the Low Countries, northern Germany, Poland, the Czech Republic, southern Germany and Austria, and northern Italy. The essays illustrate the genesis and later uses of the past as expressed through music—both in material form, as sources, and in practice, as valued cultural traditions and identity-shaping repertoires that persisted in performance, often undergoing adaptations and reworkings but copied and recopied over centuries. In some cases, they remain alive even today.

Six Associate Partners drawn from outside academia provided invaluable support for the *Sound Memories* project. Based in five European countries, these included three well-established early-music ensembles (Ensemble La Morra, Basel; Schola Gregoriana Pragensis, Prague; and the Netherlands-based Ensemble Trigon, Leiden), who gave numerous performances across Europe, showcasing music that was discovered or formed part of the research undertaken by the scholarly teams. *Sound Memories* also reached out, inviting students and the general public to explore music of the past—for example, through visiting schools in the UK, working with amateur musicians and undergraduates at the Summer School in Valtice (Czech Republic), or curating exhibitions in museums and in virtual space. Our collaboration with young

musicians and composers led to the creation of new music out of the raw materials provided by scholars, as in the work of Warsaw-based ensemble Bastarda, and the compositions created by students in composition classes at the Academy of Performing Arts (Michal Rataj), Prague, and the Hochschule für Musik, Lübeck. The *Sound Memories* project also was instrumental in the formation of a new group of young performing musicians, Cambridge-based ensemble Anonymous III.

Dissemination of our work was greatly helped by our indefatigable webmaster, Hieke van Hoogdalem (DeVolle200, Leiden), and by the excellent photographic skills of our video technician and photographer, Mateusz Trojan (Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw). Much of our work has been documented with their help, and is available on our dedicated YouTube channel<sup>1</sup> and on our website, [www.soundme.eu](http://www.soundme.eu), where it is ready for all to see and hear.

Preparation of this volume was expertly facilitated by Bonnie Blackburn (copy-editor) and Frieda van der Heijden (editorial assistant). Two external scholars, Margot Fassler (Notre Dame University) and Andreas Haug (University of Würzburg), provided sagacious advice to the *Sound Memories* research group at key moments in the project. The constructive criticism offered by the anonymous scholars who peer-reviewed the contributions in this volume was instrumental in shaping the texts as published.

I wish to extend my heartfelt thanks to the authors who contributed to this volume; they all generated exceptionally interesting essays in a timely fashion. Special thanks are due Daniele V. Filippi and Emanuel Signer, who contributed essays drawn from their own, independent research outside the *Sound Memories* project. Inga Mai Groote, Lenka Hlávková, Susan Rankin, and Paweł Gancarczyk provided decisive support as section editors.

Two team members, Ulrike Hascher-Burger and Ruxandra Marinescu, were prevented by external circumstances from contributing to this volume. Ruxandra Marinescu's work will appear in another peer-reviewed venue in due course. Tragically, Ulrike Hascher-Burger passed away shortly before the present volume went to print. Her infectious enthusiasm, scholarly expertise and unfailing generosity will be sorely missed.

Special thanks are due the staff of the many libraries, archives, and copyright holders who facilitated our research, and kindly gave permission to reproduce the digital images used in the relevant articles and on the cover of this volume.

**Karl Kügle**

Utrecht and Oxford, 15 May 2020

**Note:** At the request of the authors concerned, titles in Czech and Polish include an English translation. For names of locations in Central Europe that recently changed hands between nation states, we give names in the various languages concerned for clarification.

1 • URL: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCc5vmAcyYYEHCj4smJGkNQA> (last accessed 15 May 2020).





INTRODUCTION  
TOWARDS A NEW HISTORY OF THE MUSICAL PAST

Karl Kügle

17

Digital repositories like YouTube or Spotify today offer the opportunity to experience a bewildering variety of music at the click of a mouse. We can criss-cross the globe musically or travel deep into the past, listening to music that was created many centuries ago. Stylistic revivals or borrowings from earlier decades are common in today's popular music, and bands like The Beatles or The Rolling Stones, their 'sound', and their songs have become classics in their own right. Jazz musicians look back with pride over more than a hundred years of history. The programmes of opera houses and symphony halls rely heavily on pieces written in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries, as do solo and chamber musicians working within the 'classical' tradition. Ensembles and soloists performing 'early music' and Gregorian chant take us back even further chronologically, re-creating music of early-modern and medieval times. Music of the past, in short, is ubiquitous in our culture. Nor is the phenomenon limited to Western musical traditions: The repertory of the Chinese *guguin*, for example, can be traced back several millennia, and it continues to attract followers and practitioners. The musical past, then, resounds in, and with, our collective cultural memory in myriad ways, and on a global scale. But what *is* music of the past, exactly? Since when have Europeans been interested in it, and why? And for what purposes was the musical past used in earlier centuries? How is it used now?

Strictly speaking, music of the past is *any* music that was ever made or recorded. But to claim a significant spot in individual or collective memories, to be meaningful both as a piece of history and as a cultural reference point, a musical item, be it a genre, a 'sound', an instrument, a piece, or a performance, must be embedded in a shared discourse. Subjective associations triggered by music may be radically different: think, for example, of your feelings and associations if I mention the Marseillaise, the final movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, or Machaut's *Roses liz* as you are reading this. Whether you associate anything at all, and, if so, what, will depend on your level of familiarity and your previous personal encounters with those pieces. Collective musical memories, on the other hand, are regulated and constructed by a shared body of (assumed) knowledge and behaviours: they are a social phenomenon.<sup>1</sup>

1 • The concept of a collective memory and the sub-concepts of a cultural and an institutional memory were developed by the French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945) in the 1920s and 1930s: *La Mémoire collective* (Paris, 1950) (published posthumously). Collective memory studies have played an important role in the humanities ever since, in particular with regard to twentieth-century cultural history, where the memory of the Holocaust (*Erinnerungskultur*) and the impact of modern media on the formation of collective memory are salient topics. For an early application of the concept to societies of the distant past, see Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1997). For an application to music history, where the concept has received comparatively little attention, see Lena Nieper and Julian Schmitz (eds.), *Musik als Medium der Erinnerung: Gedächtnis – Geschichte – Gegenwart* (Bielefeld, 2016). For an example from popular music studies, see Drago Momcilovic, *Resounding Pasts: Essays in Literature, Popular Music and Cultural Memory* (Newcastle

Furthermore, such memories—be they musical or otherwise, collective or individual—are by necessity contextual. The building-blocks and the construction of the ‘past’ in any particular time and place are therefore culturally determined and historically contingent. Memories, and the (hi)stories created from them, may be painful or pleasurable; they may evoke particular moments or situations, and be tied to a particular individual or to a group. They may be taken as the indubitable truth by some, and heavily disputed by others; and they may be thought of as grounded in facts by some and considered a fabrication by others, depending on how a culture construes its concepts of the factual vs. the imaginary. As individuals, the remembrance of things (and sounds) past provides a road map to our individuation. As members of social groups, our culturally conditioned, shared narratives, including our listening and performing choices, provide powerful markers of identity. As components of cultural and institutional memories, they connect us with both a horizontal (in the present) and a vertical network (in the past and in the future) of inherited narratives and practices. They offer us membership in performing or listening communities, tell us something about our (assumed) origins and becomings, and direct us to engage in the often highly specific behavioural patterns that are connected to collective rememberings of the past.

Understood here as a shared and conscious awareness of the existence of a musical past, was musical memory a part of any earlier discourses about the past? It seems a safe assumption that, on a subjective level, human musical memories are as old as humanity and as music itself. But given the fleeting nature of sounds, and the changing and creative nature of human memory, it seems reasonable—at first glance at least—to claim that the extent of musical memories, be they collective or personal, was severely limited by individuals’ lifetimes. This is widely assumed to be the case until the late eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, i.e., the early stages in England and in northern and central Germany of the formation of what we nowadays call the canon of ‘classical music’. It is also the default position generally upheld in music historiography today.<sup>2</sup>

The following passages excerpted from the most recent (2019) edition of J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca’s *A History of Western Music*, arguably the most widely

upon Tyne, 2009). The concept of collective memory has also been used in medieval and early-modern studies. See, for example, Gerd Althoff, *Inszenierte Herrschaft: Geschichtsschreibung und politisches Handeln im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2003). For a recent example focused on literary sources, see José Ramón Díaz de Durana and Arsenio Dacosta, ‘The Role of the Past in Late Medieval *Hidalgo* Historical Writing and Memory’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 44 (2018), 595–608. For an example from art and architectural history, see Bianca Kühnel, ‘Monumental Representations of the Holy Land in the Holy Roman Empire’; for one from liturgical studies, see Jürgen Bärsch, ‘Jerusalem im Spiegel der abendländischen Liturgie des Mittelalters: Anamnetisches Zitat – szenische Darstellung – visuell-haptische Inkorporation’, both in Nikolas Jaspert and Stefan Tebruck (eds.), *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)* (Ostfildern, 2016), 319–45 and 347–59.

2 • For the early history of canon formation and links to the forging of ‘national’ constructions of identities, see, for example, William Weber, ‘The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), 488–520; Celia Applegate, ‘How German is it? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century’, *19th Century Music*, 21 (1998), 274–96; Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, ‘Germans as the “people of music”: Genealogy of an Identity’, in Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (eds.), *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago, 2002), 1–35.

disseminated music history textbook worldwide today, illustrate my point.<sup>3</sup> In chapter 5, ‘Polyphony through the thirteenth century’, in the section ‘A polyphonic tradition’, we read:

For all the contributions made by singers, composers, and theorists of medieval polyphony, their music seldom outlived them by more than a generation or two. As new repertoires of written polyphony were created, older ones fell out of fashion, sometimes persisting for a time in local practice or in distant regions but eventually replaced by newer styles. *When music historians rediscovered and transcribed it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, polyphony of the ninth to thirteenth centuries...*

Chapter 6, ‘New Developments in the Fourteenth Century’, section ‘Echoes of the New Art’, states: ‘Fourteenth-century styles fell out of use, and figures like Machaut became best known as poets, while their music came to be considered old-fashioned in comparison to the new fifteenth-century style. *When first rediscovered in the nineteenth century . . .*’ Chapter 8, ‘England and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century’, section ‘An Enduring Musical Language’, points out:

After his death, Du Fay was remembered as the leading composer of his era. Yet in the late fifteenth century, styles and tastes changed relatively quickly, and by the early sixteenth century, performances of the music of Du Fay or his contemporaries were rare. *Their music lay unperformed and untranscribed for centuries, until rising musicological interest during the late nineteenth century led to editions and performances in the twentieth.*

Richard Taruskin’s highly acclaimed *Oxford History of Western Music* similarly asserts: ‘Large concert halls, subscription series, concert touring, arts management—all of these had their start in the nineteenth century, as did daily newspaper criticism, academic music scholarship, and *musical historiography*.<sup>4</sup> In this context, however, we should not fail to note Taruskin’s astute remarks about the distortions necessarily generated by the conditions of nineteenth-century historiography, articulated in the sections ‘What is an Anachronism?’ and ‘Philosophy of History’ in the first volume of his *History*. After listing parallels frequently drawn between Adam de la Halle and Oswald von Wolkenstein, Taruskin remarks:

Persistence, like Oswald’s, in old ways is often represented by historians as anachronism—in this case, as a pocket of ‘the Middle Ages’ surviving like a fossil into ‘the Renaissance’, or as resolute ‘conservatism’, resistance to change. What is anachronistic, however, is the modern linear view of history that produces such an evaluation, and the implicit isolation of artistic practices or styles from the historical conditions that enabled them.<sup>5</sup>

These words resonate closely with the intentions pursued by the authors assembled in this volume and by the *Sound Memories* project at large. The essays in this volume argue that a cultural

- 3 • J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music* (International Student Edition), 10th edn. (New York, 2019), 105, 133, and 179. Emphases mine.
- 4 • Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 2nd rev. edn., iii: *Music of the Nineteenth Century* (New York and Oxford, 2010), Preface, p. xxi; emphasis mine. The Preface is not included in the first edition, published in 2005. My emphasis here is on the concept of ‘music historiography’; for a discussion of an example of sixteenth-century music historiography, see Inga Mai Groote, ‘David Chytraeus und die (implizite) Geschichte der geistlichen Musik’, *Musiktheorie*, 32 (2017), 243–56. See also the contribution by Christine Roth in this volume (Ch. 10). Admittedly, the tools used by Chytraeus differ from those used in modern scholarship, but there is a clear concern in Chytraeus about the meaning of (music) history. Similar to nineteenth-century historiographers, his historical work serves a political agenda (for Chytraeus, justifying the Lutheran Reformation; for 19th-c. authors, creating a national identity).
- 5 • Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, i: *The Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century*, ch. 4: Music of Feudalism and *Fin’ Amors* (New York and Oxford, 2004), 142–45. The cited passage is found at p. 143.

memory expressed in and through the performance of music—as well as, in material form, through the production and use of books with music-related content—existed in Europe at least since Carolingian times, and acquired significantly new dimensions in the later Middle Ages. They do not claim that from the late eighteenth century onward Western constructions of the musical past did *not* take an important further turn in the use and awareness of the past. But it is important to recognize that that most recent turn, of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, did not spring from a vacuum; its antecedents can be traced back over the previous centuries. Recognizing them has the potential significantly to alter our perceptions of the pre-modern past, in music and also in other fields. It is to such a change of awareness that this essay collection hopes to contribute.

It is worth staying for a moment with another topos of established music historiography that this book seeks to challenge: the association of persistence with ‘distant regions’, as articulated in the following passage in Burkholder–Grout–Palisca already cited earlier: ‘As new repertoires of written polyphony were created, older ones fell out of fashion, *sometimes persisting for a time in local practice or in distant regions but eventually replaced by newer styles.*’<sup>6</sup> It does not seem unfair or far-fetched to claim that the ‘distant regions’ evoked in this sentence must be identified to a significant degree with regions of Europe that play a central role in this volume: the northern Low Countries, the German-speaking lands, Bohemia, and Poland. The quoted statement is factually correct; what needs highlighting, however, is the implicit bias in favour of ‘new repertoires of written polyphony’ set against ‘older ones [that] fell out of fashion’. In contrast, the present volume demonstrates that new and old often happily co-existed, both in ‘nearby’ and ‘distant’ lands; that ‘fashion’ had little to do with it; and that the definition of ‘distant regions’ is in itself highly subjective and therefore a fraught business. As the essays that follow illustrate, the dynastic, religious, and institutional links between the western and southern regions of Europe and the areas located on the right-hand side of the river Rhine and to the north and east of the Alps and the Danube were close. The lingering perception that much of Europe is somehow ‘distant’ has much to do with European politics of later times, notably since the late eighteenth century, not to mention the legacy of the Second World War and the resulting division of Europe along ideological and political lines. It has nothing to do with the European cultural landscape of the late-medieval and early-modern periods, and it is high time for musicologists to integrate this vital part of the European musical heritage into our master narrative.

### Cultural Memory in Music

Cultural memory in music can be regarded as distinct and thereby historically significant when considerable social, political, and/or religious resources are being invested in creating and maintaining that memory; when identity-related stakes are held or identities performed and negotiated through maintaining, adopting, preserving, or rejecting a certain musical repertory on the grounds that it is considered old or ‘of the past’; and when such repertory is con-

6 • *A History of Western Music*, 105. (Again, my emphasis.)

sidered, at least by some, as noteworthy—either as valuable and to be cherished, or as a sonic (or material, semantic, or visual) token of the abject, a symbol of corruption or of moral error.

At this juncture it is useful to bring the concepts of individual and collective/cultural/institutional memories into a dialogue with tradition. In the introduction to a seminal essay collection published together with Eric Ranger in 1983,<sup>7</sup> Eric Hobsbawm defined tradition as ‘a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past’.<sup>8</sup> Hobsbawm differentiated tradition, which he considered to be invariant, against the more flexible practices of ‘custom’ and ‘routine’. The latter are subject to gradual change (custom) or need to accommodate necessities imposed by practical requirements (routine), whereas tradition is distinguished by its obduracy, and the primacy of ideological concerns. Hobsbawm also stressed the importance of ‘the use of ancient materials to construct invented traditions of a novel type for quite novel purposes’ (p. 6) during the period covered in *The Invention of Tradition*, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This echoes closely the position of music historians quoted above but may need adjusting for earlier periods; I shall return to this point in due course.

For present purposes, let us (re-)define tradition slightly more loosely than Hobsbawm: as a network of shared memories and the cultural practices associated with them. Applied to music, repeated hearing or performing of a certain piece, or group of pieces, within a set social context turns an individual memory into a collective habit. Such habits accumulate to form a musical repertory, and repertories associate themselves with cultural practices, forming a habitus as defined by Pierre Bourdieu.<sup>9</sup>

Crucially, through the mechanism of remembering the past in the present, the past, musical or otherwise, itself provides the indispensable ingredient for a tradition to be constituted; the past when remembered therefore shapes collective memory, but it is also shaped *by* it, giving it a certain malleability. We should therefore not consider the past-as-remembered to be immutable, but allow room for the discontinuities, ruptures, and re-creations that define any living tradition within a (performing/listening) community. Put differently: in the context of the period covered by the essays that follow (c.1200–1600), Hobsbawm’s characterization of tradition as marked by invariance does not hold up in full, at least as far as the phenomena investigated in this book are concerned. In late-medieval and early-modern Europe, many of the traditions that can still be captured today by historians through their material, visual, and written traces are almost invariably connected to liturgies. Liturgies inherently are a rather tenacious form of cultural memory—they are highly significant carriers of tradition. Nevertheless, they were subject to multiple and complex changes throughout the Middle Ages. They are therefore more flexible than traditions as seen by Hobsbawm. But they remain far less variable than customs or routines as defined by the same author.<sup>10</sup>

7 • Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 2014) (first published 1983). Hobsbawm reflects on how to define tradition in the Introduction, ‘Inventing Traditions’, 1–14.

8 • Ibid. 1.

9 • *Esquisse d’une théorie de la pratique, précédé de trois études d’ethnologie kabyle* (Geneva, 1972). Engl. transl.: *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977).

10 • Independently of that observation, the distinction drawn by Hobsbawm between the three terms may be

Christian liturgical actions are implicitly and explicitly a form of cultural memory: each celebration of the Catholic Mass, for example, re-enacts and, by the sounding of the respective words, reminds all participants of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. This is done with the (double!) exhortation 'this do in remembrance of me [Christ]' spoken by the celebrant.<sup>11</sup> Celebrations of the canonical Hours rely heavily on the Psalter from the Old Testament, while the Gospels are replete with references to Old Testament prophecies, casting the Jewish scripture as a historically earlier form of divine revelation that became fulfilled for Christians in the past during Christ's time on earth, and in the present is to be recollected time and again until the end of time in Christ's Second Coming. It is therefore evident that a deep awareness of history is built into the Christian faith. That awareness was to a highly significant—and often overlooked—degree mediated through the musical practices associated with the liturgy.

Traditions are inevitably linked to temporal cycles, and so are liturgies. Historically, they often overlapped, and modern-day traditions are often secularized forms of liturgies. When we mark Christmas, for example, we sing songs that (subjectively) feel like they have been sung since time immemorial with little or no changes. Fewer than ever among us, however, remember that in celebrating Christmas we are actually celebrating Christ's birth. Singing or hearing the Christmas song repertory is embedded in a complex set of further social rituals that go along with them: eating certain foods, consuming certain types of drink, travelling home, decorating a Christmas tree—all synergizing to generate a highly charged identificatory experience that does not easily suffer change. It is this very ritualistic, unchangeable, sometimes even nonsensical or counterproductive quality that gives traditions (and liturgies) their cultural power and significance; they connect us, in our imaginations, with generations in a past well beyond our living memory and, implicitly, with those who will be born in the future. Stylistic or textual archaisms that otherwise would not be acceptable or understandable (with regard to musical tastes but also, for example, in dress code, or type and quantity of foods consumed) converge at such highly charged moments to function as markers of a performed link between the present and the past, (re-)created through re-enacting a familiar set of cultural performances.

To illustrate: *Stille Nacht* (the original version of *Silent Night*) dates from Christmas 1818 and achieved global circulation by the early 1900s. *Jingle Bells*, on the other hand, was originally composed as a minstrel song (*sic!*) by James Lord Pierpont in the late 1850s (the first attested performance took place in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1857) but became popularized in North America and beyond from the early 1900s as a 'Christmas' song owing to its glorification of sleigh rides during wintertime; the 1941 recording of Bing Crosby and the Andrews Sisters (Decca 23281) gave it another big push towards global recognizability. Unlike *Stille Nacht*, *Jingle Bells* contains no reference to the Nativity at all, highlighting the semiotic shift

excessively sharp. However, the ideological (legitimizing) function of tradition is also an important element in the various liturgies covered, albeit not the only one.

11 • Drawn from 1 Cor. 11: 24–5 (emphasis mine): 'gratias agens fregit et dixit hoc est corpus meum pro vobis *hoc facite in meam commemorationem*. Similiter et calicem postquam cenavit dicens hic calix novum testamentum est in meo sanguine *hoc facite* quotienscumque bibetis *in meam commemorationem*.' The words are spoken by the priest during the Canon of the Mass at the moment of transubstantiation, recalling (and re-performing) Christ's words of blessing at the Last Supper.

undergone by Christmas in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries away from the Christian tradition.<sup>12</sup>

The alterity of the past remembered in the present is defining for the efficacy of such a cultural ritual: The musical style of, for example, *Silent Night* hardly is a commonplace choice today. Yet it is precisely its archaic, almost fossilized quality that marks the song out as one of the most powerful signifiers of ‘Christmas’ worldwide. It is difficult indeed to imagine that any song newly written today would exert the same hold over vast populations (including many non-Christians) around the globe as a cultural symbol of ‘Christmas’. Newcomers like, for example, *Jingle Bells* needed first to acquire a certain patina of their own before being admitted to the corpus of ‘globally known Christmas songs’. In the essays that follow, similar or related phenomena in cultural communities of the late-medieval and early-modern period in Europe (1200–1600) are explored, and their cultural functions discussed.

### Change, Wanted and Unwanted: the Dynamics of a Cultural Memory in Music

Even in situations where a group places a premium on transmitting a musical corpus unchanged (a task typically delegated to highly trained specialists), i.e., when customs have solidified into traditions, subjective claims to their alleged immutability do not necessarily match reality.<sup>13</sup> This must also have been evident to Carolingian liturgists when they discovered that the melodies of the Christian liturgy had evolved into divergent regional idioms. Based on the assumption that the way of performing chant in Rome had not undergone any changes and therefore, in its ninth-century instantiation, continued to reflect the authoritative performance of the liturgy as developed by the early Church, papal singers were brought to Francia to teach their Francian counterparts the proper way of performing the liturgy. This was based on the understanding on the part of the Franks that the Roman ways of singing chants was older and therefore preferable to those practised in their local, Gallican traditions. There is clear evidence of change, implemented by using the imagined past to justify a drastic readjustment of a musical tradition in the present.<sup>14</sup>

12 • For further details, see Thomas Hochradner and Michael Neureiter (eds.), *Stille Nacht: Das Buch zum Lied* (Salzburg, 2018); Thomas Hochradner and Gerhard Walterskirchen (eds.), *Stille Nacht: Die Autographen von Joseph Mohr und Franz Xaver Gruber, mit Dokumenten zur Geschichte des Liedes* (Munich, 2008); Joel Brown, ‘Jingle Bells History Takes Surprising Turn’, *BU Today*, 8 Dec. 2016, <https://www.bu.edu/articles/2016/jingle-bells-history> (accessed 31 Aug. 2019); Kyna Hamill, ‘“The story I must tell”: Jingle Bells in the Minstrel Repertoire’, *Theatre Survey*, 58 (2017), 375–403.

13 • For a discussion of this phenomenon see, for example, José Antonio Bowen, ‘The History of Remembered Innovation: Tradition and its Role in the Relationship between Musical Works and their Performances’, *Journal of Musicology*, 11 (1993), 139–73.

14 • For a recent account of this process, see Susan Rankin, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation* (Cambridge, 2018). Since both singing and remembering are deeply somatic processes, a change in liturgy goes much further than a simple change of melodies—it affects the bodies of the singers in ways that may have been experienced as deeply invasive. For a detailed study of such processes in the context of fifteenth-century church reform, see Manon Louviot, ‘Controlling Space, Disciplining Voice: The Congregation of Windesheim and Fifteenth-Century Monastic Reform in Northern Germany and the Low Countries’ (Ph.D. diss., Utrecht University, 2019).

Notational experiments in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Paris and beyond enabled another dimension of storing collective musical memory in Europe through the newly available possibility of encoding complex polyphonic practices in writing. The notational systems of the 1200s and beyond could accommodate information about both pitch and durational relationships, now measured in proportional ratios; they therefore enabled not only the planning of complicated multi-level simultaneities along a temporal grid, but also their (re-)collection in written form, eventually leading to the creation of anthologies. Such curated selections differ massively from chant books as they are not conditioned primarily by the exigencies of the liturgy but instead may be organized according to intra-musical or text-related (literary) criteria. As such they become representatives of a given group's, institution's, or patron's musical tastes, intentions, and sensibilities at the time and place when a particular item was copied. They also provide a revolutionary new medium for storing a cultural memory of sounds condensed into the form of a material object, the notated parchment or paper. This is a significant qualitative leap.

Being able to select implies the availability of a repertory, the presence of which in turn requires a suitable length of time during which that repertory was created. Polyphonic anthologies are therefore an inherently retrospective genre. In addition, they provide us with snapshots of their own 'biographies', reflecting the changing cultural horizons of the individuals, social groups, or institutions that owned or worked with them.

The chronological data that can be gleaned from allusions to historical events worked into the texts of the pieces recorded in such collections, or from later additions, marginalia, and traces of use in the sources concerned, when available, help us determine how far back in time from the (presumptive) moment of compilation and how much farther (in terms of reception history) the cultural horizon extended for a given repertory. In the texts of codex *F* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1), for example, a deluxe manuscript copied in mid-thirteenth-century Paris, events of two, even three, generations earlier are recalled, attesting to their continued relevance to the present in the minds of those who commissioned and put together that extraordinary source.<sup>15</sup> By the early fourteenth century, the chronological and stylistic awareness among educated clerical and aristocratic circles in Paris was such that pieces from several generations ago could be deployed in the interpolated manuscript version of the *Roman de Fauvel* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146, copied in Paris c.1317–20) to serve as audio-visual cues. The cues conveyed highly charged satirical meanings: the stylistically recent pieces marked the corrupt present-day world of Fauvel, while the music of the past evoked the times of saintly King Louis IX (r. 1226–70, canonized 1297) as a foil for a lost, virtuous past.<sup>16</sup> Traces of a conscious reception and adaptation of thirteenth-century

15 • On the dating of *F* (1240s), see, most recently, Barbara Haggh and Michel Huglo, 'Magnus liber – *Maius munus*: Origine et destiné du manuscrit F', *Revue de musicologie*, 90 (2004), 193–230. The earliest event referenced in *F* is the assassination of Thomas Becket on 29 Dec. 1170; see the contribution 'Making Music into History' by Susan Rankin in this volume (Ch. 1). See also Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2. erweiterte Auflage, ed. Luther Dittmer, Band I: *Catalogue raisonné der Quellen*, Abteilung I: *Handschriften in Quadratnotation* (New York and Hildesheim, 1964), 57–58, citing Léopold Delisle, 'Discours prononcé à l'assemblée générale de la Société de l'histoire de France le 26 mai 1885, par M. Léopold Delisle, président', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, 22 (1885), 103–4.

16 • This important observation was first made by Lawrence M. Earp in his review of Margaret Bent and Andrew



genres and musical conventions have been identified in the works of Guillaume de Machaut and the music of the Ivrea codex, both repertories dating primarily to the early and mid-fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup> In the early fifteenth century, music by Machaut (d. 1377) dating from the mid-fourteenth century gets cited repeatedly, and in some cases, awareness of music like Machaut's, first recorded in fourteenth-century sources, extended into the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Awareness of the musical past from several generations ago had become an established tool of creative expression.

The phenomenon is not confined to music: the reception of the *Roman de la Rose*, for example, extended from the thirteenth into the sixteenth century. Similarly, the fourteenth-century *Roman de Perceforest* still was read and translated in the sixteenth century.<sup>19</sup> *Perceforest* is also noteworthy in the present context for its construction of an extensive genealogy of the British extending back to ancient Troy and Alexander the Great.<sup>20</sup> A similar obsession with genealogy, in this case tracing their lineage back to Charlemagne, can be observed in real life in the rearrangements of the royal tombs at St-Denis near Paris under the late Capetians, starting with Louis IX.<sup>21</sup> The examples could easily be multiplied across Europe from the thirteenth century onwards. Genealogies are by definition an exercise in self-legitimization

- Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 9 (2000), 185–202 at 202.
- 17 • Jacques Boogaart, 'Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and their Function in Machaut's Motets', *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 1–86; Anne Walters Robertson, chapter 'Machaut's David Hocket and the Coronation of Charles V (1364)', in her *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge, 2002), 224–56; Jennifer Saltzstein, 'Adam de la Halle's Fourteenth-Century Musical and Poetic Legacies', in Jennifer Saltzstein (ed.), *Musical Culture in the World of Adam de la Halle* (Leiden, 2019), 352–63. See also Karl Kügle, *Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115: Introductory Study and Facsimile* (Lucca, 2019).
- 18 • Anne Stone, 'Machaut Sighted in Modena', in Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano di Bacco, and Stefano Jossa (eds.), *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, i: *Text, Music and Image from Machaut to Ariosto* (Exeter, 2011), 170–89. Also Yolanda Plumley, 'Citation and Allusion in the Late "Ars nova": The Case of "Esperance" and the "En attendant" Songs', *Early Music History*, 18 (1999), 287–363. The texts of two Ivrea songs, *Quiconques veult* and *Rose sans per*, for example, still appear in the printed anthology *Le Jardin de Plaisance et fleur de rethorique*, published in Paris in 1501. See also Margaret Hasselman, 'A Ring of Roses', in Judith A. Peraino (ed.), *Medieval Music in Practice: Studies in Honor of Richard Crocker* (Middleton, Wis., 2013), 153–75.
- 19 • For a convenient list of surviving manuscripts of the *Rose*, see Catherine Bel and Herman Braet (eds.), *De la rose: Texte, image, fortune* (Leuven, 2006), 541–44. See also the nine essays discussing various aspects of *Rose* reception through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries up to Jean Molinet in the section 'Posterité', 273–434. For *Perceforest*, see Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas, 'Perceforest, entre 1327 et 1344, remanié au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle (sans doute vers 1450)', in Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas (ed.), *La Fascination pour Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures européennes (X<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle): Réinventions d'un mythe* (Turnhout, 2014), 173–9. See also Jon Whitman (ed.), *Romance and History: Imagining Time from the Medieval to the Early Modern Period* (Cambridge, 2015).
- 20 • See the relevant chapters in Sylvia Huot, *Postcolonial Fictions in the Roman de Perceforest: Cultural Identities and Hybridities* (Woodbridge, 2007).
- 21 • See, for example, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'La Généalogie capétienne dans l'historiographie du Moyen Âge: Philippe le Bel, le reniement du *reditus* et la création d'une ascendance carolingienne pour Hugues Capet', in Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (eds.), *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil: Royaume capétien et Lotbaringie. Actes du Colloque Hugues Capet 987–1987: La France de l'an Mil, Auxerre, 26 et 27 juin 1987 / Metz, 11 et 12 septembre 1987* (Paris, 1990), 199–214. For a study concerning the importance of genealogy to the first Valois king, Philip VI of France, see Maureen Rose Quigley, 'Political Benefit and the Role of Art at the Court of Philip VI of Valois (1328–1350)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003).

by means of the past; their political and social importance to justify rulership in late-medieval Europe cannot be overestimated and reflects an ongoing concern with the past. The parallels in developing elaborate new constructions of cultural memory in such diverse fields as music, literature, and crypt architecture deserve more extensive scrutiny than it can be given here.

If the reception of French-style repertory led to the adoption of French-inspired genres and composition techniques across Europe, the response was more nuanced than is usually reported. Reform-oriented movements inside the Church such as the Modern Devotion emanating from the prince-bishopric and diocese of Utrecht frowned on, then consciously rejected the polytextual, complex polyphonic settings typically highlighted in music history textbooks. Requiring highly trained and expensive specialists for their performance, the reformers saw such settings not as artefacts of particular prestige, hence most suitable for the glorification of the Creator, but as musical symbols of a problematic self-indulgence and a taste for worldly luxuries that in their view infested vast parts of the clergy and the laity. Adherents of the *devotio moderna* instead favoured simple polyphonic practices that focused on the intelligibility of the text through simultaneous declamation, and a plain musical structure that would make the repertory accessible through performance to all, not just highly-trained specialists, as a tool to foster personal devotion.<sup>22</sup> Reacting against what the adherents of the Modern Devotion considered the ungodly practices of their time, the deliberately restrained physiognomy of their music drew on, or reverted to, long-established, relatively basic models of counterpoint. On closer reading, however, such settings are very much a product of their own time, for example when using notation that mixes mensural and non-mensural elements and therefore could not have been concocted significantly earlier.<sup>23</sup> The stylistic choice for simplicity, expressed through what appears as a 'retrospective' musical surface, was motivated not by ignorance or provincialism but by the conscious wish to move away from certain aesthetic choices deemed noxious to salvation, and instead to (re)turn to spiritual ideals as embodied in the past in the teachings and practices of earlier great medieval reformers like Bruno of Cologne or Bernard of Clairvaux, the founders of the Carthusian and the Cistercian orders respectively, and in the teachings of the Church Fathers as understood by fifteenth-century reformers. Ignoring such streams of conscious sonic austerity, or misreading them as uninformed or 'peripheral', unduly restrains a full appreciation of the panorama of musical tastes and practices in late-medieval Europe.

In Bohemia, French-inspired music was probably first cultivated in the orbit of the University of Prague around 1400, coinciding with the theological activities of Jan Hus and his mentor, Jerome of Prague. Music in a Bohemified French style later became one of the musical signatures of the Utraquist communities that were officially sanctioned by the Council of Basel in 1433 and thrived throughout Bohemia until well beyond the arrival of Lutheran

22 • For a detailed study of the theological backgrounds of this phenomenon as expressed through the regulations of the Congregation of Windesheim, the monastic branch of the Modern Devotion, see Louviot, 'Controlling Space'. For the presence of sophisticated art objects and music culture in Utrecht and Holland around 1400, see Eliane A. Fankhauser, 'Recycling Reversed: Studies in the History of Polyphony in the Northern Low Countries around 1400' (Ph.D. diss., Utrecht University, 2018).

23 • See, for example, the repertory in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, germ. oct. 190. For a recent edition and introductory study, see *Het liederenhandschrift Berlijn 190: Hs. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz germ. oct. 190*, ed. Thom Mertens and Dieuwke van der Poel (Hilversum, 2013).

teachings in the early sixteenth century, providing another example where aesthetic choices related to cultural memory have been misread in recent music historiography as evidence of provincialism.<sup>24</sup>

Lutheran communities of the sixteenth century similarly took great care in blending traditional musical and liturgical elements plucked from established Catholic liturgical practice alongside the repertory of chorales put forward by Luther and his circle in Wittenberg. A careful blend of old and new was not only possible but desirable, as long as the texts could be adjusted in accordance with the requirements of the reformers' theology. Lutheran theology understood itself not as an innovation, let alone a rupture, but as a return, through reform, to a pure version of the Christian faith as it was originally intended to be practised by Scripture. Cleansed from the residue of centuries of abuse and idolatry of the Roman Church, old and familiar melodies with suitably adapted texts could perfectly well become an integral part of reformed liturgies. In these cases, the past was consciously invoked to indicate disapproval of contemporary practices that were seen as abusive or misguided, on one hand, and, on the other, to legitimize reform seen as a restitution of the practices of Christ and the Apostles.<sup>25</sup>

The Lutheran chorale provides an excellent example of music newly introduced as part of the Reformation in the sixteenth century in turn becoming part of a tradition and a signifier of Lutheran identity in the centuries that followed. With only slight modifications from the versions sanctioned by Luther himself, the chorales continue to be sung in the Lutheran services today. Their important role in the oeuvre of J. S. Bach in the first half of the eighteenth century is well known. In line with the historical evolution of the Lutheran faith alongside Lutheran princes' political successes, some chorales like *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* became powerful musical symbols of Lutheranism early on, and retained that character as invocations of group and later (proto-)national identity for centuries, up to the present day.<sup>26</sup>

## Ghosts of the Musical Past, Revived

Throughout late-medieval and early-modern times, music of the past survived as long as its purpose continued. It died when there was no further possibility or need for maintaining the tradition that sustained it. The nineteenth century dramatically changed that: by taking music

- 24 • For a survey of this repertory including a problematization of its historiography, see the contribution by Lenka Hlávková in this volume (Ch. 8).
- 25 • On this complex, see Christine Roth, 'Traditionsbindungen in der lutherischen Musikkultur des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu Repertoire und Kontexten in Norddeutschland' (Ph.D. diss., University of Zurich, 2019); Antonio Chemotti, *The Hymnbook of Valentin Triller (Wrocław 1555): Musical Past and Regionalism in Early Modern Silesia* (Warsaw, 2020) (available on Open Access via <https://epub.uni-regensburg.de/>).
- 26 • See Christine Roth, 'Das Lied *Ein feste Burg* im Schaffen des Michael Praetorius: Von der Aktualisierung musikalischer Traditionen', in Klaus Fitschen et al. (eds.), *Kulturelle Wirkungen der Reformation/Cultural Impact of the Reformation. Kongressdokumentation Lutherstadt Wittenberg August 2017* (Leipzig, 2018), i, 345–53; Michael Fischer, *Religion, Nation, Krieg: Der Lutherchoral Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott zwischen Befreiungskriegen und Erstem Weltkrieg* (Münster, 2014); Michael Fischer, 'Vom Reformationslied zum national-protestantischen Symbol: Der Choral *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* in musikalischen Bearbeitungen des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Beat A. Föllmi, Nils Grosch, and Mathieu Schneider (eds.), *Music and the Construction of National Identities in the 19th Century* (Baden-Baden, 2010), 225–40.

out of its functional frame, it shifted music's ontology and turned it from a purposeful action for which the notated material provided the blueprint into an autonomous object that exists first and foremost in the score, from which it can be actualized into sound through performance. The sudden availability of vast amounts of unexplored historical documents, often from secularized ecclesiastical institutions across Europe, and a new drive to rewrite history from an 'objective' perspective grounded in Lachmannian philology provided the theoretical, methodological, and practical toolkit for scholars to start exploring the written detritus of music from the past—music that no longer had been heard for generations because the tradition associated with it had ended. Charting and reviving the musical repertoires of the past also became vital for the construction of new collective identities in Europe, no longer based on pre-modern criteria but on the idea of a nation or ethnicity whose spirit was to be sought, first and foremost, in music and poetry—the more ancient, the purer and less adulterated.<sup>27</sup> We owe to this our extensive acquaintance, through research and performance, with the musical past from distant times, starting with the revivals of Bach and Handel in northern and central Germany in the mid-nineteenth century. The same scholarly impetus also gave us 'musicology', and a musical geography of Europe and the world that presented itself as neutral but was far from it, as it was driven by complex aesthetic and political agendas. Some of these directly impacted the repertoires under investigation in this volume (as mentioned earlier). The process of (re)constructing our past continues to this day, of course, and includes the present collection of essays.

The reproductive sound technologies invented in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries as tools to communicate quickly with remote territories (telegraph, radio) or to preserve sound indefinitely (recording), together with their visual relatives (sound film, television, video) and, most recently, the internet, further changed the ontology of music, at first imperceptibly, by detaching sound and music from their original contexts where they were by necessity imbricated in highly specific social performance contexts, with their accessibility often severely limited. The instant reproducibility of musical performances on a highly sophisticated level through audio-visual technologies almost entirely levelled the thresholds to music erected in the past by the requirements of skill and of a physical, embodied presence of both audiences and performers. We now have at our fingertips a global storehouse of music of unprecedented scale, but we also are caught in an ontological paradox: our collective musical memory—at least as far as the past before sound recording is concerned—is as much a product of our own invention, made up around musical or notated *objets trouvés*, as it is any reflection of past realities. This has been amply debated in the discussion about 'historically informed performance' practices, where it has been shown that present-day aesthetics and concerns deeply influence(d) tastes and choices.<sup>28</sup> It also applies to our narratives of (music) history and the past in general: whatever (hi)story we tell is bound to reflect today's agendas. In the end, therefore,

27 • See, for example, Applegate, 'How German is it?', for a more detailed examination of this process and its relation to nation-building.

28 • See, for example, Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York and Oxford, 1995); Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge, 2002). See also the contribution by Antonio Chemotti (Ch. 12) and my introductory essay 'Dilemmas of Historicism' to Part IV: Perspectives in this volume.

our 'past' differs in method only from the fantastic genealogies of, for example, the late Cape-tians or the *Roman de Perceforest*, or the 'forged' documents of the transition between primarily oral judicial systems and more writing-based ones.<sup>29</sup> Any investment in the past, musical or otherwise, is perforce of our own time and of our own making—driven as much by a curiosity to make sense of strange and unfamiliar objects and signifiers that otherwise remain obscure as by the forces of academic funding and career mechanisms, the related sectors of the global economy, and by a semi-public heritage industry. The genesis of this volume as a product of a publicly funded research project is no exception. Neither musicologists nor performers, in the end, can escape ventriloquism; we—consciously or unconsciously—express the ideals and socio-political debates of our present through producing our scholarly narratives and making sounding simulacra of music of the past.

### Music Historiography Today, or, the Past in the Present

It is time, then, to return to this book's historiographical agenda. The ongoing revival of the musical past brought (and continues to bring) us substantially enhanced awareness of ever more repertory, but the historiographical dispositives underlying prevailing narratives of music history remain wedded to models inherited from the nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup>

A key ingredient of nineteenth-century historiography was the notion of progress. This is not the place to investigate the reasons for this phenomenon, but it is easy to see the damaging consequences for many of the repertories scrutinized in this book of arranging music along a linear axis where novelty and complexity are given pride of place. Repertories that consciously espouse or cherish their connections with the past inevitably fall short within such a historiographical matrix, since they cannot be placed approvingly into an evolutionary narrative of music history. They are therefore either relegated to the margins or expunged altogether from the master narrative. It is hoped that the studies assembled in the present volume will offer materials that can serve as building blocks for the construction of an emphatic counter-narrative.

The nation-building impetus that lay behind nineteenth-century constructions of music history also resulted in hidden ethnocentrism that are extremely hard to dislodge: the corpus of 'classical' music, for example, is highly Germanocentric. Conversely, the established patterns of medieval and early-modern cultural history distinctly favour what is now France and Italy at the expense of Iberia, the British Isles, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, and the Germanic- and Slavic-speaking regions of Europe. While this admittedly may also be owed

29 • On this phenomenon, the classical study is Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307* (Oxford, 1993).

30 • For an interesting case study, see Kristy Swift, 'Getting the Story Crooked: Donald J. Grout, Claude V. Palisca, and J. Peter Burkholder's *A History of Western Music, 1960–2009*' (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 2013). Swift discusses the genesis and changing content of this widely disseminated music history textbook, already cited earlier in this essay. While the musico-historical canon was opened up to other repertories in recent years, reflecting political developments in the USA (the main market for the textbook), there is as of yet no indication of abandoning the basic structure of the canon as inherited from late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century European musicologists. For an attempt to break out of this scheme, see, for example, Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2019). For a critique of its problematic nature, see above and what follows.

to the presence and survival of sources, it does not suffice to explain the persistent neglect of repertoires and source types that remain consigned to the imagined 'periphery'. Concerning late-medieval and early-modern studies in music, the fault line of neglect follows with remarkable precision the courses of the rivers Rhine and Danube, and it is therefore to the musical past of the regions east of the Rhine and north of the Danube that much of the attention of the essays in this volume is dedicated in an effort to redress that imbalance.

Political history in the twentieth century did little to assuage or correct the distortions built into the music-historical narrative by our nineteenth-century ancestors. Following the catastrophe of the Second World War, the political division of Europe ensured that dialogue between 'Eastern' and 'Western' Europeans remained severely constrained, and that scholars from outside Europe also mostly confined their activities to the western side of the Iron Curtain. While much has been accomplished in the thirty years since the end of the Cold War in 1989 in terms of re-establishing contacts and connections, repertoires from Central Europe continue to attract comparatively little attention among scholars internationally. It is hoped that this volume will help to change this and to make the fascinating history of the regions east of the Rhine and north of the Danube visible to an English-speaking readership. Recovering the historical ties lost within our own continent of Europe will help a great deal to prepare the ground for new narratives of music history as we move deeper into the twenty-first century.

\* \* \*

The essays in this volume cover an unusually long stretch of time, from c.1200 to c.1600, and indeed, in the fourth section, to the present day. They also cover an atypically broad geographical range that reaches from France and the Low Countries across the German-speaking lands to Poland, Bohemia, and northern Italy. This reflects the nature of the *Sound Memories* project and its intention, through international scholarly collaboration, to close some of the fault lines mentioned above. Such fault lines also extend to divisions between scholars studying monophony versus polyphony and along obsolescing periodicizations like 'Medieval' and 'Renaissance'. By organizing our essays around topics in four sections and then presenting them in chronological order of subject matter, we hope to have provided some antidote to these entrenched habits of thinking.

Susan Rankin examines the early history of the musical past in Christian Europe in her opening statement. She then considers the specific circumstances in Paris around 1200 that brought about the genesis of a new cultural memory in music expressed through rhythmic notation and polyphony. Adam Mathias looks at the enigmatic genre of the *clausula*, carefully examining the compositional process of selected examples through codicological and musical close readings. Together, these three texts examine the earliest stages of 'making music into history' (Rankin).

Daniele V. Filippi and Emanuel Signer investigate similar processes of historicization on the Italian peninsula several centuries later, in the periods around 1500 (Filippi) and 1600 (Signer). At the end of the fifteenth century, Franchinus Gaffurius, chapel master of Milan cathedral, became the driving force behind the creation of a monumental set of choirbooks, the *Libroni*. These books, for the first time ever at Milan cathedral, codified a repertory that

subsequently served as a musical signature of that venerable institution. Emanuel Signer examines print culture in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Venice and Rome from a similar angle. Prints at that time could no longer be considered a new medium; however, printed choirbooks—unlike other music prints—retained many visual aspects of manuscript choirbooks because of the cachet associated with the older medium. The repertorial choices made in these printed anthologies similarly show a mix of older and newer pieces, exemplifying the premium that was paid on finding the right balance between the musical present and the musical past in late sixteenth-century Europe.

The music history of Bohemia and its complex links to southern Germany, Austria, Silesia, Saxony, and Poland in late-medieval and early-modern times play a significant role in this volume. A study of music scripts in the diocese of Prague by David Eben and Susan Rankin shows how a new style of neumatic notation was introduced by Dean Vitus of Prague cathedral in the middle of the thirteenth century from southern Germany, probably with strong royal support. This script quickly became the standard way of writing chant in the diocese of Prague and, as such, a visual hallmark of belonging to that bishop's see. An older style of notation survived in the liturgical books of the Benedictine convent of St George, a royal foundation dating back to the tenth century that enjoyed many privileges but was—technically—subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Prague. In the middle of the fourteenth century, Arnestus of Pardubice, the first archbishop of Prague and a protégé of Emperor Charles IV, tried to bring the convent under his heel, igniting a severe conflict with the nuns, who feared the loss of their inherited autonomy. The nuns did not prevail, however, and thereafter adopted the official diocesan script in their chant books. This shows the great importance given to the musical past, here in the form of a specific notation, both as a symbol of continuity as well as of political power. Like the melodies themselves, the music scripts were a symbol of corporate identity and reflected the standing of the institutions concerned vis-à-vis the power structures that surrounded them.

Jan Ciglbauer explores the 'transnational' origins of Latin monastic songs found in Bavarian, Austrian, and Bohemian sources, demonstrating that melodies several centuries old (and originally dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), and often originating elsewhere, were still valued highly enough to be retained in collections prepared during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. His essay also highlights the ability for (gradual) change within established traditions: items that first were considered an intrusion not seldom over time become an integral part of the tradition and then were invested with the same identity-shaping powers as its older components.

Paweł Gancarczyk examines the notion of tradition in his opening essay for the second section, and provides a study of the role played by genre as a determinant of the musical past east of the Rhine and north of the Danube. His focus is on the culture of the polytextual motet in that region during the fifteenth century. Primarily associated by traditional music historiography with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and with western Europe, the polytextual motet not only became a marker of historical continuity in central Europe during the fifteenth century but also acquired a physiognomy of its own. This essay challenges the conventional wisdom about the reasons for retaining 'outdated' genres and again invites a reassessment of music historiography more generally.

It is impossible to understand the musical physiognomy of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe without a close look at reform. Inga Mai Groote and Lenka Hlávková lay out principles and patterns of reform as they pertain to music, and situate them against theological concerns, which perforce were the overarching criteria to which musical choices needed to bend. The liturgical repertory of the Utraquist Church is re-examined by Hlávková as a counterfoil to older narratives that either dismissed it as uninteresting and provincial or, alternatively, celebrated it as a proto-nationalist achievement in the light of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Czech revival politics. Hlávková demonstrates how the memory of the time of Jan Hus as an influential teacher at Prague University around 1400 provided an anchor for Utraquist identity and cultural memory, including musical and notational aspects. This conservative attitude did not exclude awareness of newer music produced in regions to the west and south; both styles survive cheek-by-jowl in some sources, for example the codex *Speciálník* (Hradec Králové II A 7, copied c.1485–1500). The musical past and present here join to form an amalgam that symbolizes an identity that is not belated but, rather, *sui generis*, and deliberately so.

Within the Roman Catholic Church, the Modern Devotion along with its monastic stream, the Congregation of Windesheim, played an important role in fifteenth-century reform movements. Windesheim has not yet been researched systematically by musicologists. Again, theological concerns were foundational to the musical physiognomy of the Congregation. Uniformity in all aspects of monastic life was a key requirement, but how did practice and ideal relate to each other? Manon Louviot provides a case study analysing the tension between corporate Windesheim standards and the local situation of two houses closely associated with Windesheim in the diocese of Hildesheim that had been successfully reformed, Heiningen and Steterburg. Divergences in certain details—for example, the type of script used to notate chant—was acceptable as long as uniformity on the levels that really mattered was maintained, such as the shape of the melodies themselves.

Christine Roth's study of the *Agenda* published in 1578 by the Lutheran theologian David Chytraeus once more highlights the tension between persistence and innovation, now in the later sixteenth century and within the Lutheran as opposed to the Catholic tradition, examined elsewhere by Signer. Roth demonstrates that a premium was placed by Lutherans on retaining as solid a cultural link with the past as possible through sharing or adapting cultural and musical items connected to that past. Such links helped substantiate reformers' claims that their purpose was not to destroy the Catholic tradition but to reconstitute it to the state originally intended by Christ and the Apostles.

The situation today stands at the centre of the final section of our book. Karl Kügle reflects on the dilemmas created by post-Enlightenment historicism—something both musicologists and performers of early music are confronted with, but in quite different ways. The two final contributions, by Bartłomiej Gembicki and Antonio Chemotti, illustrate this through two case studies. Gembicki examines the history of the musicological discourse around the term *cori spezzati*, including the sedimentations that have resulted from it in musical performances and tourism in Venice today. Chemotti interviewed the leaders of two musical ensembles that are closely connected to the *Sound Memories* project: the Basel-based Ensemble La Morra and the Warsaw-based group Bastarda. Both recently engaged with music ascribed to the



fifteenth-century cleric Petrus Wilhelmi, but used fundamentally different approaches, leading to highly divergent sounds in performance. In the light of the inevitably fictitious qualities inherent in our reconstructing and reconstituting any musical past, this raises fundamental questions concerning the ways how we can and should engage with music of the past today and in the future.



**PART I**

**SINGING HISTORIES**



INTRODUCTION  
SUNG HISTORIES  
Susan Rankin

But there is an earlier Latin literature, a literature truly Latin, which has wholly perished, which had, indeed, almost wholly perished long before those whom we are in the habit of regarding as the greatest Latin writers were born. That literature abounded with metrical romances ... All human beings long for some information about past times, and are delighted by narratives which present pictures to the eye of the mind ... A man who can invent or establish an interesting story, and put it into a form which others may easily retain in their recollection, will always be highly esteemed by a people eager for amusement and information ... Such is the origin of ballad-poetry, a species of composition which scarcely ever fails to spring up and flourish in every society ... Funeral panegyric and chronicle appear to have been the intermediate links which connected the lost ballads with the histories now extant.<sup>1</sup>

The idea that ‘classical historiography began in poetry’ was the basis for Thomas Babington Macaulay’s *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1842),<sup>2</sup> written as if they were translations of ‘lost Roman ballads.’<sup>3</sup> Besides the sheer intellectual interest for Macaulay and his readers in recreating the atmosphere of ancient Rome through ballads which used rhythm and metre to imitate a ‘primitive rhythm’, his lays reflected an increasingly nationalistic trend—in Macaulay’s case the ‘vision of martial action’ and the imposition of English as language and literary tradition on that part of the British Empire with which he was directly familiar, India.<sup>4</sup> Macaulay’s sense of ballads as foundational historical matter was based on the work of the Danish-German historian Barthold Georg Niebuhr—like Macaulay involved in affairs of state.<sup>5</sup> Macaulay was only one of a whole series of English writers who reacted to the ideas in Niebuhr’s *Römische Geschichte* of 1811–12, published in English in 1828.<sup>6</sup>

The ‘ballad-theory’ of historiography can be traced back in the early-modern period to the work of the Dutch classicist Jacobus Perizonius:<sup>7</sup> he seems to have been the first scholar to bring the epic poems (‘carmina’) mentioned by Cicero into discussion of the relation between

- 1 • Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome* (London, 1842), Preface, 9–10 and 27.
- 2 • Arnaldo Momigliano, ‘Perizonius, Niebuhr and the Character of Early Roman Tradition’, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 47 (1957), 104–14 at 104.
- 3 • Meredith Martin, “‘Imperfectly Civilized’”: Ballads, Nations, and Histories of Form’, *ELH* 82 (2015), 345–63 at 345.
- 4 • Ibid. 346.
- 5 • Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt characterized Niebuhr as ‘unter Gelehrten den Staatsmann und unter Staatsmännern den Gelehrten’ (‘among scholars the statesman and among statesmen the scholar’). See Gerrit Walther, *Niebuhrs Forschung*, Frankfurter historische Abhandlungen, 35 (Stuttgart, 1993), 254. On Niebuhr’s friendship with Humboldt see Johannes Classen, *Barthold Georg Niebuhr: Eine Gedächtnisschrift zu seinem hundertjährigen Geburtstage den 27. August 1876* (Gotha, 1876), 105.
- 6 • Barthold Georg Niebuhr, *Römische Geschichte*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1811–12); *The History of Rome by B. G. Niebuhr*, trans. Julius Charles Hare and Connop Thirlwall, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1828–32).
- 7 • Jacobus Perizonius, *Animadversiones historicae in quibus quamplurima in priscis Romanorum rerum, sed utriusque linguae auctoribus notantur, multa etiam illustrantur* (Amsterdam, 1685).

poetry and historiography in Rome.<sup>8</sup> But it was Niebuhr who developed this idea into a more extensive theory: where Perizonius had seen the *carmina* as a ‘potential channel of information about early Roman history’, Niebuhr regarded them as the voice of Roman popular tradition.<sup>9</sup> His commitment to the idea of songs as carriers of historical knowledge rested ultimately on a small number of passages by ancient writers, including Varro, Cicero, and Tacitus. Writing of the ancient Germans, Tacitus had claimed that ‘their ancient hymns’ were ‘the only style of record or history that they possess’.<sup>10</sup> Two passages by Cicero (referring back to Cato) and one by Varro appear to describe the singing of *carmina* about events long past: Cicero, commending ancient odes to orators, wrote: ‘And would there were still extant those songs, of which Cato in his *Origines* has recorded, that long before his time the several guests at banquets used to sing in turn the praise of famous men!’<sup>11</sup> Even Cato could not put his hands on any of these songs: in the first century BCE none seem to have survived. The many weaknesses of Niebuhr’s theory have been worked out by generations of historiographers: as Momigliano wrote in 1957, ‘the ballad theory has long ceased to be a real contribution to the understanding of the formation of Roman historiography’.<sup>12</sup>

Like Macaulay, Niebuhr’s views about Roman historiography had been driven by more immediate circumstances and contexts: his search for Roman poetry is regarded as ‘certainly influenced by the Ossianic fervor that swept Germany at the turn of the nineteenth century’,<sup>13</sup> while his idealization of the Roman *plebs* depended on his likening of it to the peasants of Dithmarschen who had established a ‘peasant’s republic’ in the fifteenth century, in contrast to the behaviour of French revolutionary mobs.<sup>14</sup>

Whether we should liken Niebuhr’s hypothesis on the ballad theory to Collingwood’s ‘web of imaginative construction’<sup>15</sup> or dismiss it as under-informed opinion, it holds considerable significance for the subject of the essays which follow here. For, dead as the ballad theory of civilization may now be, it illustrates a more general perception, that song can act as a device of memory, and—said in more specific terms—as a historical tool to support cultural memory. Just as historical texts can provide access to the past, so too can songs function as repositories of historical memory. They may thus act as a means both to evoke and to control

8 • Momigliano, ‘Perizonius, Niebuhr’, 105.

9 • Ibid. 108.

10 • Macaulay, *Lays*, Preface, 9; Tacitus, *Germania* 2. 3: ‘Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est ...’, in Tacitus, *Agricola. Germania. Dialogus*, trans. M. Hutton, rev. trans. E. H. Warmington, Loeb Classical Library, 35 (Cambridge, MA, 1970).

11 • Cicero, *Brutus*, 19. 75: ‘Atque utinam exstarent illa carmina, quae multis saeculis ante suam aetatem in epulis esse cantitata a singulis convivis de clarorum virorum laudibus in Originibus scriptum reliquit Cato!’ Cicero, *Brutus. Orator*, trans. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library, 342 (Cambridge, MA, 1939).

12 • Momigliano, ‘Perizonius, Niebuhr’, 113.

13 • Jonathan Sachs, ‘Niebuhr, Barthold Georg 1776–1831’, in *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era 1760–1850*, ed. Christopher John Murray, 2 vols. (New York and London, 2003), ii. 807–8.

14 • Momigliano, ‘Perizonius, Niebuhr’, 113. Apparently, Niebuhr was admired by his contemporaries ‘for his method of projecting his contemporary political ideal of harmony between the estates back into the Roman past’: Benedikt Stuchtey, ‘German Historical Writing’, in Stuart Macintyre, Juan Manguashca and Attila Pók (eds.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: 1800–1945* (Oxford, 2011), 161–83 at 169.

15 • Robin George Collingwood, ‘The Historical Imagination’, in his *The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1946), 231–49 at 244.

remembrance.<sup>16</sup> As with all other forms of history, however, song was no innocent record: it would always represent a standpoint, a perception of the past in the present. Song—as poetry combined with music—merely provided a powerful medium perceptible by the senses for the control of cultural memory.

Before leaving this historiographical episode it is worth reminding ourselves that the *editio princeps* of the now famous medieval song *O Roma nobilis* was made by none other than Barthold Georg Niebuhr in 1829;<sup>17</sup> it gained immediate popular interest, and was set to new music by many different nineteenth-century composers, including Liszt.<sup>18</sup> Niebuhr's interest had been stimulated by his judgement that this song in honour of Christian Rome—described there as 'orbis et domina / cunctorum urbium excellentissima'<sup>19</sup>—could not have been composed after the fall of the Western Empire:<sup>20</sup> 'wer sollte nachher, in einem zu öffentlichen Gesang bestimmten Liede die Stadt *domina orbis* und mit der Heiterkeit im Feierlichen begrüsst haben?'<sup>21</sup> In that view of history he was, of course, wrong: Rome was so often celebrated as *caput mundi* in the Christian Middle Ages that a song about a city described as 'crimson with the rosy blood of martyrs' ('roseo martyrum sanguine rubea'), and in which the principal celebrated figures are Peter and Paul, would have been welcomed.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, the two manuscript sources of *O Roma nobilis* date from the last decades of the eleventh century, both directly associated with Montecassino, just south of Rome.<sup>23</sup> Thought by many to have been sung by pilgrims in a processional context,<sup>24</sup> *O Roma nobilis* was probably composed in the tenth or eleventh century.

In the context of the current consideration of music as a historical medium, *O Roma nobilis* provides an extremely interesting example, for the situations of its survival in two Montecassi-

- 16 • For an illuminating discussion of the suppression and transformation of evidence in medieval historical writing—using as example the work of the monastic chronicler Rodulfus Glaber, considered to have been closely linked with the ideology of William of Volpiano and the monastic reform movement associated with Cluny—see Patrick J. Geary, 'Introduction', in his *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1996), 1–21.
- 17 • Barthold Georg Niebuhr, 'Über das Alter des Lieds *Lydia bella puella*', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Geschichte und griechische Philosophie*, 3 (1829), 1–8, repr. in his *Kleine historische und philologische Schriften*, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1843), ii. 257–66.
- 18 • The recovery and extensive study and celebration of *O Roma nobilis* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been admirably set out by Nicola Tangari in 'Montecassino 318 nella tradizione e negli studi', in *Montecassino Archivio dell'Abbazia Cod. 318: Facsimile e Commentarii*, ed. Mariano Dell'Omo and Nicola Tangari, 2 vols. (Lucca, 2018), cvii–cxliv at cxxvi–cxxx.
- 19 • 'most outstanding mistress of all cities in the world'.
- 20 • Niebuhr, 'Über das Alter des Lieds *Lydia bella puella*', in *Kleine Schriften*, 259.
- 21 • 'Who should later, in a song intended to be performed in public, have saluted the city as *domina orbis* and with such cheerfulness in festivity?'
- 22 • For the text, as well as discussion of Niebuhr's problematic arguments and citation of other medieval poetic texts which celebrate Christian Rome, see Ludwig Traube, '*O Roma nobilis*: Philologische Untersuchungen aus dem Mittelalter', *Abhandlungen der historischen Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 19 (1891), 299–395 at 299–309.
- 23 • Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia Cod. 318, p. 291; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 3227, fol. 80<sup>v</sup>. On the origin of the first of these manuscripts see now Francis Newton, 'Montecassino 318: Its Home and its Date', in *Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia Cod. 318*, ed. Dell'Omo and Tangari, pp. xxxvii–xlii; on Vat. lat. 3227 see Traube, '*O Roma nobilis*'.
- 24 • Musical arguments for its association with pilgrims are made by Peter Wagner, '*O Roma nobilis*', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 22 (1909), 1–16; on earlier suggestions that this was a pilgrim song see Tangari, 'Montecassino 318', p. cxxix.

no manuscripts are quite different, and have led to two rather separate lines of modern interest and enquiry. In the music theory manuscript Montecassino 318, the song is written out with musical notation beside a Guidonian hand—one of the earliest such depictions:<sup>25</sup> the choice of the song to illustrate how the Guidonian system works depends here on its melodic range and behaviour, rather than its subject matter. The unique notational system used on this one page (a set of solmization letters written onto staves) clarifies the meaning of the letters written around the hand,<sup>26</sup> and vice versa, knowledge of how the hand could be used to indicate pitches, separating tones and semitones, allowing a reader familiar with use of the hand to read the staff notation.<sup>27</sup> In contrast, in the other manuscript (Vat. lat. 3227), *O Roma nobilis* forms part of a group of texts which celebrate ‘Rome and her heroes, especially the republican ones’:<sup>28</sup> Cicero’s *Philippics*—fourteen speeches condemning Mark Antony written in the closing years of the Republic—is followed by the evocation of Christian Rome in *O Roma nobilis* and a song which commemorates the ‘physical beauty of the classical inheritance’, *O admirabile Veneris idolum* (in which the loss of a beautiful young lover is lamented). There follows a short account of the regions of the city of Rome in late antiquity and their physical monuments (‘Curiosum’), and finally Cicero’s *Somnium Scipionis*, a prose text about Roman republican virtue.<sup>29</sup> Thus a song which could be used to illustrate music theory and its translation into practice can also be invoked for its historiographical value: set in Vat. lat. 3227 into an otherwise non-poetical and non-musical context, as one of two songs—the other unequivocally remembering an antique, non-Christian Rome—*O Roma nobilis* has been used by the Cassinese compilers of the manuscript to stimulate memory of Rome as not only a glorious classical and republican city, but also one where Christian mercy and wisdom came to set ethical standards. It is this historical narrative which explains the juxtaposition of the two songs and their presence—with musical notation which summons sound memories—in a manuscript otherwise dominated by one ancient Roman historical text.

\* \* \*

The most wide-ranging medieval example of the activation of music as a historical resource is surely the adoption, driven from the centre of political and social power, of Roman chant within the framework of Roman liturgy. This took place in Carolingian Europe in the late

- 25 • Reproduced in Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung: Lehre und Theorie der Musik im Mittelalter*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, 3/3 (Leipzig, 1969), Pl. 61, and in the facsimile *Montecassino Archivio dell’Abbazia Cod. 318*, ed. Dell’Omo and Tangari. On the tradition of using the hand as a tool in music theory and practice see Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung*, 120–43, and Karol Berger, ‘The Guidonian Hand’, in Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (eds.), *The Medieval Craft of Memory* (Philadelphia, 2002), 71–82.
- 26 • For a clear explanation see Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung*, 126.
- 27 • Both Orofino and Rusconi see the staff notation for the song and the hand as mutually reinforcing aspects of this page, Orofino arguing that the hand not only illustrates what is explained in the theoretical text, but also translates the theory into practice (then exemplified by the song), while Rusconi argues that the presence of the staff notation and hand together is not by chance (‘casuale’) but suggests an early complementary use of these didactic aids: see Giulia Orofino, ‘La decorazione del manoscritto Montecassino 318’, and Angelo Rusconi, ‘Le notazioni musicali di Montecassino 318’, in *Montecassino Archivio dell’Abbazia Cod. 318*, ed. Dell’Omo and Tangari, xliii–li and lxi–lxx.
- 28 • Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105* (Cambridge, 1999), 285.
- 29 • These contents are set out in Newton, *The Scriptorium*, 284.



eighth century. For musicians to have to set aside their own individual and varied practices, as clearly permitted under the earlier Gallican liturgical regime, and to now follow a practice which was heavily rule-based both for text (correct Latin) and for music (the ecclesiastical modes) must have been difficult and wearisome for many. Yet the evidence of manuscript transmission of chant is that this project of ritual assimilation was largely successful. That it did succeed must have depended primarily on contemporary cultural values, above all the perceived need to speak correctly to God. But the project also rested on historical ideas about Rome, on its significance as the centre of the Latin Christian Church, and on the wish of Carolingian reformers to re-create in their own earthly kingdom the glories of that ancient city. The key word in documents about this liturgical reform is often simply 'Roman', but there was also a more extended poetic statement, often set at the front of chant books, in which the great doctor of the church, Pope Gregory, was praised as 'renewer of the monuments of the ancient [church] fathers, and [thus] composer [i.e. gatherer] of this book of musical art'.<sup>30</sup> The appeal to cantors to accept this Roman repertory, and to perform it as it was presented to them, without making personal alterations, was thus provided with historical authority. It is irrelevant that the claim for Gregory's responsibility in the organization of Roman chant is now widely considered spurious: at the time, in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, the name of Gregory could be used to justify this huge change in musical practice. When sung in the Offices and Mass, what was described as the chant of the Roman Church, itself more 'Roman-Frankish' than 'Roman', located the peoples of the Carolingian Empire in a culture at once historically illuminated by the example of ancient Rome and now energized by its relation to and recreation of that model of spirituality.

In establishing Gregorian chant as the only chant which could be sung in Carolingian churches, a way of singing was being treated as historical matter, whether or not what was actually sung truly represented that history according to more recent standards: as ever, contemporary views interacted with contemporary historical knowledge. Thus, for example, in the desire to get things right, a need for a theoretical controlling framework of melodic grammar was felt, leading to the development and endorsement of the ecclesiastical modes—a musical system for which there is no evidence in Roman musical sources. This dramatic example of the 'suppression and transformation' of historical evidence reveals musical practice to be as vulnerable to re-examination and remodelling as any textual record.<sup>31</sup>

\* \* \*

30 • As copied in Monza Cathedral Library 88, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>: 'Gregorius presul meritis et nomine dignus. Unde genus ducit summum conscendit honorem. Qui renovans monumenta patrumque priorem. Tum composuit hunc libellum musicae artis scolae cantorum.' On the various versions of the text 'Gregorius praesul', see Bruno Stäblein, "Gregorius Praesul", der Prolog zum römischen Antiphonale: Buchwerbung im Mittelalter', in *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag* (Kassel, 1968), 537–61; repr. in his *Musik und Geschichte im Mittelalter: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Horst Bunner and Karlheinz Schalger (Göppingen, 1984), 117–42. On the pre-history of this text see especially Christopher Page, *The Christian West and its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (London and New Haven, 2010), 272–3, 560.

31 • See n. 16 above.

In the first part of this book, the focus is on ways in which specific musical repertoires and practices draw in or are built upon ideas about the past in order to exploit historical perceptions. The importance and utility of musics as representations of the past form a common theme, followed in a number of different directions, from the development of new compositional techniques to the negotiation of power in particular localities and wider geographical regions. In all four studies it is apparent that ways of mobilizing and legitimizing ideas about history through music as perceptible sound were sturdily supported by books of music, both manuscript and printed. Thus, a conception of material culture as provider of text—whether in words or in music—in some way assured the value of these musics as representatives of shared memories.

Musical practice as a shaper of identity is the focus of two studies: in their discussion of musical scripts in books of the Prague diocese, David Eben and Susan Rankin demonstrate how a musical script found in a book brought from outside the diocese to Prague Cathedral in 1235 became the model for most later music books made throughout the diocese. That book may also have nurtured the singing of a body of Mass chants which were at once the most difficult and elaborate in the whole canon of Gregorian chant (the Offertory verses), thereby enhancing the sound experience of worshippers. Here, the sharing of one music script was not just a sign of fidelity and identity: it also had the useful consequence of promoting better organization of musical practice across a wider area. In this case it was a centralized ecclesiastical power—that of a cathedral dean backed by his bishop—which engineered the change. In another example of music as shaper of identity, again in musical sound as well as in the material form of books, Daniele Filippi argues for the establishment at Milan Cathedral in the late fifteenth century of a musical repertoire which would ‘reshape the soundscape of the Duomo’. The relationship to power and authority is more contested here: while the choir-master Franchinus Gaffurius would have had authority in the Duomo about what the choir should sing, power in the city of Milan was mainly in the hands of the Sforza, a family who seemed more concerned with their own court chapel than with the city’s Duomo. Gaffurius managed this state of play by mixing layers of older and newer music in the new choirbooks whose creation he oversaw, ‘interweaving multiple memories with his own new music and that of contemporary composers’, rendering his newly organized repertoires acceptable to the older established powers while also reflecting new directions.

The beginnings of the development of polyphonic music as a mark of identity more significant than Roman chant—eventually leading to an interest in recording polyphonic practice in writing and the creation of special books for its preservation—is examined in studies of polyphony created mainly for Notre Dame de Paris in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In ‘Making Music into History’, Rankin shows how in the economically and intellectually rich situation of a northern European city chosen for royal residence and for teaching by masters who became federated into a ‘university’, polyphonic musical practice came to be perceived *and* conceived as historical material, musical matter which *had* a past. The practice of polyphonic singing became itself the object of historical perceptions, leading to play with its aural past as a broad compositional technique, as well as the collection in one monumental and historically orientated *florilegium*—never intended for use by musicians—of Parisian compositions from a period of at least fifty years. This new turn in ideas about what constituted a possible musical

history and the consequent application of new attitudes to recording musical repertoires in books are further scrutinized in Adam Mathias's study 'Collecting *Clausulae* Shaping the Past'. Here the transition from music as 'performance art' to the notation and collection of music is treated not as a simple move from oral to written, but as a result of a 'changing perception of the role of writing in support of musical practice'. The availability of parchment and ink, the development of ideas about how to notate the highly stylized Parisian ways of singing, and the involvement in all of this of students and older scribes—by now very used to handling and studying texts in books which they might themselves own, and not just observe in the hands of a teaching master—'offered to scribes and compilers the potential to cultivate an image of this [Parisian thirteenth-century] repertory with a very deliberate historical value'.

With these several examples of musical repertoires given historical status and representing layers of cultural memory, our study of medieval and early-modern music under the umbrella of HERA's 'Uses of the Past' research programme demonstrates how diverse were the ways in which this sensuous medium could help people to remember, and to find their place in the here and now. I finished writing this on the day after fire raged through the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris (15 April 2019). As an icon of cultural memory it is hard to think of one more abundant in its resonances. Many of these are laid down in our memories in sound: the deep timbre of the bells hung in the west end towers; the rich tones of the three organs; and, for scholars of medieval music, the caressing, intertwining, and harmonious melodies<sup>32</sup> sung in the choir of Notre Dame as the cathedral was constructed around it between 1160 AND 1245. The pathos that such icons and the sounds associated with them can arouse, even if confused and multivocal, speaks directly to the significance for the here and now of such symbols of the past.

32 • These words are drawn from a description of polyphonic singing (in an unknown location) by John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus*, written long before the Parisian school of singing had become so dominant; they nevertheless provide a good description of the Parisian style of singing. John's full text reads: 'Cum praecinentium et succinentium, canentium et decinentium, intercinentium et occinentium praemolles modulationes audieris, sirenarum concentus credas esse, non hominum, et de uocum facilitate miraberis, quibus philomena uel sithacus, aut si quid sonorius est, modos suos nequeunt coaequare.' *Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policratici; sive, De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum*, ed. Clemens C. I. Webb (Oxford, 1909), I.vi.



## MAKING MUSIC INTO HISTORY

Susan Rankin

Example 1.1. *Clausula* openings: (a) *F*, fol. 158<sup>r</sup>, III; (b) *F*, fol. 158<sup>v</sup>, II

(a)

(b)

In the passages shown in Example 1.1 from two *clausulae* recorded on a recto and verso of the same folio in a celebrated Parisian manuscript made in the mid-thirteenth century,<sup>1</sup> the close relation of the two can hardly be in doubt. It is not only that they both offer ways of singing the same plainchant—a part of the Easter Alleluia verse *Pascha nostrum*—in polyphony, but beyond this, that the maker of one *clausula* must have been familiar with the other, whatever the order of their making. Both depend on a specific manipulation of the chant melody, the removal of a B flat between the seventh and eighth notes of the tenor (see Example 1.2);<sup>2</sup> and both play with the idea of a sustained repetition of similar melodic material—a behaviour

Example 1.2. Passage from the chant melisma ‘[immo]la[tus est]’

later named ‘ostinato’—in the new second voice over changing tenor notes (see Example 1.3). Such a technique would surely have provoked remark, since the chant melody sung in the tenor voice was the

1 • Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 [henceforth *F*], fol. 158, for ‘[immo]latus est’. These are *clausulae* 100 and 103 in *Les Clausules à deux voix du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1, Fascicule V*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer, *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, 5 (Monaco, 1995); my transcriptions.

2 • In this example the chant melody is transposed up a fourth to reflect the notated pitches of the polyphonic setting: this version of the chant can be found in three thirteenth-century Parisian missals: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF), latin 1112, fol. 105<sup>v</sup>; latin 9441, fol. 91<sup>v</sup>; latin 15615, fol. 147<sup>v</sup>.

Example 1.3. *Clausula* passages: (a) with upper-voice ostinato (F, fol. 158<sup>r</sup>, III); (b) with part of a longer upper-voice ostinato (F, fol. 158<sup>v</sup>, III)

46

(a)

(b)

starting point for the composition and thus not something to be easily ‘fitted to’ a pre-prepared ostinato pattern in the other voice. It may be because of this conspicuous (but transitory) technical accomplishment that the ostinato passage (as in Example 1.3(a)) was retained in another *clausula* composition (as in Example 1.3(b), if that is indeed the order of their composition): much of the rest of these two *clausulae*, including the rhythmic arrangement of their tenor melodies, is dissimilar, although the continuation of ostinato behaviour at a different pitch (based on C) in one is echoed in the other.<sup>3</sup>

Such playing with musical possibilities through rearrangement and quotation is characteristic of a broad swathe of the musical culture in which these *clausulae* were embedded.<sup>4</sup> Its prominence is such that we have to understand it as much more than an extensive sharing of material: singers and hearers are expected to notice and enjoy it. Nor was this play limited to musical sound: texts set to music (or to which music was set) became subject to the same kinds of manoeuvre. In a pair of motets set to the same music the impression that one composition is intended to balance and counterbalance the other is difficult to avoid. In the two-voice Latin *O Maria mater pia*, the Virgin’s qualities as ‘merciful mother of the saviour’, ‘temple of the redeemer’, ‘fount of mercy’ (and so on) are enumerated, prior to the petition ‘in this doubtful vessel of the world save us from shipwreck’ (see Example 1.4):<sup>5</sup>

3 • Compare no. 100, longs 37–48 (fol. 158<sup>r</sup>, III–IV) with no. 103, longs 58–60 (fol. 158<sup>r</sup>, II–III).

4 • For discussion of related *clausulae* examples see Wulf Arlt, ‘Warum nur viermal? Zur historischen Stellung des Komponierens an der Pariser Notre Dame’, in Annegret Laubenthal (ed.), *Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Eine Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher* (Kassel, 1995), 44–8; and Adam Mathias, ‘Collecting *Clausulae*, Shaping the Past’ (Ch. 2 below).

5 • Transcribed here from Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. [henceforth *W*<sub>2</sub>] fols. 183<sup>v</sup>–184<sup>r</sup>; vertical lines written in the upper voice part are represented here by short marks across the top of the staff, and indicate silences, even if not of precise lengths; rhythmic measure is not present in the musical notation, but is shown here based on possibilities suggested by textual accent, and also from the concordant *organum* and *clausula* passages (see n. 7 below).

## Making Music into History

Example 1.4. Motet *O Maria mater pia* (*W*<sub>2</sub>, fols. 183<sup>v</sup>–184<sup>r</sup>)

47

O Ma-ri - a ma-ter pi - a ma-ter sal-ua - to - ris tu nos au - di tu - e lau - di gra - ta sit laus o - ris

tur-ris re-gis glo-ri-e tem-plum re-demp - to - ris tha-la-mus mun-di-ci-e sig-na-cu-lum pu - do - ris

fons mi-se-ri- cor-di-e uir-go uer-nans spe-ci-e in ce-li so - li - o. O pa-rens sa-lu - ta - ris

sal - uo gre - mi - o dig - na pu - el - la - ris par - tus gau - di - o in hoc du - bi -

o mun-di nos na - ui - gi - o a nau - fra - gi - o sal - va stel - la ma - ris

O Maria  
mater pia  
mater saluatoris.  
Tu nos audi  
tue laudi  
grata sit laus oris  
Turris regis glorie  
templum redemptoris  
thalamus mundicie  
signaculum pudoris  
fons misericordie  
uirgo uernans specie  
in celi solio.  
O parens salutaris

O Maria,  
merciful mother,  
mother of the saviour.  
Listen to us:  
let the praise from our mouths  
be pleasing to your glory.  
Tower of the king of glory,  
temple of the redeemer,  
chamber of purity,  
seal of modesty,  
fount of mercy,  
virgin flowering in beauty  
on the throne of heaven.  
O mother of salvation,

saluo gremio  
digna puellaris  
partus gaudio  
in hoc dubio  
mundi nos nauigio  
a naufragio  
salua stella maris.

with your womb intact  
you are worthy  
of the joy of virgin birth.  
In this doubtful  
vessel of the world  
save us from shipwreck,  
star of the sea.

In the two-voice vernacular *Deduisant m'aloie ier mein*, a short narrative is sung: the speaker recounts how, walking along the banks of the Seine, he came across a girl—a peasant, but with 'a noble and graceful body, a soft laugh, sweet breath and green eyes, nicely set'. Despite his attempt to engage her interest, however, she replied with disdain: 'I don't care for your blue coat ... I am not ... of those from Paris with whom you play as you want' (see Example 1.5).<sup>6</sup>

Example 1.5. Motet *Deduisant m'aloie ier mein* (*W*<sub>2</sub>, fols. 183<sup>v</sup>–184<sup>r</sup>)

De-dui-sant m'a-loie ier mein seur la ri-ve de Sei-ne tant qe es-prez vint Saint Ger-main si cum voi-e m'a-

moi - ne la truis fil - le a un vi-lain mes n'et pas vi - lai - ne cors ot gent et

a - ve-nant douz ris sou-ez a - lei - ne euz ot vers et bien as - sis

lors li dis con fins a-mis mout vos pris tou-se et lou e - le res-pont a pou m'est de vos-tre

6 • Transcribed here from *W*<sub>2</sub> fols. 251<sup>v</sup>–252<sup>r</sup>; emendations follow the musical text established in Wulf Arlt, “Deduisant m'aloie ier mein”: Motettische Inszenierung im Paris des 13. Jahrhunderts’, in Dorothea Redepenning and Joachim Steinhauer (eds.), *Inszenierung durch Musik: Der Komponist als Regisseur. Liber amicorum für Silke Leopold* (Kassel, 2011), 170–86.



Deduisant m'aloie ier mein  
 seur la rive de Seine  
 tant qe esprez vint Saint Germain,  
 si cum voie m'amoine.  
 La truis fille a un vilain  
 mes n'et pas vilaine;  
 cors ot gent et avenant,  
 douz ris, souez aleine  
 euz ot vers et bien assis,  
 lors li dis  
 con fins amis  
 'mout vos pris,  
 touse, et lou'.  
 Ele respont 'a pou  
 m'est de vostre pris.  
 Por vostre mentiau blo  
 ne feroie pis  
 foi que doi Saint Pou.  
 Ne sui pas ce vos plevis  
 de ceus de Paris  
 dont vous iouez a hais.'

Amusing myself, yesterday morning,  
 I was going along the bank of the Seine,  
 until I quickly came to St Germain  
 as my path took me.  
 There I found a peasant's daughter  
 but she was not churlish:  
 she had an elegant and graceful body,  
 a soft laugh, sweet breath,  
 green eyes, nicely set,  
 so I said to her  
 as a true lover:  
 'I praise and honour you,  
 young lady.'  
 She replied: 'As nothing  
 to me is your praise.  
 I would not  
 care for your blue coat  
 by the faith I owe Saint Paul!  
 I am not, this I promise to you,  
 of those from Paris,  
 with whom you play as you want.'

The parallelisms of meaning between the Latin and vernacular texts are plain: enumeration of good qualities and chastity. The counterbalance between Latin as the language for the heavenly Mary and vernacular as the language for the earthly girl with green eyes is itself part of the play between the two. But the reason why it can be argued that these two motets are made to be heard together (or rather that one has been made subsequent to the other, but intended to be heard with it) depends on the way in which music and text are combined: a notable musical moment is the singing by the upper voice of a long single note, with silence before and after, about two-thirds of the way through (marked X in Examples 1.4 and 1.5). In the rest of the motet there is no other such musically marked event. That moment is used as a pivot in both motets. In the Latin, it is accorded the vocative expression 'O', not otherwise heard except at the beginning of the piece. In the vernacular motet, that (untexted) note is the dividing point at which speech (and power) moves from the male to the female speaker.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> On the contrast between male and female speakers as expressed by different voice parts in motets see Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford, CA, 1997), 19 ff.; for the interplay between voices in individual pieces she coined the description 'textual polyphony', which would be equally suitable here.

These two motets are part of a larger family of related compositions, including a two-voice passage within an *organum* sung on the feast of the Assumption of the BVM (Gradual *Benedicta et uenerabilis*) as well as another two-voice motet, again dedicated to the Virgin, *Virgo plena graciae*, and, in addition, three-voice versions of *O Maria mater pia* and *Virgo plena graciae*.<sup>8</sup> Such extensive reuse of musical and textual material lays bare the fluidity of musical reality in the milieu to which this music belonged, the freedom with which new could be created directly out of old. Yet, it is not simply the fact of sharing (or ‘borrowing’) which interests me here, but rather the extent to which that sharing becomes central to the act of composition. As in the extended meanings about women as earthly and heavenly beings created by the juxtaposition of *O Maria mater pia* and *Deduisant m’aloe ier mein*, so too in many motets in later thirteenth-century manuscripts: material moves from one piece to another, from monophonic to polyphonic contexts, from one kind of performance genre to another. This is also noticeable in the extensive use of refrains: ‘short phrases of music and French text circulating across and within romance, chanson, and motet repertoires’.<sup>9</sup> Such phrases can be ‘quoted’ without their texts in *clausulae* for Latin liturgical chant, thus not only generically but functionally far away from their starting points.<sup>10</sup> Even more common, however, is the inclusion of refrains in trouvère songs and in polyphonic motets:<sup>11</sup> in these performative contexts, quotation could become a means of placing works, a way of referring to earlier traditions while signalling differences from them, and thus an instrument of *auctoritas*,<sup>12</sup> but it could also work merely to develop meaning through extension or subversion of narrative.<sup>13</sup> Such intertextual play could be taken to extremes: in any one individual piece, quoted refrains could be the dominant material from which a motet or song was forged.<sup>14</sup>

From several different musical directions, it becomes abundantly clear that the recognition of borrowing, whether musical or textual, was important: in this intensely interactive musical culture the appreciation of meaning, whether musical or textual, often depended not only on intertextual devices, but also on awareness and remembrance of past musics.

\* \* \*

- 8 • Discant passage in the *organum Benedicta et uenerabilis*, *F*, fol. 123<sup>r</sup> (for [*Vir*]go); the same as a *clausula* in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. [henceforth *W*], fol. 46<sup>r</sup>; a2 with the text *O Maria mater pia* in *W*<sub>2</sub>, fols. 183<sup>v</sup>–184<sup>r</sup>, a3 in *F*, fol. 393<sup>r-v</sup>; a2 with the text *Virgo plena graciae* in *W*<sub>2</sub>, fols. 154<sup>v</sup>–155<sup>r</sup>, a3 in *W*<sub>2</sub>, fols. 129<sup>v</sup>–130<sup>r</sup>; a2 with the text *Deduisant maloie ier main* in *W*<sub>2</sub>, fols. 251<sup>v</sup>–252<sup>r</sup>.
- 9 • Catherine A. Bradley, *Polyphony in Medieval Paris: The Art of Composing with Plainchant* (Cambridge, 2018), 111.
- 10 • On the use of refrains in *clausulae*, arguing for the validity of this direction of travel (rather than from *clausula* to motet and refrain), and with a comprehensive list and previous bibliography see Bradley, *Polyphony*, ch. 4, with the list at pp. 115–17.
- 11 • On the practice of refrain quotation see Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Cambridge, 2013); on the use of refrains in motets see Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry, Genre* (Cambridge, 1994), 54–66, and on refrains more broadly, including their use in trouvère songs, see Ardis Butterfield, ‘Refrain’, in her *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge, 2002), 75–86.
- 12 • Saltzstein, *The Refrain*, 166.
- 13 • Bradley, *Polyphony*, 251.
- 14 • As, for example, in the ‘chanson avec des refrains’, with a different refrain for each strophe, or motets of various kinds, including the *motet enté*. For detailed discussion of motets largely composed out of refrains see Bradley, *Polyphony*, ch. 5.

When, in the Codex Calixtinus made in the mid-twelfth century to celebrate the cult of St James, the name 'Magister Albertus Parisiensis' is added above a two-voice *versus*, it becomes clear that someone in southern France or northern Spain—wherever this collection of polyphonic pieces was assembled—knew of such a musician. No matter whether Master Albert actually composed *Congaudeant catholici* himself, the many attributions above polyphonic *versus* in this codex being certainly subject to doubt,<sup>15</sup> yet wherever the two-voice *versus* collection was compiled, it not only signalled knowledge of this musician, but also would bring that knowledge to the notice of the clerics in Santiago de Compostela in Finisterre in the north-western corner of the Iberian peninsula. Master Albertus is otherwise known through a plethora of Parisian archival documents. First a canon and then cantor of the Cathedral of Notre Dame between 1146 and his death in 1177,<sup>16</sup> he bequeathed to the Cathedral a collection of liturgical and music books, including (beyond the antiphoner and gradual he might have been expected to own) 'duos uersarios'.<sup>17</sup> It was in such books that polyphonic *versus* of the kind collected at the back of the Codex Calixtinus would have been found: other extant examples of small *versaria* include several associated with St-Martial de Limoges.<sup>18</sup>

The circulation from one centre to another not just of Roman liturgical chant and its Carolingian offshoots in the form of tropes and sequences, but also of polyphonic settings of chant and verse songs can be dated back to the late tenth century.<sup>19</sup> Clearly gaining momentum as more and more centres developed polyphonic practices, the diffusion of what began as localized approaches to singing in polyphony is intimated by a certain number of concordances in manuscripts of the twelfth century, as well as by the sharing of a general approach to how florid *organum* could be made. A text known as the 'Vatican organum treatise', recorded somewhere in northern France in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, presents its readers with techniques for fashioning simple to elaborate upper-voice phrases over short chunks of tenor melody;<sup>20</sup> the kind of polyphonic behaviour taught in this treatise is not identical to but none-

- 15 • Such doubts emerged already in the work of Friedrich Ludwig: for the most sustained discussion see José López-Calo, 'Autores e atribuciones', in his *La Música en la Catedral de Santiago, v: La Edad Media* (La Coruña, 1994), 307–17. For further discussion of the Calixtinus polyphonies see the essays collected in José López-Calo and Carlos Villanueva (eds.), *El Códice Calixtino y la música de su tiempo: Actas del simposio organizado por la Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza en La Coruña y Santiago de Compostela, 20–23 de septiembre de 1999* (La Coruña, 2001).
- 16 • Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500–1500* (Cambridge, 1989), 278–81, with previous bibliography and archival references.
- 17 • Benjamin Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, Collection des cartulaires de France, 4–7 (Paris, 1850), vii. 118.
- 18 • For an overview of twelfth-century polyphony see Sarah Fuller, 'Early Polyphony', ch. 11 in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. R. Crocker and D. Hiley, *The New Oxford History of Music*, 2/2 (Oxford, 1990), esp. 523–56; on the Aquitanian *versaria* see James Grier, 'Some Codicological Observations on the Aquitanian Versaria', *Musica Disciplina*, 44 (1990), 5–56; and 'Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century: Towards a Typology of Error and Variant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1992), 373–427.
- 19 • See most recently Susan Rankin, 'A Tenth-Century Fleury *Organum*', in Martin Kirnbauer (ed.), *Beredete Musik: Konversationen zum 80. Geburtstag von Wulf Arlt*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis Scripta, 8 (Basel, 2019), 335–43.
- 20 • Irving Godt and Benito Rivera, 'The Vatican Organum Treatise—A Colour Reproduction, Transcription, and Translation', in Hans Tischler (ed.), *In Memoriam Gordon Athol Anderson*, Institute of Mediaeval Music, Musicological Studies, 39/2 (Binningen, 1984), 264–345.

theless not far away from many examples of *organum* preserved in Parisian sources.<sup>21</sup> By the middle of the thirteenth century the fame of liturgical *organum* and conductus songs as sung in Paris had been carried far and wide—its diffusion not so much the result of any kind of Parisian campaign as of the attraction Paris as a centre of learning exercised on scholars, younger and older, and of its significance to clerics and secular powers as the centre of French government.<sup>22</sup>

A critical factor in the spread of ideas about how to sing polyphonically was the increasingly common use of writing to record music: while a patron (such as a bishop) could travel from Paris to St Andrews in Scotland accompanied by one or more official musicians,<sup>23</sup> able to sing in the Parisian way and even to make new compositions in the same style, it would have been at least in part through the additional transmission and preservation in written form of an extensive repertory of Parisian music that a community could try to integrate such musical knowledge into its own practice. The manuscript *W*<sub>1</sub>, made at St Andrews c.1230,<sup>24</sup> includes a largely Parisian repertory of *organum* and polyphonic conductus songs, augmented by a small number of *organa* probably composed locally but in Parisian style, and then, in its final fascicle, by a more locally based repertory of *organa* which nevertheless manages to ‘embed Notre Dame *clausulae*’ into its ‘polyphonic fabric’.<sup>25</sup> Such a level of musical integration does not wholly depend on the availability of written records of music, but their presence is surely likely to have supported the enterprise of learning, understanding, and imitating.

By the end of the thirteenth century, Parisian music can be found in manuscripts made in St Andrews on the east coast of Scotland, in England probably at Bury St Edmunds, in several manuscripts from the Iberian peninsula, and in a host of fragments from Germanic regions and elsewhere.<sup>26</sup> It is not clear that Parisian ways of making music had been taken on board in all of these centres to the extent attempted in St Andrews: but knowledge of Parisian music as a special musical art and style was by now spread widely across Europe. Although not so much a chronological as a geographical phenomenon of otherness, this transfer from Paris, and the reflection back to Paris of such interest in its musics, represents another step in the creation of a sense of the past in current musical practices.

- 21 • See Steven Immel, ‘The Vatican Organum Treatise Re-examined’, *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), 121–72, and Leo Treitler, ‘The Vatican Organum Treatise and the Organum of Notre Dame of Paris: Perspectives on the Development of a Literate Music Culture in Europe’, in his *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it Was Made* (Oxford, 2003), 68–83.
- 22 • For a general introduction see John W. Baldwin, *Paris 1200* (Stanford, CA, 2010).
- 23 • On that possibility see Mark Everist, ‘From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of *W*<sub>1</sub>’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43 (1990), 1–42, and Kate Kennedy Steiner, *The Second City: Notre Dame Polyphony and English Liturgy at St Andrews* (forthcoming).
- 24 • On the date of manufacture see Rebecca A. Baltzer, ‘The Manuscript Makers of *W*<sub>1</sub>: Further Evidence of an Early Date’, in David Butler Cannata, Gabriela Initchi Currie, Rena Charmin Mueller and John Louis Nadas (eds.), *Quomodo cantabimus canticum: Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner* (Middleton, WI, 2008), 103–20.
- 25 • Edward Roesner, in *Les organa et les clausules à deux voix du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.*, ed. Roesner, *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, VII (Monaco, 2009), p. xlviii.
- 26 • See Rebecca A. Baltzer, ‘Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners: Lost and Found’, *Journal of Musicology*, 5 (1987), 380–99; on the German sources see especially Eva M. Maschke, ‘Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments’, *manuscript cultures*, 8 (2015), 138–56, with further bibliography.

\* \* \*

[1] Et nota, quod magister Leoninus, secundum quod dicebatur, fuit optimus organista, qui fecit magnum librum organi de gradali et antiphonario pro servitio divino multiplicando.

[2] Et fuit in usu usque ad tempus Perotini Magni, qui abbreviavit eundem et fecit clausulas sive puncta plurima meliora, quoniam optimus discantor erat, et melior quam Leoninus erat.

[3] Ipse vero magister Perotinus fecit quadrupla optima sicut *Viderunt*, *Sederunt* cum habundantia colorum armonicae artis; similiter et tripla plurima nobilissima sicut *Alleluia Posui adiutorium*, *Nativitas* etc. Fecit etiam triplices conductus ut *Salvatoris hodie* et duplices conductus sicut *Dum sigillum summi patris* ac etiam simplices conductus cum pluribus aliis sicut *Beata viscera* etc.

[4] Liber vel libri magistri Perotini erant in usu usque ad tempus magistri Roberti de Sabilone et in coro Beatae Virginis maioris ecclesiae Parisiensis et a suo tempore usque in hodiernum diem.<sup>27</sup>

At some point in the second half of the thirteenth century, probably quite late, a student who had visited Paris—possibly from the monastery of Bury St Edmunds—reported on composers, compositions, and books of those compositions in use in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Much of what is said here must be qualified as hearsay: yet, the importance of transmission of music recognized as well composed—by Leoninus, the best worker with *organum*, by Perotinus, who made the best *quadrupla*—and of books of music as a significant element in the transmission of this music stands up to that charge: books of polyphony were in use at the Cathedral. In this passage, historical consciousness of specific musical compositions is manifest, over and over: certain music had already been made well (the *organum purum* of Leoninus), and we might think was preserved close to how that composer had made it: other music had been remade by Perotinus, who was better at making discant than Leoninus. Whether or not those names stand up to scrutiny as composers of large amounts of the repertory still in use in the later thirteenth century (and that of Perotin stands up rather well),<sup>28</sup> the sense of being aware of much older music, and of the continuing use of that music, while also incorporating more recent composition in the repertory of liturgical polyphony, is beyond doubt. Indeed, it would almost be possible to argue not only for consciousness of the fact of historical layers of musical composition but also for a conception of musical history on the basis of this short passage.<sup>29</sup>

- 27 • *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, ed. Fritz Reckow, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 4–5 (Wiesbaden, 1967), i. 46. [1] ‘And note that Magister Leoninus, so it has been said, was the best worker with organum who made the great book of polyphony on the gradual and antiphonary to embellish the divine service. [2] [This *liber*] was in use up to the time of the great Perotinus, who made a redaction of it and made many better clausulas, that is, *puncta*, he being the best *discantor*, and better [at discant] than Leoninus was. [3] This Magister Perotinus made the best *quadrupla*, such as *Viderunt* and *Sederunt*, with an abundance of striking musical embellishments; likewise, the noblest *tripla*, such as *Alleluia*, *Posui adiutorium* and [*Alleluia*], *Nativitas* etc. He also made three-voice conductus, such as *Salvatoris hodie*, and two-voice conductus, such as *Dum sigillum summi Patris*, and also, among many others, monophonic conductus, such as *Beata viscera* etc. [4] The book, that is, the books of Magister Perotinus, were in use in the choir of the Paris cathedral of the Blessed Virgin up to the time of Magister Robertus de Sabilone, and from his time up to the present day.’ This translation by Edward Roesner, ‘Perotinus’, Grove Online (acc. 17 June 2019).
- 28 • Although there has been no direct stylistic consideration of this issue; on the identification of Leonin in extant documentary records see Craig Wright, ‘Leoninus, Poet and Musician’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), 1–35, and his *Music and Ceremony*, 281–8. The identification of Perotin in extant records presents greater problems.
- 29 • On ‘consciousness of the historical nature of the world’ and a ‘conception of history’ as the first two of three steps in the creation of historical consciousness, see Hans-Werner Goetz, ‘The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries’, in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried and Patrick J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), 139–65.

Happily, arguments for the development of a historical consciousness of polyphonic music in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries need not depend only on one undatable passage in a music treatise written by a visiting Englishman. For the largest of the manuscript sources to contain Parisian musical compositions of this long period, the manuscript *F* itself manifestly constitutes a historical monument, one that both in its contents and in its presentation demonstrates the full development by the mid-thirteenth century of historical consciousness in musical thinking (composition) and understanding (collection of compositions). Although much of what it contains can be found in other manuscript sources—many of the *organa*, *clausulae*, and polyphonic conductus songs in the earlier manuscript *W*<sub>1</sub>, many of these and motets as well in the slightly later *W*<sub>2</sub>, smaller groups of pieces in a myriad of other thirteenth-century books and fragments—none of the other surviving collections begins to match *F* in size or nature of the collection.<sup>30</sup>

Here, besides the very extensive repertoires of *organa*, *clausulae*, polyphonic conductus, and motets, there are two fascicles of monophonic song, none of them copied in the other large ‘Notre Dame’ collections: the first of these (fascicle 10) includes eighty-three devotional or occasional songs written out on forty-eight folios.<sup>31</sup> Often described as ‘moral-satirical’, these songs are almost all of considerable complexity and length: in other manuscripts many were attributed to Philip, theologian and preacher, and Chancellor of the University of Paris between 1217 and 1236.<sup>32</sup> A good number of these songs were composed as laments, including *Omnis in lacrimas* (fols. 415<sup>v</sup>–416<sup>r</sup>) on the death of Henry, Count of Champagne in 1181;<sup>33</sup> *Anglia planctus itera* (fols. 421<sup>v</sup>–422<sup>r</sup>) on the death of Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany at a tournament in Paris in 1186; *Sol eclipsim patitur* (fol. 451) on the death of Ferdinand II of León in 1188;<sup>34</sup> *Eclipsim passus totiens* (fol. 429) on the death of the renowned Parisian theologian and cantor of Notre Dame Peter the Chanter in 1197;<sup>35</sup> *Iberusalem, Iberusalem* (fols. 434<sup>r</sup>–435<sup>r</sup>) on the death of the crusader Henry II, Count of Champagne, who fell out of a window in 1198; and

30 • On *F* as a ‘monument’ see Susan Rankin, ‘The Study of Medieval Music: Some Thoughts on Past, Present and Future’, in David Greer (ed.), *Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present and Future. Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of the International Musicological Society. London 1997* (Oxford, 2000), 154–68; on *F* as a historical collection see Ch. 2 below.

31 • Gatherings 26–8, fols. 452–62.

32 • On Philip see most recently the studies collected in Gilbert Dahan and Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne (eds.), *Philippe le Chancelier: Prédicateur, théologien et poète Parisien du début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Turnhout, 2017). Modern study of the texts attributed to Philip has upheld many of the medieval attributions: see Peter Dronke, ‘The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor’, *Studi medievali*, 28 (1987), 563–92; Thomas B. Payne, ‘Philip the Chancellor’, in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), xix, 594–97, with a list of attributed works; also David Traill, ‘Philip the Chancellor and F10: Expanding the Canon’, *Filologia mediolatina*, 10 (2003), 219–43, and ‘More Poems by Philip the Chancellor’, *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 16 (2006), 164–81. For sustained study of the songs in F10 see Ruth Steiner, *Some Monophonic Latin Songs from the Tenth Fascicle of the Manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1* (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1963); the songs are edited in *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, Opera Omnia X/6: 1<sup>st</sup> pt Conductus—Transmitted in Fascicule X of the Florence Manuscript*, ed. Gordon A. Anderson (Henryville, PA, 1981).

33 • On such ‘occasional’ songs see Leo Schrade, ‘Political Compositions in French Music of the 12th and 13th Centuries’, *Annales musicologiques*, 1 (1953), 9–63.

34 • Added here by a second hand.

35 • On this song see Susan Rankin, ‘Some Medieval Songs’, in *Close Readings: Essays in Honour of John Stevens and Philip Brett = Early Music*, 31 (2003), 327–44 at 334. On Peter see especially John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970).

*Alabastrum frangitur* (fols. 436<sup>r</sup>–437<sup>r</sup>) on the death of Philip Augustus in 1223. Several others marked specific events, such as the installation of Peter of Nemours as bishop of Paris in 1208 (*Christus assistens pontifex*, fol. 435<sup>v</sup>), the coronation of Louis VIII in 1223 (*Beata nobis gaudia*, fol. 433<sup>v</sup>), the loss and refinding of the holy nail of St Denis in 1233 (*Clauus clauo refunditur*, fol. 437),<sup>36</sup> and rioting among students at Orléans in 1236 (*Aurelianis ciuitas*, fols. 439<sup>v</sup>–440<sup>r</sup>).<sup>37</sup> Without going into more extensive detail, it can already be seen that the chronological period represented in these songs stretches from 1181 to 1236, and that the subject matter of many of the songs collected in *F*, fascicle 10, is directly historical: much of the content of the fascicle could be used to piece together a historical narrative of the people active in and events which took place in the Île-de-France during that period. (That narrative would be further expanded by the songs commemorating events subsumed into the polyphonic repertory.)<sup>38</sup> Yet, over and above that narrative historical content, the sheer fact of the bringing together of these songs can be regarded as a kind of local historiography in its own right.

The second monophonic collection (in fascicle 11, placed last in the book) includes sixty songs, most with a refrain, written out on fourteen folios: these songs are much shorter than most of those collected in fascicle 10, and are lighter in theological and/or moral content.<sup>39</sup> As in *Ecce tempus gaudii* (see Example 1.6), the relation of these short songs to the activities of university students—or rather their composition by and for the amusement of those students—lies close to the surface:<sup>40</sup>

Example 1.6. The song *Ecce tempus gaudii* (*F*, fol. 468<sup>v</sup>)

Ec - ce tem - pus gau - di - i. Gau - de - a - mus so - ci - i. Ces - set la - bor stu - di - i in  
hoc flo - ra - li gau - di - o. Flo - ris re - no - ua - ti - o lu - sus est in - ci - ta - ti - o.

Ecce tempus gaudii  
 Gaudeamus socii  
 Cesset labor studii in hoc florali gaudio  
 Floris renouatio lusus est incitatio

Sonet uox tripudii  
 Gaudeamus socii  
 Grata qui es otii in hac florali gaudio  
 Floris renouatio lusus est incitatio.

- 36 • Transferred to St-Denis from Aachen by Charles the Bald; on the loss and refinding in 1233 see Michel Félibien, *Historie de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (Paris, 1706).
- 37 • See Thomas B. Payne, 'Datable Notre-Dame Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique', *Current Musicology*, 64 (2001), 104–51; Payne, "Aurelianis civitas": Student Unrest in Medieval France and a Conductus by Philip the Chancellor', *Speculum*, 75 (2000), 589–614, repr. in Edward Roesner (ed.), *Ars antiqua: Organum, Conductus, Motet* (Aldershot, 2008), 347–72.
- 38 • See Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory* (Henryville, PA, 1981), 128.
- 39 • Gathering 29, fols. 463–76. These songs are edited in *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, Opera Omnia X/8: 1 pt Conductus—The Latin Rondeau Répertoire*, ed. Gordon A. Anderson (Henryville, PA, 1978).
- 40 • Transcribed here from *F*, fol. 468<sup>v</sup>: the rhythmic measures written out here are not present in the musical notation, but represent a possible reading based on textual accent.

Noui candor lilii  
 Gaudeamus socii  
 Causam det solatii in hac florali gaudio  
 Gloris renouatio lusus est incitatio.

Behold the time of rejoicing *companions let us rejoice*  
 Let the work of study cease *in this floral joy*.  
*The renewal of the flower is an incitement to play.*

Sound forth you voice of the dance *companions let us rejoice*  
 You who are favoured by leisure *in this floral joy*.  
*The renewal of the flower is an incitement to play.*

The brightness of the new lily *companions let us rejoice*  
 May give a cause of solace *in this floral joy*.  
*The renewal of the flower is an incitement to play.*

Many songs suggest merriment and dancing on important liturgical feasts, including Easter.

While the more serious songs of Philip the Chancellor circulated in other manuscript sources (even if not books of polyphony), these short celebratory songs exhibit a different, and much more restricted, pattern of transmission: fifteen are found in one other thirteenth-century manuscript (Tours, Bibliothèque municipale 927), and a further four elsewhere (including one of the Tours concordances). Of the total of sixty, then, forty-two are *unica*. This group of songs thus represents a genre which seems to have been especially relevant to a specific historical period and situation, and not to have been transferred extensively elsewhere, as in the case of the *organa*, polyphonic conductus songs, and motet repertories. And the presence of such a repertory in *F* underlines the effort made by the maker(s) of the manuscript to subsume between the two ends of their codex all forms of music practised in Paris in the previous seventy-five to a hundred years.

Finally, one prominent aspect of this book underlines its ambitions to be seen, literally, as a grand collection of well-ordered music: this is the full-page miniature which faces the first page of music in the book—the beginning of Paris’s grandest composition, *Viderunt omnes* in four voices. The frontispiece is not about Paris, nor is its subject scriptural (as are the decorated initials used at the beginning of fascicles and some gatherings within them throughout the volume).<sup>41</sup> Instead, its subject matter is music itself, following a scheme set out by Boethius in his *De institutione musica*, a text which would have been well known by students and graduates of the schools and later University of Paris in this period.<sup>42</sup> In that scheme music is divided into three kinds: *musica mundana*, cosmic music, or ‘the music of the spheres’; *musica humana*, that ‘which unites the incorporeal nature of reason with the [human] body’ or ‘holds together the parts of the body in an established order’; and *musica instrumentalis*, music which ‘is gov-

41 • On those miniatures see Rebecca A. Baltzer, ‘Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25 (1972), 1–18.

42 • On the use of Boethius’ text as the first book for learning music theory at the University of Paris see Max Haas, ‘Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiklehre I: Eine Übersicht über die Musiklehre im Kontext der Philosophie des 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhunderts’, in *Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung: Texte zu einem Basler Kolloquium des Jahres 1975* (= Forum musicologicum, 3) (Basel, 1982), 323–456 at 337; also Michael Bernhard, ‘Überlieferung und Fortleben der antiken Musiktheorie im Mittelalter’, in *Rezeption des antiken Fachs im Mittelalter*, Geschichte der Musiktheorie, 3 (Darmstadt, 1990), 7–35 at 31.



erned either by tension, as in strings, or by breath, as in the aulos'.<sup>43</sup> Accordingly, the miniature is divided into three levels, moving from cosmic music at the top of the page, through *musica humana* in the middle, to *musica instrumentalis* at the bottom. On each of these levels a lady (an allegory of music) sits on the left, looking towards the right and using her hands to direct what happens on the right, with first the cosmos, then below dancing clerics, and below that an assortment of musical instruments illustrating each of the three musical categories.<sup>44</sup> As described by one scholar, this miniature affirms the place of musical practice in the harmonious relation between humankind and the heavenly creation.<sup>45</sup> At the very least, this fine and unique miniature appears to claim for a gigantic book of music the status of a *summa* of musical knowledge, a written record of the way music was practised in Paris between the mid-twelfth and the mid-thirteenth centuries. The making of *F* was an intrinsically historicizing exercise, intended to create a monument celebrating a now glorious past reaching into the present.

\* \* \*

The representation of history, and hence the sense of a past and a constant working with that past, is an essential element of the liturgy of the Christian church,<sup>46</sup> for, in the words of Marc Bloch, 'Christianity ... is essentially a historical religion'.<sup>47</sup> Music, as the medium of delivery of the primarily biblical texts of liturgical chant, was always an essential part of the daily exercise of liturgical celebration: and by the eleventh century it is clear that those responsible for planning and overseeing the performance of the liturgy, that is, 'cantors', were also often the keepers of historical knowledge and compilers of records of that knowledge in their own communities.<sup>48</sup> Monophonic singing as well as extempore polyphonic elaborations of liturgical chant had long been in use in a multitude of historical layers of the liturgy. But in this enterprise it was not music itself which was the object of a historical approach: rather, it was the integration of Scripture into the rest of Christian history which demanded historical imagination and understanding.

To make artfully composed and performed music itself the object of historicization was a different proposition. Taking the extensively interrelated, referential compositional practice of Parisian musicians as a starting point, and following that through the wide diffusion and admiration of this music to, finally, the *summa* overview (or to say it more historically, a 'museum') of Parisian musical practice presented in a book made in the mid-thirteenth century, it is clear that for the first time in the history of Western polyphonic musical practice, the idea

43 • These translations from Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, trans. with an introduction and notes by Calvin M. Bower (New Haven, 1989), 10.

44 • On this miniature see most recently Anne Zoé Rillon-Marne, 'Le Frontispice du manuscrit de Florence (Plut. 29.1): Une introduction aux proportions musicales', *Polymatheia*, 1 (2015), 13–22.

45 • Ibid. 15.

46 • For a sustained study of this topic see Margot Fassler, 'The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History', in Robert A. Maxwell (ed.), *Representing History 900–1300: Art, Music, History* (University Park, Pa., 2010), 149–71 and 239–47 (notes).

47 • Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, trans. Peter Putnam with a preface by Peter Burke (Manchester, 1992), 26.

48 • Fassler, 'The Liturgical Framework of Time', 167–8; see also the essays collected in Katie Buygis, A. B. Kraebel, and Margot Fassler (eds.), *Medieval Cantors and their Craft: Music, Liturgy, and the Shaping of History (800–1500)* (Woodbridge, 2016).

that music had a past, and that that past was interesting—indeed that it could be reintegrated into the present as well as preserved—has emerged with a vengeance. From consciousness of a past, built through close recomposition within close circles of singers, as well as the wide diffusion of Parisian music and the reflection of that fame back into the Parisian situation, a more formal realization of the fact of a past in musical composition has been realized and exposed in documentary format. As I have presented those layers here, it seems much more likely that the small compositional steps preceded the grand collecting exercise; nevertheless, it is important to see the close relation between this ‘beginning’ and ‘ending’ (for this Parisian thirteenth-century music) as aspects of the development of a sense of the actuality of history in musical performance. In this Parisian context, music flowered as an art which continually used and celebrated the past, thus establishing a clear model for later medieval and early-modern repertoires. By the early fourteenth century, a manuscript in which a vernacular romance was presented with interpolated pictures and music would follow *F* in presenting a ‘historical collection of music’: the music notated within the *Roman de Fauvel* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 146 includes pieces from the older thirteenth-century repertory as well as music of the later thirteenth century and then some of the most recent compositions, now associated with an ‘ars nova’.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, ways in which music could document and play with time were exploited in this interpolated romance: one thread of the historical narrative for which Fauvel presents an allegory was set into the text in the form of musical pieces chronologically ordered opposite to the direction of the romance narrative.<sup>50</sup> That subversion of time—a splintering of ‘the inseparable coherence of time and events’<sup>51</sup>—using musical compositions speaks to the maturity of a historicizing habit in relation to music as early as the second decade of the fourteenth century: not only did music now *have* a past, but, in addition, musicians had become adept at playing with that past.

49 • On the music included in fr. 146 see *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146*, introduction by Edward Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York, 1990).

50 • See Margaret Bent, ‘Fauvel and Marigny: Which Came First?’, in Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 146* (Oxford, 1998), 35–52.

51 • Goetz, ‘The Concept of Time’, 163.

In Paris in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, a new attitude towards the creation and the transmission of liturgical polyphony can be seen to emerge. Developing out of a musical culture shaped to a significant degree by long-established oral practices, the art of fashioning polyphony from plainchant was, in many ways, reliant upon techniques of memory and of *ex tempore* singing both in the cultivation of existing repertoires and in the creation of new ones.<sup>1</sup> But in medieval Paris, the making of this polyphonic music was no longer viewed only as a ‘performance art’—a practice of performing chant already centuries old by the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Particular polyphonic responses to these liturgical melodies, though subject to constant reinvention, came to be familiarized, widely disseminated, and themselves the basis of new composition. Far from transitory musical moments, these creative efforts were deemed important enough by thirteenth-century compilers to be recorded in writing in many versions; collected together in one place as a representation of a musical practice, they were viewed, even in the thirteenth century, as worthy of special notice.<sup>3</sup>

This new attitude can be observed most clearly in the making of such a book as *Pluteus 29.1* in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (commonly referred to by the siglum *F*). Produced in Paris, probably in the 1240s, *F* is a beautifully made music manuscript largely dedicated to polyphonic composition—to *organa*, *clausulae*, and Latin motets—as well as monophonic and polyphonic conductus and refrain songs.<sup>4</sup> Copied onto fine vellum, it was notated by a single, highly-skilled music scribe<sup>5</sup> and is richly decorated, containing one

- 1 • On this, see in particular Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (New York, 2003); Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley, 2005); Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 2008).
- 2 • For more on the notion of ‘performance art’ see Susan Rankin, ‘Thirteenth-Century Notations of Music and Arts of Performance’, in Andreas Dorschel and Andreas Haug (eds.), *Vom Preis des Fortschritts: Gewinn und Verlust in der Musikgeschichte*, Studien zur Wertungsforschung, 49 (Vienna, 2008), 110–41.
- 3 • This phenomenon can already be seen at eleventh-century Winchester, though in a Parisian context the act of writing down and of collecting polyphonic music was achieved on a considerably larger scale.
- 4 • On questions of date see Rebecca A. Baltzer, ‘Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25 (1972), 1–18; Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York and London, 1989), 81–2; and *Antiphonarium, seu, Magnus liber de gradali et antiphonario: Color Microfiche Edition of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Pluteus 29.1: Introduction to the ‘Notre-Dame Manuscript’ F*, ed. Edward H. Roesner, Codices illuminati medii aevi (Munich, 1996), 20–1. More recently, Barbara Hagg and Michel Huglo have proposed that *F* may have been created for the Sainte-Chapelle to mark its solemn dedication on 26 April 1248; see ‘Magnus liber—Maius munus: Origine et destiné du manuscrit *F*’, *Revue de musicologie*, 90 (2004), 193–230.
- 5 • Only two later additions within the sixth fascicle (fols. 252<sup>v</sup>–254<sup>v</sup>) and one in the tenth fascicle (fol. 451<sup>r</sup>) are obviously in a different hand. It may also be that both the music and the text were copied by the same person, though no detailed palaeographic study of the book has been published.

full-page miniature and thirteen historiated initials.<sup>6</sup> Much larger and more comprehensive than any of the other collections of polyphonic repertoires associated with Paris, *F* stands as the product of a significant anthologizing campaign—created, seemingly, in order to collect and physically record everything that might represent a Parisian musical practice of previous decades. Indeed, the book contains over a thousand pieces spread across its eleven fascicles, reflecting what some commentators have characterized as a ‘summative attitude’<sup>7</sup> or a ‘monumentalizing tendency’<sup>8</sup> towards the musical tradition it seeks to preserve. Put plainly, *F* bears witness at once to the prestige with which this music was viewed in the thirteenth century, and also—in its material form—to the new kinds of relationships established between music and literary practices in the writing down of these polyphonic repertoires.

But such maximalist ambitions not only shaped the kinds of material to be included in the book; they also impacted upon its physical characteristics. Gatherings within *F*, for example, are much bigger than any other manuscript source of this music<sup>9</sup>—typically comprised of between seven and eleven bifolios—and the original form of the book was, conceivably, substantially larger than the state in which it survives today since several of its folios, and at least one whole gathering, are now missing.<sup>10</sup> Showing little sign of wear or damage (aside from these lacunae), *F* survives in excellent condition and it would appear that this book was evidently not intended for any sort of practical use by performers. Indeed, in several instances, the layout of the pieces on the page would render their performance from it an impossibility.<sup>11</sup> Rather, the high quality of workmanship and the scope of its contents imply that the book was conceived instead as a grand archival project—created for the sake of posterity more than as a record for regular use.

If *F* is notable for the sheer scope and diversity of its contents, and the lavish manner in which these contents are presented, it might be viewed, both musically and codicologically, as a special kind of anthology book. In this regard, and calling to mind Emma Dillon’s eloquent suggestion that medieval manuscripts not only stand ‘as conduits of text but as objects

- 6 • Studies of the manuscript’s artwork can be found in Robert Branner, ‘The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origins of the William of Devon Painter’, *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), 24–30, as well as Baltzer, ‘Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures’, and Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*.
- 7 • Emma Dillon, ‘Music Manuscripts’, in Mark Everist (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 2011), 291–319 at 300.
- 8 • Susan Rankin, ‘The Study of Medieval Music: Some Thoughts on Past, Present, and Future’, in David Greer (ed.), *Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present, Future. Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, London, 1997* (Oxford, 2000), 154–68 at 162.
- 9 • By means of comparison, gatherings in the manuscript *W*<sub>1</sub> (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.) are primarily formed of quaternions. On this, see Edward H. Roesner, ‘The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of its Origins and of its Eleventh Fascicle’, 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1974), 22–6.
- 10 • A ready overview of the arrangement and contents of *F* in its present state can be found in Edward H. Roesner, Introduction, in *Les quadrupla et tripla de Paris*, ed. Roesner, *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, 1 (Monaco, 1993), pp. lxx–lxxi.
- 11 • This is particularly apparent in the motet fascicles. See, for example, the beginning of the first motet fascicle (fol. 38r), in which the opening of the upper voices for the motet *Formam hominis* is copied on the recto while the whole tenor is copied on the verso. For another argument against the use of deluxe manuscripts in performance, see Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry, Genre* (Cambridge, 1994), 9–10.

whose materials inflect the reception of the things they contain',<sup>12</sup> *F* invites consideration not simply as an archive of music but also as an archive of written gesture, of human contact, and of physical artefacts, each of which modulate our understanding of the manuscript as an object.<sup>13</sup> But how might these individual archival layers come to influence our reading of the function of this book? On one level I propose that *F* styles itself as an overtly historical kind of document. By drawing upon repertories that, by the 1240s, may have been in existence for several decades, and affording these pieces the respect of being compiled together in a deluxe manuscript, the book highlights a contemporary awareness of this musical past, and a recognition of its importance on the part of its owner.<sup>14</sup> This, in turn, speaks to a growing fascination with writing and the written record, and a developing cultural value—indeed, cultural authority—afforded to this technology of remembering. But, bound up with this, I suggest, *F* can also be read as a particular historicizing project. For, in the way musical material has been assembled and copied, we see the scribe directly involved in the interpretation of what might constitute a musical past in his manuscript—an interpretative agency of the scribe, an expression of historical consciousness, that comes to explicitly influence how this past is to be represented within the book.

Of all the musical genres contained within *F* that contribute to a sense of collecting and interpreting a musical past, it is in the repertory of *clausulae*—passages of rhythmically measured polyphony based on a chant melisma—that an eagerness to document a wide range of musical possibilities collected together in writing can be traced most visibly. In the markedly large collection preserved in the manuscript's fifth fascicle—462 pieces are recorded in total on thirty-eight folios—we find portions of chant melodies fashioned into polyphony by musicians in a variety of ways.<sup>15</sup> These polyphonic settings bear witness to the very many compositional possibilities available for creating a *clausula*: the working out of an extraordinary range of rhythmic and melodic strategies, and the experimentation with an abundance of musical ideas and ways of writing those ideas down. Most striking in this regard are the multiple ways documented within the fascicle of performing a single chant melisma. For instance, we find eleven settings of the *LATUS* melisma from the Easter chant *Alleluia V. Pascha nostrum immolatus est* recorded in this part of the book,<sup>16</sup> and fourteen different polyphonic versions of the melisma *DOMINUS*

- 12 • Dillon, 'Music Manuscripts', 292. This is an idea perhaps more widely acknowledged outside a musicological context. In this regard, see, for instance, David McKenzie, *The Panizzi Lectures 1985: Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London, 1986); Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Bloomington, IN, 1991); and Stephen G. Nichols, *From Parchment to Cyberspace: Medieval Interventions. New Light on Traditional Thinking* (New York, 2016).
- 13 • This idea draws strength from several studies that have sought to recognize the historiographical loquacity of medieval manuscripts. On this, see, for example, Sean Curran, 'Writing, Performance, and Devotion in the Thirteenth-Century Motet: The "La Clayette" Manuscript', in Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (eds.), *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context* (Cambridge, 2015), 193–220.
- 14 • Evidence for the performance of polyphony at Notre-Dame comes as early as 1198, in an edict of Bishop Odo of Sully; see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge, 1989), 239–41.
- 15 • This includes polyphonic settings that can be conceptualized as different 'ways of singing' a chant melody as well as those that might be understood as more expressly compositional or intellectual in form. Indeed, one of the most interesting aspects of this musical practice as recorded in *F* is the manner in which these differing conceptualizations may intersect.
- 16 • See Susan Rankin, 'Making Music into History' (Ch. 1 above).

from the gradual *Viderunt omnes* (for Christmas Day and its octave in a Parisian rite). The range and diversity of settings in this collection thus makes the fifth fascicle an especially inviting case study through which to think about *F* as a specifically historicizing endeavour. For its unmatched archival reach prompts questions about how its extensive musical contents have been collected and assembled within the fascicle, and moreover, how these strategies of assemblage suggest broader intentions on the part of its makers and the hand directing their work.

Certainly, the deliberate historicizing act represented by the making of this book can be viewed in parallel with new approaches to musical composition: the literate situation within which this music developed, it is to be imagined, not only shaped the documentary practices that preserved the repertory, but actively influenced the way settings might be created as well.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, that practices of writing could facilitate new compositional possibilities for devising a piece makes an argument for extensive musical experimentation within the *clausula* repertory all the more compelling.<sup>18</sup> And even in the copying of *F*, signs of this creative literate situation can be readily identified; it seems that the scribe himself was sometimes involved in this compositional process, apparently (re)formulating pieces as he copied them down.<sup>19</sup>

But insofar as it is possible to distinguish between compositional behaviours and acts of copying within *F*, my contribution is concerned primarily with the latter—in exploring how the contents of this book help to establish a musical past and what that past might look like.<sup>20</sup> To this end, I am particularly curious about the kinds of materials the scribe drew upon as he copied, and thus what came before *F*. Consequently, I shall turn a close eye to the arrangement of materials within the fifth fascicle, and the motivations for such an arrangement, in order to comment upon layers of copying within this part of the book. In turn, such observations can offer previously unseen glimpses into the scribe's copying process that both add nuance

- 17 • One helpful explication of this idea is offered by Sybille Krämer in a discussion of 'Schriftbildlichkeit'. See 'Graphismus als Potenzial: Reflexionen über die epistemische Verschränkung von Räumlichkeit und Anschauung' in Fabian Czolbe and David Magnus (eds.), *Notationen in kreativen Prozessen* (Würzburg, 2015), 17–36. Specifically, Krämer suggests: '[Graphische Darstellungen] sind nicht nur ein Medium zur Darstellung von Wissensgegenständen und Wissensfeldern, sondern zugleich ein Instrument ihres Explorierens und Generierens' (Graphical representations are not only a medium for the representation of objects and areas of knowledge, but at the same time an instrument for their exploration and generation), 17.
- 18 • This is an aspect of *clausula* scholarship that would benefit from more detailed study. Indeed, the extent to which writing played a role in the conception of this *clausula* repertory often appears somewhat overemphasized in current scholarship; see, for instance, Rebecca A. Baltzer, Introduction, *Les clausules à deux voix du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1*, ed. Baltzer, *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris, V* (Monaco, 1995), p. xxxix, who views this music as 'composed, written down, and learned by *organistae* before performance took place'; or Edward Roesner, 'Notre Dame', in Mark Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 2018), 834–80, who argues that this repertory was 'not only preserved and transmitted in musical notation but also conceived in writing for much of its history' (p. 835). While writing appears to play an ever more constitutive role in polyphonic musical practice of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the delineation of oral and written procedures within the *clausula* repertory is often a thorny task; it seems that they interact in complex, often multifarious ways and the degree of their influence can differ markedly between pieces.
- 19 • On this, see Edward H. Roesner, 'Who "Made" the *Magnus liber*?', *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), 227–66 at 245–56, and Catherine A. Bradley, 'Re-workings and Chronological Dynamics in a Thirteenth-Century Latin Motet Family', *Journal of Musicology*, 32 (2015), 153–97 at 168–84.
- 20 • The topic of compositional behaviour within the *clausula* repertory is taken up in more detail in my forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation (provisionally titled) 'Creating *Clausulae* at Notre-Dame-de-Paris: A Study of Compositional Process and Structure' (University of Cambridge).

to existing accounts of *F* as a highly organized and carefully planned book and also provide an opportunity to imagine the possible scope of exemplars and musical practices represented within the fascicle. Second, I ask how *F* can be seen to represent a musical past—in what way its musical contents and the copying process of the scribe might be read as actively facilitating the historicizing project of the book. Specifically, by drawing upon certain repertorial issues, I attempt to demonstrate how the presentation of material within this fascicle can come to shape our understanding of the book's intended function.

In what follows, then, I present two examples—two sites of codicological interest—that provide a thread through this study of the *clausula* fascicle and its organizational principles. The first, which includes a necessary overview of the fascicle, sets out a case of apparent mis-ordering; the second, focusing more upon musical characteristics, explores an issue of *clausula* duplication.

\* \* \*

The *clausula* fascicle of *F* (fols. 147<sup>r</sup>–184<sup>v</sup>), in its present state, is formed of two gatherings (comprised of ten bifolios and nine bifolios respectively); a further gathering at the end of the fascicle is now lost.<sup>21</sup> Within the fascicle, *clausulae* are arranged in six distinct series—an organizational plan well noted by commentators since it was first reported by Friedrich Ludwig in his *Repertorium*:<sup>22</sup>

<b>Organization of <i>clausulae</i></b>	<b>Folio nos.</b>	<b><i>Clausula</i> nos.</b>
First ordered series for Office and Mass	147 <sup>r</sup> –170 <sup>v</sup>	1–202
Unordered series for Office and Mass	170 <sup>v</sup> –172 <sup>v</sup>	203–26
Second ordered series for Mass	172 <sup>v</sup> –178 <sup>r</sup>	227–88
Third ordered series for Office	178 <sup>r</sup> –180 <sup>r</sup>	289–342
Fourth ordered series for Mass	180 <sup>r</sup> –183 <sup>v</sup>	343–442
Unordered series for Office and Mass	183 <sup>v</sup> –184 <sup>v</sup>	443–62

Yet, beyond identifying these six series, scholarship has yet to fully investigate the particular organizational schemes in operation within the fascicle, and moreover, what these schemes

21 • An original foliation series makes clear that this was comprised of eight bifolios.

22 • Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1910), i. 79–96. This plan has been further clarified by Norman E. Smith in 'The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School', 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1964). Existing studies present two different numberings of *clausulae*. Here I follow the system used by Rebecca A. Baltzer in *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, v. A discrepancy arises where other catalogues, such as Smith, 'The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School'; Rudolf Flotzinger, *Der Discantussatz im Magnus liber und seiner Nachfolge*, Wiener musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge, 8 (Vienna, 1969), and Hendrik van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester, NY, 1989), interpret *clausula* no. 60 as two separate pieces due to its setting of consecutive chant segments SURGE and ET ILLUMINARE. In support of Baltzer's interpretation, the setting of ET ILLUMINARE is not provided with text, nor is it transmitted independently within manuscript sources. A converse situation arises with *clausulae* nos. 236–7, which are considered by Baltzer as distinct pieces, whereas other catalogues view them as a single item (again, they set consecutive portions of chant: DOMINO and QUONIAM). That each *clausula* is furnished with individual illuminated initials, however, appears to suggest that, at least at the point of copying, they were recognized as two separate settings. In consequence, where there was a deviation between the numbering within catalogues which started at *clausula* no. 60, from this point on in the fascicle all catalogues agree.

communicate about the nature of *F* as a book.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, existing interpretations have primarily regarded the different collections within fascicle V as signalling different chronological layers of the *clausula* repertory, with ‘the newest and largest collection’ given ‘pride of place’ in the fascicle, while the second, third, and fourth series ‘betray increasing age’.<sup>24</sup> But a preliminary consideration of the ordering of *clausulae*, taking into account just the liturgical arrangement of series, already reveals numerous issues of copying, both across the fascicle and within individual series, that have yet to be explained: it would appear that the process of compiling this music and organizing it into the fascicle was far from a simple task for the scribe.

Of the six series preserved within the fascicle, four are disposed according to a liturgical order,<sup>25</sup> with each containing several distinguishing features. The first, comprising a total of 202 *clausulae*, is by far the largest of these collections. Unparalleled in size, the series is also distinctive in its organization of material: as the only ordered series that combines *clausulae* for the Office and Mass, the collection is not only set apart from the rest of the fascicle, but it is also distinct from the organization of the two-part *organum* repertories in *F*, *W*<sub>1</sub>, and *W*<sub>2</sub>, which all separate the repertory into either Office or Mass collections.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, this first *clausula* series adopts the same liturgical plan as that which obtains within *organa dupla* repertories in *F*—a plan that is shared also with the second ordered series of the *clausula* fascicle.

By contrast, the third and fourth ordered series of *clausulae*, for Office and Mass respectively—consisting of so-called ‘abbreviation’ or ‘mini’ *clausulae*—follow a somewhat different organizational scheme.<sup>27</sup> In particular, we find liturgical melodies that have been treated for named feasts of the Sanctorale in other sections of the fascicle in positions representing specific saint’s feasts, here treated as chants for the Common of Saints, or, indeed, vice versa: that chant for the Common of Saints in *organum* fascicles or earlier *clausula* series are represented here as proper to specific saint’s feasts. And this subtly different liturgical arrangement is amplified further by the musical differences discernible between these settings and other *clausula* series. Not only are pieces in these collections distinctly shorter than other settings within the fascicle—tenors are typically formed of only a few pitches—but, as Catherine A. Bradley has demonstrated, they are often also based on portions of chant that receive little or no attention in earlier parts of the book, sometimes copied at different transpositions, and the text is often unconventionally underlaid.<sup>28</sup> Thus, while these *clausulae* seem to have been considered important enough to be included within the book by the scribe, it would appear that, both on

23 • One notable exception can be found in Catherine A. Bradley’s discussion of the *clausula* scribe’s use of motet exemplars in *Polyphony in Medieval Paris: The Art of Composing with Plainchant* (Cambridge, 2018), 111–45 at 118–19.

24 • On this, see Baltzer in *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, v, p. xlix. This interpretation is based on whether a series separates or combines pieces for the Mass and Office, as well as ‘a relative chronology for the development of the different tenor rhythms and modal patterns’—a chronological standpoint that may benefit from fresh evaluation on different terms.

25 • This ordering combines temporal and sanctoral cycles, with settings which must represent the common of saints placed at the end of the latter.

26 • As Baltzer has noted, the presentation in a single cycle of Office and Mass pieces corresponds to the organization of the three-voice organa fascicle of *F*—something which may indicate the ‘slightly younger’ nature of these collections. *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, v, ed. Baltzer, p. xliv.

27 • For a discussion of this terminology see Bradley, *Polyphony in Medieval Paris*, 49–80.

28 • Ibid. 77.



an organizational level and also a musical one, these two series point towards a different kind of repertorial tradition being preserved here—though one with many features shared with repertory in other parts of the book.

Two further series of *clausulae* within the fascicle exhibit no particular liturgical ordering at all. Relatively small in volume, the contents of these collections are typically considered as ‘supplements’ to larger, ordered series in scholarship, primarily on account of their lack of organization.<sup>29</sup> Their presence in a book that seems especially concerned with the careful presentation of material, however, remains to be explained, and the musical characteristics of pieces within these collections only add to their curiosity. For example, the first unordered series contains a significant number of settings (fourteen of the twenty-four pieces) in an *organum purum* style rather than in a discant style typical of *clausulae*. And both unordered series also include settings of chants that do not belong to the corpus of liturgical melodies that appear to constitute the *magnus liber organi* as used at Notre-Dame-de-Paris<sup>30</sup>—one setting in the first series, and three in the second come from chants for which no *organa* survive.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, whether these unordered series are to be viewed as *clausulae* that were not able to be included in earlier series or, perhaps more likely, as representing distinct layers of copying in themselves, the fact that the scribe copied these pieces in the way that he did is telling. For in this regard, it seems, the two unordered series speak quite directly to the scribe’s anthologizing tendency. That is, in their organization (or lack thereof), as well as their musical characteristics, these sections not only begin to articulate a codicological priority of exhaustive collection over the navigability of pieces; they also make clear the scribe’s maximalist ambition that sees even the inclusion of pieces which apparently lie beyond the repertorial tradition of the Cathedral’s *magnus liber*.

So, it would seem, the liturgical ordering of material within the six distinct *clausula* series is far from uniform; rather, and in resonance with Edward Roesner’s observation of *F*, we find that ‘a variety of organizational plans are at work’.<sup>32</sup> These multiple plans bespeak a complex compilatory effort in which several layers of copying within the fascicle—and perhaps, too, several musical traditions—can be distinguished. In other words, the size and scope of the collections, organized into distinct codicological layers, argues for multiple exemplars being drawn upon by the scribe as he was copying, representative of numerous musical practices and the work of many musicians. Moreover, in the process of collecting this musical material, the scribe not only sought to garner everything that might represent this repertory within the fascicle (and in so doing create a book of encyclopedic ambition); he also attempted to portray this polyphonic repertory in a very deliberate way. In consequence, each series can be seen to have its own stylistic character articulating a motivation of the scribe to cultivate a particular impression of the repertory he was copying.<sup>33</sup>

29 • See, for example, Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris*, 90; Norman Smith, ‘The Clausulae of the Notre-Dame School’, 14; and *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, v, ed. Baltzer, p. xlv.

30 • For an outline the contents of this *magnus liber organi* repertory, see Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 259–62.

31 • These are *clausulae* nos. 224, 455, 456, and 457. On this issue see Norman E. Smith, ‘Some Exceptional Clausulae of the Florence Manuscript’, *Music & Letters*, 59 (1973), 405–14.

32 • Roesner, *Introduction to the Manuscript F*, 25.

33 • One example of this idea may be identified in the possible presence of transcribed motets, as well as motet concordances within the *clausula* fascicle. See, as a starting point, Catherine A. Bradley, ‘Contrafacta and

Perhaps such aesthetic notions are most clearly observable in the first series of *clausulae*—a collection that contains some of the most sophisticated pieces, often based on the longest, most elaborate portions of chant melodies that constitute the *magnus liber organi* repertory. For one, the impression gained from this series is of comprehensiveness: in its size, the collection constitutes almost half of the entire musical contents of the fascicle. And within the series we find copied numerous different polyphonic responses to a single melisma—often on a scale far beyond that which might actually have been used by one group of musicians—demonstrating an extraordinary range of rhythmic, melodic, and contrapuntal possibilities in this polyphonic context. Indeed, almost half of the chant melodies included in this part of the fascicle are subject to at least two different renderings in polyphony. For another, the impression is of compositional prestige; it would appear that the scribe sought to begin the fascicle with what might have been viewed as some of the most impressive compositions—and perhaps the most recently made pieces—he was able to find. One measure of such prestige might be in the number of pieces that do not simply state the chant melody once but make use of the practice of tenor repetition; a compositional technique that, at its heart, reflects a desire to make longer, more complex musical settings than necessitated by liturgical function.<sup>34</sup> In this regard, of the 129 *clausulae* in the fifth fascicle that bear witness to this technique, ninety are copied within the first series; one setting, upon the chant melisma *OMNES* from the Christmas gradual *Viderunt omnes*, possibly a transcribed motet, even repeats its tenor a total of nine times.<sup>35</sup> And pointing further to this idea, this first series also has a near monopoly on motet concordances within the *clausula* fascicle—a layer of the repertory that most likely belongs to the more recent musical past.<sup>36</sup>

The desire, on the part of the scribe, to portray aspects of the *clausula* repertory in this considered way illustrates that, even within individual *clausula* series, a number of different organizational plans and priorities may be operating simultaneously, each helping to cultivate a particular reading of the book and its musical contents. And a frequent consequence of these concurrent systems for arranging material is the appearance of a number of organizational discrepancies—a compromise of choosing one plan over another—across the fascicle. Such organizational compromises prompt us to temper our view of the book's highly organized struc-

Transcribed Motets: Vernacular Influences on Latin Motets and Clausulae in the Florence Manuscript', *Early Music History*, 32 (2013), 1–70.

- 34 • On this, see Norman E. Smith, 'Tenor Repetition in the Notre Dame Organa', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 19 (1966), 329–51.
- 35 • This is the *clausula* on fol. 149<sup>r</sup>, system II of MS *F*; see also the motet *En mon chant deslou un jeu qui molt est loez/OMNES* in MüA (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 42), fol. 1.
- 36 • The fascicle contains a total of sixty-five pieces with known *clausula*/motet concordances, and all but eight appear in the first series. For a list of most these concordances see Norman E. Smith, 'From Clausula to Motet: Material for Further Studies in the Origin and Early History of the Motet', *Musica Disciplina*, 34 (1980), 29–31, 33–65. Two additional motet concordances not listed by Smith are now known, both upon the melisma *LATUS* from the chant *Alleluia V. Pascha nostrum immolatus est*. The first, *Quod promisit dominus*, has a concordance with color II of *clausula* no. 102 (see Katarzyna Grochowska, 'Tenor Circles and Motet Cycles: A Study of the Stary Sącz Manuscript [Pl-SS Muz 9] and its Implications for Modes of Repertory Organization in 13th-century Polyphonic Collections' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2013). Second, the motet *A tort sui d'amours blasmee* is related to *clausula* no. 452. See Gaël Saint-Cricq, 'Formes types dans le motet du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Étude d'un processus répétitif', 2 vols. (Ph.D. thesis, University of Southampton, 2009), and Saint-Cricq, 'A New Link between the Motet and Trouvère Chanson: The *Pedes-Cum-Cauda* Motet', *Early Music History*, 32 (2013), 179–223.

ture in a way that accounts both for the breadth of materials drawn upon and the multiplicity of strategies for arranging this material within the fascicle. But these moments may also offer a window into the scribe's copying process within the fascicle and the kinds of decisions he made when assembling its musical contents in ways that directly link the process of copying to the clearly historicizing expression of this repertory within the book. Indeed, looking more closely at the liturgical organization of pieces within the *clausula* fascicle of *F* reveals numerous moments of discontinuity through which we may uncover choices faced by the scribe in the process of compilation, and the kinds of motivations that underpin the production of the fascicle.

The group of *clausulae* in the first ordered series based upon gradual chants for St Stephen (*Sederunt principes*) and St John the Evangelist (*Exiit sermo*) offers one such example: these are listed in Table 2.1.<sup>37</sup> For each chant, as is typical in this part of the fascicle, we find that the longest melismas in the chant melodies—[DOMI]NE and MANERE respectively—receive the most extensive polyphonic treatment, though a setting of another melisma from the *Exiit sermo* melody, DONEC VENIAM, has also been included here. As is expected, the first seven of these settings, *clausulae* 40–6, are ordered according to their position within the liturgical calendar: the five MANERE *clausulae* for use on 27 December follow two upon [DOMI]NE, for 26 December.<sup>38</sup> But the *clausulae* that immediately follow—nos. 47–50—diverge from this liturgical plan. Two more settings of [DOMI]NE, from *Sederunt principes*, have been copied at this point, followed by two further *clausulae* upon the *Exiit sermo* chant.

Table 2.1. Ordering of M<sub>3</sub> and M<sub>5</sub> *clausulae* in the first ordered series of the fifth fascicle, MS *F*

<i>Clausula</i> no.	Folio and system	Ludwig no.	Text	Feast
40	15 <sup>r</sup> II	M <sub>3</sub>	[DOMI]NE	St Stephen, 26 Dec., Gradual
41	15 <sup>r</sup> III	M <sub>3</sub>	[DOMI]NE	—
42	15 <sup>r</sup> IV	M <sub>5</sub>	MANERE	St John Evangelist, 27 Dec., Gradual
43	15 <sup>r</sup> V	M <sub>5</sub>	MANERE	—
44	15 <sup>r</sup> VI	M <sub>5</sub>	MANERE	—
45	15 <sup>v</sup> I	M <sub>5</sub>	MANERE	—
46	15 <sup>v</sup> III	M <sub>5</sub>	MANERE	—
47	15 <sup>v</sup> VI	M <sub>3</sub>	[DOMI]NE	St Stephen, 26 Dec., Gradual
48	15 <sup>2</sup> I	M <sub>3</sub>	[DOMI]NE	—
49	15 <sup>2</sup> II	M <sub>5</sub>	MANERE	St John the Evangelist, 27 Dec., Gradual
50	15 <sup>2</sup> III	M <sub>5</sub>	DONEC VENIAM	—

37 • References to M[ass] and O[ffice] are drawn from the cataloguing system of Ludwig, *Repertorium*, which has been maintained almost universally in scholarship on *clausulae*. This nomenclature first states the folio number on which the *clausula* is copied; second, whether it appears on a recto or verso; and finally, in Roman numerals, its system number. Where more than one *clausula* is copied on a single system, Arabic numbering differentiates between settings.

38 • Interestingly, *clausulae* 41 and 46 appear to be transcribed motets; see Fred Büttner, 'Weltliche Einflüsse in der Notre-Dame-Musik? Überlegungen zu einer Klausel im Codex F', *Anuario Musical*, 57 (2002), 19–37 and ch. 4 of Bradley, *Polyphony in Medieval Paris*. This observation resonates with Bradley's proposition that the scribe of *F* usually made motet transcriptions from French motet exemplars and turned to these exemplars at the end of tenor groups (*Polyphony in Medieval Paris*, 118–19). In addition, *clausulae* 42, 44, 43, and 45 (in that

What might have caused such an organizational discrepancy to arise? One explanation may be that the scribe was copying from material that itself was not liturgically ordered. Yet far from an isolated issue, we find a similar phenomenon of *clausulae* copied in the wrong liturgical position within a cycle, and related to this, *clausulae* on particular melismas of a melody copied in a different order from that presented in the original chant, across all four ordered sections of the fascicle. Indeed, the extent of this ‘mis-ordering’ suggests that this was more than an occasional problem for the scribe—one that cannot be fully accounted for as the result of copying from material that, itself, was not in liturgical order. Rather, the implication is that the scribe was working from more than one set of materials as he copied, organizing them within his book as he went. In other words, it seems that the scribe’s decision to stray from the organizational scheme of the series as he copied *clausulae* for St Stephen and St John the Evangelist was motivated by a desire to include additional polyphonic settings of these melodies in close proximity to the earlier *clausulae* upon the same chant. The break in liturgical order of pieces speaks to a certain hierarchy of compilatory schemes within the fascicle: the scribe deemed it more important to copy many different ways of singing the chant melody in one place than to preserve a rigid liturgical plan across the fascicle—a case of musical comprehensiveness over consistency of liturgical ordering. That is, as well as viewing each of the six cycles of *clausulae* within *F* as distinct layers of copying in themselves, the discrepancy in the liturgical ordering points to numerous exemplars being drawn upon within each cycle, a process that often complicated the compilation of material in the fascicle.

A consideration of the musical characteristics of the two groups of MANERE *clausulae* appears to support the idea that at least two different practices of singing—and two different exemplars—have been represented here. Stylistically, the first five settings of the MANERE melisma (nos. 42–6) stand quite apart from the final setting, *clausula* no. 49, copied after the additional [DOMI]NE *clausulae*. In this respect, all of the first group of settings can be seen to divide up the chant melody and organize it into rhythmic measures according to the same recurring three-note long pattern. And above this tenor design, several shared motivic figures can be traced across the settings: most notable in this regard is the opening *ordo* of each *clausula*. As shown in Example 2.1, each of the five settings begins with a motif outlining a five-note descending scale—a motif employed with remarkable consistency from piece to piece. Indeed, the near exact use of this melodic figure across the *clausulae*, as well as the shared tenor arrangement, suggests five closely related ways of singing the chant melody.

But the final *clausula* upon the MANERE melisma—on fol. 152<sup>r</sup>, system II—reflects a somewhat different musical design. Its tenor, for example, set in double-length longs, is the only version to be organized into phrases of irregular length—most *ordines* are four notes long, though

order), which are also preserved in fascicle V of *W*, form a group of settings that are combined as the widely transmitted piece *Serena virginum*, as well as the two-part motet *Manere vivere*/MANERE. On this, see as a starting point, Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1970), i. 275–300; Rebecca A. Baltzer, ‘Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre Dame Clausula’ (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1974), 266–8; *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, ed. Thomas B. Payne, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, 41 (Middleton, WI, 2011), 111–15; Fred Büttner, *Das Klauselrepertoire der Handschrift Saint-Victor (Paris, BN, lat. 15139): Eine Studie zur mehrstimmigen Komposition im 13. Jahrhundert* (Lecce, 2011), 158–60.

Example 2.1. Opening of *MANERE clausulae*: (a) nos. 42–6; (b) no. 49

(a)

No. 42, fol. 151<sup>r</sup> IV

No. 43, fol. 151<sup>r</sup> V

No. 44, fol. 151<sup>r</sup> VI

No. 45, fol. 151<sup>v</sup> I

No. 46, fol. 151<sup>v</sup> III

Tenor

(b)

No. 49, fol. 152<sup>r</sup> II

Tenor

the phrase structure of the beginning and end of the setting is considerably more varied. The upper voice also explores a different kind of rhythmic profile from previous *MANERE clausulae*, employing *fractio modi* patterns far more prevalently than the preceding settings. Moreover, and most distinctly, the familiar opening figure characteristic of the earlier settings is supplanted by a different melodic line that rises first to *g'* before falling to a unison with the tenor. In sum, the codicological separation of the *MANERE clausula* matches pronounced musical differences between settings; such moments of divergence from the liturgical ordering of pieces may not only serve to indicate distinct layers of copying within a *clausula* series, but also throw light on the range of musical practices that are represented in the fascicle. Of course, the grouping of *clausulae* in the first *MANERE* collection does not discount the possibility that they were also drawn from different exemplars. Yet their musical similarities—especially the shared openings of *clausulae*—point to yet another facet of organization recognized by the scribe: one that seeks to arrange polyphonic settings with related musical features in close proximity.<sup>39</sup>

\* \* \*

Beyond the liturgical organization of *clausulae* within *F*, issues surrounding the presentation of settings—from the very fact of their inclusion within the manuscript to more detailed questions of reading and of notation—also provide abundant material through which to consider the kinds of exemplars the scribe was copying from. My second example takes up such questions by considering instances of near exact duplication of a *clausula* within the book. Indeed, there are at least eighteen polyphonic discant settings of a melisma within an *organum* (that is,

39 • Another example of the possible grouping of *clausulae* based on a shared musical design can be found across three settings of the melisma *REGNAT* on fol. 167<sup>v</sup> of *F*.

in fascicle III or IV of *F*) with directly related versions also copied as separate *clausulae*,<sup>40</sup> while a further eleven settings are preserved in two closely related forms within just the *clausula* fascicle. These eleven settings are presented in Table 2.2. Such moments of musical repetition are of special interest since they seem to bear witness quite explicitly to a copying behaviour of the scribe.<sup>41</sup> They also reveal information about the networks of transmission that underpin this musical practice and that lie behind manuscript sources of this repertory.

Table 2.2. *Clausula* duplications within fascicle V, MS *F*

Ludwig no.	Fol. and system	Text	Fol. and system	Text
M1	150 <sup>r</sup> I (cursus 1)	DOMINUS	184 <sup>v</sup> III	DOMINUS SALUTARE
M9	150 <sup>v</sup> II, 2	OMNES	180 <sup>v</sup> V	OMNES
M17	159 <sup>v</sup> VI	SURREXIT DOMINUS ET OCCURRENS MULIERIBUS	184 <sup>r</sup> V	MULIERIBUS
M23	161 <sup>v</sup> IV	CAPTIVAM	181 <sup>v</sup> IV	CAPTIVAM DU[XIT]
O16	166 <sup>r</sup> II, 1	STIRPS	178 <sup>v</sup> VI	STIRPS (all but the opening)
M34	166 <sup>r</sup> IV	GAUDETE	176 <sup>r</sup> V, 2	GAUDETE
M50	169 <sup>r</sup> III, 2	QUI CONSERVARET	177 <sup>r</sup> V	QUI CONSERVARET
M51	170 <sup>r</sup> VI	[ADIU]TORIUM (incomplete)	171 <sup>v</sup> II, 2	[ADIU]TORIUM
M11	171 <sup>r</sup> IV, 2	ET VIDIMUS IN CIVITATE DEI NOSTRI IN MONTE	181 <sup>r</sup> I, 2	ITA ET VIDIMUS
M27	175 <sup>r</sup> IV, 1	SANCTE SPIRITUS	181 <sup>v</sup> IV, 3	VENI SANCTE SPIRITUS REPLE
M54	178 <sup>r</sup> IV, 2	VENI	183 <sup>r</sup> III, 1	VENI

One melisma with two nearly identical polyphonic settings within *F* is a portion of the Assumption chant *Alleluia V. Hodie Maria*, upon the text GAUDETE. Example 2.2 presents transcriptions of the two related *clausulae*, copied on fol. 166<sup>r</sup> IV and on fol. 176<sup>r</sup> V, 2. At first glance, both the musical contents and the notation of the two *clausulae* are indistinguishable, underlining a striking stability in the way they were known and shared. Yet several differences in melodic and orthographical detail emerge under closer inspection—differences that seem to draw attention to the written practices that underpin their transmission. Take, for example, the tenor of Example 2.2(a), which is missing the final pitch of the melisma (a *g*) as compared to Example 2.2(b)—an omission almost certainly accounted for by scribal error or a faulty exemplar. Additionally, at this moment, the notational spelling of the upper voices also diverges. Here, while the version in Example 2.2(b) records two individual longs in the duplum—a no-

40 • This is a number that would increase if one were to include settings based on melismas shared by different chant melodies. On this, see Norman E. Smith, 'Interrelationships among the Alleluias of the "Magnus liber organi"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25 (1972), 175–202 and Smith, 'Interrelationships among the Graduals of the Magnus Liber Organi', *Acta Musicologica*, 45 (1973), 73–97.

41 • Such instances of near exact duplication may temper the idea that the scribe's awareness of earlier portions of the book shaped the manner in which material was copied later; on this, see, for example, Catherine A. Bradley, 'Ordering in the Motet Fascicles of the Florence Manuscript', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 22 (2013), 37–64. I view this possible organizational factor as one of many priorities guiding the compilation of the book, and one that, at least within the *clausula* fascicle, does not appear as the most significant.

Collecting *Clausulae*, Shaping the Past

Example 2.2. GAUDETE *clausulae* from MS *F*: (a) fol. 166<sup>r</sup> IV; (b) fol. 176<sup>r</sup>, V, 2

(a)

I  
Gau -

II

de - - - te.

(b)

I  
Gau -

II

de - - - te.

tation reciprocated in the tenor voice—the upper voice of Example 2.2(a) has been notated as a binary ligature. This difference in ligation may be best explained as a result of there being just one tenor note for the scribe to align with the duplum.<sup>42</sup> But these moments also serve as valuable reminders of the particular written circumstances within which the scribe was operating—small differences in detail that seem illustrative of a primarily literate rather than a performance situation. And in view of the fact that this *clausula* is preserved on a folio unusually riddled with copying difficulties—one need only look to the preceding *clausula* (and possible transcribed motet)<sup>43</sup> FLOS FILIUS EIUS to find evidence of significant erasure and lacunae—the case for written circumstances influencing the transmission of settings on this page is strong.

But an argument for traces of oral, unwritten aspects of *clausula* transmission reflected in the notation may also be made here. In this regard, each setting can be seen to exhibit a contrasting approach to notating the syllable change at ‘*de*’ and the final cadential figure of the upper voice. In Example 2.2(a), a two-note ligature comes after the ‘*de*’ syllable stroke—notably, a stroke mark that is not aligned with the lower part—and the scribe deals with the repeated upper-voice pitch of a *b* that follows by notating a punctum followed by a three-note *conjunctura*. Example 2.2(b), however, more precisely aligns the change in syllable of the duplum with the tenor voice, but ligates the pitches following the syllable stroke in a manner that disrupts the typical arrangement of first-mode rhythmic patterns. It may be said, then, that neither *clausula* seems to deal with this cadential figure in a wholly straightforward manner—a notational situation that has been complicated by the use of syllable strokes and a repeated pitch which limits the range of notational possibilities for the scribe. I propose, therefore, that this point in the two *clausulae* neatly illustrates a moment where the scribe is grappling with a fundamentally oral melodic behaviour; that, in the process of copying, he offered two different, though ultimately problematic, notational responses to the challenge of converting into modal notation a melodic figure that would have been easy enough for a musician to sing. The implication is that this was a phrase that was probably conceived independently of any notation, representative of an unwritten dimension of these *clausula* settings.

Viewed together, then, the two GAUDETE *clausulae* appear to indicate that versions were most likely drawn from two different, though closely related exemplars—transmitted in a manner remarkably similar to one another. The subtle variations in notation of each *clausula* also highlight a susceptibility to the stylistic designs of prior exemplars in influencing the range of notational figures employed by the scribe. Yet, it remains to be said that the notion of an ‘exemplar’ can imply both some physical object and a particular musical practice. Accordingly, we may imagine that in the process of compiling and copying his material within *F* the scribe may have drawn upon numerous texts—both written and unwritten—containing closely related ways of singing a chant melody in polyphony, and that these ways of singing were not always easily transferred into modal notation. In this way, the two settings might

42 • Perhaps the ligation of pitches at the end of Example 2.2(a) may also have been motivated by the lack of space in the manuscript before the beginning of the next *clausula*.

43 • On this, see, for example, William G. Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice* (New Haven, 1954), 101, and Wolf Frobenius, ‘Zum genetischen Verhältnis zwischen Notre-Dame-Klauseln und ihren Motetten’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 44 (1987), 1–39 at 19.



be considered as illustrating quite directly the complementary ways in which oral and literate behaviours may animate musical practice, and moreover, how these behaviours can give rise to many different potential versions of a *clausula*. That the two nearly identical *clausulae* are copied within several pages of each other also serves as a pronounced reminder of a guiding principle in the scribe's copying: to compile a music book that sets out to conserve as full a representation of this repertory as possible, even if that results in the occasional duplication of a setting. Indeed, it is through cases such as this, I suggest, that it is not only possible to identify the ways in which the *clausula* repertory has been treated as historical matter—and therefore recorded in writing in numerous versions—but also, through close reading of the manner in which pieces have been copied, that there is potential to uncover signs of oral, performance-based practices that underpin the notated records of pieces.

\* \* \*

On the surface, the fascicle of *clausulae* in *F* may appear as a particularly pronounced example of the encyclopedic anthologizing that can be traced more generally across the manuscript. The deluxe presentation of material, the multiple layers of collecting, and the numerous different ways of singing individual chant melodies recorded within the fascicle all cultivate a view of the book that seems far less functional, and far more ambitious in its production than any other surviving manuscript of this music. Yet, looking more carefully at the ways in which the musical contents of *F* have been assembled and copied reveals a complicated underlying process of compilation, governed by a multiplicity of different organizational priorities. These priorities can be seen to alter and fluctuate throughout the fascicle in response to the diverse materials drawn upon. As a result, I have argued, this often leads to the compromise of one organizational plan to accommodate another: most prevalently, the motivation to collect as much music as possible within the fascicle not only eclipses the liturgical ordering of collections but it also leads to several cases of near exact repetition of musical material preserved elsewhere within the *clausula* collection. And herein lie examples of the book's historicizing potential. For in such moments we find evidence of a very deliberate interpretation of the musical repertory being preserved—a scribal agency that not only seeks to document everything viewed as within the purview of this Parisian musical practice, but to present it in a format that appears comprehensive. The construction and portrayal of a musical past for this polyphonic repertory thus appears deeply bound to the copying process of the scribe. Accordingly, the scribe affords various aspects of this repertory particular prominence within the book—most notably, a desire to include some of the most 'up-to-date' compositions at the beginning of the *clausula* fascicle. But many other, less immediately visible repertorial connections can also be drawn out through a close examination of the fascicle's organization, and in many cases, codicological discrepancies often go hand in hand with musical differences. One reason why the fascicle's musical contents were arranged and presented in such a way, therefore, may have been because of a self-conscious recognition of what a musical past meant to its compilers, and, moreover, how this past should be preserved for posterity.

To view the *clausula* collections in this way may highlight manuscript *F* as a particularly formalizing, indeed rarefied representation of the musical practices it seeks to preserve. This essay, however, seeks to draw out a different kind of conclusion—one that sees the wholesale

attempt to record this repertory as a pronounced example of the kinds of historicizing possibilities available within the burgeoning literate context of thirteenth-century Paris. I now propose that the working out of procedures to support such an endeavour as *F* stands as a testament to the new interactions between music and literate practices in this period. Not simply a 'fixing' of musical practices in writing, therefore, the manuscript *F* may be viewed as a fundamentally new representation of a polyphonic practice and its repertory, both in its ambitious material form and in the interpretative processes that underlie its production.<sup>44</sup> In this way the making of *F* can be seen to bear witness to a changing perception of the role of writing in support of musical practice, for it offered the scribe and compilers the potential to cultivate an image of this repertory with a very deliberate historical value.

44 • In mind here is Caroline Walker Bynum's evocative proposition, in the context of medieval devotional practices, that 'to materialize is to animate'; see ch. 2, 'The Power of Objects' in her book *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2011), 125.

A small music book now housed in the library of the Metropolitan Cathedral at Prague, Cim 4,<sup>1</sup> became an important symbol of identity for the book-making practices of the cathedral after the interventions of Dean Vitus in the mid-thirteenth century (see Plate 3.1). Sometimes described as the ‘St Vitus Troper’, this book was acquired for St Vitus Cathedral in 1235, as recorded on a pastedown at the back of the book: ‘Anno domini m<sup>o</sup>.ccc.xxx<sup>mo</sup> v<sup>to</sup> Iste liber emptus est pro fertone.’<sup>2</sup> This annotating hand is quite distinct from the two main text hands inside the book, underlining a break between the fashioning of the book itself and its incorporation in the collection belonging to the Cathedral.<sup>3</sup> Yet it is precisely because of that break that Cim 4 is interesting, since in at least one tangible way it became a model for the later practice of the Cathedral. Earlier examples of liturgical books incorporating musical chants used in Bohemia show the use of a German neumatic notation: examples include the missal Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea XIV D 12, made in the first half of the twelfth century, and most likely belonging to a prominent church of the Prague diocese (see Plate 3.2).<sup>4</sup> These musical notations are written out following a model used for centuries past, without lines to fix pitch, and can be described as being written in ‘non-diastematic German neumes’. The notation of the troper (Pl. 3.1) is quite different; it is based on the earlier Lotharingian (or ‘Messine’) neumes, but now written on lines with C, F, and G clefs and B flats. After 1235 this way of writing musical notation was adopted at the Cathedral and then also in the surrounding dioceses, and will be considered further below. That adoption indicates a very deliberate choice made at the Cathedral to develop new scribal procedures, using a template which had already been developed elsewhere during the previous hundred years: although grounded in much older scribal practice, employing signs which had been in use since the ninth century, this neumatic script had been transformed and rendered ‘modern’ in now being written on stave lines. It must be surmised that such a notational system was regarded as more useful, more supportive of good musical practice, by Dean Vitus and his musician colleagues than the old Germanic neumes. To what extent those in charge at the Cathedral were influenced in

- 1 • The current location is Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly.
- 2 • In this date formula the last number (V) has been erased; see Pavel Spunar, ‘Das Troparium des Prager Dekans Vit (Prag Kapitelbibliothek, Cim 4)’, *Scriptorium*, 11 (1957), 50–62 at 54. The wording is problematic: the amount of money corresponding to ‘fertone’—a quarter of a threescore of silver (Viertelschock)—seems to be an extremely low price for a book of such quality. On Dean Vitus, see further below.
- 3 • On the text hands in Cim 4 see, above all, Spunar, ‘Das Troparium’; but see also below for further palaeographical analysis.
- 4 • Eva Vergosová, ‘Neumovaný misál CZ-Pnm XIV D 12: Analýza pramene a zařazení do historického kontextu’ [The neumed missal CZ-Pnm XIV D 12: Analysis of the source and its place in the historical context] (Master’s thesis, Charles University, Prague, 2018).

D O M I N E.  
 D I X I T E m e i n u e r i t a t e  
 t u a e t m o d o c e  
 m e q u i a t u e s d e  
 u s s a l u t a r i s m e u s e t t e s u s t i n u i t o t a  
 d i e. **R** e s p i c e i n m e e t m i s e r e r e m e i d o m i  
 n e c u s t o d i a n i m a m m e a m e t e r i p e m e n o n  
 c o n f u n d a r q u o n i a m i n u o c a u s t e.  
 o f f e r t. **D** e u s t u q u e r t e n s. **V.**  
**B** e n e d i c t i s t i d o m i n e t e r

A. m.

fulgur coruscans de sub celo mea que sub celo ful-  
gent. ita erit filius hominis in die sua. Primum  
aut oportet illum mancipari et reprobari. a genera-  
tione hac. Et sicut factum est in diebus noe. ita erit  
& in diebus filii hominis. Edebant. & bibebant. ux-  
ores ducebant. & dabantur ad nuptias. usque in die  
quam uauit noe marcam. et uenit diluuium. & per-  
didit omnes. Similiter sicut factum est. in diebus loth.  
Edebant. & bibebant. emebant. & uendebant. &  
plamabant. & edificabant. Qua die aut exiit loth  
a sodomus. pluit ignis & sulphur de celo. & per-  
didit omnes. Secum haec erit. qua die filius hominis  
reuelabitur. In nulla hora. qui fuerit in tecto. & uasa  
eius in domo. ne descendat tollere illa. Et qui in agro.  
similiter non redent retro. Memores estote. uxoris  
loth. Quicumque querierit animam suam saluam.  
facere. perdet eam. Et qui eumque perdidit illam. ui-  
uificabit eam. **D O M I N I C A T E R C I A.**

**G**AUDETE in domino semper uerum dico gau deie modestia  
uestra nota sit omnibus homi ni bus domi nus prope est ni-  
hil solli citi si tis sed in om ni oratio ne peccationes uestre in-  
notescant apud deum. **E**t pax dei que exuperat omne sensu.

**A**urem tuam quod domine precibus nostris accommoda. & mentis  
nostrae tenebras gratia tua uisionis illustra. Qui uiui.  
**F**RATRES. Sic nos exultimet **E** Ad Romanos.  
homo in ministro christi. & dispensatores ministe-  
riorum dei. hic iam queritur inter dispensatores.  
in fidelis quis inueniatur. Mihi aut pro minimo est

their adoption of this ‘old-new’ type of notation by its place of origin—the institution where Cim 4 was copied—cannot now be judged, since that institution has not been identified:<sup>5</sup> nevertheless, that they recognized the quality of the notation and the ways in which it could be servicable for their current needs can be judged from the degree to which this notational system became a mark of identity for the Cathedral’s books.

### The Vitus Troper (Cim 4)

Cim 4 includes chants belonging to three separate repertoires and functions: first, a cycle of Offertory verses, second, a collection of troped Ordinary chants, and third, settings of gospel readings.<sup>6</sup> This last group includes:

Fol.	Rubric	Incipit	Biblical source
60 <sup>r</sup>	[Christmas]	Liber generationis	Matt. 1:1–16
61 <sup>v</sup>	Item domini natiuitatem	In principio erat	John 1:1–14
62 <sup>v</sup>	Johannis apostoli	Sequere me	John 21:19–24
63 <sup>v</sup>	De Innocentibus	Angelus domini	Matt. 2:13–18
64 <sup>v</sup>	Epiphanie. In matutinis	Factum est cum baptizaretur	Luke 3:21–4:1
67 <sup>v</sup>	[Palm Sunday]	Dicebat ihesus turbis	Matt. 23:34–9

These gospel readings were added long after the preparation of the first and second parts of the book,<sup>7</sup> although written into a gathering which appears always to have belonged to the main book. Spunar associated the text hand of this last section with another manuscript belonging to the Cathedral, and in consequence dated this work between 1250 and 1270, after the manuscript had become the property of the Cathedral.

Setting this later extension aside, we are confronted by a book containing Offertory verses (without the Offertory responds themselves) and Ordinary tropes. On the one hand, we have chants which were long and difficult to sing; many had caused untold tonal difficulties to those who between the mid-eleventh and the mid-twelfth centuries had attempted to notate them using stave lines.<sup>8</sup> Above all, these verses were sung by soloists. On the other hand, we find chants—the Ordinary tropes—which were not drawn from the older Gregorian repertory but represent new northern compositions. As such the book can only have been intended for the use of a specialized musician with responsibility for organizing the singing of the Ordinary chants and of supporting the singing of the Offertory verses (if not himself being the singer); in other words, a cantor. There has been some disagreement about the quality of the book: described

5 • On the region where the book was made see below.

6 • On the content of the manuscript see the catalogue entry by Adolf Patera and Antonín Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitní kapitoly pražské* [Catalogue of the manuscripts of the library of the Metropolitan Chapter of Prague] (Prague, 1910), 4–5.

7 • ‘Schon die Beschreibung der Schrift der Hand C hat überzeugend gezeigt, dass der dritte Schreiber des Kodexes zeitlich zu einer ganz anderen Schicht gehört als die Schreiber A und B.’ Spunar, ‘Das Troparium’, 58.

8 • On this see Rebecca Maloy, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (New York and Oxford, 2010), *passim*.

by one scholar as ‘splendid’,<sup>9</sup> it was quite differently characterized by another as ‘thoroughly utilitarian’.<sup>10</sup> In a sense neither description is useful, since the book needs to be evaluated as a music book, rather than simply in comparison with books which were often splendidly made. For books dedicated to purely musical use, thus graduals, antiphoners, and books with a more restricted content such as this, it is very unusual to find examples made in the high grade typical of gospel books and pontificals. Commonly, the smaller size of parchment used in a music book will be taken from the sides of skins, showing stretch marks; at the very least, decoration is often restricted—as in this example—to one opening letter, typically A (for *Ad te leuau* in a book for the Mass and for *Aspiciens a longe* in a book for the Office). Evaluated from the point of view of music books, Cim 4 can certainly be described as ‘splendid’ and utterly non-utilitarian. Besides the large opening initial A—its whirls and tendrils outlined in red ink, with a background in green wash—this book reveals its qualities in both its physical material and in the way it was made. The parchment is of a good quality, relatively white, and almost without holes and tears throughout the book; the scribe did not lack for red ink—used throughout not only for capitals and rubrics, but also for decorative joining lines between syllables; and finally, the work of both main text scribes and music scribes is of very good quality. In the writing of Lotharingian neumes on lines,<sup>11</sup> there is hardly a more clear and tidy example extant from any centre: in most books in which this kind of script is written on stave lines, the visual impression is quite the opposite—a strain to stretch neumes onto the lines and general untidiness. All of this main part of the book was therefore prepared with the utmost care.

### Offertory Verses

A repertory of 217 verses for ninety Offertories was copied between fols. 1<sup>r</sup> and 35<sup>v</sup>.<sup>12</sup> This scribe’s practice was to write out as a textual incipit the first words (sometimes only one) of the Offertory respond: at the beginning of the collection, for *Ad te domine [leuau]*, the first three words and their musical notes stretch across the top stave system of the page and are thus aggrandized. After this, however, the incipits follow verses seamlessly along stave lines, without interruption by rubric (except for the occasional ‘alius’); these incipits are usually provided with notation, but not always. Following the respond incipit, Offertory verses are written out in full, usually also with a closing note of the point in the respond to which return should be made. There are no festal designations.

The festal use of the repertory is nevertheless almost entirely reconstructable through comparison with other contemporary manuscripts from German centres (see Appendix). The first 174 verses for seventy-seven Offertories are for the Temporal, from the first Sunday of Advent through the liturgical year up to Pentecost, followed by Sundays after Pentecost. The last

- 9 • Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Dějiny předhusitského zpěvu* [History of the pre-Hussite chant] (Prague, 1904), 22.
- 10 • Spunar, ‘Das Troparium’, 53; on these descriptions see Hana Vlhová-Wörner, ‘Main Sources Containing Tropes for the Ordinary of the Mass’, in her *Repertorium Troporum Bohemiae Medii Aevi* II–IV, 3 vols. (Prague, 2006–13), ii: *Tropi Ordinarii Missae*, 45.
- 11 • On further contemporary examples of Lotharingian neumes on lines, see below.
- 12 • On reasons for concluding that the text and music was written by one scribe see below.

Offertory in this section is for the Dedication of a Church. This Temporal is followed by a Sanctoral section, with forty-three verses for twenty-three Offertories, beginning on the Vigil of the feast of St Andrew (29 November) and continuing up to the feast of St Michael on 29 September. Where in this scheme a feast or series of feasts may appear to be missing—as for example many of the Sundays after Pentecost, or the major Marian feasts—this is not because they have been in some way ignored or forgotten, but because the Offertory and associated Offertory verses sung on those feasts repeat chants already sung earlier in the year, and consequently were already written out. Such repetition would be made clear in any book, such as a gradual, organized with rubrics for the feasts: a simple incipit for the Offertory respond would suffice. In Cim 4, the lack of rubrics and resulting potential confusion, if the reader is not familiar with the liturgical uses of the individual chants, directs our attention even more forcefully to the high-level musical and liturgical competence of the intended user of this book. Equally, there seems not to have been a practice in the wider context of Gregorian-based liturgies of composing new Offertories for local saints: a chant from the older repertory suitable by grade—apostle, martyr, confessor, virgin—could be selected. That is the explanation for what may seem a very conservative saints’ series in the Sanctoral section of this collection of Offertory verses; it also indicates that the lack of any local saints is not the outcome of deliberate exclusion, nor of the making of a book for somewhere else without knowledge of local saints, but simply because this was the widespread practice. On the feast of a local saint, an Offertory already present in the repertory would be sung. Finally, there is one Offertory set between the feasts of Valentine (14 February) and George (23 April) which could have been sung on more than one feast: the most common designation for *Desiderium anime* is the feast of St Eusebius (18 April), but it is also sometimes marked for St Benedict (2 March). The only clear lack in this repertory is *Confessio et pulcritudo* for the feast of St Lawrence (10 August).

The absence of Offertory verses from many Mass chant books made in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries might seem to imply that they were no longer being sung. Their ubiquitous presence in German chant books of this period argues strongly against such an hypothesis: the only category of book from which they are routinely absent is the missal, self-evidently since priests would have little use for them, and certainly would not be expected to sing them. The curation of this special repertory in a special book speaks to their status, as a soloist’s contribution to the solemnity and beauty of the performance of Mass.

### Ordinary Tropes

The trope repertory of Cim 4 has been thoroughly studied and edited by Hana Vlhová-Wörner.<sup>13</sup> The repertory of Mass Ordinary tropes and melodies collected in Cim 4 begins quite inconspicuously in the middle of fol. 35<sup>v</sup>, without any special rubric. It immediately follows the laconic note ‘finis’, with which the offertorial section of the book concludes. This repertory of tropes is organized into two separate series. After a first section (fols. 35<sup>v</sup>–50<sup>r</sup>) of Kyrie,

13 • Vlhová-Wörner, ‘Main Sources Containing Tropes for the Ordinary of the Mass’; much of what follows is based on her work, with some added comments.



Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus melodies—mostly with tropes—there follows a second selection of Ordinary chants (fols. 50<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>v</sup>). The beginning of the second series coincides with a change of scribal hands, both textual and musical. The arrangement of the repertory seems not to follow any liturgical or hierarchical pattern, as was the case for the Offertories. According to Vlhová-Wörner, the copying of the Ordinary melodies was less well accomplished than that of the Offertory verses; some of these pieces are incomplete, or are finished somewhat awkwardly in the margin. These characteristics give the impression of a process of compilation from multiple exemplars rather than of a copy based on a single template.

The Prague Troper constitutes one of the largest collections of Ordinary melodies of its time. It contains fifty-eight items, forty-two of them troped. When the structure and the concordances of this repertory are considered, some rather surprising results emerge. There are no fewer than eighteen *unica* tropes in the book. In other cases, concordances lead us back to both Eastern manuscript sources from Germany and Austria and to manuscripts representing Western European traditions, with a clear predominance of this latter. Western influence on the repertory is obvious not only thanks to extant parallels in French and English sources, but also in the melodic substance of the chants themselves. Even in pieces known from Eastern sources as mostly syllabic in melodic style, the Prague Troper includes melismatic passages which are more typical of the Western tradition.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the repertory includes items which have concordances only in southern Germany or Austria, as for example the Kyrie *Immense conditor poli*.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the origin of the collection might be considered as set in a ‘transitional zone’ where both Eastern and Western influences come together.

An important aspect in our reflection about ‘uses of the past’ is the posterity of the repertory represented in this manuscript. If later manuscript sources made for Prague Cathedral are considered, we can assess the degree of authority acquired by the Troper. In 1363 the Archbishop of Prague, Arnestus of Pardubice, ordered a series of nine monumental codices for use in St Vitus Cathedral.<sup>16</sup> Among these notated books one volume was dedicated to the repertory of Mass Ordinary chants. In this book most of the rare or unique items copied in Cim 4 reappear, more or less in the same order as in that older book, with only a small number of additions representing later composition. It is almost definite that the chants in Arnestus’ book have been copied directly from the earlier troper.<sup>17</sup>

14 • See, for example, the melismas on penultimate and antepenultimate syllables in the Sanctus trope *Pater cuncta creans* (fol. 52<sup>r-v</sup>).

15 • The only known concordance for this is in the manuscript Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 479, fol. 104, from Seckau.

16 • Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, P 6, P 7, P 8, P 9; see Patera and Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitní kapitoly pražské*, ii. 567–8. On Arnestus of Pardubice see below, and Zdeňka Hledíková, *Arnošt z Pardubic—arcibiskup, zakladatel, rádce* [Arnestus of Pardubice—archbishop, founder, counsellor] (Prague, 2008); Jaroslav Polc, ‘Ernst von Pardubitz’, in *Lebensbilder zur Geschichte der böhmischen Länder*, iii: *Karl IV. und sein Kreis*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (Munich, 1978), 25–42.

17 • This fidelity of the cathedral tradition to the Prague Troper Cim 4 is not shared by other churches in the Prague diocese: the diocesan repertory is closer to south German sources. See Vlhová-Wörner, *Repertorium Troporum Bohemiae*, ii. 19–25, 54–60. While such discrepancies between the Cathedral itself and the rest of the diocese appear in the repertory of tropes and sequences, the structure of the Office is more or less identical in all institutions dependent on the bishopric of Prague.

Moreover, this conservative attitude applies not only to chants and tropes of the Mass Ordinary, but also to the gradual which is part of the same book collection of Archbishop Arnestus. Here there are Offertories with verses, in a book compiled as late as 1363—an extremely unusual phenomenon, since in contrast to the previous centuries these were no longer being copied. These are likely to have been incorporated into Arnestus' book because of reverence for the older codex.<sup>18</sup>

We cannot be sure whether the Offertory verses were actually sung in the liturgy after 1363, or were simply copied into this fourteenth-century manuscript due to respect for the venerable Troper. Such questions can be considered also in the case of some chants of the Mass Ordinary. Vlhová-Wörner suggests that two of the great melismatic Kyrie tropes (*Creator pater*, *Summe deus noster*) did not become a regular part of the Prague liturgy. On the contrary, the Sanctus *Pater deus iudex*, a rare piece which was imported to Bohemia with the Troper, became a prominent chant for the main feasts of the church year and a distinctive feature of the Prague rite.

### Musical Notation

The notation in Cim 4 was written by a series of scribes, corresponding precisely to the changes of text hand. Thus, the work of the first text scribe (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–50<sup>r</sup> system 3) is exactly aligned with a first music scribe; the work of a second text scribe (fols. 50<sup>r</sup> system 4–59<sup>v</sup> system 2) is aligned with a second music scribe. On fol. 50<sup>r</sup> the handover from one music scribe to another is especially obvious, the work of the second written with a thinner pen and less discipline in its handling of angles. Spunar dated the work of the two text scribes in the last two decades of the twelfth century.<sup>19</sup> Another later scribe, so far unnoticed in the literature, added the *Ite missa est* settings on fol. 59<sup>v</sup>, again with an individual music scribe: the text hand here appears noticeably later than the previous two. Finally, the last gathering of the book was filled with settings of gospel readings, again with a distinct text scribe, his work accompanied by the work of a distinct music scribe (fols. 60–7). This material was dated by Spunar between 1250 and 1270. Given the precise convergence at moments of changeover of text scribe with changeover of music scribe, it is probable that in all four cases the text and music scribes were one and the same. The two earlier scribes, those of most interest in the context of investigating how a much older book became an important model at Prague Cathedral in the mid-thirteenth century, will here be designated as scribes A and B.

Both these scribes write the same kind of notation, although their work is easily distinguished (of which more below). Both use Lotharingian neumes, written on four-line staves with C, F, and (in the Ordinary trope repertory) G clefs. Often where a C clef appears the F-line is not marked by 'F' but simply by a large dot. Such a music script was not unusual in the late twelfth century: in many parts of Europe musical notation had by this time been

18 • From what was originally a two-volume gradual only the first volume has survived; the second was destroyed in a fire in 1541. In 1551 the Arnestus gradual was replaced by a new choirbook, this time without Offertory verses (Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, P. 10); see Patera and Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitní kapitoly pražské*, ii. 569.

19 • Spunar, 'Das Troparium', 58.

transformed from a non- or semi-diastematic system to one written on lines, whether dry point or ruled in lead or ink. Although many centres, especially in eastern ('Germanic') as opposed to western ('French') regions, did not make the change to a precise diastematic notation until the thirteenth century—presumably since it was not perceived as essential, and would necessitate the making of new books—the sight of neumes on lines would not have been a surprise to most musicians working in German regions in the last decades of the century. Between the two neume scripts transferred to lines in German regions—German neumes and Lotharingian neumes—there is generally a clear distinction. Nevertheless a good number of examples of pitched notations made at this time show mixtures of the two neume scripts. Cim 4 is one such.

The specifically Lotharingian characteristics of this script include:

(a) A sign for two descending notes (*clivis*), written across from left to right and then a descending line: in the script of Cim 4, the movement from left to right is written as a zigzag. This would have allowed both scribe and reader to distinguish between the musical sign and the stave line, where the two ran together (see Figure 3.1a).

(b) The way of writing a single note, consisting of a very thin slanted rising stroke, followed by a thick stroke pulled downwards at a perpendicular slant. This is a deliberately thickened version of the Lotharingian sign now called *uncinus* (see Figure 3.1b).

(c) Compound forms using these signs, such as for descending series of more than two notes (*climacus*). Scribe A writes the usual sign for a single note (*uncinus*), with its characteristic thin stroke on the left, followed by—in a descending diagonal direction—further diamond (or squares turned sideways) notes. These are written by drawing the full width of the pen down a diagonal line. Scribe B follows the same procedure in terms of directions, but writes the *uncinus* sign with its short beginning stroke for every note (see Figure 3.1c). This is the most clear way of distinguishing the work of the two main music scribes.

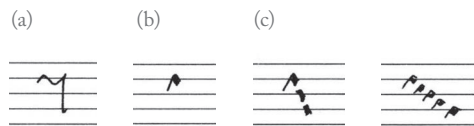


Figure 3.1. Characteristics of Lotharingian script in Cim 4:

- (a) two descending notes;
- (b) single note;
- (c) descending series (scribes A and B)

Beyond these very characteristic signs, most of the other neumes are familiar as almost identical to earlier Lotharingian neume forms. Yet, many of the signs undergo some form of adaptation in order to be clearly comprehensible in the context of this new environment, on lines rather than *in campo aperto*. Since there is no general study of twelfth-century forms of Lotharingian neumes, it is not possible to analyse with any clarity which of the signs in Cim 4 might have been formulated by these scribes (or their masters) and which represent a wider practice.

There are other ways, however, in which this script incorporates signs or behaviours derived from a different neume script, the 'German': the most significant adoption is the sign for a *quilisma*, written here in the bowed form familiar from many early German notations (see Figure 3.2a). This is an interesting way of handling the script, since the way of writing the Lotharingian *quilisma* neume was not easily adaptable to writing on lines. In a wider context, the most common reaction to this problem was for scribes to simply give up distinguishing

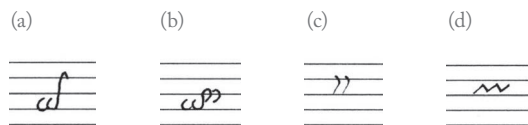


Figure 3.2. Other characteristic neumes in the notations in Cim 4:

- (a) *quilisma*;
- (b) 'descending' *quilisma*;
- (c) short repeated notes (tropes);
- (d) short repeated notes (offertory verses)

between two rising notes (*pes*) and two rising notes with a *quilisma* (*quilisma-pes*): this can be seen in numerous examples including one of the earliest manuscripts with Lotharingian neumes on lines, the Gradual of Bellelay.<sup>20</sup> Another slightly later example, probably copied in the first two decades of the thirteenth century, is a gradual from the Premonstratensian Abbey of Arnstein on the Lahn (near Nassau).<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, the use of the German *quilisma* sign in the context of an otherwise Lotharingian script allowed scribes to retain that musical performance information in a way which was visually absolutely clear. Other examples besides Cim 4 where the German *quilisma* is integrated into an otherwise Lotharingian script include passages in a twelfth-century antiphoner, now Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 215,<sup>22</sup> as well as later manuscripts. At Klosterneuburg, another way of dealing with the *quilisma* problem was chosen: here the *quilisma* was distinguished by writing a dot or short stroke across the middle of the rising stroke.<sup>23</sup> Note should also be taken of one specific unusual sign, which begins as a *quilisma-pes* and ends with upper bows pulled downwards (as if an upside-down *quilisma*). This sign is characteristic of one Agnus dei trope copied on fol. 48<sup>r-v</sup> (see Figure 3.2b), and appears at the beginning of each voicing of 'Agnus'. Whatever sound is intended (probably some kind of liquescence), it is especially characteristic of the melodic version preserved in Cim 4, since, in the wider dissemination of this very popular Agnus melody—including other Bohemian manuscripts—this sign (and thus its sound) never appears.

There is another sign in the notations written by scribes A and B which recalls German neume forms: this is a sign written as a series of commas, rounded thin strokes written in parallel (see Figure 3.2c). This might also be considered an adoption from German scripts, but we would like to argue a different case. This sign appears in the trope repertory (for example, on fol. 52<sup>r-v</sup>) and not in the Offertory verses. Moreover, a sign indicating short repeated notes is written in both the Offertory verse repertory and the trope repertory as a connected series of diamonds (or turned squares; see Figure 3.2d). It is highly likely, therefore, that the rounded sign slipped into the writing process from an exemplar copied in German neumes; scribes A and B may simply not have paid attention.

20 • Porrentruy, Bibliothèque cantonale Jurassienne 18, probably copied in the mid-twelfth century; online at <http://www.chartes.psl.eu/fr/publication/graduel-bellelay>, accessed 20 July 2018. For examples of the *pes* where a *quilisma-pes* would previously have been written, see p. 11 line 7 ('confundentur') and p. 13 line 3 ('dominus').

21 • Now Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek 868, online at <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Hs-868>, accessed 20 July 2018.

22 • Discussed further below.

23 • On this notation see *Le Manuscrit 807 Universitätsbibliothek Graz (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle): Graduel de Klosterneuburg*, ed. Dom Jacques Froger, Paléographie Musicale, 19 (Bern, 1974).

It is worth recognizing that many of the neumes-on-line notations written in German regions in the twelfth century represent mixtures of earlier scripts, that is, not only Lotharingian with a few German habits, but also German with a few Lotharingian habits—above all, the use of the Lotharingian square *divis*. This can be seen in a gradual made at Quedlinburg in the same decades as Cim 4, now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz mus. ms. 40078, as well as being typical of many Cistercian manuscripts. This underlines the availability of different models to music scribes, and their willingness to alter inherited script systems in order to combat the challenges of stabilizing melodies on lines. That flexibility had purely musical intentions, and can be recognized in Cim 4 as another reflection of its focused musical purpose.

### The Tonary in Cologne 215

In a tonary notated alongside an antiphoner, notation which seems the closest of all available comparative material can be seen (see Plate 3.3). This manuscript, made in the twelfth century, is

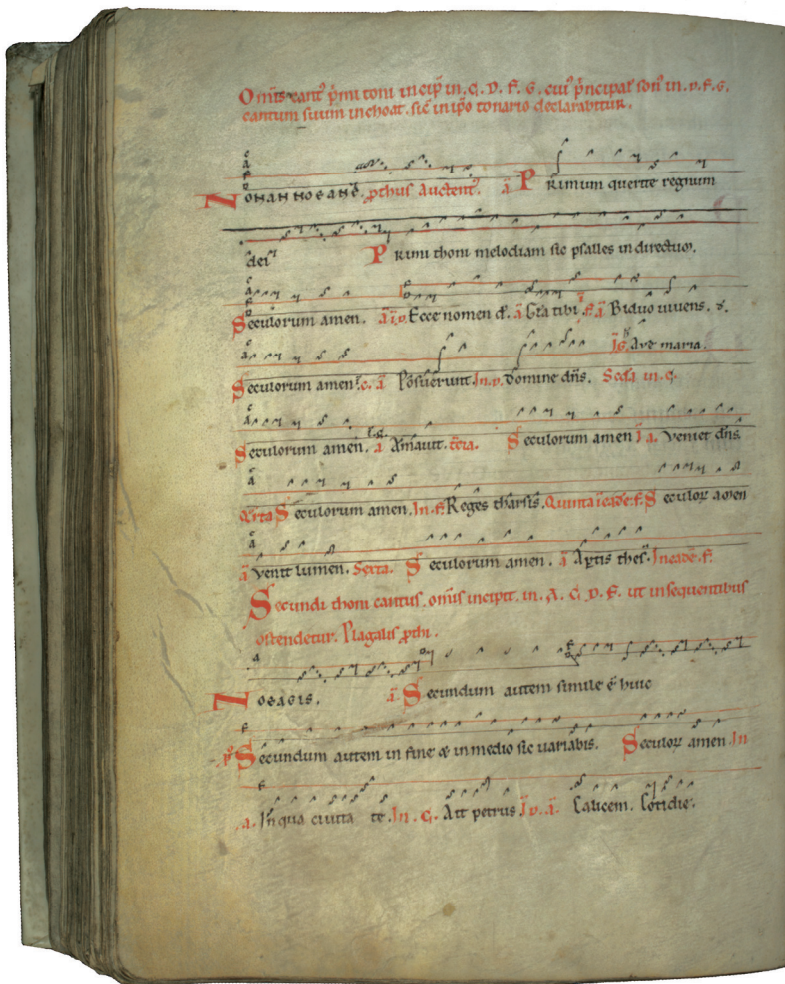


Plate 3.3. A page from the tonary in Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 215, fol. 209<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cologne

now housed in the Cathedral Library of Cologne as Cod. 215. The antiphoner itself is notated in adiastrumatic German neumes. Yet, the tonary at the end of the volume (fols. 209<sup>v</sup>–212<sup>r</sup>) has Lotharingian neumes written on staves very similar to those in Cim 4, with the same ductus and the same kind of integrated German elements, including the *quilisma* and *strophicus*.<sup>24</sup>

The origin of the notated antiphoner is unfortunately not clear.<sup>25</sup> On the question of provenance, the Cologne Library catalogue suggests the diocese of Würzburg as a possible place of origin, based on the presence of St Burchard and St Kilian in the Sanctoral.<sup>26</sup> The tonary, however, is a separate entity in the volume and may have a different history and origin, even if its presence in the same volume should not be considered as pure coincidence. In his comprehensive work on tonaries Michel Huglo paid some attention to this tonary.<sup>27</sup> According to Huglo, it belongs to a group of short tonaries made in Germanic regions ('Kurztonare') in the twelfth century. It starts with a brief theoretical introduction, followed by the typical formulaic antiphon series *Primum querite regnum* and the simple psalm tones for Office psalmody. For each *differentia*, several examples of antiphons corresponding to specific psalm tone endings are given.

The origin of the tonary can be further explored on the basis of the antiphons listed in these examples. Most of them are classical Gregorian chants, rather widespread and not at all specific to a particular region. Nevertheless, there are two chants which deserve more attention on the basis of their dissemination. For mode 2, the antiphon *In qua civitate cum puellis*, from the Office of St Afra, is mentioned.<sup>28</sup> This Office is rather typical for the region of south Germany and Austria, the main shrine for the saint being at the Benedictine Abbey of SS Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg. The second interesting item is the Advent antiphon *Scientes quia hora est*.<sup>29</sup> This piece is almost exclusive to Germanic and central European regions, sung on an Advent Sunday, according to local practice. In most cases, it has the function of an antiphon for the psalmody in one of the three nocturns of the night Office, thus part of a group with

- 24 • Although we note a switch from Lotharingian *uncini* to German *virgae* in the lower half of fol. 210<sup>r</sup>, the Lotharingian *uncini* returning on the verso side; whether this was the result of habit—that is, the scribe being more used to writing German neumes—or the result of copying from an exemplar in German neumes we cannot tell.
- 25 • The book is described as a 'Breviarium Franconicum' for a Benedictine abbey in Philip Jaffé and Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae metropolitanae Coloniensis Codices manuscripti descripserunt* (Berlin, 1874), 96; this is repeated in the various online descriptions at <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/>, but the characterization is incorrect. The Office structure as well as details of liturgical arrangement correspond to the Roman cursus and not to the Benedictine monastic rite.
- 26 • See Jaffé and Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae metropolitanae Colonienses Codices manuscripti descripserunt*, 96.
- 27 • Michel Huglo, *Les Tonaires: Inventaire, Analyse, Comparaison*, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, 3 sér., II (Paris, 1971), 257; on this manuscript see also Walter Gerstenberg, 'Eine Neumenhandschrift der Bibliothek zu Köln', in Hermann Zenck, Helmut Schultz, and Walter Gerstenberg (eds.), *Theodor Kroyer Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag, am 9. September 1933: Überreicht von Freunden und Schülern* (Regensburg, 1933), 8–16.
- 28 • René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (hereafter *CAO*), iii: *Invitatoria et Antiphonae* (Rome, 1968), no. 3275; the geographical distribution of this chant is well represented in the online database Cantus <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/> (accessed 13 January 2019). For an edition of the Office of St Afra, with a list of manuscript sources, see Hermann Contractus, *Historia sanctae Afrae martyris Augustensis*, ed. David Hiley and Walter Berschin (Ottawa, 2004).
- 29 • Hesbert, *CAO* III, no. 4828; again the geographical distribution can be observed in the online Cantus database.

two other antiphons, *Hora est* and *Nox precessit*. Indeed, this arrangement can be seen in the antiphoner bound together with the tonary.<sup>30</sup> Further, the psalm tone melodies of the tonary also betray signs of the ‘German dialect’ or variants, as, for example, the *differentia* in mode 2 (f f f f c d d) and mode 4 (a g a c g e); similar features can be observed in the Responsoy verses. Such hints point to a southern German origin for this tonary or its exemplar.

### The Origin of Cim 4

A study of the trope repertory by Vlhová-Wörner led her to suggest an association of the repertory collected in Cim 4 with ‘a milieu which was fundamentally influenced by contemporary French chant practice’.<sup>31</sup> Her consideration of the possible place of origin of Cim 4 was further contextualized as ‘under the influence of French chant practice on one hand, while remaining in contact with the South-German repertory on the other’.<sup>32</sup> It is now possible to examine a further refinement of Vlhová’s hypotheses of origin—that Cim 4 might in some way indicate the influence of the new religious orders, and above all the Premonstratensians (her ‘Norbertines’) from the abbey of SS Mary and Potentius at Steinfeld in the Eifel region,<sup>33</sup> from a musical point of view. One example of a very grand manuscript made at Steinfeld c.1180, and thus extremely close to the time of making of Cim 4, is now preserved in the Getty Museum in Malibu. MS Ludwig V 4 is a large missal, with several full-page miniatures and extensive use of gold in decorated initials. It also has musical notation for the canon of the Mass (fol. 65). This is written on a four-line stave—each line a different colour: while this use of colour has been described as a means of differentiating different pitches,<sup>34</sup> it is more likely to be the consequence of a heightened decorative scheme. The clefs used are C and a large dot representing F (as in Cim 4). The musical signs are German neumes, with the Lotharingian *clivis*. There is thus no direct match with Cim 4.

Palaeographical study of Cim 4 suggests that, rather than coming from an area between the poles of Western and Eastern influence, the manuscript was indeed made in a southern German centre: the large decorated initial A on fol. 1r cannot easily be tied to any one establishment or place, but certainly underlines the likelihood of a southern German origin, while the musical notation, based on a French model, reflects the possibilities and options being explored by German music scribes in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Although it is currently difficult to use the musical notation as a secure means of locating the place where the book was made, similarities between the troper’s notation and the notation in a contemporary tonary with links to southern Germany sustain the hypothesis of an origin in this area resulting from other types of analysis.

30 • See Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 215, fols. 11r–v.

31 • Vlhová-Wörner, ‘Main Sources’, *Repertorium Troporum Bohemiae Medii Aevi*, ii. 48.

32 • Ibid.

33 • Ibid. 49.

34 • See online at: <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/1366/unknown-maker-missal-german-about-1180/> (accessed 26 July 2018).

## The Legacy of the Troper: Notational Practice in the Diocese of Prague

88

The arrival of the troper in Prague marked a new period of music writing in the history of the diocese of Prague: a musical script imported from outside the diocese was adopted, and—after some minor modifications—became a characteristic element of all diocesan music books. This script was continuously maintained over centuries and was not combined with (or confused with) other systems of music script, even when local scribes were certainly aware of other script types. Thus, this script and the musical notations written in it became a conscious expression of identity for the Prague diocesan clergy.<sup>35</sup>

The person responsible for this important change was probably the Dean of the Cathedral chapter, Vitus. He became canon of the Cathedral in 1234, and in 1241 was elected dean and held this position until his death in 1271. In Bohemian chronicles, he is extensively praised for the acquisition of a great number of new liturgical books—at his own expense. One such record states:

He [Vitus] also procured numerous music books for worship at his own expense, making sure that nothing was left out, and adding epistles and gospels sung on high feasts. The old books were simple, some of them worn out by age, useless and bringing no benefit, often leading to mistakes and confusion in worship. At the expense of Dean Vitus, the following books were written: missals, graduals, notated antiphoners, psalters, collectars, baptisteries, and breviaries, with which he decorated and enhanced the Divine Office in the Church of Prague.<sup>36</sup>

The transition from neumatic script to notation on staves is likely to have been a demanding process. First of all, the complete set of liturgical books had to be replaced—a very expensive affair, even in the context of a major church institution. Dean Vitus seems to have taken that effort on his own shoulders, hence the praise of the chronicle. Secondly, the work of scribes could not be directly based on copying the older neumed exemplars: it also involved a kind of ‘re-transcription’ or projection of the intervallic structure of local melodic versions from the scribe’s memory onto staves. To accomplish such work, a high level of musical skills and theoretical education was certainly needed.

These conditions seem to have been fulfilled in the scriptorium of Prague Cathedral in the second half of the thirteenth century. In the manuscript collections now in Prague, it is possible to identify several books that correspond to the description of Vitus’s donations. Besides the troper, there are four other liturgical books: two evangeliaries,<sup>37</sup> one epistolary,<sup>38</sup> and a pontifical.<sup>39</sup> In all of these, we can see the same kind of music script as in the supplement of the troper (fols. 60–7), that is, material that was added to the troper after its arrival in Prague.

35 • On the question of notation as an expression of identity at certain church institutions see Janka Szendrei, ‘Notation als Identitätsausdruck im Mittelalter’, *Studia Musicologica*, 27 (1985), 139–70.

36 • ‘Procuravit etiam libros plures musicos scribi ad officium divini cultus pertinentes suis propriis sumptibus, invigilans, ne quid omitteretur, adiiciens epistolas et euangelia, quae in solemnibus festiuitatibus cantantur. Erant enim libri antiqui usuales et simplices, quidam etiam iam uetustate consumti, inutiles, nullum fructum proferentes, per quos error et confusio frequens in officio divino accidebat. Sunt autem hi libri, qui conscripti sunt Viti decani pretio et expensis, missalia, gradualia, antifonaria musica, psalteria, ymnaria, collectaria, baptisteria, breuiaria et alii plures sermonum libri, per quos illuminavit et decoravit Pragensem ecclesiam in officio divino.’ *Príběhy krále Přemysla Otakara II [Annales Ottakariani]*, ed. Josef Emler, *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, 2 (Prague, 1874), 308–35 at 321–2.

37 • Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly A XXVI and Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea XIV A 10.

38 • Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea XIV A 9.

39 • Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea XIV B 9.



Why was this reform to ways of writing out music so willingly accepted? In most cathedrals in German regions, adiastematic writing of neumes was retained until the fourteenth century. In Augsburg at the monastery of SS Ulrich and Afra there had already been an attempt to establish a staff notation of the Klosterneuburg type in the twelfth century, but this quickly disappeared, and from 1200 books with adiastematic neumes were in use again.<sup>40</sup>

The reason for the success of the Lotharingian music script written on lines in Prague may lie in the fact that the local tradition was not yet completely fixed at the time when the troper arrived: it is further possible that scribes and singers were struggling with problems—as the chronicler suggests in Vitus' obituary. The new system of staff notation, indicating exact musical intervals, would have allowed for better organization of musical practice throughout the whole diocese. In addition, there may have been strong support from King Wenceslas I, with whom Vitus appears to have had very good relations.<sup>41</sup> It is clear, however, that—despite the universal application of this innovative scribal practice—the local scribes did not completely forget the old German neumes. An example in which this is clearly demonstrated is the oldest extant notated breviary from the Cathedral of Prague, made at the end of the thirteenth century:<sup>42</sup> here, in places where there were no staves for the music scribe to use (because of lack of space), it is not Lotharingian neumes which were added, but adiastematic German neumes (see Plate 3.4).

Other factors are likely to have played a role in the use of a new type of music script in imitation of the troper. That script became an expression of allegiance to the bishopric of Prague, as well as a demonstration of ecclesiastical power and supremacy over dependent church institutions. The symbolic standing of this script, its part in the expression of identity, can be illustrated by noting where the script was *not* used. At Prague castle, some 50 metres from the cathedral, a monastery of Benedictine nuns had been founded in the late tenth century (St George's).<sup>43</sup> The founder was the prince of Bohemia himself, and the abbesses were in most cases members of the ruler's family—in other words, sisters, aunts, and cousins. The monastery thus enjoyed an extremely privileged position. During the thirteenth century St George's also

40 • Robert Klugseder, *Quellen des gregorianischen Choralis für das Offizium aus dem Kloster St. Ulrich und Afra Augsburg*, Regensburger Studien zur Musikgeschichte, 5 (Tutzing, 2008), 73–5.

41 • Josef Žemlička, 'Děkan Vít, hodnostář a dobrodinec pražské kapituly' [Dean Vitus, dignitary and benefactor of the Prague Chapter], in Ivan Hlaváček, Jan Hrdina, Jan Kahuda, and Eva Doležalová (eds.), *Facta probant homines: Sborník příspěvků k životnímu jubileu prof. Zdeňky Hledíkové* [Facta probant homines: Collection of articles for the life jubilee of Prof. Zdeňka Hledíková] (Prague, 1998), 549–68.

42 • Prague, Národní knihovna XIV A 19.

43 • On the monastery of St George see Ivan Borkovský, *Svatojiráská bazilika a klášter na Pražském hradě* [St. George's Basilica and Convent at Prague Castle] (Prague, 1975); Zdeňka Hledíková, 'Kalendáře rukopisů kláštera sv. Jiří' [Calendars in manuscripts of the Monastery of St. George], *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Philosophica et historica*, 1988/2 (= Z pomocných věd historických VIII), 35–78; Renáta Modráková, 'Úřad abatyše kláštera benediktinek u sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě v období 13.–14. století' [The office of abbess at the Benedictine Convent of St. George at Prague Castle in the 13th–14th centuries], in Pavel Krafl (ed.), *Sacri canones servandi sunt: Ius canonicum et status ecclesiae saeculis XIII–XV* (Prague, 2008) 580–92; Katarína Mašterová, 'Bazilika a klášter sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě ve světle archeologického výskumu' [The St. George Basilica and Monastery at Prague Castle in the light of an archaeological survey] (diss., Charles University, Prague, 2015). On the musical traditions of St George's, see Václav Plocek with Andreas Traub, *Zwei Studien zur ältesten geistlichen Musik in Böhmen*, 2 vols. (Gießen and Cologne, 1985); Janka Szendrei, 'Prager Quellen zum Hirsauer Choral', in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 7th Meeting, Sopron 1995* (Budapest, 1998), 555–74; and Veronika Mráčková, 'Chorální notace rukopisů kláštera sv. Jiří v Praze' [Staff notation in manuscripts from the Convent of St. George in Prague], *Hudební věda*, 47 (2010), 131–46.

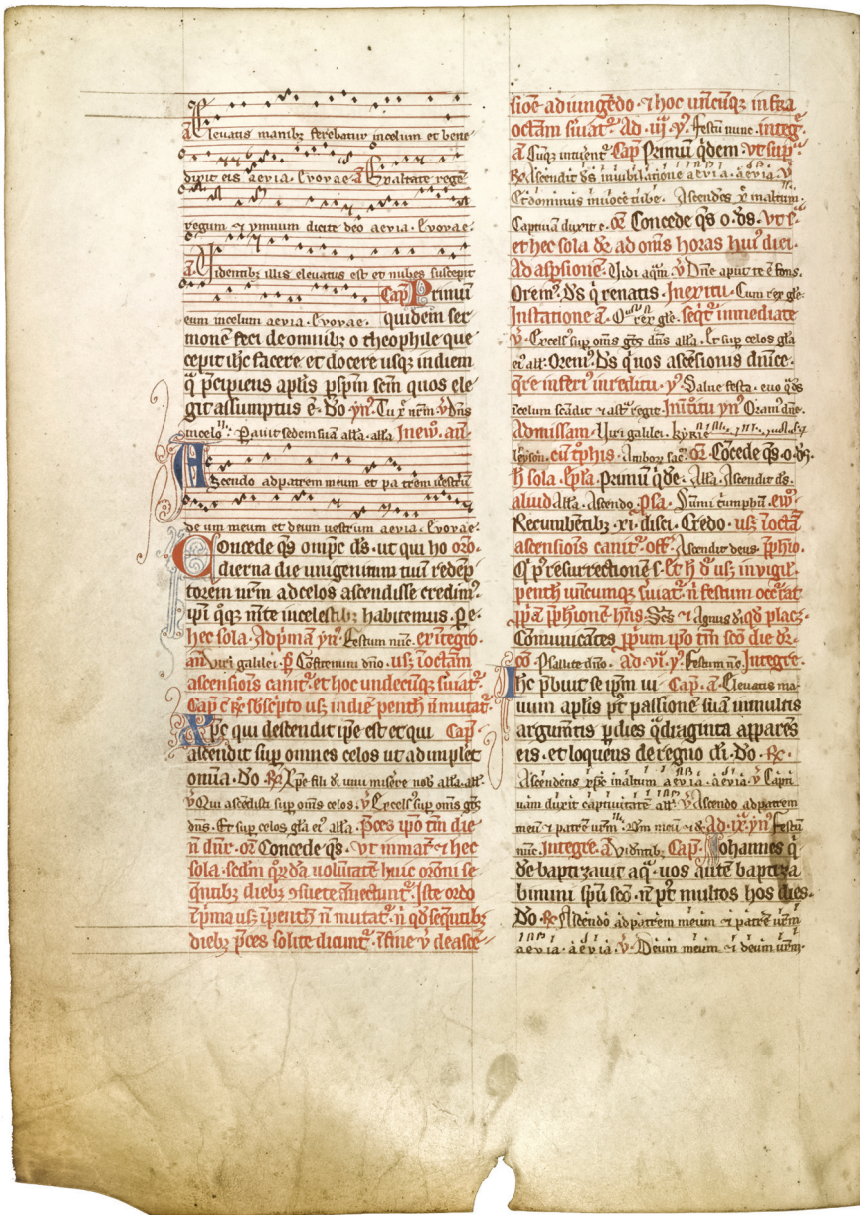


Plate 3.4. German adiaستمatic neumes (right-hand column) in the breviary Prague, Národní knihovna XIV A 19, fol. 147<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Národní knihovna, Prague

used notation on a staff for its music books; but the script written on the staves was of a quite different kind from that used at the Cathedral.<sup>44</sup> This can be read as an expression of the nuns' independence in relation to the bishop of Prague and his bishopric: a typical example is in the antiphoner Prague, Národní knihovna XIV B 13 (see Plate 3.5).

44 • Mráčková, 'Chorální notace', 133–5.

In festo scto natiuitatis domini ad matutinas Inuitatorum  
 atque matrem luminis aevia aevia evovae  
**X**pistus natus est nobis uenite a dore mus Venite  
**D**ominus dixit ad me filius meus es tu ego hodie genitum te  
 te **ps** Quare factus sum sponsum dominum procedens de thalamo  
 suo **ps** Et enarrata est gloria in labiis tuis propterea bene  
 dixit te deus in eternum **ps** Exultauit ex omni terra deus uenit  
 psallite sapienter in omnes gentes **ps** Descendit deus misericordiam  
 tuam in medio templi tui **ps** Magnus dicitur in diebus  
 domini habundantia pacis et dominabitur deus iudicium  
**ps** Et amicum sponsum ad processionem hodie nobis  
 odi e nobis celorum rex hodie nobis in capella  
 an hanc est dies quam in reditu vbum cario  
 de uir gine nati tu dig natus **ps** Responsorium primum

Plate 3.5. German Gothic notation on staves in the antiphoner Prague, Národní knihovna XIV B 13, fol. 23<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Národní knihovna, Prague

This independence would change in the course of the fourteenth century when the new dynasty of the house of Luxembourg arrived on the throne of Bohemia. King John of Bohemia and his son (Emperor) Charles IV did not maintain the traditional support of St George's, and the monastery thus suffered a loss of its privileged position. Moreover, another strong personality appeared in the cultural landscape of Prague about the middle of the century: Archbishop Arnestus of Pardubice.<sup>45</sup> For this law graduate from Bologna University (and close friend of Charles IV), an independent monastery in the immediate neighbourhood of the cathedral was probably difficult to accept. It is also possible that the behaviour of the monastic community was no longer acceptable, providing the bishop with a reason to bring the nuns under his control. In 1351 the archbishop undertook a visitation of the monastery and noted considerable deficiencies: subsequently he imposed an interdict on the monastery and suspended the abbess. The nuns did not accept this decision and filed a complaint with the Papal Curia. There was a danger that the conflict would escalate, and so Emperor Charles IV—as King of Bohemia—intervened. He summoned both parties, and obliged them to exchange apologies. The abbess apologized for her negligence and disobedience to the archbishop. The archbishop revoked the interdict and reinstalled the abbess to her office.<sup>46</sup>

The conflict had come to a conciliatory end but the community never again reached its original level of prosperity and independence. The growing influence of the Cathedral on the convent again manifested itself in the writing of musical notation in a significant way. From the second half of the fourteenth century onwards, the nuns used the diocesan type of musical script, instead of their earlier form of script (see Plate 3.6).<sup>47</sup>

This new practice need not be understood as the result of a deliberate imposition on the nuns: it is possible that the convent no longer had the strength to continue working with its older, traditional, approach to music script, and now relied on the scribes of the local scriptorium.

The fact that such issues of identity manifested themselves—among other aspects—in the notation of liturgical chant is not surprising. In the life of a medieval canon, monk, or nun, the liturgy played an essential role, and the material used in daily practice—including liturgical books—was not in the least marginal. It was a means to assure 'correct worship' within the living tradition of the church.

45 • Zdeňka Hledíková, *Arnošt z Pardubic*; Jaroslav Polc, 'Ernst von Pardubitz'.

46 • Hledíková, *Arnošt z Pardubic*, 86–9.

47 • Prague, Národní knihovna XIV G 46.

sanctus flocebat. dum verito veridico...  
 multa predicebat. **D**ñe do'nr Glar' hore.  
**U**encesla... us dix gra... cie virtu  
 tum stans macie de... coratur vic  
 toria. Cuius finis est glo... ria in ce  
 lesti ni... licia. **T**itans v  
 puerilia tendens ad utilia mundi cal'

Plate 3.6. Bohemian staff notation in the book of special Offices Prague, Národní knihovna XIV G 46 fol. 4<sup>r</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Národní knihovna, Prague

## APPENDIX

## The repertory of Offertory verses in Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly Cim 4

94

<b>Fol.</b>	<b>Offertory respond</b>	<b>Offertory verses</b>	<b>Feast</b>
1 <sup>r</sup>	Ad te domine leuau	Dirige me in veritate Respice me et miserere	Advent 1st Sunday
	Deus tu conuertens	Benedixisti domine Misericordia et ueritas	Advent 2nd Sunday
1 <sup>v</sup>	Benedixisti domine	Operuisti omnia Ostende nobis domine	Advent 3rd Sunday
2 <sup>r</sup>	Confortamini	Tunc aperientur Audite itaque domus David	Wednesday in Advent 3
2 <sup>v</sup>	Exulta satis	Loquetur pacem Quia ecce uenio	Saturday in Advent 3
2 <sup>v</sup>	Aue Maria	Quomodo domine Ideo que quod domine	Advent 4th Sunday
3 <sup>r</sup>	Tollite portas	Domini est terra Ipse super Maria	Christmas Eve
3 <sup>v</sup>	Letentur celi	Cantate domino canticum Cantate domino benedicite	Christmas Day 1st Mass
	Deus enim firmavit	Mirabilis in excelsis Dominus regnavit	Christmas Day 2nd Mass
4 <sup>r</sup>	Tui sunt celi	Magnus et metuendus Misericordia et ueritas	Christmas Day 3rd Mass
4 <sup>v</sup>	Elegerunt	Tu humiliasti Positis autem genibus Viderunt faciem eius Surrexerunt autem	Stephen
5 <sup>r</sup>	Iustus et palma	Bonum est confiteri Ad adnunciandum mane Plantatus	John Evangelist
	Anima nostra	Nisi quod dominus Torrentem pertransiuit	Innocents
6 <sup>r</sup>	Reges tharsis	Deus iudicium Suscipiant montes	Epiphany

Fol.	Offertory respond	Offertory verses	Feast
6 <sup>v</sup>		Orietur in diebus eius	
	Iubilate domino	Ipse fecit nos	1st Sunday after Epiphany
		Laudate nomen eius	
7 <sup>r</sup>	Iubilate deo	Reddam tibi uota mea	2nd Sunday after Epiphany
		Locutum est os meum	
7 <sup>v</sup>	Dextera domini	Impulsus uersatus sum	3rd Sunday after Epiphany
		In tribulatione inuocauit	
	Bonum est confiteri	Quam magnificata sunt	Septuagesima
		Ecce inimici tui	
8 <sup>r</sup>		Exaltabitur	
	Perfice gressus	Exaudi domine	Sexagesima
		Custodi me domine	
8 <sup>v</sup>		Ego autem cum iusticia	
	Benedictus es	Beati immaculati	Quinquagesima
		In uia testimoniorum	
9 <sup>r</sup>		Viam iniquitatis	
	Exaltabo te	Domine abstraxisti	Ash Wednesday
		Ego autem dixi	
9 <sup>v</sup>	Domine uiuifica	Fac cum seruo tuo	Friday
		Da mihi intellectum	
	Scapulis suis	Dicet domino	Quadragesima 1st Sunday
10 <sup>r</sup>		Quoniam angelis	
		Super aspidem	
	Reuela oculos [Leuabo]	Legem pone	Monday
		Veniat super me	
	In te speraui	Illumina faciem	Tuesday
		Quam magna multitudo	
11 <sup>r</sup>	Meditabar	Pars mea domine	Wednesday
		Miserere mei secundum	
	Inmittit angelis	Benedicam dominum	Thursday
		In domino laudabitur	
11 <sup>v</sup>		Accedite ad eum	
	Benedic anima	Qui propheta	Friday
		Iusticia eius	
12 <sup>r</sup>	Domine deus salutis	Inclina aurem tuam	Saturday

Fol.	Offertory respond	Offertory verses	Feast
		Et ego ad te domine	
12 <sup>v</sup>		Factus sum	
	Benedicam	Conserua me domine	Quadragesima, 2nd Monday
		Notas fecisti	
13 <sup>r</sup>	Miserere mihi	Quoniam iniquitatem	Tuesday
		Tibi soli peccaui	
	Precatus es	Dixit dominus ad moysen	Wednesday
13 <sup>v</sup>		Dixit moyses	
	Domine in auxilium	Auertantur retrorsum	Thursday
14 <sup>r</sup>		Expectans expectaui	
	Illumina oculos	Usquequo domine	Saturday
		Respice in me	
	Iusticie domini	Preceptum domine	Quadragesima 3rd Sunday
14 <sup>v</sup>		Et erunt ad complacent	
	Exaudi deus	Conturbatus sum	Monday
		Ego autem ad eum	
14 <sup>v</sup> - 15 <sup>r</sup>	Domine fac mecum	Deus laudem meam	Wednesday
		Pro eo ut diligere	
		Locuti sunt aduersum me	
	Si ambulauero	In quacumque die	Thursday
15 <sup>v</sup>		Adorabo ad templum	
	Intende	Verba mea auribus	Friday
		Dirige in conspectu	
16 <sup>r</sup>	Gressus meos	Declaracio sermonum	Saturday
		Cognoui domine	
	Laudate dominum	Qui statis in domo	Quadragesima 4th Sunday
		Domine nomen	
16 <sup>v</sup>		Qui timetis	
	Exspectans	Statuit supra petram	Tuesday
		Multa fecisti tu	
17 <sup>r</sup>		Domine deus tu cognouisti	
	Benedicte gentes	Iubilate deo omnis terra	Wednesday
		Venite et uidete	
17 <sup>v</sup>		In multitudine uirtutis	
	Populum humilem	Clamor meus	Friday
		Liberator meus	



Using the Past as Model

Fol.	Offertory respond	Offertory verses	Feast
18 <sup>r</sup>	Factus est dominus	Persequar inimicos Precinxisti me	Saturday
	Confitebor	Beati immaculati	Quadragesima 5th Sunday
18 <sup>v</sup>		Viam ueritatis elegi Deprecatus sum	
	Domine conuertere	Domine ne mira tua Miserere mihi domine	Monday
19 <sup>r</sup>	Sperent in te	Sedes super thronum Cognoscetur dominus	Tuesday
	Eripe me	Quia ecce captauerunt	Wednesday
19 <sup>v</sup>		Quia factus es Velociter	
	Super flumina	In salicibus	Thursday
20 <sup>r</sup>		Si oblitus fuero Memento domine	
	Benedictus es	Vidi non seruantes	Friday
20 <sup>v</sup>		Appropinquauerunt	
	Inproperium	Saluum me fac deus Aduersum me Ego uero orationem	Palm Sunday
21 <sup>r</sup>	Eripe me	Exaudi me in tua	Monday
	Custodi me	Eripe me domine Qui cogitauerunt	Tuesday
	Domine exaudi	Ne auertas faciem	Wednesday
21 <sup>v</sup>		Tu exurgens misereberis	
	Terra tremuit	Notus in iudea Et factus est in pace Ibi confregit	Easter Sunday
	Angelus domini	Euntes dicite	Monday
22 <sup>r</sup>		Iesus stetit	
	Intonuit	Diligam te domine Liberator meus	Tuesday
22 <sup>v</sup>	Portas caeli	Attendite popule meus Aperiam in parabolis	Wednesday
	In die sollemp[nitatis]	Audi popule meus	Thursday

Fol.	Offertory respond	Offertory verses	Feast
		Non adorabitis	
23 <sup>r</sup>	Erit uobis	In mente habete	Friday
		Dixit moyses	
	Benedictus qui	Lapidem quem	Saturday
23 <sup>v</sup>		Hec dies quam fecit	
	Deus deus meus	Sitiuit in te anima mea	2nd Sunday after Easter
		In matutinis meditabor	
23 <sup>v</sup> – 24 <sup>r</sup>	Lauda anima	Qui custodit ueritatem	3rd Sunday after Easter
		Dominus erigit elisos	
	Confitebor domine	Adiuua me domine	Rogations
24 <sup>v</sup>		Qui insurgunt in me	
	Viri galilei	Cumque intuerentur	Ascension Eve
	Ascendit deus	Omnes gentes plaudite	Ascension
		Quoniam dominus	
25 <sup>r</sup>		Subiecit populos	
	Emitte spiritum	Benedic anima mea domino	Pentecost Eve
		Confessionem et decorem	
		Extendens celum	
25 <sup>v</sup>	Confirma	Cantate domino psalmum	Pentecost
		In ecclesiis benedicite	
		Regna terre	
	Benedictus sit	Benedicamus patrem	Trinity
26 <sup>r</sup>	Sicut in holocaustum	Et nunc sequimur	2th Sunday after Pentecost
	Oraui dominum	Adhuc me loquente	17th Sunday after Pentecost
		Audiui uocem	
26 <sup>v</sup>	Sanctificauit	Locutus est dominus	18th Sunday after Pentecost
27 <sup>r</sup>		Orauit moyses	
27 <sup>v</sup>	Vir erat	Utinam apendentur	21st Sunday after Pentecost
		Que est enim	
		Numquid	
28 <sup>r</sup>		Quoniam quoniam quoniam	
	Recordare mei	Euerte cor	22nd Sunday after Pentecost
		Recordare quod	
28 <sup>v</sup>	De profundis	Fiant aures tue	23rd Sunday after Pentecost
		Si iniquitates	
	Domine deus	Maiestas domini	Church dedication

Fol.	Offertory respond	Offertory verses	Feast
		Fecit salomon	
SANCTORAL			
29 <sup>r</sup>	Gloria et honore	Domine dominus noster	Eve of St Andrew, 29 Nov.
		Quid est homo	
	Michi autem	Domine probasti me	St Andrew, 30 Nov.
29 <sup>v</sup>		Intellexisti	
		Ecce tu domine	
	Veritas	Posui adiutorium	St Nicholas, 6 Dec.
30 <sup>r</sup>		Misericordiam meam	
	Offerentur ['minor']	Eructavit cor meum	St Lucy, 13 Dec.
		Adducentur in leticia	
	In omnem	Celi enarrant	St Thomas (apostle), 21 Dec.
30 <sup>v</sup>	Inueni David	Potens es domine	St Silvester, 31 Dec.
		Et ponam in seculum	
	Filie regum	Eructavit cor meum	St Prisca, 18 Jan.
		Virga recta est	
31 <sup>r</sup>	Letamini	Beati quorum remisit	SS Fabian & Sebastian, 20 Jan.
		Pro hac orabit	
	Offerentur ['maior']	Eructavit cor meum	St Agnes, 21 Jan.
31 <sup>v</sup>		Diffusa est gratia	
	Diffusa	Specie tua	Purification BVM, 2 Feb.
	In uirtute	Vitam petiit	St Valentine, 14 Feb.
32 <sup>r</sup>		Magna est gloria	
	Desiderium anime	Vitam petiit	?St Eusebius, ?18 Apr.
		Inueniatur	
	Confitebuntur domine	Misericordias tuas	St George, 23 Apr.
32 <sup>v</sup>		Quoniam quis	
	Repleti	Domine refugium	St Vitalis, 28 Apr.
		Priusquam	
33 <sup>r</sup>	Protege domine	Salus omnium	Finding of the Holy Cross, 3 May
		Saluator mundi	
33 <sup>v</sup>		Te sancta dei	
		Qui pro mundi salute	
	Mirabilis	Exurgat	SS Gordianus & Epimachus, 10 May

Fol.	Offertory respond	Offertory verses	Feast
34 <sup>r</sup>		Pereant peccatores	
	Exultabunt	Cantate domino	SS Basilidis, Cyrinus, Nabor, Nazarius, 12 June
	Gloriabuntur	Quoniam	SS Paul and John, 26 June
34 <sup>v</sup>	Constitues	Eructavit cor meum	St Peter, 29 June
		Lingua mea	
		Propterea benedixit	
35 <sup>r</sup>	Oracio	Probavit me dominus	Eve of St Laurence, 9 Aug.
	Felix [namque es]	Ora pro populo	Eve of the Assumption, 14 Aug.
		Beata es uirgo	
	Posuisti	Desiderium anime	Beheading of St John the Baptist, 29 Aug.
		Magna est gloria	
35 <sup>v</sup>	Stetit angelus	In conspectu	St Michael, 20 Sept.
	Finis		

OPERATION LIBRONI: FRANCHINUS GAFFURIUS AND THE CONSTRUCTION  
OF A REPERTORY FOR MILAN'S DUOMO

**Daniele V. Filippi**

The four Libroni of Milan's Duomo, prepared during Franchinus Gaffurius's tenure as chapel master, rank among the most important sources for sacred polyphony at the turn of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Scholars have mainly investigated them as 'carriers' of musical works by such composers as Loyset Compère, Gaspar van Weerbeke, and Josquin des Prez, but hardly explored their broader meaning for the history and culture of the institution and the communities to which they belonged. In spite of persisting uncertainties as to how and when, precisely, each of the manuscripts was compiled and assembled, what follows is a first attempt to reframe the Libroni in this light, and capture the deliberate, momentous, and epoch-making nature of Gaffurius's endeavour.

### 1. Shaping the liturgical soundscape of the Duomo

Gaffurius started his tenure at the Duomo in January 1484.<sup>2</sup> Before Gaffurius, the chapel of the Duomo, established in embryo at the beginning of the century, had initially had good moments, with Matteo da Perugia (1402–7 and 1414–16) and then with Bertran Ferragut (1425–30),<sup>3</sup> but from the 1430s until the late 1470s there had been no official chapel master (just a deputy). Only in 1477 the obscure Giovanni de Molli (Johannes de Mollis), the immediate predecessor of Gaffurius, was officially appointed.<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly, then, since the years of Galeazzo Maria Sforza (r. 1466–76) the ducal chapel largely outshone, in number and prestige, that of the cathedral.<sup>5</sup>

I am grateful to Cristina Cassia and Agnese Pavanello for reading a preliminary version of this chapter and providing useful remarks, and to the archivist Maddalena Peschiera for facilitating in manifold ways my research at the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano. In what follows, the Archive is indicated with the abbreviation AVFDMi.

- 1 • Knud Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, 3 (1931), 14–28.
- 2 • See especially Claudio Sartori, 'Franchino Gaffurio a Milano (Nuove notizie biografiche e documenti inediti sulla sua attività di Maestro di Cappella e sulla sua riforma della Cappella del Duomo)', *Universitas Europae*, 1 (1952–3), nos. iv–v [a], 18–20; viii–ix [b], 13–16; xi–xii [c], 17–20.
- 3 • Claudio Sartori, 'Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Ferragut i due primi Maestri di Cappella del Duomo di Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, 28 (1956), 12–27; Claudio Sartori, 'La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio', in *Storia di Milano*, ix/III: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan, 1961), 723–48 at 728–34; Angelo Rusconi, 'Matteo da Perugia', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 72 (Rome, 2008), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-da-perugia\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-da-perugia_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/) (accessed 3 June 2019).
- 4 • Sartori, 'La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio', 734–40.
- 5 • Galeazzo's chapel forms the subject of a rather abundant literature: see esp. William F. Prizer, 'Music at the Court of the Sforza: The Birth and Death of a Musical Center', *Musica Disciplina*, 43 (1989), 141–93; Evelyn S. Welch, 'Sight, Sound and Ceremony in the Chapel of Galeazzo Maria Sforza', *Early Music History*, 12

Enter Gaffurius. In his early thirties, he had admittedly had limited experience in leading a chapel. His career as a practical musician essentially boiled down to two appointments: from (late?) 1480 to April 1483 he was chapel master in Monticelli d'Ongina (near Cremona) under Bishop Carlo Pallavicino, and from May 1483 to the end of the same year he was a chaplain in Bergamo's basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, with singing and teaching duties.<sup>6</sup> If we can judge retrospectively, however, the man hired by the Duomo at the beginning of 1484 was by all standards a remarkable figure: in the 1470s he had taught music in Verona and Genoa and was active at the court of Naples; he was a composer, a humanist, and an avid collector of books,<sup>7</sup> as well as an increasingly ambitious music theorist. His dedications to Giovanni and Guidantonio Arcimboldi (both members of the Sforza orbit and future archbishops of Milan) attest to his Milanese connections previous to the appointment.

Once in charge as chapel master, Gaffurius acted on multiple levels. On the one hand, he helped to reform the chapel, in very concrete terms, by revising the rules concerning the singers and the *pueri cantores* (evidence of this reform, enacted already in June 1484, is given in a later document, retrieved and published by Claudio Sartori).<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, what concerns us more here, Gaffurius supervised and materially contributed to the creation of four large manuscripts of polyphony for use in the chapel—notably for Mass and Vespers—for which no precedent is known at the Duomo (more on the situation of the sources below).

The four paper manuscripts are currently part of a series of large-format music books preserved in the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica (the vestry board of the Duomo) under the shelfmark 'Libroni' (lit. big books). Librone 1 and 2 are larger (roughly 65 × 45 cm), whereas Librone 3 is smaller (roughly 49 × 34 cm), and what we may call Librone [4] is smaller yet (hardly bigger than 45 × 30 cm, to judge from the fragments).<sup>9</sup> Contentwise, Librone 1 mainly

(1993), 151–90; and Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi sulla storia della musica in Lombardia, 3 (Turnhout, 1999), covering also the period of Galeazzo's successors, Gian Galeazzo and Ludovico. Even though the historian Edoardo Rossetti has recently cautioned against a Sforza-centric reading of Milanese cultural life in the late fifteenth century, there is no record, to my knowledge, of any other polyphonic chapel in Milan in that period: Edoardo Rossetti, 'L'"Isola beata" dei musicisti e degli aristocratici: Qualche appunto su gerarchie sociali e culturali nella Milano di fine Quattrocento', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca* (Lucca, 2019), 53–87.

6 • Davide Stefani, 'Le vite di Gaffurio', in Davide Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio* (Lucca, 2017), 27–48 at 35–6. I refer the reader to this updated digest of Gaffurius's biography for all the relevant documents and further literature.

7 • On this aspect, see Martina Pantarotto, 'Per la biblioteca di Franchino Gaffurio: I manoscritti laudensi', *Scripta*, 5 (2012), 111–17 and Martina Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio e i suoi libri', in Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio*, 49–72.

8 • Sartori, 'Franchino Gaffurio a Milano', [b] 14. Sartori provides a general discussion of the documentary evidence regarding Gaffurius's policies towards *pueri* and fellow singers.

9 • For more details on the materiality and codicology of the Libroni, besides the seminal Jeppesen, 'Die 3 Gaffurius-Kodizes', see now Martina Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti: Analisi codicologica-paleografica dei Libroni della Fabbrica del Duomo', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 103–38 and the Libroni Research Portal, edited by the Polifonia Sforzesca/Sforza Polyphony research team at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis (<https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/>). The fourth Librone, severely damaged in a fire in 1906, is currently preserved in a set of boxes (Cassette Ratti, no. VII, 34–43) at the Archive and inaccessible to the public. The manuscript is variously known in the literature by its *olim* shelfmark '2266', as 'MilD 4' (*Census Catalogue*), 'il quarto codice di Gaffurio', or, erroneously, as 'Librone 4' (that shelfmark refers to a different item altogether). I will use here the name Librone [4] in order to high-

comprises hymns, Magnificats, and especially motets (including motet cycles and *motetti missales*), and additionally a *Te Deum*, some Marian antiphons, and various other liturgical items. The identified composers include Gaffurius, former members of the Sforza chapel (Compère, Weerbeke, and Johannes Martini), and such earlier composers as Gilles Binchois, Jean Puellois, and possibly Guillaume Du Fay.<sup>10</sup> Librone 2 is prevalingly dedicated to Masses and Mass movements, with a dozen motets (including some shorter motet cycles) and a *Te Deum*. Besides Gaffurius and the ‘Sforza composers’, Antoine Brumel, Henricus Isaac, Jacob Obrecht, and Johannes Tinctoris are among the identified authors. Librone 3 is of more mixed character, with Masses, Mass movements, motets (including motet cycles and *motetti missales*), Lamentations, Magnificats, hymns, and Marian antiphons. Apart from Gaffurius, Compère, and Weerbeke, composers include Alexander Agricola, Brumel, Alessandro Coppini, Isaac, Josquin, and Jean Mouton.<sup>11</sup> The extant part of Librone [4] comprises primarily motets (including motet cycles), with some Masses, Mass movements, Magnificats, hymns, and a lauda. The identification of composers is more difficult in this case, because the upper part of the folios was destroyed by fire and, contrary to the other three Libroni, no index is preserved; besides Gaffurius, Compère, and Weerbeke, Librone [4] includes works by Josquin and Giovanni Spataro.

The preparation of the manuscripts involved a dozen different copyists, and was carried on in different phases over a period of about twenty years, approximately from the mid- to late 1480s to 1507 (the date that, according to evidence from before the fire of 1906, was marked on Librone [4]).<sup>12</sup> Whereas Librone 1 bears the date 1490 in its colophon (fully transcribed below), the dating especially of Libroni 2 and 3 is still a matter of debate among scholars, and further archival and codicological research is in progress.<sup>13</sup> Be that as it may, Gaffurius’s role as the mastermind of the project, already evident from the archival documents and from the colophon of Librone 1, is unmistakable in the make-up of the manuscripts themselves: he copied music, underlaid text left incomplete by other scribes, prepared selective indexes, and added rubrics, cross-references, and attributions. Gaffurius’s first-hand interventions, together with

light its belonging to the Libroni set. Facsimiles of Libroni 1–3 are available in the series Renaissance Music in Facsimile, 12a–c, ed. Howard Mayer Brown (New York and London, 1987); for Librone [4] see *Liber capelle ecclesie maioris: Quarto codice di Gaffurio*, ed. Angelo Ciceri and Luciano Migliavacca, Archivium Musices Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 16 (Milan, 1968). A new full digitization of the manuscripts is now available online in the Libroni Research Portal.

- 10 • For more details, see Joshua Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin’s *Ave Maria* . . . *virgo serena*’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 239–350 at 255; furthermore, see the annotated catalogue of the Libroni edited by Cristina Cassia in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 291–389 and the Libroni Research Portal.
- 11 • Furthermore, the motet *Maria salus virginum* (fols. 212<sup>v</sup>–214<sup>r</sup>) is attributed to the German composer Conrad Rupsch in the concordant source Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1494 (in which it appears with the incipit *Maria salve virginum*). For the attribution of the Credo and Sanctus from a *Missa Je ne demande* (fols. 24<sup>v</sup>–27<sup>r</sup>, with possible lost concordances in Librone [4]) to Johannes Prioris, see Cristina Cassia, ‘La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni: Problemi e osservazioni’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 275–90 at 283–84.
- 12 • For the date of 1507, often incorrectly reported as 1527 in the literature, see Stefani, ‘Le vite di Gaffurio’, 38.
- 13 • See Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 328–32. For a reappraisal of the whole problem, see Martina Pantarotto, ‘Notes, Texts, and Decoration: Gaffurius and his Team at Work on the Libroni’ and Filippi, ‘“Opera et sollicitudine Franchini Gaffori . . . impensa vero Venerabilis Fabrice”: Archival Evidence on Operation Libroni’, papers presented at the 47th Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Basel, July 2019 (published versions are forthcoming).

the large format and the aesthetically unpretentious character of the manuscripts, are clear indicators of the practical destination of the Libroni.<sup>14</sup>

104

This complex and expensive operation seems to reflect Gaffurio's reshaping of the soundscape of the Duomo through a wider use of composed polyphony on top of the semi-improvised polyphony that must have been the staple of the chapel in the previous decades (as it happened in many churches at the time).<sup>15</sup> The terminology is ambiguous, as the term *biscantare* and its derivatives, often interpreted as indicating a range of semi-improvised polyphonic practices,<sup>16</sup> are used in the archival documents of the Duomo to characterize the role of the singers both in the early fifteenth century and in Gaffurius's time. Similarly ambiguous is the situation of the sources: the only documented trace of manuscripts of polyphony at the Duomo before the Libroni is the mention of 'libri biscantium' in a record of 1463.<sup>17</sup> Even for the decades after Gaffurius, however, in spite of documents regarding expenses for the preparation of musical manuscripts (e.g. under Gaffurius's successor Werrecore; see below), we do not have any extant sources. To further complicate things, the situation is similarly blurred for the Duomo's (Ambrosian) chant sources.<sup>18</sup> There are, however, signs of a tradition of semi-improvised polyphony at the cathedral. On the one hand, Librone 1 includes the *Te Deum* by Binchois, whose two written voices require the addition of a third one according to the technique of fauxbourdon, as well as a brief *Nunc dimittis* for two voices whose design is redolent of 'simple polyphony'.<sup>19</sup>

- 14 • The Libroni, in their aspect and structure, align well with the standard characteristics of polyphonic choir-books produced for late fifteenth-century cathedrals as described by Thomas Schmidt-Beste, 'Polyphonic Sources, ca. 1450–1500', in Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2015), 641–62 at 643–8. Davide Daolmi, 'L'invenzione del sangue: La polifonia e il ducato sforzesco', in Pietro C. Marani (ed.), *Leonardo da Vinci: Il musicista* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2010), 61–71 at 69 and n. 42 has argued against the practical destination of the manuscripts based on uncorrected errors in Librone 1. There is surely no dearth of mistakes and lacunae in the Libroni, as the critical notes to existing modern editions show, and such elements are clearly to be taken into account, but the evidence for an intended practical use still seems overwhelming. Certain sections of Libroni 1–3 apparently match well with the description of 'fascicle manuscripts' given in Schmidt-Beste, 'Polyphonic Sources', 649: if, however, the genesis of some gatherings as 'self-contained booklets' is undisputable, the Libroni were surely not assembled merely 'to put on the shelf for archiving', as codicological, philological, and documentary evidence shows (see Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti' and 'Notes, Texts, and Decoration', as well as Filippi, "'Opera et solitudine Franchini Gaffori ... impensa vero Venerabilis Fabrice'").
- 15 • See the thought-provoking overview offered by Philippe Canguilhem, *L'Improvisation polyphonique à la Renaissance* (Paris, 2015).
- 16 • See e.g. Marco Gozzi, 'Liturgical Music and Liturgical Experience in Early Modern Italy', in Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone (eds.), *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology*, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture, 49 (Leiden, 2017), 55–78 at 55 and 60–1.
- 17 • AVFDMi, Ordinanze Capitolarie 2, fol. 325<sup>r</sup>: Santino Taverna was named *prior biscantorum* (head of the *biscantores*) and given the task of 'making provisions for books of polyphony, so that they would not be missing when needed by the *biscantores*' ('ut providere valeat de libris biscantium, ne deficiant biscantorum dum opus erit'). On Taverna, see Claudio Sartori, 'Josquin des Pres cantore del Duomo di Milano (1459–1472)', *Annales musicologiques*, 4 (1956), 55–83 at 74 and 83.
- 18 • Of which we do not even have a tentative list, let alone a comprehensive census. Some books are in the Biblioteca del Capitolo Metropolitano, others are presumably scattered in other libraries or lost. For a discussion of the relationship between the Libroni repertory and the Ambrosian rite, proper to Milan's diocese and especially to its cathedral, see below.
- 19 • For information on Binchois's *Te Deum* see Andrew Kirkman, 'Binchois the Borrower', in Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin (eds.), *Binchois Studies* (Oxford, 1995), 119–35 at 134. On the anonymous *Nunc dimittis*, see Daniele Torelli, 'Gli inni e il repertorio per l'ufficio nei Libroni gaffuriani', in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 233–71 at 236–9.



On the other hand, the documents in the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica show that from the time of Ferragut until at least the 1510s the vestry board took special care to have a good *tenorista* among the singers and gave him a higher salary:<sup>20</sup> from the studies by Rob Wegman and Philippe Canguilhem, among others, we know that the term *tenorista* indicated not merely a voice range, but a function, namely that of ‘organisateur du contrepoint’, or coordinator of semi-improvised polyphony.<sup>21</sup> In all likelihood, the two ways of making liturgical music coexisted, both before and during Gaffurius’s tenure, as the small portion of retrospective repertory in Librone 1 induces us to believe and as was customary in many chapels. But it seems more than probable that Gaffurius increased the amount of composed polyphony in the activity of the chapel, and that the Libroni were both the means and the result of this shift.

Another relevant aspect of ‘operation Libroni’ regards the repertory. Gaffurius imported repertory from the Sforza court environment (Compère, Weerbeke, Martini, and Josquin), as well as collecting from places outside Milan (Brumel, Coppini, Isaac, etc.). The mechanism of the import of Sforza-related works has never been satisfactorily explained, but it probably rests on the relatively frequent occasions on which the dukes attended liturgical services at the Duomo, sometimes with joint performances by the two ensembles.<sup>22</sup> A systematic mapping of the Libroni repertory and of its variant readings in order to clarify its provenance is still to be done.<sup>23</sup> At the present state of knowledge, however, it can be said that there is a retrospective side (reaching back, as already noted, to Binchois’s *Te Deum* and to pieces attributed in other sources to Du Fay), but also that the Libroni are the oldest extant sources for several works (not only by Milan-based composers), and that readings in the Libroni are at least in certain cases independent of those in other sources, including Petrucci’s prints.<sup>24</sup> Paul and Lora Merkley have tentatively pointed to the wedding between Gian Galeazzo Sforza and Isabella

20 • See Fabio Fano, ‘Note su Franchino Gaffurio’, *Rivista musicale italiana*, 55 (1953), 227–44 at 236; Sartori, ‘La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio’, 734 and 738; Sartori, ‘Franchino Gaffurio a Milano’, [b] 13. Among the *tenoristae* in Gaffurius’s time were the already mentioned Santino Taverna (Sartori, ‘La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio’, 735–6) and Giacomo Litta (Sartori, ‘Franchino Gaffurio a Milano’, [c] 17). As is well known, the star *tenorista* of the Sforza chapel, active during several short periods in the 1470s–1490s, was Jean Cordier, on whom see Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, *passim*; Pamela F. Starr, ‘Musical Entrepreneurship in 15th-Century Europe’, *Early Music*, 32 (2004), 119–33; Canguilhem, *L’Improvisation polyphonique à la Renaissance*, 160 and 200.

21 • Rob C. Wegman, ‘From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 49 (1996), 409–79 at 444–9; Canguilhem, *L’Improvisation polyphonique à la Renaissance*, 159–62 (the definition I quote is at p. 161).

22 • See Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, *passim* and Daniele V. Filippi, ‘Breve guida ai motetti missales (e dintorni)’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 139–69 at 164–5.

23 • A sample regarding the Masses was contained in an unpublished paper read by Klaus Pietschmann at the study day ‘Codici per cantare’ (Milan, October 2016; see [http://www.motetcycles.com/study-day-10\\_2016.html](http://www.motetcycles.com/study-day-10_2016.html), accessed 3 June 2019), under the title ‘Le messe “importate” nei Libroni: Provenienza, struttura e contenuto spirituale’. See also Joshua Rifkin, ‘Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin: Further Thoughts on a Familiar Topic’, in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, Scripta, 7 (Basel, 2019), 221–335 at 286–8; Bonnie J. Blackburn, ‘Variations on Agricola’s *Si dederò*: A Motet Cycle Unmasked’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 187–217; and Cassia, ‘La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni’ (all three providing further references). Furthermore, see Agnese Pavanello, ‘The Non-Milanese Repertory of the Libroni: A Potential Guidepost for Tracking Musical Exchanges’, paper presented at the 47th Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Basel, July 2019 (published version forthcoming).

24 • Rifkin, ‘Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin’, 262 and 288.

of Aragon in 1489 as a possible occasion for the inflow of new music to Milan,<sup>25</sup> but of course Gaffurius's own network is also to be taken into account, as well as the manifold contacts with other courts and chapels (multiple threads seem, for instance, to link the Libroni with Florence, but more interdisciplinary research is needed in this regard).<sup>26</sup> Gaffurius himself, as remarked above, actively contributed to building the repertory, writing new music in the different genres (including Magnificats, Masses, motets, and motet cycles). His share in the Libroni corpus is substantial: in Libroni 1, 2, and [4] the works attributed with documentary evidence or attributable with scholarly consensus to him account for c.50 per cent of the attributed pieces; for Librone 3 the quota is c.30 per cent.<sup>27</sup>

Gaffurius was clearly the catalyst for multiple transitions at the Duomo: the passage from a musical practice dominated by semi-improvised polyphony to the reception of a prevailingly (although not exclusively) 'modern', and mainly Franco-Flemish, composed repertory; the appropriation of works originally written for a different environment, the chapel of the Sforza dukes; and the codification of a corpus of polyphony. If, however, operation Libroni was Gaffurius's own initiative, it was not the result of his single-handed efforts. Rather, it was carried out within and financially supported by an institution which had a strong corporate identity: the vestry board of the Duomo, the Veneranda Fabbrica. The illumination with the logo of the Veneranda Fabbrica at the beginning of Librone 1 (see Pl. 4.1) and the reference to the Duomo and its vestry board in the colophon of the same manuscript, penned by Gaffurius, are especially telling:



Plate 4.1. Librone 1, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>, detail: decorated initial with the emblem of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo.  
© Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano

- 25 • Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 329.
- 26 • Blackburn, 'Variations on Agricola's *Si dederō*'.
- 27 • Most of the unattributed or unattributable pieces have never been seriously analysed. It is indeed possible that more works by Gaffurius hide among them.

Liber capelle ecclesie maioris mediolani factus opera et solitudine franchini gaffori laudensis prefecti prefate capelle, impensa vero venerabilis fabrice dicte ecclesie anno domini m cccc° lxxxx° die 23 junii.

Book of the chapel of the cathedral of Milan, made through the careful agency of Franchinus Gaffurius of Lodi, head of the said chapel, at the expense, however, of the venerable vestry board of the said church in the year of the Lord 1490, on the 23rd of June.

A document of 27 February 1492 from the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica further demonstrates both Gaffurius's proactivity and the vestry board's positive response. Gaffurius proposed to the board the copying of a manuscript of polyphony (in all likelihood one of the Libroni) 'pro honore prefate fabrice et eius devotione quam erga prefatam fabricam gerit maximam' ('for the honour of the said vestry board and for the very great devotion that he [Gaffurius] has towards the same vestry board'). The board, in turn, acceded 'attentis maxime dignis respectibus per ipsum dominum presbiterum Franchinum propositis et adductis' ('especially in view of the most worthy considerations advanced by the same gentleman, the priest Franchinus').<sup>28</sup> Scholars of the Veneranda Fabbrica have apparently not pinpointed this aspect so far, but in order to pursue its institutional goals, the vestry board, for its half-civic, half-ecclesiastical nature, had to navigate a complex web of relationships with the city authorities, the dukes (who since the beginnings had been fundamental but also problematic partners), the aristocracy, the corporations, and other civic and ecclesiastical bodies, in a frequently changing political scene.<sup>29</sup> Operation Libroni was, therefore, also part of the self-fashioning of the Veneranda Fabbrica as institution vis-à-vis other cultural and political powerhouses in Milan.

Seen from another perspective, operation Libroni seems also to be in accord with Gaffurius's systematizing intents. These are evident in the field of theory, where he gradually and deliberately continued to build up what is considered a summa or encyclopedia of the then available musical knowledge with his trilogy *Theorica musice* (1492), *Practica musice* (1496), and *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum* (1518).<sup>30</sup> On the one hand, the trilogy aimed to revive Greek and Latin sources, using the past in a clearly humanistic vein:<sup>31</sup> as Gaffurius himself wrote, referring to the *Theorica musice*, 'librum etiam edidi antiquissimorum rationem secutus de huius artis speculatione'. ('I also published a book, following the insights of the most ancient scholars, on the rationale of this art.')32 On the other hand, Gaffurius's trilogy aimed to combine speculation with practice, shaping the present: 'Musica enim non ut caeterae Mathe-

28 • AVFDMi, Ordinazioni Capitolari 4, fol. 64<sup>r</sup>.

29 • The standard work on the Fabbrica is Carlo Ferrari da Passano, *Storia della Veneranda Fabbrica* (Milan, 1998; reprint of an original essay of 1973), which focuses, however, on the practical mission of the vestry board, rather than on its institutional working. For a vivid and well-documented account of how the Fabbrica accomplished its task in the first decades, see Paolo Grillo, *Nascita di una cattedrale: 1386–1418. La fondazione del Duomo di Milano* (Milan, 2017).

30 • On Gaffurius as theorist, besides the entries in standard reference works, see most recently Franchino Gaffurio, *Practica musice*, ed. Paolo Vittorelli (Florence, 2017).

31 • Walter Kurt Kreyszig, 'Franchino Gaffurio als Vermittler der Musiklehre des Altertums und des Mittelalters: Zur Identifizierung griechischer und lateinischer Quellen in der *Theorica musice* (1492)', *Acta Musicologica*, 65 (1993), 134–50.

32 • This and the following quotation are from the dedication of the *Practica musice* to Ludovico Maria Sforza 'il Moro'. Translation from *The Practica Musicae of Franchinus Gaffurius*, trans. and ed. Irwin Young (Madison, WI, 1969), 5 (with slight improvements).

seos disciplinae speculationi tantum vacat: sed exit in actum.’ (‘Now music is not, like the other learned disciplines, merely a speculative pursuit: it reaches out into practice.’)

108 It is worth noting that other comparable systematizing operations involving books, liturgy, and music took place in Milan during those years. Consider, for instance, the pioneering printing of liturgical books, including both Ambrosian and Roman missals, under the imprints of Antonio Zarotto, Leonard Pachel, and Ulderich Scinzenzeler.<sup>33</sup> Notable too is the parallel figure of Pietro Casola (c.1427–1507), canon and dean of the Duomo, who dedicated his efforts to systematizing the Ambrosian liturgy, edited the Ambrosian Breviary for publication, and had entire sets of liturgical manuscripts (some of which were notated) prepared for the cathedral and other Milanese churches.<sup>34</sup> That Gaffurius and Casola, who worked for the same institution, knew each other and collaborated is extremely likely, although still inadequately documented.<sup>35</sup>

## 2. The Libroni and the Sforzas

Past and present must have been fluid concepts for the Milanese of that period: the second half of the fifteenth century saw in quick succession the fall of the Visconti, the ephemeral Ambrosian Republic, the rise of Francesco Sforza, the glittering decade of Galeazzo, his murder, the progressive usurpation of Ludovico il Moro, his fall in 1499–1500, and then, in the new century, the alternation of French rule and Sforza restorations.<sup>36</sup> Gaffurius’s relation with the Sforzas seems protean. He was able to adroitly navigate through the different phases: in the 1470s he had been attached to the governor of Genoa, Prospero Adorno, who rebelled against his former Sforza patrons, and followed Adorno to Naples when he fled there; in the 1490s Gaffurius actively sought the patronage of Ludovico il Moro, dedicating to him the first two instalments of his trilogy, and received from him the appointment of *musicæ professor* at the so-called Gymnasium Mediolanense (a Milanese school affiliated with the University of Pavia);<sup>37</sup> after the French takeover, Gaffurius styled himself *regius musicus* (royal musician) and dedicated the last part of the trilogy to Jean Grolier, treasurer and receiver general of the French army in Italy.<sup>38</sup>

- 33 • See Massimo Zaggia, ‘Materiali per una storia del libro e della cultura a Milano negli anni di Franchino Gaffurio (1484–1522)’, in Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare*, 3–51.
- 34 • On Casola and his books see Monica Pedralli, *Novo, grande, coperto e ferrato: Gli inventari di biblioteca e la cultura a Milano nel Quattrocento* (Milan, 2002), 273–4; Federica Peruzzo, ‘Il *Breviarium Ambrosianum* di Pietro Casola (1490): Tra filologia e liturgia’ (Ph.D. diss., Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, 2003); and Zaggia, ‘Materiali per una storia del libro e della cultura’, esp. 25–7.
- 35 • Casola was among the Veneranda Fabbrica officials who signed an order for payment to Gaffurius related to copying expenses for a music manuscript on 16 July 1492: AVFDMi, Registri 677 [= *Liber mandatorum* 1491–1492], fol. 79<sup>v</sup>.
- 36 • See *Storia di Milano* (Milan, 1953–96), vi–ix; Andrea Gamberini and Francesco Somaini, *Letà dei Visconti e degli Sforza: 1277–1535* (Milan, 2001); Francesco Somaini, *La Signoria e il Principato*, *La grande storia di Milano*, i/II (Turin, 2010); Andrea Gamberini (ed.), *A Companion to Late Medieval and Early Modern Milan: The Distinctive Features of an Italian State*, Brill’s Companions to European History, 7 (Leiden, 2014).
- 37 • It should be noted, however, that Gaffurius’s salary was much lower than those of professors in other disciplines: for a discussion see Zaggia, ‘Materiali per una storia del libro e della cultura a Milano’, 29–30.
- 38 • See again Zaggia, ‘Materiali per una storia del libro e della cultura a Milano’, 42 and 45; for the dedications of earlier versions of *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum*, possibly attesting to Gaffurius’s difficulties in finding adequate patronage for this project, see Stefani, ‘Le vite di Gaffurio’, 45–6.

The Libroni include music by such Sforza composers as Compère and Weerbeke, and, even more explicitly, at least two dedicatory works: the *Galezescha* motet cycle by Compère for Galeazzo (Librone 3, fols. 125<sup>v</sup>–135<sup>r</sup>), and Gaffurius's own motet *Salve decus genitoris / Qui nepotes plus quam natos* for Ludovico (Librone 1, fols. 82<sup>v</sup>–84<sup>r</sup>). The circumstances for which these works were originally written and performed are not clear, and the problem should be examined within a reconsideration of all the pieces dedicated to members of the dynasty.<sup>39</sup> For our present purposes, however, it is remarkable that the *Galezescha* and the other works by Galeazzo's composers, written in the 1470s, were included in the Libroni, assembled from the 1490s on. After the murder of Galeazzo in December 1476, his brother Ludovico (exiled by Galeazzo's widow, Bona, after an attempted coup in 1477, and then readmitted in 1479) gradually usurped the ducal power of the legitimate heir, Galeazzo's son Gian Galeazzo. In spite of this, however—or should we rather say *because* of this?—Ludovico actively promoted the remembrance of Galeazzo, in order to emphasize the dynastic continuity. The documents show that the Veneranda Fabbrica in turn deliberately cultivated and gave visibility to the memory of Galeazzo in the Duomo up to the late 1490s, notably by commissioning a statue of the deceased duke and having work done on the altar of St Joseph 'in perennial remembrance of the most illustrious and excellent lord Galeazzo Maria Sforza Visconti'.<sup>40</sup> In the words of an art historian, the officials of the Veneranda Fabbrica used this as 'a currency of exchange' in their dealings with Ludovico.<sup>41</sup> This may help to explain the inclusion in the Libroni of music composed under and for Galeazzo.

The compositions explicitly associated with the Sforza were not changed or deleted after the fall of Milan to the French in 1499, and no pieces in the Libroni appear related or referable either to the French domination or to the first Sforza restoration under Massimiliano (r. 1512–15). In this sense, the Libroni do not seem to reflect in any immediate way the political turbulence of the period. Gaffurius died in June 1522, at the very start of the second and more substantial Sforza restoration carried on by Francesco II (r. 1522–35). The new duke's main initiatives in matters of liturgical (and musical) patronage concerned, however, the churches of Santa Maria della Scala in Milan and Sant'Ambrogio in Vigevano, not the Duomo. Even though the Duomo was and remained the ceremonial centre of the city, for some reason the

39 • On the possible contexts for the *Galezescha*, see esp. David E. Crawford, 'Review of: Thomas Lee Noblitt – The *Motetti Missales* of the Late 15th Century', *Current Musicology*, 10 (1970), 102–8 at 105–6, and Patrick P. Macey, 'Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke and Josquin', *Early Music History*, 15 (1996), 147–212, but with the important qualifications by Nolan Ira Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices: A Musical and Liturgico-Devotional Study' (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2001), 314–16; see also Paul A. Merkley, 'Ludovico Sforza as an "Emerging Prince": Networks of Musical Patronage in Milan', in Paul A. Merkley (ed.), *Music and Patronage* (Farnham, 2012), 255–70 at 267, confuted by the present writer in 'Breve guida ai *motetti missales*', 164 n. 125. On *Salve decus*, see Francesco Degrada, 'Musica e musicisti nell'età di Ludovico il Moro', in *Milano nell'età di Ludovico il Moro: Atti del convegno internazionale, 28 febbraio–4 marzo 1983*, ii (Milan, 1983), 409–16 at 409–10. For the post-restoration dedications, see Christine Getz, 'Music in the 16th and 17th Centuries', in Gamberini (ed.), *A Companion to Late Medieval and Early Modern Milan*, 306–29 at 306–8.

40 • Federico Maria Gianni, 'Ricerche per l'altare di San Giuseppe nel Duomo di Milano', *Concorso. Arti e lettere*, 7 (2015), 5–65 at 15 and doc. 113. For the statue see Giulia Benati (ed.), *Milano: Museo e tesoro del Duomo. Catalogo generale* (Milan, 2017), 247–8, cat. no. 176.

41 • Gianni, 'Ricerche per l'altare di San Giuseppe', 15.

Sforzas never seriously attempted to turn it into a dynastic church, as their predecessors, the Visconti, had originally envisaged.<sup>42</sup>

110

### 3. The Libroni and Milanese identity

A document from immediately after Ferragut left the Duomo in 1430 reveals a tension between local and foreign personnel of the chapel: three Italian priests proposed themselves as substitutes

quod propter absentiam fratris Beltrami de Ferragutis, ecclesia praedicta sine tenorista remansit, et pluries sic evenit, *recipiendo advenas et forenses, qui ad eorum arbitrium recedunt.*

because for the absence of Brother Bertran Ferragut the said church [i.e. the Duomo] remained without a *tenorista*, and the same has already happened often, *when hiring strangers and foreigners who depart at their discretion.*<sup>43</sup>

In the 1460s and 1470s the Duomo hired both French and Italian singers. According to Claudio Sartori, the Sforzas might have played a role in the recruitment of French singers, some of which they would then draw to the ducal chapel.<sup>44</sup> As Sartori has remarked, and as an examination of the Duomo payrolls confirms (pending an accurate prosopographical study of the singers), by the time of Gaffurius and during his entire tenure, all singers were Italian, and most of them specifically came from Milan and its diocese.<sup>45</sup> Whether implemented for administrative, educational, political, or artistic reasons, the consistence of this recruitment pattern seems to have been the fruit of a deliberate policy.

If the Duomo singers were local, the seemingly superfluous question of how strictly the Libroni followed Milan's distinctive liturgy (the Ambrosian rite) must, conversely, remain open. As I discuss elsewhere, the evidence is contradictory, and we still have to process all the different clues.<sup>46</sup> There are undoubtedly many Ambrosian elements, including three-movement Masses with neither Kyrie nor Agnus dei, but also aspects pointing to the opposite direction (notably the rubrics of the *motetti missales*), and no fully-fledged Ambrosian commitment comparable to that of the *Pontificalia* of 1619 (see below). Further research is needed to broaden our knowledge of ritual life at the Duomo between the late Middle Ages and the Borromaic era, which is at present surprisingly scant.

42 • See Patrick Boucheron, *Le Pouvoir de bâtir: Urbanisme et politique éditoriale à Milan (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Rome, 1998), and Grillo, *Nascita di una cattedrale*.

43 • Document of 18 June 1430, published in *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente*, ii (Milan, 1877), 58; italics mine. See also Sartori, 'La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio', 734.

44 • Sartori, 'Josquin des Pres cantore del Duomo', 68–9; Sartori, 'La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio', 734–6. Sartori, however, does not substantiate his deductions with documentary evidence regarding the Sforzas' purported ulterior motives (for a direct intervention of Francesco Sforza regarding the salary of a French singer in 1465 see, however, Sartori, 'Josquin des Pres cantore del Duomo', 80 n. 4). For the passage of singers (including the 'fake Josquin', Judocus de Picardia) from the Duomo to the ducal chapel in the early 1470s, and the role of Bishop Branda Castiglioni, see also Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 80–6; the mechanism of the passage will require further investigation.

45 • Sartori, 'La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio', 747. The chapel numbered between ten and fifteen singers, in addition to the *pueri cantores*.

46 • See Filippi, 'Breve guida ai *motetti missales*'.

Some typically Milanese elements, however, emerge in the texts set. Several of the Ambrosian hymn texts at the beginning of Librone 1, for instance, seem to directly reflect liturgical reform tendencies promoted by Duomo ecclesiastics, and their choice and positioning in the manuscript have been judged highly representative of the identity and liturgical culture of the cathedral.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, two among the very few pieces provided with an explicit liturgical rubric are dedicated to Milan's patron, St Ambrose.<sup>48</sup>

What is even more interesting, at least three motet texts set by Weerbeke and Gaffurius derive from a Latin poem by a thirteenth-century Milanese author: Bonvesin de la Riva's *Vita scolastica* (c.1240–c.1313/1315), widely read and copied (and later printed) until at least the mid-sixteenth century. The distich 'Christi sanguis, ave, celi sanctissime potus / Unda salutaris crimina nostra lavans' ('Hail, blood of Christ, most holy beverage of heaven, salvific wave washing away our crimes') is recommended in the *Vita scolastica* as a prayer for the elevation of the host.<sup>49</sup> Its first line is included in the second part of Gaffurius's eucharistic motet *Quando venit ergo / Ave corpus Jesu Christi* (Librone 1, fols. 71<sup>v</sup>–72<sup>r</sup>);<sup>50</sup> the whole distich is comprised in another motet by Gaffurius, *Ave verum corpus* (Librone 2, fols. 134<sup>v</sup>–135<sup>r</sup>). The following lines, in turn, are presented in the *Vita scolastica* as a prayer to the Virgin:

Mater ave Cristi, sanctissima Virgo Maria,  
Partu, post partum, sicut et ante manens.  
Virgo, que Cristum peperisti, lacte educasti,  
Me rege, me serva, me tueare potens.  
Me tibi commendo, me, virgo, relinquere noli.  
Ne peream, Cristo funde, Maria, preces.<sup>51</sup>

With the inversion of the first words as the only variant, these lines form the entire text of Weerbeke's *Christi mater ave* (Librone 1, fols. 114<sup>v</sup>–115<sup>r</sup>).<sup>52</sup> Whereas the *Vita scolastica* and, to a lesser extent, the prayers contained therein had a circulation outside Milan, their choice as motet texts by Milan-based composers clearly points to a local tradition. This discovery opens a new path within the complex endeavour of identifying the texts set in the motets and motet cycles of the Libroni and tracing them back to their cultural and spiritual context.<sup>53</sup> Setting

47 • 'collocazione ... densa di significati identitari, culturali e culturali': Torelli, 'Gli inni e il repertorio per l'ufficio', 252.

48 • The two anonymous motets, both labelled 'Pro sancto Ambrosio', are *O beata praesulis* (copied twice: Librone 1, fols. 108<sup>v</sup>–109<sup>r</sup> and Librone 2, fols. 6<sup>v</sup>–7<sup>r</sup>) and *Vox infantis sonuit/O doctor optime* (Librone 3, fols. 218<sup>v</sup>–220<sup>r</sup>). Another motet dedicated to the saint is in Librone [4]: *Ambrosi doctor venerande* (fols. 68<sup>v</sup>–70<sup>r</sup>).

49 • See Bonvesinus de Ripa, *Vita scolastica*, ed. Anezka Vidmanová-Schmidtová (Leipzig, 1969), now online at [http://www.alim.dfl.univ.it/alim/letteratura.nsf/\(cercaVolumi\)/777A9C9557A9FB01C1256CE9007AC737?OpenDocument](http://www.alim.dfl.univ.it/alim/letteratura.nsf/(cercaVolumi)/777A9C9557A9FB01C1256CE9007AC737?OpenDocument), lines 407–8. Accessed 3 June 2019.

50 • On this motet, see Daniele V. Filippi, 'Text, Form, and Style in Franchino Gaffurio's Motets', in Thomas Schmidt-Beste (ed.), *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship between Imitation and Text Treatment?* (Turnhout, 2012), 383–410, written, however, before I discovered the origin of this portion of the text. The motet is edited *ibid.* in an appendix, as well as in Franchino Gaffurio, *Mottetti*, ed. Luciano Migliavacca, Archivium Musices Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 5 (Milan, 1959), 38–41.

51 • *Vita scolastica*, lines 339–44.

52 • Modern edition in Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Collected Works: Motets*, ed. Agnese Pavanello in collaboration with Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, CMM 106/4 ([Rome], 2010), 22–4.

53 • See Filippi and Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, and the Motet Cycles Database, <http://www.motetcycles.ch/> (accessed 3 June 2019).

these texts is another way in which composers used (or, were requested to use) the local past, and contributed to shape the collective identity of Milanese worshippers.

112

#### 4. After Gaffurius

What happened to the Libroni in the period after Gaffurius? Pending further research, all that can be said is that they were preserved with special care (no other musical manuscript from before 1550 has survived in the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica),<sup>54</sup> and left unspoiled. We may wonder whether the lack of ‘political’ interventions discussed above might attest to their soon becoming obsolete. As a matter of fact, barely six months after Gaffurius’s death the board acceded to the request presented by the new chapel master Matthias Hermann Werrecore (a Fleming, this time, but apparently from a family already based in Milan)<sup>55</sup> ‘for several books of polyphonic music’ (‘providere de nonnullis libris a cantu figurato’), because the singers badly needed them (‘illis valde indigent’).<sup>56</sup> The project must have been brought to fruition by the end of the same year (in December 1523 Werrecore was reimbursed for five books ‘a cantu figurato’ he had bought for the chapel),<sup>57</sup> although no physical trace of these books is extant in the archive.<sup>58</sup> The subsequent chapel masters of the Duomo in the sixteenth century composed and published collections of sacred music, sometimes with dedications to archpriests or canons of the cathedral,<sup>59</sup> or to archbishops,<sup>60</sup> but none of them apparently tried (or was asked, or was in a position) to codify the repertory for the Duomo in a way comparable to Gaffurius’s endeavour. The next relevant endeavour, in this perspective, materialized only one century after Gaffurius’s death, when the chapel master Vincenzo Pellegrini published the *Pontificalia Ambrosianae ecclesiae ad vespersas musicali concentui accomodata* (Milan: G. Rolla, 1619), with music mainly by himself and by his predecessor Giulio Cesare Gabussi. This four-volume collection adopts a large choirbook format very similar to that of the first two Libroni<sup>61</sup> and displays on the title

- 54 • Claudio Sartori, *Le musiche della Cappella del Duomo di Milano: Catalogo delle musiche dell’Archivio* (Milan, 1957).
- 55 • Werrecore is recorded as ‘filius quondam domini Eligii porte nove parochie Sancti Protasii ad monachos Mediolani’ and ‘filius quondam domini Eligii porte Verceline parochie Sancti Vincenti Mediolani’ in two documents from AVFDMi (both 1530), according to Federico Mompellio, ‘La cappella del Duomo da Matthias Hermann di Vercore a Vincenzo Ruffo’, in *Storia di Milano*, ix/III: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan, 1961), 749–85 at 750.
- 56 • Document of 5 January 1523 in AVFDMi, Ordinazioni Capitolari 7, fol. 104<sup>r</sup>; see *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo*, iii (Milan, 1880), 225, and Mompellio, ‘La cappella del Duomo da Matthias Hermann di Vercore a Vincenzo Ruffo’, 753.
- 57 • AVFDMi, Registri 317, fol. 290<sup>r</sup>: ‘Item debet dare die ultimo decembris 220 s4 d/ magistro Mathie Flamingo occasione pretii librorum quinque a cantu figurato per eum empti pro usu capelle prefate mayoris ecclesie.’
- 58 • The same applies to the book of Magnificats ‘pro usu . . . capelle’ to which Werrecore added twenty-four pieces in 1547, according to a document published in Mompellio, ‘La cappella del Duomo da Matthias Hermann di Vercore a Vincenzo Ruffo’, 756.
- 59 • See Pietro Ponzio’s *Missarum liber secundus, cum quinque vocibus* (Venice: heir of Girolamo Scotto, 1581), dedicated to Archpriest Giovanni Fontana, and Giulio Cesare Gabussi’s *Magnificat X* (Milan: Michele Tini, 1589), dedicated to Canon Ottaviano Abbiate Forerio.
- 60 • See Gabussi’s *Motectorum liber primus* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1586), dedicated to Gasparo Visconti.
- 61 • In the exemplar of the AVFDMi, the four volumes, with shelfmarks Libroni 10 and 10bis (*Pars hyemalis*, first and second choir), 11 and 11bis (*Pars aestiva*, ditto), are trimmed differently: the ‘largest’ one (Librone 11) measures c.64 × 44 cm.



page both the logo of the Veneranda Fabbrica and a mention of its commissioning role ('praefectorum Venerandae Fabricae Ecclesiae Metropolitanae iussu impressi': printed by the order of the superintendents of the Veneranda Fabbrica of the Duomo; see Pl. 4.2). The parallel with the



Plate 4.2. *Pontificalia Ambrosianae ecclesiae, Pars hyemalis*, second choir (Milan: G. Rolla, 1619), title page (from the copy at AVFDMi, pressmark: Librone 1obis). © Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano

opening illumination and the colophon of Librone 1 is unmistakable (see Pl. 4.1 and the transcription of the colophon above). As Robert Kendrick has remarked, the *Pontificalia* were ‘strongly institution-specific’ and ‘functioned literally as memories of the cathedral and its rite’.<sup>62</sup> Unlike the Libroni, the *Pontificalia* focused exclusively on music for the Office of Vespers and insisted right from the title on the specifically and rigorously Ambrosian character of the liturgy—probably as a result of the post-Tridentine reforms implemented in the intervening decades under archbishops Carlo Borromeo, Gasparo Visconti, and Federico Borromeo—but the two initiatives illuminate each other as epoch-making attempts to build a repertory for the Duomo and redefine its musical identity in accordance with the broader self-fashioning policies of the Veneranda Fabbrica.

\* \* \*

With the creation of the Libroni, Gaffurius shaped the sonic present of the Duomo, interweaving multiple memories (the music of Galeazzo Sforza’s chapel, the presumably older layers of the cathedral repertory) with his own new music and that of contemporary composers. In a troubled age, in which Milan’s past appeared no less shifting than its present, Gaffurius built a repertory for a cathedral under construction: it took another five hundred years to complete the Duomo, but the cathedral would jealously preserve Gaffurius’s work up to the twenty-first century. Today the Veneranda Fabbrica is investing in Gaffurius as a cultural asset and as a distinguishing icon of its own identity and centuries-long history.<sup>63</sup> Operation Libroni, parallel to other local enterprises of those years and consistent with broader tendencies of the period, is marked by Gaffurius’s unique personality, but it also reflects institutional and community expectations and the complex interaction of centripetal and centrifugal forces which characterized early modern Milan.

62 • Robert L. Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan, 1585–1650* (New York and Oxford, 2002), 127.

63 • See for instance <https://web.archive.org/web/20150227020421/http://www.duomomilano.it/it/article/2015/02/23/gaffurio-il-musico-di-leonardo-che-rese-grande-la-cappella-musicale-del-duomo/23e-a54e1-a682-4fco-b377-ca871ed3768e/> (accessed 3 June 2019). In October 2016 the Archive of the Veneranda Fabbrica hosted a session of the aforesaid study day ‘Codici per cantare’. Since January 2018 the Veneranda Fabbrica has been partnering with the Basel Polifonia Sforzesca/Sforza Polyphony research group for the digitization of the Libroni and their open-access publication within the Libroni Research Portal (see <http://www.polifoniasforzesca.ch/>, accessed 3 June 2019, and <https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch>).

**PART II**

**TRADITIONS**



INTRODUCTION  
TRADITION IN THE MUSICAL PAST

Paweł Gancarczyk

117

The phenomenon of the past in the present is described by means of various notions, the choice of which depends on the specificities of the issues at hand and the methodological approach adopted. Some of those notions, like 'collective memory', are the subject of a considerable amount of literature; others, such as 'tradition', function also in everyday language and as such are often ambiguous and hard to define. Some might say that the notion of 'tradition' is closer to the concerns of anthropologists, ethnologists, and—in the domain of musicology—scholars researching orally transmitted music than to historians, including music historians. Yet it is certainly not alien or dispensable to them, and in fact it is frequently used. The difference in its understanding resides mainly in the fact that scholars dealing with history study what has been preserved in artefacts and, above all, the culture of writing. Given that the notion of 'tradition' derives from the Latin verb *tradere*, meaning to transmit, the question of the medium concerned should be regarded as fundamentally important. It goes without saying that scholars who deal with such distant times as the late Middle Ages and the early modern era study above all those traditions which belonged to literate social groups. In our field, knowledge of groups that have not left us any written sources depends solely on the filters created by those who were able to wield a pen. Let us not forget that in sixteenth-century Venice the literacy rate has been estimated at 33 per cent among men and 13 per cent among women,<sup>1</sup> and Venice was one of the main centres of European trade and culture.

The problem of tradition in historical research is not confined to the limitations imposed by the medium of transmission. One may define tradition as the link between the present and the past—a past that need not be objective or defined. The existence of a tradition requires only the conviction that some belief, practice, or norm has existed for a long time, and not necessarily in accordance with some historical truth. Historians, meanwhile, do not deal with the present directly. Their field of activity is the discovery and interpretation of the historical record, that is, the reconstruction of some 'historical truth' that would have been valid in the past. Yet there are problems: although historians base their research on sources and the evidence they record, those sources also document various beliefs and practices that in themselves need not agree amongst another. The history of music therefore is more than merely the description of musical phenomena and related events; it is also the history of the ideas and technologies that lie behind those phenomena. It deals with the history of institutions and seeks to understand music in its social contexts; and social conditions form an essential background to the cultivation of traditions.

Translated by John Comber.

1 • Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, 1989), 46.

In short, it is not entirely clear what tradition is.<sup>2</sup> Helpful to our understanding of tradition would appear to be its distinction from ‘heritage’, another concept belonging to the set of notions describing the functioning of the past in the present. Heritage is generally understood as everything that remains, all that has come down to us from our forebears. It is therefore of objective significance, whereas a tradition is continuously accepted or rejected, affirmed or negated. Tradition is linked to an active, often emotional, attitude to the past. Therefore its meaning is subjective.<sup>3</sup> Max Radin writes that ‘only some of the inherited or transmitted customs, institutions, speech, dress, laws, songs and tales are traditions; and the use of the term implies a judgment about the value of the transmitted element’.<sup>4</sup> Thus, tradition is a matter of valuing, and its provenance in the past—the conviction that we are dealing with something old—should be seen as an indispensable but subjective part of that valuing. Finally, in order to speak of tradition, one must take into account the vagaries of transmission and the changes often associated with the process of transmission. Even if we regard something as a stable belief, norm, or ritual, in order for it to be fully ‘traditional’, it is inevitably linked to the possibility of change. In music, the term ‘tradition’ is often applied to Gregorian chant, which for centuries has remained a constant component of the musical cultures of the past. We speak, for example, of the ‘chant traditions’ of particular regions, dioceses, and monastic orders. Let us note, however, that in spite of its ‘traditional’ character, chant underwent many gradual changes.<sup>5</sup> In this sense, tradition and innovation are not opposite terms, since innovation is an inevitable part of the existence of a tradition. In the final analysis, then, a lack of change means the disappearance of the subjective element, and consequently the end of the tradition, which either becomes heritage as embodied in artefacts, or is lost altogether.

The question of change as one of the constituent elements of tradition requires a brief commentary, particularly given the lack of complete agreement with regard to its presence.<sup>6</sup> We commonly understand tradition as being linked to stability, to constancy, associating it with a utopian notional stance known as conservatism. However, as we have seen, for a tradition to last, it must be associated with transmission, and that implies with change. We can speak of the tradition of Latin song in Central Europe, the tradition of the *Ars nova* motet, or the tradition within Italian music printing only where there exists evidence that they were transmitted over successive decades and generations as embodied in the presence of specific types of compositions in manuscripts and prints, in musical practice, in music theory, and—in the most general terms—in social reception. Yet each new copy brings changes, revisions, and innovations, both in the compositions themselves and in their visual and notational representations.

- 2 • See Joseph A. Soares, ‘A Reformulation of the Concept of Tradition’, *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 17/6 (1997), 6–21.
- 3 • Jerzy Szacki, *Tradycja* [Tradition] (2nd edn., Warsaw, 2011), 102.
- 4 • Max Radin, ‘Tradition’, in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson, vol. 15 (New York, 1959), 62.
- 5 • See David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge, 2009); one chapter in that handbook bears the telling title ‘Tradition and Innovation in Medieval Chant: From the Ninth to the Sixteenth Century’ (pp. 121–61).
- 6 • Eric Hobsbawm considers that ‘the object and characteristic of “traditions”, including invented ones, is invariance’, whilst he ascribes change to custom; see Eric Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’, in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 2. Elsewhere, however, he writes of the ‘adaptability of genuine traditions’, and thus clearly admits their variance (ibid. 8).

Philologists and historians speak of ‘textual traditions’ and ‘manuscript traditions’—concepts they use in relation to the study of various copies of a text. An element of change is also introduced into a tradition by every musical performance; this is more difficult to follow in written sources, but sometimes becomes discernible through glosses and corrections made on copies. While we speak of the ‘stability’ of a repertory, we nevertheless anticipate that such stability—a ‘living tradition’, one might say—will not be affected by those changes. What is more, a tradition seems all the more ‘lively’, the more numerous the copies of texts and compositions that document it, and the more numerous the revisions, alterations, and comments they bear.

Stability therefore, in our context, does not mean invariance; a living tradition implies change, yet still within the shared framework of a ‘tradition’, which refers to a common source in the past and legitimizes its long duration. A secondary question is the tempo and extent of those changes. Sometimes change occurs so slowly, and its scope is so limited, that for those cultivating a particular tradition it may become imperceptible. Such imperceptible changes are only revealed to the careful researcher, who—thanks to the sources—commands a longer temporal perspective and hence the possibility of making comparisons.

The sole purpose of compiling anthologies of ‘old compositions’ or formulating regulations with regard to a cultivated repertory was to preserve and sanction a tradition. It was expected that such collections were made to ensure their stability, which carries with it the possibility of making changes. The sets of norms and rules adopted by a given social group, contained in authoritative books and documents, form part of a tradition, demonstrating its significance and vitality. The criticism and condemnation of new practices and the invoking of various ceremonials, church orders, and statutes means that a given tradition still endures, while undergoing change and renewal; in a word—it lives.

According to Edward Shils, the most important role in the emergence and preservation of a tradition is played by three institutions of social life: family, church, and school.<sup>7</sup> In the case of notated music, the role of the family—beyond rare examples of ‘musical families’—is the smallest. The music studied in this volume required a degree of professionalism—the knowledge provided by school and church. Professional musicians—unlike most families—employed written transmission, various books, and documents that helped to sustain a tradition. In the case of late medieval and early modern music that transmission occurred through antiphoners and graduals, ceremonials and agendas, music handbooks and treatises, songbooks and church choirbooks with polyphonic music. Church institutions included music chapels, colleges, and brotherhoods of various kinds whose main purpose was the musical performance of the various services. They forged their own traditions through organizational structures regulated by acts of foundation and statutes, repertory preserved in books, performance practices, and the memories of founders and former members. Equal significance should be ascribed to educational institutions, which propagated knowledge of music and cultivated their own repertoires. Shils mentions the special role played by universities, which, although often centres for innovation and reform, are also bastions of tradition.<sup>8</sup> Thanks to the teachers they train, universities guarantee the transmission of tradition to church and municipal schools. The universities in Paris

7 • Edward Shils, *Tradition* (London, 1981), 169–85.

8 • *Ibid.* 179–84.

and Prague, for example, played a key part in establishing and maintaining musical traditions during the late Middle Ages. In many instances, to be sure, church and educational institutions were as one. During the late Middle Ages and the early modern era, children were often trained in professional chapels, and the musical setting of services by adult singers and schoolboys was common practice.<sup>9</sup> The special significance of these institutions for research into the phenomenon of the past in the present can be gauged from the texts below.

As mentioned earlier, the cultivation of traditions is underpinned by social conditions. The characteristic way in which people act and think, even if adopted from their predecessors, is nothing other than individual habit. Only when such habits become common to a group can a tradition arise. Since tradition—as we have established—is linked to an active approach and may be affirmed or negated, its acceptance or rejection is an act of identification. In identifying with various traditions, a person defines his or her belonging to the community of which those traditions are typical. Opposition to the established beliefs, practices, and norms proper to a particular institution or group, such as a family, a religious order, a university, or a music chapel, may result in stigmatization or exclusion. And vice versa: affirmation of the traditions that distinguish a community strengthen one's sense of belonging. A composer's choice of a work or style to which they wish to refer therefore need not be confined to purely musical motives. It may result from a wish to be grounded in a particular tradition, and thereby represents an act of identification.

Tradition is linked to identity. Of a strongly identificatory character are the invented traditions described by Eric Hobsbawm, which he associated first and foremost with national groups.<sup>10</sup> Jan Assmann has also indicated the importance of the past for identification in his theory of cultural memory. That memory, as he writes, 'preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity. The objective manifestations of cultural memory are defined through a kind of identificatory determination in a positive ("We are this") or in a negative ("That's our opposite") sense.'<sup>11</sup> Transferring that observation to another set of notions, one can say that this unity and peculiarity of social groups is defined by traditions, which undoubtedly serve to strengthen belonging and build bonds and a sense of community. That explains the great interest in tradition among groups with a short history. They forge new traditions, modifying those that existed previously—that is, for example, what happened in the Hussite communities in fifteenth-century Bohemia. On the other hand, the reference to the past was an important feature of the culture of sacred music in post-Tridentine Italy, as can be seen in the example of printed choirbooks referring to the visual, notational, and musical models dating back to the *Liber quindecim missarum* (Rome, 1516). In both cases, 'oldness' was a source of value that binds a specific social group and gives it a sense of distinction. In the continuing process of transfer—including transformations and innovations—the tradition lasts for generations and centuries, linking the present with the past.

9 • See Jörg Bölling, 'Kinder, Chöre, Curricula—Zur Institutions- und Bildungsgeschichte von pueri cantores', in Nicole Schwindt (ed.), *Rekrutierung musikalischer Eliten: Knabengesang im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert = Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik*, 10 (Kassel, 2013), 93–109; Inga Mai Grootte, 'KinderMusic'—Musiklehre und Allgemeinbildung für Chorknaben', *ibid.* 111–41.

10 • Hobsbawm, 'Introduction'.

11 • Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique*, 65 (Spring/Summer, 1995), 125–33 at 130.



FROM TOLERATED ADDITION TO KEEPERS OF TRADITION:  
THE AUTHORITY OF THE 'PAST' IN LATIN SONG IN CENTRAL EUROPE  
IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

**Jan Ciglbauer**

The changes in the ways in which Latin songs are transmitted in manuscript sources can tell complex, yet somewhat hidden stories about the shifting perceptions and varied uses of such songs over the course of several decades.<sup>1</sup> A closer focus on the Bohemian and Central European traditions of Latin songs reveals how the notion and authority of the 'past' played a role in the introduction of new repertoires and how it shaped the written tradition of individual songs.

Between 1350 and 1500, Bohemian society underwent many far-reaching developments: the unprecedented prosperity of the Kingdom of Bohemia in the time of the emperor Charles IV, the increasing social frictions as a result of the church reform movement, and the struggles to re-establish Bohemian society after the Hussite wars during the fifteenth century. All these historical events became part of the 'DNA' of Latin songs in Central European sources, as will be exemplified by the case studies of three songs presented below.

Since most of the Latin spiritual songs are preserved in manuscripts made for the purposes of liturgy and worship, one has to take into account—as a point of departure—a certain traditionalism that shaped liturgical music in the Prague diocese thanks to Arnestus of Pardubice (1297–1364), the first archbishop and chancellor of the university.<sup>2</sup> Further, the founding of Prague University in 1348 contributed to the development of a rich international intellectual milieu with its own specific creativity that would merge with the predominant traditionalism. The university-centred milieu, however, lost its international dimension and significance during the time of the Hussite movement and the wars of the second and third decades of the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The subsequent Utraquist-dominated Bohemian society favoured slightly different genres of liturgical music, which led to a situation in which parts of the Bohemian repertory survived in Silesia and southern Germany, while in Bohemia there arose a separate, relatively solid, but somewhat isolated tradition of Latin *cantiones*.<sup>4</sup> The same songs that formerly had to be carefully adapted to fit in with the long-established practice of embellishing

I would like to express my thanks to Henry Howard for the translation of all Latin texts.

- 1 • For the case of a stand-alone song, *O Yesse virgula*, coming into use as an antiphon see Jan Ciglbauer, 'Antiphon oder Cantio? Auf der Suche nach der Identität des mitteleuropäischen geistlichen Liedes', *Hudební věda*, 53 (2016), 117–28.
- 2 • Hana Vlhová-Wörner provides a thorough description of Latin chant in Bohemia in her edition *Repertorium troporum Bohemiae medii aevi*, i: *Tropi proprii missae* (Prague, 2004), 31–54.
- 3 • For an up-to-date history of Prague University, see František Šmahel, *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter: Gesammelte Aufsätze/Charles University in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 28 (Leiden and Boston, 2007).
- 4 • Jan Ciglbauer, *Cantio um 1400: Ausgangspunkte – Kontexte – Ausstrahlung* (Hildesheim, forthcoming in 2020). On the term *cantio* see Jaromír Černý, 'Cantio', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 2 (Kassel, 1995), 389–93, and John Caldwell, 'Cantio', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. (London, 2001), v. 58–9.

liturgical chant with tropes themselves became representatives of the past and were seen as guarantors of ancient purity.

122

From a statistical point of view, it was more likely for a spiritual song with some liturgical potential to survive as a notated piece of music in the safe realm of liturgical manuscripts. As with other song traditions, little secular and polyphonic music has been preserved with notation up to our time, compared with the contemporary Latin traditions. It seems, however, that with only some minor modifications to the text it was possible to create a link with the liturgy, thus allowing the inclusion of a song in liturgical books. As a fortunate side effect, many of these compositions have been preserved with their melodies. Conversely, Latin songs that could not be fitted for use in worship—i.e. songs with secular texts, or with spiritual texts without the potential for integration into a liturgical context—were mostly preserved as texts without their melodies, and their tradition follows a path based on a different type of source.

The following case studies demonstrate the kind of modifications we find in the Central European song repertory. Among the adaptation strategies encountered, the most prevalent are those of putting new songs into the framework of the well-established practices of embellishing the liturgy through tropes. A striking line of inquiry to follow is whether ‘established’ and ‘allowed’ necessarily meant ‘old’ and thus belonging to the ‘musical past’ in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a period replete with fervent endeavours to reform and re-define various aspects of spiritual life. Was there a moment when a scribe deliberately wrote down a piece because it was old in order to achieve something, for example to legitimize a new practice, or to save a piece of music from being forgotten? As a working hypothesis, it seems safe to claim that the attitude to the past necessarily shaped the written tradition in a specific way. The following examples may demonstrate some of the mechanisms by which this occurred.

### *Ave non Eve meritum*

*Ave non Eve meritum* is perhaps one of the most cryptic paraphrases of the Angelic Salutation that we know. According to the earliest record of the song,<sup>5</sup> Mary is praised as someone who is ‘not the wrongdoing of Eve that deservedly leads to destruction’: *non Eve meritum seducens ad interitum*. Compared to other well-known epithets of Mary, it is unusual for its negative and rather cryptic comparison to Eve. Mary is saddened by Gabriel’s greeting: *Maria contristatur*, but the angel continues by addressing her as ‘born of grace, the heavenly one, offering herself’: *Maria nata gracia offerens se galaxia*. Finally, Mary abandons her bewilderment and asks the angel what his rather inconsistent and unusual greeting should mean. By the passive *affatur* in the phrase *Maria sic affatur* ‘Mary is thus spoken to’, it is not clear who is speaking afterwards. Perhaps it is Gabriel, but not necessarily. The song continues with a conspicuously unproblematic text: *O fons clemencie ... o fons venie* (‘O wellspring of mercy’, etc.; lines 12–20).

5 • Prague XIV G 17, fol. 187<sup>v</sup>, dated 1377; an edition of this version appears in *Carmina clericorum*, ed. Jan Ciglbauer (Chomutov, 2020), no. 6.

	Ave non Eve meritum seducens ad interitum. Maria contristatur.	Hail, you who are not the wrongdoing of Eve that deservedly leads to destruction. Mary is troubled.
5	Maria nata gracia offerens se gallaxia peccantem gratulatur.	Mary, born of grace, the heavenly one, offering herself to the sinner, rejoices.
	Cetus fidelis virginum- que meritis iuva<t>ur.	The faithful company of virgins, too, is pleased by good deeds.
10	Virgo querens ab angelo quid vult hec salutacio. Maria sic affatur:	The virgin inquires of the angel what this greeting means. Mary is addressed thus:
	O fons clemencie solem iusticie reconcilia	O wellspring of mercy, reconcile the son of righteousness to us
15	et post hoc exilium dans nobis auxilium duc ad gaudia	and after this exile, grant us your help and lead us to joy
20	cum quo nos perhenniter fac gaudere iugiter o fons venie.	and with him make us to rejoice through all ages continually, o wellspring of forgiveness.

Notes: 7–8 virginumque: MS virginum quid; 8 iuatur: MS iuamur

The unusual text passages running from *Ave non Eve* to *affatur* also puzzled the scribes of more recent manuscripts and they routinely tried to correct it. However, in doing so they only contributed to the confusion. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the text was already so corrupt that Thomas Kreß, the last Carthusian of Basel, wrote: *Sequitur alia prosa de salutatione angelica rithmis et contextu verborum satis obscura*: ‘There follows another *prosa* about the angelic salutation, rather obscure in rhythm and the meaning of the text.’<sup>6</sup> The knotty text may be an indication that the Latin text is not necessarily the original one. Since a number of Latin contrafacts of vernacular songs from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries exist, *Ave non Eve meritum* may likewise be one.<sup>7</sup>

- 6 • Frank Labhardt, *Das Cationale des Kartäusers Thomas Kreß: Ein Denkmal der spätmittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte Basels*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, ser. 2, 20 (Bern and Stuttgart, 1978), 168.
- 7 • Gisela Kornrumpf, ‘Deutschsprachige Liedkunst und die Rezeption ihrer Formen und Melodien in der lateinischen Lieddichtung’, in Michael Zywiets, Volker Honemann, and Christian Bettels (eds.), *Gattungen und Formen des europäischen Liedes vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 2005), 111–18.

The musical form of the earliest documented version of *Ave non Eve meritum* in Prague XIV G 17 (see Appendix, no. 1) can be schematized as *abc abc de dbc' + fgh fgh ijh'*. This means that the song consists of a core based on the *cantio* form *AABA'* with a prayer-like attachment *C*. Similar layouts are typical of several songs indubitably used as tropes to the *Salve Regina*,<sup>8</sup> but there is a significant difference. It is quite rare to compose monostanzaic songs this way. Usually, the structures of monostanzaic *Salve Regina* tropes are based on sequence-like parallel verses and through-composed melodies, such as in most of the compositions of this type found in Munich 716 and Lübeck 16.<sup>9</sup> The melody was probably composed by one author in one piece.<sup>10</sup> The earliest version of *Ave non Eve meritum* seems to be an adaptation of a vernacular song, equipped with a textual-melodic addition *O fons clemencie*, etc. that legitimized its use as a monostanzaic *Salve Regina* trope.

### *Ave non Eve meritum/Digna laude gaude*

The second-oldest, mid-fifteenth-century version of *Ave non Eve meritum* in Prague III D 10 has three strophes with the same melody plus an addition. Although it has traditionally been suggested that this supposedly Bohemian or Silesian manuscript was written at the end of the fifteenth century,<sup>11</sup> the paper is documented as early as 1441 in Ingolstadt.<sup>12</sup> The earlier dating is supported by the similarity in terms of the manuscript type to the Lübeck *troparium* Lübeck 16 from c.1450.<sup>13</sup> Both manuscripts present specialized collections of Marian songs for votive liturgies in a scholarly context. Only thanks to even later sources, the addition *O tu vocaris maris stella*, 'you are called the Star of the Sea', can be identified as the last strophe of another song, *Digna laude gaude*, which is present in its entirety in all later sources (see Appendix 2, based on Munich 716). All later sources lack the addition *O fons clemencie* known from Prague XIV G 17. Looking at the two strophes of *Ave non Eve meritum* that are absent in that source, it becomes much clearer that the whole text is indeed a paraphrase of the Annunciation story, interweaving the complete text of the angelic salutation (here given in boldface):

- 8 • The use of *Ave non Eve meritum* as a *Salve Regina* trope is confirmed by the rubric in Munich 5023, fol. 209<sup>r</sup> (1495): *Sequitur versus in Salve decantandus*.
- 9 • *Carmina clericorum*, ed. Ciglbauer. Some Alleluia verses use this form as well: Karlheinz Schlager, *Alleluia-Melodien II. Ab 1100*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, 8 (Kassel, 1987).
- 10 • Another example of using a *cantio* strophe to create a trope is *Angelus ad Virginem subintrans*. In this case, however, only the text of the English *cantio* was used to create a monostanzaic structure that was complemented by a prayer-like ending. The section from *Angelus ad Virginem subintrans* . . . up to *intacta* is a (Latin) *cantio*, while the following text, *Ut sit salus in periculis*, etc. is a Central European addition. John Stevens, 'Angelus ad Virginem: The History of a Medieval Song', in P. L. Heyworth (ed.), *Medieval Studies for J. A. W. Bennett aetatis suae LXX* (Oxford, 1981), 297–328.
- 11 • Václav Plocek, *Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum, qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae Socialisticae in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servantur*, i (Prague, 1973), 87; Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, pt. 6: Nachträge. Handschriftenverzeichnis. Bibliographie, Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts, Reihe Drama, 5/6 (Berlin, 1981), 394.
- 12 • Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Waage*, Veröffentlichungen der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg, Sonderreihe, Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Findbuch V (Stuttgart, 1978), no. 267.
- 13 • Jan Ciglbauer, 'Habent sua fata libelli: Das Lübecker Troparium und mögliche musikalische Interessen des Simon Batz von Homburg', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 73 (2016), 220–40.

- i. **Ave** non Eve meritum  
 <seducens> ad interitum  
**Maria** sic affatur.
- Maria nata gracia  
 offerens se galaxia  
 vagienti gratulatur.
- Cetus fidelis virgin<um-  
 que> meritis iuatur.  
 Virgo querens ab angelo  
 quid vult hec salutacio  
 Maria sic turbatur.
- I. Digna laude gaude o Ma-  
 ria quia sine fine  
 tu pro reis stas  
 das eis phas  
 perfruenti luce supernorum.
- Quorum cetus letus canit  
 ibi tibi ave suave  
 super omnes res  
 es vera spes  
 desperatum mole viciorum.
- Namque scis prout quis  
 atque vis semper hiis  
 pie subvenire.
- Qui relictas fictas fide  
 voto toto cura pura  
 tibi florum flos  
 ros celi dos  
 pii patres student deservire.
2. **Gracia plena** spiritus  
 sanctus in te divinitus  
 descendit ne turberis.
- Virtus ad hec altissimi  
 tibi obumbrabit cara mi  
 gracia sic replebis.
- ‘Hail, you who are not the wrongdoing of Eve  
 that deservedly leads to destruction’  
 – so is Mary addressed.
- Mary, born of grace,  
 the heavenly one, offering herself  
 to the one who cries to her, rejoices.
- And the faithful company of virgins  
 rejoices in [the sinner’s] good deeds.  
 When the virgin inquires of the angel  
 what this greeting means,  
 Mary is troubled.
- Worthy of praise, rejoice  
 O Mary for without end you are there  
 for the guilty:  
 give them the right  
 to enjoy fully the light of the heavens.
- Whose joyful company sings  
 there to you a sweet ‘hail!’  
 Above all things  
 you are our true hope  
 against the weight of our hopeless vices.
- For you know what each man is  
 and always desire to  
 intercede lovingly for them.
- We who having abandoned false faith  
 with total devotion and unconditional diligence  
 strive, pious fathers, to serve  
 you, flower of flowers,  
 dew and dowry of heaven.
- Full of grace, the Holy  
 Spirit from God comes down  
 upon you; be not troubled.
- At this the virtue of the Highest One  
 will overshadow you, my dear one,  
 and so you will be filled with grace.

Ecce ancilla domini  
verbum tuum salvetur  
In me. Pia ne timeas  
ympnum decoris anferas  
sanctum ex te nascetur.

Behold the handmaid of the Lord,  
may your word be kept safe in me.  
Pious one, be not afraid,  
may you offer a beautiful hymn:  
of you will holiness be born.

II. Tres te magi vagi tribus  
donis bonis querunt ferunt  
aurum mirram thus  
rus numquam plus  
visum stella duce percurrentes.

Three journeying Magi with three  
good gifts seek you, bring you  
gold, myrrh, incense,  
hurrying ahead with the star as guide  
through countryside, never again seen.

Mentes quorum morum fons per-  
fudit cudit certe per te  
vitam tenent nam  
quam tecum iam  
semper sunt in pace possidentes.

Those whose spirits the fount of moral conduct  
has suffused, struck, through you surely  
have life, for  
they are now in peace  
in eternal possession of it.

Ergo pre cunctis te  
virgo que sine ve  
mater extitisti

Therefore you are above all things  
virgin, who were a mother  
without woe, of Christ.

Christi. Posco nosco scelus  
meum Deum placare  
michi tua vi  
qui statim ni  
suffrageris dabor orco tristi.

I pray, I know my crime,  
to placate God, make a place  
for me by your power,  
who unless you intercede for me  
will instantly be given over to sorrowful Hell.

3. **Dominus tecum** hodie  
<victricem> manum porrige  
**benedicta tu** rosa

The Lord is with you, today  
extend your victorious hand;  
blessed are you, rose.

Rorans **in mulieribus**  
succurre nunc egentibus  
ne tardes speciosa.

Dew-covered among women,  
come now to the help of the needy  
and do not tarry, O beautiful one.

**Et benedictus fructus**  
**ventris tui** levamen  
<omni> reatu conferat  
et tibi mater referat  
honor opus. **Amen.**

And may the blessed son  
of your womb, our consolation,  
bring solace for all sinfulness  
and render to you, mother,  
honour and service. Amen.

<p>III. Tu vocaris maris stella vite nite datrix latrix boni super quo pro nobis o tu Maria Christum deprecare.</p>	<p>You are called the Star of the Sea, shine forth, the giver of life, bringer of what is good, concerning which O pray to Christ on our behalf, Mary.</p>
<p>Dare genti flenti gaudi orum chorum stude trude procul mortis fel vel funde mel ut possimus te digne laudare.</p>	<p>Be eager to give to your people who weep the company of joys, drive far away the gall of death or pour out honey that we may be able to praise you worthily.</p>
<p>Prope sta cito na fidem da recta qua degustemur cenam</p>	<p>Stand near, swim fast, give us right faith through which we may taste the heavenly banquet</p>
<p>Plenam esu Ihesu qui per mortem fortem crucis trucidis lavit pavit nos quos &lt;verax&gt; os textit labe priscam solvens penam.</p>	<p>full of the food of Jesus who through the strong death of the dreadful cross has washed us, fed us, whom the truthful mouth has protected from sin, redeeming the ancient penalty.</p>

Notes: seducens: MS tendentis; virginumque: MS virginis que; victricem: MS intricem; omni: MS omen; verax: MS vorax

In the second half of the fifteenth century, as suggested by Prague III D 10 and fully visible in the Tegernsee Cantional Munich 716, *Ave non Eve meritum* became subject to another modification. Into the three strophes already transmitted in Prague III D 10 were interpolated three strophes of *Digna laude gaude*. This is a song whose roots in the German song tradition can be proven with a greater amount of confidence.<sup>14</sup> It forms a kind of ‘double song’, where single strophes of both songs alternate, which creates a recurring contrast between their two very differently shaped melodic and rhythmic structures.

Such a constellation suggests that the latest documented version of *Ave non Eve meritum* combined with *Digna laude gaude* is also the most recent one. Nevertheless, we cannot be sure in the case of the first two. Did the second version from Prague III D 10 evolve perhaps from the monostanzaic structure featured in Prague XIV G 17? Although one might perhaps expect a linear evolution, it seems in this case that the more recent manuscript reveals a shape of the song that is closer to its hypothesized original setting. To prove that the first strophe used in Prague XIV G 17 is already a modified version of something else, a comparison of variant readings of two lines is necessary (see Table 5.1).

14 • Kornrumpf, ‘Deutschsprachige Liedkunst’, 115; *Spruchsang: Die Melodien der Sangspruchdichter des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Horst Brunner and Karl-Günter Hartmann, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, 6 (Kassel, 2010), 307.

Table 5.1. Comparison of two significant text variants in different versions of *Ave non Eve meritum*

Monostanzaic setting	Strophic setting
Prague XIV G 17, fol. 187 <sup>v</sup> (1377, Bohemia)	Prague III D 10, fol. 226 <sup>v</sup> (c.1440, Passau) Wrocław 58, fol. 126 <sup>v</sup> (1474–84, Silesia) Munich 716, fol. 8 <sup>v</sup> (c.1480, Tegernsee) Olomouc 406, fol. 18 <sup>v</sup> (saec. XV <sup>2</sup> , Bohemia) Munich 5023, fol. 209 <sup>f</sup> (1495, Benediktbeuern) Basel AN II 46, fol. 17 <sup>f</sup> (saec. XV/XVI, Basel)
Strophe 1, line 3 ... <i>contristatur</i> .	... <i>affatur</i> .
Strophe 1, line 11 ... <i>affatur</i> .	... <i>turbatur</i> .

In the monostanzaic version, the placement of *affatur* at the end of the strophe seems to be done on purpose, in order to connect two parts that are quite independent. While *turbatur* (or *contristatur*, similar in meaning to *turbatur*) would conclude the rather confusing angelic message, which is clarified in the two other strophes, the change to *affatur* made it possible to attach a further explanation, connecting two rather discontinuous pieces of music in one unit, and omitting the two other strophes.

Supported by this small detail, the three-stanza plan seems to be the older and perhaps the original one, while the monostanzaic version emerges as an adaptation that made this song look like a trope, and therefore usable in the Divine Office or in independent *Salve* ceremonies as a *Salve Regina* trope, which would effortlessly have fitted in the liturgical life of pre-Hussite Bohemia. The slight modification in the text of the first strophe and the addition *O fons clemencie* are perfect examples of one of many strategies developed to justify the adaptation of secular songs as music for worship. The songs have the shape of tropes—which makes them look like products of an old, well-established, and legitimate compositional technique. Moreover, the modification of existing songs can be understood as a ‘use’ of the continuing authority of the Latin chant: the modification served the purpose of adjusting the original shape, so that the composition then resembled standard liturgical forms.

Later, in the 1440s, *Ave non Eve meritum* appears exclusively outside Bohemia as a three-strophe song. It seems that by then it had become acceptable to include a three-strophe stand-alone *cantio* within a liturgical manuscript. In the second half of the fifteenth century, only a few decades after the first record in Prague XIV G 17, *Ave non Eve meritum* itself became the ‘old’ model and subject to the practice of composing tropes, before completely disappearing from the written tradition.<sup>15</sup> The last, symbolic, record of *Ave non Eve meritum* is included in the collection compiled by Thomas Kreß, who copied his *cantionale* with a special focus on recording and saving a waning tradition.<sup>16</sup>

15 • The latest sources are Munich 5023, fol. 209<sup>f</sup>, and Basel AN II 46, fol. 17<sup>f</sup>, both from around 1500.

16 • Labhardt, *Das Cationale*, 20–7.



*Maria triuni gerula*

*Maria triuni gerula* is witness to another strategy to create compatibility with the traditional liturgical framework of Mass and Office chants. The reference chant, in this case, is also *Salve Regina*, although none of the sources confirms this through an indication in the manuscript.<sup>17</sup> Inconspicuous allusions to the *Salve Regina* text are, however, created by the use of *Ad te, Regina glorie, clamantem* in lines 4 and 5:

	Maria triuni gerula te precor voce querula ne aspernaris verba lamentantis.	Mary, who bore the triune God, I pray you with tremulous voice, do not spurn the words of one who calls in lamentation.
5	Ad te Regina glorie clamantem mund<a> scorie rorantibus ocellis eiulantis.	Cleanse him of dross who cries to you, Queen of glory, as the eyes of the griever pour down tears.
	Tot Peccatorum fluctibus heu cingor et remorum ductibus sum impotens ad portum navigare.	Alas, by such floods of sinners am I engulfed that I have not the strength to make it to harbour by the guiding of my oars.
10	Ni tua per remigia ad vera reducar vestigia in brevi me contingit naufragare.	Unless by your steering I am brought back to the right course, it will soon come about that I am wrecked.
15	Nam procelle minantur navim ascendere venti contrariantur festina propere in mari furibundo ne mergar in profundo o mater gracie.	For squalls threaten to rise over the ship, the winds are against me; make haste with speed upon the raging sea, lest I drown in the deep, O mother of grace.

Notes: 2 te precor: MS precor; 3 ne aspernaris: MS non aspernaris; 5 munda: MS mundi; 7 Tot: MS Nunc; 9 navigare: MS remigare; 10 ad vera reducar: MS inde reducar; 17 in mari furibundo: MS solare moribundum; 18 profundo: MS profundum

*Maria triuni gerula* is one of many songs based on a widespread family of related melodies known as *Große Tageweise* by German count Peter von Arberg.<sup>18</sup> The highly complex transmission histories of this melody, using Latin and German texts, extend from the fourteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, proving the great popularity of this melodic material.<sup>19</sup>

- 17 • The source cited here is Munich 716, fol. 74<sup>v</sup>, it appears with the rubric *Lamentatio*.  
 18 • Georg Steer, 'Dat dagelyt von der heiligen passien: Die sogenannte "Große Tageweise" Graf Peters von Arberg', in Kurt Ruh and Werner Schröder (eds.), *Beiträge zur weltlichen und geistlichen Lyrik des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts. Würzburger Colloquium 1970* (Berlin, 1973), 112–204.  
 19 • *Spruchsang*, ed. Brunner and Hartmann, 294; for the Latin tradition see Jan Ciglbauer, 'Quoting, Rethinking and Copying: A Few Remarks on the Tradition of the Monophonic Cantio in Central Europe', *Hudební věda*, 51 (2014), 21–32.

Against this background, it is hardly surprising to find adaptations of this melody that would have been suitable for use as tropes in the liturgy. Of course, the history of European music provides many cases of well-known secular compositions with spiritual texts being used as music for the liturgy. As the sources show us, in fourteenth-century Bohemia and Central Europe, however, this enrichment of the liturgy needed to be carried out with particular care, paying due respect to older practices.

The musical form of *Maria triuni gerula* consists of two pairs of parallel verses followed by a part called, in German song terminology, the *Abgesang* (see Appendix, no. 3). The resulting form is *abc abc dd'c dd'c ef'ghij*, or *AABBC*. This structure can be perceived as a hybrid of the *cantio* form *AAB* and a sequence-like form called a 'leich'.<sup>20</sup> Many vernacular songs of the time had similar structural features.

*Maria triuni gerula* is a prayer to the Virgin Mary that uses imaginative metaphors. The text concerns a desperate sailor whose boat is slowly surrounded and overwhelmed by the tempest of sins and errors. He pleads with the Virgin Mary to help him, that she give his vessel oars and lead him safely to port. At first glance, the song has no obvious connection to the liturgy. However, a closer look at two places in the text reveals traces of attempts to make the whole structure work as a song in the liturgy—a *Salve Regina* trope, specifically.

As is the case with many Latin songs from Central Europe, none of the preserved records can be identified as the 'original' one. There are only a few sources, each of which contains several problematic readings. Nevertheless, the variants found in *Maria triuni gerula* provide many details about the use of this song. The latter part of the first group of parallel lines, *Ad te, regina glorie—eiulantis* (lines 4–6), is very unstable throughout the transmission (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2. Comparison of lines 4–6 of *Maria triuni gerula* in all four sources

Source	Text
Prague V H II, fol. 12 <sup>r</sup> (c.1380, Bohemia)	Ad te, regina glorie, tu munda me a scorie peccatorum miserere eiulantes.
Budapest 243, fol. 52 <sup>v</sup> (c.1400, Bohemia)	Ad te, regina glorie, clamantem mundi scorie rorantibus ocellis eiulantis.
Lübeck 16, fol. 18 <sup>r</sup> (c.1450, Lübeck)	Ad te, regina glorie, peccantem mundi scorie rorantibus ocellans emulantis.
Munich 716, fol. 74 <sup>v</sup> (c.1480, Tegernsee)	Ad te, regina glorie, clamantem mundi scorie rorantibus ocellis eiulantis

The oldest record in Prague V H II, surprisingly, is the most obscure one. The *Ad te* section has no logical continuation in the following lines. The single lines are not semantically connected.

20 • On this term see Christoph März, 'Lai, Leich', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 5 (Kassel, 1996), 852–67 at 864–5. For general thoughts about the forms of late-medieval songs from Central Europe see also Christoph März, 'Das Canticum boemiale "Otep myry" und Frauenlobs Cantica canticorum', in Jens Haustein and Ralf-Henning Steinmetz (eds.), *Studien zu Frauenlob und Heinrich von Mügeln: Festschrift für Karl Stackmann zum 80. Geburtstag* (Freiburg, 2002), 15–30 at 15–16 n. 3.

We would perhaps expect the oldest version to be the clearest one. But again, as in the case of *Ave non Eve meritum*, the earliest record already shows strong traces of modification. All three later records, on the other hand, lack a verb. The only way to establish a connection between the three lines is to substitute *munda* for *mundi*: *Ad te, Regina glorie,—clamantem <munda> scorie—rorantibus ocellis eiulantis*. Such a modification gives the following meaning: ‘Cleanse him of dross—who cries to you, Queen of Glory—as the eyes of the griever pour down tears.’

Looking at the text as a whole, these three lines stand out because they do not fit the image of a boat in a tempest. Rather, they are an insertion of a chunk of text intended to create a clearer connection to the *Salve Regina* through the hint at *Ad te clamamus*; the overwrought syntax was perhaps not clearly understood by the scribes.

In the course of time, *Maria triuni gerula* underwent a second modification. In line 17, instead of *in mari furibundo*, ‘upon the raging sea’, the two latest manuscripts, Lübeck 16 and Munich 716, read *solare/sanare moribundum*, ‘comfort/heal the dying’:

Prague V H 11	in mari furibundo
Budapest 243	in mari furibundo
Lübeck 16	sanare moribundum
Munich 716	solare moribundum

This solitary intercession underlines the possibility of liturgical use by highlighting the topos of the last hour. Many *Salve Regina* settings address this theme, since the antiphon *Salve Regina* itself was used as a conclusion of the daily Office. The structure of *Maria triuni gerula*, as preserved in Central European manuscripts, probably bears witness that it was originally a conductus-like spiritual song without specific ritual function. It was deliberately adjusted to meet the function of and create a *Salve Regina* trope or a substitution of it. As in the case of *Ave non Eve meritum*, there is no ‘original’ record to confirm this. Remarkably, however, *Maria triuni gerula* also appears as a strophic song in the mid-fifteenth century. The additional strophes draw a picture of Mary as the saviour of a besieged town.<sup>21</sup>

It seems that adjusting a relatively new, spiritual song to fit traditional exigencies of the liturgy was the decisive factor that led to the preservation of *Maria triuni gerula* with its melody in modest collections of liturgical music. The next example will demonstrate what happened when a song was, perhaps, too ‘courageous’.

### *O quantum sollicitor*

*O quantum sollicitor* exemplifies a completely different type of tradition that we can observe in the late-medieval song repertory. Unlike *Ave non Eve meritum* and *Maria triuni gerula*, this song was never present in manuscripts containing music for the liturgy. The oldest source is Voraú 401, dating from the mid-fourteenth century:<sup>22</sup>

21 • Ciglbauer, *Carmina clericorum*, no. 14.

22 • As already pointed out by Gisela Kornrumpf, ‘Quid admiramini, quid opinamini, filiae Jerusalem, de partu novitatis? Eine Weihnachts-Cantio in Böhmen und anderswo’, in Václav Bok and Dominique Fliegler (eds.), *Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters in Böhmen und über Böhmen* (Vienna, 2001), 181–203 at 195–6. Variants in parentheses are by Václav Plocek and Anežka Vidmanová; see below, n. 28.

- i. O quantum sollicitor  
et curis suppeditor  
dum cordis (corde) transmeditor  
presens et futurum. (futura)
- How troubled I am  
and burdened with cares  
when I contemplate in my heart  
the present and the future.
- Presens et preteritum  
vergunt in interitum  
talem habet exitum  
humana natura.
- The present and the past  
sinks towards destruction:  
such is the eventual fate  
of human creation.
- O qui (Si quis) intelligeret  
mortem, quam sic (sit) dura,
- If anyone were to comprehend  
death, how hard a fate it is,
- et finem prospiceret,  
in timore viveret,  
fovere (voveret) et redderet  
Deo sua iura.
- and perceived his end,  
he would live in fear,  
would take vows and make  
his oaths to God.
2. Cunctis quibus milito  
diebus (horis) in proposito  
sum, quod velim (vellem) subito  
ceu (aut) cras emendari.
- Every day in which I serve [God],  
I make it my intention  
that I should wish, now  
or tomorrow, to mend my ways.
- Cras ut corvus creccito (crocito)  
sed (et) cras idem habito (aptito)  
volo, sed non querito  
a sorde mundari.
- Tomorrow I croak like a crow  
and tomorrow I fit myself for the  
same purpose: I wish it, but I do not seek  
to be cleansed of my filth.
- Lingwa, sed non accio  
spondent ut (haut) peccati (peccare)
- My tongue, but not my deeds,  
undertakes not to sin
- nec est (et nec) satisfaccio.  
Sed dum venit unctio (unctio),  
tunc venit contunctio (conpunctio).  
Vix possum mundari (salvari).
- and I make no penance.  
But when [extreme] unction comes,  
then will come remorse;  
I can scarcely be saved.
3. Ve, vobis prespiteris,  
qui estis ex literis  
testamenti veteris  
et novi doctores.
- Woe to you priests  
who are learned in the Scriptures  
of the Old Testament  
and the New.
- Prestituti (Prestituri) ceteris,  
obstructores etheris,  
indiscreti honeris  
estis instructores.
- Placed above the rest of us,  
standing in the way of heaven,  
you are the teachers of a  
indiscriminate burden to us.

Kathedre recubitus primos et amicos (adamatis).	Your first love is lounging on your bishop's throne.
Si sit vobis subditus commissus divinitus grex salvus vel perditus, minime curatis.	Whether the flock that is given to your charge by divine commission be saved or lost, you couldn't give a damn.
4. Quid de vulgo proferam et sic eius (heus) eferam ita, ut animo efferam (ut non sufferam) miras falsitates?	What shall I say about that crowd and so speak out my 'alas' in such a way as not to endure wondrous falsehoods?
Cuius lingua florida, acta (actu) vero sordida et corda sunt (quondam est) perfida (perfide) per subtilitates.	Their tongue is flowery but their deeds are sordid and hearts are treacherous in their cunning.
Graduuntur (Graditur) sophisticæ nec non, ut apparet.	They go about speciously and are not as they seem.
Doctrinæ catholicæ iam sunt factæ (factæ sunt) pseudicæ. si quis vivit deice, mundi laude caret.	Catholic doctrines have now become lies. If anyone would live a godly life, let him not receive the world's praise.
5. Adiuva nos, Domine! qui passus es pro homine, ut in tuo nomine semper gloriamur.	Help us, O Lord, who suffered for mankind. that in your name we might eternally be glorified.
Maria, humilium, spes et salus omnium, tu pro nobis Filium ora, ut salvemur.	Mary, hope and salvation of all humble folk, pray your Son for us that we might be saved.
Audi nos nam (nam te) Filius nil negans honorat.	Hear us, for your Son honours you, denying you nothing.
Salva nos scelerius (celerius), Christe, sis propicius, pro quibus te dulcius Virgo mater orat.	Save us as quickly as you can; O Christ, be favourable to us, on whose behalf your virgin mother prays so sweetly.
Amen.	Amen.

Vorau 401 is a collection of theological texts and sermons of unknown provenance with some added Latin and German songs, partly notated with south German neumes.<sup>23</sup> The oldest Bohemian manuscript is Prague M 104 from the second half of the fourteenth century, where the text of *O quantum sollicitor*, without musical notation, is specified as *cancio bona contra presbyteros* (a good song against priests).<sup>24</sup> The next source is found in Prague I G 39, a *codex mixtus* from the first two decades of the fifteenth century. It contains sermons along with texts ascribed to SS Augustine and Bernard and probably belonged to one of the college libraries at Prague University.<sup>25</sup> While there is a section with texts of several *cantiones*, *O quantum sollicitor* is the only notated piece of music. The fourth and last known manuscript, Prague A 59.3, is also a collection of theological treatises. It was compiled between 1422 and 1435 by Blasco de Dobrzan, a Bohemian Catholic priest, who was interested in Latin poetry of the Middle Ages.<sup>26</sup>

All four manuscripts containing *O quantum sollicitor* are primarily collections of theological texts, where the music and poetry were added by the owners and users of the books. Because of its controversial text, *O quantum sollicitor* never made it into collections of liturgical music. Its survival in our days is a combined result of its prominence and familiarity, as well as good luck. It is a spiritual song filled with criticism of the weakness of mankind and of individual people. The appropriateness of this song for use in the liturgy, compared to songs mentioned previously, is fairly limited, although the song reflects the traditional form of chant texts: a significant idea at the beginning, a body, and a concluding prayer.

The first strophe is a general lament on the transience and vanity of life. Songs reflecting a similar mood can be found in great numbers in the *Carmina Burana*<sup>27</sup> as well as in the French conductus tradition. The complaint on the bad state of the world and society was, of course, a topic in Bohemia in the last two decades of the fourteenth century as well. The expressions *presens*, *futura*, and *preteritum* designate time division, but in a way that points to basic concepts of grammar. The second strophe addresses the weakness of a single human in the first-person narrative. ‘Cras ut corvus crocito (tomorrow I croak like a crow)’ is a neat onomatopoeic wordplay, underlining the poetic qualities of the text. The third strophe criticizes the priesthood and clerics in general for their falsity. The fourth strophe turns its critical voice

- 23 • Pius Fank, *Catalogus Voraviensis seu Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Canonicae in Vorau* (Graz, 1936), 232–6; Gisela Kornrumpf, ‘Der Conductus *Florens iuventus virginis* des Johannes von Iglau: Piae cantiones Nr. 17 in einer Handschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts’, in Karl Heller, Hartmut Möller, and Andreas Waczkat (eds.), *Musik in Mecklenburg: Beiträge eines Kolloquiums zur mecklenburgischen Musikgeschichte*, Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft, 21: Musik in Mecklenburg (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York, 2000), 249–57.
- 24 • Antonín Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitní kapituly pražské* [Catalogue of manuscripts of the Library of Prague Metropolitan chapter], ii: *F–P*, *Soupis rukopisů knihoven a archivů zemí českých, jakož i rukopisných bohémik mimočeských* [Catalogue of manuscripts in libraries and archives in the Czech lands as well as Bohemian manuscripts preserved outside the Czech lands] 4 (Prague, 1922), 331.
- 25 • Plocek, *Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum*, 82.
- 26 • Adolf Patera and Antonín Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitní kapitoly pražské* [Catalogue of manuscripts of the Library of Prague Metropolitan chapter], i: *A–E*, *Soupis rukopisů knihoven a archivů zemí českých, jakož i rukopisných bohémik mimočeských* [Catalogue of manuscripts in libraries and archives in the Czech lands as well as Bohemian manuscripts preserved outside the Czech lands] 1 (Prague, 1910), 53–5; Pavel Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum bohémorum provectum idearum post Universitatem Pragensem conditam illustrans*, ii, *Studia Copernicana*, 35 (Warsaw and Prague, 1995), 186.
- 27 • Munich 4660; *Carmina Burana*, ed. Wilhelm Meyer, Alfons Hilka, and Otto Schumann (Heidelberg, 1930).

against ordinary people. The fifth and final strophe turns to Christ and Mary as the highest authorities, ending with an uncontroversially formulated prayer in a style that can be found in many other Latin songs of this time.

From the musical point of view, *O quantum sollicitor* is a typical strophic *cantio* with the form *AABA*, where the *B* section is derived from *A*. The Czech medievalists Václav Plocek and Anežka Vidmanová have dedicated a study to this remarkable song.<sup>28</sup> Only recently has its verse structure been identified as Konrad von Würzburg's 'Reihen-Ton', which situates *O quantum sollicitor* closer than ever to the tradition of German song.<sup>29</sup>

Plocek compared the three sources of *O quantum sollicitor* from libraries in Prague. He believed that the original form was a *cantio* with three strophes—1, 2, and the last one—that could be used as part of the liturgy. Because of the poorer quality of the verse in strophes 3, 4, and 5, he argued that these strophes were composed later. Strophes 1 and 2 form a reflection on earthly life, while the last strophe is a prayer. Plocek argued further that strophes 3 and 4, full of criticism against the clergy and ordinary people, must have been added at Prague University in the second half of the fourteenth century. However, Voraú 401, a manuscript from the mid-fourteenth century that was unknown to Plocek, already contains all five strophes of *O quantum sollicitor*. This makes his hypothesis about the modification of the song and addition of further strophes in the second half of the fourteenth century at Prague University less plausible.

The manuscript Voraú 401 is now at the Augustinian convent in Voraú, but it is not known whether it was written there and if not, where it originated. Its content and style are very close to the characteristics of modest manuscripts from a Central European university milieu. According to the script and notation, though, any date after 1350 for this source is unlikely. This makes Voraú 401 the oldest source, written before any of the Central European universities was founded. Yet the song already contains all five strophes. Their presence in all four sources suggests that this was the original concept, and not reworked throughout the tradition. Thus the case of *O quantum sollicitor* exemplifies an individual song tradition that, unlike the Latin songs usable in the liturgy, was not re-moulded to fit old and well-established practices.

## Conclusion

The evolving relation of Latin song to the musical past had a traceable impact on the way in which these songs were preserved in late-medieval manuscripts from Bohemia and Central Europe. Such an impact, however, can be observed much better in the tradition of songs that were used for embellishment of the liturgy, as in the case of *Ave non Eve meritum* and *Maria triuni gerula*. Songs like *O quantum sollicitor*, on the other hand, were in most cases collected out of personal interest and perhaps the curiosity of individual scribes. Songs used in the liturgy and during various ceremonies, conversely, tended to undergo specific modifications designed to enable them to fit into a pre-existing framework.

28 • Václav Plocek and Anežka Vidmanová, 'O quantum sollicitor', *Hudební věda*, 10 (1973), 301–19; for a recording and translation see Schola Gregoriana Pragensis, 'O quantum sollicitor', *Ach, homo fragilis* (Supraphon, SU 3623-2 23I, 2012) [CD].

29 • *Spruchsang*, ed. Brunner and Hartmann, 188.

The oldest sources of many Central European Latin-texted songs already show traces of adjustments made to songs to make them look like tropes and conform to the established practice of interpolating new additions in established chant. It seems that it was only at this stage that a song was written down on paper or parchment—or, at least, survived on them. Therefore, we rarely have records of songs close to the presumed original.

Remarkably, at least in fourteenth-century Bohemia, there are no records of Latin-texted songs with notation representing a hypothesized ‘original’ stage that would have nothing to do with liturgical use. It was apparently the adaptation of songs to look like tropes that helped to preserve at least some of them by allowing their inclusion in liturgical sources. That adaptation was characterized by the use of an ‘older’ musical form in order to legitimize the songs for use in worship and broaden the possibilities for their use. Songs that were not so lucky simply disappeared. They are preserved mostly as texts only, if at all, and their survival has been much more a matter of chance than in the case of their reworkings for inclusion in the liturgy.

Later in the fifteenth century, both older and newer layers of Latin-texted songs are found side by side in liturgical sources. Standing next to strophic mensural songs of the newer type, songs like *Ave non Eve* and *Maria triuni gerula* look like old-fashioned pieces of music and stalwarts of the theological tradition. A perfect representative of this stage is the Cationale of Thomas Kreß.<sup>30</sup> Some decades earlier, however, these songs prepared the way for *cantiones* of a newer type, which could enter liturgical books even without modification. This evolution would not have been possible without some preparatory steps that were taken much earlier and exemplified by the three case studies presented here.

At times, and not only in the tradition of Latin songs, a reversion to the past and older ritual forms turns out to be a decisive moment in the development of new practices. The Latin songs presented in this study form only a small chapter in the much longer story of how the past played a significant role at an early stage in a fascinating process at the end of which song forms conquered the space in the liturgy previously occupied by Gregorian chant.

30 • Similar mechanisms characterized the compilation of Valentin Triller’s Songbook from 1555. In this case, the object of collection was the Bohemian Ultraquist tradition. *The Polyphonic Hymns of Valentin Triller’s Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein (Wrocław 1555)*, ed. Antonio Chemotti (Warsaw, 2019), available online at <https://epub.uni-regensburg.de/38328/>, 1–4.



From Tolerated Addition to Keepers of Tradition

APPENDIX

1. *Ave non Eve meritum* (Prague XIV G 17, fol. 187<sup>v</sup>)

A - ve, non E - ve me - ri - tum  
 Ma - ri - a, na - ta gra - ci - a,  
 se - du - cens ad in - te - ri - tum.  
 of - fe - rens se gal - la - xi - a.  
 Ma - ri - a con - tri - sta - tur.  
 Pec - can - tem gra - tu - la - tur  
 ce - tus fi - de - lis vir - gi - num,  
 quid me - ri - tis iu - va - tur.  
 Vir - go que - rens ab an - ge - lo  
 quid vult hec sa - lu - ta - ci - o.  
 Ma - ri - a sic af - fa - tur:  
 O fons cle - men - ti - e, so - lem iu - sti - ci - e  
 re - con - ci - li - a  
 et post hoc e - xi - li - um, dans no - bis au - xi - li - um,  
 duc ad gau - di - a,  
 cum quo nos per - hen - ni - ter fac gau - de - re iu - gi - ter,  
 o fons ve - ni - e.

2. Ave non Eve meritum/Digna laude gaude (Munich 716, fol. 8<sup>v</sup>)

A - ve non E - ve me - ri - tum  
 se - du - cens ad in - te - ri - tum  
 Ma - ri - a sic af - fa - tur.  
 Ma - ri - a na - ta gra - ci - a  
 of - fe - rens se ga - la - xi - a.  
 va - gi - en - ti gra - tu - la - tur.  
 Ce - tus fi - de - lis vir - gi - num  
 que me - ri - tis iu - va - tur.  
 Vir - go que - rens ab an - ge - lo  
 quid vult hec sa - lu - ta - ci - o.  
 Ma - ri - a sic tur - ba - tur.  
 Di - gna lau - de gau - de o Ma -  
 Quo - rum ce - tus le - tus ca - nit  
 ri - a qui - a si - ne fi - ne tu pro re - is stas  
 i - bi ti - bi a - ve sua - ve su - per om - nes res  
 das e - is phas  
 es ve - ra spes  
 per - fru - en - di lu - ce su - per - no - rum  
 de - spe - ra - tis mo - le vi - ci - o - rum.

From Tolerated Addition to Keepers of Tradition

Nam-que scis pro-ut quis at-que vis sem-per hiis  
 pi-e sub-ve-ni-re.  
 Qui re-li-cta fi-cta fi-de  
 vo-to to-to cu-ra pu-ra ti-bi flo-rum flos  
 ros ce-li dos  
 pi-i pa-tres stu-dent de-ser-vi-re.

3. *Maria, triuni gerula* (Munich 716, fol. 74<sup>v</sup>)

Ma-ri-a, tri-u-ni ge-ru-la,  
 Ad-te, Re-gi-na glo-ri-e,  
 te pre-cor vo-ce que-ru-la,  
 cla-man-tem mun-da sco-ri-e,  
 ne a-sper-na-ris ver-ba la-men-tan-tis,  
 ro-ran-ti-bus o-cel-lis e-ju-lan-tis.  
 Tot pec-ca-to-rum flu-cti-bus,  
 Ni tu-a per-re-mi-gi-a  
 heu, cin-gor, et re-mo-rum du-cti-bus  
 ad ve-ra re-du-car ve-sti-gi-a,  
 sum im-po-tens ad por-tum na-vi-ga-re.  
 in-bre-vi-me con-tin-git nau-fra-ga-re.

Nam pro - cel - le mi - nan - tur na - vim a - scen - de - re,  
ven - ti con - tra - ri - an - tur, fe - sti - na pro - pe - re  
in ma - ri fu - ri - bun - do, ne mer - gar in pro - fun - do,  
o ma - ter gra - ci - e.

The musical score consists of four staves of music in a single system. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff contains the first line of lyrics, the second and third staves contain the second and third lines, and the fourth staff contains the final line and ends with a double bar line.

MEMORY OF GENRE: THE POLYTEXTUAL MOTET IN CENTRAL EUROPE  
AND ITS TWO TRADITIONS

Paweł Gancarczyk

At the root of this study lies the belief that the genres in which music is composed are an important carrier of the musical past. Musical genres can be construed as sets of conventions and rules which allow one to differentiate them from other genres. They were a subject that was being taught, classified, and hierarchized already in the Middle Ages. In fifteenth-century Central Europe, which is our focus here, separate sections were devoted to genres in music treatises. Even if today their definitions seem to us somewhat imprecise and vague, their readers probably had no doubts as to what constituted a motet (*mutetus*), particularly when confronted with other genres, such as *rondellus* or *baladum*. Teaching preserved the conventions worked out in the past, as well as supporting the memory of a genre, and so we will begin with the definitions of the term ‘motet’ given in Central European treatises.

The concept of ‘memory of genre’ is not new, and neither is the observation that the past may manifest itself in genres. It is useful to recall here Mikhail Bakhtin’s observation when studying the poetics of Dostoevsky: ‘A genre lives in the present, but always *remembers* its past, its beginning. Genre is a representative of creative memory in the process of literary development’.<sup>1</sup> The motet in Central Europe in the fifteenth century, too, remembered its history by retaining features which refer to the earlier stages of its development. That memory undoubtedly reaches back to the thirteenth century, and more precisely to the period of the *Ars antiqua*, when the motet came to be based on the rule of polytextuality and a differentiated function of its voices. The motet genre continuously renewed itself in the present, in different historical periods and different compositions, branching out into diverse traditions.

In fifteenth-century Central Europe we can distinguish two traditions, with a lineage stretching back to the period prior to 1400. These two traditions will be exemplified by a number of compositions, with special attention devoted to two motets by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (1392–after 1452), a composer and poet particularly strongly rooted in the culture of Central Europe.<sup>2</sup> Defining these traditions, and describing their origins, development, and mutual relationships will allow us to see how the memory of genre was realized at this specific time and place.

I would like to thank Sean Curran for reading and commenting on this article in draft form. The translation is by John Comber.

- 1 • Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, ed. and trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis, 1984), 106.
- 2 • Paweł Gancarczyk, ‘Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (b. 1392)—A Central European Composer’, *De musica disserenda*, 2/1 (2006), 103–12.

## The Motet in Mensural Theory and the *Ars nova* Tradition

Approximately two dozen theoretical texts dealing with *musica mensurabilis* survive from fifteenth-century Central Europe. Research carried out to date shows various filiations among these treatises as well as the presence of unique elements which may result from the adaptation of the Italian *Ars nova* theory to the French one. Among these elements is the presence of *semiprolatio*, i.e., the subdivision of the minim.<sup>3</sup> Another element is the characteristic appearance of the mensural signs relating to *prolatio*, indicated by a horizontal stroke with three (*prolatio maior*) or two (*prolatio minor*) dots along its right side.<sup>4</sup> One of the treatises from this group—*Versus de musica anonymi Pragensis* (VERS. Iam post<sup>5</sup>)—adopted a versified form and is preserved in a number of fifteenth-century copies in manuscripts from Austria, southern Germany, Silesia, and Mazovia.<sup>6</sup> These copies tell us that the text was written in Prague at the turn of 1369/1370 and was intended to be used by students at the university there.<sup>7</sup> Since we find other mensural treatises in the same manuscripts, it is assumed that the university in Prague—the oldest in Central Europe—was of crucial significance in forming the local tradition of teaching *musica mensurabilis*. This assumption is all the more justified in view of the fact that the university drew on models originating in Paris, an important centre of the development of mensural music. Until the beginning of the fifteenth century Prague was one of the most important centres cultivating knowledge about music, and this knowledge travelled to other universities (Kraków, Vienna, Leipzig) as well as to Latin schools and monasteries, together with migrating professors and students. Unfortunately, changes brought about by the Hussite movement led to the collapse of this previously vibrant centre, with the consequent dispersion or destruction of the manuscripts which had been produced there.

We find definitions of musical genres in seven treatises from Central Europe. Their copies date from the first three-quarters of the fifteenth century and come from Silesia, Germany, Austria, and Bohemia:

- ◇ Tractatus de musica mensurabili (ANON. Vratisl.), after 1400, Wrocław<sup>8</sup>
- ◇ Modus cantandi in mensuralibus (ANON. Vipiten.), c.1425, east-central Germany<sup>9</sup>

- 3 • See Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, 'The Minim–Semiminim Relation in 15th-Century Central-European Mensural Theory', in Walter Pass and Alexander Rausch (eds.), *Mittelalterliche Musiktheorie in Zentraleuropa*, Musica mediaevalis Europae occidentalis (Tutzing, 1998), 163–70.
- 4 • See Tom R. Ward, 'A Central European Repertory in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274', *Early Music History*, 1 (1981), 325–43 at 326–7.
- 5 • The sigla of the treatises follow the *Lexicon musicum Latinum medii aevi* (LmL), www.lml.badw.de (accessed 4 June 2019).
- 6 • Alexander Rausch, 'Mensuraltraktate des Spätmittelalters in Österreichischen Bibliotheken', in Michael Bernhard (ed.), *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters*, iii, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission (Munich, 2001), 273–303 at 283–92.
- 7 • Jaromír Černý, 'Ars nova v českých zemích' [Ars nova in the Czech lands], in Tomasz Jeż (ed.), *Complexus effectuum musicologiae studia Mirosłao Perz septuagenario dedicata* (Kraków, 2003), 335–59 at 337–8.
- 8 • Johannes Wolf, 'Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (1918–19), 331–45.
- 9 • Lorenz Welker, 'Ein anonymer Mensuraltraktat in der Sterzinger Miszellenen-Handschrift', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 48 (1991), 255–81. For dating and provenance see Max Siller, 'Wo und wann ist die Sterzinger Miszellenen-Handschrift entstanden?', in Anton Schwob and András Vizkelety (eds.), *Entstehung und Typen mittelalterlicher Lyrikhandschriften. Akten des Grazer Symposiums 13.–17. Oktober 1999*, Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik. Reihe A. Kongressberichte (Bern, 2001), 255–80; cf. also Jan Ciglbauer, *Cantio um 1400: Ausgangspunkte – Kontexte – Ausstrahlung* (Hildesheim, forthcoming in 2020).

- ◇ Anonymus Bozi (MENS. Si ille), c.1440, Mazovia<sup>10</sup>
- ◇ Anonymus Boz2 (MENS. Circa artem), c.1440, Mazovia<sup>11</sup>
- ◇ Tractatus de generibus discantus (GEN. DISC. Differentia), in two copies:  
c.1450, southern Germany or Austria  
1470s, Donauwörth<sup>12</sup>
- ◇ Tractatulus de cantu mensurali seu figurativo musicae artis (ANON. Mell.), 1462, Melk<sup>13</sup>
- ◇ Paulus Paulirinus, Liber viginti artium (PAUL. PAULIR.), c.1463, Pilsen<sup>14</sup>

Different treatises give different sets of definitions, comprising two to seven genres. The greatest number appears in the texts from Wrocław (ANON. Vratisl.) and Mazovia (MENS. Si ille, MENS. Circa artem), and we find there descriptions of the *mutetus* (*motetus*), *rondellus*, *piroletum*, *baladum*, *stampetum/trumpetum*, *katschetum*, and *rotulum*. With the exception of ANON. Mell., the motet is placed at the beginning of the set, which might indicate that it was regarded as the most prestigious genre. In spite of the varying number of the genres treated in any particular text, and the differences in their definitions, one can point to numerous links which connect these treatises.

In the definitions of the motet we can distinguish four rules:

- (1) The motet is a polytextual composition, with all voices having their own texts (ANON. Vratisl., ANON. Vipiten., MENS. Circa artem), or the discantus and medium have their own texts while the tenor is textless (MENS. Circa artem, PAUL. PAULIR.);
- (2) the voices in a motet differ in their degree of rhythmic mobility (ANON. Mell.), the tenor being the part with longer rhythmic values (MENS. Circa artem, GEN. DISC. Differentia);
- (3) the motet is a piece consisting of one part, i.e. the general pause (*pausa generalis*) appears only at the end (ANON. Vratisl., MENS. Si ille, MENS. Circa artem);<sup>15</sup>
- (4) the motet is sung in church; it is 'cantus ecclesiasticus' (GEN. DISC. Differentia).

An important supplement to the definitions is the quotation of titles of motets, which serve as examples of the genre.<sup>16</sup> They are the following pieces:

- 10 • Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, 'Mensural Treatises from the Manuscript WaN BOZ 6r', in Witkowska-Zaremba (ed.), *Notae musicae artis: Musical Notation in Polish Sources, 11th–16th Century* (Kraków, 2001), 487–537 at 493–510.
- 11 • Ibid. 511–32.
- 12 • Martin Staehelin, 'Beschreibungen und Beispiele musikalischer Formen in einem unbeachteten Traktat des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 31 (1974), 237–42.
- 13 • *Tractatulus de cantu mensurali seu figurativo musicae artis*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo, *Corpus scriptorum de musica* ([Rome], 1971).
- 14 • Růžena Mužíková, 'Pauli Paulirini de Praga Musica mensuralis', *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Philosophica et Historica*, 1965/2, 57–87.
- 15 • This rule is given in order to distinguish the motet from the bipartite genres (*rondellus*, *piroletum*, *baladum*) which are described after it.
- 16 • For instance, in ANON. Vratisl.: 'mutetus est, qui nullam habet pausam generalem nisi finem cuius quelibet pars habet textum, verbi gracia: *Appollinis*, *Ave coronata*, *Degentis vita*, *Fenix arabie* et sic de aliis'. Wolf, 'Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat', 336.

- ◇ *Apollinis eclipsatur/Zodiacum/In omnem terram* (B. de Cluni), quoted as ‘Appollinis’ in ANON. Vratisl., MENS. Si ille, MENS. Circa artem
- ◇ *Degentis vita/Cum vix artidici/Vera pudicitia*, quoted as ‘Degentis vita’ in ANON. Vratisl., MENS. Si ille, MENS. Circa artem
- ◇ *Ida capillorum/Portio nature/Ante thronum* (Egidius de Pusiex), quoted as ‘Ida capillorum’ in GEN. DISC. Differentia
- ◇ *Impudenter circuiui/Virtutibus laudabilis/Alma redemptoris* (Philippe de Vitry?), quoted as ‘Impudenter’ in GEN. DISC. Differentia
- ◇ *Ave coronata/Alma parens/Ave regina celorum*, quoted as ‘Ave coronata’ in ANON. Vratisl., MENS. Si ille
- ◇ ‘Fenix Arabie’ (unidentified) in ANON. Vratisl.
- ◇ ‘Jam adest dies iubileus’ (unidentified) in ANON. Mell.<sup>17</sup>
- ◇ ‘Linor aula’ (unidentified) in MENS. Si ille

In the identified examples one can recognize familiar and widely known compositions representing the French *Ars nova*. Motets quoted as examples also appear in other sections in these treatises, illustrating arguments devoted to mensuration or imperfection. One can find there not only French pieces (*Tuba sacre fidei/In arboris/Virgo sum* in ANON. Vratisl., ANON. Circa artem), but also Italian ones (*O Maria virgo davitica/O Maria maris stella* in ANON. Vratisl., ANON. Vipiten.). In the majority of these cases these are compositions also documented in Central Europe, in a variety of locations. Some of them in fact are preserved exclusively in sources from that region, although they were most probably imported, as in the case of *Deo gracias papales/Deo gracias fidelis* (quoted in ANON. Vratisl.), copied in fragments associated with Vienna (Nuremberg lat. 9 [cf. list of sources]) and in the now lost manuscript from Gdańsk (Gdańsk 2315).<sup>18</sup> In general we know (or we may guess) that these are compositions created in the fourteenth century or c.1400,<sup>19</sup> and recalled in Central Europe until at least the middle of the fifteenth century.

Among the examples illustrating the genre of motet some attention should be given to *Ave coronata/Alma parens/Ave regina celorum* (see Example 6.1).<sup>20</sup> This is a piece for three voices known from two copies: the Speciálník Codex (Hradec Králové II A 7) from c.1485–1500 and the Franus Codex (Hradec Králové II A 6), completed in 1505. Undoubtedly, the copies included in these manuscripts, associated with the Bohemian Utraquists, are distorted and come from a very late period. Jaromír Černý, who devoted much attention to this issue,<sup>21</sup> noted

- 17 • Tom Ward (‘A Central European Repertory’, 330) linked this example with a composition from manuscript Vyšší Brod 42 (‘Hohenfurter Liederhandschrift’). Jaromír Černý (‘Ars nova v českých zemích’, 344–5) provided convincing arguments against this identification.
- 18 • Michael Scott Cuthbert, ‘The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments and the International Ars nova’, *Studi musicali*, NS 1 (2010), 7–51 at 10–12.
- 19 • Two texts known from the motet *O Maria virgo davitica/O Maria maris stella* were widely circulated even earlier, in the *Ars antiqua* repertory (motet *O Maria virgo davitica/O Maria maris stella/Veritatem*).
- 20 • For modern editions see *Vicetextová moteta 14. a 15. století: Mebrtextige Motetten des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Jaromír Černý (Prague, 1989), 131–7; *Historická antologie hudby v českých zemích (do cca 1530): Historical Anthology of Music in the Bohemian Lands (up to ca 1530)*, ed. Jaromír Černý (Prague, 2005), 144–50.
- 21 • Jaromír Černý, ‘Die Ars nova-Musik in Böhmen’, *Miscellanea Musicologica*, 21–3 (1970), 47–106 at 80–4, 96–102.



**Example 6.1.** *Ave coronata/Alma parens/Ave regina celorum*, bb. 1–12 (reconstruction). Based on *Vícetextová moteta 14. a 15. století*, ed. Černý, 131–7, and *Historical Anthology of Music*, ed. Černý, 144–50

(Ave regina celorum)

that the original structure of the composition was blurred by dividing the notes in the tenor into a series of short rhythmic values in order to underlay them with the text of ‘Ave coronata’ (the same as in the discantus). Originally, the tenor of the motet was textless and strictly isorhythmic, with twelve *talea* repetitions and four *color* repetitions, while its melody had been borrowed from the antiphon *Ave regina celorum*. This piece was thus closer to other examples of motets than might appear from its later version.

Although some of its features seem to place *Ave coronata* within the tradition of the *Ars nova*, it does not fit into it perfectly. Its rhythmic structure is simple and schematic, while the *talea* is limited to five notes and does not undergo any mensural transformations. The motet realizes a simple harmonic model, repeated with every appearance of the *color*, in which fifths and octaves predominate. This model clearly affects the conduct of the melodic lines in the higher parts, which sometimes seem to be closer to instrumental music than to vocal polyphony.

Černý hypothesized that *Ave coronata* was composed around 1400 by a local musician who was trying to allude to the music of the *Ars nova*. At the same time he pointed to the similarity of its construction to the English motet *De flore martirum/Deus tuorum militum/Ave rex gentis*.<sup>22</sup> Regardless of whether we are dealing here with a reference to English or other models, there can be no doubt that *Ave coronata/Alma parens/Ave regina celorum* belongs to a tradition which was imported to Central Europe, where it continued to be alive in the fifteenth century not only in the musical treatises.

22 • Jaromír Černý, ‘K nejstarším dějinám moteta v českých zemích’ [On the earliest history of the motet in Czech lands], *Miscellanea Musicologica*, 24 (1971), 7–90 at 16 n. 23. For a modern edition of *De flore martirum* see *Motets of English Provenance*, ed. Frank Ll. Harrison, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (Monaco, 1980), 90–2.

## The Second Tradition: The Central European Motet

Alongside *Ars nova* motets we also find compositions in Central Europe which have no close analogies in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century music composed in France, Italy, and England. They fulfil the definition of motet with regard to polytextuality; however, the tenor in principle does not differ rhythmically from the other parts. Moreover, it is provided with a text and does not use a borrowed melody. Generally, these devotional compositions are a great deal simpler than *Ars nova* motets, being close to strophic songs with respect to the dependence of the form on the structure of the text. Since their best-known source is the Engelberg codex (Engelberg 314) of 1372/73,<sup>23</sup> they came to be called—following Friedrich Ludwig—the ‘Engelberg motets’.<sup>24</sup> However, this name does not adequately express the extent of the distribution of these pieces, nor the transformations they underwent in later decades. Since we find them in areas which include the German lands (particularly southern Germany) as well as Austria, Bohemia, Silesia, Hungary (including the current Slovakia), and Poland (Kraków, Gdańsk), it seems justified to refer to them as ‘Central European motets’.

We still know little about the Central European motet. As a ‘peripheral’ phenomenon it is usually disregarded in the discourse on the history of genre.<sup>25</sup> To date, it has been explored either from the German (‘Engelberg motet’) or from the Czech perspective (‘motet in the Czech lands’), rather than considering the motet in a broader view, taking into account Central European networks of transmission. The first perspective resulted from the significant position occupied by the Engelberg codex in German historiography and from the provenance of the sources which provide concordances for it (e.g. London 27630 from Bavaria and Kraków 40580 from Austria), most often dated to the second half of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries.<sup>26</sup> The second perspective originated in the special position held by this type of piece in the repertory of the Czech Utraquists, documented in numerous manuscripts from the end of the fifteenth and from the sixteenth century.<sup>27</sup> It had been thought that there was a serious lacuna in motet sources from the second third of the fifteenth century, but this has been filled in recent decades by the recovery of previously disregarded or unknown manuscripts, many of them fragmentary.<sup>28</sup> The relation of this motet type to motets composed in

- 23 • *Engelberg Stiftsbibliothek Codex 314*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Mathias Stauffacher, Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler (Winterthur, 1986).
- 24 • Friedrich Ludwig, ‘Die mehrstimmigen Werke der Handschrift Engelberg 314’, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 21 (1908), 48–61 at 55–8.
- 25 • Bernhard Schmid devotes more attention to it in his study ‘Die Motette bis in das frühe 15. Jahrhundert’, in Horst Leuchtmann and Siegfried Mauser (eds.), *Messe und Motette*, Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen (Laaber, 1998), 15–57 at 43–51.
- 26 • Cf. Wulf Arlt, ‘Repertoirefragen “peripherer” Mehrstimmigkeit: Das Beispiel des Codex Engelberg 314’, in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna 1987*, 1 (Turin, 1990), 97–125; Joseph Willmann, ‘Strophische Formung in den Motetten des Codex Engelberg 314’, in Andreas Haug, Christoph März, and Lorenz Welker (eds.), *Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter: Überlieferung—Ästhetik—Ausstrahlung*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi. Subsidia (Kassel, 2004), 345–79.
- 27 • Cf. Černý, ‘K nejstarším dějinám’, and ‘Die mehrtextige Motette des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts in Böhmen’, in *Colloquia on the History and Theory of Music at the International Musical Festival in Brno*, 5 (Brno, 1972), 71–88.
- 28 • For example: Göttingen XXX,1 (Silesia, c.1450). See Martin Staehelin, *Neues zu Werk und Leben von Petrus Wilhelmi: Fragmente des mittleren 15. Jahrhunderts mit Mensuralmusik im Nachlaß von Friedrich Ludwig*, Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 im deutschen Sprachgebiet (Göttingen, 2001); Gdańsk 2153a (Gdańsk, c.1425–50), see Paweł Gancarczyk, ‘A New Fragment of 15th-Century Polyphony in Silesia

other regions, particularly in France, also remains unclear. However, it has been observed that in the older German manuscripts containing Central European motets we find transformed and simplified compositions belonging both to the *Ars nova* and the *Ars antiqua* styles.<sup>29</sup> The absence of the tenor in some of them led Bernhold Schmid to propose the hypothesis that motets from the Engelberg codex are transformed *Ars antiqua* motets, omitting the tenor and leaving only the two higher, texted parts.<sup>30</sup> However, this speculative assumption needs further investigation.

In 1971 Jaromír Černý undertook an attempt to reconstruct the development of the Central European motet, taking the Utraquist repertory as his starting point.<sup>31</sup> He questioned the genesis of this repertory, searching for the oldest sources originating from the Czech lands. He observed that motets from manuscript Budapest 243 (Moravia?, c.1400) show very many likenesses with pieces from the Engelberg codex: they are characterized by a repeated tenor, isoperiodic structure of the higher parts, and a preponderance of perfect consonances. At the same time, they include more modern features, moving from rhythms considered modal to others associated with fourteenth-century mensural notation and with a greater number of parts (motets from the Engelberg codex are two-part compositions). Later sources indicate that the second third of the fifteenth century saw a reduction of the number of tenor repetitions, a move in counterpoint to imperfect consonances, and rhythm in *prolatio maior* being superseded by *prolatio minor*. In the last phase (the last third of the fifteenth century), a set of some twenty motets was established, forming the core collection of Utraquist books; this set includes both compositions with an older lineage (reaching back to the end of the fourteenth century) and more recent ones.<sup>32</sup> Some of them were even being copied as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the first third of the sixteenth century their Latin texts began to be replaced by Czech ones.

An important argument for linking the origins of the Utraquist repertory with the much earlier Engelberg codex is the fact that the manuscripts analysed by Černý belong to the same network of sources to which it belongs. At the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we find the same motets in pre-Hussite 'Czech' manuscripts (Budapest 243, Vyšší Brod 65) and in 'German' manuscripts (London 27630, Berlin 40580, and the later Trier 322/1994).<sup>33</sup>

and the Tradition of the Central-European Repertoire', in Paweł Gancarczyk, Lenka Hlávková-Mráčková, and Remigiusz Pośpiech (eds.), *The Musical Culture of Silesia before 1742: New Contexts—New Perspectives* (Frankfurt am Main, 2013), 45–54 at 49–50. The previously known fragments Ústí nad Orlicí A 3 from eastern Bohemia were recently dated to the 1450s; see Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Changing Identities of Songs by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz', *Hudební věda*, 54 (2017), 5–24 at 8–9.

29 • Schmid, 'Die Motette', 44–8.

30 • Ibid. 48–9.

31 • Černý, 'K nejstarším dějinám'; cf. his 'Die mehrtextige Motette'. For more details about the Utraquist repertory see Lenka Hlávková, 'Using the Past, Shaping the Present: Tracing the Tradition of Specific Polyphonic Repertories in Bohemian Utraquist Sources (c.1450–1540)', Ch. 8 in the present volume.

32 • Cf. Hlávková, 'Using the Past, Shaping the Present', Ch. 8.

33 • I purposely use quotation marks here, since some of the sources are of uncertain medieval provenance. The musical part of manuscript Trier 322/1994 has been dated to different periods: from around 1400 to the second half of the fifteenth century. Palaeographic features (such as the shape of the custodes) make me inclined to date it to the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Polyphony was entered on blank paper folios dating from the fourteenth century.

**V**oce cordis et chorus ilaude summi redetorus cōsurgat plebs  
 fidelis omnis Tu us grā mediate mē et rugo katheria  
**P**ulchre syon filia iudicia pmozli dānali iuncta tunc aqni magm te  
 ita <sup>scpta</sup> iūspōta fidere velle et aurifona corona glorie **S**ona inge  
 mto sit pā et fūo gemo spūtu qz sūto **S**icut erat ipnatio fi  
 et nec et set et in secula qz sūto **S**ueat pōho de huāno pō  
 lamē aevia aevia a evia aevia aevia a ev ia **S**ueat pō ho  
 die huānap solare aevia aevia aevia aevia al le lūa **S**uo pō ho  
 qui non peperat vnto alla **S**uo pō ho  
 mē pō ho  
 audie  
 dāmus  
 suo pō ho  
 suo pō ho

Plate 6.1. *Voce cordis/Pulchre Syon* in the manuscript Ústí nad Orlicí, Státní okresní archiv, MS A 3, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Státní okresní archiv, Ústí nad Orlicí

However, only one motet from Engelberg is preserved in an Utraquist source: this is *Voce cordis/Pulchre Syon*, a mensural version of which is found in the fragments from eastern Bohemia dated to the 1450s (Ústí nad Orlicí A 3; see Pl. 6.1). Clearly, it did not find its way into the core collection, since it does not appear in the later manuscripts.

Undoubtedly, we are dealing here with a long-lived tradition, which to a large extent provided a complement to the tradition of the *Ars nova* motet, the beginnings of which reach back to at least the 1370s, and probably even earlier. The provenance of manuscripts containing the Central European motets indicates that this tradition was cultivated in monastic centres, schools, and universities, and in time also in burgher communities (Utraquist *literati* brotherhoods). It thus seems that, alongside their musical features, these pieces were also distinct from the *Ars nova* motets in having a different range of social reception,<sup>34</sup> and this goes a long way towards explaining their structure and their devotional subjects.

### *Pneuma eucaristiarum*: Preserving a Local Tradition

Compositions by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz stand out among the Central European motets: Černý—even before discovering their composer in 1970s—awarded them a special place as being the most modern and most interesting.<sup>35</sup> They are the only pieces belonging to this tradition which are attributed to a composer, and it seems that not many new polytextual motets appeared after those of Petrus, since later sources only copy and transform pieces which had been composed earlier. The composer referred to the local tradition consciously and creatively, as is best exemplified by the four-voice motet *Pneuma eucaristiarum/Veni vere/Dator eia/Paraclito tripudia*.<sup>36</sup>

This motet is preserved in five sources, two produced while the composer was still alive, and three later Utraquist manuscripts:

- ◇ Merseburg 13b (fragment), recto, Germany (Merseburg?), 1430s or 1440s<sup>37</sup>
- ◇ Göttingen XXX,1 (fragments), fol. A/XLV<sup>v</sup>–[46]<sup>v</sup>, Silesia, c.1450
- ◇ Hradec Králové II A 7 (Speciálník Codex), pp. 504–7, Prague, c.1485–1500
- ◇ Hradec Králové II A 6 (Franus Codex), fols. 336<sup>v</sup>–338<sup>r</sup>, Hradec Králové, 1505
- ◇ Chrudim 12580, fols. 322<sup>v</sup>–324<sup>r</sup>, Prague (for Chrudim), 1530

34 • On the social function of *Ars nova* motets cf. Melanie Wald-Fuhrmann, 'Die Motette im 15. Jahrhundert, ihre Kontexte und das geistliche Hören: Forschungsüberblick und Perspektiven', in Laurenz Lütteken (ed.), *Normierung und Pluralisierung: Struktur und Funktion der Motette im 15. Jahrhundert*, Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 9 (Kassel, 2011), 57–86 at 62–7; Jacques Boogaart, 'A Prism of its Time: Social Functions of the Motet in Fourteenth-Century France', in Jared C. Hartt (ed.), *Critical Companion to Medieval Motets* (Woodbridge, 2018), 155–74.

35 • Černý, 'K nejstarším dějinám', 33–9.

36 • For a modern edition see *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz Magister Cracoviensis, Opera musica*, ed. Jaromír Černý (Kraków, 1993), 81–5.

37 • The dating and provenance of this source are not clear, see Kurt von Fischer, 'Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts', *Acta Musicologica*, 36 (1964), 79–97 at 92–4. It is worth noting that on the same parchment folio are also entered the *cantio Prefulcitam expolitam* (attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi), the motet *En mira res/Ut vetus lex/Theosque post* quoted in treatise ANON. Vratisl., and the hymn *Ad cenam agni providi* attributed to Guillaume Du Fay.

The distinguishing feature of this motet is its bipartite structure. Polytextuality appears only in the first part (A), while in the second part (B) all the voices sing the same text at the same time ('Paracrito tripudia'). One might say that in this composition, two genres come together that were close to each other in the thirteenth century and were practised in a modernized form in fifteenth-century Central Europe: the motet and the conductus.<sup>38</sup> In the first part the voices are more sharply individuated: the rhythmic texture of the parts (all in duple metre: *tempus imperfectum, prolatio minor*) is varied and their individual character is sometimes brought about by short imitations between the parts. In the second part, by contrast, we encounter homophony and trochaic–iambic rhythm in *prolatio maior*. Taking into account the bipartite structure, we may also introduce a third genre into our discussion: the polyphonic *cantio*, which often took the form AB or AAB (A—*versus*, B—*repeticio*)<sup>39</sup> and was practised in this form by Petrus Wilhelmi. The influence of the song genre in this work, however, is much more extensive: as in the case of other Central European motets, we can see here a close dependence of musical phrases on the structure of the text, which has a regular strophic construction (three-verse strophes with 8+8+7 syllables and aab, ccb rhymes).

As is indicated by earlier, pre-Utraquist sources—unfortunately fragmentary—in the first part of the composition only three voices had texts. There we find acrostics which reveal the full name of the composer.<sup>40</sup> Originally, these voices were placed in a higher register than the voice without a text, referred to in Merseburg 13b as 'contratenor'. The text 'Paracrito tripudia', which appears in the second part, was not underlaid here before the Utraquist version. At that point the three higher parts were transposed downwards,<sup>41</sup> creating 'ad voces aequales' texture, which enabled *literati* brotherhoods to perform it. This leads to the conclusion that in *Pneuma eucaristiarum* we do not have a clearly distinguished tenor (the term 'tenor' does not appear in any of the sources), although it can be discerned in the 'Dator eia' part with its large number of leaps and slight dominance of longer rhythmic values over minims.

Many of the characteristics described above show Petrus Wilhelmi working audibly within the tradition of the Central European motet; moreover, the bipartite structure relates this motet to a specific compositional model: the motet *Veni sancte spiritus/Da gaudiorum/Veni sancte spiritus*, identified by Černý as belonging to the first phase of adaptation of the 'Engelberg style'.<sup>42</sup> The earliest source of this work is dated to c.1400 (Budapest 243); we may suppose that it was composed towards the end of the fourteenth century. This was one of the most frequently copied Central European motets, variously transformed and reworked until the

- 38 • Cf. Jaromír Černý, 'Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu v českých pramenech 15. století' [Polyphonic songs of the conductus type in Czech sources of the fifteenth century], *Miscellanea musicologica*, 31 (1984), 39–142.
- 39 • In *Pneuma eucaristiarum* the first part should be repeated, thus creating the form AAB, but—unlike in the case of a *cantio*—it is repeated with the same texts.
- 40 • 'Pneuma eucaristiarum, terram rigans veniarum supernorum ...' = PETRVS ; 'Veni, vere illustrator, lux honoris, erogator luminis muniminis, iugum...' = VVILHELMI ; 'Dator eia graciaram, rex virtutis, dux eorum numinum celestium, zeli ...' = DE GRVDENCZ.
- 41 • I put forward this supposition on the basis of the fragmentary source Göttingen XXX,1, where these parts are notated a fourth higher in comparison to the Utraquist sources; this, however, causes problems in producing a satisfactory transcription. In Merseburg 13b only the contratenor is extant.
- 42 • For modern editions see *Vicetextová moteta*, ed. Černý, 14–22, and *Historical Anthology*, ed. Černý, 91–5.

1550s.<sup>43</sup> Assuming that Petrus composed *Pneuma eucaristiarum* before the mid-fifteenth century, he must have referred to its pre-Utraquist version.<sup>44</sup>

The kinship between these two works is clear. In *Veni sancte spiritus*, as in *Pneuma eucaristiarum*, only the first part is polytextual, while the second, in trochaic rhythm, has a single text declaimed in homorhythm by all parts, and thereby resembles the conductus. Even the beginnings of the two compositions are similar, with the isolated first note of the tenor (see Examples 6.2 and 6.3). Both motets were intended for the celebration of Pentecost, and while their first parts have the character of a prayer or a supplication, the second parts talk of joyful singing and the pleading of the ‘simple folk’ to be carried by this means to Christ (the ‘comforter’). Thus, the music follows the text: the first, polytextual part carries serious content, while the second, with its schematic, dancelike rhythm, has a popular character.

**Example 6.2.** *Veni sancte spiritus/Da gaudiorum/Veni sancte spiritus*, bb. 1–5 (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, lat. 243, fols. 49<sup>v</sup>–50<sup>r</sup>). Based on *Víctextová moteta 14. a 15. století*, ed. Černý, 14–22, and *Historical Anthology of Music*, ed. Černý, 91–5

**Example 6.3.** Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, *Pneuma eucaristiarum/Veni vere/Dator eia/Paraclito tripudia*, bb. 1–5 (Utraquist version). Based on *Petrus Wilhelmi*, ed. Černý, 81–5

In the earliest version of *Veni sancte spiritus* as transmitted in Budapest 243 the tenor is repeated four times, and in the highest parts only minor changes are introduced in successive repetitions, as a result of which we obtain the arrangement  $A_1A_2A_3A_4B$ ; in one of later copies—Prague D.A.III.17 from 1450s—the piece is shortened to  $A_1A_2B$ .<sup>45</sup> This explains the origin of the repetition in the first part of *Pneuma eucaristiarum* ( $AAB$ ). Petrus Wilhelmi’s composition

43 • Antonio Chemotti, *The Hymnbook of Valentin Triller (Wrocław 1555): Musical Past and Regionalism in Early Modern Silesia* (Warsaw, 2020), 127–34 (available on Open Access via <https://epub.uni-regensburg.de/>).

44 • The earliest source of *Pneuma eucaristiarum*, Merseburg 13b, is dated in the 1430s or 1440s; the earliest Utraquist sources of polyphonic music are dated 1450s onwards. See also the essay by Lenka Hlávková in the present volume, Ch. 8.

45 • Chemotti, *The Hymnbook of Valentin Triller*, 133.

is less schematic, pointing to the inventiveness with which he balances the properties of older music in the tradition with the influence of music from the second quarter of the fifteenth century: one may point in particular to the absence of isoperiodicity and the more frequent use of imperfect consonances, and especially the frequent occurrence of sixth chords, typical of *fauxbourdon*. In the Utraquist version we find a stylistic encounter between the two motets: in *Veni sancte spiritus* the repetitions of the tenor were reduced, the first part was changed to duple metre, and in the counterpoint there is greater participation of thirds and sixths. It is not impossible that the directions of influence were reversed: it may have been *Pneuma eucaristiarium* which became the model for the renovated *Veni sancte spiritus* (see Pl. 8.1).

### *Probitate eminentem*: A Parody the Foreign Tradition

The motet *Probitate eminentem/Ploditando exarare* occupies a special place among the works of Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz.<sup>46</sup> This is the only motet by this composer with a secular subject, as well as being a rare example among his compositions that clearly enters into a dialogue with the Western European repertory. *Probitate eminentem* has been preserved in two copies from the last quarter of the fifteenth century:

- ◇ Kraków 40098 (*Žagań* partbooks), Silesia (*Žagań/Sagan?*), 1477–82
- ◇ Poznań 7022 (Lviv fragments), Lviv?, c.1490

The motet was conceived for four voices, of which only the two highest ones have texts (discantus and contratenor altus). The tenor is isorhythmic and uses slightly longer rhythmic values (mainly breves) than those found in the other parts. In the other textless part—contratenor bassus—there are numerous leaps and isolated, short motifs, suggesting performance by an instrument (see Example 6.4). Since it ends on a third—something exceptional in Petrus's times—one may suppose that it was a later addition to *Probitate eminentem*. The manner of notating the motet in the Lviv fragments also points to a three-voice original: the only extant parts there are the discantus and tenor, but on the neighbouring folio, now lost, there evidently could only have been room for one contratenor.<sup>47</sup>

**Example 6.4.** Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, *Probitate eminentem/Ploditando exarare*, bb. 1–8 (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. 40098, Discantus, fols. e11<sup>v</sup>–12<sup>r</sup>; Contratenor, fols. f5<sup>v</sup>–6<sup>r</sup> and f5bis; Tenor, fols. fi<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>r</sup>). Based on *Petrus Wilhelmi*, ed. Černý, 92–100

The image shows a musical score for four voices. The top staff (Discantus) has the lyrics: Pro - bi - ta - te c - mi - nen - tem tri - um - . The second staff (Contratenor altus) has the lyrics: Plo - di - tan - do ex - a - ra - re te - nel - . The bottom two staves (Contratenor bassus and Tenor) are textless. The music is in a medieval style with a mix of note values and rests.

46 • For a modern edition see *Petrus Wilhelmi*, ed. Černý, 92–100.

47 • Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Probitate eminentem/Ploditando exarare Petrusa Wilhelmi de Grudencz—środkowoeuropejska inkarnacja motetu izorytmicznego' [*Probitate eminentem/Ploditando exarare* by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz—a Central European incarnation of the isorhythmic motet], in Paweł Gancarczyk (ed.), *Ars musica and its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Warsaw, 2016), 255–69 at 257–9.



Even this brief description shows that *Probitate eminentem* is closer to the *Ars nova* tradition than other motets by Petrus Wilhelmi. The composition follows the rules given in the treatises: it is polytextual throughout and the higher parts are distinguished from the tenor by their degree of mobility (although not to a great extent) as well as their function. This relationship is made closer by using isorhythm in the tenor, where there are four *taleae* to one *color*. The subject of the piece is panegyric, which was the usual practice in isorhythmic motets from the first half of the fifteenth century. Interestingly, in the Lviv fragments *Probitate eminentem* is located next to the *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* by Josquin, which is to say that it appears in a very 'serious' context.<sup>48</sup>

At the same time *Probitate eminentem* demonstrates features which beyond any doubt locate its origin in Central Europe. In it, we do not find any mensural complications; the whole composition is in *tempus imperfectum, prolatio minor*. The melodic features of the higher parts are palpably song-like; phrases flow directly from the structure of the strophic text. The tenor most probably is the composer's invention, while the short *talea* brings to mind associations with *Ave coronata/Alma parens/Ave regina celorum*, mentioned earlier, rather than with any isorhythmic motet from the first half of the fifteenth century. Short *taleae* with small rhythmic values were also used by Petrus in another piece, *Panis ewus/Pange exul/Panis ecce/Patribus veteribus/Tantum ergo* for five voices, which, like *Pneuma eucaristiarum*, has a bipartite structure, thus recalling again the 'archaic' model of *Veni sancte spiritus*.<sup>49</sup>

The true nature of this composition is revealed through its performance. The texts of the two higher voices praise the pious life of brother Andreas Ritter (d. 1480) of the Order of Canons Regular in Żagań (Sagan).<sup>50</sup> The two poems are identical in length and structure (four-verse strophes, mostly eight-syllable, with *abab* rhymes). The disposition of their content corresponds to the principles of rhetoric as taught in the *ars dictaminis* (the art of composing documents and letters), which are often the basis of the texts of fifteenth-century motets.<sup>51</sup> The first two strophes are an introduction to the panegyric: we find there an announcement of

48 • See Paweł Gancarczyk and Lenka Hlávková, 'The Lviv Fragments and *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*: Questions on the Early Josquin Reception in Central Europe', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 67 (2017), 139–61.

49 • For a modern edition of *Panis ewus* see Petrus Wilhelmi, ed. Černý, 86–91.

50 • See Volker Honemann, 'Zu Leben und Werk des Saganer Augustinerchorherren Andreas Ritter', in Ralf G. Päsler and Dietrich Schmidtke (eds.), *Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters im östlichen Europa: Forschungsstand und Forschungsperspektiven* (Heidelberg, 2006), 293–314.

51 • See Robert Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet* (Cambridge, 2012), 84–5.

the content to follow, the name of the addressee, and the author's declaration of good intentions. The next four strophes enumerate the canon's virtues, and the final strophe provides the epilogue in which both parts sing identical text, ending with an apostrophe to God. In the middle part, the discantus and contratenor altus conduct a dialogue, creating a 'polyphony of texts', out of which arises a third text. For example two separate verses read: 'et in templo est devotus' ('and in church he is [a] pious [person]') and 'raro manet in tabernis' ('he rarely spends time in taverns'), but their phrases are spliced and recombined to comic effect when sung: 'et in templo raro manet, est devotus in tabernis' ('and he rarely spends time in church, he is pious in taverns').<sup>52</sup> (See Example 6.5.)

Example 6.5. Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, *Probitate eminentem/Ploditando exarare*, bb. 64–8

The composition can be thought of as a parody, the form of a 'serious' isorhythmic motet adopted as a musical camouflage for something lowbrow. On the basis of the surviving sources, we may suppose that Petrus Wilhelmi had access to examples of the *Ars nova* motet that made it seem a particularly stern, 'serious' genre. I suggest, moreover, that he is making fun not only of the addressee of the piece, but also of the *Ars nova* tradition as he would have encountered it when he studied at the university in Kraków (1418–30). He would also have come across the latest of isorhythmic motets at the court of the German king Frederick III Habsburg, where he began his career as a chaplain during the time of Johannes Brassart, author of the ceremonial *O rex Fridrice/In tuo adventu* (1440 or 1442), dedicated to the king.<sup>53</sup> The ludic intent of *Probitate eminentem* may also have been expressed in a more hidden way in its numerical layout: the *talea* is made up of eleven notes and is repeated twenty-two times, while the texts of each part consist of eleven strophes (including repetitions). In the symbolism of the Middle Ages the number 11 was interpreted as a symbol of imperfection and sin, since it exceeded number 10 (linked to the Decalogue) but did not reach number 12 (associated with the apostles).<sup>54</sup>

*Probitate eminentem/Ploditando exarare* is thus a composition which deals with imperfection, and that imperfection is presented in a genre which tends to be associated with sophistication and craftsmanship. We should again turn our attention to its social aspect: Andreas

- 52 • This effect can be called 'monaurality' (which complements 'polytextuality'), as proposed by Sean Curran in one of his articles on thirteenth-century motets; see Sean Curran, 'Hockets Broken and Integrated in Early Mensural Theory and an Early Motet', *Early Music History*, 36 (2017), 31–104 at 87.
- 53 • Catherine Saucier, 'Acclaiming Advent and *Adventus* in Johannes Brassart's Motet for Frederick III', *Early Music History*, 27 (2008), 137–79.
- 54 • See Heinz Meyer and Rudolf Suntrup, *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften (Munich, 1987), 616.

Ritter (or another possible addressee<sup>55</sup>) was an ordinary clergyman, far removed from the usual patrons and addressees of fifteenth-century motets: kings, dukes, bishops, or rich burghers. His virtues enumerated in the panegyric are common, as are the faults slyly revealed during performance. While distancing himself from the Western European tradition, Petrus also defined his identity, expressing it in music typical of Central Europe and nurtured within the lower strata of medieval society.<sup>56</sup>

\* \* \*

Two traditions of the motet genre as a polytextual composition co-existed in fifteenth-century Central Europe. Both were grounded in the past and both carried a memory of this genre reaching back to the thirteenth century. They originated from the same source but followed different paths. The first tradition—the *Ars nova* tradition—was imported, preserved, and adapted in musical teaching and practice until perhaps the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The second was a local tradition, undergoing transformations and modernizations yet still remaining a living tradition in the sixteenth century. We have distinguished between them on the basis of musical features, yet it is also worth noting that evidence of the cultivation of both traditions is rarely encountered in the same manuscripts. In mensural treatises, we do not find quotations from Central European motets, just as it is hard to find *Ars nova* motets in manuscripts containing compositions by Petrus Wilhelmi. This suggests that the two traditions also differed in terms of their social circulation.

Petrus Wilhelmi's compositions demonstrate that the tradition of the Central European motet also involves the question of identity. In choosing a distinctive model from the local past to compose his *Pneuma eucaristiarum* and at the same time ironically travestyng the 'foreign' convention of the isorhythmic motet in *Probitate eminentem*, he affirmed his attitude to the tradition he regarded as his own.

55 • Still closer analysis of the motet's text and sources leads me to suspect that originally the motet was dedicated to another person; this, however, does not affect the comments here; see Gancarczyk, 'Probitate eminentem', 263.

56 • I refer here to the diagram of social hierarchy copied in, for example, the fifteenth-century manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14111, fol. 357<sup>r</sup>; see Ian Rumbold with Peter Wright, *Hermann Pötzlinger's Music Book: The St Emmeram Codex and its Contexts* (Woodbridge, 2009), 243–4.



TRADITION AND EXPERIMENTATION IN CHOIRBOOKS PRINTED IN  
LATE SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

Emanuel Signer

Choirbooks have attracted extraordinary interest within the history of music printing, not least in terms of academic publications, of which there have been many in recent years.<sup>1</sup> Sanna Raninen's recent publication<sup>2</sup> examines aspects of the production of printed choirbooks in sixteenth-century Germany, France, and by the influential Italian printers Andrea Antico and Valerio Dorico. This chapter is, in a way, a continuation of Raninen's study in that it explores the heritage of these choirbooks produced in the earlier sixteenth century, and how it developed into a veritable tradition within the activity of Italian music printers, editors, and composers. The first two sections provide an overview of the production of large-format choirbooks in Rome, Venice, Milan, and Naples after the end of the Dorico printing business. On the basis of some collaborative networks between printers in these cities, the following section explores how in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries choirbooks were created as models of emulation and re-creation. This allowed composers, publishers, and printers as well as consumers of these books to connect to earlier musical practices and repertoires, and to present them to the public in the form of a material object available through the printed music market. It will be argued that some printed publications are emblematic of a post-Tridentine historicizing interest, whereby publications were specifically designed to evoke a sense of a sacred musical past, and to represent that through visual design, notation, and choice of repertory as well as compositional design. In a final section, I shall look at the use of single-volume layout in books that do not seem to have a historicizing aspiration, and instead appear as experiments in the printed publication of unusual musical repertoires.

This chapter draws on various sections of my Ph.D. thesis, 'Polyphonic Masses in Italian Music Printing 1550–1650: A Big Data Approach to Paratext' (University of Cambridge, 2018), as well as on a paper presented at a *Sound Memories* workshop, *The Authority of Materiality*, in Heidelberg in December 2016. I am grateful to everyone who provided input and support for the work that went into this chapter, and especially to Iain Fenlon, Thomas Schmidt, Inga Mai Groote, Karl Kügle.

- 1 • This includes Jane A. Bernstein, 'Made to Order: Choirbook Publications in Cinquecento Rome', in M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (eds.), *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn* (Turnhout, 2009), 669–76; Iain Fenlon, 'Printed Polyphonic Choirbooks for the Spanish Market', in *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden, 2015), 199–222; and Jane A. Bernstein, 'Print Culture, Music and Early Modern Catholicism in Rome', in *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology* (Leiden, 2017), 112–28.
- 2 • Sanna Raninen, 'The Early History of Printed Folio Choirbooks: Production and Layout', in Thomas Schmidt and Christian Thomas Leitmeir (eds.), *The Production and Reading of Music Sources: Mise-en-page in Manuscripts and Printed Books containing Polyphonic Music, 1480–1530* (Turnhout, 2018), 117–49.

## I. Printed Choirbooks in Rome after Dorico

The majority of printing firms that produced choirbooks in the early modern period were businesses which more regularly and frequently published music in partbooks.<sup>3</sup> For them, the production of larger-format choirbooks in particular must have meant the use of extraordinary materials and equipment, such as bigger text and music type, ornaments, and initials, as well as larger paper sizes. Such materials might not always have been available and might not have been worth purchasing for a single business. Consequently, choirbooks were often produced in collaboration between printing businesses of the same city and others. Scarcely any documents such as letters or contracts survive today that inform us of such collaborations, and it is difficult to be sure whether two printers lent and borrowed, or sold and purchased equipment to and from each other, or whether there might have been subcontracts for the printing of choirbooks. Yet, an examination of visual elements, such as ornaments and initials, and of the musical and verbal text type in Italian choirbooks of that period allows us to trace collaborative connections between different printing businesses.

In the early 1580s there was such a collaborative network in Rome, which produced the first choirbooks published in that city by other businesses than the Dorico firm, which had published their last choirbook (a reprint of Palestrina's *Missarum liber primus*) in 1572. It was centred around the publisher and bookseller Domenico Basa. Basa cooperated with the printer Francesco Zannetti in the years 1581–2 to produce at least three choirbooks, as well as four further ones in the following years with Alessandro Gardano, who had just set up shop in Rome (see Appendix 1A). These choirbooks might have been aimed at the Spanish music market, where various of these editions survive today,<sup>4</sup> and they all contain sacred music by the Spaniards Tomás Luis de Victoria and Francisco Guerrero. In cooperation with Basa, both Zannetti and Gardano used either identical sets of type, or several sets that had been produced from the same matrices (see Appendix 11A). Typographical variations between the two printers' choirbooks are minor, such as Zannetti's use of a repeat symbol (an S with two dots; see Appendix 11A) compared to Gardano's use of 'ij' for text repetitions. Since these two printers used these types only when collaborating with Basa, it seems that this publisher might have coordinated their access to a set of type which they did not own themselves.

In 1591, Gardano printed Pietro Paolo Paciotto's *Missarum liber primus* without Basa, who by that time had become employed to lead the papal printing shop founded by Sixtus V in 1587. For this, Gardano used a different set of type (see Appendix 11B), which was shared by another, overlapping network of printers and booksellers, involving Giacomo Tornieri, the Donangelis, and Francesco Coattino (as well as, to a lesser degree, Alessandro Gardano). A range of archival materials survive documenting this network, which featured various instances of collaborations, mergers, and lawsuits, as explored in the article by Patrizio Barbieri.<sup>5</sup> In the set of types used by these printers, all elements of musical and text type are different in design and shape from those in Basa's set, with the most notable exception being the *signa congruentiae*.

3 • An exception to this is the printing press of the Coenobium Sancti Spiritus in Venice (see below).

4 • Iain Fenlon, 'Printed Polyphonic Choirbooks', 221 f.

5 • Patrizio Barbieri, 'Music Printers and Booksellers in Rome (1583–1600). With New Documents on Coattino, Diani, Donangeli, Tornieri, and Franzini', *Recercare*, 16 (2004), 69–112.

The set, or a related one, remained in use in Rome until at least 1609, when Robletti's firm printed Francesco Soriano's *Missarum liber primus*.

Although substantial parts of printers' equipment for choirbook production seems to have been passed on over the decades, a comparison of these printed books shows that this did not usually happen as one coherent set. Rather, individual spare parts could be sold, lent, lost, and replaced independently from the others. A striking example is the choirbooks of Antonio Cifra's Masses printed in Rome some ten years later, in 1619 and 1621, for which similar or identical text types were used by Luca Antonio Soldi, but a wholly different, 'third' Roman set of musical type as well as clefs, time signatures, and custodes (yet, incidentally, again the same shape of sharp accidentals as in Soriano's Mass book) (see Appendix 11C).

After 1600, the printing firm of Giovanni Battista Robletti was the most active Roman business for the publication of choirbooks, with four books of polyphonic Masses printed in 1609, 1628, 1630, and 1633. Robletti's printing activity is unusual in early seventeenth-century Rome in that he published printed collections at his own expense more often than other printers, whose publications were usually motivated by the external financial initiatives of composers, patrons, or booksellers.<sup>6</sup> The publication of these four choirbooks, however, seems to have occurred with external funding. This indicates how expensive choirbook printing might have been, how difficult its success on the market, and how much printers relied on external funding and patronage. Financial support of composers' papal patrons seems probable for Soriano's *Missarum liber primus*, a magnificent and lavish edition dedicated to Paul V, as well as the individual publication of Stefano Landi's *Missa in benedictione nuptiarum*. Landi's publication is dedicated to Urban VIII and its single Mass setting was performed on the occasion of the wedding of the Pope's nephew Taddeo Barberini with Anna Colonna in 1627.<sup>7</sup> The 1630 edition of Masses by Paolo Agostini is also related to the Barberini family: the luxurious edition is a posthumous collection of Masses which, with a few exceptions, had already been published earlier. The volume was created at the initiative of the composer's son Giovanni Maria Agostini and dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, another nephew of the Pope and Taddeo's brother. The fourth and last choirbook to be produced by Robletti is the 1633 book of Masses by Marco Scacchi, dedicated to the king of Poland, Władysław IV Wasa, in whose service Scacchi was at the time and who might have financially supported what was to be the only publication of Scacchi's sacred music.

As with Landi's publication, an important event in the life of a member of an eminent Roman family seems to have been the occasion of Masotti's publication of the individual *Missa Hieronymi Columnae* by Paolo Tarditi as a lavish choirbook. It contains an individual Mass setting in honour of Cardinal Girolamo Colonna, to whom the volume is dedicated. Colonna was the brother of Anna Colonna, whose wedding Mass by Landi had likewise been published as a choirbook, with the collaboration of the *bibliopola* (bookseller) Gioseffo Cesarei, who

6 • Donald W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie (eds.), *Music Printing and Publishing* (London, 1990), 254 and *passim*.  
7 • See Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven and London, 1994), 108 ff.

according to the title page provided the financial means: the volume was printed “Expensis Iosephi Caesarei”.

160

The only Roman choirbook edition for which potential financial support from a patron or composer is difficult to discern is Nicolò Mutii’s re-edition of Palestrina’s *Missarum liber secundus* (originally printed in 1567 by Dorico), dated to the year 1599 (on the colophon) and 1600 (on the title page). This collection was produced after Palestrina’s death in 1594, therefore ruling out the composer as a potential sponsor, and features the same dedication as the original print to Philip II of Spain. It seems improbable, but not impossible, that money could have come from the same patronal source as thirty years before: Philip of Spain died in 1598, a year before the publication of this print. Instead, it might have been due to the popularity of this collection and its potential profitability on the market that Mutii financed this reprint himself as an independent investment.<sup>8</sup> The only other publication by Mutii which makes use of choirbook layout seems to have been externally funded: the curious edition of the eight-part *Chorici psalmi et motecta quatuor vocum liber primus* by Asprilio Pacelli from 1599, which, however, might instead have been initiated by the composer (see §IV below).

After the first third of the seventeenth century, in which printed choirbooks continued to be published as an expression of artistic patronage or commemorative publication, Roman publishing of large-format choirbooks ceased entirely. The only exception is Domenico Dal Pane’s collection of 1687, printed by Mascardi in Rome. As Thomas Schmidt has shown, in specific Roman institutions such as the Cappella Sistina practices of notation and repertory established in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries remained alive throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century. This also holds true for the creation of manuscript choirbooks, which thereby became a physical testimony to the timeless musical authority which the Cappella Sistina sought to display.<sup>9</sup> Dal Pane’s collection must be considered in this context. It misses no opportunity to state its relationship to the papal chapel and to the sacred musical heritage of Rome. Dal Pane’s employment as a soprano in the Cappella Sistina is prominently stated on the title page, as well as the fact that the Masses are all imitation Masses based on motets by Palestrina.

The choirbook design, however, cannot match the elegance of publications produced earlier in the century. It seems that no suitably large type was available to Mascardi, who had to use a regular, smaller musical type instead (Appendix 11D); consequently, the text is not large enough to be comfortably legible by a larger choir (which may have been intended for the performance of some of these Masses for four, five, six, and eight parts). Indeed, the traditional

8 • RISM has two separate editions of this reprint listed: P 662, which survives without its title page in the National and University Library, Ljubljana, and whose colophon bears the year 1599; and P 633, which survives in six libraries in Italy, which bears the same year in the colophon, yet the year 1600 on the title page. These two editions could not be examined for this essay, yet it is assumed on the basis of ‘A Catalogue of Mass, Office, and Holy Week Music Printed in Italy, 1516–1770’ (ed. by Jeffrey G. Kurtzman and Anne Schnobelen), in *JSCM Instrumenta*, 2, <http://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/instrumenta-volumes/instrumenta-volume-2> (accessed 9 Apr. 2019); henceforth: Kurtzman/Schnobelen, that the two editions are the same and only accidentally listed separately in RISM. See also Christian Leitmeir, ‘Tropes and Cantus firmi in Sixteenth-Century Missae de Beata Virgine’, *Die Tonkunst*, 4 (2009), 8–26.

9 • Thomas Schmidt-Beste, ‘The Repertoire of the Papal Chapel after the Council of Trent: Tradition, Innovation, or Decline?’, in Bloxam, Filocamo, and Holford-Strevens (eds.), *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio*, 109–20.



format seems to have been valued higher than aspects of practicality: here, the choirbook layout is detached from the practicalities of performance and notational economy that had given rise to the format in the late Middle Ages. Instead, it had become a visual and notational expression of tradition, which together with content (a collection of *a cappella* Masses) and compositional strategy (the borrowing of works by Palestrina) are combined into a collection that recalls the past in various ways (see §III below).

## II. Choirbooks Printed in Italy outside Rome

Outside Rome, choirbooks were only printed in the largest Italian centres of sacred music printing, Venice, Milan, and Naples, yet by no means with the regularity comparable to Rome. In Venice, the Gardano firm was the main printing firm for choirbooks during the late sixteenth century, producing eight such volumes in total: three choirbooks under the direction of Antonio Gardano (between 1562 and 1565), two under that of both his sons Angelo and Alessandro (in 1570/75), and three more (in 1576, 1578, and 1601) under Angelo Gardano alone, after his brother had left Venice to set up shop in Rome. There are similarities between some of the type and other printing elements used by the Gardano firm in Venice and those used by Alessandro Gardano and his collaborators in Rome. Alessandro might have taken sets of the musical type and other printing elements to Rome in the early 1580s, and even after his move, the Gardano firms in Venice and Rome seem to have been exchanging material and repertory.

From their first choirbook, Jacobus de Kerle's *Sex misse* in 1562, until at least 1578, the Gardano shop in Venice used the same music and text fonts (Appendix 11E). This musical type could be the one described in Gardano's 1575 inventory as 'un Canto grande per real forma Con madre e ponzonij', which might have been purchased under Antonio for the production of these first choirbooks.<sup>10</sup> After that, Gardano's musical type continued to be employed, such as for the publication of the *Falsibordoni omnium tonorum a diversis excellentissimis auctoribus modulati* (1601), as well as the publication of Ludovico da Viadana's edition of Credo chants and polyphonic 'Et incarnatus' sections published by Bartolomeo Magni in 1619. However, the Gothic type used for both non-musical paratext and the sung text, which in the earlier choirbook published by the Gardano firm is reminiscent of Dorico's Roman publications,<sup>11</sup> was abandoned for the choirbooks produced after 1578.

The publishing activity between 1597 and 1604 of the 'Coenobium Sancti Spiritus', as it appears on title pages, is the other remarkable contribution to choirbook publishing in Venice in that period, and it, too, might have been connected to the Gardano firm in Venice (and perhaps Rome). This printing press was run by the Augustinian convent connected to the Spirito Santo church in the *sestiere* of Dorsoduro and produced choirbooks exclusively. Three volumes of 1597, 1600, and 1601 contain antiphons for two and three parts and Masses for four and five parts by Girolamo Lambardi, a canon regular at Spirito Santo. In 1604 the *Missarum liber*

10 • Quoted in Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569–1611* (Rochester, NY, 1998), 121, where he refers to this music type as 'Polyphonic Music Font IV'.

11 • Which Richard Agee calls Gardano's 'Gothic Font II' (*ibid.* 127).

*primus* with Masses by Vincenzo Pellegrini followed. It is possible that the printing activity at the Coenobium Sancti Spiritus was motivated by the provision of printed music books for use in monastic orders like theirs. Lambardi's music is 'not difficult: voice ranges are somewhat restricted and the counterpoint is generally simple',<sup>12</sup> which suggests that it could be performed by a group of clerics of whom not all might have had professional vocal capabilities. Furthermore, the choirbook layout was especially suitable for monastic choirs and their performance locations where singing from a shared choirbook (of chant, for example) might have been more regularly practised than in other institutions.<sup>13</sup>

Unfortunately, not much is known about the printing press run under the name of this Venetian monastery. An examination of the musical type and other printing elements indicates that this monastic printing press might have interacted with the Gardano firms and borrowed type from them. While clefs and time signatures are mostly different, initials, custodes, and the music type are identical to those of Gardano's Venetian shop. Also, the Gothic type for the sung text seems to be similar or the same as that used by Gardano until 1578. (See Appendix 11F: compare the type used in L 368 by the Coenobium Sancti Spiritus with that in K 446 by Gardano in Venice, or, for that matter, that used by his brother in Rome in G 4872).

In Milan, efforts to produce choirbooks of polyphonic music took place in three, apparently isolated, instances in the seventeenth century. In 1600 the heirs of Simone Tini in collaboration with the bookseller Francesco Besozzi produced two collections with works by Orfeo Vecchi. One, containing hymns and pieces for Compline, states its loyalty to the Roman Church not only on its title page ('secundum consuetudinem S[anctae] R[omanae] E[cclesiae]'), but also through its choice of choirbook layout, and the other volume contains *falsobordoni*, canticles, and settings of the Te Deum, which according to its dedication may have provided music for use in convents and monasteries.<sup>14</sup> The second instance is the publication of two anthologies of hymns according to the Ambrosian rite which were written by Giulio Cesare Gabussi, Vincenzo Pellegrini, and other composers, and were printed by Giorgio Rolla in 1619. This collection is unusual in the division of its contents into 'summer' and 'winter' repertoires: 'pars aestiva' and 'pars hymalis' [*sic*].

Thirdly, there is a remarkable group of choirbooks produced in the second half of the century, which constitutes the most extensive such publication undertaken in Italy after the 1630s. These four impressive folio volumes were designed to express the authority of the Milanese ecclesiastical heritage. They contain music for the liturgies of the Ambrosian rite, such as three volumes of Masses and canticles by Michel'Angelo Grancini, and one of canticles by Giovanni Antonio Grossi, who succeeded Grancini in 1669/70 as *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral.

- 12 • Judith Nagley and David Bryant, 'Lambardi [Lambardo], Girolamo', *Grove Music Online* (2001) (accessed 9 Apr. 2019).
- 13 • In a similar context, choirbook layout was also used in Rome for collections of *laude* in quarto format, which contained simple enough music for members of Oratorian congregations to sing. See the table in §IV below, as well as Bernstein, 'Made to Order', 669–76; also Bernstein, 'Print Culture, Music, and Early Modern Catholicism', 119–21.
- 14 • The volume of *falsobordoni* has a dedication to three women, Clara Francesca, Clara Gieronima Goseline, and Clara Pompilia Adda, who may be part of a Clarissan institution due to their shared first name 'Clara'. See also Robert L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford, 1996), 216 f.

Milan Cathedral is depicted on the title pages, either with the protection of the Virgin Mary, or with the 'cloak of St Ambrose' held over the church by angels.<sup>15</sup> Printed by the Camagno firm in 1664, 1669, and 1675, it is probable that the funds for the production of these books came from the Milanese church. The dedicatee of all volumes is Alfonso Michele Litta, who was archbishop of Milan from 1652 until his death in 1679. Their choirbook format is certainly not accidental: these four volumes strive to express the confidence and self-definition of the Milanese Church in that period, which is expressed also by the evocation of the Roman tradition of choirbook printing.

In Naples, there does not seem to have been a continuous production of choirbooks by local printers, or individual publication efforts comparable to those in Milan. In fact, only two folio books survive that were printed in Naples and feature single-volume layout. One of them, a volume of Passion settings by Giovanni Maria Trabaci, is an experimental volume that used this layout for the notation of a very complicated multi-lateral performance situation. This will be discussed in §IV. A more 'conventional' choirbook, however, was Rocco Rodio's *Psalmi ad vespervas dierum festorum solemnium per totum annum*, a collection of music for Vespers and hymn settings, as well as *falsobordoni*. Ten years earlier, in 1562, the Dorico firm in Rome had brought out Rodio's first publication of sacred music, the *Missarum decem liber primus*, as a choirbook. The unusual location of Naples for the publication of this only other surviving collection of sacred music by Rodio might have been chosen because by 1573 the Dorico firm in Rome had ceased business, and Rodio had been solidly established in Neapolitan musical life.

The publication of Rodio's *Psalmi* 1573 by the printer Matteo Cancer, who had been active as a printer in Naples since the 1530s, seems to be connected in some way to the Dorico shop in Rome, as suggested by a comparison of fonts. Indeed, some of Dorico's printing equipment, or at least copies of his type, must have been available to Matteo Cancer. The table in Appendix 11G shows how similar the font of the underlaid text is, as well as the clefs, the *alla breve* time signature, accidentals, note values, and custodes (but not, incidentally, the initials). This is a clue suggesting what might have happened to Dorico's fonts after the discontinuation of their printing business, yet it cannot be determined without doubt that Dorico's fonts ended up in Naples permanently. At any rate, this choirbook by Cancer in Naples illustrates how unusual printing types followed patterns of dissemination that could be independent from those of the books produced with them, and from the activity of businesses who owned them for certain periods of time. Therefore, examining the production of choirbooks adds another layer to the dissemination of polyphonic music in early-modern Italy, which allows us to trace routes of interaction between different printing businesses, musical repertoires, and generations of composers, editors, and printers.

### III. Historicizing Features

One of the features of the retrospective nature of choirbook format in the early seventeenth century is the design of title pages. Continuing a visually most striking tradition, several

15 • See also the remarks in these editions' entries in Kurtzman/Schnobelen.

printed publications recreate the title page of the 'Ur-choirbook', Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum* of 1516, which had already been the subject of famous emulations in the sixteenth century. The title page of the *Liber quindecim missarum* depicts Antico, the printer, presenting his newly created book to its dedicatee, Pope Leo X, and being blessed in return. During the papacy of Paul III, this visual scene came to be recreated on the title pages of both printed and manuscript books. As Raninen points out, there is a similar presentation in a contemporary manuscript constitution of the Papal Chapel, whereby the *maestro di cappella* Ludovico Magnasco presents this very volume to Paul III.<sup>16</sup>

In a book of polyphonic Masses printed by Dorico in 1544, Morales's *Missarum liber secundus*, this scene is recreated. Not only does it reuse some of Antico's ornamental features that had found their way to Dorico after the turmoil of the Sack of Rome, it also imitates the presentation topos by depicting Morales handing the Mass book over to Pope Paul III. Ten years after the Morales publication, the title page of Palestrina's *Missarum liber primus* was designed with the same gesture, and a close look at the two pictures shows that the same printing block must have been used for the image as for Morales's book, with the two heads replaced (but not the music shown on the pages!), depicting Palestrina's dedication of the book to Pope Julius III.

In the early seventeenth century, at least four printed collections feature images that refer to this visual tradition; and while it cannot always be concluded whether these refer to one, two, or all three of Antico's and Dorico's title pages, these reference points were known and reinvented in editions in both Italy and Spain over a period of seventy years to a century. In 1609, Francesco Soriano's *Liber primus missarum* was printed in Rome by Robletti. It was produced according to highest standards, and the elaborate engravings on the title page feature a depiction of Soriano handing his book to Pope Paul V. Here, as in the case of Morales's and Palestrina's books, it seems to be the composer presenting the book rather than the printer. This title page is extraordinary in that it truly encapsulates the ecclesiastical Roman confidence of the Counter-Reformation, which encompasses all arts: The picture of Soriano and the Pope is framed by an altar-like structure, which at the top centre displays the title: 'S.MO / D. N. PAVLO V. / PONT. OPT. MAX. / D. / Francisci Suriani Romani, / in Basilica Vaticana Musicae Praefecti, / Missarum liber primus', imitating the style of architrave inscriptions on the main façade of some of Rome's most famous churches.

A sense of spiritual authority and Roman ecclesiastical history is also conveyed on this title page by the spiral columns to the right and left of the presentation image. These allude to the columns of Bernini's *baldacchino*, a structure in St Peter's basilica, where Soriano was the director of the Cappella Giulia. Bernini's columns were modelled after an older pair of spiral columns that were believed to stem from Solomon's temple in Jerusalem, a powerful symbol in the ideology of the Counter-Reformation.<sup>17</sup> Together with other symbols and ornaments, such as the eucharistic emblem above the word 'ROMAE' on the final page, Soriano's volume conveys a visual impression of sacred Roman identity. As will be discussed in the following

16 • Raninen, 'The Early History', 130. For a colour reproduction see *Quinto Centenario della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 1475–1975. Catalogo della Mostra*, ed. Luigi Michelini Tocci (Vatican City, 1975), 269.

17 • For a more detailed discussion of this symbol in the Counter-Reformation see Stefania Tuzi, *Le colonne e il tempio di Salomone: La storia, la leggenda, la fortuna* (Rome, 2002), ch. 5.

paragraphs, this is also expressed through compositional means. By his choice of models, compositional techniques, and the medium of a Mass book, this volume presents Soriano as a composer of the highest ecclesiastical standing and his Masses as the music at the heart of the Roman Catholic Church.

Another Roman contribution to the tradition of composers or editors presenting their books to a papal dedicatee is a choirbook printed by the ‘Typographia RC Apostolicae’ in 1636: The *Hymni Urbani VIII. Pont. Max. Iussu editi, in musicos modos ad templorum usum digesti* by Filippo Vitali, who at that time was a tenor of the Cappella Sistina. During his time in the services of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Vitali seems to have had a favourable relationship with Pope Urban VIII. After all, he had been entrusted with the task of setting to polyphony the hymn texts that had only recently been reformed by the Pope (hence the title of the collection). The choice of repertory of this collection could have motivated the choice of choirbook format and the title-page design: these hymns were not only novel polyphonic settings, but also the newly official texts that needed to appear with authority to face the heritage and possibly widespread performance of earlier hymn repertories by Roman musical figures as influential as Palestrina.<sup>18</sup>

Outside Italy, the image on the title pages of Sebastián de Vivanco’s *Liber magnificarum* and Juan Esquivel’s *Missarum liber primus* evoke this tradition as well. In fact, it seems to be Antico’s print in particular that is referenced in these instances, as it is the printer Artus Taberniel who presents his book to Christ in the form of a crucifix.<sup>19</sup> The reference to Antico’s title page illustrates how the *Liber quindecim missarum* had an impact not only on the Italian peninsula but also in Spain,<sup>20</sup> and reflects how much composers and publishers in Spain interacted with the Roman choirbook printing culture.<sup>21</sup> The substitution of the papal recipients with Christ is remarkable: it is a manifestation of a devotional ‘dedication’ of printed volumes which, although rare in comparison with the dedication of music books to contemporary human figures, can be found in both Italian and Spanish printed music books and involves dedications to God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Virgin Mary, or saints.<sup>22</sup> While normally this is done merely through text, Taberniel’s visual dedication of the volume connects to an existing tradition within the Roman music book heritage, while simultaneously reinventing it with a gesture familiar from altar paintings of that period.

- 18 • As James Pruett and Jean Lionnet note, this collection was not very successful; see James W. Pruett and Jean Lionnet, ‘Vitali, Filippo’, *Grove Music Online* (2001) (accessed 9 Apr. 2019).
- 19 • See also Iain Fenlon, ‘Artus Taberniel: Music Printing and the Book Trade in Renaissance Salamanca’, in *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World* (Kassel, 2006), 117–45; or Clive Walkley, *Juan Esquivel: A Master of Sacred Music during the Spanish Golden Age* (Woodbridge, 2010), 54 f.
- 20 • See Fenlon, ‘Printed Polyphonic Choirbooks’, as well as ‘Lost Books of Polyphony from Renaissance Spain’, in *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden, 2016), 75–100.
- 21 • Bernstein, ‘Print Culture, Music, and Early Modern Catholicism’, 116 ff.; and Kate van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (Berkeley, CA, 2013), 64.
- 22 • In the case of printed Mass books in that period, there are further examples of printed volumes dedicated to God (Grammatico Metallo, *Messe a cinque voci ... opera XVII*, Venice: Vincenti, 1610; M 2437); to the Virgin Mary (Francesco Guerrero, *Missarum liber secundus*, Rome: Zannetti, 1582; G 4872; Metallo, *Messe commodissime ... libro sexto*, Venice: Vincenti, 1602; M 2433; Claudio Cocchi, *Messe...*, Venice: Vincenti, 1627; C 3223); to Saint Anthony of Padua (Antonio Mortaro, *Secondo libro delle messe ...*, Milan: Tini, 1610; M 3749, or Leandro Gallerano, *Missae... opus decimumtertium*, Venice: Vincenti, 1628; L 158); or even to God, Mary, Saint Francis of Assisi, and all other saints (Bernardo Strozzi, *Messe ... opera settima*, Venice: Magni, 1626; S 6991).

Such a devotional dedication on the title page can also be found on the 1617 edition of Camillo Cortellini's *Messe a otto voci* printed by Giacomo Vincenti in Venice. The title page depicts a male figure (the composer?) kneeling and presenting his composition to the dedicatee. As in Taberniel's volumes, the recipient is not a pope but Christ, who here is represented in his celestial glory as he descends from the clouds to receive his gift. This publication is a Mass book in partbook format by a Bolognese composer, yet with this emulation of the visual appearance of Roman Mass books in choirbook format we must assume that Cortellini was aware of the Roman choirbook traditions and positioned himself within it. There is a certain intensification of the dedicatee figure in the collections of Taberniel's and Cortellini's works. Indeed, the dedicatees of most choirbooks produced in Rome, Venice, and Milan are among the highest ranks of ecclesiastical and secular political figures (see also the list in Appendix 1): most are dedicated to popes, secular rulers, and cardinals of the Catholic Church. Higher than that, it seems, is only Christ himself.

While these title pages constitute the most visually striking tradition within sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century choirbooks, there are also other features that contribute to these books as manifestations of an overarching, post-Tridentine interest in representing musical figures, repertoires, and specific music books of the past through the medium of print. One example is the choice of genre and the diversity of pieces in these collections. In Italian music printing of the second half of the sixteenth century, there is a tendency to increasing diversity of sacred genres and liturgical texts in music books, departing from an earlier period of higher specialization, when sacred music books usually contained works of just one liturgical genre of polyphonic music. The collections of sacred music by Ottaviano Petrucci, as an early example, are books of motets, of Masses, as well as of Lamentations, a collection of Mass fragments, and *laude*, and do not normally contain a mixture of genres.

In the case of Masses, for example, such polyphonic settings of the Mass Ordinary continued to be published exclusively in books containing only works of this one genre for most of the sixteenth century. Two rare exceptions were published in Venice in 1549, namely Scotto's publication of Giuliano Tiburtino's *Musica diversa a tre voci*, which contains an untitled Mass, fifteen mostly Marian motets, and twelve *note nere* madrigals, and the *Primo libro di motetti* by Francesco Lupino, printed by Gardano and containing motets alongside a single cyclic Mass. Only in the last quarter of the sixteenth century does this begin to change (see Table 7.1). Headed by Gardano's 1576 publication of Victoria's *Liber primus qui missas, psalmos, Magnificat ad Virginem Dei Matrem salutationes, aliaque complectitur*, an increasing number of publications contained Masses alongside other sacred genres, which resulted in a great variety of different types of collections. In the course of the first half of the seventeenth century, some of these became quite standardized. There is, for instance, a substantial number of *Messa e salmi* collections, which contained a variety of sacred genres and provided polyphonic music for Vespers and Mass on feast days and their preceding days, such as a Mass, Vesper psalms, a Magnificat, and maybe a Te Deum setting.

As seen in Table 7.1, the number of printed choirbooks that contain at least one Mass setting becomes vanishingly small compared to the much larger Italian output of such volumes in other formats in the early seventeenth century. Yet, it can also be seen that apart from one

Table 7.1. Percentage of Mass books (MB) out of printed collections containing Masses in Italy 1500–1700, both within all printed books listed in RISM and/or Kurtzman/Schnoebelen’s ‘Catalogue’, and just within choirbooks

All printed books containing Masses				Choirbooks containing Masses			
	Total	MB	%		Total	MB	%
before 1549	39	38	97.44	before 1549	3	3	100
1550–74	32	32	100	1550–74	6	6	100
1575–99	116	75	64.66	1575–99	8	6	75.00
1600–24	211	59	27.96	1600–24	6	6	100
1625–49	142	37	26.06	1625–49	4	4	100
1650–74	86	20	23.26	1650–74	2	2	100
1675–1700	38	21	55.26	1675–1700	1	1	100

mixed volume in 1576 (Victoria’s *Liber primus* mentioned above) and 1592 (Victoria’s *Missae quattuor*), Masses in choirbooks are exclusively published in books containing only pieces of this same genre. Furthermore, Appendix 1 shows that also in the case of other genres, such as canticles, hymns, Lamentations, etc., a great degree of specialism was maintained in choirbooks until the late seventeenth century in terms of their choice of genre, which is unusual compared to the general tendency towards diversification that took place in the fifty years around the year 1600.

In the case of Masses especially there are further indications that this is not merely a coincidence, but in fact might describe a deliberate continuation of a ‘tradition’ of choirbook publication that reaches back to Antico and other publications in the early sixteenth century. Italian publications of Masses in choirbooks frequently exhibit compositional strategies that connect to Mass repertoires by much older composers.

An example are Masses based on a cantus firmus derived from solmization syllables (*soggetto cavato*), a compositional design for cyclic Masses which had been used famously by Josquin in his *Missa La sol fa re mi*, the *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae*, and, in a different manner, in the *Missa L’homme armé super voces musicales*.<sup>23</sup> Already in the course of the sixteenth century, these had inspired Masses in choirbooks, such as that by Palestrina (*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*) in his *Missarum liber tertius* of 1570, that by Costanzo Porta (*Missa La sol fa re mi*) in his *Missarum liber primus* of 1578, as well as those published in partbooks by Pietro Vinci (*Missa La sol fa mi re ut*) or by Mauro Palermitano (*Missa Fa sol la re*).

In the period after Palestrina’s death, there are various publications of Masses that continue this compositional tradition, with the majority of them in choirbook layout.<sup>24</sup> Soriano’s *Missarum liber primus* is a striking example, with its *Missa super voces musicales* referring to Josquin’s Mass through its compositional technique as well as through the literal borrowing of its title. Other Masses in the *Missarum liber primus*, too, refer to the musical heritage of Josquin, as well as that of Palestrina: there is a *Missa ad canones*, a *Missa sine titulo* that imitates Palestrina’s madrigal *Vestiva i colli*, and Soriano’s adaptation of Palestrina’s *Missa Papae*

23 • Bonnie J. Blackburn, ‘Masses Based on Popular Songs and Syllables’, in Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford, 2000), 51–87.

24 • Apart from Soriano’s and Cifra’s books this includes Paolo Agostini’s *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*, published in the *Missarum liber posthumus* of 1630, and outside of Italy the *Missa Ut re me fa sol la* by Juan Esquivel, published in the *Missarum liber primus* (Salamanca: Taberniel, 1608; E 825), mentioned above. See also Clive Walkley, *Juan Esquivel*, 99–117.

*Marcelli*. This publication, therefore, evokes a musical past in several ways: its material design (a large-format choirbook), its visual appearance with its dedicatory title image, its choice of genre (Masses, and exclusively that genre), and, finally, its compositional strategies, imitation models, and the wording of titles.

Soriano's Mass book is the most striking example of this dynamic in the early seventeenth century, but similar aspects can be recognized in other publications as well. The two choirbooks of Masses by Antonio Cifra, for instance, printed in Rome by Soldi in 1619 and 1621, evoke figures and Mass repertoires of the Roman Catholic musical past in a similarly purposeful manner. While the *Missarum liber secundus* is similar to Soriano's in that it contains a solmization Mass (the four-part *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*) and imitation Masses on models by Palestrina (such as the five-part *Missa Vestiva i colli*), the *Missarum liber primus* has a different, yet similarly historicizing reference point in the Roman musical past: the *Missarum liber primus* by Giovanni Animuccia. Cifra's Mass book contains seven paraphrase Masses for four to six parts composed on hymn melodies of major feasts in the liturgical calendar. It is strikingly similar to Animuccia's first Mass book, also a collection of paraphrase Masses on hymn melodies (as well as an individual Credo setting). In two cases, they even share the same chant models: *Conditor alme siderum* and *Ad coenam agni providi*.

These Mass books by Soriano and Cifra exhibit a range of characteristics that were deliberately combined in order to create a material object that defined and represented a musical past both specifically, with Roman repertoires and figures, and generally, conveying a sense of historical authority about this music composed and disseminated in post-Tridentine Italy. They construct an identity of a material and musical tradition that continued to be received until much later in the century, as in the Roman choirbook of Masses by Dal Pane and those produced in Milan in the 1670s.

#### IV. Experimentation and Adaptation

Mascardi's edition of Dal Pane's Masses is a prime example of historicizing choirbook layout in printed books, and the desire to manifest this even at the expense of practicality. Yet, there are various instances of books designed with single-volume layout in which this choice does not seem to be related to a historicizing interest, or to a conventional choirbook performance situation. In the second half of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century, there are various methods of adaptation of choirbook layout as a form of experimenting with the possibilities of the medium of the printed book, and with solutions to related problems. Examples are the collections of *laude* in quarto or octavo format produced in Rome in the late sixteenth century, which contain predominantly *laude* and music that was generally fairly simple and appropriate to be sung by the members of the Oratorian congregations during their meetings.<sup>25</sup> In 1577, the third book of *laude* by Giovanni Animuccia was produced in the Blado printing shop,<sup>26</sup> and

25 • Bernstein, 'Made to Order', and 'Print Culture, Music, and Early Modern Catholicism', 119–21.

26 • For more information on this volume and its contexts see Anne Piéjus, 'Artistic Revival and Conquest of the Soul in Early Modern Rome', in Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone (eds.), *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology* (Leiden, 2017), 149–72.



further similar volumes were produced by the printers in the Donangeli network between 1583 and 1591 (see Table 7.2). These feature choirbook layout in books produced for a different performance situation from those for which larger choirbooks in the sixteenth century were intended. Yet, it was not just music for three or four voices to be performed by a group such as those in an Oratorian congregation that led printers to adapt single-volume layout for a new purpose.

Table 7.2. List of books of *laude* printed in single-volume layout by Roman printing firms

Date	Composer	RISM no.	Title	Printer
1577	Giovanni Animuccia	A 1239 / 1577 <sup>3a</sup>	<i>Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali stampate ad instantia delli reverendi padri della Congregatione</i>	heirs of Antonio Blado
1583	[Anon.]	S 3994 / 1583 <sup>3</sup>	<i>Il primo libro delle laude spirituali a tre voci</i>	Alessandro Gardano
1587	[Anon.]	—	<i>Ecclesiasticus officii maioris hebdomadae iuxta ritum Capellae Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papae ac Basilicae Vaticanae collectus, &amp; emendatus</i>	Giacomo Tornieri
1588	[Anon.]	S 3995 / 1588 <sup>1</sup>	<i>Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali a tre e a quattro voci</i>	Alessandro Gardano
1591	[Anon.]	S 3396 / 1591 <sup>3</sup>	<i>Il quarto libro delle laudi a tre e quattro voci</i>	Alessandro Gardano and Girolamo Donangeli

Printers and editors also came to use it to deal with challenges posed by repertories for two or more choirs. Ideally, a music book should be simple to produce and uncomplicated to store, manage, and use in performance. Yet large sets of partbooks of polychoral music were usually not only expensive to produce and purchase, but also impractical to keep complete, which is why they were often copied into manuscripts. Editors and printers experimented with various possibilities to solve this problem, and one creative solution was the use of choirbook layout.

In the final decade of the sixteenth century there are two surviving collections which notate music for two or more choirs in choirbook layout. The edition of Giovanni Matteo Asola's *Vespertina omnium solemnitatum* for three choirs is one example. Printed in 1590 by Amadino in Venice, the collection contains one Mass, fifteen Vesper psalms, two Magnificats, the Marian antiphon *Salve Regina* and the hymn *O gloriosa Domina*, and three festive motets. These provide music in three choirs for Vespers and Mass at most major occasions, with the fifteen psalms covering all festive psalms of the cursus in the Tridentine Roman rite.<sup>27</sup>

The collection distributes the twelve vocal parts among three choirbooks, one for each four-part choir, arranging the parts in the common manner of cantus and tenor parts on the left-hand page and altus and bassus on the right. Yet apart from layout, this volume does not look like a typical choirbook of the period. Apparently, the Amadino firm did not have access to the large choirbook types used by the Gardano firm up to the late 1570s, which were used again partially by the Coenobium Sancti Spiritus around 1600. Instead, Amadino had to use the same

27 • As listed in Appendix A, 'Psalm Cursus and their Feasts' in Jeffrey G. Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance* (Oxford, 1999), 500–2.

musical and text types, initials, and ornaments as for partbooks in quarto format. The same applies to other printing elements such as the ornamental line of music at the top of the title page ('Laudate Dominum') or the depiction of Saint George slaying the dragon surrounded by other saints, which were used in these three choirbooks as well as in various other editions.

The absence of printing equipment that was suitable for the production of these three choirbooks raises the question what the motivation might have been for this publication. The dedication to the canons of Verona cathedral<sup>28</sup> only mentions 'certain friends' who had motivated Asola to compose psalm settings for twelve parts, since this 'principal' of all sacred music genres, according to the letter, had never been set to music for such a large disposition before. Due to its smaller print it is not entirely clear how this book would have been used for performance: could the three volumes of the 1590 *Vespertina* have been used exclusively by twelve performers—four per choirbook? Larger individual groups would have had difficulties reading the text, especially if consisting of instrumentalists as well as singers.<sup>29</sup> Or might these three books have been used rather for the purpose of preservation, from which manuscript copies were produced? Yet, this would make the choirbook format somewhat unnecessary.

Whatever the reasons were for the use of choirbook layout in this edition, they did not convince printers in other cases. Giovanni Matteo Asola's sacred music is among the largest and most extensively printed sacred repertoires in Italy before 1700, rivalled only (but not always exceeded) by Palestrina's works. Amadino was a regular printer of Asola's sacred works, and especially of his Vesper music: at least ten volumes of *Vespertina* collections for three, four, five, six, eight, or twelve parts and nineteen reprints were published between 1578 and 1612,<sup>30</sup> of which seventeen were produced by Amadino and one by the joint Amadino/Vincenti firm in 1586. All of these resemble the 1590 single-volume edition regarding contents (collections of Vesper psalms, Magnificats, and Marian antiphons or hymns), and were supposed to provide polyphonic music for one or several festive Vesper liturgies.<sup>31</sup>

All these other *Vespertina* collections were published in partbooks. This suggests that it might not have been the genre motivating the unusual choirbook layout for the 1590 edition of the triple-choir settings, but rather the unusual disposition for three choirs, and the desire to notate twelve-part polyphony in no more than three practical volumes. However, this hypothesis is weakened by Amadino's 1599 publication of Asola's *Completorium Romanum*,<sup>32</sup> which

28 • This preface is erroneously dated to 12 October 1610. I conclude that at least the year 1610 is wrong, as the title page states the year 1590, which I believe to be true rather than 1610. The reason is that the *Completorium* published in 1599 refers to the previously published triple-choir *Vespertina*, and also that the dedication refers to the bishop of Verona, Cardinal Agostino Valier, who died in 1606.

29 • The title page recommends that these pieces 'be performed with three different choirs, as well as all sorts of instruments' ('Ternis variata Choris, ac omni Instrumentorum genere modulanda'). Evidence for the use of instruments in polychoral performances in Verona survives in the form of instruments in Verona, Accademia Filarmonica and Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare; see Michele Magnabosco, 'Le collezioni dell'Accademia Filarmonica e della Biblioteca Capitolare', in Lucia Boscolo Folegana and Alessandra Ignesti (eds.), *Dal canto corale alla musica policorale: L'arte del 'coro spezzato'* (Padua, 2014), 359–78.

30 • We know that some must be lost, as there are several reprints of earlier editions which do not survive today.

31 • Regarding Asola's Vesper hymn settings, see also Francesco Pezzi, 'Alcune osservazioni sulle tecniche compositive degli inni vespertini di Giovanni Matteo Asola', *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra*, 32/1–2 (2011), 261–301.

32 • This volume, printed by Amadino in 1599, is not listed in RISM.

contains music for the Compline liturgy, again for twelve parts in three choirs, and is dedicated to the Venetian Ospedale della Pietà. According to the preface, the pieces of the *Completorium* were performed in Venice by three choirs consisting of an SATB choir ('a voce piena'), the girls' choir of the institution ('coro acuto'), and a third choir of male clerics ('a voci pari').<sup>33</sup> Stylistically, the two triple-choir collections are very similar, and indeed the *Vespertina* might have been published with institutions such as the Ospedale della Pietà in mind.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, the *Completorium* was produced as a set of part- and not choirbooks. Possibly, the 1590 collection had been an experiment that did not convince sufficiently to be continued in 1599.

Published in the same year of 1599 was another case of polychoral repertory printed in single-volume layout. Asprilio Pacelli's *Chorici psalmi et motecta quatuor vocum liber primus* was printed by Nicolò Mutii in 1599, two years after his publication of an earlier collection of motets and Vesper psalms in eight parts by Pacelli. At the time, Pacelli was *maestro di cappella* at the German College in Rome and entertained important connections with the Catholic regions north of the Alps. Indeed, only a few months after being appointed *maestro di cappella* at St Peter's in Rome he accepted a position as director of the chapel at the Polish court in Warsaw in 1603. The Mutii collections attest the wide range of Pacelli's network, with the 1597 collection being dedicated to the future Emperor Ferdinand II, then Archduke of Inner Austria. Ferdinand had travelled to Rome in the earlier 1590s and might have met Pacelli at the German College. The 1599 collection, on the other hand, was dedicated to Johann Georg von Holdingshausen, a canon at Speyer Cathedral.

This 1599 edition is unusual as it combines partbooks and a choirbook for the notation of eight choral parts. While the psalms published two years earlier are set for eight parts throughout and published in individual partbooks, the 1599 collection consists of four partbooks: one each for a first and second cantus, bassus, and a fourth part (either altus or tenor), which is lost in all surviving copies. In addition, there is a book of the '2.di Chori Partes', which contains four parts (altus, two tenors, and bassus) in single-volume layout. Like Asola's collection discussed above, the 1599 collection provides music for Vespers, containing ten psalms, as well as canticles (three Magnificats and one Nunc dimittis), four Proper motets, and the four Marian antiphons.<sup>35</sup> The psalms and canticles include only every other verse and were intended for performance in alternation with chant, organ, or with choral settings of the other verses, which, according to the preface, were planned to be printed in a second publication.<sup>36</sup> This second volume, however, is lost today or was never produced.

33 • See also Anna Brejta, 'The Polychoral Technique of Giovanni Matteo Asola in his "Completorium Romanum" (1599)', in *La musica policorale in Italia e nell'Europa centro-orientale fra Cinque e Seicento* (Venice, 2012), 85–99.

34 • Also in various (especially female) monastic institutions in Asola's environment there were traditions of performing polyphony in Vesper and especially Compline liturgies; see also Kathryn Kelly Longo, 'Sacred Renaissance Choral Music for Women's Choirs: An Annotated Repertoire List of Music from Italy and Spain' (DMA Essay, University of Miami, 2014), and Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*, 220 and 479.

35 • Unlike Asola's collection discussed above, this collection contains only the common Vesper psalms (usually the first four of each cursus), and not the fifth psalm of each cursus, which were one of the main mechanisms of particularization in the Vesper liturgy.

36 • For a reprint and translation of the preface see Noel O'Regan, 'Asprilio Pacelli, Ludovico da Viadana and the Origins of the Roman Concerto Ecclesiastico', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 6:1 (2000), <https://sscm-jscm.org/v6/nor/oregan.html> (accessed 9 Apr. 2019).

All psalms as well as two Magnificats and the Nunc dimittis are set for four parts and allow the performance of the doxology to be extended into eight parts, starting either at 'Gloria Patri' or 'Sicut erat in principio'. This makes them adaptable to local resources and occasional dispositions, as the extension of the doxologies into two choirs is *ad libitum*. Furthermore, the prefaces in Latin (in the partbooks) and in Italian (in the choirbook) explain that all the pieces may be performed in reduced disposition with just the two cantus parts and the bassus (which could explain the fact that the fourth partbook is lost in all surviving copies), corresponding to the three-part *Magnificat octavi toni* in the collection, thereby becoming adaptable to a wide range of performance situations.

The unusual combination of partbook and choirbook layouts seems to stem from this adaptability. The publication needed to be practical for smaller dispositions, when just three or four parts would have been performed. At the same time, the composer and editors wanted to allow the possibility of the eight-part amplification of the doxologies as a festive culmination of psalms and canticles, without having to provide four extra partbooks that required title pages, dedications, tables of contents, and other paratexts, as well as binding. In this respect, this choirbook volume could be a continuation of notational practices widespread in other partbook editions in that period. There, if individual sections of a piece were set for a greater number of parts than there were partbooks, extra parts were often notated alongside one of the regular parts in the same book. In the Pacelli edition, the placement of the whole second choir in a choirbook might be an extension of this widespread practice. It might have made the set easier to keep complete, especially if these second parts were not used very often. Indeed, in the surviving copies, the choirbook appears to have been performed from less frequently than the partbooks of the first choir, of which no complete set survives.<sup>37</sup>

There are also various large-scale choral sources from places other than Venice, for the production of which printers and scribes experimented with single-volume layout. A set of four manuscript choirbooks produced for the Graz court chapel is an example from the Catholic alpine regions, containing Masses for sixteen to twenty-six parts by mostly Italian composers.<sup>38</sup> A later example, and arguably the most complex printed source in this context, was produced in 1634 by Ottavio Beltrano's shop in Naples. Giovanni Maria Trabaci's Op. 33 contains Passion settings of texts from the four gospels, to be performed on Palm Sunday and three days during Holy Week, as well as a setting of the hymn *Vexilla regis*. This publication is contained in two separate choirbook volumes, one for the main roles and the other for the *turba* parts. A note to the reader states that these settings had been commissioned by Manuel de Acevedo y Zúñiga, who was Viceroy of Naples from 1631 until his death in 1637, and who is the dedicatee of this volume. In this publication, two choirbook volumes were carefully edited to allow a quasi-dramatic performance of the text. The first one contains settings of the main text of the Gospel passage, as well as the direct speech of specific figures to be performed as solos, and the second volume contains the *turbae* choruses.

37 • Only the two cantus and bassus partbooks survive in Fabriano, Biblioteca Comunale, only one cantus partbook in Pastrana, Museo Parroquial, and none of the partbooks at all in Frankfurt, Bibliothek Matthias Schneider and Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proske-Musikbibliothek.

38 • These are today in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

As these Passions are quite complicated in performance, the mise-en-page seeks to be as straightforward as possible. In the first choirbook, the entire Gospel text is notated in each of the four parts, with musical notation whenever it needs to be sung. The music of solos (for instance, the words spoken by Jesus) are notated in the corresponding vocal parts (in this case, the tenor). Longer rests are avoided, as they would omit text, which could cause singers to lose track. This first choirbook appears to have been designed for a small group, possibly just four soloists, that present the narrative in indirect speech in four-part harmony, and in direct speech as solos. The type is different from that of the second choirbook in that it is similar in size to that used in partbooks, therefore preventing a larger choir from reading from an individual copy. In the second choirbook, the fonts are larger choirbook types, which allow a performance by a larger ensemble. Only the *turbae* texts are notated here, meaning that these entries needed to be cued by a conductor or one of the readers of the first book, where *turba* entries are marked with a specific sign of a cross.<sup>39</sup>

\* \* \*

The publication of sacred music in choirbooks was a fairly marginal phenomenon in the history of music printing in Italy in the second half of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century, especially when compared to the much larger numbers of partbook publications. The circumstances for their production differed from one urban centre to the next, or even within one printing business from one choirbook enterprise to another. This essay has sought to identify some uniting features in this seemingly disjointed group of sources. The comparison of fonts and types connected individual printing businesses and their choirbook publications has allowed us to map out networks of distribution through which the sale and purchase, lending and borrowing, or inheritance of printing equipment took place.

Within these remarkable sources, some overarching dynamics have been described, which help explain the continued production of printed choirbooks in the later sixteenth and the seventeenth century. One of these is that of historicization. In some cases, their unusual layout was one of several strategies that expressed how choirbooks and their contents related to repertoires, figures, and traditions of the past alongside musical features such as imitation, compositional technique, or, on a more editorial level, the choice of sacred genre. Another dynamic is that of experimentation. Various of these books employ choirbook layout in original ways, sometimes in combination with partbooks, providing solutions to problems encountered when bringing specific sacred repertoires onto the printed page. These two seemingly contradictory dynamics suggest that choirbook layout in that period was used for a variety of purposes. They illustrate how the reception of past techniques of printing and composition in the early modern period could be instrumentalized to represent a sense of the past in some sources, and lead to innovations in the production of music books in others.

39 • A digitized facsimile of the copy in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España is available online: Giovanni Maria Trabaci, *Passionem D. N. Iesu Christi secundum Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam et Ioannem: ad ipsius redemptionis dulcedinem a fidelibus degustandam* (Naples, 1634), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000174885> (accessed 9 Apr. 2019).

## APPENDIX I

Collections in Single-Volume Layout in Choirbook Format Printed in Italy between 1500 and 1700

## A. Collections produced in Rome

Year	Composer(s)	RISM	Title
1516	Antoine Brumel, Josquin Desprez, Antoine de Févin, Jean Mouton, Matthaeus Pipelare, Petrus Rosselli, Pierre de la Rue	1516 <sup>1</sup>	<i>Liber quindecim missarum electarum quae per excellentissimos musicos compositae fuerunt</i>
1544	Cristóbal de Morales	M 3580	<i>Missarum liber primus</i>
1544	Cristóbal de Morales	M 3582	<i>Missarum liber secundus</i>
1554	G. P. da Palestrina	P 655	<i>Missarum liber primus</i>
1562	Rocco Rodio	R 1820	<i>Missarum decem liber primus . . . cum quatuor, quinque, et sex vocibus.</i>
1565	Eliseo Ghibel	G 1775	<i>De festis introitibus missarum cuiusque anni quae quinque vocibus canuntur . . . liber primus</i>
1567	Giovanni Animuccia	A 1236	<i>Missarum liber primus</i>
1567	G. P. da Palestrina	P 660	<i>Missarum liber secundus</i>
1568	Giovanni Animuccia	A 1237	<i>Canticum B. Mariae Virginis . . . ad omnes modos factum</i>
1570	G. P. da Palestrina	P 664	<i>Missarum liber tertius</i>
1572	G. P. da Palestrina	P 656	<i>Missarum liber primus</i> [expanded reprint of P 655]
1581	Tomás Luis de Victoria	V 1430	<i>Cantica B. Virginis vulgo Magnificat quatuor vocibus. Una cum quatuor antiphonis Beatae Virginis per annum: quae quidem, partim quinis, partim octonis vocibus concinuntur</i>
1581	Tomás Luis de Victoria	V 1428	<i>Hymni totius anni, secundum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae consuetudinem, qui quattuor concinuntur vocibus, una cum quattuor psalmis, pro praecipuis festivitatibus, qui octo vocibus modulantur</i>
1582	Francisco Guerrero	G 4872	<i>Missarum liber secundus</i>
1583	Tomás Luis de Victoria	V 1431	<i>Missarum libri duo quae partim quaternis, partim quinis, partim senis concinuntur vocibus</i>
1584	Francisco Guerrero	G 4873	<i>Liber vesperarum</i>
1585	Tomás Luis de Victoria, Francesco Guerrero, Francesco Soriano	V 1433	<i>Motecta festorum totius anni cum Communi sanctorum, quae partim senis, partim quinis, partim quaternis, alia octonis vocibus concinuntur</i>
1585	Tomás Luis de Victoria	V 1432	<i>Officium hebdomadae sanctae</i>
1589	G. P. da Palestrina	P 737	<i>Hymni totius anni secundum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae consuetudinem . . . quatuor vocibus</i>
1590	G. P. da Palestrina	P 670	<i>Missarum liber quintus, quatuor, quinque, ac sex vocibus concinendarum</i>
1590	Giovanni Navarro	N 283	<i>Psalmi, hymni, ac Magnificat totius anni secundum ritum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae quatuor, quinque, ac sex vocibus concinendi . . .</i>
1591	Pietro Paolo Paciotto	P 39	<i>Missarum liber primus, quatuor, ac quinque vocibus concinendarum</i>

<b>Printers/Publishers</b>	<b>Dedicatee</b>	<b>Genre</b>
Andrea Antico	Leo X	Masses
Valerio and Luigi Dorico	Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Tuscany	Masses
Valerio and Luigi Dorico	Paul III	Masses
Valerio and Luigi Dorico	Julius III	Masses
Valerio Dorico	Sigismund II Augustus of Poland	Masses
Valerio Dorico	Prefects of Messina	Introits
heirs of Valerio and Luigi Dorico	Canons of St Peter's	Masses
heirs of Valerio and Luigi Dorico	Philip II of Spain	Masses
heirs of Valerio and Luigi Dorico	Two individuals associated with St Peter's	Canticles
heirs of Valerio and Luigi Dorico	Philip II of Spain	Masses
heirs of Valerio and Luigi Dorico	Julius III	Masses
Francesco Zannetti / Domenico Basa	Carlo Michele Bonelli, Cardinal Alessandrino	Canticles
Francesco Zannetti / Domenico Basa	Gregory XIII	Hymns
Francesco Zannetti / Domenico Basa	Gregory XIII and Virgin Mary	Masses
Alessandro Gardano / Domenico Basa	Philip II of Spain	Masses
Alessandro Gardano / Domenico Basa	Canons of Seville	Vespers
Alessandro Gardano / Domenico Basa	Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy	Motets
Alessandro Gardano / Domenico Basa		Lamentations
Francesco Coattino / Giacomo Tornieri and Bernardino Donangeli	William V, Duke of Bavaria	Hymns
Francesco Coattino / Giacomo Bericchia	Sixtus V	Masses
Francesco Coattino / Giacomo Tornieri	Abbot Francisco Reinoso	Vespers
Alessandro Gardano	Vicar General Cardinal Hieronymus Rusticucci	Masses

Year	Composer(s)	RISM	Title
1592	Tomás Luis de Victoria	V 1434	<i>Missae quattuor, quinque, sex et octo vocibus concinendae, una cum antiphonis Asperges et Vidi aquam totius anni, liber secundus</i>
1599	Asprilio Pacelli	P 26	<i>Chorici psalmi et motecta quatuor vocum liber primus</i> ...
1599 / 1600	G. P. da Palestrina	P 633 / P 662	<i>Missarum . . . liber secundus</i> [reprint of P 661]
1609	Francesco Soriano	S 3982	<i>Missarum liber primus</i>
1615	Arcangelo Crivelli	C 4419	<i>Missarum liber primus . . . quatuor, quinque, ac sex vocibus concinendarum</i>
1619	Antonio Cifra	C 2202	<i>Missarum liber primus</i>
1621	Antonio Cifra	C 2206	<i>Missarum liber secundus</i>
1628	Stefano Landi	L 533	<i>Missa in benedictione nuptiarum, sex vocum</i>
1630	Paolo Agostini	A 419 <sup>a</sup>	<i>Missarum liber posthumus</i>
1630	Paolo Tarditi	T 226	<i>Missae Hieronymi Columnae . . .<sup>c</sup></i>
1633	Marco Scacchi	S 1130	<i>Missarum quatuor vocibus, liber primus</i>
1636	Filippo Vitali	V 2123	<i>Hymni Urbani VIII. Pont. Max. iussu editi, in musicos modos ad templorum usum digesti</i>
1687	Domenico Dal Pane	D 827	<i>Messe . . . a quattro, cinque, sei, &amp; otto voci, estratte da esquisiti mottetti del Palestrina . . . opera quinta</i>

a The second half of this collection is also listed in RISM as A 412.

b Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII*, pp. 26 ff.

c This book could not be examined for this study; as listed in Kurtzman/Schoebelen, it was missing in 2010.



Tradition and Experimentation in Choirbooks

Printers/Publishers	Dedicatee	Genre
Francesco Coattino and Ascanio Donangeli	Cardinal Albrecht of Habsburg	Masses and antiphons
Nicolò Mutii	Johann Georg of Holdingshausen	Mix
Nicolò Mutii	Philip II of Spain	Masses
Giovanni Battista Robletti	Paul V	Masses
Curzio Laurentini	Rectors of Misericordia Maggiore, Bergamo	Masses
Luca Antonio Soldi	Cardinal Carlo de' Medici	Masses
Luca Antonio Soldi	Ranuccio I Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza	Masses
Giovanni Battista Robletti	Urban VIII	Masses
Giovanni Battista Robletti	Cardinal Francesco Barberini <sup>b</sup>	Masses
Paolo Masotti	Cardinal Girolamo Colonna	Masses
Giovanni Battista Robletti	Władysław IV Wasa, King of Poland	Masses
Typographia R. C. Apostolicae	Urban VIII	Hymns
Giacomo Mascardi	Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili	Masses

## B. Collections Produced in Venice

178

Year	Composer(s)	RISM	Title
1562	Jacobus de Kerle	K 446	<i>Sex misse suavissimis modulationibus referte partim quatuor partim quinque vocibus concinendae . . . liber primus</i>
1562	Cristóbal de Morales, Jean Richafort	M 3597 / 1562 <sup>f</sup>	<i>Magnificat omnitonum cum quatuor vocibus . . .</i>
1565	Diego Ortiz	O 135	<i>Musices liber primus, hymnos, Magnificas [sic], Salves, motecta, psalmos, aliaque diversa cantica complectens</i>
1570	Francesco Corteccia	C 4153	<i>Responsoria omnia quintae ac sextae feriae sabbathique maioris hebdomadae paribus vocibus . . . iuxta breviarij Romani formam restituti, una cum cantico Zachariae &amp; psalmo Davidis quinquages: ipsi ferijs acomodata</i>  <i>Residuum cantici Zachariae prophetae, et psalmi Davidis quinquagesimi pro Secundo Choro . . . Ferijs omnibus maioris hebdomadae ad Triduum Maximae appositum</i>
1575	Placido Falconi	F 86	<i>Introitus et alleluia per omnes festiuitates totius anni cum quinque vocibus</i>
1576	Tomás Luis de Victoria	V 1427	<i>Liber primus qui missas, psalmos, Magnificat ad Virginem Dei Matrem salutationes, aliaque complectitur</i>
1578	Costanzo Porta	P 5180	<i>Missarum liber primus</i>
1590	Giovanni Matteo Asola	A 2581 / 1590 <sup>f</sup>	<i>Vespertina omnium solemnitatum psalmodia, canticum B. Virginis duplici modulatione . . . Salve Regina, Missa, et quinque divinae laudes . . .</i>
1597	Girolamo Lambardi	L 366	<i>Antiphonarium vespertinum dierum festorum totius anni iuxta ritum Romani Breviarij iussu Pij V. reformati, nunc nuper pulcherrimis contrapuntis exornatum atque auctum. . . Prima pars</i>  <i>Antiphonarium vespertinum dierum festorum totius anni. . . Secunda pars</i>  <i>Antiphonarium vespertinum dierum festorum totius anni. . . Tertia pars</i>
1600	Girolamo Lambardi	L 367	<i>Antiphonae omnes iuxta ritum romani breviarii pro totius anni dominicis diebus in primis &amp; secundis vespers . . . Prima pars. . . quatuor vocibus</i>  <i>Antiphonae omnes iuxta ritum romani breviarii pro totius anni dominicis diebus . . . Secunda pars . . . quatuor vocibus</i>
1601	Ludovico Balbi, Costanzo Porta, Anonymous	1601 <sup>f</sup>	<i>Falsi bordoni omnium tonorum a diversis excellentissimis auctoribus modulati . . .</i>
1601	Girolamo Lambardi	L 368	<i>Missae quattuor quaternis et quinis vocibus, concinendae, . . . nunc primum in lucem editae. Liber primus</i>
1604	Vincenzo Pellegrini	P 1178 P 1179 <sup>d</sup>	<i>Missarum liber primus</i>
1619	Lodovico Viadana	V 1404	<i>Venti quattro Credo a canto fermo sopra i tuoni delli hinni, che Santa Chiesa usa cantare, col versetto Et incarnatus est, in musica, a chi piace, con le quattro antifone della Madonna in tuono feriale . . .</i>

d This publication used to be listed with three separate numbers, yet the additional edition listed as P 1177 in the printed version of RISM has more recently been deleted and merged with the entry P 1178. The volume P 1179, according to the entry in Kurtzman/Schnoebelen, differs slightly from P 1178, yet it is not entirely clear whether it actually was a separate print-run.

Printer	Dedicattee	Genre
Antonio Gardano	Albert V, Duke of Bavaria	Masses
Antonio Gardano		Canticles
Antonio Gardano	Pedro Afán de Rivera, Viceroy of Naples	Hymns
sons of Antonio Gardano	Cosimo I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany	Responsories
sons of Antonio Gardano	Cardinal Giulio Della Rovere	Introits
Angelo Gardano	Ernest of Bavaria, Elector and Prince-Archbishop of Cologne	Mix
Angelo Gardano	Cardinal Giulio Della Rovere	Masses
Ricciardo Amadino	Canons of Verona	Vespers
Coenobium Sancti Spiritus	Marco Cornelio, Bishop of Padua	Antiphons
Coenobium Sancti Spiritus	Sebastiano Aroldo, Bishop of Calamona and Retimo	Antiphons
Angelo Gardano		Falsobordoni
Coenobium Sancti Spiritus		Masses
Coenobium Sancti Spiritus	Clement VIII	Masses
Bartolomeo Magni	St Francis of Assisi (?)	Credo sections

## C. Single-Volume Layout in Folio-Format Collections Produced in Milan

180

Year	Composer(s)	RISM no.	Title
1600	Orfeo Vecchi	V 1068	<i>Hymni totius anni secundum consuetudinem S. R. E. quatuor vocibus. Completorium item cum antiphonis, &amp; litanij B. V. M. quinque vocibus concinendis, litaniae quoque sanctorum, alternatis choris</i>
1600	Orfeo Vecchi	V 1069	<i>Falsi bordoni figurati sopra gli otto toni ecclesiastici, distinti in diversi ordini, Magnificat, &amp; Te deum laudamus, a 4. a 5. &amp; a 8. voci, aggiuntovi gli binii di tutto l'anno, a 4. La Compieta con le antifone, etc. letanie della B. V. a 5. et letanie de santi, a 8.</i>
1619	Giulio Cesare Gabussi, Vincenzo Pellegrini, [various]	1619 <sup>3</sup>	<i>Libri quatuor primi &amp; secundi chori hymni, posthymni et lucernaria in solemnitatibus totius anni secundum sanctae Ambrosianae ecclesiae consuetudinem quaternis et quinis vocibus . . . pars hyemalis</i>
		1619 <sup>4</sup>	<i>Libri quatuor primi &amp; secundi chori hymni, posthymni et lucernaria in solemnitatibus totius anni secundum sanctae Ambrosianae ecclesiae consuetudinem quaternis et quinis vocibus . . . pars aestiva</i>
1664	Michelangelo Grancino	G 3413	<i>Sacri concerti espressi in otto messe a quattro voci, et un'altra de' morti a cinque, secondo il rito ambrosiano. . . . opera decima settima</i>
1664	Michelangelo Grancino	G 3414	<i>Sacri concerti espressi in quattro messe a 5, et 6 voci secondo il rito ambrosiano . . . opera decima ottava</i>
1669	Michelangelo Grancino	G 3416	<i>Sacri concerti espressi in otto Magnificat, et otto Pater a quattro voci, secondo il ritto [sic] Ambrosiano . . . opera vigesima</i>
1675	Giovanni Antonio Grossi	G 4745	<i>Libro primo de Magnificat et Pater noster a quattro, cinque, e sei voci per capella secondo il ritto [sic] Ambrosiano . . . opera nona</i>

## D. Single-Volume Layout in Folio-Format Collections Produced in Naples

Year	Composer(s)	RISM no.	Title
1573	Rocco Rodio	—	<i>Psalmi ad vespervas dierum festorum solemnium per totum annum, quae vulgus falso bordone appellat. A diversis authoribus conditi . . .</i>
1634	Giovanni Maria Trabaci	T 1064	<i>Passionem D. N. Iesu Christi secundum Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam et Ioannem . . . hic primus liber Christum &amp; textum: secundum vero turbam complectitur, opus decimum tertium</i>  <i>Passionem D. N. Iesu Christi secundum Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam et Ioannem . . . Cuius hic Secundus Liber Turbam: Primus Christum, &amp; Textum complectitur. Opus decimum tertium</i>

e See also Robert L. Kendrick, 'Music among the Disciplines in Early Modern Catholicism', in Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone (eds.), *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology* (Leiden, 2017), 35–52 at 44.

Tradition and Experimentation in Choirbooks

Printer	Dedicatee	Genre
heirs of Simone Tini and G. F. Besozzi		Hymns
heirs of Simone Tini and G. F. Besozzi	Three nuns	Mixed
Giorgio Rolla	Cardinal Carlo Borromeo	Mixed
Giovanni Francesco and the Camagno brothers	Cardinal Alfonso Michele Litta	Masses
Giovanni Francesco and the Camagno brothers	Cardinal Alfonso Michele Litta	Masses
Giovanni Francesco and the Camagno brothers	Cardinal Alfonso Michele Litta	Mixed
Giovanni Francesco and the Camagno brothers	Cardinal Alfonso Michele Litta	Canticles
Printer	Dedicatee	Genre
Matthias Cancer	Livia di Capua and Laura Manzolino <sup>e</sup>	Vespers
Ottavio Beltrano	Manuel de Acevedo y Zúñiga, Viceroy of Naples	Passions

APPENDIX II. TYPES
















A. Types used by Printers Collaborating with Domenico Basa

	Victoria, <i>Hymni totius anni</i> (Zannetti / Basa, 1581; RISM V 1428)	Guerrero, <i>Missarum liber secundus</i> (Zannetti / Basa, 1582; RISM G 4872)	Victoria, <i>Missarum libri duo</i> (Gardano / Basa, 1583; RISM V 1431)	Victoria, <i>Motecta festorum</i> (Gardano / Basa, 1585; RISM V 1433)
<i>Text type (vocal parts and sung text)</i>	CANTVS. fanc̄to	CANTVS. fanc̄tam	CANTVS fanc̄to	CANTVS fanc̄ti
<i>G-def</i>				
<i>C-def</i>				
<i>F-def</i>				
<i>Time signatures</i>				
<i>Accidentals</i>				
<i>Breve</i>				
<i>Semibreve</i>				
<i>Minim</i>				
<i>Crotchet</i>				
<i>Quaver</i>				
<i>Rests</i>				
<i>Custodes</i>				
<i>Repetition symbol</i>				
<i>Connection across pages</i>				
<i>Signum congruentiae</i>				













B. Types used by Tornieri, Donangeli, Coattino, etc.

	Palestrina, <i>Hymni totius anni</i> (Tornieri / Donangeli, 1589; RISM P 737)	Palestrina, <i>Missarum liber quintus</i> (Coattino, 1590; RISM P 670)	Paciotto, <i>Missarum liber primus</i> (Gardano, 1591; RISM P 39)	Victoria, <i>Missae ...</i> (Coattino, 1592; RISM V 1434)	Soriano, <i>Missarum liber primus</i> (Robletti, 1609; RISM S 3942)
<i>Text type (vocal parts and sung text)</i>	CANTVS sancto	CANTVS sancto	CANTVS Sanctus	CANTVS sancto	CANTVS Sanctus
<i>G-def</i>					
<i>C-clef</i>					
<i>F-clef</i>					
<i>Time signatures</i>					
<i>Accidentals</i>					
<i>Breve</i>					
<i>Semibreve</i>					
<i>Minim</i>					
<i>Crotchet</i>					
<i>Quaver</i>					
<i>Rests</i>					
<i>Custodes</i>					
<i>Repetition symbol</i>	ij	ij	ij	ij	ij
<i>Connection across pages</i>					
<i>Signum congruentiae</i>					

C. Types used by Soldi

	Cifra, <i>Missarum liber primus</i> (Soldi, 1619; RISM C 2202)
<i>Text type (vocal parts and sung text)</i>	<b>CANTVS</b>
<i>G-clef</i>	
<i>C-clef</i>	
<i>F-clef</i>	
<i>Time signatures</i>	
<i>Accidentals</i>	
<i>Breve</i>	
<i>Semibreve</i>	
<i>Minim</i>	
<i>Crotchet</i>	
<i>Quaver</i>	
<i>Rests</i>	
<i>Custodes</i>	
<i>Repetition symbol</i>	
<i>Connection across pages</i>	
<i>Signum congruentiae</i>	

D. Types used by Mascardi in 1687

	Dal Pane, <i>Messe ...</i> (Mascardi, 1687; RISM D 827)
<i>Text type (vocal parts and sung text)</i>	<b>CANTVS .</b>
<i>G-clef</i>	
<i>C-clef</i>	
<i>F-clef</i>	
<i>Time signatures</i>	
<i>Accidentals</i>	
<i>Breve</i>	
<i>Semibreve</i>	
<i>Minim</i>	
<i>Crotchet</i>	
<i>Quaver</i>	
<i>Rests</i>	
<i>Custodes</i>	
<i>Repetition symbol</i>	
<i>Connection across pages</i>	
<i>Signum congruentiae</i>	





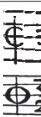









E. Types used by Gardano in Venice

	Kerle, <i>Sex misse ...</i> (Gardano, 1562; RISM K 446)	Porta et al., <i>Falsi bordoni ...</i> (Gardano, 1601; RISM 1601 <sup>1</sup> )	Viadana, <i>Venti quattro Credo</i> (Magni, 1619; RISM V 1404)
<i>Text type (vocal parts and sung text)</i>	<b>CANTUS</b>	<b>CANTVS</b>	CANTO
	sancto	sanctum	Sancto,
<i>G-clef</i>			
<i>C-clef</i>			
<i>F-clef</i>			
<i>Time signatures</i>			
<i>Accidentals</i>			
<i>Breve</i>			
<i>Semibreve</i>			
<i>Minim</i>			
<i>Crotchet</i>			
<i>Quaver</i>			
<i>Rests</i>			
<i>Custodes</i>			
<i>Repetition symbol</i>			
<i>Connection across pages</i>			
<i>Signum congruentiae</i>			

F. Type used by the printing press of the Coenobium Sancti Spiritus, Venice, between 1597 and 1601

186

	Lambardi, <i>Missae quatuor</i> (C. S. Spiritus, 1601; RISML 368)
<i>Text type (vocal parts and sung text)</i>	CANTVS
<i>G-clef</i>	sancto 
<i>C-clef</i>	
<i>F-clef</i>	
<i>Time signatures</i>	
<i>Accidentals</i>	
<i>Breve</i>	
<i>Semibreve</i>	
<i>Minim</i>	
<i>Crotchet</i>	
<i>Quaver</i>	
<i>Rests</i>	
<i>Custodes</i>	
<i>Repetition symbol</i>	ij
<i>Connection across pages</i>	
<i>Signum congruentiae</i>	∴

G. Comparison of the types used in the last choirbooks by Dorico in Rome and by Cancer in Naples

	Palestrina, <i>Missarum liber tertius</i> (Rome: Dorico, 1570; RISM P 664)	Rodio, <i>Psalmi ad vespas</i> (Naples: Cancer, 1573; not listed in RISM) <sup>a</sup>
<i>Text type (vocal parts and sung text)</i>		
<i>G-clef</i>		
<i>C-clef</i>		
<i>F-clef</i>		
<i>Time signatures</i>		
<i>Accidentals</i>		
<i>Breve</i>		
<i>Semibreve</i>		
<i>Minim</i>		
<i>Crotchet</i>		
<i>Quaver</i>		
<i>Rests</i>		
<i>Custodes</i>		
<i>Repetition symbol</i>		
<i>Connection across pages</i>		
<i>Signum congruentiae</i>		.S.

a This volume was consulted in form of the facsimile edited by Dinko Fabris with its discussion of the type in its front matter; see Rocco Rodio, *Salmi per i Vespri a quattro voci*, ed. Dinko Fabris (Lamezia Terme, 1994), p. xix f.



**PART III**

**PERSISTENCE IN TIMES OF CHANGE**



**Inga Mai Groote and Lenka Hlávková**

Historiography has a tendency to privilege moments of change because they are considered worthy of being recorded by contemporaries, and, consequently, leave traces in archival documents and sources more easily than situations where no change takes place. In music history this tendency has manifested itself when dealing with religious reform movements and liturgical developments in the late Middle Ages and early-modern period. Persistence, however, is also of great importance in these contexts, especially when a church or religious community had to be stabilized: here, the retention of tradition and its continuity were of great value for the actors.

The general figure of thought underlying most reforms and reformation movements is restitution. Such restitution can also occur in non-religious fields, for example in the basic structural idea of a 'renaissance' with a return to ancient sources, advocated by European humanists in a number of fields of knowledge.<sup>1</sup> The lack of ancient models for music (in contrast to literature and art) did not allow a direct imitation of historical models, although a 'renewal' could be argued for music as well,<sup>2</sup> and the idea of a return to the past also exists in this field. A well-known example is Heinrich Glarean's modal system: while the system itself, with twelve modes, was in fact a new concept, he presented it as a 'restitution' of ancient Greek theories.<sup>3</sup>

Similar figures of thought often guided the argumentation of religious reformers. As already etymologically inherent in the term 're-form', the actors interested in reforming late-medieval and early-modern liturgical and devotional practices usually did not claim innovation or radical change, but rather a rectification or restitution of an earlier, more perfect state. Thus, referring to the Biblical sources, invoking the primordial Church, the perpetuation of liturgical practices, and, finally, the use of 'old' musical repertory are tendencies that can also be observed in the context of reform movements, because these ties can guarantee stability and legitimize a position. These tendencies are not limited to radical stances: a similar way of referring back to early states of the Church can be observed in Catholic reform councils.

The awareness of stability often implies a relationship with the past which can be articulated explicitly (as is the case in the discourse on Lutheran liturgy discussed in Christine Roth's contribution) or is effective in a rather implicit way (as in the uniformization of customs in monastical reforms in Manon Louvriot's contribution). There are a number of examples where

- 1 • For some reflections of contemporary ideas as well as on historiography, see Alexander Lee et al. (eds.), *Renaissance? Perceptions of Continuity and Discontinuity in Europe, c.1300–c.1550* (Leiden, 2010).
- 2 • Reinhard Strohm, 'Music, Humanism, and the Idea of a "Rebirth" of the Arts', in Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn (eds.), *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, New Oxford History of Music, new edition, 3, pt. 1 (Oxford, 2001), 346–88.
- 3 • On this see Clement A. Miller's study, 'The "Dodecachordon": Its Origins and Influence on Renaissance Musical Thought', *Musica Disciplina*, 15 (1961), 155–66.

reform movements and reformations did not necessarily cause changes in musical practices (as Lenka Hlávková reflects in her contribution on the tradition of specific polyphonic repertoires preserved and performed within the Bohemian Utraquist Church). In these cases, musical tradition constituted a link with the pre-reform(ation) past,<sup>4</sup> and it is important to underline the way in which the musical past played a stabilizing role in moments of history which we are probably more used to seeing as moments of change. This is especially the case with the sixteenth century, where the development of the Protestant reformations has often been linked with the emergence of new media (for example, broadsheets) and the impact of print culture (which in itself in the past has been strongly interpreted as an agent of innovation, but in current research is considered to be linked much more with manuscript culture and broader developments in book culture and therefore not a cause of radical disruption).<sup>5</sup>

The concepts and understandings of ‘reform’ and ‘reformation’ differ only slightly, and religious reforms and reformations share common ideas and traits along with the idea of improvement by returning to the past. Important contributions to this topic concern the character of the Bohemian Hussite movement in the early fifteenth century and the existence of the Utraquist Church since 1434. Understood as a local heresy only by nationalist historiography,<sup>6</sup> the Hussite movement is now defined as a reformation, above all due to the autonomy of its church organization and religious practice, which were able to replace those of the Roman Church.<sup>7</sup> Martin Luther’s own monastic order, the Augustinian Hermits, saw periods of inner reform when the wish for closer adherence to the rules led to the formation of the Observant Augustinian Hermits. Luther’s own striving for reform can therefore initially be seen as a result of his Augustinian moulding. Even the role of music in this order (including detailed prescriptions for the use of music in the liturgy, and even the acceptance of vernacular spiritual songs in addition to Latin chant), could be further discussed as one root of Luther’s later ideas, now commonly understood as ‘new’ results of the Protestant Reformation.<sup>8</sup>

4 • See also the case studies in Part II above, ‘Traditions’.

5 • E.g. Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford and New York, 1994); Johannes Burkhardt, *Das Reformationsjahrhundert: Deutsche Geschichte zwischen Medienrevolution und Institutionenbildung 1517–1617* (Stuttgart, 2002). For a general discussion of the impact of printing, see Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, Anthony Grafton, and Adrian Johns, ‘The Forum: How Revolutionary Was the Print Revolution?’, *American Historical Review*, 107 (2002), 84–128. Studies on music such as Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot, 2001; repr. New York, 2017) also highlight the impact of the newly written and circulating religious and polemical songs. For recent and more differentiated treatments of Reformation book cultures, see e.g. Nadezda Shevchenko, *Eine historische Anthropologie des Buches: Bücher in der preußischen Herzogsfamilie zur Zeit der Reformation* (Göttingen, 2007); Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther: 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation* (New York, 2015); or Stefan Oehmig (ed.), *Buchdruck und Buchkultur im Wittenberg der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig, 2015).

6 • František Šmahel, ‘Causa non grata: Premature Reformation in Hussite Bohemia’, in Paweł Kras, Jerzy Kłoczowski, and Wojciech Polak (eds.), *Proceedings of the Commission Internationale d’Histoire Éclesiastique Comparée, Lublin 1996* (Lublin, 1999), 224–31.

7 • Pavel Soukup, ‘Kauza reformace: Husitství v konkurenci reformních projektů’ [The cause of the Reformation: Hussitism in competition with other reform projects], in Pavlína Rychterová and Pavel Soukup (eds.), *Heresis seminaria: Pojmy a koncepty v bádání o husitství* [Heresis seminaria: Ideas and concepts in research about Hussitism] (Prague, 2013), 171–217 at 214–16.

8 • See Wolfgang Günter, *Reform und Reformation: Geschichte der Reformkongregation der deutschen Augustiner-eremiten 1432–1539* (Münster, 2018); on music in the order, see also Adolar Keller/Heinrich Hüschen, Art. ‘Augustiner-Eremiten’, *MGG Online*, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/16279> (accessed 14 Feb. 2019).



Furthermore, we have to be aware that the assumption of clearly defined ‘confessions’ is not viable until the second half of the sixteenth century; and even after the introduction of general regulations and normative texts (for the Holy Roman Empire, the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, and the Formula of Concord in 1577, which defined the dogmatic stance for Lutheranism), practices could show cross-confessional similarities. This is another important and sometimes underestimated factor which fostered the continued use of already well-established musical repertoires.

Reforms and reformations were essentially theological phenomena, and music is an area that can be affected by those events and ideas. In order to understand the role of music in the context of reformations, it is especially useful to consider music as a part of the relevant confessional cultures, as this highlights the ways practices were shaped.<sup>9</sup> The concept of confessional culture (as formulated by the historian Thomas Kaufmann) originated in historical research in order to balance the rather inflexible and étatist model of ‘confessionalization’<sup>10</sup> and has become a useful and flexible tool when approaching different forms in which confessional ideas and practices manifested themselves. Furthermore, recent studies argue that culture should not be considered an area that is influenced unidirectionally by religion (or a specific confession), nor as a mere field of negotiation (where specificities of confessions risk being disregarded), but rather as a field where regulations and practices are intertwined and can influence each other reciprocally, producing manifestations in the arts where existing traditions and theological ideas interact.<sup>11</sup> In this sense, music is a part of confessional cultures, where actors continue or alter practices or ideas—often including stances towards the past that influence the actual state.

### Music in Reform(ation) Movements and Discourses

The obvious conclusions from the aforementioned observations, that is, that reforms also have strong persistent elements, have often not been seen within the field of music history. Some aspects, such as the introduction of the vernacular in the liturgy, or the alterations in the celebration of the Eucharist, have been highlighted as ‘changes’, and the attention to alterations in musical practice has therefore obscured awareness of the continuation of other musical practices. Richard Taruskin’s *Oxford History of Western Music* describes the Protestant Reformations as a ‘series of revolts’, characterized by ‘hostility to the pope’s music’, with the exception of the Lutherans, who advocated community music, so that relatively simple chorale settings appear as the most typical result.<sup>12</sup> Alexander Fisher opens the relevant chapter of the

- 9 • See Kat Hill, ‘Making Lutherans’, Introduction to *Cultures of Lutheranism: Reformation Repertoires in Early Modern Germany = Past & Present*, 234, Suppl. 12 (2017), 9–32; Birgit Emich and Matthias Pohlig, ‘Frühneuzeitliche Konfessionskultur(en): Stand und Zukunft eines Konzepts’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte – Archive for Reformation History*, 109 (2018), 373–4; Birgit Emich, ‘Konfession und Kultur, Konfession als Kultur? Vorschläge für eine kulturalistische Konfessionskultur-Forschung’, *ibid.* 375–88; Matthias Pohlig, ‘Harter Kern und *longue durée*: Überlegungen zum Begriff der (lutherischen) Konfessionskultur’, *ibid.* 389–401; music is mentioned only in passing.
- 10 • Thomas Kaufmann, ‘What is Lutheran Confessional Culture?’, in Per Ingesman (ed.), *Religion as an Agent of Change: Crusades – Reformation – Pietism* (Leiden and Boston, 2016), 127–48.
- 11 • For a discussion of the relationship with pre-modern practices, see e.g. Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (Cambridge, 2007).
- 12 • See Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (New York and Oxford, 2004–5), i. 753–98 at 753–4.

*Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music* by claiming that by 1600 ‘the religious soundscapes of towns and villages in wide areas of Central, Northern, and Western Europe had undergone fundamental changes’ and cautions only afterwards against ‘overstat[ing] the novelty of reformed music and liturgy’.<sup>13</sup> On a more general level, the decades around 1500 have also been interpreted as moments of change or even ‘crisis’, including debates on polyphonic practices and ‘a shift in musical and religious sensibility’ (albeit in an argumentation focused on Western Europe).<sup>14</sup> Notwithstanding obvious changes in compositional and performance practices, it seems more useful, for the ‘long’ sixteenth century, to imagine the situation as a layered co-existence of different repertoires, including older ones with remarkable stability.

As mentioned earlier, many changes in the practices of reform movements are the result of a widespread argumentation scheme which, in the end, insists on ties with the past: abuses and deterioration of liturgical practices are criticized, and a restitution of the earlier, more perfect status is demanded. Nevertheless, the resulting liturgical forms show *de facto* changes when compared with preceding practices. For example, in Bohemia, the radical impact of reform ideas on liturgical music expressed by the translation of the Roman liturgy and plainchant into Czech and by the production of new sacred songs in the vernacular in Hussite circles during the 1420s at the latest,<sup>15</sup> did not find major resonance with their followers, the Utraquist Church, until *c.* 1500. Rather, the Utraquist, Latin-dominated liturgy was mainly based on the local tradition of plainchant, while also adopting monophonic songs (including some in the vernacular) as well as a selection of compositions from the local, Central European repertory of polyphony from the first half of the fifteenth century. This repertorial complex became the core of a long-lasting tradition which stayed alive in Bohemia until the early seventeenth century. The first vernacular liturgies in the German-speaking lands were also conceived as translations of the Mass liturgy with amendments in some parts, that is to say, they were clearly linked to their antecedents. In the formularies published by Thomas Müntzer (*Deutsch kirchen ampt*, Allstedt, 1523 and *Deutsch evangelische Messe*, Allstedt, 1524)<sup>16</sup> chant melodies were underlaid with or adapted to German texts, so that the result, in its sounding form, would have resembled the traditional Latin liturgy to a high degree. Luther developed his *Formula missae et communionis* (1523, for congregations that were knowledgeable in Latin), which replaced only the Canon of the Mass, and a German order (*Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts*, 1526) for communities where only the vernacular was understood, alongside the

- 13 • Alexander J. Fisher, ‘Lutheranism and Calvinism’, in Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2019), 56–91 at 56.
- 14 • An important example is Rob C. Wegman’s *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470–1530* (New York, 2005), 24.
- 15 • As visible in the Jistebnice Cationale (Prague II C 7). For a detailed discussion of this source (also in English), see *Jistebnický kancionál: MS. Praba, Knihovna Národního muzea, II C 7. Kritická edice. 1. svazek. Graduale/Jistebnice kancionál: MS. Prague, National Museum Library II C 7. Critical edition. Volume 1. Graduale*, ed. Jaroslav Kolár, Anežka Vidmanová, and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, Monumenta liturgica Bohemica, 2 (Brno, 2005). For a unique Utraquist tradition of chant in the vernacular, see Eliška Baťová, ‘A Neglected Source of Utraquist Chant from the Poděbradian Period’, *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, 10 (Prague, 2015), 197–224.
- 16 • Extracts in Wolfgang Herbst (ed.), *Evangelischer Gottesdienst: Quellen zu seiner Geschichte*, 2nd rev. edn. (Göttingen, 1992).

replacement of certain liturgical sections by hymns for the congregation, such as ‘Wir gläuben all’ as a vernacular version of the Creed.<sup>17</sup> Where Latin chant was to be kept (in Vespers), it was considered of ‘cultural value’, because it could help familiarize students with the Latin language, which continued to retain a central place in education.<sup>18</sup>

The concrete uses of music in reform contexts depend on the theological assessment of music, and this is another reason why, even in times of theological disputes and within liturgical changes, music could remain relatively unaffected. In such contexts, ‘bad’ singing by clerics (that is, unintelligible delivery of the text, improper pronunciation, or shouting and bawling) could be criticized as well as their status as beneficiaries in general (which constituted the basis for the presence of monophonic or polyphonic music in medieval churches) or the endowments for Masses and costs for organs, if they were considered unnecessary ornaments. These criticisms were already formulated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including the ideas of abandoning polyphony or having the congregation sing, as can be seen in the writings of John Wycliffe, Desiderius Erasmus, and Girolamo Savonarola.<sup>19</sup> A single remark in the Bohemian Speciálník Codex (Hradec Králové II A 7) above the copy of an anonymous Gloria (similar in style to Du Fay’s *Gloria ad modum tubae*) warns against the sweetness of the piece (‘For God’s love, do not sing it, it is too sweet and melodic’).<sup>20</sup> It is not clear, however, how individual or general this comment is, as the same scribe copied music in this manuscript (e.g. Josquin, Weerbeke, Obrecht) that might easily have been understood as ‘much sweeter’, at least from today’s point of view.<sup>21</sup>

Reformed theologians such as Jean Calvin or Huldrych Zwingli advocated an even stricter position as far as the liturgy is concerned: it should be centred on preaching and a communion liturgy that understood the Last Supper as a commemorative meal (as proposed by Zwingli in *Aktion oder Brauch des Nachtmahls*, Zurich 1525/29), thus abolishing the liturgy of the Eucharist. In Zurich, singing was excluded from the liturgy until the end of the sixteenth century; in Calvinist regions, only the singing of monophonic psalms in the vernacular was accepted as being part of worship. Here, change (the abandoning of music) was the result of a theological argument, but the introduction of (new) vernacular psalms was an outcome of the proclaimed return to earlier, Christian roots.

- 17 • See Robin Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2007); Leaver, *The Whole Church Sings: Congregational Singing in Luther’s Wittenberg* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2017); on later developments Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford, 2008).
- 18 • See the prescriptions for Saxony in Philipp Melanchthon, *Unterricht der Visitatorn an die Pfarrherrn im Kurfürstenthum zu Sachsen* (Wittenberg, 1528), sig. [F<sup>iv</sup>-v], art. ‘Von teglicher ubung in der kirchen’, on how the Offices should be held: ‘umb der schuler willer, das sie des lateynischen gewoneten’ [for the sake of pupils, so that they may become familiar with Latin].
- 19 • Good examples are John Wycliffe, *Opus evangelicum* (c.1384); Girolamo Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria* (1496); Erasmus, *Verteutschte außlegung vber diese wort sant Pauls tzu den von Corinth in der ersten Epistel am. xiiij. Capitel. Ich wil lieber in meynem gemut funff wort in der kirche[n] reden: andere tzuunterweisen: dan[n] tzebentaused wort mit der Tzungen.* [et]c. *Vom Gesang* (Mainz, 1521); on Erasmus, see also Wegman, *The Crisis*, 114–21.
- 20 • Hradec Králové II A 6, pp. 430–1, *Gloria* with remark ‘Amore Dei, nezpievajte ho, príliš jest sladké a melodické’.
- 21 • For an overview of the manuscript contents, see Lenka Mráčková (= Hlávková), ‘Kodex Speciálník: Eine kleine Folio-Handschrift böhmischer Provenienz’, *Hudební věda*, 39 (2002), 162–84.

Another factor to be considered is the status of different kinds of music: in the medieval church, Gregorian chant was the standard, widely used form of recitation for liturgical texts. Traditionally, polyphony and organ music were considered to be accessories, as ornamentation (a view echoed in the later Protestant discussion, where the concept of *adiaphora*, middle things, helped the Lutheran side to justify the different forms of music). Consequently, reformers adopted a variety of attitudes towards music: chant and other kinds of music could be kept as a part of the liturgy (providing an important framework for stability in the use of music); any kind of music could be restricted in order to concentrate the liturgy on the sermon and the Eucharist; or music could be promoted, also with the help of theological arguments, in church and social life as a means of catechesis and education (this was the specific music-friendly model known from Lutheran contexts<sup>22</sup>).

Another important function of music is devotion; for this function, the continued use of existing material may also have had pragmatic reasons. In the communities of the *devotio moderna* movement in the Netherlands, music (i.e. chant and songs) was deeply incorporated into the system of meditation. Therefore, singing by the members of the community was supported not only during the liturgy but also as an accompaniment of individual physical work.<sup>23</sup> Within this context, there was no space and no need for complicated polyphony as music had to serve as a medium for certain religious concepts as well as a didactic tool which might help believers on the way to the highest levels of meditation.

### Old and New Music in the Life of Communities

Persistence and change can also be used as indicators for technical innovation in composition, if music is described as ‘modern’ or ‘retrospective’. While conventional music histories often highlighted new practices (such as the so-called ‘rhetoricization’ of vocal music from Josquin on, or the spread of basso continuo and concertato techniques in the seventeenth century), some areas resist this narrative.

For example, it has become conventional to state that the repertory circulating in sixteenth-century Lutheran Germany was not innovative but, rather, retrospective. Wolfram Steude’s seminal study of the circulation of repertory in the mid-German areas has shown that an ‘Old Wittenberg repertory’—music by Josquin, Pierre de la Rue, and their contemporaries—continued to be copied and printed,<sup>24</sup> and composers including Johannes Heugel, Ulrich Brätel, and Leonhard Paminger continued to use Josquin-like canon techniques or produce cantus-firmus settings.<sup>25</sup>

22 • For a recent overview, see Konrad Küster, *Musik im Namen Luthers: Kulturtraditionen seit der Reformation* (Kassel, 2016).

23 • Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Singen für die Seligkeit: Studien zu einer Liedersammlung der Devotio moderna. Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, coll. Emmanuelshuizen, cat. VI. Mit Edition und Faksimile* (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 126–7.

24 • Wolfram Steude, *Untersuchungen zur mitteldeutschen Musikpflege und Musiküberlieferung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1978).

25 • For a general overview, see Friedrich Blume, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik* (Kassel, 1965); for compositional characteristics also Gesine Schröder, ‘Satztechnische Aspekte geistlicher Musik zwischen 1520 und 1600’, in Wolfgang Hochstein and Christoph Krummacher (eds.), *Geschichte der Kirchenmusik*, 1 (Laaber, 2011), 256–65.

The repertory transmitted in Utraquist sources is likewise characterized by the different chronological layers in which we find older polyphony: repertory closely connected with the Central European university circles and Latin schools is copied together with recent music composed in the Franco-Flemish style originating in the leading European courts.<sup>26</sup> The selection of repertory for performance might then have been motivated more by the level of the available performing ensemble than by any ideological criteria.<sup>27</sup>

Later, the now-established Lutheran repertory developed its own force as a strong and stable tradition that continued well into the seventeenth century,<sup>28</sup> or even later, if we take into account that in Johann Sebastian Bach's time (and even later) Latin motets and ode settings from around 1600 continued to be sung by school choirs. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the arrival of Italianate music (mostly 'lighter forms' such as *villanella* and *canzonetta*, which could be adapted as *contrafacta* with German spiritual texts) was discussed in terms of an opposition of the 'old' versus the 'new'—where the old was highly valued and praised as decorous, while the newer music was considered to be lascivious and dangerous. Furthermore, the phenomenon of preserving old repertory is not restricted to the Protestant reforms, as Roman congregations around 1600, too, kept the earlier (Florentine) *lauda* traditions in order to reference the values and ideas linked with them.<sup>29</sup>

The value of tradition was acknowledged in different situations in late-medieval and early-modern Europe, even if the traditions themselves underwent changes. Therefore, we are confronted with a considerable number of cases in which musical tradition is (willingly) kept by and during reform movements; this is not limited to single confessional strains but can be observed in different contexts. Persistence may be accidental (when musical practices are not touched by theological considerations), intentional (when music is used with legitimate scope and as a stabilizing factor), or socio-culturally founded (when it is the result of certain forms of education or social practices).

- 26 • E.g. Hradec Králové II A 7 and Prague 59 R 5116. See also the contribution by Lenka Hlávková in this volume, Ch. 8.
- 27 • Martin Horyna, 'Česká reformace a hudba: Studie o bohoslužebném zpěvu českých nekatolických církví v období 1420–1620' [The Bohemian reformation and music: A study of the liturgical chant of the Bohemian non-Catholic churches in the period 1420–1620], *Hudební věda*, 48 (2011), 5–40.
- 28 • See also Christine Roth, 'Traditionsbindungen in der lutherischen Musikkultur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu Repertoire und Kontexten in Norddeutschland' (Ph.D. diss., University of Zurich, 2019).
- 29 • See Anne Piéjus, 'Artistic Revival and Conquest of the Soul in Early Modern Rome', in Daniele C. Filippi and Michael Noone (eds.), *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism* (Leiden, 2017), 149–72.



## Lenka Hlávková

The specific religious situation in Bohemia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, under the dominance of the Utraquist Church, had an important impact on the development of musical repertoires used within liturgical practice. The death of the popular preacher and university teacher Johannes Hus at the stake in Constance in 1415 was followed by very turbulent times. The Hussite wars (1419–34) lasted for fifteen years and only came to an end thanks to the Compacts concluded at the Council of Basle. These documents confirmed that in Bohemia and Moravia everyone who asked had the right to receive communion in the form of both bread and wine (i.e. in both kinds, in Latin *sub utraque specie*).<sup>1</sup> The Utraquist Church, which existed as an alternative to the Roman Catholic Church in Bohemia, has left a considerable number of music books which originated in the milieu of parish churches, parish schools, and brotherhoods composed of educated middle-class citizens, the so-called ‘literati’.<sup>2</sup> These Latin manuscripts<sup>3</sup> from the end of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century also preserve polyphonic repertory written in the—by then old-fashioned—full black mensural notation. The presence of this notation raises questions about the relationship between the Bohemian Utraquist circles and the musical past, and about the roots of the persistent attention to ‘archaic’ or ‘retrospective’ (from today’s point of view) musical styles cultivated in Bohemia until the early seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 • For recent views on Hussites and Utraquists see e.g. Pavlína Cermanová, Robert Novotný, and Pavel Soukup (eds.), *Husitské století* [The Hussite century] (Prague, 2014); Petr Čornej, *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české, v: 1402–1437* [The great history of the lands of the Bohemian Crown] (Prague, 2000); Petr Čornej and Milena Bartlová, *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české, vi: 1437–1526* (Prague, 2007); Thomas A. Fudge, *Jerome of Prague and the Foundations of the Hussite Movement* (New York, 2016); František Šmahel and Ota Pavlíček (eds.), *A Companion to Jan Hus*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, 54 (Leiden, 2015); Thomas A. Fudge, *Heresy and Hussites in Late Medieval Europe*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Farnham, 2014); Franz Machilek (ed.), *Die hussitische Revolution: Religiöse, politische und regionale Aspekte*, Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, 4 (Vienna, 2012).
- 2 • On the relationship between sources and performance practice in Bohemia see Martin Horyna, ‘Vícehlasá hudba v Čechách v 15. a 16. století a její interpreti’ [Polyphony in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Bohemia and its performers], *Hudební věda*, 43 (2006), 117–34.
- 3 • The sources also contain songs in Czech. For more on the use of the Czech language within the Hussite and Utraquist liturgy, see e.g. *Jistebnický kancionál: MS. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, II C 7. Kritická edice. 1. svazek. Graduale/Jistebnice kancionál: MS. Prague, National Museum Library II C 7. Critical edition. Volume 1. Graduale*, ed. Jaroslav Kolár, Anežka Vidmanová, and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, *Monumenta liturgica Bohemica*, 2 (Brno, 2005); Eliška Baťová, ‘A Neglected Source of Utraquist Chant from the Poděbradian Period’, *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, 10 (Prague, 2015), 197–224; Jiří Žůrek, ‘The Utraquist Sanctoral in Sixteenth-Century Czech-Language Graduals’, *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, 10 (Prague, 2015), 279–307.
- 4 • Martin Horyna, ‘Česká reformace a hudba: Studie o bohoslužebném zpěvu českých nekatolických církví v období 1420–1620’ [The Bohemian reformation and music: a study of the liturgical chant of the Bohemian non-Catholic churches in the period 1420–1620], *Hudební věda*, 48 (2011), 5–40.

From the nineteenth century the mainstream narrative of music historiography follows a line that can be characterized by three key phrases: new music, important cultural centres, and great composers. Forms of musical practice and creativity which existed outside these parameters in different parts of Europe have not always been incorporated into the mainstream narrative of medieval and Renaissance music. The musical culture of Central Europe in general was seen as peripheral, compared with its development in the so-called central countries (e.g. France, Italy, the Low Countries), lagging behind the mainstream and often unsophisticated musically. The political situation after 1945, too, played a part: it negatively influenced the interpretation of late-medieval music history of the region with the anachronistic application of modern borders to the historical situation. Dividing the Holy Roman Empire into West and East according to the division of Europe after the Second World War led to the underestimation of, or even omission from, the general musicological discourse of many culturally important regions. For example, although one of the most influential books about fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music from the post-war period, Gustave Reese's *Music in the Renaissance*, does contain a chapter dedicated to music in Bohemia, it erroneously dates sources and misunderstands secondary literature, leading the author of this section to the conclusion that the country experienced a deep cultural decline caused by isolation during and following the Hussite wars.<sup>5</sup>

The repertory of liturgical music circulating from the 1480s in Bohemia is comprised of standard collections of plainchant (in the Bohemian tradition) as well as collections of monophonic and polyphonic sacred songs (*cantiones*), monophonic settings of Mass Ordinary texts in the style of *cantus fractus*, polytextual motets, Mass Ordinary settings in organum-like style, and contemporary Franco-Flemish polyphony.<sup>6</sup> The corpus of polyphonic *cantiones* and polytextual motets was transmitted tenaciously in black mensural notation even after 1450 when its void (white) variant was already widespread in Central Europe.<sup>7</sup> The repertory was

- 5 • Rita Petschek Kafka, 'Music in Bohemia', in Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (London, 1959), 728–41. The so-called Speciálník Codex, from today's point of view an important music collection of Utraquist origin from the end of the fifteenth century, was then seen as an early seventeenth-century manuscript. The Codex contains music composed in the late fifteenth century, but also much older music rooted in the local Central European tradition of the late fourteenth century reaching up to c.1450. This repertory looked very obscure in the context of the presumed late dating suggested by Petschek Kafka. The Speciálník Codex had been studied in detail by Dobroslav Orel in his dissertation submitted to Vienna University in 1914; according to him the source was copied during the first half of the sixteenth century. Dobroslav Orel, *Der Mensuralkodex Speciálník: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Mensuralmusik in Böhmen* (Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 1914). Further reference to the dating, structure, and repertory of the source in the present study is according to Lenka Mráčková (= Hlávková), 'Kodex Speciálník: Eine kleine Folio-Handschrift böhmischer Provenienz', *Hudební věda*, 39 (2002), 163–84. Ian Rumbold in his recent article 'Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech, MS II A 7 ("Speciálník Codex")', in Thomas Schmidt and Christian Thomas Leitmeir (eds.), *The Production and Reading of Music Sources: Mise-en-page in Manuscripts and Printed Books containing Polyphonic Music, 1480–1530* (Turnhout, 2018), 349–95, overlooks that I had already published a complete inventory.
- 6 • For an overview of the repertory of a typical Utraquist source, see Lenka Mráčková (= Hlávková), 'Codex Franus – a Mirror of the Musical Practice of the Bohemian Utraquist Church around 1500?', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 1 (2009), 79–85. For an introduction to the Central European tradition of Credo settings see Lenka Hlávková, 'Credo Settings in Cantus Fractus in Bohemian Sources: A Preliminary Report on a Neglected Ars nova Repertory', in Paweł Gancarczyk (ed.), *Ars musica and its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Warsaw, 2016), 247–53. For new compositions in organum style, see Jaromír Černý, 'Das retrospektive Organum oder Neo-organum?', *Hudební věda*, 38 (2001), 3–31.
- 7 • See Elżbieta Zwolińska, 'Musica mensuralis in the Polish Music Sources up to 1600', in Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba (ed.), *Notae musicae artis: Musical Notation in Polish Sources, 11th–16th Century* (Kraków, 2001), 403–85.



studied in detail between the 1960s and 2000s by the Czech musicologist Jaromír Černý, who deemed it an Utraquist ‘normative edition’ of older polyphonic music organized and implemented in Bohemian liturgical practice in the 1470s or 1480s,<sup>8</sup> and this material continues to offer an attractive base for investigations into the rationale behind the ‘uses of the past’ in late-medieval Bohemia.<sup>9</sup>

Although the discourse on Hussitism and Utraquism was deeply affected by the one-sided historiography of the years after 1945 and before the 1990s, and several questions (mainly on Church and religion) were marginalized or even ignored, a subsequent wave of interest in interpreting the period has developed new perspectives in different fields of research (e.g. history, liturgy, art history) which provide an important context for musicological discussion.<sup>10</sup> In this essay I will present my views on the establishment of the specific Utraquist repertory of polyphony from c.1400 until the 1450s based on current datings of the relevant sources. Because the copying and use of this music was connected more or less exclusively with Bohemian Utraquist sources,<sup>11</sup> it is important to ask what the reasons were for conserving the musical past as well as composing new music in older styles in the period between the 1480s and 1540 (or even later), and how we can understand the ‘authority of the past’ as expressed by the use of an outdated notation.

The most important impulse for the development of polyphonic composition in Bohemia undoubtedly came with the foundation of Prague University by the Emperor Charles IV in 1348. The knowledge of mensural notation and the new French music is documented there in a music treatise completed in 1370;<sup>12</sup> polyphonic music of local origin is preserved in the sources from around 1400 onwards. The Central European music treatises from the first half of the fifteenth century reflect a repertory known and performed in university circles, even though the music itself did not survive or is only transmitted by Bohemian Utraquist sources at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Jaromír Černý presented his views on the specifically Bohemian repertory at the roundtable ‘Costituzione e conservazione dei repertorii polifonici nei secoli XIV e XV’ organized during the fourteenth Congress of the International Musicological Society

- 8 • Jaromír Černý, ‘Zur Frage der Entstehungs- und Verwandlungsprozesse der mehrstimmigen Repertoires in Böhmen’, in Angelo Pompilio (ed.), *Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale: Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 27 agosto–1 settembre 1987, Ferrara–Parma, 30 agosto 1987*, i: *Round Tables* (Turin, 1990), 168–74.
- 9 • In Czech historiography the year 1526 is understood as the definitive end of the Middle Ages. See e.g. Čornej and Bartlová, *Velké dějiny*. This makes the graduals Chrudim 12580 and Klatovy 403 the last examples of the late-medieval Latin Utraquist chant books.
- 10 • See n. 1 above. For an overview on art history and liturgy, see, above all, Kateřina Horníčková and Michal Šroněk (eds.), *Umění české reformace (1380–1620)* [The art of the Bohemian Reformation (1380–1620)] (Prague, 2010).
- 11 • For the reception of this repertory outside Bohemia, see Martin Horyna, ‘Die Kompositionen von Peter Wilhelmi von Graudenz als Teil der spätmittelalterlichen Polyfonie-Tradition in Mitteleuropa und insbesondere im Böhmen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts’, *Hudební věda*, 40 (2003), 291–328.
- 12 • Jaromír Černý, ‘Ars nova v českých zemích’ [Ars nova in the Czech lands], in Tomasz Jeż (ed.), *Complexus effectuum musicologiae studia Miroslao Perz septuagenario dedicata* (Kraków, 2003), 337–8. For more details see Renate Federhofer-Königs, ‘Ein anonymes Musiktraktat aus der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Stiftsbibliothek Michaelbeuern/Salzburg’, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 46 (1962), 43–60.
- 13 • E.g. the isorhythmic motet *Ave coronata/Alma parens/Ave regina celorum* preserved in Hradec Králové II A 7 and Hradec Králové II A 6. For further details, see the study by Paweł Gancarczyk in this volume, Ch. 6.

in Bologna in 1987.<sup>14</sup> At that time, the starting point of his considerations was the Speciálník Codex (Hradec Králové II A 7), which he understood to be a source originating at the end of the fifteenth century. Černý outlined the development of different layers of the polyphonic repertory cultivated in Bohemia from composition in organum and conductus style through motets of the Central European type (Engelberg) up to the local reflection of the *Ars nova*.<sup>15</sup> According to Černý, the rich landscape of pre-Hussite polyphony composed and performed in Bohemia spread to the neighbouring regions through the members of the University nations (Bavarian, Saxon, Polish) leaving Prague University in 1409 when the Bohemian nation obtained the predominant number of votes through the Decree of Kutná Hora (three against one for each nation) and became the most powerful group there,<sup>16</sup> and later with the Catholics fleeing the country from the Hussites.<sup>17</sup> After the wars of 1419–34 the importation of new music from the Central European region began and compositions by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz reached Bohemia.<sup>18</sup> The complex of polyphonic repertory called ‘archaic’ by Jaromír Černý appears at the end of the fifteenth century in the above-mentioned Speciálník Codex, followed by later sources (Hradec Králové II A 6, Prague XIII A 2, Chrudim 12580, and Klatovy 403). The repertory comprises a very similar group of compositions dating back to the 1470s or 1480s, seemingly organized according to the same model, which he calls ‘a normative edition’. The repertorial complex, according to Černý, consists of circa twenty polyphonic songs and twenty polytextual motets.

The concept introduced by Jaromír Černý has been discussed and further developed by Martin Horyna in his study on the transmission and reworking of compositions by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz.<sup>19</sup> Reading chapters on music in the *Liber viginti artium* by Paulus Paulirinus from the 1460s and comparing his views on the performance of music within the liturgy with the groups of compositions preserved throughout the Utraquist sources, Horyna suggested that the majority of these compositions were probably already known before 1460 in Bohemia. Hypothetically (from his point of view) they might have been listed in the lost part of Paulirinus’s writings.<sup>20</sup> A supporting argument mentioned by Horyna in his study on polyphony in Bohemia between 1470 and 1620 is an entry in the inventory of the books of Reček college at Prague University from 1463. It confirms the existence of five sexternions

14 • Černý, ‘Zur Frage’.

15 • For more, see Jaromír Černý, ‘K nejstarším dějinám moteta v českých zemích’ [On the earliest history of the motet in Czech lands], *Miscellanea Musicologica*, 24 (1971), 7–90; Jaromír Černý, ‘Středověký vícehlas v českých zemích’ [, *Miscellanea musicologica*, 27–8 (1975), 9–116; Jaromír Černý, ‘Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu v českých pramenech 15. století’ [Polyphonic songs of the conductus type in Czech sources of the fifteenth century], *Miscellanea musicologica*, 31 (1984), 39–142; *Vicetextová moteta 14. a 15. století: Mehrtextige Motetten des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Jaromír Černý (Prague, 1989).

16 • Owing to the Decree of Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg). See František Šmahel, *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter: Gesammelte Aufsätze / The Charles University in the Middle Ages, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 28 (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 159–71.

17 • Černý gives Trier 322 as an example of a foreign source transmitting Bohemian repertory.

18 • Černý, ‘Zur Frage’, 170.

19 • Horyna, ‘Die Kompositionen’.

20 • Horyna compares polyphonic compositions from Prague 376. He takes into account the standard dating of c.1450s. According to the recent investigation of watermarks by Štefánia Demská and myself (study in preparation), however, the source dates from c.1460.

starting with a piece listed as *Ut cum electis*, which he identified as a quotation of text from the motet *Veni sancte spiritus/Da gaudiorum premia/Veni sancte*, well known from later Utraquist sources (see Pl. 8.1).<sup>21</sup>

A further step in understanding the evolution of the specifically Bohemian repertory of polyphony came with Paweł Gancarczyk's re-evaluation of some sources of works by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz. The identification and dating of watermarks in the fragments from Vysoké Mýto, Ústí nad Orlicí A 3, made it possible to significantly change our understanding of the chronological succession of sources of the *cantio Probleumata enigmatum* and to better comprehend the transmission of this composition. According to Gancarczyk, the fragment from Vysoké Mýto dates from the early 1450s, and it already contains some compositions from the 'normative edition'. He therefore formulated a hypothesis that places a possible origin of this Utraquist selection of repertory in the 1450s in eastern Bohemia.<sup>22</sup>

When Jaromír Černý studied and reconstructed motets and polyphonic songs from the time around 1400 he worked with both contemporary sources and much younger manuscripts dating from 1450 onwards (according to the dates known at the time), with a focus on Utraquist sources from the end of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. According to his research from the 1970s and 1980s, there was a large gap in the sources, caused by the Hussite wars, running from the 1420s to the 1480s (with the exception of the manuscript Prague 376 from the mid-fifteenth century).<sup>23</sup> The time around 1400 was directly documented by the so-called Trnava manuscript (Budapest 243) and the Cationale from Vyšší Brod ('Hohenfurter Liederhandschrift', Vyšší Brod 42, dated 1410). Some polyphonic pieces are also found in the Jistebnice Cationale, Prague II C 7 (1420s),<sup>24</sup> but, according to Černý, the tradition was then interrupted until the second half of the fifteenth century (or at least is not documented in Bohemia).<sup>25</sup> Later, in the 1470s or 1480s, the older repertory was incorporated into the 'normative edition'.

The current understanding of late-medieval Central European music sources and their dating makes it possible to propose a more nuanced and, at the same time, more continuous picture of the landscape and transmission of the repertory than outlined by Jaromír Černý. Notwithstanding the limitations of the methodology used in source studies before the digital era, and the impossibility of conducting research outside the countries belonging to the Eastern Bloc before the 1990s (e.g. concerning Trier 322), Černý's musicological studies remain a rich and inspiring point of departure for further reflections on the music history of

21 • Martin Horyna, 'Czeska twórczość polifoniczna 1470–1620: Muzyka w życiu religijnie zróżnicowanego królestwa czeskiego' [Bohemian polyphonic compositions 1470–1620: music in the life of a religiously divided Bohemian kingdom], *Muzyka*, 52 (2007), 27–44 at 36 n. 35. Horyna corrects the earlier reading of the Czech historian František Šmahel, 'ut cum Elias'. See Šmahel, *Die Prager Universität*, 405–39.

22 • Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Changing Identities of Songs by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz', *Hudební věda*, 54 (2017), 5–24. Compare *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz – Magister Cracoviensis. Opera musica*, ed. Jaromír Černý (Kraków, 1993).

23 • There is also the Jistebnice Gradual (Prague XII F 14) from c.1450, but it is a source of only marginal importance for this repertory. Prague 376 is a collection of a retrospective character, including compositions from the pre-Hussite period. I would like to thank Hana Vlhová-Wörner for this information.

24 • *Jistebnický kancionál*, ed. Kolár, Vidmanová, Vlhová-Wörner.

25 • See n. 17 above.

652  
652

8

**V**eni  
 in  
 san  
 cte spiritali spi  
 ritus  
 scilicet spūs **D**a nobis x̄c carne modulātibz  
 ut cū electis simus i celestibz  
 conuicti letis regni sedibus  
 a sortis angeloz ambus

7

**D**a gaudiorū p̄mia da q̄ ca n̄ m̄cra dissolu  
 litis vincula astringe pacis federa veni sancte sp̄ritu  
 ty  
 scilicet spūs

Plate 8.1. Anon., *Veni sancte spiritus/Da gaudiorum premia/Veni sancte*. Prague, Národní knihovna, MS 59 R 5116, pp. 652–3. Published with permission of the Národní knihovna

653  
658

**D**a nob criste carme modulabz quatu letis regim  
ve cum electis simz celestibz afortes angeloz

sedibus  
caubus

**E**ni san cte spiritus

scie spūs **D**a nob criste carme  
ve cu electis simz

modulābz quatu letis regim sedibus  
celestibz afortes angeloz cauba

Detailed description: This is a page from a medieval manuscript, likely a liturgical book, featuring Gregorian chant notation. The page is ruled with red lines. The text is written in a Gothic script. The first system begins with a large decorated initial 'D' containing yellow and red floral patterns. The text continues across several systems, with another large decorated initial 'E' appearing in the middle. The notation consists of square neumes on a four-line red staff. There are some handwritten numbers in the right margin, '653' and '658'. The paper shows signs of age, including some staining and wear.

Plate 8.1. (cont.)

late-medieval Bohemia. Members of the Sound Memories project re-examined the dating of some Central European sources, and the results, together with recently published studies on related topics (e.g. the St Emmeram Codex, Munich 14274),<sup>26</sup> help us bridge the gap in the transmission from the traditional Utraquist repertory in the first half of the fifteenth century to the later years.

If we trace the transmission of compositions written in full black mensural notation, which were repeatedly copied from the mid-1480s onwards (i.e. in the oldest fascicles of the Speciál-ník Codex), and go back in time to the oldest known sources in which they are preserved, we can identify three main chronological layers of repertory (for a detailed conspectus, see the Appendix):

### I. First layer

The first layer is represented by music composed around 1400 (or earlier) and preserved in the 'Hohenfurter Liederhandschrift' (Vyšší Brod 42), the Trnava manuscript (Budapest 243), the Zips fragments (Budapest 534), the Jistebnice Cationale (Prague II C 7), and the collection Kraków 2464 (originating in the university at Kraków). It is striking to see how popular certain polytextual motets, in particular *Concrepet/Nate dei/Exordium quadruplate/Verbum caro* and *Veni sancte spiritus/Da gaudiorum/Veni sancte*, were in Bohemia; they remained highly popular in the sources until the 1530s.

### II. Middle layer

The middle layer appears in sources originating in the 1430s and 1440s which can be linked, among other places, with the university in Vienna, notably the St Emmeram Codex (Munich 14274).<sup>27</sup> There we find early compositions by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz which later became a staple of the Bohemian Utraquist tradition. The songbook Prague 376 originates from around 1460, but its repertory is of a retrospective character.<sup>28</sup> I place it, therefore, with this second group of sources.

### III. Last layer

The last layer corresponds to Paweł Gancarczyk's hypothesis about the first step in the normative edition: most of the compositions transmitted in the manuscript from Vysoké Mýto (Ústí nad Orlicí A 3) from the early 1450s are of very recent origin (above all the compositions by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, who is not documented after 1452).<sup>29</sup> Due to the fragmentary character of the source, we can only guess the extent of the original content of the manuscript and how many older pieces might have been copied there.

The repertory known from the Utraquist sources as the 'archaic' one according to Jaromír Černý also included many pieces not listed above. Some of them can easily be dated thanks to information from theoretical treatises (e.g. the isorhythmic motet *Ave coronata/Alma parens/*

- 26 • Jan Ciglbauer, Paweł Gancarczyk, and Lenka Hlávková conducted detailed codicological research in 2017 and 2018 in Opava, Budapest, and Trier. See Jan Ciglbauer and Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Manuscript RC 4 from the Silesian Museum in Opava and an Unknown Song by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz', *Muzyka*, 62 (2017), 99–105.
- 27 • The repertory of the other sources within this group shows striking similarities; they undoubtedly belong to the same cultural milieu. For the historical context of Codex St Emmeram see Ian Rumbold and Peter Wright, *Hermann Pötzlinger's Music Book: The St Emmeram Codex and its Contexts*, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music, 8 (Woodbridge, 2009).
- 28 • For Prague 376 see n. 20 above.
- 29 • Gancarczyk, 'Changing Identities of Songs by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz'.

*Ave regina celorum*), but dating this repertory more generally, based exclusively on stylistic analysis, is very problematic. As Paweł Gancarczyk's investigation of the tradition of *Prelustri elucencia* by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz<sup>30</sup> has shown, the stylistic criteria adopted earlier to distinguish between an 'original' and a 'modernized' version are no longer tenable, thanks to our current understanding of the chronology of the sources. Černý suggested that the version from the Utraquist sources with a changing metre and parallel fifths represented the original version of the composition, and the reading with *prolatio maior* and sixths was conceived as a reworked one with a more 'modern' sound. However, the discovery of a concordance in the Košice (Kaschau) fragments (Bratislava 3r8-I) from the mid-1460s proved the opposite. The original sound of the song was the 'soft' one and the Utraquist version probably underwent a reworking favouring a more archaic sound, or, alternatively, simply transmitted a series of scribal errors.<sup>31</sup> In the preface to his edition of polytextual motets Jaromír Černý suggested that some compositions written in black mensural notation exploit the old genres but set them to music using recent compositional features, such as imitation or the sound of thirds and sixths rooted on F.<sup>32</sup> Therefore these pieces are eloquent examples of a potentially deliberate retrospectivity within the complex of the Utraquist repertory: at first sight they appear to be old music, but they are in fact more recent in terms of their dates of composition, when one might expect such music to be written in the usual white mensural notation.

The main aim of the chronological overview given in the list above is to delineate the territory of the Utraquist repertory written in black mensural notation and to make visible the continuity of the tradition, based on the evidence in sources before the 1480s. It may serve as a basic grid which can easily be updated by adding new sources and new compositions. At the same time, it is worth mentioning that the current ongoing research involving this repertory, including all known sources, is very much needed before an evaluation of the complete Utraquist polyphonic repertory can be undertaken.<sup>33</sup> Going back to the list of sources, I suggest the following provisional interpretation. The repertory written in black mensural notation and transmitted in Utraquist sources from the Speciálník Codex onwards is a summary of a tradition kept alive despite turbulent times during the Hussite wars. As a bridge between a

30 • Ibid.

31 • Ibid.

32 • *Vicetextová moteta*, ed. Černý, pp. iii–vi.

33 • The information on sources and their repertory is disseminated unevenly in catalogues and databases. RISM: Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf, *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts. Mehrstimmige Musik in italienischen, polnischen und tschechischen Quellen des 14. Jahrhunderts: Mehrstimmige Stücke in Handschriften aller Länder aus der Zeit um 1400–1425/30. Organale Sätze im älteren Stil und mehrstimmige Stücke in Choralhandschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* [Austria–France] (Munich, 1972); Melodiarium (<http://www.musicologica.cz/melodiarium/>, accessed 14 June 2019); Clavis nigra ([www.clavmon.cz/clavis](http://www.clavmon.cz/clavis), accessed 14 June 2019); and LIMUP ([www.clavmon.cz/limup](http://www.clavmon.cz/limup), accessed 14 June 2019). For the contents of Prague 59 R 5116 (*olim*: 59 Rs 1) see Naděžda Mjachká, *Analýza rukopisu 59 Rs 1 z fondu Hudebního oddělení Národní knihovny v Praze: Edice vybraných vícehlasých kompozic* [Analysis of manuscript 59 Rs 1 from the Music Department of the National Library in Prague: an edition of selected polyphonic compositions] (MA thesis, Charles University, Prague, 1999). For polyphony in the previously unknown gradual from Kutná Hora (Kutná Hora 88/85) see Jaromír Černý, 'Vícehlasý repertoár v graduálu z Českého muzea stříbra v Kutné Hoře' [The polyphonic repertory in the gradual from the Czech Museum of Silver in Kutná Hora], *Hudební věda*, 43 (2006), 165–84.

pre-Hussite and the Utraquist tradition, manuscripts from the orbit of (most probably) Vienna University can be adduced.<sup>34</sup> The repertory originating around 1450, including works by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, soon reached eastern Bohemia and was copied into the manuscript from Vysoké Mýto. If we compare the number of compositions copied into each manuscript, three of them—Hradec Králové II A 7 and II A 6, and Chrudim 12580—contain around two-thirds of the tradition represented in the last layer above.<sup>35</sup> There are many concordances among them (mostly Franus – Chrudim), but the selection of compositions in other sources seems to represent more of a personal choice by their scribes (including several very popular and almost omnipresent pieces) rather than a fulfilment of a prescriptive ‘normative edition’. If we accept that the amount of polyphonic compositions circulating around 1450 in Bohemia was probably larger than what the sources tell us, in agreement with Martin Horyna, we must assume that scribes had enough material at their disposal to select music for their festive liturgy.

The conscious retention of older artistic styles within the Utraquist Church has recently been examined by the Czech art historian Milena Bartlová. In her book on the relationship between art and Hussitism in fifteenth-century Bohemia<sup>36</sup> Bartlová presents new datings and interpretations of surviving paintings and sculptures, some of which were kept precisely owing to their pre-Hussite origin. One of the most significant artists for Bartlová was the Master of Golgotha in the Church of Our Lady before Týn [Chrám Matky Boží před Týnem] at the Old Town Square in Prague, whose work originates from around 1440. This Master worked on the highest level in the style typical for Central Europe, combining features of the so-called ‘beautiful style’ (flourishing around 1400) with influences from western Europe, where a subtlety of detail meets monumental over life-sized figures.<sup>37</sup> From the 1450s until the end of the century, according to Bartlová, there is no other piece of art of comparable quality to be found in Bohemia. There was no special interest in new artistic styles; rather, the leading idea within the local production was a kind of retrospective nostalgia.<sup>38</sup> This view can help us better to understand the ‘retrospective’ taste for music in Utraquist Bohemia as well, which lasted even longer.<sup>39</sup>

The Speciálník Codex of c.1485–1500, an Utraquist collection of polyphony, is famous for transmitting very recent music written in the ‘modern’ white mensural notation which originated in the second half of the fifteenth century, e.g. in France, Burgundy, the Low Countries, Italy, the Imperial court, Saxony, or Silesia. Also present in the Codex are polyphonic settings

- 34 • In 1443 a group of students and teachers from Vienna University came to Prague; it was an excellent occasion for the probable transmission of the repertory. See Čornej and Bartlová, *Velké dějiny*, 294–95.
- 35 • It would be easy to add other compositions by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz below (as they were not composed later than in the early 1450s) but there are no known sources older than Speciálník. Even if one did so, however, the landscape of the repertory would not change significantly.
- 36 • Milena Bartlová, *Pravda zvítězila: Výtvarné umění a husitství 1380–1490* [The truth won: art and Hussitism 1380–1490] (Prague, 2015).
- 37 • Ibid. 179.
- 38 • Ibid. 186.
- 39 • Horyna speaks about a conscious abandonment of contemporaneous music in ‘modern’ styles; Horyna, ‘Česká reformace’, 25. For examples of later monophonic compositions in a retrospective style see *Historická antologie hudby v českých zemích (do cca 1530): Historical Anthology of Music in the Bohemian Lands (up to ca 1530)*, ed. Jaromír Černý (Prague, 2005), 185–92.



of Czech texts in Franco-Flemish style from 1480s at the latest. This part of the contents of the Speciálník Codex bears witness that its main scribe was fully familiar with the most recent trends in the international music scene, but at the same time copied the local repertory in black mensural notation. Owing to the lack of sources between the fragment from Vysoké Mýto from the early 1450s and the Speciálník Codex it is hard to say why the latter's scribe decided to keep the old-fashioned notation when he was familiar with its modern variant and a rewriting of the music would be merely a cosmetic change. Was there any awareness of the historical value, tradition, or identity expressed by the tenacious use of black mensural notation, which was no longer in use outside Bohemia after 1450?<sup>40</sup> The music itself was sung by school choirs and later by the brotherhoods of the litterati; its musical style is more convenient for beginners or amateurs compared to the much more complicated counterpoint of Franco-Flemish polyphony.<sup>41</sup> Apart from practical or didactic reasons, it is not possible to give a convincing explanation of other motivations for the late-medieval Bohemian passion for musical antiques. Rather, the persistent retention (i.e. the copying and performing) of much older music formed an integral part of the Utraquist present and significantly strengthened, consciously or unconsciously, the unique character of the Utraquist Church.

40 • Compare also the Lamentations of Johannes de Quadris, which had to be written 'cum bona nota', i.e. in black notation (northern Italy, c.1450). See Margaret Bent, 'Pietro Emiliani's Chaplain Bartolomeo Rossi da Carpi and the Lamentations of Johannes de Quadris in Vicenza', *Il Saggiatore musicale*, 2 (1995), 5–15 at 12–13.

41 • For more see Horyna, 'Česká reformace', 'Die Kompositionen', and 'Vícehlasá hudba'.

## APPENDIX

## Polyphonic Compositions Written in Black Mensural Notation in Bohemian Utraquist Sources and Related Traditions

210

## Sources up to 1450

	c.1400	1410	early 15th C	1420s	c.1420	c.1430	c.1430	c.1430	early 1430s	1430s	
	Budapest 1243	Yšší Brod 42	Wolfenbüttel 30-9.2	Prague II C 7	Kraków 2464	Budapest 534	Trier 322	Wrocław 269	Opava 4	Munich 14274	Composition
		x									<i>Samsonis honestissima</i>
		x		x							<i>Pueri nativitatem</i>
	x		x								<i>Zacheus arboris</i>
			x								<i>Que est ista</i>
				x							<i>Quem elegit</i>
				x							<i>In hoc anni</i>
				x							<i>Stala se jest věc divná</i>
					x	x					<i>Concrepet – Nate dei – Exordium quadruplate – Verbum caro</i>
	x						x		x		<i>Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum – Veni sancte</i>
						x	x				<i>Paracletus egrediens (= Paranympbus adiit)</i>
						x					<i>Novus annus adiit</i>
						x				x	PWG: <i>Presulem epbebeatum</i>
							x				<i>Christus surrexit vincitos – Chorus nove – Christ ist entstanden/ Christus surrexit mala</i>
							x				<i>Ex linguis multifariis</i>
							x				<i>Physica armonia – Veni sancte spiritusque (= Huius sit memoria – Quem pastores – Natus est Emanuel)</i>
							x		x		<i>Jesus Christus nostra salus</i>
							x				<i>Adest dies celebris (= Palmiger a vernulis)</i>
							x				<i>Katherina coronata (= Resurgenti Nazareno)</i>
										x	<i>Veni dulcis consolator</i>
										x	<i>Cedit hiems (2v.)</i>

PWG = Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz

Grey shading marks compositions transmitted from the 1430s onwards as well as compositions originating most probably before 1450 but first transmitted in the retrospective source Prague 376 (c.1460).



## Sources up to 1450

212

	c.1400	1410	early 15th C	1420s	c.1420	c.1430	c.1430	c.1430	early 1430s	1430s	
	Budapest 243	Vyšší Brod 42	Wolfenbüttel 30.9.2	Prague II C 7	Kraków 2464	Budapest 534	Trier 322	Wrocław 269	Opava 4	Munich 14274	Composition
									×		<i>Gaudeat turba clericorum</i>
											<i>In natali Domini</i> (+ Bologna Q <sub>15</sub> , c.1430–35)
								×			PWG: <i>Predulcis eurus turbinis</i>
											<i>Moduliseumus omnes</i>
											<i>O regina lux divina</i> (= <i>Mundo deus nunc illustra</i> = <i>Ut igitur plenitudo</i> )
											<i>Regi regum Domino</i>
											<i>O salutaris hostia</i>
											<i>Omnis nunc microcosmus – Omnis mundus</i>
											<i>Insignis infantule</i>
											<i>Laudes dicat omnis</i> (= <i>Iesu dulcis mater</i> )
											<i>Congaudemus pariter – En lux</i>
											<i>Zophia nascifertur – O quam pulcra – Magi videntes</i>
											<i>Dies iam letitie</i>
											PWG: <i>Probleumata enigmatum</i>
											<i>Ex stirpe paganorum</i>
											<i>Metaphisice saliiit – In tempesto – Ordo nature</i>
											<i>Resultet gens angelica</i>
											<i>Genti confer opem</i>
											PWG: <i>Panis exus – Pange exul – Panis ecce – Patribus – Tantum ergo</i>
											PWG: <i>Pax eterna – Jacob scalam – Terribilis</i>
											<i>Dorothea mens ut rhea</i>





## Manon Louviot

Uniformity was at the heart of many medieval monastic communities, which strove to achieve uniform practices in their monasteries. Famous examples are the Cistercians and the Dominicans. Cistercian uniformity had to apply to all aspects of spiritual and practical daily life, from the foundation of the monasteries, which had to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to the food and clothing.<sup>1</sup> The Dominicans had similar concerns and their constitutions, for instance, required the night and day Offices to be uniformly observed by everyone (*ab omnibus uniformiter observari*).<sup>2</sup> To this end, strict rules had been established regarding the copying of liturgical books: they had to be ‘identical in words, notes, marks of pauses, and standards of presentation’.<sup>3</sup> The need to have identical liturgical books is central in achieving uniform practices and was also expressed by the Premonstratensians, whose statutes require them to have uniform (*uniformiter*) liturgical books.<sup>4</sup> It was mainly through a centralizing authority and contingent mechanisms of power (such as a General Chapter and regular visitations of houses that were members of the respective branches of monasticism) that such communities strove to implement and maintain uniform customs.<sup>5</sup> However, what did ‘uniformity’ *really* mean to them?

Arguably, medieval people could not imagine uniformity in the way in which we understand it today—as two (or more) things being *exactly* the same—because they did not have the technology required to achieve it. Recent scholars have already cast doubt upon the extent of uniformity in the practice of late-medieval and early-modern monastic groups. If the debate

- 1 • Brian Patrick McGuire, ‘Constitutions and the General Chapter’, in Mette Birkedal Bruun (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order* (Cambridge, 2013), 87–99, esp. 93–4. On the Cistercians more generally, see also Constance H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 2000).
- 2 • ‘Totum officium, tam nocturnum quam diurnum, confirmamus et volumus ab omnibus uniformiter observari, ita quod nulli liceat de cetera aliquid innovare.’ *De oudste constituties van de Dominicanen: Voorgeschiedenis, tekst, bronnen, ontstaan en ontwikkeling (1215–1237)*, ed. Antoninus Hendrik Thomas (Leuven, 1965), 316. On the Dominicans, see Cornelia Linde (ed.), *Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation*, Studies of the German Historical Institute, London (Oxford and New York, 2018), especially the contributions of Eleanor Giraud and Hrvoje Beban.
- 3 • Eleanor Giraud, “‘Totum Officium Bene Correctum Habeatur in Domo’: Uniformity in the Dominican Liturgy”, in Linde (ed.), *Making and Breaking the Rules*, 153–72 at 157.
- 4 • The stipulation of the Premonstratensian legislation (which is the same as for the Cistercians) reads: ‘Missale, textus, epistolare, collectaneus, graduale, antiphonarius, ympnarius, psalterium, leccionarius, regula, kalendarium [Cistercians: ubique] uniformiter habeantur.’ Christopher Norton, ‘Table of Cistercian Legislation on Art and Architecture’, in Christopher Norton and David Park (eds.), *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1986), 315–93 at 319; *Les Statuts de Prémontré au milieu du XIIe siècle*, ed. Placide F. Lefèvre and Wilfried M. Grauwen, *Bibliotheca analectorum praemonstratensium*, 12 (Averbode, 1978), 49. The title of this chapter in both rulings clearly forbids different books (‘Quos libros non licet habere diversos’).
- 5 • This is, for instance, the case for the Cistercian Order; see Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, 220, and Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011), esp. 82–103.

on the Cistercian Order historically was rather focused on the dating of Cistercian concern for uniformity, recent studies have begun to question whether uniformity of the Cistercian Order was 'ever really seen as an achievable aim'.<sup>6</sup> Regarding the uniformity of its liturgy, David Chadd concluded that 'the Order might well have retired defeated; yet perhaps . . . they could not have hoped to keep closer to the ideal'.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, for the Dominicans, Eleanor Giraud has demonstrated that in some cases in thirteenth-century France and England, local celebrations of saints supplemented the standard Dominican liturgy, without affecting the desired uniformity of the Dominican worship.<sup>8</sup>

This essay will contribute further to the discussion by putting the question in yet another context: the Congregation of Windesheim. Founded in the late fourteenth century and living under the Rule of St Augustine, the Congregation strove to implement uniformity in spiritual and behavioural matters in all monasteries associated with it. My underlying argument here is that even if monastic practices were not all *exactly* the same, the Congregation, in its own consciousness, in fact succeeded in implementing a 'medieval uniformity'. Two perspectives are adduced to illustrate this: first, I focus on the level of individual liturgical melodies as required by the regulations of the Windesheim Congregation, and then compare them with melodies from reformed monasteries. Indeed, as will be shown below, uniformity had to extend to reformed monasteries as well, even when they were not formally incorporated into the Congregation. Second, the analysis of discrepancies between official liturgical regulations and local practices will demonstrate that these divergences were perceived as necessary adjustments which did not compromise the 'uniformity' desired by Windesheim. In a final step I shall broaden the discussion by showing how the late-medieval discourse on uniformity, here illustrated by Windesheim, was produced by people with specific interests in mind, and might not be representative of reality.

### The Congregation of Windesheim: Contextual Elements

The Congregation of Windesheim (*Congregatio Windeshemensis*) was an assembly of Augustinian houses organized under the governance of a General Chapter (*capitulum generale*). It is considered to be the monastic arm of the late-medieval spiritual movement of the Modern Devotion (*devotio moderna*).<sup>9</sup> Florens Radewyns, a Brother of the Common Life, and six of his companions from the Brethren, concerned by the increasing laxity of the Order, submitted a project to found a new canonical community to Bishop Floris van Wevelichoven of Utrecht, who approved it in 1386.<sup>10</sup> The monastery of Windesheim was built the following year

- 6 • Burton and Kerr, *Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, 12. As Burton explains, research on the Cistercians has been centred on the dating of the early Cistercian documents, in order to identify how soon Cistercian monks set a radical agenda for reform, based on uniform ideas and principles.
- 7 • D. F. L. Chadd, 'Liturgy and Liturgical Music: The Limits of Uniformity', in Christopher Norton and David Park (eds.), *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1986), 299–315 at 314.
- 8 • Giraud, 'Uniformity in the Dominican Liturgy', 171–2.
- 9 • On this movement, see the introduction (with further bibliography) by John van Engen, *Devotio moderna: Basic Writings*, trans. and introduced by John van Engen (New York, 1988).
- 10 • Florens's companions were Henricus Klingebijl (Clingeibile) from Hörter, Wernerus Keynkamp from



(its church was consecrated on 17 October 1387). In 1392, two independent new monasteries, inspired by Brethren of the Common Life, were founded (Mariënborn or Mariëndaal in Arnhem and Nieuwlicht, near Hoorn), with the explicit aim to join the new canonical community of Windesheim. Moreover, in 1394 or 1395, the monastery of Eemstein (founded in 1377), where the first newly recruited Windesheim canons had trained for the canonical life, also joined this community. This new incorporation marked the official coming into existence of the Chapter of Windesheim, with the monastery of Windesheim as the motherhouse of this new congregation.<sup>11</sup> It advocated a deeper and stricter inner life than other Orders at that time, with a focus on restoring the three monastic vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity to the fullness of their meaning as understood by the founders of the Congregation.<sup>12</sup> The movement attracted numerous monasteries, primarily in north-western Europe, which wished to become formal members of the Congregation. By the end of the fifteenth century, it numbered nearly a hundred monasteries, mostly located in present-day Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands.<sup>13</sup>

Driven by the will to restore the purity of the early Church, the Congregation of Windesheim strove to implement its spiritual ideals in as many monasteries as possible. Consequently, in addition to the officially incorporated monasteries, the Congregation also lent its services to reform numerous other male and female houses in the same area.<sup>14</sup> Secular rulers or

Lochern, Joannes van Kempen from Kempen, Henricus Wilde from 's-Hertogenbosch, Henricus Wilsen (Hendrik van Wilsen) from Kampen, and Bertholdus ten Hove from Zwolle. They became the first canons of Windesheim. *Des Augustinerpropstes Johannes Busch Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, ed. Karl Grube (hereafter Grube, *Liber*), *Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiete* (Halle, 1886), 174–5 and 185.

- 11 • Reiner R. Post, *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden, 1968), 293–6; *Les Constitutions des chanoines réguliers de Windesheim/Constitutiones canonicorum Windeshemensium*, ed. Marcel Haverals and Francis Joseph Legrand (Turnhout, 2014), 5–9 (hereafter *CCW*). In the sources, the word ‘chapter’ (*capitulum*) is used to designate the regular meetings during which priors of Windesheim monasteries discussed issues concerning their monastic life and, by extension, the monastic union (or congregation) of male and female houses officially incorporated. In the following, the words Chapter and Congregation will be used interchangeably to designate this monastic union.
- 12 • The history of the Congregation of Windesheim has already been studied in great detail. See the most general but fundamental studies: Johannes G. R. Acquoy, *Het Klooster te Windesheim en zijn invloed*, 3 vols. (Utrecht, 1875); Post, *The Modern Devotion*. On Windesheim canonesses, see Wybren Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries: The ‘Modern Devotion’, the Canonesses of Windesheim, and their Writings*, trans. David F. Johnson (Woodbridge, 2004). The dissertation of Jostes is also relevant: Aloysia Elisabeth Jostes, ‘Die Historisierung der *Devotio moderna* im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: Verbandsbewußtsein und Selbstverständnis in der Windesheimer Kongregation’ (diss., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2008), esp. 17–134.
- 13 • At the end of the fifteenth century, the Congregation officially comprised eighty-four male and thirteen female houses. For a list of these monasteries, see *Acta capituli Windeshemensis: Acta van de Kapittelvergaderingen der Congregatie van Windesheim*, ed. S. van der Woude, *Kerkhistorische Studien*, 6 (The Hague, 1953), 132–7 (hereafter *ACW*); R. Th. M. van Dijk and A. J. Hendrikman, ‘Tabellarium Chronologicum Windeshemense: De Windesheimse kloosters in chronologisch perspectief’, in Anton J. Hendrikman et al. (eds.), *Windesheim 1395–1995: Kloosters, teksten, invloeden; voordrachten gehouden tijdens het Internationaal Congres ‘600 Jaar Kapittel van Windesheim’, 27 mei 1995 te Zwolle* (Nijmegen, 1996), 186–212. For more information on the sources from each of the Windesheim monasteries, the *Monasticon Windeshemense* still proves to be useful: *Monasticon Windeshemense*, ed. Wilhelm Kohl, Ernest Persoons, and Klaus Scholz, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1977–84).
- 14 • This was, for instance, the case of the priors Johannes Busch (see below) or Heinrich Loder, who reformed numerous monasteries in Lower Saxony. See Klemens Löffler, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Augustinerchorherrenstifts Frenswegen (Windesheimer Kongregation)* (Soest, 1930); Nicolaus Heutger and Viola Heutger, *Niedersächsische Ordenshäuser und Stifte: Geschichte und Gegenwart. Vorträge und Forschungen* (Berlin, 2009).

bishops asked Windesheim to reform the monasteries that were on their lands,<sup>15</sup> and, in 1451, the cardinal legate Nicholas of Cusa issued a mandate to Johannes Busch (at that time prior of Neuwerk) and to Paul Busse (prior of St. Moritz near Halle) to reform monasteries, providing further support to the movement.<sup>16</sup> Johannes Busch in particular is an invaluable witness to the reform efforts of the Congregation, since he described the reforms he conducted in his *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* towards the end of his life (between 1470 and 1474).<sup>17</sup> More generally, Busch became a major witness to Windesheim history as well because of two further books he wrote, one on the history of the Congregation and another on the first canons, considered the founding fathers, of Windesheim.<sup>18</sup>

### *Windesheim Uniformity*

Uniformity was a central concern of the Windesheim Chapter. This is especially visible in the Constitutions, the official regulations of the Congregation. This text, written by a committee of six canons at the beginning of the fifteenth century and approved by the General Chapter of 1402, was the basic rulebook to which all monasteries that wished to be incorporated into the Congregation had to conform.<sup>19</sup> A version adapted for the specific requirements and circumstances of female houses was elaborated in the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Both texts

- 15 • These included Augustinian houses, but Windesheim also reformed Cistercian, Dominican, and Premonstratensian houses. For example, in 1455, Duke William of Brunswick-Calenberg (r. 1423–73) commissioned Busch to reform the Augustinian female houses of Wennigsen (Grube, *Liber*, 555–8), Barsinghausen (ibid. 566–7), and Marienwerder (ibid. 567–8), as well as the Cistercian female house of Mariensee (ibid. 562–5). Prince-Bishop Magnus of Saxe-Lauenburg (r. 1424–52) of Hildesheim also supported Johannes Busch's efforts to reform monasteries of his diocese.
- 16 • Johannes Busch gave a list of about twenty male and female houses that the cardinal legate asked him to reform. Grube, *Liber*, 765–6.
- 17 • The *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* was edited by Grube, *Liber*. A new edition is in preparation by Bertram Lesser: *Johannes Busch, Liber de reformatione monasteriorum—Briefe und Predigten. Textkritische Ausgabe. Mit einer Erstedition der Schriften von Hermann Ryd*, Publikationen der Akademie der Augustiner-Chorherren von Windesheim, Turnhout (in preparation). On Johannes Busch specifically, see the most recent and comprehensive study by Bertram Lesser, *Johannes Busch: Chronist der Devotio moderna. Werkstruktur, Überlieferung, Rezeption* (Frankfurt am Main, 2005). For a short introduction to Busch's life and his *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, see Julie Hotchin, 'Guidance for Men Who Minister to Women in the *Liber de Reformatione Monasteriorum* of Johannes Busch', in Juanita Feros Ruys (ed.), *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (Turnhout, 2008), 231–59 at 231–41.
- 18 • Respectively *Liber de origine devocionis moderne* (edited by Grube, *Liber*, 245–375) and *Liber de viris illustribus* (Grube, *Liber*, 1–244). Busch started writing these works in 1456 and completed them after several revisions in 1464. Lesser, *Johannes Busch*, 58–9.
- 19 • Johannes Busch mentioned this committee and its work in his chronicle of Windesheim, ch. XXIV 'De statutis capituli generalis de Windes[h]em, a quibus et quomodo primum sunt composita', edited by Grube, *Liber*, 308–9. See also Van der Woude, *ACW*, 15. The constitutions have recently been edited by Haverals and Legrand, *CCW*.
- 20 • The female constitutions have been edited by Rudolf T. M. van Dijk in *De constituties der Windesheimse vrouwenkloosters vóór 1559: Bijdrage tot de institutionele geschiedenis van het kapittel van Windesheim*, Middeleeuwse studies, 3 (Nijmegen, 1986) (from here on: *CM*). Based on the mentions of the female constitutions in the Acts of the General Chapter meetings of Windesheim, Van Dijk sets 1434 as the *terminus post quem* and 1443 as the *terminus ante quem* of the elaboration of this text. See pp. 45–6. The persons who elaborated the female constitutions are not known, but several decisions concerning female houses were taken during the annual Chapter meetings—which canonesses did not attend. It is therefore plausible that a commission of canons elaborated the text.

were continuously amended in the course of the years that ensued, following new decisions taken during annual chapter meetings.<sup>21</sup>

The prologue of the Windesheim Constitutions opens with the (almost) identical wording as earlier constitutions based on the Rule of St Augustine: it emphasizes the importance of living in uniformity (of monastic observances), since the rule requires the members to have one heart and one soul in God. Only then can the unity of outward behaviour stimulate and reflect the unity that must be preserved inside, in the heart:

*Quoniam ex precepto regule iubemur habere cor unum et animam unam in domino, iustum est, ut qui sub una regula et unius professionis voto vivimus, uniformes in observancijs canonice religionis inveniamur quatinus unitatem, que interius servanda est in cordibus, foveat et representet uniformitas exterius servata in moribus.*

Seeing that, according to the command of the rule, it is required of us to have one heart and one soul in the Lord, it is right that, [since] we live under a single rule and the vow of one profession, we are uniform in the canonical regular observances, so that the outward uniformity of behaviour may sharpen and display the unity which must be preserved internally in the hearts.<sup>22</sup>

In the case of Windesheim, this opening is not only relevant as an expression of the desire for uniformity but also because it shows the clear will to inscribe this text, and therefore the whole Congregation, within a broader monastic tradition. Using this pre-existing text was also a way to lend weight and to legitimize the need for uniformity which was repeated in the rest of the Constitutions.

Uniformity was sought in the practical life of the canons and canonesses of Windesheim, as well as in their spiritual life. To this end, several committees of Windesheim canons were created, whose task it was to establish authoritative texts for the Congregation's liturgical books, including its *Liber ordinarius* and its *Manuale*.<sup>23</sup> The *Liber ordinarius* has an intermediary position between the Constitutions and liturgical books: it has a strong normative value (Rudolf van Dijk considers it as an extension of the Constitutions for everything that is related to the liturgy). It codifies the liturgical practices, describes the rites of the liturgical year, and indicates the incipits of the various chants, readings, and prayers.<sup>24</sup> The content of the *Manuale*

- 21 • Most of these decisions have been collected by two Windesheim canons, Martinus Schouben and Jacobus Bosmans, in the eighteenth century. The Congregation was greatly weakened by the Protestant Reformation but flourished again in the seventeenth century; the last Windesheim house was closed in 1809 and the last Windesheim canon died in 1865. See *Congregations and Houses: Canons Regular of the Congregation of Windesheim* ([http://www.augustiniancanons.org/About/houses\\_and\\_congregations\\_through\\_copy\(1\).htm#Windesheim](http://www.augustiniancanons.org/About/houses_and_congregations_through_copy(1).htm#Windesheim), last accessed 4 June 2019). The decisions collected by Schouben and Bosmans have been edited by Van der Woude, *ACW*. Some of the new decisions were also gathered at the end of pre-existing Constitutions, usually in a chapter entitled *De diversis statutis*. In 1431, one major revision led to a whole new version of the male Constitutions, which mostly consisted in the reorganization of the appropriate chapters integrating the decisions collected previously in the section *De diversis statutis*. See Van Dijk, *CM*, 13–34.
- 22 • Haverals and Legrand, *CCW*, 40. This opening is itself based on the Rule of St Augustine: 'Primum, propter quod in unum estis congregati, ut unanimes habitetis in domo et sit vobis anima una et cor unum in deum.' Luc Verheijen, *La Règle de Saint Augustin, Études augustiniennes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967), i. 417. The same prologue was already used by the Premonstratensians and reused by the Dominicans.
- 23 • Busch described these committees and the uniformity of these books; see Grube, *Liber*, 100, 102, 407. See also Acquoy, *Het Klooster te Windesheim en zijn invloed*, i. 205–11; Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 304–6.
- 24 • On the *Liber ordinarius* from Windesheim, see Hans Michael Franke, *Der Liber ordinarius der Regularanoniker der Windesheimer Kongregation* (Leverkusen, 1981); Van Dijk, *CM*, 212–20.

*Windeshemense* is not as fixed as the content of the *Ordinarius*: it generally contains detailed descriptions of specific rituals (for instance processions, the Washing of the Feet, investiture, and profession rituals). It also includes the full texts of the readings and musical notation of the chants to be sung.<sup>25</sup>

Official copies of the Windesheim books were preserved in selected male monasteries and served as authoritative texts for all other copies. For instance, the 1434 revised version of the male Constitutions was originally copied in three master-copy manuscripts which circulated among the incorporated monasteries as required but were stored permanently in the Windesheim, Neuss, and Groenendaal houses once every monastery had a copy of them.<sup>26</sup> According to a (nowadays well-known) quotation by Johannes Busch, in its own view, the Chapter of Windesheim succeeded more than any other Order before it in achieving uniformity in the spelling, punctuation, and accentuation of liturgical books ('ad unam iotam bene sunt correcta punctuata et ordinata debiteque accentuata, ut talis librorum correctio et consonantie conformitas in nullo mundi ordine usquam reperiatur').<sup>27</sup>

### *Johannes Busch and the Reformed Monasteries*

According to Johannes Busch, the desire for uniformity within the Windesheim Congregation also extended to reformed but not formally incorporated monasteries. Indeed, he often stated in his report that the reformed but not incorporated monasteries complied with 'our' statutes, liturgies, chants, and ceremonies, that is, with the customs required by the General Chapter of Windesheim.<sup>28</sup> In practice, it remains unclear what the exact relationship was between Windesheim and the reformed monasteries, for being reformed according to the regulations of Windesheim and following the Windesheim statutes, customs, and ceremonies did not mean that these monasteries were officially incorporated in the Congregation (which would have made them subject to the stringent internal control mechanisms laid down in the Windesheim Constitutions). The influence of Windesheim nevertheless was strong in the fifteenth century: to be certified by Busch (and the authorities that inevitably supported him, bishops and local princes) as successfully reformed, the monasteries had to demonstrate their ability and their willingness to follow the same temporal and spiritual regulations as Windesheim.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the monasteries were often supervised by a Windesheim canon.<sup>30</sup> Thus, even if they were not incorporated formally, many—but not all—reformed monasteries had tight connections with Windesheim.

25 • On the *Manuale Windeshemense*, see Van Dijk, *CM*, 221–7.

26 • Haverals and Legrand, *CCW*, 14.

27 • Grube, *Chronicon*, 311. See also Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 307.

28 • For instance, Busch writes: 'In statutis, ordinario, cantu, et ceremoniis per omnia se nostris conformaverunt' ('They fully complied with our statutes, *Liber ordinarius*, chant, and ceremonies') (about the female monastery of Heiningen), or 'Sic ergo nunc in omnibus nobis sunt conformes' (In this way, therefore, they now conform in every way to our [way of doing things]) (about the female monastery of Steterburg). Grube, *Liber*, 604 and 607 respectively.

29 • See Manon Louviot, 'Controlling Space, Disciplining Voice: The Congregation of Windesheim and Fifteenth-Century Monastic Reform in Northern Germany and the Low Countries' (diss., Utrecht University, 2019), esp. 102–5.

*Case Study: The Female House of Steterburg (Diocese of Hildesheim)*

The desire for uniformity of Windesheim and the degree to which it was achieved is particularly interesting in the case of reformed monasteries, because they prove how important it was to reach a level of uniformity at affiliated houses that was as close as possible to that of the incorporated monasteries. The case of the female house of Steterburg, located in Lower Saxony in the Diocese of Hildesheim, is a particularly good example.<sup>31</sup> In addition to the relatively good source situation,<sup>32</sup> the house is of special interest here because it was reformed in 1451 by Johannes Busch himself.<sup>33</sup> Its reformed status was also clearly proclaimed by the Steterburg canonesses, as is visible from the colophon of a late fifteenth-century, post-reform Steterburg breviary:

Conscriptus est libellus iste anno domini 1479<sup>o</sup> In stidderborch [Steterburg] monasterio *reformato* ordinis canonicarum regularium diocesis hildesemensis quem conscripsit soror Sophia gryz professa ordinatione reverende matris yde ghustidde de Brunsvicensi civitate tercię priorisse *post reformationem* antedicti monasterii ...

This book was compiled in the year of the Lord 1479 in the *reformed* monastery of Steterburg, of the Order of the Augustinian canonesses in the diocese of Hildesheim. It was written down by sister Sophia Gryz, who made her profession under the guidance of the Venerable Mother Yde Ghustidde from the town of Braunschweig, the third prioress *after the reform* of the aforementioned monastery ...<sup>34</sup>

- 30 • This was, for instance, the case of Heiningen, which was supervised by the prior of the incorporated Windesheim monastery of St. Bartholomäus in Sülte near Hildesheim (and therefore by Johannes Busch himself between 1457 and 1476), or of Steterburg, supervised by the prior of the incorporated Windesheim monastery of Riechenberg. For Heiningen, see Klaus Scholz, *Monasticon Windeshemense*, ed. Wilhelm Kohl, Ernest Persoons, and Klaus Scholz, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1977), ii: *Deutsches Sprachgebiet*, 228–9. For Steterburg, the case study of this article (see below), this is visible in the profession of faith, which is made ‘in the presence of the prior of Riechenberg’ (*in presencia prioris in Richenberge*), Wolfenbüttel 1028, fol. 72<sup>r</sup>. However, Windesheim canons also supervised female houses which were not reformed by the Congregation, nor officially incorporated, such as the female house of Mariënpool, which had a rector from the Chapter of Sion, to which the house belonged, or from the Chapter of Windesheim (on this monastery, see *Commemoration in the convent Mariënpool: prayer and politics*, <https://xposre.nl/ria/mariënpool/index.htm> (last accessed 11 Jan. 2019)). The precise qualities of the affiliations of female houses to Windesheim are therefore complex and extremely diverse. Overall, the relations between the Congregation and the about seventy monasteries (among which about twenty-five female houses) that were reformed by Busch are not always clear, even when the institution (in case of female houses) was supervised by a Windesheim canon. Such relations need further research, which is beyond the scope and focus of this essay.
- 31 • The house was originally founded in c.1000 by Frederunda von Ölsburg and her father, count Altmann von Ölsburg. On the history of the monastery, see Silvia Bunselmeyer, *Das Stift Steterburg im Mittelalter* (Braunschweig, 1983).
- 32 • On the state of the sources of Steterburg, see Britta-Juliane Kruse, *Stiftsbibliothek und Kirchenschatz: Materielle Kultur in den Chorfrauenstiften Steterburg und Heiningen* (Wiesbaden, 2016), esp. 419–25.
- 33 • For Johannes Busch’s description of his reform of Steterburg, see Grube, *Liber*, 604–7. See also the edition published in Eckart Conrad Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität: Zur Medialität der ‘cura monialium’ im Kompendium des Rektors eines reformierten Chorfrauenstifts. Mit Edition und Abbildung einer Windesheimer ‘Forma investiendi sanctimonialium’ und ihrer Notation* (Berlin and New York, 2010), 221–3, based on Lesser’s forthcoming edition.
- 34 • Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, VII B Hs 372, fol. 356<sup>v</sup> (emphasis mine). Sophia Gryz (also Gris) was, at least from 1486 and until 1490, *procuratrix* of Steterburg. Ide Ghustidde (also Ida Gustidde) was prioress of the monastery between 1476 and 1497. Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, VII B Hs 367, fols. 170<sup>r</sup> and 715<sup>f</sup>, and Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, 8 Urk. 336. See also Bunselmeyer, *Das Stift Steterburg im Mittelalter*, 264 and 260 respectively.

This colophon seems to indicate that locating her sponsor in the line of post-reform prioresses was important for the scribe Sophia Gryz. Moreover, starting the count of the prioresses from the moment of the reform might suggest that the reform was almost tantamount to a second foundation of the monastery. While this was indeed a milestone, the colophon also confirms the prestige the canonesses associated with their affiliation to the Congregation of Windesheim when it refers to the ‘reformed monastery of Steterburg’, thus making a clear distinction between before and after the reform.

Despite the apparent success of the reform, there are variations in Steterburg sources which raise questions about uniformity. The balance between compliance with and deviations from the Windesheim rules reveal how strong the desire for uniformity of Windesheim was, while still allowing fluidity.

### Uniformity and Melodies

Recently, Eleanor Giraud has convincingly demonstrated that thirteenth-century Dominicans endeavoured and succeeded in achieving liturgical uniformity, as can be seen in the comparative lack of variance in early manuscripts.<sup>35</sup> Based on a close comparison of the chants for Mass of Holy Week of six liturgical manuscripts copied shortly after 1256, Giraud introduces the distinction between ‘graphic’ or written variants (variations affecting the presentation of the chant) and ‘sonic’ or sung variants (for instance, repeated pitches and changes in pitches or ligatures), among which only the first do not seem to alter how the music was sung.<sup>36</sup>

This distinction is helpful for analysing the level of compliance of a *Manuale* from Steterburg (Wolfenbüttel 1028)<sup>37</sup> with a *Manuale* from a Windesheim male house (Utrecht 432).<sup>38</sup> It has already been demonstrated by previous scholars that the liturgies for Windesheim male and female houses were extremely similar: the differences noticed by Van Dijk in the behaviour of canons and canonesses during Mass lie in details (for instance in the posture to adopt during the various readings and chants), rather than in the general proceedings of the Mass (for example, the order and choice of readings and chants).<sup>39</sup> Moreover, Eckart Conrad Lutz has recently compared a mid-fifteenth-century Windesheim *Liber ordinarius* from the male house of Sint-Agnietenberg (near Zwolle) with a female *Liber ordinarius* from the reformed female house of Heiningen. The comparison of the texts and of the proceedings of the liturgical

35 • Giraud, ‘Uniformity in the Dominican Liturgy’, 153–72.

36 • Ibid. 168.

37 • Wolfenbüttel 1028 (<http://diglib.hab.de/mss/1028-helmst/start.htm?image=00001>, last accessed 4 June 2019). The manuscript is dated after 1451. For a more general overview of the codicological structure and of the use of this manuscript, see the studies in Britta-Juliane Kruse (ed.), *Rosenkränze und Seelengärten: Bildung und Frömmigkeit in Niedersächsischen Frauenklöstern* (Wiesbaden, 2013); Kruse, *Stiftsbibliothek und Kirchenschatz*. See also Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*.

38 • Utrecht 432 (<http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/resolver.php?obj=002652767&ctype=2>, last accessed 18 Dec. 2018). The exact provenance of the manuscript is unknown, but an addition on fol. 79<sup>r</sup> mentions its use in a Windesheim monastery during the papacy of Martin V (r. 1417–31): ‘hanc gratiam absolucionis a pena et culpa contulit capitulo nostro de Wyndeseim ... dominus Martinus papa quintus ...’ (‘Pope Martin V conferred this grace of absolution of guilt and punishment on our Chapter of Windesheim ...’).

39 • Van Dijk, *CM*, 402–6.

ceremonies led Lutz to conclude that the *Ordinarius* from Heiningen was a literal copy of the Windesheim *Ordinarius* adapted for female houses (that is, with gender-based differences).<sup>40</sup> Therefore, the liturgy of male and female Windesheim houses and of officially incorporated and not incorporated but reformed houses was the same, at least based on what the sources tell us. The comparison of the aforementioned *Manualia* Utrecht 432 and Wolfenbüttel 1028, from similar contexts (a male Windesheim house and a female reformed house respectively), will complement Lutz's analysis on the links between such houses and reveal the extent to which the uniformity of Windesheim applies in reformed female houses as well.

A fundamental graphic variant between Utrecht 432 and Wolfenbüttel 1028 is the type of notation: Utrecht 432 uses square notation while Wolfenbüttel 1028 uses *Hufnagelschrift*. This is due to the provenance of the two manuscripts, from the dioceses of Utrecht and of Hildesheim respectively in (what is now) the Netherlands and Germany. Despite the different notational systems, the two manuscripts present an astonishing level of similarity. This is especially visible in long melismatic passages, such as the *Alleluia* of the chant *Cum Rex glorie* of the Easter Sunday procession (see Pl. 9.1), but also in smaller melismas such as the words *claritatis* and *terrore* of the chant *Sedit angelus* (see Pl. 9.2): even if the ligatures look different, the groups of notes are strictly the same. Therefore, the graphic differences, which pertain to the notations themselves, do not seem to impact the musical content.



Plate 9.1. Comparison of the ligatures and groups of notes of the *Alleluia* melisma in *Cum Rex glorie*: (a) Utrecht 432, fol. 46<sup>v</sup>; (b) Wolfenbüttel 1028, fol. 33<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, and the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel



Plate 9.2. Comparison of the ligatures and groups of notes of the melismas on *claritatis* and *terrore* in the chant *Sedit angelus*: (a) Utrecht 432, fol. 47<sup>v</sup> (staves 4 and 5); (b) Wolfenbüttel 1028, fol. 35<sup>v</sup> (staves 3 and 5). Reproduced with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, and the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

40 • Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, esp. 43. Lutz used the following male Windesheim *Ordinarius*: Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Hs. 1448, dated 1456. Van Dijk has identified this manuscript as a representative example of the mid-fifteenth-century *Ordinarius Windeshemensis* (Van Dijk, *CM*, 212–21). Therefore, even if no *Ordinarius* from officially incorporated female houses has come down to us, this exemplar from Heiningen is a valuable source of information for Windesheim liturgical practices in female houses.

In addition to the note shapes, the staves of Utrecht 432 are composed of four red lines, while the staves of Wolfenbüttel 1028 are composed of five lines, including a red (F-clef) and a yellow (C-clef) line. These two elements demonstrate that total visual uniformity was, apparently, not considered essential, at least in officially incorporated versus reformed monasteries. Rather, local scribal practices seem to have been allowed, at least in reformed houses (though it is not clear who, among the Chapter of Windesheim, the reformer, the local bishop, or the rector of the female house allowed such practices). It is also possible that no special permission was necessary and that regional scribal practices did not jeopardize uniformity as understood by Windesheim, and hence, that they were not a concern for the implementation of the Windesheim customs. This would not be surprising given the fact that other Orders allowed for regional characteristics, too: indeed, Chadd suggests that the Cistercians did not attempt to impose uniformity of notation, especially taking into account that notation was a minimal prescription, and that the actual, sonic, performance of chant was at the core of the uniformity.<sup>41</sup>

The use of vertical lines between groups of notes is the main (if not the only) difference in the musical notation of Wolfenbüttel and Utrecht 432.<sup>42</sup> Table 9.1, based on processional chants for Holy Week, Easter Sunday, and Rogation days, is representative of the proportions of differences one finds in the use of vertical lines in these two manuscripts.<sup>43</sup> Plate 9.3 illustrates some of these differences.



Plate 9.3. Examples of different placements of vertical lines between Utrecht 432 and Wolfenbüttel 1028: (a) Utrecht 432, fols. 47<sup>v</sup> and 52<sup>f</sup>; (b) Wolfenbüttel 1028, fols. 35<sup>f</sup> and 39<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, and the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

- 41 • Chadd, 'Liturgy and Liturgical Music: The Limits of Uniformity', 302. The copying practices of Wolfenbüttel 1028 and Utrecht 432 seem to confirm Chadd's hypothesis for Windesheim circles.
- 42 • The term 'vertical lines' is borrowed from Giraud, 'Uniformity in the Dominican Liturgy'. The Windesheim sources do not contain any specific term for this notational device.
- 43 • Given its central, liturgical, importance, Holy Week is often used as a representative example of liturgical practices. This is what Giraud did in her study of the Dominican liturgy (Giraud, 'Uniformity in the Dominican Liturgy', esp. 158), as well as Lutz in his study of the female monasteries of Heiningen and Steterburg, reformed by Windesheim (Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*). This article follows the same trend. Given the importance of the Rogations procession, it seemed necessary to complete this table with the processional chants of this feast as well, in order to have more representative results. The two manuscripts indicate that four chants should be sung: *Surgite sancti dei*, *Salvator mundi*, *Regina celi letare*, and *Lux perpetua lucebit*. However, Utrecht 432 does not have musical notation for the last two: the melodic comparison is therefore impossible in those cases (only the incipits are indicated; see fol. 52<sup>v</sup>).



The differences we find indicate either different phrasing practices or different visual indications. Vertical lines can be considered as sonic elements indicating phrasing, or as graphic elements giving visual points of reference in the copying process which did not impact the musical content. Given the small amount of differences between the two sources, it is difficult to identify which of those two possibilities is the most plausible. Furthermore, in Wolfenbüttel 1028, the vertical lines seem to have been written down by a different scribe after the copying of the melodies, whereas the lines in Utrecht 432 were copied by the same scribe and together with the melodies. Thus, it is also possible that the second scribe of Wolfenbüttel 1028 omitted some of the vertical lines (as might be the case, for instance, in the second example of Pl. 9.3). However, given the high number of vertical lines in both manuscripts, the figures in Table 9.1 show that differences in the use of vertical lines are very occasional and are therefore not significant in terms of compromising the chant uniformity sought by Windesheim.

Table 9.1. Differences in the use of vertical lines between Utrecht 423 and Wolfenbüttel 1028

Chant	Extra vertical line in Utrecht 432	Extra vertical line in Wolfenbüttel 1028	Number of vertical lines in Utrecht 432	Number of vertical lines in Wolfenbüttel 1028
<i>Inventor rutili dux</i>	4	0	52	48
<i>Cum rex glorie</i>	1	2	47	48
<i>Salve festa dies</i>	3	1	22	20
<i>Sedit angelus</i>	1	3 <sup>a</sup>	15	17
<i>Sedit angelus V. Crucifixum in carne</i>	1	5 <sup>b</sup>	14	18
<i>Sedit angelus V. Recordamini quomodo</i>	1	1	13	13
<i>Surgite sancti dei</i>	2	0	17	15
<i>Salvator mundi</i>	3	3	19	19
<i>Total amount of vertical lines</i>	16	15	199	198

a Including 2 replaced by a clef change: vertical lines as separation of phrases were not necessary.

b Including 1 replaced by a clef change: vertical line as separation of phrases was not necessary.

Concerning melodies, Ulrike Hascher-Burger has already underlined how few variations there are among manuscripts from Augustinian and even Cistercian female houses from Lower Saxony reformed by Windesheim.<sup>44</sup> In the chants compared in Table 9.1, only one difference has been notated: in the chant *Surgite sancti dei* one pitch is repeated in Wolfenbüttel 1028 (Pl. 9.4) but not in Utrecht 432. It might be due to a variation in the melody, in which case the melodic contour is not impacted. However, it seems more likely to be an omission of the Utrecht scribe.

44 • Ulrike Hascher-Burger, 'In omnibus essent conformes? Windesheimer Reform und liturgische Erneuerung in niedersächsischen Frauenkonventen im 15. Jahrhundert', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 93 (2013), 535–47 at 545.

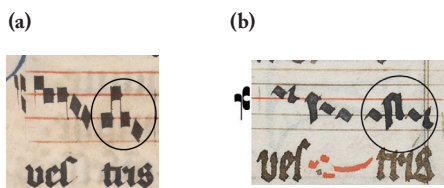


Plate 9.4. Variation in repetition of pitches in the chant *Surgite sancti dei*: (a) Utrecht 432, fol. 51<sup>v</sup>; (b) Wolfenbüttel 1028, fol. 38<sup>f</sup> (penultimate note doubled). Reproduced with permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, and the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

This unique difference therefore confirms Hascher-Burger's observations: uniformity at the level of individual melodies seems to have been respected in minute detail, at least as much as it is possible to tell from the sources. This also shows that the passage from one notation to the other did not impact the status of the musical melodies.

The extreme similarities of the two sources at the level of individual melodies show that sonic variations were only minor, if not inexistent, at least based on what the sources show. On the contrary, the use of two different notational systems demonstrates that graphic variants were not necessary to achieve the uniformity of Windesheim. The differences in the use of vertical lines, even if their purpose is not clear, are not numerous enough to significantly impact the uniformity of the sonic aspects of the chants, especially given the high amount of vertical lines in both sources.

Therefore, conclusions similar to those found by Giraud within the thirteenth-century Dominican liturgy can be drawn: the Dominican liturgy allowed for 'occasional minor "sonic" variation . . . and was much freer with regard to written variations'.<sup>45</sup> Windesheim indeed allowed written variations; the choice of the notational system is the most visible witness of this. The appearance of the notation did not change the musical content, however: the almost complete absence of pitch differences reveals the criteria according to which Windesheim judged whether it had succeeded in implementing sonic uniformity in reformed (female) houses.<sup>46</sup> In the medieval context, where the transmission and stability of texts were often made difficult by material or technical factors, such lack of differences is particularly striking. This clearly points towards a great stress on the achievement of melodic uniformity. Wolfenbüttel 1028 therefore seems to be representative of Johannes Busch's report according to which Steterburg was in compliance with Windesheim customs (*in omnibus nobis sunt conformes*).<sup>47</sup>

Johannes Busch often concluded his reports by writing that the Augustinian monasteries have now adopted 'our chants' (the chants of the Windesheim Chapter), though without giving more details. For instance, in Steterburg, he writes that the canonesses preserved much of (*pro maiori parte*) the 'old chant' (*cantum antiquum*) until his arrival but, thanks to his counsel and to the good will of the canonesses, they adopted the chant of 'our general chapter' (*cantum capituli nostri generalis*).<sup>48</sup> This points to a clear awareness of 'old' chants that needed to be changed. While this older state is lost to us because of the lack of sources, the comparison of individual melodies following the reform, as given above, confirms Busch's statement.

45 • Giraud, 'Uniformity in the Dominican Liturgy', 169.

46 • Interestingly, the sources studied by Giraud were all written in square notation. The fact that the shift from one notational system to another did not affect the musical content in the Windesheim sources points at a very stable musical transmission.

47 • Grube, *Liber*, 607.

48 • 'Cantum antiquum pro maiori parte usque ad adventum meum ad eas retinuerant, sed de consilio meo et voluntate cantum capituli nostri generalis assumpserunt et ordinarium et servant usque in presentem diem.' Grube, *Liber*, 607.

In addition, Busch often wrote that reformed monasteries were now in full compliance with the statutes, the *Ordinarius*, the chants and ceremonies of the Chapter.<sup>49</sup> Given the sonic uniformity of melodies, it would be tempting to draw the same conclusions about these other aspects of the liturgy and of monastic life.

## Uniformity and Celebrations

However, if we zoom out from palaeographic minutiae to a more general level, some discrepancies do emerge between Johannes Busch's discourse on his reforms, official Windesheim regulations, and local practices. These differences indicate at first glance a break with uniformity. One visible aspect which points towards residual non-uniform practices concerns the organization of processions.

### Processions

The Chapter of Windesheim forbade canonesses to make processions. The prohibition is stated in the female constitutions as follows: 'Moniales non faciant processiones, sed in choro cantant que proprie ad processionem cantanda ordinata sunt' ('Canonesses are not to perform processions, but sing in the choir those [chants] which are ordained to be sung during the processions').<sup>50</sup>

This prohibition was not in the original Windesheim statutes since it is part of *De diversis statutis*, a chapter which gathers new regulations decided by the annual Chapter meetings.<sup>51</sup> This prohibition was very likely decided in the 1430s,<sup>52</sup> and it was also copied in at least one version of the *Constitutiones canonicorum Windeshemensium*, with a small variation (italicized here): 'Moniales non faciant processiones, sed *possunt cantare* in choro que proprie ad processionem cantanda ordinata sunt' ('Canonesses are not to perform processions, but they *can sing* in the choir those [chants] which are ordained to be sung during the processions').<sup>53</sup>

This small difference in wording, however, does not leave any doubt regarding the meaning of this decision: canonesses could not perform the movements of the processions in the proper sense of the word, i.e. outside their choir, even if they were allowed to sing processional

49 • The aforementioned quotation concerning the Augustinian female monastery of Heiningen, for example, is very clear: 'In statutis, ordinario, cantu et ceremoniis per omnia se nostris conformaverunt' (see above, n. 28); Grube, *Liber*, 604. Another example includes the Augustinian male house of St. Justinus in Ettersburg: 'Assumpserunt ergo ibi statuta nostra capituli de Windes[h]em, ordinarium[,] cantum, habitum, ceremonialia et usque in presens satis bene cuncta observant ...' ('Therefore, they adopted the statutes, the *Liber ordinarius*, the chant, the dress, the ceremonies of our Chapter of Windesheim, and they observe them all well and sufficiently until the present day'). Grube, *Liber*, 472. 'Habitus' here refers to the dress and, by extension, to the religious way of life: when the inhabitants of the monastery 'took the Windesheim dress', they also adopted the Congregation's religious life. The edition by Grube does not feature a comma between 'ordinarium' and 'cantum', but it seems to be a misreading or a misunderstanding. The previous quotation, for instance, distinguishes 'ordinarius' from 'cantus', which makes perfect sense: 'ordinarius' there refers to the book codifying the practical aspects of the liturgy (the *Liber ordinarius*) while 'cantus' refers to the chants that were sung.

50 • Van Dijk, *CM*, 828.

51 • The chapter *De diversis statutis* or *Statuta de diversis que ad omnes pertinent* already figures in manuscripts from c.1432–4. See Haverals and Legrand, *CCW*, 13.

52 • Van Dijk, *CM*, 513.

53 • *CCW*, BnF, lat. 10883, fol. 82<sup>v</sup>, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90683oog>, last accessed 18 Dec. 2018).

chants and, perhaps, enact abstract versions of the relevant processions within the confines of the choir.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, while the chapter on the cantor in the male Constitutions indicates that he was in charge of organizing and controlling processions, including watching over the proper movements of the monastic bodies,<sup>55</sup> the same sentence was omitted in the corresponding chapter of the Constitutions for female communities on the cantrix.<sup>56</sup> Apart from these two elements, no other sources evoke this prohibition, but these two sentences strongly suggest that any form of processional movements in any kind of physical space (either inside or outside the enclosure) was forbidden. However, singing the chants in a stationary way would still have enabled the canonesses to create an imagined space.<sup>57</sup> Processions were important rituals transforming material space into a metaphorically transcended space—for example, to recreate the city of Jerusalem or to transform the space of the monastery into a symbolic representation of the heavenly paradise. In such rituals, not only movements and gestures were essential, but also objects (crosses, candles), art work, and, of course, sound (readings, chants). All participated in the process of transcending the material space. Therefore, despite the prohibition of the ambulatory element of processions, the Windesheim Constitutions, by allowing canonesses to sing processional chants, still gave them the possibility to perform the symbolic, metaphorical meaning of processions.<sup>58</sup>

Nevertheless, contrary to the explicit full compliance of the monastery of Steterburg with Windesheim customs, as Busch tells us,<sup>59</sup> and contrary to the prohibition clearly stated in the Constitutions, sources from Steterburg clearly attest that processions had been performed outside the choir after the reform. The *Manuale Wolfenbüttel* 1028 not only contains melodies of processional chants, but also details on the movements to be performed by the canonesses on the main feast days, namely Palm Sunday, the Easter Vigil, Easter Sunday, Rogation Days,

- 54 • The prohibition implies that once canonesses could perform the movements of the processions outside the choir, within the enclosure. However, according to Johannes Busch, enclosure was most of the time not fully respected in the houses he reformed, which could have entailed visual and physical contacts with laypeople who were allowed in the church. The prohibition nevertheless makes it clear that even within their enclosure, Windesheim canonesses were not allowed to perform processional movements.
- 55 • ‘Ipsius quoque est processiones ordinare et facienda disponere, et eos qui non bene incedunt dirigere.’ *CCW*, 144.
- 56 • Van Dijk, *CM*, 726–7.
- 57 • Processions in female orders in general need further research. However, case studies undertaken by modern scholarship attest to the performance of processions by religious women inside and outside the enclosure. A telling example is the nuns of the Benedictine Abbey of the Holy Cross in Poitiers in the fifteenth century, discussed by Jennifer C. Edwards, *Superior Women: Medieval Female Authority in Poitiers’ Abbey of Sainte-Croix* (Oxford, 2019), 201–28. Gabriela Signori also mentions several late-medieval examples in Benedictine abbeys in ‘Wanderers between Worlds: Visitors, Letters, Wills, and Gifts as Means of Communication in Exchanges between Cloister and the World’, in Jeffrey H. Hamburger and Susan Marti (eds.), *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York, 2008), 259–73 at 260–1.
- 58 • For the symbolic meaning of the various elements of processions in a similar context, see June Mecham, ‘Spatial Geography of the Convent of Wienhausen’, in Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2005), 139–56. Though in a different context (thirteenth-century Cistercian monasteries of Yorkshire), this question is also very well exemplified in Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries* (Turnhout, 2001), 47–71. For a more general discussion of monastic space, see Columba Stewart, ‘Monastic Space and Time’, in Hendrik W. Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante Litteram: The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011), 43–51.
- 59 • ‘Sic ergo nunc in omnibus nobis sunt conformes.’ Grube, *Liber*, 607.

the Vigil of Pentecost, Corpus Christi, Assumption, and the Dedication of the church.<sup>60</sup> The *Manuale* from Steterburg is not an isolated testimony to processions continuing after the Windesheim reform was accomplished: they are also mentioned in the 1479 breviary from the same house. For instance, in the calendar, on the solemn feast of the Assumption of Mary, one can read: 'Ad processionem *Felix namque*'.<sup>61</sup>

This proves that some reformed monasteries retained some of their older practices, despite their (or Johannes Busch's) claim of being reformed according to the Windesheim Constitutions.<sup>62</sup> Even if the reform was successfully implemented, it was necessary to organize the liturgy on a practical level, which clearly led to outcomes that could differ from the Windesheim regulations and must have been the product of local negotiations. Further research is required to fully reveal the rationale behind these persistences, but deviances are not unusual in liturgical history. What Chadd concluded about the thirteenth-century Cistercian liturgy is also valid for the fifteenth-century Windesheim Congregation: 'the *genii loci* could exert a more tenacious hold than the rather abstract ideals of fidelity to a universal Rule'.<sup>63</sup>

### Ceremonies

Flexibility in the implementation of uniformity is also visible in the general organization of celebrations within the narrower circle of officially incorporated monasteries. As early as 1431, the General Chapter agreed to allow monasteries to incorporate the feasts of the diocese in which they were located even if this caused divergences from the officially sanctioned Windesheim Calendar and the respective liturgies.<sup>64</sup> Similarly to the ongoing practice of processions in at least some reformed, albeit unincorporated, female houses, as demonstrated in the case of Steterburg, this permission demonstrates the willingness of the Congregation to adapt to local practices within circumscribed limits. Local practices were of profound importance in the medieval liturgy,<sup>65</sup> and this Chapter decision of 1431 was a way to control the ensuing di-

60 • The first folios of the manuscript are missing: the manuscript now begins with the end of the chant *Cum appropinquaret Dominus* for the Palm Sunday procession. A mid-fifteenth-century *Manuale* (Los Angeles, Occidental College, 1 box 233 2 L615) has been identified by Britta Kruse as possibly originating from Steterburg (based on numerous similarities of content and decorations, as well as on the mention of the patrons Jacobus and Christophorus and of the altars of St Augustine and Bernward of Hildesheim). This other *Manuale* opens with Candlemas procession: it is therefore possible that Wolfenbüttel 1028 originally opened with this feast as well. See Kruse, *Stiftsbibliothek und Kirchenschatz*, 423.

61 • Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, VII B Hs 372, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>.

62 • The continued practice of processions despite their ban by the Windesheim Constitutions is not the only example of such exceptions. Similar discrepancies have been identified, for instance, regarding the use of polyphony or of organs: Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit: Studien zu einer Musikhandschrift der Devotio moderna* (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 16 H 34, olim B 113). *Mit einer Edition der Gesänge* (Leiden, 2002), esp. 185–241, and Ulrike Hascher-Burger, 'Orgelspiel versus Orgelverbot: Ein Paradigmenstreit im Umfeld der norddeutschen Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert?', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 35–6 (2017), 69–86.

63 • Chadd, 'Liturgy and Liturgical Music: The Limits of Uniformity', 314.

64 • 'Unaquaque domus poterit se conformare in celebratione festorum cum ordinario dyocesis in qua sita est.' Van der Woude, *ACW*, 23.

65 • Susan Boynton has exemplified this in earlier centuries: Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, NY and London, 2006).

vergences from the ideal of *uniformitas* as much as was possible by allowing limited divergence within specific confines (here those of the diocesan liturgical calendars).

230

This is perhaps the reason why, at least until 1447, feasts that were not officially part of the Windesheim liturgy were still celebrated in officially incorporated monasteries. Indeed, in a document dated 27 February 1447, Hildesheim Prince-Bishop Magnus of Saxe-Lauenburg noted that numerous unnecessary ceremonies and practices from the time before the reform were still performed in the monasteries of St Bartholomäus in Sülte near Hildesheim, of Wittenburg, and of Riechenberg. In the letter, he writes that these excesses must be corrected because they are not in compliance with the Windesheim regulations.<sup>66</sup> Interestingly, in the same year the General Chapter ordained that *visitatores* must be particularly careful that no discrepancies exist 'in statutes, books, [keeping of ] silence, and so on' ('in statutis, in libris, in silentio et caeteris'), since such discrepancies lessened the conformity to the Windesheim statutes and therefore jeopardized the harmony of the Chapter.<sup>67</sup> The bishop anticipated the application of this stipulation (which was only confirmed by the Chapter in 1449) with his letter. This demonstrates, on the one hand, the strong episcopal support that the Windesheim Congregation had enjoyed in the diocese of Hildesheim, and, on the other, the fact that feasts or ceremonies that were not officially Windesheim-sanctioned started to be a concern for the Chapter, and therefore that they clearly wanted to adjust their decision of 1431 allowing local feasts. It also shows that tolerance towards local practices went in waves, demonstrating the ongoing struggle of the Chapter of Windesheim to deal with, on the one hand, the need to implement uniformity and to control monasteries which were sometimes hundreds of miles away from the motherhouse, and, on the other, to control the continued (re-)assertion of local customs and traditions.

Between 1440 and June 1447, Johannes Busch was the prior of the monastery of St. Bartholomäus in Sülte. The letter of the Prince-Bishop of Hildesheim proves that even in this monastery, led by the kingpin of the reform himself, feasts that were not sanctioned by Windesheim continued to be organized. If these were allowed by the 1431 Windesheim decision, it sheds a different light on Busch's writings. As Bertram Lesser has written, the Prince-Bishop's letter must have affected Busch, since he later kept insisting in his verbal descriptions how strongly he wanted, and how convincingly he succeeded in, implementing Windesheim customs and ceremonies.<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, the letter of the Prince-Bishop of Hildesheim also nuances Busch's own testimony on his reforms.

66 • The bishop especially mentions Masses and vigils, funerals and saints' feasts (*tam in missis et vigiliis, funeralibus ac aliquibus sanctorum festis*). See Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv Hannover, Cal. Or. 100 Wittenburg Nr. 81 (<http://www.arcinsys.niedersachsen.de/arcinsys/detailAction?detailid=v1680406>, last accessed 18 Dec. 2018). The three monasteries were reformed according to the Windesheim Constitutions and officially incorporated within the Congregation as follows: Riechenberg: reformed in 1414, incorporated in 1433 (Grube, *Liber*, 482–84; Heutger and Heutger, *Niedersächsische Ordenshäuser und Stifte*, 208–20). Wittenburg: reformed and incorporated in 1423 (Grube, *Liber*, 479–82; Heutger and Heutger, *Niedersächsische Ordenshäuser und Stifte*, 194–207). St. Bartholomäus in Sülte: reformed in 1439, incorporated in 1441 (Van der Woude, *ACW*, 36 and 134). On this event, see also Lesser, *Johannes Busch*, 290–1.

67 • Van der Woude, *ACW*, 44.

68 • Lesser, *Johannes Busch*, 290–1. Among the numerous cases found in the *Liber de reformatione*, two examples can be quoted: about the monastery of Neuwerk, reformed in 1445, Busch wrote: 'Sic ergo apud cantum

Not only the local sources themselves, but also the position of the Chapter of Windesheim (as is visible in its successive stipulations) nuance the desire of uniformity of the Chapter and the discourse of Johannes Busch on the achievement of ‘uniformity’ in reformed monasteries. Busch obviously had an interest in demonstrating that his reforms were an unmitigated success and, hence, that all reformed monasteries were fully and without exception in compliance with the Windesheim regulations. After all, he was mandated by the cardinal legate Nicholas of Cusa and he had to prove the efficiency of his work.<sup>69</sup> Bertram Lesser’s analysis also emphasized that Busch’s *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* was not just a reform handbook nor just an ‘autobiographical, missionary-style factual report’ (‘autobiographisch-missionarischer Tatenbericht’) of his reforms but also a means to position himself among the illustrious, exemplary men of Windesheim.<sup>70</sup> It was therefore in Busch’s (political and spiritual) interest to stress (and perhaps exaggerate) the Windesheim uniformity of the monasteries he reformed.

## Conclusion

It has become clear that the female reformed monastery at Steterburg shared the same melodies as officially incorporated Windesheim male houses, as illustrated by the *Manuale* Utrecht 432. The comparison of this *Manuale* with the *Manuale* Wolfenbüttel 1028 from Steterburg has also proved that graphic variants were not significant in the accomplishment of this uniformity, and that sonic unity was much more essential—and indeed achieved, at least as far as the notated sources can tell us in this case. The differences in the use of vertical lines observed above might point to different phrasing, but their small number shows that these were minor variations, and did not significantly impact the uniformity in the chant performance.

However, the uniformity of melodies was counterbalanced by non-compliance of the reformed house of Steterburg with the prohibition of processions stipulated in the Constitutions. Since the Constitutions are presented as the warrant of uniformity, any deviance from this text would point to a break with uniformity.<sup>71</sup> Finally, the Chapter of Windesheim itself struggled with implementing the strict uniformity of practices, temporarily authorizing some local deviances, as is visible in the 1431 decision to allow local, diocesan feasts, revoked in favour of the full uniformity of practices in the General Chapter several years later, in 1447. Finally, the mix of uniform and non-uniform practices contradicts—or at least puts into per-

nostrum per annos plusquam viginti quinque permanserunt, statuta, ordinarium et ceremonialia nostra servantes.’ (‘This way, therefore, they retained our chants over more than twenty-five years, and preserved our statutes, *Liber ordinarius*, and ceremonies’). Grube, *Liber*, 436. Another example is the female house of the Heiligkreuzkloster in Erfurt, reformed in 1470: ‘...in habitu, cantu, statutis et ceremonialibus per omnia nobis in Sulta sunt conformes’. (... ‘they are completely in compliance with the dress, the chant, the statutes, and the ceremonies with ours in Sülte’). Grube, *Liber*, 612.

69 • Grube, *Liber*, 759–63.

70 • Lesser, *Johannes Busch*, esp. 276 and 291–2.

71 • The prologue of the constitutions is very clear in this regard: unity will be ensured and achieved better if everything is written down and if no one is allowed to change anything in this text (‘Quod profecto eo competencius et plenius poterit observari, si ea que agenda sunt scripto fuerint commendata, si omnibus qualiter sit vivendum scriptura teste innotescat, si mutare vel addere vel minuire nulli quicquam propria voluntate liceat, ne si minima neglexerimus paulatim defluamus’). Translation Haverals and Legrand, *CCW*, 40. This part of the prologue was also used by the Premonstratensians and Dominicans.

spective—Johannes Busch's repeated assertions that reformed monasteries were fully in compliance with Windesheim statutes, ceremonies, and books.

Should we then conclude that the Chapter of Windesheim did not succeed in achieving its goals? The regulations of Windesheim do not necessarily describe actual practices, but ideals that monasteries within the Congregation had to strive to reach. In her study of Cistercian documents, Constance Berman states that since 'divergence from the model is the norm', the 'Ideals and Reality model' has to be reconsidered.<sup>72</sup> Berman's statement invites us to question the very notion of 'Windesheim ideals', since it appears too simple to analyse Windesheim practices in terms of an opposition between ideals (what the regulations prescribed) and reality (the divergences from the regulations which emerge from local liturgical sources). Of course, the regulations Windesheim established in the Constitutions and adjusted each year during the Chapter meetings seem to describe a 'standard of perfection or excellence' (which was also conceived of by the Chapter as a re-establishment of older monastic traditions), a 'thing conceived in its highest perfection ... an object to be realized or aimed at'.<sup>73</sup> This last definition of 'ideal', however, is exactly what could nuance the understanding of the ideal as the perfect achievement, and therefore an achievement somewhat removed from reality: an ideal is 'an object to be aimed at' but cannot be reached in the real world.

The case study presented in this article seems to indicate that uniformity was indeed for late-medieval people an object to be aimed at, rather than an object to be achieved. The mix of uniform and non-uniform practices observed in Steterburg opens questions about the meaning, origins, and reasons for divergences between the norms (the ideals) and the local practices (the reality) in reformed monasteries, especially taking into account the various perspectives adopted by the sources (the Chapter of Windesheim, Johannes Busch, liturgical books produced for and by reformed monasteries themselves).

Moreover, even if the discourse in sources does not explicitly state it, elements point towards uniformity understood as stability over the years. As discussed here, the female house of Steterburg clearly points to the continued uses of local practices, whether in the actual performance of the liturgy (such as processions) or in the copying of books (keeping local musical notation). Uniformity through stability and persistence is also what Johannes Busch advocated when he wrote, on several occasions, that reformed monasteries have now followed the ceremonies, statutes, and chants for more than twenty years.<sup>74</sup> Uniformity might not be only a horizontal notion (all the monasteries do exactly the same), but rather a vertical notion, that is, a persistent state of things over the years in a given house.

72 • Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, 55–6.

73 • 'ideal, adj. and n.'. OED Online (<http://www.oed.com>, last accessed 25 Jan. 2019).

74 • For example, about the male monastery of Neuwerk, Busch wrote that they have been following the chant, statutes, and ceremonies of Windesheim for more than twenty-five years (Grube, *Liber*, 435–6.). Steterburg has been following the Windesheim liturgical practices 'until the present day', which means for about twenty years, since the house was reformed in 1451 and the *Liber* written between 1470 and 1474 (Grube, *Liber*, 607).



THE PRESENCE OF THE PAST IN LUTHERAN MUSIC AND LITURGY:  
A COMMENTARY ON DAVID CHYTRAEUS'S AGENDA OF 1578

Christine Roth

The memory of the past and the construction of a confessional identity based on this memory hold a special significance in the post-Reformation Lutheran community.<sup>1</sup> Music and the conception of its past play a major role not only in Lutheran liturgical practices, but also, more broadly, in the development of a Lutheran cultural identity. The following discussion of David Chytraeus's agenda of 1578 and comparisons with other Lutheran agendas and church orders as well as Chytraeus's attitude towards music history offers valuable insights into the Lutheran understanding of music history, its role in the denomination's self-perception and identity, and the role of the past in Lutheran music and liturgy.

The German translation (1578) of David Chytraeus's Latin catechism (1554) contains an agenda not previously studied by scholars. In the Protestant tradition, an agenda is a book regulating liturgy and music. The Lutheran Church used to have specific agendas for different cities or and areas, so that variant Lutheran liturgies coexisted. Chytraeus's agenda, which does not refer to any specific geographical area, gives an extraordinarily detailed insight into the place of tradition in Lutheran music and liturgy. In the prefaces to this agenda as well as its various sections, Chytraeus provides a justification of Lutheran music and thoughts on music history, further elaborated in other of his publications such as *In Deuteronomium Mosi Enarratio* (Wittenberg, 1575). Chytraeus's interpretation of music and its past shows significant parallels with his understanding of the historical past, especially in its alignment of theological argument and humanist historiography.

In contrast to Luther's *German Mass* (*Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes*, published in Wittenberg in 1526) or other Lutheran agendas, which often give only rather general instructions for musical practice, Chytraeus provides much more detailed specifications regarding the liturgical use of music, especially in the chapter 'Ordnung der Gesänge'—an order of monophonic chants for use in church. These specifications encompass detailed lists of the German hymns and Latin chants which are to be sung as well as instructions for musical performance during the different kinds of services. The preponderance of German repertory in the lists of songs arises because of the lack of a comprehensive German Lutheran cantionale. Johann Spangenberg's cantionale of 1545—the first such publication containing

1 • For the Lutheran understanding of history and the role of the past for the construction of a Lutheran identity see Marcus Sandl, 'Interpretationswelten der Zeitenwende: Protestantische Selbstbeschreibungen im 16. Jahrhundert zwischen Bibelauslegung und Reformationserinnerung', in Joachim Eibach and Marcus Sandl (eds.), *Protestantische Identität und Erinnerung: Von der Reformation bis zur Bürgerrechtsbewegung in der DDR*, Formen der Erinnerung, 16 (Göttingen, 2003), 27–46; Thomas Fuchs, 'Reformation als Erinnerungsrevolution: Erinnerungsstrategien der reformatorischen Bewegung', in Klaus Tanner (ed.), *Konstruktion von Geschichte: Jubelrede—Predigt—protestantische Historiographie*, Leucorea-Studien zur Geschichte der Reformation und der Lutherischen Orthodoxie, 18 (Leipzig, 2012), 15–28.

Latin and German monophonic repertory<sup>2</sup>—does not offer music for the Office and does not provide complete music for the Proper of the Mass. A more complete cantionale by Johannes Keuchenthal, *KirchenGesenge Latinisch und Deudsch*, had appeared three years before Chytraeus's agenda of 1578.<sup>3</sup> A comparison of Chytraeus's agenda with Spangenberg's cantionale and Keuchenthal's book reveals significant parallels between pre-Reformation music and the role of tradition in Lutheran repertory.

### David Chytraeus and his Agenda of 1578: The Historical Context

David Chytraeus (1530–1600) was a Lutheran theologian and historian who studied in Tübingen from 1539 and in Wittenberg from 1544 onwards. He taught theology at the university in Rostock beginning in 1550.<sup>4</sup> From 1559 he lectured on history and became engaged in church history and German history.<sup>5</sup> Chytraeus was a highly reputed scholar who not only participated in the reorganization of the University of Rostock and formulated the statutes for the newly founded University of Helmstedt, he also took part in theological disputes and the organization of the Protestant Church in Austria (1568) and Styria (1573/4).<sup>6</sup> His first foray into music history was his commentary on the books of Moses *In Deuteronomium Mosis Enarratio* of 1575, in which he proposed a historiographic perspective that was new at the time.<sup>7</sup> Here, Chytraeus gave an unusually detailed chronological account of music history, encompassing pagan as well as church music history.<sup>8</sup> His interest in the musical past is also reflected in his 1578 agenda.

The agenda was published as an appendix to the German translation of his catechism, *Heubstuck christlicher Lehr* (Rostock, 1578). Chytraeus's catechism, first published in Latin in 1554 (*Catechesis in Academia Rostochiana*, Rostock, 1554), was one of the most widely distributed

- 2 • Daniel Zager, 'Music for the Lutheran Liturgy: Johann Spangenberg's *Cantiones ecclesiasticae/Kirchengesenge Deusch* (1545)', in James Freese (ed.), *This is the Feast: A Festschrift to Richard Hiller at 80* (St. Louis, MO, 2004), 45–60 at 46; Johann Spangenberg, *Cantiones ecclesiasticae latinae/Kirchengesenge Deusch* (Magdeburg, 1545).
- 3 • Johannes Keuchenthal, *KirchenGesenge Latinisch und Deudsch / sampt allen Euangelien / Episteln / und Colletten / auff die Sontage vnd Feste / nach Ordnung der zeit, durchs gantze Jhar / Zum Ampt, so man das Hochwürdigē Sacrament des Abendmals vnsers HERRN IHESU CHRISTI handelt / oder sonst Gottes wort prediget / In den Euangelischen Kirchen breuchlich / Aus den besten Gesangbüchern vnd Agenden / so fur die Euangelischen Kirchen in Deudscher sprach gestellet vnd verordnet sind / zusammen gebracht* (Wittenberg, 1573).
- 4 • Johann Michael Reu, *Ost-, Nord- und Westdeutsche Katechismen, 1. Abt.: Historisch-bibliographische Einleitung 1, Quellen zur Geschichte des Katechismus-Unterrichts, 1-3-1a* (Gütersloh, 1927), 386\*; Thomas Fuchs, 'David und Nathan Chytraeus: Eine biographische Annäherung', in Karl-Heinz Glaser et al. (eds.), *David und Nathan Chytraeus: Humanismus im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Ubstadt-Weiher, 1993), 33–46 and 183–187 at 33–5.
- 5 • Fuchs, 'David und Nathan Chytraeus', 37; Daniel Benga, *David Chytraeus (1530–1600) als Erforscher und Wiederentdecker der Ostkirchen: Seine Beziehungen zu orthodoxen Theologen, seine Erforschungen der Ostkirchen und seine ostkirchlichen Kenntnisse* (Gießen, 2012), 25–9.
- 6 • Otto Krabbe, *Die Universität Rostock im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Rostock and Schwerin, 1854), 550–611; Harald Bollbuck, 'David Chytraeus in Rostock und Helmstedt', in Matthias Asche et al. (eds.), *Die Leucorea zur Zeit des späten Melanchthon: Institutionen und Formen gelehrter Bildung um 1550* (Leipzig, 2015), 313–42; Peter Baumgart and Ernst Pitz, *Die Statuten der Universität Helmstedt, Veröffentlichungen der niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung*, 15 (Göttingen, 1963), 9–29.
- 7 • Inga Mai Groote, 'Music in David Chytraeus' *In Deuteronomium Mosis Enarratio* (1575)', in David Burn et al. (eds.), *Music and Theology in the European Reformations* (Turnhout, 2019), 233–252 at 237.
- 8 • Ibid. 243–4.

catechetical educational books of his time.<sup>9</sup> It consists of an introduction to Christian doctrine for advanced students who had already studied Luther's catechism (*Der kleine Catechismus*, Magdeburg, 1529). Chytraeus's Latin catechism had already been translated into German in an extended version (Rostock, 1572). The 1578 edition of the German catechism includes several appendices, among which the agenda discussed here.<sup>10</sup>

The publication of Chytraeus's agenda as an appendix to his catechism came about owing to historical circumstances related to his reformatory mission in the Archduchy of Austria. In 1568 Emperor Maximilian II had accorded freedom of religion to the Austrian Lutheran community.<sup>11</sup> Chytraeus was invited in the very same year to provide a church order, an order for the superintendence and the consistory, an explanation of the *Confessio Augustana (doctrinale)*, and an order for the ordination of pastors. These documents were meant to regulate the activities of the Lutheran church in the Archduchy of Austria. However, they were never published in their entirety in Austria: in 1571 Chytraeus's agenda for the Protestant estates of Austria was published in a revised form in Rosenberg, as the Emperor did not accept the original version.<sup>12</sup> The complete set of texts was issued for the first time as late as in 1578 in Rostock,<sup>13</sup> together with the *Heubstuck christlicher Lehr* (the extended translation of his Latin catechism referred to above). It also included the extended agenda which was based on the Austrian version of 1571, the aforementioned orders, and a liturgical calendar. In contrast to the version of 1571, this 1578 agenda contains regulations for the singing in the church.

### David Chytraeus's Notion of the Past

In order to understand Chytraeus's notion of the past in music and liturgy as set forth in his 1578 agenda, it is important to consider the concepts of history he engages with in his historical research. Chytraeus's historical writings display many humanist elements: he uses original sources such as speeches, epigrams, or epitaphs; he traces the biographies of important men; and he cites ancient and biblical examples and provides descriptions of cities.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, his historical accounts are always shaped by Lutheran theological interpretations and ideas typical of the sixteenth-century engagement with history.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, they are characterized by a concern with developing historical narratives justifying the Protestant Confession. As Chytraeus writes in his *De lectione historiarum recte instituenda* (1563), history is evidence of divine wisdom through the example of biblical history itself, as well as other important

- 9 • Reu, *Ost-, Nord- und Westdeutsche Katechismen*, 385\*. Gerhard Bode, 'Instruction of the Christian Faith by Lutherans after Luther', in Robert Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1665* (Leiden and Boston, 2008), 159–204 at 188.
- 10 • Ibid. 392\* and 413–16.
- 11 • Ibid. 416\*.
- 12 • Theodor Pressel, *David Chyträus* (Elberfeld, 1862), 31; Fuchs, 'David und Nathan Chytraeus', 39–40. For a detailed account on the agenda of 1571 see Herbert Krimm, 'Die Agende der niederösterreichischen Stände vom Jahre 1571', in *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich*, 55 (1934), 1–64.
- 13 • Reu, *Ost-, Nord- und Westdeutsche Katechismen*, 419\*.
- 14 • Benga, *David Chytraeus*, 24–5.
- 15 • Harald Bollbuck, *Geschichts- und Raummodelle bei Albert Krantz (um 1448–1517) und David Chytraeus (1530–1600): Transformationen des historischen Diskurses im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 2006), 189.

and memorable events and personalities: 'Sunt autem HISTORIAE, magna ex parte, nihil aliud, quàm huius sapientiae divinae, seu LEGIS DEI, gubernatricis imperiorum, & vitae privatae, EXEMPLA illustra in Dei ipsius & summorum regum, & civitatum, & magnorum virorum rebus gestis expressa.'<sup>16</sup> History thus acts as *vitae magistra*—a Ciceronian concept of the instructive dimension of history.<sup>17</sup> According to Chytraeus, historiographical works also ensure that major ecclesiastical, imperial, and political events are not forgotten: 'Plane autem extingueretur in genere humano memoria rerum maximarum, quae ante nostram aetatem in Ecclesia & Imperijs acciderunt, nisi literarum & Historiae monumentis consignarentur.'<sup>18</sup> For Chytraeus the past thus serves to guide the future, and historiography has as its goal keeping the memory of the past alive.

The role of the past and Chytraeus's understanding of history are also important elements in the preface to his 1578 agenda. The agenda regulates the sermons, sacraments, catechism, liturgical music, and ceremonies in Lutheran churches. It is introduced by a preface written by Chytraeus himself. The 1571 edition mentions the Archduchy of Austria on the title page, but that was no longer valid for the 1578 edition, and Chytraeus leaves a 'nomen nominandum' ('N. N.') in the preface to the agenda, displacing it from any concrete local or historical context.<sup>19</sup> The 1578 preface begins, after praising God as creator and redeemer, by reminding the authorities to ensure that the true doctrine is taught and publicly professed in the regions which they govern.<sup>20</sup> He thereby asserts implicitly that the Lutheran Confession is the true doctrine. He continues to authorize this implicit assertion with a historical argument typically found in the context of sixteenth-century discourse of Lutheran legitimation: God and the true religion are displayed, according to Chytraeus, in God's own word, in the earliest beginnings of the Church, and in the writings of the Prophets and Apostles:

Denn der Allmechtige Ewige Gott / nicht anders von uns Menschen kan noch wil erkandt / ... werden / dann wie er sich selbst ... / in seinem heiligen Göttlichen Wort / durch seinen lieben Son Jesum Christum / von anfang der Kirchen geoffenbaret / und solche Lehr / ... durch die Propheten und Aposteln / in gewisse Schrifften hat verfassung lassen / ... darnach / ... die ware Religion zu erkennen / und von allen jrigen und falschen Lehren zu unterscheiden ist.<sup>21</sup>

- 16 • David Chytraeus, *De lectione historiarum recte instituenda. Et historicorum fere omnium series, & argumenta* (Wittenberg, 1563), fol. 3<sup>v</sup>: 'The stories, however, are in large part nothing else than illustrious examples of this Divine wisdom, or God's law (which rules states and the private life), which are expressed in the history of God himself and of the most significant kingdoms, cities, and eminent men.'
- 17 • Ibid., sig. A 3<sup>f</sup>.
- 18 • Ibid., sig. A 2<sup>v</sup>: 'Necessarily, the memory of the supreme things, which took place before our lifetime in the Church and the empires, would be lost to humanity if they were not recorded in literary and historical monuments.'
- 19 • David Chytraeus, *Christliche Kirchen Agenda: Wie die bey den zweyen Ständen der Herrn und Ritterschafft, im Ertzhertzogthumb Oesterreich unter der Enns, gebraucht wirdt* (Rosenburg, 1571), title page; David Chytraeus, *Der Fürnemsten || Heubtstück || Christlicher Lehr || Nützliche vnd kurtze Erklerung.|| Sampt einer Christlichen Kirchen Agenda.* (Rostock, 1578), fol. 177<sup>v</sup>.
- 20 • Chytraeus, *Agenda* (1578), fol. 178<sup>r</sup>.
- 21 • Ibid., fols. 178<sup>r-v</sup>: 'For the Almighty, Eternal God / cannot and does not want to be recognized by men in any other way / ... than as he manifests himself / in the Holy Sacred Word / through his beloved son Jesus Christ / from the beginnings of the Church / and [than in] such a doctrine / ... as he made the Prophets and Apostles / write down in certain books / ... where after / ... the true religion can be discerned / and distinguished from erroneous and wrong teachings.'

This argument corresponds to the Lutheran claim of confessional correctness by having recourse to the ancient Church and the word of Scripture, following Luther's principle of *sola scriptura*.<sup>22</sup> In Lutheran theological and historical discourse of the sixteenth century, this viewpoint was combined with an interpretation of history that construes the time between these early years and Luther's appearance as a period of decline, during which the true faith was distorted by mankind.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, the commemoration of milestones uniting or fortifying the Lutheran Confession gains even greater importance for the construction of a confessional identity. Chytraeus refers to this identity-building practice of commemoration when mentioning the Augsburg Confession as a crucial moment in the legalization of the Lutheran faith.<sup>24</sup> The preface to the 1578 agenda is thus in dialogue with these important elements of Lutheran historical sensibility. This historical interpretation and its legitimizing scope are therefore crucial for understanding Chytraeus's notion of music and its past, since they form the intellectual background of his concept of music history.

### The Prefaces to the Agenda of 1578: Tradition and the Musical Past

The preface to the agenda already contains important information concerning Chytraeus's views on liturgical music and its past. Singing, according to Chytraeus, is part of those rules and ceremonies not explicitly ordained by God but rather instituted by humans in order to make doctrine more understandable and strengthen faith. Therefore, singing was considered one of the so-called 'middle things' (*adiaphora*), which could be handled according to different circumstances.<sup>25</sup>

Und denn die anderen [nicht von Gott befohlenen] Ordnungen und Ceremonien / ... der öffentlichen predigen / Gesengen / Gebeten und anderen Ceremonien / ... von Menschen angerichtet sind / das sie zur erbauung und besserung der kirchen und sonderlich dazu dienen / das die Göttlichen Ordnungen / ... von der lieben Jugend und dem gemeinen Mann / und allen Gliedmassen der kirchen besser verstanden / ... werden.<sup>26</sup>

Chytraeus accepts *adiaphora* (including church music) on the condition that they are in line with the Bible and the general ideas expressed there, especially in cases where the Scripture does not give detailed specifications.<sup>27</sup> Music, as one of the *adiaphora*, is thereby legitimized as righteous practice. Chytraeus's goal, however, is not to homogenize liturgical practices in all Lutheran churches. On the contrary, he advocates the practice of maintaining local traditions that are in line with the word of the Bible, following the recommendations of the articles of the Augsburg Confession.<sup>28</sup>

22 • Sandl, 'Interpretationswelten', 27–8; Fuchs, 'Reformation', 19–20.

23 • Fuchs, 'Reformation als Erinnerungsrevolution', 25.

24 • Chytraeus, *Agenda* (1578), fol. 178<sup>v</sup>.

25 • For a discussion of the status of music as *adiaphora*, see Joyce Irwin, 'Music and the Doctrine of *Adiaphora* in Orthodox Lutheran Theology', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 14 (1983), 157–72.

26 • Chytraeus, *Agenda* (1578), fols. 180<sup>r-v</sup>: 'And then [there are] the other orders and ceremonies [those not instituted by God] / . . . of preaching publicly / of singing / of prayers and ceremonies / made by men / in order to serve the edification and improvement of the church and particularly / in order to be better understood by the beloved young and the common man / as well as by all members of the Church.'

27 • Ibid., fol. 181<sup>v</sup> and fol. 183<sup>r</sup>.

28 • Ibid., fols. 184<sup>r-v</sup>.

The orders for singing in church are given in parts 5 and 7 in the 'Ordnung der Ceremonien', including an order for the Ordinary of the Mass and an order of Christian chant for all Sundays and feast days including the Office ('Ordnung der christlichen Gesenge'). Here Chytraeus describes the use of monophonic music in the different services. His introduction to part 7 legitimizes liturgical music by enumerating scriptural passages that describe singing as a form of praising God. He cites passages from Deuteronomy (ch. 6), the Psalms (1, 96, 149), and the Pauline epistles (Timothy 4 and Colossians 3).<sup>29</sup> These passages are frequently cited in the context of Lutheran and other Christian writings on music. Typical for Lutheran thinking, especially after Melancthon,<sup>30</sup> music is regarded as a gift from God to mankind: a means of theological instruction that conveys important articles of faith and fixes them in one's memory.<sup>31</sup> The text transported through the music thus is a crucial element in the legitimization of ecclesiastical singing, which is meant to facilitate understanding of the Word of God. Chytraeus next turns to biblical texts frequently set to music as described in Scripture as types of songs. He cites the Sanctus, mentioned in the book of Isaiah, the Gloria from Luke's Gospel, the song '*Groß und wunderbar sind deine Werke*' from Revelation (15: 3), and the Old Testament canticles of Moses, Deborah, Barak, Hannah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jonas, Abacus, and especially the Psalms of David. From the New Testament he mentions the Marian Magnificat, Zachariah's Benedictus, and Simeon's Nunc dimittis. These examples run parallel to the general Lutheran historical argument mentioned above. Music in the Church is legitimized because it is documented in the Bible, at least in textual form. Any other forms of music are left out, thereby concentrating on the theological argument of all music originating in God. Another parallel with the Lutheran historical interpretation of biblical times and the ancient Church as an ideal period, which later declined due to human influence until Luther's reform, is Chytraeus's positive assessment of the bishops of the ancient Church as advocates of religious music. He mentions Ambrose, Venantius Fortunatus, and Prudentius.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, Luther and the Bohemian Brethren, whose repertory was partly adopted into the repertory of Lutheran hymns and admired by Luther,<sup>33</sup> are referred to as contemporary composers of music that equal the ideal music represented in the Bible and the ancient Church.<sup>34</sup> Luther's stance towards music thus is similar to his attitude towards Church history, that is, a process of redemption after a long period of decline. In this respect Chytraeus's short account of music in his preface shows traits of typical historical arguments of its time.

The musical past here is not a historical one in the modern sense. On the contrary, Chytraeus's historical argument is not developed for the sake of a historiographic account but rather for the theological legitimation of music and the ideas represented by the Lutheran confession. The importance of historical arguments in this context can be found in the humanist ideals of the time. Chytraeus's preface demonstrates his awareness of the past and of the history of

29 • Ibid., fol. 219<sup>r</sup>.

30 • Inga Mai Grootte, 'Musikalische Poetik nach Melancthon und Glarean: Zur Genese eines Interpretationsmodells', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 70 (2013), 227–53 at 332.

31 • Chytraeus, *Agenda* (1578), fol. 251<sup>r</sup>.

32 • Ibid., fol. 552<sup>v</sup>.

33 • Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Cambridge, 2007), 346–7.

34 • Chytraeus, *Agenda* (1578), fol. 553<sup>r</sup>.

music, despite the inherent limitations of the preface as a genre, which by its very nature does not allow room for expansive discussion. In his *In Deuteronomium Ennaratio* of 1575, four years after the first publication of the agenda, he complemented his historical argument with a more detailed chronological exposition, as Inga Mai Groote has shown.<sup>35</sup>

### The Agenda of 1578 in Comparison to the Cationales by Spangenberg and Keuchenthal

Chytraeus's Agenda of 1578 gives an unusually complete list of songs for the liturgy. The German cantionale by Spangenberg published in 1545 consisted of two separate parts of Latin and German Lutheran Mass repertory (predominantly monophonic) for use throughout the church year, but it was by no means comprehensive in its scope. Most notably, it did not include any music for the Office.<sup>36</sup> There was thus a need for a comprehensive trans-regional agenda such as Chytraeus's, which would give detailed specifications of the German repertory to be sung during the church year at Mass and the Office.<sup>37</sup> When comparing Spangenberg's own prefaces with Chytraeus's preface to his agenda, parallels regarding the status of pre-Reformation music and music history become apparent. Spangenberg's cantionale contains three prefaces, two for the Latin part and one for the German part.<sup>38</sup> Similar to Chytraeus, in his preface to the Latin part, Spangenberg traces the origin of the Lutheran hymns back to the early Church and maintains that they express Christian doctrine.<sup>39</sup> Even more than Chytraeus, he stresses the decline in music—once again positing an argumentative analogy between the historical and theological discourse and the interpretation of music—due to distortions by humans, and particularly the papacy:

Sed quia Diabolus & hominum superstitio his pulcherrimis & sanctissimis canticis sub Papatu, sicut et alijs sacris Hymnis haud sane mediocrem labem aspersit, ita ut partim depravati, partim manifeste impij, ut de cultu, & invocatione sanctorum, illis admixti sint, continentes summam impietatem & Idolatriam.<sup>40</sup>

Spangenberg claims that with his collection of songs he wants to offer righteous music in accord with Luther.<sup>41</sup> In the preface to the German part of his cantionale, he focuses on music's

- 35 • Inga Mai Groote, 'David Chytraeus und die (implizite) Geschichte der geistlichen Musik', *Musiktheorie*, 32 (2017), 243–56.
- 36 • Jonathan Wessler, 'An Examination of the Relationship between Johann Spangenberg's *Cantiones ecclesisticae/Kirchengesenge Deudsch* and Martin Luther's *Formula missae* and *Deutsche Messe*' (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 2011), 18.
- 37 • The Offices were reduced in the Lutheran areas to Matins and Vespers. The number of readings and psalms was reduced, but the general outline of the Office followed the Roman rite. See Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflicts* (Oxford, 2004), 30.
- 38 • His cantionale also contains one preface by Ambrosius Lucanus and Sylesius Schnidenicensis, which will not be analysed here.
- 39 • Spangenberg, *Cantiones*, fol. ij<sup>r</sup>.
- 40 • *Ibid.*, fol. ij<sup>v</sup>: 'But because the Devil and the superstition of men cast no small blemish on these most beautiful and holy songs under the Papacy, as well as on other sacred hymns, so that some depraved ones, and others that are obviously impious, were mixed together with things about the cult and the invocation of saints mixed in these Hymns, touching on the greatest impiety and idolatry'; trans. after Wessler, 'An Examination of the Relationship', 93.
- 41 • Spangenberg, *Cantiones*, fol. ij<sup>v</sup>.

impact as a means to strengthen faith.<sup>42</sup> The parallels between all of these show that Chytraeus's agenda and the importance it gives to the musical past are connected to the legitimizing discourse of music cited by his predecessor. Nevertheless, Chytraeus's remarks go beyond the rather general statements by Spangenberg in their level of detail and specificity. Once again Chytraeus's humanist methods and his aim to connect historical method and discourse on music become apparent, whereas Spangenberg's remarks do not go beyond the general arguments typically found in prefaces to music books written after Luther and Melanchthon.<sup>43</sup>

At the time Chytraeus's agenda with its 'Ordnung der christlichen Gesenge' was issued in Rostock in 1578, the cantionale by Keuchenthal (1573) had already been published; it provided German and Latin chants for the Mass, feast days, the Litany, a German Passion, psalms and hymns for use before or after the sermon, songs for funerals and marriages, German hymns, and antiphons. This cantionale was based on similar compilations by Spangenberg, Lucas Lossius (1553), and the Brethren (presumably the *Kirchengeseng* (Eibenschütz, 1566), as well as on the hymn books by Joseph Klug (1543) and Valentin Babst (1545).<sup>44</sup> Keuchenthal's cantionale, which had the explicit goal of selecting from the best hymn books and agendas,<sup>45</sup> was nevertheless less comprehensive than Chytraeus's agenda. Like Spangenberg's cantionale, it did not contain instructions or music for the Office. Keuchenthal's cantionale is introduced by two prefaces, one of which is by the author himself. In his preface, similarly to Spangenberg and Chytraeus, Keuchenthal locates the origins of liturgical singing with the Prophets and Patriarchs and underscores its importance for understanding Christian doctrine and fostering an appreciation of God.<sup>46</sup> The degree to which he enumerates passages from the Old and New Testament that mention music and its role for worship puts Keuchenthal at a level similar to Chytraeus.<sup>47</sup> The importance of Scripture as an authoritative source of legitimacy for music in worship and the argument's parallels to theological and historical discourse are once again evident. Keuchenthal also foregrounds the idea of decline in music and Church history. He asserts that the music of his own time and the Lutheran Confession is a continuation of the musical practices of the ancient Church:

Und ist solcher löblicher Christlicher brauch ... in der Christlichen Kirchen / bis auff unser zeit  
/ blieben / Das auch wir auff die verordneten Feiertage / das heilige / seligmachende wort Gottes

42 • Ibid., no foliation.

43 • For Luther's music aesthetic see Miikka Anttila, "Geistliche, liebliche Lieder": In Search of Aesthetic Criteria for Music in Luther's Theology', in Burn et al. (eds.), *Music and Theology in the European Reformations*, 140–8; Carl Bear, 'Why Luther Changes his Mind about Music: Martin Luther's Theology of Music in Light of his Liturgical Reforms', in Michael Klaper (ed.), *Luther im Kontext: Reformbestrebungen und Musik in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft, 95 (2nd edn., Hildesheim, New York, and Zurich, 2017), 15–38; Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, esp. 65–106. For Melanchthon's ideas on music see Inga Mai Grootte, "So sie in das gesang gefasset ist": Melanchthons Anteil an der "lutherischen" Musikauffassung', in Klaper (ed.), *Luther im Kontext*, 71–96; see also Grootte, 'Musikalische Poetik', 3.

44 • Robin A. Leaver, 'Johann Spangenberg and Luther's Legacy of Liturgical Chant', *Lutheran Quarterly*, 19 (2005), 23–42 at 36; Konrad Ameln, 'Johannes Keuchenthal', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, 3 (1957), 121–4 at 121.

45 • This intention is expressed in the title: *KirchenGesenge Latinisch und Deudsch ... Aus den besten Gesangbüchern vnd Agenden*: 'Church songs Latin and German ... from the best cantionales and agendas'.

46 • Ibid., fol. iij<sup>r</sup>.

47 • Ibid.



zu hören / ...Vor und nach / feine Psalmen und Christliche Lobgesenge / beide Latinisch und Deutsch mit einander singen / uns dadurch zu lehren / trösten / und zuermanen.<sup>48</sup>

Accordingly, Lutheran rites and musical practices are posited as righteous owing to their perceived connection with early Christian practices. Keuchenthal as well as Spangenberg and, in a more detailed form, Chytraeus, use historical arguments to legitimize music, and through them to justify the establishment of a Lutheran musical tradition. These argumentative strategies showcase an increasing awareness of the historicity of music. The genre of the preface, however, once again does not allow for extended argumentation.

Interestingly, Keuchenthal mentions his predecessor Spangenberg in his preface. His aim is in fact to expand Spangenberg's cantionale with repertory by Luther, specifically songs taken from the Wittenberg hymn book by Johann Walter, and other songs selected for their artistic value.<sup>49</sup> With this compilation, Keuchenthal shows his interest in completing missing material for the Mass Proper: 'das zu jeder zeit die Gesenge / mit den Predigten des Evangeliums uberein stimmen'.<sup>50</sup> This speaks to an awareness of the lacunae in Spangenberg's agenda. This awareness probably led Chytraeus as well to publish his agenda in the Empire even though it was originally intended for the Austrian estates.

The important role the past plays for music and liturgy can also be seen in the contents of Chytraeus's agenda and the two cantionales. Chytraeus's order of the German Mass, which will be analysed below in greater detail in comparison to the two cantionales, shows several particularly 'conservative' characteristics, compared with the well-known order of the German Mass by Luther. Luther stayed very close to the Roman Mass, as the aim of both of his reformed Mass formularies (*Formula missae* (1523) and *Deutsche Messe* (1526)) was merely to purge the Mass from its character as a sacrifice, especially by leaving out the Canon, while maintaining the form of the Mass as such. Chytraeus specifies the music for the Mass in a chapter on the order of the liturgy, as summarized in Table 10.1. He does not specify which melodies or musical settings are to be used. German is to be sung in all towns without schools or where people do not understand Latin, and in all other cases Latin is to be retained.<sup>51</sup>

Unlike Luther in his *German Mass* (1526), Chytraeus begins the Mass with the *Veni sancte spiritus* sung in German or Latin.<sup>52</sup> This is a practice often found in Protestant formularies, for instance in the Latin and German Mass as proposed in Spangenberg's cantionale.<sup>53</sup> The Kyrie, which, according to Chytraeus, should be in German, can be sung polyphonically. Chytraeus explicitly permits troped Kyries,<sup>54</sup> while Luther prescribes the threefold (untroped) Kyrie in the

48 • Ibid., sig. )(ijf<sup>v</sup>: 'And as this worthy Christian custom . . . remained in the Christian Church / until our own time / so that we, too, upon the decreed feast days / listen to the sacred / blessing word of God / . . . before and after we still sing together / delicate psalms and Christian canticles / both in Latin and in German / to thereby instruct ourselves / to comfort ourselves / and to admonish ourselves.'

49 • Ibid., sig. )(ijf<sup>v</sup>.

50 • Ibid.: 'so that at all times, the songs / are in agreement with the sermons on the Gospel'.

51 • Chytraeus, *Agenda* (1578), fol. 232<sup>r</sup>.

52 • Chytraeus, *Agenda* (1578), fol. 233<sup>r</sup>.

53 • Spangenberg, *Cantiones*, fols. Ai<sup>r</sup> and a<sup>r</sup>; for the use of the *Veni sancte spiritus* in Spangenberg see also Leaver, 'Johann Spangenberg', 32.

54 • Chytraeus, *Agenda* (1578), fols. 234<sup>v</sup>–335<sup>r</sup>.

**Table 10.1.** Comparison of the order of the Mass between the Roman Mass, Luther's German Mass, and Chytraeus agenda

Roman Mass	Luther: German Mass (1526)	Chytraeus: Agenda of 1578 <sup>a</sup>
		Veni sancte spiritus/Kom heiliger Geist
Introit	German Psalm/Song	Introit L/Psalm L/German Psalm
Kyrie	Kyrie	G
Gloria		G/L
Collect	Collect	G
Epistle	Epistle	G
Gradual	German Song	Gradual (L/G)/German Song/German Psalm
Alleluia		Alleluia
Sequence		Sequence (L, feast days)
Gospel	Gospel	G
Creed	Creed	G/L
Offertory	Sermon	Sermon (G)
Secret	Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and exhortation to the communicants	Psalm/hymn and exhortation to the communicants G
Sursum Corda		
Preface		L/G
Sanctus/Benedictus with Elevation	Consecration with elevation (singing, Sanctus and Agnus Dei optional)	L/G
Canon major		
Pater noster		L
Pax Domini		G
Agnus Dei	optional	G/L
Communion antiphon		
Postcommunion collect	Thanksgiving collect	Thanksgiving collect G
Dismissal	Benediction	Benediction G

SOURCE: Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford, 2004), 29.

a G = German, L = Latin, () = language not specified.

*German Mass.*<sup>55</sup> Troped Kyries can also be found in other Lutheran cantionales such as Franz Eler's *Cantica sacra* of 1588 or in the unusually detailed Naumburg church order of 1537/38.<sup>56</sup> While Spangenberg restricts himself in the Latin part to the three- and nine-part Kyries, he

55 • Martin Luther, *Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gotes diensts, zû Wittemberg, fürgenomen* (Augsburg, 1526), fol. C iij<sup>r</sup>.

56 • Franz Eler, *Cantica sacra, partim ex sacris literis desumpta, partim ab orthodoxis patribus, et piis ecclesiae doctoribus composita, et in usum ecclesiae et iuventutis scholasticae Hamburgensis collecta, atque ad duodecim modos ex doctrina Glareani accommodata et edita* (Hamburg, 1588), Nachdruck mit einer Einleitung von Klaus Beckmann (Hildesheim, 2002), pp. xiiii–xxiii; 'Kirchenordnung für die St. Wenzelkirche zu Naumburg von 1537/1538', in Emil Sehling (ed.), *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1904), 61–90, esp. at 71 and 78.

offers only troped Kyries in the German part of his cantionale, namely *Kyrie Ach vater allerhöchster Gott, O Vater allmechtiger Gott, and Gott aller welt Schepffer und Vater*.<sup>57</sup> Keuchenthal includes almost exclusively the threefold untroped Kyries in his cantionale, with the exception of the German translation of the *Kyrie cunctipotens*, the *Kyrie fons bonitatis* German and Latin, the *O allmechtiger, ewiger Vater*, and the three German Kyries also found in the Spangenberg cantionale.<sup>58</sup> The presence of troped Kyries in the agenda, and the aforementioned cantionales and church orders, documents the continuation of pre-Reformation and local practices.

The Alleluia and the sequences for feast days are also retained in Chytraeus' agenda even though they are no longer part of Luther's *German Mass*. I will comment on the sequences in greater detail below. Chytraeus' German Mass also retains the Gloria, the Gradual, the Preface, the Latin *Pater noster* and the German *Pax Domini* which originate from the Roman Mass. Luther's and Nicolaus Decius' German translations of the Gloria as well as the German version *Lob, Ehr und Preis* are also included in Spangenberg's cantionale.<sup>59</sup> The inclusion of Luther's translation leads to the conclusion that, while the Gloria is not part of the *German Mass*, Luther did not definitively intend to proscribe its use, as Robin Leaver and Jonathan Wessler have suggested.<sup>60</sup> The German Gloria *Ehre sei Gott in der Höh*, the *Preis, lob und ehr*, as well as numerous German Alleluias are also included in Keuchenthal's cantionale.<sup>61</sup> Spangenberg, like Chytraeus, retains the Gradual but exclusively in the form of German hymns, the so-called *Graduallieder*.<sup>62</sup> Keuchenthal also includes such Graduals, for example the *Haec est dies* in German and Latin.<sup>63</sup> Spangenberg's cantionale contains only one German preface<sup>64</sup> and includes the *Pater noster* (but in German translation, in contrast to Chytraeus),<sup>65</sup> but omits the *Pax Domini*, as is suggested by Luther's *German Mass*. Keuchenthal does not include any German prefaces, and he, like Spangenberg, proposes the German *Pater noster*,<sup>66</sup> leaving out the *Pax noster* in accordance with Luther.

While offering most elements of the Mass in German and omitting the elements of the Roman Mass that do not theologically conform to the Lutheran understanding of the Mass, Chytraeus's Mass formulary exhibits clear affinity with the Roman model. Such a close relationship to the pre-Reformation Mass is not unique to his agenda but rather reflects Lutheran liturgical and musical practices on a wider scale, as the comparisons with Spangenberg's and Keuchenthal's cantionale and other orders have shown. The differences from the German Mass in Spangenberg's cantionale are all the more significant since Spangenberg was probably supported by Luther himself.<sup>67</sup> They illustrate the importance of local customs and their

- 57 • Wessler, 'An Examination of the Relationship', 44 and 49–50; Leaver, 'Spangenberg', 32.
- 58 • Keuchenthal, *KirchenGesenge*, fols. 3r, 33<sup>f</sup>–34<sup>v</sup>, 79<sup>v</sup>–80<sup>f</sup>, 91<sup>v</sup>–92<sup>f</sup>, 108<sup>f-v</sup>, 151<sup>v</sup>–152<sup>f</sup>, 272<sup>f</sup>, 273<sup>f-v</sup>, 275<sup>f-v</sup>, 348<sup>f</sup>–349<sup>f</sup>, 365<sup>f</sup>–366<sup>f</sup>, 402<sup>v</sup>–403<sup>f</sup>, 463<sup>f-v</sup>.
- 59 • Wessler, 'An Examination of the Relationship', 50; Leaver, 'Spangenberg', 32–3.
- 60 • Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 453–4; Wessler, 'An Examination of the Relationship', 30–1.
- 61 • Keuchenthal, *KirchenGesenge*. For the German Glorias, see fols. 80<sup>v</sup>–82<sup>f</sup> and 173<sup>f-v</sup>.
- 62 • Wessler, 'An Examination of the Relationship', 52.
- 63 • Keuchenthal, *KirchenGesenge*, fols. 155<sup>f</sup>–156<sup>v</sup> and 174<sup>f-v</sup>.
- 64 • Wessler, 'An Examination of the Relationship', 82–5.
- 65 • Spangenberg, *Cantiones*, fols. 187<sup>v</sup>–188<sup>v</sup>.
- 66 • Keuchenthal, *KirchenGesenge*, fols. 16<sup>v</sup>–18<sup>v</sup>.
- 67 • Leaver, 'Johann Spangenberg', 29.

continuation compared to prescriptive orders such as Luther's German Mass. These continuities contributed significantly to the shaping of a Lutheran confessional identity rooted in the past. In fact, Chytraeus's Mass formulary is even more conservative than Spangenberg's and Keuchenthal's, as is evident by the inclusion of the Latin *Pater noster* and the German *Pax Domini*. Thus the continuation of liturgical and musical practices of the past is obvious.

Chytraeus also provides rules for the music of the Mass Proper. His agenda does not offer any musical settings. He must therefore have assumed that the musical settings were known or that the music was accessible in other cationales or hymn books. For the period from Christmas until Purification he calls for German Lutheran hymns, Latin carols, and German psalm songs.<sup>68</sup> Interestingly, Chytraeus explicitly calls Luther's hymns 'alte Geseng', or 'old songs', stating that the old repertory of songs is to be preferred to any newer German hymns or adaptations of Luther's songs.<sup>69</sup> Chytraeus thus perceives repertory from the first half of the sixteenth century as 'old' and privileges this older music over contemporary repertory. For the following Sundays of the church year, Chytraeus lists German hymns or psalm songs, the German Magnificat, and Benedictus.<sup>70</sup> It is remarkable that most of these hymns and songs were either written by Luther, or originated in early Reformation songbooks such as *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* (DKL Ea 2) by Paulus Speratus, a song published in 1524 in the *Achtliederbuch* and the *Erfurt Enchiridion*—the two earliest Lutheran hymn books.<sup>71</sup> The same applies to the music which Chytraeus prescribes for the period from Easter to Ascension, with the addition of the German Credo and Litany.<sup>72</sup> For Trinity Sunday and the following Sundays until Christmas, he also includes German versions of Ambrosian and Athanasian hymns as well as one single Latin song for the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity Sunday (*Reddite Caesari quae sunt Caesaris*).<sup>73</sup> The list of predominantly German hymns and psalm songs Chytraeus offers far exceeds the number of hymns included in the German part of Spangenberg's cationale, which might be due to the fact that Chytraeus only offers a list, while Spangenberg includes the music itself. The majority of the hymns included in Spangenberg's cationale are by Luther, Decius, Michael Weisse, or Spangenberg himself,<sup>74</sup> whereby he has recourse to the most authoritative German repertory as well as the musical tradition of the Brethren, especially admired by Luther. Keuchenthal expands the number of German songs and psalm songs that Spangenberg offers, especially by including more songs by Luther and from the Wittenberg hymn book, thereby incorporating a repertory similar to the one recommended by Chytraeus.

Whereas Chytraeus's agenda gives indications about which music to use for the Mass Ordinary and Proper for every Sunday in the church year as well as for the Office, Spangenberg's cationale does not. For instance, he completely omits the Office and does not provide full indications for the Proper of the Mass, such as the German Proper that is missing for the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity Sunday.<sup>75</sup> Keuchenthal's cationale, while more complete than

68 • Chytraeus, *Agenda* (1578), fols. 255<sup>r</sup>–256<sup>r</sup>.

69 • Ibid., fol. 254<sup>v</sup>.

70 • Ibid., fols. 256<sup>r</sup>–v.

71 • Joachim Stahlmann, *Die Melodien 1571–80, Textband*, DKL, Abt. III, Bd. 2 (Kassel, 2002), 286.

72 • Chytraeus, *Agenda* (1578), fols. 257<sup>r</sup>–v.

73 • Ibid., fols. 258<sup>r</sup>–260<sup>r</sup>.

74 • Wessler, 'An Examination of the Relationship', 82–6.

75 • Ibid. 73.

Spangenberg's, still leaves out indications for the liturgical and musical layout of the Office. The agenda as well as the cationales share a preference for German music by Luther or music originating in the Early Reformation.

Chytraeus's agenda mainly lists German hymns for the Lutheran services throughout the liturgical year. The choice of language was made in deference to the idea that non-educated people should be able to understand the songs, as Chytraeus also specifies in the preface.<sup>76</sup> Latin repertory is nevertheless present, as is typical in Lutheran contexts. For the Latin repertory, Chytraeus refers his readers to Lucas Lossius's *Psalmodia*, which was first published in 1553. The *Psalmodia* was a widely used Lutheran cationale, containing all the Latin liturgical music required during the church year. Chytraeus advises that in townships with schools the 'alten / herlichen Lateinischen Kirchen Geseng'<sup>77</sup> should be sung. Along with others he recommends the Latin sequences. Although Luther had limited the number of sequences to three (*Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia, Veni sancte spiritus, Grates nunc omnes*), Chytraeus lists many more, including Latin sequences for Easter, Pentecost, Trinity, the feast of Mary Magdalene, and Ascension as well as German sequences such as *Christ ist erstanden*.<sup>78</sup> Here he most likely defers to the predominant musical practice of the time. The use of Latin sequences is documented in sources as early as the Naumburg church order of 1537/38, which prescribes the inclusion of the Latin language and Latin sequences for these same feast days, adding Christmas and Epiphany to those mentioned by Chytraeus.<sup>79</sup> The retention of a growing number of sequences can also be seen in Lossius's *Psalmodia*, where the number of sequences was augmented in every new edition.<sup>80</sup> Likewise, the much earlier publication of Spangenberg contains eight Latin sequences, while the German part of his cationale includes only the German translation of the *Grates nunc omnes* and *Christe patris unice*.<sup>81</sup> With twenty-six Latin and sixteen German sequences, Keuchenthal's cationale illustrates the growing interest in the genre. The continuation of pre-Reformation music practices in a more robust manner than that recommended by Luther himself shows the important role assigned to the past and to tradition in Lutheran church music. The presence of the past in music emerges as a constitutive element of the Lutheran musical identity, which, like the reform movement itself, did not consist in renewal but in re-form. Interestingly, Chytraeus advocates the continued use of the Latin songs in order to prevent them from being forgotten: 'Und wird vleissig darauff gesehen / das die schönen herlichen / alten Lateinischen Geseng nicht gantz und gar vergessen und verloren / sonder jarlich auff ire tag / oder ja auff die Sontag / für oder nach / wenn solche festag im jar einfallen / gesungen werden.'<sup>82</sup> Cultural memory and music are linked here, and the practice of music gains a status compa-

76 • Chytraeus, *Agenda* (1578), fol. 254<sup>r</sup>.

77 • Ibid., fol. 260<sup>r</sup>: 'old, splendid Latin church songs'.

78 • Ibid., fols. 260<sup>v</sup> and 257<sup>r</sup>.

79 • 'Naumburg 1537/38', 75–6; see also Stefan Menzel, 'Ein neues Proprium? Zum liturgischen Ort des lutherischen Kirchenlieds im 16. Jahrhundert', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 100 (2016), 47–64 at 51.

80 • The first edition of the *Psalmodia* contains eleven sequences more than the three allowed by Luther. The 1579 edition already contains twenty-eight sequences.

81 • Wessler, 'An Examination of the Relationship', 34 and 83.

82 • Chytraeus, *Agenda* (1578), fol. 261<sup>r</sup>: 'And it is diligently seen to / that the beautiful magnificent / old Latin songs are not completely forgotten and lost / but rather that they are sung every year on their day / or on the Sundays before or after / such annual feasts.'

rable to history in conserving the past. The retained memory of the old Latin music, which Chytraeus characterizes as beautiful and splendid, is ensured only—and precisely—through its ongoing use. Here again, a consciousness of a musical past is clearly apparent.

### Conclusion

The role of the past in music and liturgy is crucial not only in Chytraeus's thinking but also for the Lutheran Confession, as the selective comparisons with other church orders and the cantionales by Spangenberg and Keuchenthal have shown. Chytraeus's work broadens the legitimizing of the Lutheran historical understanding of music. While the reforming process is prompted by the notion of the decline of an ideal past, brought to an end by Luther, music in the Church and the Lutheran repertory more specifically is legitimized as a return to the ideal state of biblical music and the music of the ancient Church. These same arguments can be found in the prefaces of Keuchenthal and Spangenberg, albeit in a less elaborate form. An understanding of history and a consciousness of the past are prerequisites for such a legitimizing discourse. The fact that Luther's music is already considered old underscores a differentiation between the contemporaneous, the old, and the even more distant past of biblical times. Not only Chytraeus's agenda but also the cantionales by Spangenberg, Keuchenthal, Eler, and Lossius and numerous church orders, some of which have been cited above, show a strong tendency towards the continuation of pre-Reformation liturgical customs and musical repertory, the more the Reformation gained a solid foothold. The strong bond to tradition and to the past served both as a legitimizing element of the new Confession and as guidance for its future. The traditional elements, together with Luther's own hymns and contemporaneous repertory, built a musical repertory considered genuinely Lutheran and true. This repertory constitutes a helpful corrective supplement to our understanding of 'conservative' tendencies in Lutheran music, which are so clearly to be found in polyphony and have received more attention in scholarship. A closer analysis of the works by Chytraeus, Keuchenthal, and Spangenberg demonstrates that these conservative tendencies are clearly to be found in monophonic music as well. The liturgical and musical past thus become essential elements in the construction of both a Lutheran confessional identity and the shared musical memory of the past.

**PART IV**

**PERSPECTIVES**





Karl Kügle

Awareness of a musical past was not an invention of the nineteenth century, as is often maintained in music historiography today.<sup>1</sup> Notions that a particular kind of music was exceptionally old and therefore of special value (re-)emerged in Christian Europe in the Carolingian Empire: Roman chant melodies were privileged over local Gallican ones because of their perceived antiquity, which linked them to early Christian times.<sup>2</sup> Musical memory, and therefore the availability of repertoires from earlier periods, took a qualitative and quantitative leap in Europe from the thirteenth century onwards through the invention of new notational techniques in late-medieval Paris. These encoded not just pitches and melodic gestures but expressed measured temporal relationships, thereby enabling complex polyphonic structures to be recorded and to be transmitted across unprecedented geographical and chronological distances, in addition to and in support of living performing traditions. The preceding essays offered case studies and reflections on these developments with a focus on the period c.1200 to c.1600. They have shown how different social groups, and users of newly introduced technologies such as printing, looked back at and instrumentalized the past. They did this in order to justify, legitimize, and promote identities, and to advance a variety of spiritual and political agendas.

The musical continuities of late-medieval and early-modern cultural memories often stretched across several centuries. This process did not come to an end in the sixteenth century: for example, sixteenth-century polyphony survived as the ‘stile antico’ in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and remained the pedagogical gold standard for teaching counterpoint well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The classical teaching manual of counterpoint in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Johann Joseph Fux’s *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725), was explicitly cast as a dialogue between Fux himself and the sixteenth-century composer Pierluigi da Palestrina.<sup>3</sup> Lutheran chorales, themselves based on older melodies, are still sung today, and some Christmas carols like *In dulci jubilo*—regularly heard in the Low Countries and Germany—can boast a pedigree that goes back at least as far as the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 • See my Introduction ‘Towards a New History of the Musical Past’ to this volume.
- 2 • See the contributions by Susan Rankin in this volume. See also Margot Fassler, ‘The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History’, in Robert A. Maxwell (ed.), *Representing History 900–1300: Art, Music, History* (University Park, PA, 2010), 149–71 and 239–47 (notes). For a pre-Christian example of a strong cultural awareness of the past, one might cite Homeric poetry in classical and post-classical Greece. For more details and further case studies, see Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1992).
- 3 • For more on Fux and his musical world, see Jen-Yen Chen, ‘The Tradition and Ideal of the *Stile antico* in Viennese Sacred Music, 1740–1800’ (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2000).
- 4 • On *In dulci jubilo*, see Anne-Dore Harzer, *In dulci jubilo: Fassungen und Rezeptionsgeschichte des Liedes vom 14. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 2006).

## Searching the Past: The Dilemmas of Revival

250

The cultivation of the past in music acquired a striking new quality, however, in the course of the nineteenth century. All the—greatly varied—strands and traditions discussed and highlighted so far were imbricated within a historical continuity that reached from their (relative) point of origin to their (relative) present. In contrast, historically inclined musicians alongside musically inclined academics of the late eighteenth, early, and mid-nineteenth century successively introduced a novel element into the relationship of European cultures to their musical pasts when they initiated and nurtured—against considerable resistance—an experiment that had never been proposed before with such radicality: the sounding revival of musical traditions that had previously come to an end.<sup>5</sup>

Mention must be made at this juncture of the interest in the sixteenth century, prevalent among musically inclined humanists, to revive the music of Antiquity. This desire might well be considered an earlier attempt to revive a distant, musical past. The differences between humanist and nineteenth-century historicism lie both in the aims and the methods applied: humanists sought to recreate the *effects* that music of the ancients was thought to have on the human soul. Based on the assumption that music's rules were eternal and therefore unchangeable, they strove to adapt the musical language of their own time in ways that would allow their contemporaries once more to experience the marvellous properties of music as laid down in the texts of the ancients.<sup>6</sup>

The humanist quest led to some noteworthy and, indeed, highly consequential innovations in musical practice, helping aesthetically to legitimize the expansion of the tonal system, favouring monody over imitative polyphony, and, eventually, stimulating the development of opera. As such, humanists' confrontation with an imagined musical past undoubtedly exerted significant influence on music history. But humanist objectives were by necessity also incongruous with the historicizing drive of nineteenth- and twentieth-century music scholars. For the latter, the aim was to reappropriate the musical past as a form of national heritage. Their preferred method was Lachmannian philology, and their practical objective to reintroduce the music of the past into the performed repertory as a living practice. In this they were successful. It is ironic in this context to note that Richard Wagner's *Musikdrama*—quite antagonistic in the nineteenth-century context to the historicists' goals—aimed, like the humanists of yore, to re-create the *effects* of antique drama whilst using a contemporary musical idiom, now under the banner of the quest for a genuinely Germanic form of opera.

A signal event for the historicist approach was the first re-performance of J. S. Bach's St Matthew Passion under the aegis of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy in Berlin on 11 March

5 • For a discussion of some key aspects of this process with a focus on the epicentre of this development in 19th-c. Europe, the German-speaking area, see Karl Kügle, 'History as Identity Politics: The Case of Mid Nineteenth-Century Germany', *Context: A Journal of Music Research*, 22 (2001), 95–103.

6 • For an overview of this development and its larger intellectual and practical contexts, including further bibliography, see the chapters by Giuseppe Gerbino, Inga Mai Groote, and Jacomien Prins in Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2019), 381–413 and 439–71.

1829.<sup>7</sup> Mendelssohn's initiative did not remain an isolated incident: as the importance of the historicist movement grew, much of nineteenth- and twentieth-century musical life and musical aesthetics came under the influence—and soon became informed by—the incorporation of the past into the present. Beginning with the complete-works editions of Bach (initiated in 1850) and George Frideric Handel (1856), music of the past became available to professionals and amateurs alike for both study and performance in ever-increasing quantities; the trend continues unabated today. The revival of the musical past in both musical scholarship and in music, for example in historicizing genres like the suite, and—most importantly—in the live performance of the music of long-dead composers on the concert stage and at home, have added an entirely new quality both to the musical present *and* to the musical past.<sup>8</sup> While cultural awareness of the past grew, the past also began seriously to impact on musical life of the present, and not just aesthetically: living composers now had to compete for space in concert programmes with music by long-dead composers, and eventually some performers began to specialize exclusively in music of the past, creating new performance traditions of their own.<sup>9</sup> Today, the historicist turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continues to impact significantly on concepts and practices of cultural memory and cultural heritage in music, providing justification for the ongoing construction of musical pasts around the globe.<sup>10</sup>

The historicizing quest of the Romantic and modern age performance required 'inventing' musical traditions, since both the material sources and the data conveyed through them, by virtue of their fragmentary, even patchy, nature required reconstructive, creative ways to make sense to modern readers, performers, and listeners.<sup>11</sup> Our sources, both historical and musical, in many regards are random survivors from the past, and it is an ongoing, vexing problem of historical studies to theorize and justify in an intellectually satisfactory manner the drawing

- 7 • The Passion was composed by J. S. Bach for the liturgy of Good Friday 1727 at Leipzig's Thomaskirche and performed again there on the same occasion in 1729. It was performed at the Thomaskirche in a reworked version in 1736 and perhaps once more in 1742, but was never heard in full after that until the Berlin revival. See Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (Oxford, 2000), 288–303 ('The "Great Passion" and its Context') and 295 (Table 8.16: Calendar of Passion Performances in Leipzig, 1723–50). For further discussion and historical context of this much-discussed performance, see the essays in Anselm Hartinger, Christoph Wolff, and Peter Wollny (eds.), *'Zu groß, zu unerreichbar': Bach-Rezeption im Zeitalter Mendelssohns und Schumanns* (Wiesbaden, 2007); Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca, NY, 2005); Martin Geck, *Die Geburtsstunde des 'Mythos Bach': Mendelssohns Wiederentdeckung der Matthäuspassion* (Stuttgart, 1998).
- 8 • A particularly striking case is the reinvention of plainchant by the Benedictine community of Solesmes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries within the framework of an (intended) restoration of the Roman liturgy. See Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998). On Solesmes's influence on late nineteenth-century music in France, see, most recently, Patrick Hala, *Solesmes et les musiciens*, i: *La Schola cantorum: Charles Bordes, Vincent d'Indy, Déodat de Séverac, René de Castéra* (Solesmes, 2017).
- 9 • For example, the harpsichordist Wanda Landowska (1879–1959). See Edmond Johnson, 'The Death and the Second Life of the Harpsichord', *Journal of Musicology*, 30 (2013), 180–214.
- 10 • See, for example, Kim Kattari, 'Identifying with the Rebel of the Past: An Ethnographic Exploration of Nostalgia in the Contemporary Rockabilly Scene of the United States', *Volume! La revue des musiques populaires*, 11 (2014), 175–89 (special issue: *Souvenirs, souvenirs: La nostalgie dans les musiques populaires*).
- 11 • The classical study on this is Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983). It specifically (and exclusively) investigated cultural phenomena of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

of conclusions when faced with the haphazard absence or serendipitous availability of data. For present purposes, simply recognizing the existence of such a fantasy-prone, reconstructive component in our image(s) of the past, musical or otherwise, introduces into our historical narratives a salubrious awareness of their suppressed or neglected uncertainties.

On the practical level, some of the distortions introduced by musical historicism can be pinpointed quickly and easily: present-day performances almost invariably take place outside the original contexts for which a piece was written (liturgical or otherwise). We tend to comprehend music primarily as an object retrieved from our ever-growing museum of musical works rather than as a practice.<sup>12</sup> Our socialization in an industrialized, technology-prone, consumer society—musical and otherwise—inevitably differs dramatically from that of anyone who lived in the remote past. It is almost impossible to assess aesthetic factors, such as what would have been considered a good performance by listeners in centuries past.

Even the comparatively brief history of performances since the arrival of sound recording shows significant changes in musical aesthetics: how much more of this might we expect over a much longer distance in time? Suffice it to say that it is by now the scholarly consensus that ‘early music’—both as performance and as a concept—is a creation of *our* time, notwithstanding its tether to historical data and the evidential value of historically informed performance practices based on empirical results that were obtained through musical and organological trial and error.<sup>13</sup>

Within the discourses of recent musical revivals, then, a surfeit of new traditions, historical narratives, and counter-narratives has arisen. Their development, including their political contexts and social embedding, has been traced in detail by the occasional scholar of nineteenth- and twentieth-century music,<sup>14</sup> but the historiographic chart of this aspect of the recent musical past is far from comprehensive at the time of writing. In the end, historical music performance and scholarship are and will have to remain bifocal: on one hand, taking into account that they are clearly dependent on the sources that have come down to us from the past—after all, the texts copied in the sources are read, sung, and interpreted as faithfully as possible to the notes that come with them; on the other hand, reflecting both the historical and the political contexts within which, first, the source itself, and, second, the scholarship or the modern-day performance derived from that source, were created.<sup>15</sup> Both were and are

- 12 • On the concept of the ‘imaginary museum’, see Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford, 1992; rev. edn. New York and Oxford, 2007).
- 13 • The bibliography on the subject is rather large, and growing. For a recent example, see Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age* (New York, 2014).
- 14 • For example, Kailan Rubinoff, ‘“The grand guru of Baroque music”: Leonhardt’s Antiquarianism in the Progressivist 1960s’, *Early Music*, 42 (2014), 23–35, and ‘Authenticity as a Political Act: Straub-Huillet’s *Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach* and the Post-War Bach Revival’, *Music and Politics*, 5 (2011), 41–53; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge, 2002).
- 15 • See the (growing) corpus of scholarship investigating the history of musicology. For example, Kristy Swift, ‘Getting the Story Crooked: Donald J. Grout, Claude V. Palisca, and J. Peter Burkholder’s *A History of Western Music, 1960–2009*’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 2013); John Haines, ‘Friedrich Ludwig’s *Musicology of the Future*: A Commentary and Translation’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 12 (2003), 129–64, and Haines, ‘The Footnote Quarrels of the Modal Theory: A Remarkable Episode in the Reception of Medieval Music’, *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), 87–120; Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler’s Reich* (New Haven, 1998).

of their own times: then as now, we create, and reflect on, the past in our own image, musical and otherwise.<sup>16</sup>

### Music of the Past in Today's Present: Sedimentations and Bifurcations

The two final contributions to this book take a closer look at this meta-history of musical-historicist scholarship from the late eighteenth century onward, and investigate potential futures of performing and studying music of the past from the perspective of today's performing musicians.

As we enter the third decade of the twenty-first century, both musicology and historical performance practice can look back on considerable histories of their own. Bartłomiej Gembicki introduces the concept of the meme as a starting point for his analysis of the musicological discourse that developed around the term *cori spezzati*. He shows that studying the remote (musical) past has generated its own discursive pasts. Within the matrix of the past-in-the-present, seemingly 'objective' terms rapidly can develop a distinct life of their own. The case of *cori spezzati* seems both extraordinary and typical: extraordinary in the explosion of meanings demonstrated by Gembicki, and typical, because there are many more examples of such musicological memes that could be cited.<sup>17</sup> Plucked as it was by editorial choice from a very limited number of original sources, the term acquired new meanings early on in its reception history to the point of more or less obscuring its straightforward meaning of 'divided choirs'. Today, *cori spezzati* is a code word to designate a sound ('polychorality'), a place (Venice), a set of myths ('Venice' today and the 'Venice' of the past), and a justification for cultural practices like tourism. The musicological term *cori spezzati* is far from a dead letter—on the contrary, it produces and reproduces meanings with viral speed. A term *from* the past, through the discourse about music of the past, becomes a source of seemingly unlimited new meanings in the future, starting from the moment that it is rediscovered. The sedimentation makes it difficult to identify the original under the thick overlay that the term has generated. Meanwhile, the discursive sludge continues to accumulate.

Antonio Chemotti's text addresses potential bifurcations of the performance of music from the past that are available to contemporary musicians operating within diverging traditions. He presents an interview conducted jointly in the winter of 2018–19 with representatives of two ensembles who were part of the Sound Memories project as Associate Partners, Michał Gondko (co-leader, together with Corina Marti, of Ensemble La Morra, Basel, Switzerland) and Paweł Szamburski (Bastarda, Warsaw, Poland). Both ensembles interacted with the musical legacy of of the fifteenth-century cleric Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz through the medium of musical performance. However, they began their work from quite different starting points. Marti, Gondko, and La Morra are representatives of the type of early-music ensembles that

16 • See also Margaret Bent, 'Reading, Memory, Listening, Improvisation: From Written Text to Lost Sound', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 34 (2010), 13–28.

17 • For a case study critiquing a term *invented* by musicologist Friedrich Ludwig (1872–1930) but with a similar history, see Margaret Bent, 'What is Isorhythm?', in David Butler Cannata, Rena Charnin Mueller, Gabriela Ilnitshi Currie, and John Louis Nádas (eds.), *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner* (Middleton, WI, 2008), 121–43.

present-day concert audiences usually encounter: all members are highly skilled, conservatory-trained vocal or instrumental specialists, and many also possess significant training and know-how as music scholars. La Morra's performances conform to the mould of the classical-music concert, with the concomitant requirements concerning programming and audience involvement. Based on the cultural norms embodied in the ensemble, its audiences, and the venues that they perform in, this group inhabits a sub-segment of the classical-music market, with all the advantages and disadvantages that that entails.

Bastarda found its way to *Wilhelmi* not through the academy or the conservatory but via the cross-currents of popular culture and the knowledge stored inside the internet, in combination with audio technologies, specifically recordings of *Wilhelmi*'s music by another Warsaw-based early-music ensemble from the 1990s. They approached *Wilhelmi* from a post-modern vantage point of 'bricolage', leading to a transformation of *Wilhelmi*'s materials which—surprisingly, or perhaps not—exhibits interesting parallels to late-medieval techniques of intabulation and to the nineteenth-century practice of paraphrasing operatic melodies for the piano. All three (late-medieval intabulations, nineteenth-century operatic paraphrases, and the work of Bastarda) find their *raison d'être* in a transfer between musical media—in Bastarda's case, from the text-carrying vocality of *Wilhelmi*'s originals to the instrumental idiom chosen by the group (clarinet, contrabass clarinet, and cello). Such transfers require a thorough and creative reworking of the musical material to fit the new medium both from a technical (for example, pitch levels, or types and placement of embellishments) and a generic perspective (the type of audiences that, for example, Bastarda caters for, their listening expectations, and of course the creative intentions that the ensemble brought to the *Wilhelmi* project). The substance taken from the source has suffered a sea change, and emerges profoundly transformed, yet recognizable and easily discerned by those who are familiar with the original pieces.

Which of the two approaches is 'correct'? Here we encounter, once again, the specific dilemmas of historicism. It is impossible to control the genesis of additional meanings when a term has entered public discourse, as in the case of *cori spezzati*. It is also impossible to recreate the past in its fullness through historicizing research or reconstructed soundscapes. The outcome, the control mechanisms implicit in critical historical methodologies notwithstanding, will always be of our own time.

If so, why not choose freely to cannibalize the past by taking away from it those materials that interest us? Why not let them become building blocks for something new? Ironically, this is exactly what the inhabitants of medieval cities did when they quarried stones from antique buildings for use in their own dwellings. The medieval Venetians famously used *spolia* from Antiquity that they had taken 'according to the law of booty' from vanquished Byzantium in the thirteenth century to adorn, and transform, their own city.<sup>18</sup> It is also what choral conduc-

18 • On the *spolia* of St Mark's, see the essays in Henry Maguire and Robert S. Nelson (eds.), *San Marco, Byzantium and the Myths of Venice* (Washington, DC, 2010). For the citation 'according to the law of booty', see the essay by Holger A. Klein, 'Refashioning Byzantium in Venice, ca. 1200–1400', *ibid.* 193–225, at 194. Klein there cites the *Memoirs* of Sylvester Syropoulos, an official of Hagia Sophia who visited Venice in 1438 in the retinue of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos. Syropoulos wistfully recognized the Byzantine treasures appropriated by the Venetians after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 in their 'new' Venetian setting, more than two hundred years later.

tors, concert impresarios, and tourism promoters of today do when they use terms like *cori spezzati* for their own, highly divergent purposes.

Some might wish to ask which approach is 'better' or 'more justified'. The question seems both unanswerable and wrongly put. Both approaches are in equal measure 'historical' and 'ahistorical'—one doggedly trying (pretending?) to re-create an implicitly unreachable past, the other unabashedly creating something new out of the remains of the past. Both take us from the present into the future and into the past of our own present—simply on different paths.





**Bartłomiej Gembicki**

I was still a schoolboy when my music teacher, an organist at a Polish cathedral, told me about a nun who used to express her dissatisfaction with his performance. For the sake of peace and quiet, he always used to answer her reproaches in the same manner: feigning surprise and instructing the nun that he was only following the papal encyclical ‘Ad nos, ad salutarem undam’. Needless to say, there was no such encyclical, since it was the title of a piece of organ music by Franz Liszt.<sup>1</sup> When I asked the teacher if the nun had ever recognized his bluff, he said ‘no’—the invocation of papal authority reinforced by means of the Latin title did the trick. The point of this story, which of course no one has to take seriously, is the extent to which a clever combination of words can lower one’s guard, especially when such words are spoken by someone perceived by the addressee as an expert (although in this case, one might expect—perhaps wrongly—that nuns should be more knowledgeable about papal encyclicals than organists).

Imagine now that this fictitious encyclical had been transmitted by the nun and spread to other gullible people. Even if the organist’s white lie were eventually revealed as a falsehood, we could suppose that a fair number of people had already passed this (mis)information on, so that the existence of our imaginary encyclical would have become a widely accepted fact. This imaginary situation exemplifies a basic cultural mechanism, namely repetition. Repetition is responsible for the origin and transmission of a wide range of different cultural phenomena, such as language, meaning, identity, and style.

One of the theories explaining how repetition generates cultural phenomena is meme theory, proposed in 1976 by the evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins.<sup>2</sup> According to this bold but also much discussed and improved (though often criticized) hypothesis, a meme is an element of culture, transmitted by non-genetic means, which, just like a gene, ‘tends’ to replicate itself.<sup>3</sup> Good examples of memes are a word, or a string of words, whose copying and

This article is based on my Ph.D. thesis, prepared in connection with the project Sound Memories: Bartłomiej Gembicki, ‘Psalmy, mity i memy: Nieszpory w Wenecji od Willaerta do Gardinera’ [Psalms, myths, and memes: Venetian Vespers from Willaert to Gardiner] (Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of Art, Warsaw, 2020). Some observations raised here have already been mentioned in my article ‘Zagadnienie polichoralności w polskich badaniach muzykologicznych’ [Polish musicological research on polychoral technique], *Muzyka*, 61 (2016), 55–68.

- 1 • The full title is *Fantasy and Fugue on the chorale ‘Ad nos, ad salutarem undam’* (S. 259).
- 2 • Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene* (Oxford, 1976). One recent study containing an extensive description of this theory and its bibliography is Daniel Clement Dennett, *From Bacteria to Bach and Back: The Evolution of Minds* (New York, 2017), 205–46. For a lengthy critique of meme theory, see Scott Atran, *In Gods We Trust: The Evolutionary Landscape of Religion* (Oxford, 2011), 236–62.
- 3 • ‘What are memes a kind of? They are a kind of *way of behaving* (roughly) that can be copied, transmitted, remembered, taught, shunned, denounced, brandished, ridiculed, parodied, censored, hallowed. There is

mutation are not necessarily associated with what is understood of them.<sup>4</sup> What is innovative and at the same time controversial about this theory is that memes themselves are the main beneficiaries of their reproduction.

Meme theory originated from a biological background, was soon adopted by other disciplines, and is now widely applied by anthropologists and cognitive scientists. Although rarely implemented in the humanities, meme theory seems very attractive in the context of studying ‘Uses of the Past’ (where repetition constitutes one of the crucial mechanisms).<sup>5</sup> To conclude our (fictitious) example: the encyclical ‘Ad nos, ad salutarem undam’ would have existed (and probably still exists) as a meme, and from the memetics perspective its true origins are no longer of any great significance.

Another interesting question related to meme theory, derived directly from genetics, is that of mutation. Each copy of a meme is vulnerable to distortion, like a message in a game of Chinese whispers. Given the incredible speed at which cultural information spreads today, it seems extremely difficult (or even impossible) to reconstruct each step in the evolution of a particular meme—especially in the case of quite common words and expressions such as ‘early’ or ‘contemporary music’. Nevertheless, meme theory—when treated with the necessary caution—may help us understand that sometimes our communication problems can have cultural causes.

When studying the meaning of words, memetics can help to eliminate or limit the boundaries between supposedly different areas of human activity such as musicology and early music performance. The former, as an academic discipline, should in theory be characterized by a rigorous use of terms. The latter (despite its frequent claims of being ‘authentic’ or ‘historically informed’) is—in the final analysis—based on so-called artistic freedom and the rather complex process of music production and distribution in the here and now.<sup>6</sup>

A good example of a word-meme appearing frequently both in academic writing and music performing can be found in the context of polychoral music. One can read the following in the latest edition of Norton’s *A History of Western Music*: ‘The glory of Venetian church music is manifest in its polychoral motets, works for two or more choirs. From before the time of Wil-

no term readily available in the technical language of the scientific image that aptly encapsulates what kind of a thing a meme is. Leaning on the ordinary language of the manifest image, we might say that *memes are ways*: ways of doing something, or making something, but not *instincts* (which are a different kind of ways of doing something or making something). The difference is that memes are transmitted perceptually, not genetically.’ Dennett, *From Bacteria to Bach and Back*, 219.

- 4 • Many scholars cite the so-called ‘internet meme’ (known widely just as ‘meme!’), which ‘escaped’ from its original context and is now commonly (and typically only) related to a piece of information (often humorous) spread between people through the Internet, usually as a picture accompanied by short text. See Patrick Davison, ‘The Language of Internet Memes’, in Michael Mandiberg (ed.), *The Social Media Reader* (New York, 2012), 120–34 at 120–3.
- 5 • An interesting example of the implementation of this theory in musicology is Jan Steven, *The Memetics of Music: A Neo-Darwinian View of Musical Structure and Culture* (Aldershot, 2007).
- 6 • John Butt, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge, 2002); David R. M. Irving, ‘Historicizing Performance Practice: Early Music through Time and Space’, *Early Music*, 41 (2013), 83–5; Elizabeth Upton, ‘Concepts of Authenticity in Early Music and Popular Music Communities’, *Ethnomusicology Review*, 17 (2012), <https://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/journal/volume/17/piece/591> (accessed 13 Feb. 2019); Dorottya Fabian, ‘The Meaning of Authenticity and the Early Music Movement: A Historical Review’, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 32 (2001), 153–67; Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York and Oxford, 1995).

laert, composers in the Venetian region had often written for divided choirs, or *cori spezzati*.<sup>7</sup> And this last term—surprisingly widely represented in various discourses on polychorality by scholars, performers, or music marketers—will be examined here as an example of a meme.

Here I shall consider the problem of the migration of musical terms between different areas, such as musicological studies, popular writing, music performance, and record production. In order to explain the original background of the specific case, more emphasis will be placed on the first two categories. In my reading of scholars' writings on 'polychorality', I pay particular attention to the terms which researchers use and what is meant by them. Very often, these terms are not explained, so readers have to construct the meanings themselves, which obviously gives rise to multiple meanings and interesting problems of interpretation.

However, before the term *cori spezzati* is analysed, some stereotypes related to so-called Venetian polychorality need to be discussed.

### Venice and its Polychoral Legends

How people write about polychoral music can shape the reception of this phenomenon. One of the most crucial questions is the use of terms referring to particular phenomena. In the case of 'polychorality', the problem is related to two aspects: (1) polychoral compositional technique and (2) performance practice involving the spatial distribution of musicians. It goes without saying that the use of polychoral technique in a work or part of a work does not preclude the appearance of other techniques in the same work, which in turn enables various (confusing) classifications to be formed.

For ease of reference, I adopt a working definition in which 'polychorality' refers simply to music for more than one choir (two or more separate groups of musicians). Of course, it should be remembered that even such a simplified principle of polychorality could be applied in many different ways. Sometimes it can be evident throughout a composition, sometimes only sporadically. A specific instantiation might also be influenced by other factors, such as the construction of the text, its liturgical context, the composer's inventiveness, and local performance practices.

Contrary to appearances, the term 'Venice', too, deserves a moment of reflection. In the 'myth of polychorality', Venice occupies a very special—if not the principal—place. In many encyclopedia entries and articles of a popularizing nature Venice is treated as the birthplace of polychoral music (despite the fact that this hypothesis was discarded long ago).<sup>8</sup> In the

7 • J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 9th edn. (New York, 2014), 238.

8 • Just to mention the most frequently cited source of popular science nowadays, Wikipedia: 'The [polychoral] style arose from the architectural peculiarities of the imposing Basilica San Marco di Venezia in Venice. Aware of the sound delay caused by the distance between opposing choir lofts, composers began to take advantage of it as a useful special effect.' Wikipedia contributors, 'Venetian polychoral style', Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Venetian\\_polychoral\\_style&oldid=788657272](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Venetian_polychoral_style&oldid=788657272) (accessed 25 Mar. 2019). One of the first important contributions where the role of St Mark's in the invention of polychoral style was seriously reconsidered was Giovanni D'Alessi, 'Precursors of Adriano Willaert in the Practice of "Coro spezzato"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 5 (1952), 187–210. As regards the question of spatial practice at St Mark's, see David Bryant, 'The "Cori Spezzati" of St Mark's: Myth and Reality', *Early Music History*, 1 (1981), 165–86.

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the term ‘Venetian technique’ was normally treated by scholars as a synonym for polychorality.<sup>9</sup> Later, when researchers realized that the situation was much more complex than first assumed, they tried to distinguish ‘Venetian’ polychoral music from other types of polychorality, thus separating particular examples of polychoral music into so-called ‘schools of polychorality’—for example the Venetian or the Roman ‘school’.<sup>10</sup> Today, it is evident that music conforming to different types of polychorality was composed and performed in Venice cheek by jowl, even of a type which some scholars might classify as Roman (and, incidentally, the so-called Venetian type can also be found in the output of some composers of Roman origin).<sup>11</sup>

Leaving aside the alleged role of Adrian Willaert in the invention of polychoral technique and Andrea Gabrieli’s contribution to its development, very often the legendary—and the most ‘idiomatic’—Venetian type of polychorality is stereotypically identified with some multi-choral compositions of Giovanni Gabrieli, active in Venice at the turn of the seventeenth century. An example is the four-choir motet *In ecclesiis* from his *Symphoniae sacrae* (Venice, 1615), in which a simple division of choirs is just one of the techniques applied by composer.<sup>12</sup> Those compositions constitute only a small part of his output and were often considered by scholars as being related specifically to St Mark’s, where Gabrieli worked as an organist. Theoretically, therefore, what is generally referred to as Venetian polychorality (at least the ‘most typical’) should rather be referred to as the polychorality of the Church of St Mark’s. The problem becomes even more complicated when we realize that not all Gabrieli’s sacred compositions can in fact be linked to St Mark’s.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps, therefore, what is commonly referred to as ‘typically’ Venetian polychorality should actually be referred to not as music associated with St Mark’s but as the polychoral music of Giovanni Gabrieli, and should be applied only to some of his compositions.

Furthermore, the polychoral output of Gabrieli makes up only a small percentage—albeit a striking and very important one—of the polychoral music possibly performed at St Mark’s and other churches in Venice, where different types of polychoral music were surely practised, bearing in mind that polychoral technique was employed by composers active in Venice for at least three hundred years.<sup>14</sup> One example of the persistent use of polychoral writing can

- 9 • For a history and extensive bibliography of scholarly interest in polychoral technique in Venice, see Jonathan Glixon, ‘Music in Venice: A Historiographical Overview’, in Eric R. Dursteler (ed.), *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797* (Boston, 2013), 865–87.
- 10 • Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, ‘Italian “Schools” of Polychorality from the Perspective of the Courts of the Polish Vasas and the Austrian Habsburgs’, *Musicology Today*, 3 (2006), 53–74.
- 11 • Ibid.
- 12 • On the mythical role of Giovanni Gabrieli in music historiography, see Iain Fenlon, ‘Constructing Images: Giovanni Gabrieli and the Uses of History’, in Rodolfo Baroncini, David Bryant, and Luigi Collarile (eds.), *Giovanni Gabrieli: Transmission and Reception of a Venetian Musical Tradition* (Turnhout, 2016), 207–18.
- 13 • For the vast chronology and topography of Gabrieli’s output, see Rodolfo Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli* (Palermo, 2012).
- 14 • Jeffrey G. Kurtzman, ‘Published Italian Music for Vespers: A Survey of the Repertoire, 1651–1725’, in Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (eds.), *Barocco Padano 3. Atti dell’XI Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nei secoli XVII–XVIII, Brescia 16–18 luglio 2001* (Como, 2004), 35–79; Jeffrey Kurtzman, ‘Stylistic Diversity in Vesper Psalms and Magnificats Published in Italy in the Seventeenth Century’, *Early Music: Context and Ideas II* (Kraków, 2008), 169–87, repr. in Jeffrey Kurtzman, *Studies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Italian Sacred music* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2014).

be found in the genre of double-choir psalms (often referred to as *salmi brevi a otto voci*) performed at St Mark's during Vespers on the main feasts of the liturgical year. This practice probably started in the first half of the sixteenth century and lasted at least until the fall of the Venetian Republic. Demand for this particular kind of repertory is amply documented both in the liturgical books of St Mark's and in musical compositions associated with that church.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, one could say that the term 'Venetian polychorality' should not be treated as a synonym of 'Gabrieli's polychorality' but rather as a provisional set of words containing this kind of polychorality among all others.

As regards the problem of the 'Venetianness' of 'Venetian polychorality', it is worth mentioning that the *salmi brevi* performed at St Mark's included not only psalm settings certainly composed for use in this church and by its employees, but also provided an example for the adaptation in the eighteenth century by a non-Venetian composer for use in another Italian centre (although then situated in the territory of the Venetian Republic), Udine.<sup>16</sup> It is also worth noting that this psalm collection, composed by an 'outsider', can be related to the musical practice of St Mark's much more closely (at least on the level of known sources) than many other compositions written by musicians employed at that church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which have survived until our day in the form of music prints in collections not related to San Marco.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, the word 'Venice' itself is also problematic, since it may refer not only to the city, but also to the entire territory of the Republic, including the 'Terraferma'. And in the context of the history of polychorality, that is not without significance.

### The *Cori spezzati* Meme in Writing and Performance

In scholarly works, depending on the language used and the research traditions, one encounters different terms referring to music for two and more choirs. In English one finds 'polychorality', 'polychoral style', 'polychoral composition/performance technique', and 'polychoral polyphony'. Other terms which may be encountered are 'hidden polychorality' and 'abstract polychorality', referring to the appearance of elements of this technique in works that are otherwise not polychoral, such as the Gloria in Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*.<sup>18</sup>

- 15 • See James H. Moore, 'The "Vespero delli Cinque Laudate" and the Role of "Salmi Spezzati" at St. Mark's', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), 249–78; James H. Moore, *Vespers at St. Mark's: Music of Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Rovetta, and Francesco Cavalli* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1981).
- 16 • P. B. Bellinzani, *Salmi a otto ... accomodati conforme la versione della Ducal Basilica di S. Marco*, Venice, Archivio musicale della Procuratoria di San Marco (I-Vsm), MS B.318, dated 1766 (originally published in Bologna in 1718 as *Salmi brevi per tutto l'anno* and dedicated to Udine's deputies). See John Bettley, 'Psalm-texts and the Polyphonic Vespers Repertory of St Mark's, Venice', in Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi (eds.), *La Cappella musicale di San Marco nell'età moderna. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 5–7 settembre 1994* (Venice, 1998), 103–17 at III.
- 17 • Crucial information about preserved and lost musical sources of St Mark's Church in Venice can be found in Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi, *San Marco: Vitalità di una tradizione. Il fondo musicale e la Cappella dal Settecento ad oggi, I: Introduzione e indici* (Venice, 1996).
- 18 • Cf. Marco Della Sciuca, 'L'altra Italia: Roma. Tecniche ed estetiche della policoralità in Palestrina', in Aleksandra Patalas and Marina Toffetti (eds.), *La musica policorale in Italia e nell'Europa Centro-Orientale*

Another very popular term which authors often employ when describing polychoral music is *cori spezzati* (usually translated into English as ‘broken’ or ‘divided choirs’). For some scholars—as I shall demonstrate later—*cori spezzati* is understood as a synonym for polychorality or as a very specific type of polychorality, referring, for example, solely to polychoral compositions from the sixteenth century, when the term is first attested. For scholars treating this term rigorously, it refers (or should refer), through its historical connotation, exclusively to a specific type of polychorality, namely double-choir compositions adhering to the so-called *prima pratica* and intended for spatial performance, as is indicated by the mutual relations of the lowest parts in the choirs.<sup>19</sup> On closer inspection, however, it turns out that not all of these criteria are necessary for scholars to use the *cori spezzati* label. The term occurs most frequently among authors who tend to associate this term with sixteenth-century compositions.

Instead of favouring one of these interpretations, I propose to cite some examples of the term’s application and then look at the possible origins of such inconsistency and the way these meanings were brought into popular use.

The undeniable current popularity of the term *cori spezzati* is owed to Anthony Carver’s influential study published in 1988,<sup>20</sup> although it had also been used by earlier scholars.<sup>21</sup> Carver’s book is devoted to the development of polychorality from its first known examples to the times of Heinrich Schütz. It also concerns works in which the polychoral principle was applied in a different manner than in double-choir compositions from the sixteenth century. In Carver’s book, all of these works are covered by the overarching term *cori spezzati*.

This term has been used by a number of authors dealing with polychoral music since Carver’s publication, and it was most often treated as a straightforward synonym for polychoral music/style/technique. Gary Towne, for instance, writes: ‘Under [Gaspar] de Albertis, Santa Maria Maggiore [in Bergamo] was one of the first churches with polychoral music (*cori spezzati*), the Veneto’s most famous Renaissance musical development.’<sup>22</sup> Similarly, Anna Brejta states (within the context of the output of Giovanni Matteo Asola): ‘From the general analysis of the *Completorium Romanum* it appears that Asola’s polychoral technique corresponds to a simple *cori spezzati* technique based on alternation between the choirs.’<sup>23</sup> In the context of the music tradition at the cathedral of Gemona, Franco Colussi writes that ‘from 1533 to 1537, the chapel was conducted by Fr Francesco di Santa Croce ..., one of the first composers to

*fra Cinque e Seicento / Polychoral Music in Italy and in Central-Eastern Europe at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century* (Venice, 2012), 39–45.

- 19 • On the theoretical background to polychoral technique, see Anthony F. Carver, *Cori Spezzati*, i: *The Development of Sacred Polychoral Music to the Time of Schütz*; ii: *An Anthology of Sacred Polychoral Music* (New York, 1988), i: 9–11, and Agostino Ziino, ‘La policoralità in alcuni teorici italiani del Seicento’, in Giuseppe Donato (ed.), *La policoralità in Italia nei secoli XVI e XVII: Testi della giornata internazionale di studi (Messina, 27 dicembre 1980)* (Rome, 1987), 119–34.
- 20 • Carver, *Cori Spezzati*.
- 21 • See, for example, Denis Arnold, ‘The Significance of “Cori Spezzati”’, *Music & Letters*, 40 (1959), 4–14.
- 22 • Gary Towne, ‘Over the Hills and Far Away: The Place of Bergamo in the Development and Transmission of Polychoral Music’, in L. Boscolo Folegnana and Alessandra Ignesti (eds.), *Dal canto corale alla musica policorale: L’arte del coro spezzato* (Venice, 2014), 69–80 at 71.
- 23 • Anna Brejta, ‘The Polychoral Technique of Giovanni Matteo Asola in his “Completorium Romanum” (1599)’, in Patalas and Toffetti (eds.), *La musica policorale in Italia*, 85–99 at 90.

employ the split choir [*coro spezzato*] (or double choir [*doppio coro*]) technique'.<sup>24</sup> According to Aleksandra Patalas, *cori spezzati* can be 'traditional' or 'polychoral-concertato': 'Unfortunately, the sources do not allow us to resolve the question as to whether this Mass [Marco Scacchi's *Missa pacis*] belonged to the polychoral-concertato or the more traditional *cori spezzati* type.'<sup>25</sup> The second chapter in the analytical section of Rodolfo Baroncini's monograph on Giovanni Gabrieli is entitled '*Cori spezzati*'.<sup>26</sup> Baroncini discusses the historical performance context of polychoral music, mainly at St Mark's, as well as early polychoral compositions by Gabrieli, including those for more than two choirs and polychoral instrumental works.

From this it is evident that the term *cori spezzati* is sometimes used not only to describe a composition technique or performance apparatus, but also a composition itself or even the form of a work (in literature, one encounters the expression '*cori spezzati* form').<sup>27</sup> In the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music* we read: '*Cori spezzati*. (It. "divided choirs"). Singers placed in different parts of a building; also the mus. written for them.'<sup>28</sup> The question arises, therefore, when we can definitely speak of 'true polychorality'. After all, Victor Ravizza writes about 'Willaert's eight psalms written in *coro spezzato* technique (or close to it)'.<sup>29</sup> Where does the borderline lie between 'true polychorality' and so-called 'hidden polychorality'?

Taking into account the seemingly uncontrolled proliferation of the term in musicological scholarship, it is not surprising that the *cori spezzati* meme, with all its meanings (mutations), can also be found easily in the verbal paratexts attached to contemporary musical performance and composition. Polychoral music appears time and again on concert programmes and liner notes. In these—frequently written by musicological authorities—one can find many instances of the different uses of the term *cori spezzati*, but in most cases it is treated merely as a synonym of polychoral technique. Let us now focus on a few examples where the term *cori spezzati* appears prominently.

The first case concerns the use of this term as the title of a whole concert or record. The term *cori spezzati* is used as the title of an album by the Chamber Choir of Europe, containing sacred and secular polychoral music (with some exceptions, e.g. Adrian Willaert's madrigal *O bene mio*), mainly by Venetian composers: Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli and Claudio Mer-

- 24 • 'Dal 1533 al 1537 diresse la cappella musicale pre' Francesco di Santa Croce . . . , tra i primi compositori a utilizzare la tecnica del coro spezzato (o doppio coro)'; Franco Colussi, 'Tracce di musica policorale in alcuni centri del Friuli storico tra Cinque e Seicento', in Patalas and Toffetti (eds.), *La musica policorale in Italia*, 101–58 at 115.
- 25 • 'Niestety sytuacja źródłowa nie pozwala na ostateczne rozstrzygnięcie kwestii, czy msza [*Missa pacis* Marco Scacchiego.] należała do typu polichóralno-koncertujących, czy bardziej tradycyjnych *cori spezzati*.' See Aleksandra Patalas, *W Kościele, w Komnacie i w Teatrze: Marco Scacchi—Życie, Muzyka, Teoria* [In church, palace, and theatre: Marco Scacchi, his life, music, and musical writings] (Kraków, 2010), 260.
- 26 • Baroncini, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, 233–305.
- 27 • See e.g. Arnold, 'The Significance of "Cori spezzati"', 14. This phenomenon can already be observed in the early nineteenth century. In Abraham Rees's *The Cyclopædia*, for example, one reads: 'Choro spezzato, a composition of two, three, or more chorusses'. Charles Burney, 'Choro spezzato', in Abraham Rees (ed.), *The Cyclopædia: Or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* (London, 1819), vii (unnumbered pages).
- 28 • Michael Kennedy and Joyce Bourne Kennedy, 'Cori spezzati', in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2013, <https://www.oxfordreference.com> (accessed 13 June 2019).
- 29 • 'Otto salmi di Willaert scritti secondo la tecnica del coro spezzato (o quasi)'; Victor Ravizza, 'Gli inizi del coro spezzato nel Veneto: Una rilettura', in Folegnana and Ignesti (eds.), *Dal canto corale alla musica policorale*, 27–39 at 31.

ulo.<sup>30</sup> Although in the liner notes written by Eva Lichtenberger the term *cori spezzati* does not appear even once, one can guess that for the musicians (or the producer) it served as a synonym of ‘Venetian’ polychoral technique.

A similar usage can be noted in the context of concert posters (see Pls. II.1 and II.2). Most of them make some reference to the music tradition at St Mark’s through either the selection of repertoire or an image of the church in the poster design. Descriptions which accompany the event as a short announcement or a printed programme very often strengthen the connection between the term *cori spezzati* and San Marco.<sup>31</sup>



Plate II.1. Poster for the concert entitled *Cori spezzati* by the Forum Vocale Köln, La Filosofia Musicale, dir. Jürgen Erdmann Schulz, 25 September 2016—Bergisch Gladbach, 3 October 2016—Cologne



Plate II.2. Poster for the concert entitled *Cori spezzati* by The Vancouver Cantata Singers with I Tromboni, 13 February 2009—Vancouver. Reproduced with permission of the Vancouver Cantata Singers

In 1987, the French conductor Olivier Opdebeeck set up a vocal ensemble called *Cori Spezzati*. On the group’s official website, one can read: ‘The name of the Ensemble, which literally means “separated choirs”, refers to Venetian double choral practices. It is thus mostly unpublished Venetian works that the choir devotes itself to, but it also regularly explores other repertoires.’<sup>32</sup> The list of the group’s recordings included on their website opens with a project entitled *L’art des ‘cori spezzati’*, which consists of repertoire connected mostly with Venetian

30 • *Cori spezzati. Venetian Polychoral Music*, Chamber Choir of Europe, Nicol Matt, Brilliant Classics 93689, 2006.

31 • For example, concerts given by Munich University Choir in July 2017 were accompanied by a short written introduction in which one could read about the invention of polychoral technique for the purposes of ‘St Mark’s Cathedral’ (‘Markusdom’) and some characteristics of *cori spezzati* as a Renaissance invention; [https://www.unichor.kunstwissenschaften.lmu.de/?page\\_id=943](https://www.unichor.kunstwissenschaften.lmu.de/?page_id=943) (accessed 27 Mar. 2019).

32 • Cori Spezzati’s choir website, [http://cori.spezzati.free.fr/corior/cori\\_01.html](http://cori.spezzati.free.fr/corior/cori_01.html) (accessed 27 Mar. 2019).



composers from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup> The *cori spezzati* repertory performed by the *Cori Spezzati* ensemble is accompanied (and perhaps also rendered more ‘authentic’) by the iconographical quotation and graphic modification of a Canaletto painting from 1766 (Kunsthalle, Hamburg) showing singers performing music at San Marco (see Pl. 11.3).

In 2015, the Australia Council for the Arts presented its Individual International Arts Project Award to the Australian composer Jonathan David Little to allow him to carry out the project of composing and recording his ‘Sacred and Secular Choral and Polychoral Works’; the latter were described as ‘Twenty-First Century *Cori Spezzati*’.<sup>34</sup> The final result of the project was a CD recorded in 2015 by an international ensembles (see Pl. 11.4).

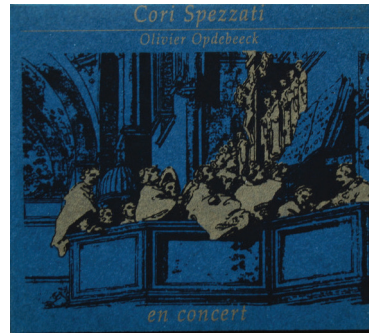


Plate 11.3. Front cover of the album *Cori Spezzati. En concert*, France 2008. Reproduced with the permission of the French Ensemble vocal Cori Spezzati, dir. Olivier Opdebeck



Plate 11.4. Front cover of the album *Woefully Arrayed. Sacred & Secular Choral & Polychoral Works of Jonathan David Little*, Navona Records 2017 (NV 6113). Reproduced with the permission of the composer

- 33 • This title appears on the website; on the front cover one reads: *Cori Spezzati / Olivier Opdebeck / en concert*; see Cori Spezzati’s choir website, [http://cori.spezzati.free.fr/corio5/cori\\_05.html](http://cori.spezzati.free.fr/corio5/cori_05.html) (accessed 27 Mar. 2019).
- 34 • A description of this project is available in Jonathan David Little’s profile on academia.edu: [https://www.academia.edu/38505604/WOEFULLY\\_ARRAYED\\_Sacred\\_and\\_Secular\\_Choral\\_and\\_Polychoral\\_Works\\_of\\_Jonathan\\_David\\_Little.\\_North\\_Hampton\\_NH\\_USA\\_PARMA\\_Recordings\\_NV6113\\_2017.\\_AUDIO\\_CD](https://www.academia.edu/38505604/WOEFULLY_ARRAYED_Sacred_and_Secular_Choral_and_Polychoral_Works_of_Jonathan_David_Little._North_Hampton_NH_USA_PARMA_Recordings_NV6113_2017._AUDIO_CD) (accessed 27 Mar. 2019).

The short introductory piece in the accompanying booklet, entitled ‘A music redolent of the past and the future’, starts as follows: ‘Several of the works in this collection feature intricate, *a cappella*, polychoral-inspired techniques. These include multi-part, multi-divisi, and unusual spatial effects (or *cori spezzati*—literally “split choirs”—as the technique was referred to in the Renaissance and early Baroque periods).<sup>35</sup>

### The Memory of Meaning

At this point, I would like to return to my opening anecdote and the initial question regarding the extent to which an addressee’s guard can be lowered by deploying a meme—even when the addressee is or should be a specialist. This time, the role of the expert will be played by musicologists and musicians. Let me pose some rhetorical questions. Why do scholars, musicians, and music producers use the term *cori spezzati*? Do they verify the term every time they apply it? What do ‘we’ think when we read or hear this term?

The simplest answer to the first question might be that someone used it first, possibly even demonstrating its appropriateness. And, of course, there is nothing surprising about borrowing terms from other scholars—that is how language (and consequently scholarship) works. But what about musicologists who possibly know that there is something fundamentally wrong with this term but use it anyway? For example, David Bryant, in a study published in 2018, convincingly argues that in the case of the compositions called ‘salmi spezzati’ the verb ‘spezzare’ was related to the text disposition among the musicians (soloists or choirs) rather than to the polychoral technique.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, compositions called ‘salmi spezzati’ could be written not only for two or more choirs but also for two or four parts, since this term did not specify musical forces. The question then arises as to why the author did not similarly treat the no less misleading term ‘cori spezzati’ by explaining its original context and reception.<sup>37</sup>

Some musicologists emphasize that we should distinguish polychoral technique (understood as a compositional technique) from the possible (but not necessarily employed) performance practice according to which the ‘choirs’, when performing, were separated from each other. In this context, it might be interesting to consider yet another non-musicological theory, this time drawn from cognitive science—namely, the embodied simulation hypothesis, according to which ‘we use our brains to simulate percepts and actions without actually perceiving or acting’.<sup>38</sup> Such simulations can be performed unconsciously and automatically.<sup>39</sup>

35 • *Woefully Arrayed: Sacred and Secular Choral and Polychoral Works of Jonathan David Little*. PARMA Recordings, NV6113 (2017).

36 • The author provides many examples of the use of the verb ‘spezzare’ in the context of music for different musical forces. David Bryant, “Cori spezzati” in *Composition and Sound*, in Katelijne Schiltz (ed.), *A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, Brill’s Companions to the Musical Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Europe, 2 (Leiden, 2018), 371–94.

37 • It is probable that he merely intended to show the different roots and meanings of these two terms without questioning their modern usage—especially in the case of ‘cori spezzati’.

38 • Benjamin K. Bergen, *Louder than Words: The New Science of How the Mind Makes Meaning* (New York, 2012), 15.

39 • ‘[A]ccording to the embodied perspective, cognition is situated in the interaction of body and world, dynamic bodily processes such as motor activity can be part of reasoning processes, and offline cognition is

Sometimes it is difficult to refrain from visualizing the objects and actions that particular words refer to, as exemplified by negative imperatives such as ‘Do not think about a pink tuba!’.<sup>40</sup> Such a request seems to be difficult or even impossible to fulfil. Similarly, a simple pair of words, composed of a noun (indicating a given object) and its designation can elicit a simulation in someone’s brain. In the context of *cori spezzati*, we can imagine that some people (assuming that they understand the meaning of the noun ‘coro’ and the verb ‘spezzare’ and have some basic knowledge of the history of Western music) might visualize multiple choirs (probably just two) situated somewhere in a church (or some other building) and distant from each other. Can there be any doubt that imagining groups of musicians (even rather indistinctly) seems easier than visualizing such an abstract term as ‘compositional technique’? One may assume, therefore, that scholars employing the term *cori spezzati* as a synonym for a compositional technique will often elicit a totally different result in their readers’ perception than one linking the term with performance practice (the reader’s brain will more likely visualize spatial performance than the process of composition). Furthermore, such terms can activate a visual system in the brain that summons previous (visual) experience.<sup>41</sup> The strong metaphorical nature of the term *cori spezzati* or ‘broken choirs’ can therefore evoke very different personal images (depending on how one perceives the word ‘choir’ and pictures how it could be ‘broken’). One may assume that no scholarly definition could overcome the natural mechanism of human cognition. This intuitive (and sometimes automatic) process of understanding may have caused one musicologist, Denis Arnold, to mistranslate the term *cori spezzati* into English as ‘choirs divided by space’,<sup>42</sup> despite the fact that there is no mention of space in the original Italian version of the phrase.

One may be surprised at such diversity in the understanding of a given term and its extensive use without any explanation. Perhaps instead of blaming scholars for their oversight, it would be better to consider this phenomenon in the context of cognitive science. According to Daniel Everett, ‘ambiguity, as a matter of fact, is a natural by-product of a language as the communication system’.<sup>43</sup> For Benjamin Bergen, the ambiguity of meanings seems to be not only a natural phenomenon, but also a very positive one:

body-based too. Finally, embodiment assumes that cognition evolved for action, and because of this, perception and action are not separate systems, but are inextricably linked to each other and to cognition; Edwin Hutchins, ‘Enaction, Imagination, and Insight’, in John Stewart, Olivier Gapenne, and Ezequiel A. Di Paolo (eds.), *Enaction: Toward a New Paradigm in Cognitive Science* (Cambridge, MA, 2010), 425–50 at 428. For examples of the use of this methodology in musicology, see Simon Zagorski-Thomas, *The Musicology of Record Production* (Cambridge, 2014); Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, NH, 1998).

- 40 • Bergen quotes as an example the first part of the title of a book by George Lakoff: ‘Don’t think of an elephant.’ Bergen, *Louder than Words*, 67.
- 41 • ‘We use our visual system not only to detect visible things in the real world but also to mentally simulate nonpresent things. We use visual simulation for certain higher cognitive functions, like recall and categorization. So it seems reasonable to hypothesize that we might also engage our visual system to understand language about visible things.’ Ibid., 51.
- 42 • ‘Nobody knows where *cori spezzati*—choirs divided by space—were invented.’ Arnold, ‘The Significance of “Cori spezzati”’, 5.
- 43 • Daniel L. Everett, *Language: The Cultural Tool* (New York, 2012), 312.

When you read *torture devices*, you might think of the Iron Maiden or you might think of a new Stairmaster at your gym. Variation in the things people think words refer to is important because it means that people use their idiosyncratic mental resources to construct meaning. We all have different experiences, expectations, and interests, so we paint the meanings we create for the language we hear in our own idiosyncratic colour.<sup>44</sup>

Apart from the ambiguity of the term *cori spezzati*, then, there is another, final question warranting particular attention. In many definitions of polychorality, we encounter the statement (in different variants) which can be summarized as follows: this [polychoral] technique (or pieces) were called, 'in the past' (or 'in the sixteenth' or 'in the seventeenth century' or just 'then', referring to the times of Willaert, Gabrieli or sometimes later), 'cori spezzati'.

Considering such invocations of Uses of the Past, it is worth reminding ourselves in what contexts the term *cori spezzati* was first noted and how often it has actually been used in the past. One academic textbook mistakenly identifies a famous Venetian print from 1550 advertised with the names of the composers Adrian Willaert and Jachet pf Mantua (*Di Adriano et di Jachet ...*) as the source of the first appearance of the term *cori spezzati*.<sup>45</sup> To be precise, the term *salmi spezzadi* (but not *cori spezzati*) first appears in the context of Willaert's double-choir psalms.<sup>46</sup> It is widely known that the term *choro spezzato*, rather than *cori spezzati*, was used in Gioseffo Zarlino's treatise *Le istituzioni armoniche*, from 1558.<sup>47</sup> Although I have not noticed other scholars making the same mistake as in the manual cited above, this may account for the emergence and popularity of the term *coro spezzato* in the plural, which derived, one may assume, from a marriage of Zarlino's *choro spezzato* and Willaert's *salmi spezzadi*. (Recall that the term *salmi spezzadi*, according to Bryant, should be associated with the disposition of the text, not with the musical forces.)

Among the sixteenth-century sources known to me, I have found no examples of the term *choro spezzato* in the plural (*cori spezzati*). There seems to be only one known example of the use of the plural form of this term in seventeenth-century music sources: the printed collection by Giulio Belli, *Di Giulio Belli da Longiano Maestro di Cappella del Domo di Forlì. Compieta, Motetti, & Letanie della Madonna a otto voci. Falsi Bordonni sopra li Otto Toni a Dui Chori Spezzati* (Venice, 1605), containing, among others, double-choir psalms in *falsobordone*.<sup>48</sup>

44 • Bergen, *Louder than Words*, 19.

45 • Zygmunt Maria Szweykowski, 'Technika polichóralna, jej typy i przemiany w XVII wieku' [Polychoral technique, its types and its changes during the seventeenth century], in Zygmunt M. Szweykowski (ed.), *Muzyka we Włoszech. II: Technika polichóralna* [Music in Italy. II: Polychoral technique] (Kraków, 2000), 7.

46 • *Di Adriano et di Jachet i Salmi appartenenti alli Vesperi per tutte le Feste dell'anno, Parte a uersi, & parte spezzadi Accomodati da Cantare a uno & a duoi Chori ...* (Venice, 1550). The term *salmi spezzadi* also appears in the table of contents, as 'Salmi spezzadi di M. adriano'.

47 • 'Accaderà alle volte di comporre alcuni Salmi in una maniera, che si chiama a Choro spezzato, i quali spesse volte si sogliono cantare in Vinegia nelli Vesperi, & altre hore delle festi solenni...'. 'le dotte compositioni di esso Adriano [Willaert]; come sono quelli Salmi, Confitebor... tra i quali è il Cantico della Beata Vergine, Magnificat anima mea Dominum, il quale composi già molti anni a tre chori.' Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), part 3, p. 268. For English translation see Gioseffo Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint, Part Three of Le Istituzioni harmoniche 1558*, trans. Guy A. Marco, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, 1968), 243–4.

48 • Interestingly, *falsobordone* technique differs significantly from the compositions commonly regarded by scholars as typical examples of the 'cori spezzati style'. For more on the terminology relating to polychoral technique used in different contexts of the past, see Gembicki, 'Psalm, mity i memy'.

In the context of sources related to (most likely) polychoral music (including letters, accounts, inventories, and theoretical treatises), mention tends to be made of compositions for a particular number of parts, e.g. eight, ten, twelve, or more (this does not mean that they were necessarily all polychoral compositions), or else the number of choirs is specified. With accounts of services, one should be particularly cautious, since the presence of several different ensembles (or choirs) during a service does not mean that they performed music at the same time. Moreover, polychoral works were not necessarily performed with the use of spatial separation, so this fact might not have been noticed.<sup>49</sup>

One is struck by the complete absence of the term *choro spezzato* among the theorists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries apart from Zarlino. The term *choro spezzato* (in the singular) is also not particularly frequent in music sources. To my knowledge, the scholarly reception of the term *coro spezzato* begins in Giambattista Martini's *Esemplare o sia Saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto* (Bologna, 1774). He quotes the relevant passage from Zarlino and also discusses the 1550 print that includes Willaert's *salmi spezzati*.<sup>50</sup> Perhaps the person most responsible for promoting the term *cori spezzati* (in the plural) early on was Charles Burney. In his *A General History of Music* (London, 1789), Burney states: '[Zarlino] tells us that Adriano Willaert had invented masses à *Due Cori*, over a *tre*, or, as some call them, a *Cori Spezzati*, which had an admirable effect.'<sup>51</sup> As we have seen, the famous passage from Zarlino's *Istitutioni*—to which Burney provides a correct footnote—refers to *choro spezzato* (not *cori spezzati*). Moreover, Zarlino writes about polychoral technique in the context of Vespers, not music for the Mass (and he does not ascribe the authorship of three-choir Masses to Willaert). Interestingly, a few paragraphs from Burney's *History* dedicated to polychoral music appear twice in his entries in *The Cyclopaedia* edited by Abraham Rees from 1819.<sup>52</sup> Beginning with the first half of the nineteenth century, the plural *cori spezzati* became increasingly popular among scholars of different countries.<sup>53</sup>

As already mentioned, many scholars have emphasized that the term *cori spezzati* was known and used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, I have yet to find any examples of the use of the term *cori spezzati* (apart from Belli's print and its quotations) before Burney's *History*, when it is likely that Zarlino's *choro spezzato* multiplied into *cori spezzati* like a dividing cell.

In recent times, a return to the original singular form *coro spezzato* (or *choro spezzato*) has been observed among scholars.<sup>54</sup> This phenomenon is interesting when observed in the writings of a particular scholar, for example Jeffrey Kurtzman, who has recently switched from the

49 • See David Bryant, 'The "Cori Spezzati" of St Mark's', 170.

50 • Martini, *Esemplare*, i, 135.

51 • Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period. To which is Prefixed, a Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients*, iii (London, 1789), 166.

52 • Charles Burney, 'Due Cori', in Rees (ed.), *The Cyclopaedia*, xii, unnumbered pages; Charles Burney, 'Zarlino', *ibid.*, xxxix, unnumbered pages.

53 • Cf. Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Rome, 1821), 221; August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, iii (Breslau, 1868), 222.

54 • A good example of this shift is the title of the book mentioned earlier: Folegnana and Ignesti (eds), *Dal canto corale alla musica policorale: L'arte del coro spezzato*.

plural form to the singular.<sup>55</sup> The adjective *spezato* has also been used not just not just with reference to the psalm repertory. Robert Kendrick, for one, mentions a '*spezato* Magnificat' in the context of a double-choir setting of the canticle by Francesco Mortaro.<sup>56</sup>

After drawing attention to the source context, it is worth enquiring whether scholars' inconsistent use of terms weakens the impact of their work. Is not flagging such inconsistencies nothing short of pedantic? The answer, of course, would depend on what particular groups of readers find interesting and how they view the meanings of different terms. The larger the body of works that is designated by a given term (e.g. *cori spezati* as a synonym for all polychoral compositions), the lesser the anxiety that it arouses among readers, and readers interested primarily in biographical questions may generally leave satisfied with what they came for regardless of the problematic nature of the term.

\* \* \*

Many recently published books and articles devoted to the history of Venice deal with correcting misunderstandings and generalizations made by earlier generations of scholars. 'Mistakes' are often inscribed in the category known as the 'myths of Venetian music', close to the capacious and vague concept of the 'myth of Venice'. If I wanted to adopt a similar narrative, I should probably end by inscribing the term *cori spezati* in that set of myths. Instead of talking about the 'myth of *cori spezati*', however, I decided to refer to 'meme' theory. The summary and working biography of the '*cori spezati* meme' which I have tried to present here draws its inspiration from Daniel L. Everett's simple statement that 'word and phrase meanings are based on historical accident and cultural preferences'.<sup>57</sup>

Various definitions of the term *cori spezati* and instances of its use show how much authors differ in their understanding of this concept. Even more interestingly, they rarely explain the terms which they apply, so they repeat and treat them as a given. Musicologists and musicians very often use *cori spezati* as a historical term, seemingly the most adequate, and certainly appealing term, but do they use it 'correctly'?

It was not the aim of this essay to point to errors made by various scholars or to bemoan inconsistencies in their use of terms, let alone to propose a new definition of polychorality. I was interested in how those discrepancies have come about and how they can influence the wider reception of polychoral music beyond musicological circles, especially among early music performers, who use the term *cori spezati* to mean choirs divided by space, consequently assuming a spatial arrangement of groups of musicians. Consequently, concert audiences and record listeners can expect *cori spezati* music to be performed with the spatial separation of the choirs. This is linked, of course, to a range of issues that should always be borne in mind, such as various traditions in research and performance, languages, aims, contexts, and meth-

55 • Jeffrey Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance* (Oxford, 1999), 128; Jeffrey Kurtzman, *Approaches to Monteverdi: Aesthetic, Psychological, Analytical and Historical Studies* (Farnham, 2013), p. xii.

56 • Robert L. Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan, 1585–1650* (New York and Oxford, 2002), 245. However, mention must also be made that some scholars never employ the term *cori spezati*—regardless of grammatical number or spelling—when referring to polychoral music; they probably do so for a reason.

57 • Everett, *Language: The Cultural Tool*, 130.

odologies. Finally, it is important not just who is writing or performing, but also who is reading or listening and what the producer of a given activity expects of their recipients.

I attempted to show that even great research discoveries and ground-breaking interpretations are generally unable to delete all memes that have long been embedded in human minds. Memes can sometimes nest in the brains of people who have declared open war on them. Perhaps the most effective ‘vaccine’ for ‘malignant’ memes of the *cori spezzati* kind is the acceptance of their existence and non-violent prevention, consisting in a perpetual attempt to uncover their endless meanings. As mentioned above, the ambiguity of meanings is a natural effect of the use of language; hence the ‘need for interpretation is just the price we pay to be able to communicate with each other’.<sup>58</sup>

271

58 • ‘Konieczność interpretowania jest po prostu ceną, którą płacimy za to, że możemy się nawzajem porozumieć.’ Bartosz Brożek, *Granice interpretacji* [The limits of interpretation], 3rd edn. (Kraków, 2018), 170.





**Antonio Chemotti**

In 2016, La Morra, a vocal-instrumental ensemble specializing in late-medieval music, released a CD entitled *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz: Fifteenth-Century Music from Central Europe*.<sup>1</sup> The recording was co-produced by the Adam Mickiewicz Institute (Warsaw) and Schola Cantorum Basiliensis (Basel). The AMI is a Polish cultural institution with a mission to ‘build and communicate the cultural dimension of the Poland brand’.<sup>2</sup> Schola Cantorum Basiliensis is a music academy and research institution, widely acknowledged as one of the leading centres in Europe for historically informed performance. Its alumni include the artistic directors of La Morra: the keyboard and recorder player Corina Marti and the lutenist Michał Gondko.

Some months later, in the autumn of 2017, the Warsaw-based trio Bastarda issued its debut album, *Promitat Eterno*.<sup>3</sup> Bastarda consists of a clarinetist (Paweł Szamburski), a cellist (Tomasz Pokrzywiński), and a contrabass clarinet player (Michał Górczyński). The musicians have different backgrounds: the cellist is classically trained and performs also in early music groups such as Holland Baroque, while the two clarinetists mainly work in the contemporary improvised music scene. Bastarda as an ensemble also focuses on improvised music, and it is associated with LadoABC (<https://ladoabc.com>), an independent Polish record label devoted to experimental music.

The two CDs are extremely different from each other, in sound as well as in appearance (see Pls. 12.1 and 12.2). The cover of La Morra’s CD showcases the name of the composer in capital letters on the front. The subtitle (*Fifteenth-century music from Central Europe*) identifies the century and geographic area in which the composer was active, answering basic questions such as who, when, what, and where. Conversely, Bastarda’s title, *Promitat Eterno*, appears only on the spine of the CD slimcase, and reveals little about the content of the record. It relies on the evocative power of Latin, ignoring its semantic meaning, which is, in fact, grammatically incomplete.

The same denotative and connotative approaches emerge from the pictures on the front covers. Compare La Morra’s realistic photograph of a performance on a lute and a *clavicimbalum* with the artwork of Bastarda’s cover, where the vision of a starry sky inscribed in the letter B of the word ‘Bastarda’ conjures up the eternity evoked by the title, ‘promitat eterno’.

These differences notwithstanding, there is a thread that connects the two recordings, and it is of no mean importance: both are devoted to the music of Petrus Wilhelmi, a cleric,

- 1 • La Morra (Corina Marti and Michał Gondko, artistic direction), *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz: Fifteenth-Century Music from Central Europe* (Glossa GCD 922515, 2016).
- 2 • See <https://iam.pl/en/about-us/adam-mickiewicz-institute> (accessed 27 Dec. 2018).
- 3 • Bastarda, *Promitat Eterno* (LadoABC Lado C/25, 2017).

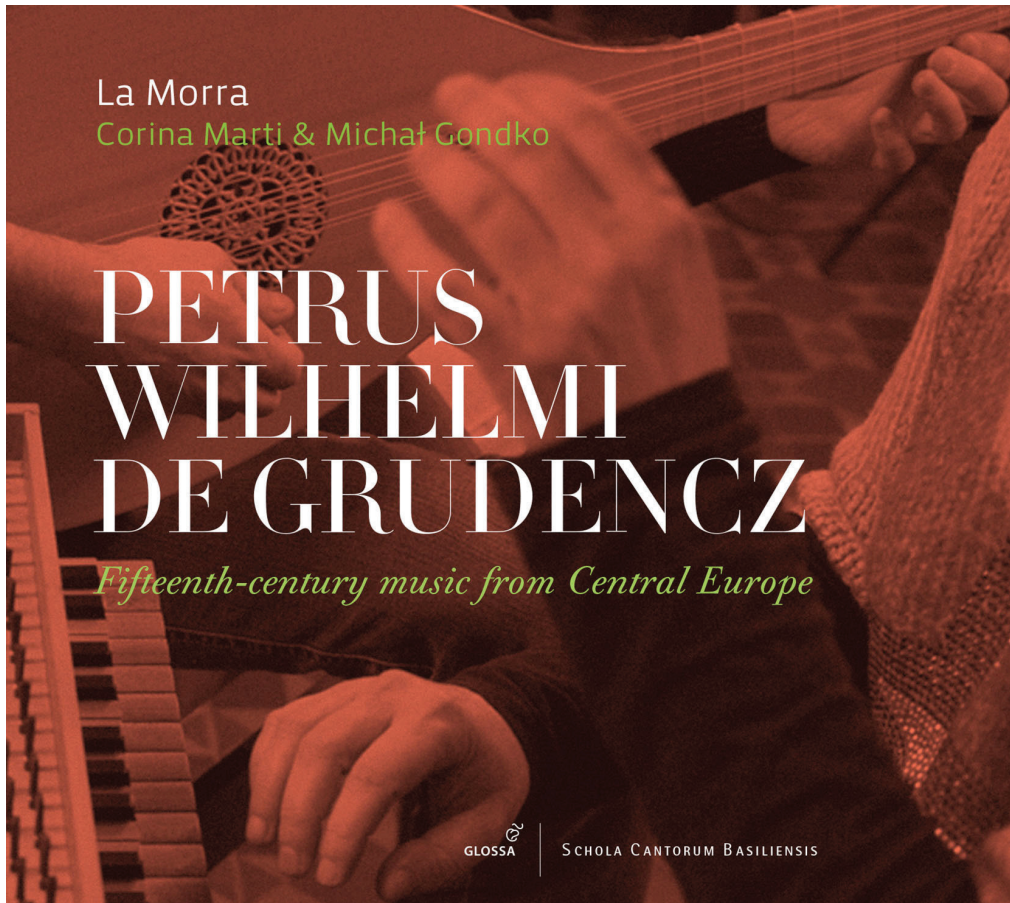


Plate 12.1. CD cover of La Morra, *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz: Fifteenth-Century Music from Central Europe*. Photograph by Susanna Drescher, courtesy of Glossa Music

poet and composer born in 1392 in Grudencz (Pol. Grudziądz). Today, Grudziądz is situated in northern Poland, but in Wilhelmi's day it was part of the territories ruled by the Teutonic Knights. Petrus Wilhelmi himself, as suggested by his patronymic, was probably of German descent, and most likely spoke German as his first language or 'mother tongue'. However, his twentieth-century reception often took the form of a 'Polonocentric' narrative.<sup>4</sup> Although Wilhelmi has been known to musicologists since 1975, his biography and music are still relatively unfamiliar, even to early music enthusiasts, since the works attributed to him are available in just a handful of recordings with limited distribution.<sup>5</sup> He is not usually mentioned in music history classes or textbooks.

- 4 • For an introduction to Petrus Wilhelmi, see Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (b. 1392) – a Central European Composer', *De musica disserenda*, 2 (2006), 103–12.
- 5 • The only recordings devoted specifically to Petrus Wilhelmi's music of which I am aware besides the two mentioned earlier are Bornus Consort and Ensemble Ars Nova, *Petrus de Grudziądz: Chansons et Motets* (Accord 201412, 1991), Schola Gregoriana Pragensis, *Maiestas Dei* (Supraphon SU 3807-2, 2006), and Ars Cantus, *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz. Muzyka XV wieku / 15th-century music* (Wratislavia Cantans, no identification number, 2009).



Plate 12.2. CD cover of Bastarda, *Promitat Eterno*. Artwork by Hanna Cieślak, courtesy of LadoABC

Each on their own terms, and independently from each other, La Morra and Bastarda both explored the music of a distant past and contributed to its twenty-first century reception. Nonetheless, from a musical and aesthetic point of view, the two groups could not be more different. La Morra's interpretations follow the learned art music tradition of today's 'historically informed performance practice': musicians perform on reconstructed versions of historical instruments and are accustomed to studying critical editions and original sources when exploring their chosen repertory, giving great weight to a historicizing soundscape and the written status of the music.

In contrast, the sounds heard on Bastarda's *Promitat Eterno* were largely improvised in the recording studio, using modern instruments (clarinet, cello, contrabass clarinet), and were generated through the aural reception of recordings made earlier by the Polish ensembles Bornus Consort and Ensemble Ars Nova. Moreover, the actual pitch content of Bastarda's performances is quite far removed from the notations transmitted in the sources of Wilhelmi's music. Only listeners very familiar with Wilhelmi's compositions will recognize that the latter's music constitutes the starting point of each improvisation.

I was present at the launches of both CDs in Warsaw: La Morra's at the National Museum (12 December 2016) and Bastarda's at Polish Radio (22 October 2017). From the very beginning, I was fascinated by these two radically contrasting visions of the musical past. The differences were strikingly evident, yet I kept wondering whether the underlying cultural premises of the two projects were truly as incompatible as they seem at first glance. Since the 'authenticity wars' seem to be over,<sup>6</sup> I felt encouraged to compare La Morra's and Bastarda's responses to Petrus Wilhelmi without raised eyebrows. Presented below is the transcription of a conversation I had in September 2018 with Michał Gondko (lutenist and artistic co-director of La Morra) and Paweł Szamburski (clarinetist and leader of Bastarda). Needless to say, this is not a musicological essay, and it should rather be read as 'primary source' material that helps to establish the distance (or proximity) between the two projects. Going beyond what is suggested by their 'sonic surfaces', this conversation tries to shed light on the reasons why—and how—twenty-first-century musicians 'remember', enabling a deeper understanding of the negotiations and exploitations of the musical past which are continuously taking place in contemporary societies.

As a musicologist specializing in early-modern music, I am aware of being actively involved in this process. My questions certainly steered the conversation towards the issues that interested me the most: the 'sources' that mediate between the performers and the musical past, its interaction with contemporary cultures, its role in serving extra-musical objectives. At the same time, I tried to remain as neutral as possible, without questioning or 'correcting' Gondko's and Szamburski's ideas of the past and its music. For the sake of clarity, I have introduced a few footnotes explaining some references made by the speakers.

Antonio Chemotti (AC)

Michał Gondko (MG)

Paweł Szamburski (PS)

**AC:** Your ensembles have intriguing names. 'La Morra' reminds me of a popular Italian hand game, while 'Bastarda' has a provocative touch. Would you tell me more about these names and why you chose them?

**MG:** *'La Morra' is a textless piece by Henricus Isaac, and it was in all likelihood conceived for an instrumental ensemble. Initially, La Morra's members were all instrumentalists, hence the choice of the ensemble's name. Soon, however, the ensemble became the medium-sized vocal-instrumental formation that it is at present.*

**PS:** *In the case of Bastarda, the name was proposed by our cellist, Tomasz Pokrzywiński, who told us about a style of viol playing known as 'bastarda', which consists in transforming the poly-*

6 • For an introduction to the debate, which continued through the 1980s and 1990s, about the 'authenticity' of the early music movement, see Laurence Dreyfus, 'Early Music Defended against its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century', *Musical Quarterly*, 69 (1983), 297–322; Nicholas Kenyon (ed.), *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (Oxford, 1988); Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York and Oxford, 1995); Bernard D. Sherman, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (Oxford, 1997).

phonic texture of a composition into a single line.<sup>7</sup> *Bastarda* is obviously also a late-medieval script, which introduced more elegant, readable, and airy characters. Both meanings of the word *Bastarda*, the palaeographic and the performative, represent our way of interpreting the music of Petrus Wilhelmi, stressing the melodic content at the expense of the polyphony, and privileging slow and 'spacious' performances.

**AC:** You both were attracted to the music of a fifteenth-century composer, although in different ways. Could you say something about your musical background and how you got into early music?

**MG:** *I studied classical guitar from my late childhood until I decided to focus on the lute around the age of 18. In my hometown, Warsaw, I received the standard classical music education taught at the Fryderyk Chopin Academy of Music (now University of Music). It comprised regular instrumental tuition and a full range of historical and theoretical subjects. My musical interests were always primarily 'classical'. I listened to a good deal of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century music, which I found fascinating. Besides, I was hooked on the guitar and listened to many recordings of classical, jazz, and flamenco guitarists. The works of John Dowland, Sylvius Leopold Weiss, and Johann Sebastian Bach, which were part of my classical guitar education, also formed my practical introduction to early music. Sometime in the early 1990s, I heard them played on the lute, which was a life-changing experience. Before records of early music became easily accessible, I got to hear a lot of the early repertory in concerts and radio broadcasts, enough to feel assured that there was plenty of worthwhile music out there which I knew nothing about.*

**PS:** *I am a self-taught clarinetist, and started playing at the age of 19. When I devised the *Bastarda* project, I was looking for something old and primeval. Thus, I turned to what I thought was medieval music, since it represented for me the most ancient music I could find. I wanted to find music from my country, Poland, and I started my research in a very simple way, with a Google search. I just googled 'Polish medieval composer'—a very simple and uninformed 'research procedure'. That led me to the recording Petrus de Grudziadz: Chansons et Motets.<sup>8</sup> The CD was not available on Spotify, so I had to order it from the United States.*

**AC:** As an improviser who creates music 'here and now', why did you feel the need to establish a link with a specific musical past?

**PS:** *I did not want the *Bastarda* project to consist of completely free improvisations. I wanted it to be a 'rumination' on old and forgotten melodies. I wanted to establish such a link with a specific musical past for a personal reason. I was always fascinated by the Middle Ages, or, rather, today's popularized version of medieval times, things like *Game of Thrones*. I was fond of role-playing games like *Warhammer*, I listened to death metal, which is also full of references to an imaginary past (think of bands like *Burzum* and *Unleash*), and I love fantasy literature like J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* and historical novels like Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*. The *Bastarda* project was a result of my child-like fascination with the Middle Ages.*

7 • See Lucy Robinson, 'Viola bastarda', *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (2001) (accessed 1 Jan. 2019).

8 • Bornus Consort and Ensemble Ars Nova, 1991.

**AC:** Once you discovered Petrus Wilhelmi, how did you access his music?

**PS:** *The only source I had was the 1991 recording I mentioned above, by the Bornus Consort and Ars Nova, two early music ensembles from Warsaw. From that CD, I chose the compositions that appealed to me, in a purely subjective way, following my taste for melodies that attract me musically. Since I did not know that there were modern editions of Wilhelmi's music, I transcribed and 'summarized' the pieces in two parts with my friend, the pianist Marcin Masecki.<sup>9</sup> [See Pl. 12.3] Afterwards, I asked Michał Górczyński to join me with his contrabass clarinet, so that he could play the second part, but we weren't satisfied with the result. We felt that it was too 'contrapuntal', that the interaction between the two instruments was obscuring the main melody. So Górczyński extracted minimal melodic fragments, consisting of just a few notes, which he transformed into rhythmical and melodic patterns, like riffs. With this repetitive and skeletal accompaniment, we felt that the main melody, the tune we wanted to focus on, would be brought out to better effect. I wanted to make Wilhelmi's melodies audible individually, more audible than they were in the Bornus Consort—Ars Nova recording that I knew. We wanted to impress them on the listeners, so that they could remember these melodies and sing them in the shower. My girlfriend said they sounded like pop songs, and this convinced me that this way of seeing Wilhelmi's music was right for me as a musician, that it could meet the tastes and understanding of our audience. Our audience does not usually know anything about early music, because we play in contexts in which there is no awareness of such repertory. After the cello joined the ensemble, the keyword of Bastarda's approach remained 'simplify': we did not want to show the polyphony and the counterpoint of Wilhelmi's music, or its text, which is another fascinating aspect of his compositions. Instead, we wanted to dilute his music, as it were—to turn it into something purely instrumental, and to slow it down, so that the listener could concentrate on the purity of each single sound.*

**AC:** It is fascinating that you used a 1991 recording as your source for exploring fifteenth-century music. What did you think of the interpretation, and how did it compare with your own conception of the Middle Ages?

**PS:** *I liked the melodies, but thought that the interpretations were too fast. I assume that my own conception of the Middle Ages brought me to this: I imagined that Petrus Wilhelmi was living in a time in which everything was slow, quite the opposite of our hectic life in a modern metropolis. I decided to re-imagine his music through my own vision of medieval times as shaped by popular culture.*

*What also helped to create the 'Bastarda sound' were today's notions of ritual and mysticism, which I instinctively connected with the Middle Ages. We basically played with our own imaginary ideas of a medieval past as configured in today's popular culture, here specifically through the medium of a musical past.*

9 • With regard to the preparatory material for the Bastarda project, Petrus Wilhelmi's Kyrie *Fons bonitatis*, for example, a three-part setting with the cantus firmus paraphrased in the top part, was transcribed as a two-part setting, conflating the Contratenor and Tenor parts, privileging the lowest note. Compare Ex. 12.1 and Pl. 12.3.

[Discantus]

Ky - ri - - e fons bo - ni - ta - - tis

Contratenor

Tenor

Example 12.1. Petrus Wilhelmi's Kyrie *Fons bonitatis* according to the fifteenth-century manuscript Trento, Archivio Diocesano, MS 93, fols. 94<sup>v</sup>-95<sup>r</sup> (transcription: Antonio Chemotti)

Solo klar B<sub>♭</sub>  
KYRIE FONIS BONITATIS  
Petrus 12

G G A H A G H A C C H A G F E G F A G

8 G E F E D D C H D V F G A G F E G A H A

15 C C H G A G F E G F G A G G E F A G E F E C D E

22 E D D A A H C C C C H G G A F G A G H H

30 H A H C H A G E F A G E F E C D E D

38 G A H C H H A C C H A G F E G F A G G E F E

Plate 12.3. A sample of Bastarda's preparatory material for the Kyrie *Fons bonitatis*. Reproduced with the permission of Paweł Szamburski.

**AC:** After one of your concerts, I talked to some members of the audience. I asked how they would describe the music they had heard, and they drew parallels with the movie *Lord of the Rings*.

**PS:** *I am very happy about this description; it reflects exactly what we wanted to convey through Bastarda's music. The atmosphere and the acoustics of the studio made us play in a very calm and meditative way. When we listened to the first takes, we thought of music for a movie about some ancient king in a dark chapel, with dust and candles. I do see the Bastarda project as a potential score to a movie depicting a fantastic past.*

**AC:** Michał, did 'popular' fashioning of the past play a role in your discovery of early music?

**MG:** *Not really. If it did anything to me, the 'popular' fashioning of the past may have sparked in me an interest in certain periods of history, such as the Middle Ages, on a basic level. But like Paweł's, my discovery of early music was definitely 'aural', albeit following a different trajectory. Back in the 1990s, which were my formative years, I discovered a lot of music via recordings. I remember having been deeply influenced by the lutenist Hopkinson Smith and the ensembles Sequentia and Consort of Musicke, as well as being interested in finding out why the same repertory could sound so different when interpreted by different performers. As I matured as a musician, I focused on developing my own interpretative approach.*

**AC:** Notwithstanding your striving for individuality, you remained anchored to the musical past that represents both an impulse and a limitation. Do you see this as a paradox?

**MG:** *To me, performing any music—be it improvised, newly created, or 'of the past'—is the product of an artistic urge. Some people prefer Beethoven over Machaut, or vice versa, while yet others prefer creating their own music on the spot. That is all fine; everyone chooses the path that seems right for them. Personally, I don't feel a need to create entirely new music, whether composed or improvised. Interpreting pre-existing music is what interests me. Interpreting music of the distant past in the present can be viewed as a form of creating 'new' music: the further we move away from the concept of a 'prescriptive' score, the more room opens up for artistic input on the part of the interpreter.*

**AC:** Paweł Szamburski mentioned the vital role of recordings in his discovery of Petrus Wilhelmi. How did you discover Wilhelmi's music and why did you decide to record it?

**MG:** *I believe I also first encountered Petrus Wilhelmi through the work of the Polish early music ensembles Bornus Consort and Ars Nova, just like Paweł. I, too, found the music appealing. The attraction was purely aural as well. I did not understand many of the details at that time, but Wilhelmi's pieces seemed to me curiously different from those of his western European contemporaries. As the years passed, so did Wilhelmi research, bringing to light new bits of biographical information and unknown pieces. I gradually learned more about the musical culture of the areas in which he received his education, lived, and worked. It helped me to understand his poetical-musical creations. I have always wanted to devote a CD to the Central European musical culture of the late Middle Ages, with Wilhelmi as the main protagonist, and did so when La Morra was ready and the time was ripe.*

**AC:** Could you comment on the title of your CD? Why the reference to Central Europe?

**MG:** *While it may be conventional to perceive the music of Machaut as 'French', or Landini's as 'Italian', applying 'national' categories to the musical-poetical output of Petrus Wilhelmi is*



*problematic. I very much see him as a product of the elevated Latin culture shared by the inhabitants of fifteenth-century Central Europe. The hypothesis that he was born into a family with German roots does not affect that.*

**AC:** And yet I find it striking that both you and Paweł Szamburski are Polish.

**MG:** *It is a coincidence that Paweł and I are Polish. Admittedly, however, the awareness of Wilhelmi seems to be greater in present-day Poland and the Czech Republic than elsewhere. I believe this has to do with the fact that the early research and performances of his works took place primarily in this part of Europe. Do I feel a 'personal connection' with Wilhelmi? No more than with any other composer whose music speaks to me.*

**AC:** Do you think that the fact that Petrus Wilhelmi today is sometimes seen, albeit mistakenly, as a 'Polish' composer, influenced his reception?

**MG:** *I am afraid it did, and still does. Early twentieth-century Polish musicology sought to identify and highlight 'outstanding' 'early' Polish composers. Aware of this, Mirosław Perz, in the introduction to Jaromír Černý's edition of Wilhelmi's works (1993),<sup>10</sup> warned against perceiving Wilhelmi as the cultural property of one particular nation, and for good historical reasons. However, we live in times in which the concepts of 'nationality' and 'ethnicity' are very much alive again. In Poland, many people still consider Wilhelmi as a 'Polish' composer, although his 'Polish connection' seems very much limited to the fact that he studied at the University of Kraków.*

**AC:** Such issues go well beyond the musicological discourse. Funding mechanisms typically endorse local or 'national' projects, and funding is obviously of great relevance to music groups and researchers alike. Paweł, what is your perspective on the 'identity' of Petrus Wilhelmi?

**PS:** *I wanted to focus on music from the area in which I live: Warsaw and the Polish heartland that surrounds it. Some critics defined my music and that of my colleagues as 'Slavic', and I started reflecting on the influence of the region, its weather, its colours, etc., on the way in which I think of sounds. That's why I thought about focusing on a composer from Poland for the Bastarda project. So the 'nationality' of Petrus Wilhelmi obviously played an important role in the beginning. In the literature that I could access online, there were no hints at his German ethnic background, although I might have inferred it from his name. When the CD was already released, I got in touch with Paweł Gancarczyk of the Musicology Department at the IS PAN (Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences), and I realized that Wilhelmi was not 'Polish', at least not in the sense of his ethnicity.*

*Nonetheless, I am no nationalist. What really mattered to me was that Petrus Wilhelmi lived and composed in a geographical area which is more or less the same as where I live and compose. I felt a connection with Wilhelmi's music, and by re-interpreting his music I felt I was true to myself. That said, I think that Wilhelmi's alleged 'Polishness' influences very much the reception of the Bastarda project. First and foremost, it gave us the possibility of playing at different festivals in Poland, which were interested in Petrus Wilhelmi as a 'Polish' composer. This happened, but we did not plan it. I did not have any kind of marketing considerations when I chose the music of Petrus Wilhelmi for the Bastarda project.*

10 • *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz magister Cracoviensis. Opera musica*, ed. Jaromír Černý (Kraków, 1993).

**AC:** Tell me more about the contexts in which you perform. I assume they must be very different.

**MG:** *Our concerts are usually presented at music festivals, in regular concert series devoted to early music, or as events organized ad hoc, as a one-off occurrence. It is interesting to note that we more often perform in churches than in modern spaces devoted solely to musical performances (although the latter tend to be better suited to the purpose). The great majority of concerts in which we have performed works by Wilhelmi took place in Europe. That doesn't mean that Europeans are better prepared to receive his music than people elsewhere. In April 2018, we toured the People's Republic of China with our programme 'Verba et modulamina: Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz and his Europe'. Despite the (presumed) cultural barrier, the reaction of the Chinese public was enthusiastic.*

**PS:** *Bastarda, because of the strong connection with LadoABC, usually performs on stages devoted to contemporary music, like the festival Dni Muzyki Nowej ('New Music Days') in Gdańsk. Most groups performing there specialize in experimental, often electronic, music. On the same stage, in front of the same audience, we presented our interpretation of 600-year-old music. I always introduce the Bastarda project on stage, explaining that we propose our own interpretation, yet I have the feeling that some listeners are unaware of the gap between the musical past and its contemporary recreations.*

*I would love to play with Bastarda at an early-music festival, and even more I would like to bring La Morra into our context, because I am sure our audience would love them. Our audience is simply unaware of this kind of music-making. Such cross-fertilization is beautiful, and it should happen more often, as it happened at the SoundMe conference in Utrecht.<sup>11</sup>*

**AC:** With regard to the reception of late-medieval music, I feel obliged to ask you about the 'authenticity' of your projects. In the debate about the early music movement, 'authenticity' has been used to mean very different things, from the 'perfect historical reconstruction' to performance that 'truly reflects our times and our tastes'.<sup>12</sup> I am especially interested in your own takes on this concept, different as they may be.

**PS:** *When I listened to Wilhelmi's music, I had a corporeal feeling; I did not need any intellectual effort to connect with this music. In that sense, I feel that the Bastarda project is extremely authentic: I was (and am) true to myself while conceiving and realizing it. But again, this is not a scientific method or a musicological argument. It is a very subjective and personal feeling. There is one more reason why I consider the Bastarda project 'authentic': we do not propose re-interpretations of Petrus Wilhelmi according to existing and recognizable idioms (like performing his songs as jazz standards), but we try to create a specific language for it, and for it alone.*

**MG:** *Despite the many decades of the early music revival, issues of 'authenticity' still spark heated discussions. This was clearly the case during a recent symposium organized by Schola Cantorum*

11 • At the Sound Memories conference in Utrecht (28–9 May 2018), La Morra and Bastarda were brought together for the first time, performing their interpretations of Petrus Wilhelmi's music. The concert was recorded by the Concertzender (Netherlands) and it is available online at [https://www.concertzender.nl/programma/concertzender\\_live\\_456683/](https://www.concertzender.nl/programma/concertzender_live_456683/) (accessed 27 Dec. 2018). The concert was repeated on 4 July 2019 at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference in Basel, Switzerland. Those first encounters led to an enduring artistic relationship between the two ensembles, which will lead to other public concerts.

12 • Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 9.

*Basiliensis*,<sup>13</sup> where two contrasting approaches emerged. For present purposes, let's call their adherents 'freedom fighters' and the 'authenticity police'. The former argued for greater freedom of artistic expression, supporting their case with the timeless and universal power of music to express human emotions, as well as highlighting the fact that there is no way of assessing the degree of proximity of our performances to those which occurred in the distant past. The latter preferred Occam's razor, displaying their attachment to strict 'historicist' logic and the canons of performance which that logic helped to establish. Both approaches had adherents across the generational spectrum present in the room; what struck me, however, was that there were more 'historicists' among the youngest musicians.

My own approach to 'authenticity' lies somewhere between those two extremes. I can and will zoom in as far as I can clearly see with the microscope of historical enquiry, adducing any historical information that can inform my performance decisions (study of the historical contexts and general conventions that governed performances of various types of music already offers a useful framework for me to move within). In the end, however, what lies in front of me as a performer is the naked body of a musical-poetical work of the past, which will remain silent unless someone lends it a 'voice' in today's present. That 'voice' inevitably varies according to the performers' disposition and aesthetic preferences, and it will always be no more—and no less—than a contemporary artistic statement.

What is fascinating about Bastarda's approach is that, without being aware of it, they tap directly into a tradition for which there are so many historical precedents: the creative reworking of pre-existing music. Like Valentin Triller and his community in the mid-sixteenth century, they make *Wilhelmi's* music their own;<sup>14</sup> and I like to think that *La Morra* does so, too, albeit from a very different perspective. Both ensembles offer new contributions to the considerable reception history of *Wilhelmi's* works. This, in fact, may be the only 'authenticity' that can be attained.

**AC:** It is significant that you two took completely different paths in discussing the very same word: 'authenticity'. Michał, do you feel that there were paths not taken in the recent history of early music performance?

**MG:** *No one is quite the same. So, as new performers enter the scene, one would expect more or less individualized interpretations in the future. I am not sure, however, whether our interest should focus only on how they differ, but rather on why they should differ. That, for me, is the important point. Music only exists if it can be heard and re-heard. Now that so much of the*

13 • Symposium *Darf man das? — Alte Musik zwischen historischen Quellen und ästhetischer Gegenwart*, 29 November–1 December 2018, Musik-Akademie Basel. Proceedings will be published in due course.

14 • Valentin Triller, a Silesian Lutheran pastor, published a hymnbook entitled *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* (Wrocław: Scharffenberg, 1555), characterized by a markedly retrospective repertory, including a contrafactum of the song *Praelustri Elucentia*, which musicologists attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi because of the acrostic 'Petrus' in its Latin text. Cf. Martin Horyna, 'Die Kompositionen von Peter Wilhelmi von Graudenz als Teil der spätmittelalterlichen Polyfonie-Tradition in Mitteleuropa und insbesondere im Böhmen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts', *Hudební věda*, 40 (2003), 291–328, and Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Changing Identities of Songs by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz', *Hudební věda*, 54 (2017), 10–15. For an edition of the polyphonic hymns of Triller's hymnbook, see *The Polyphonic Hymns of Valentin Triller's Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein (Wrocław 1555)*, ed. Antonio Chemotti (Warsaw, 2019), available online at <https://epub.uni-regensburg.de/38328/>. See also Antonio Chemotti, *The Hymnbook of Valentin Triller (Wrocław 1555): Musical Past and Regionalism in Early Modern Silesia* (Warsaw, 2020), also available online at <https://epub.uni-regensburg.de>.

*musical heritage of the past has been rescued from oblivion—and we generally agree that to do so was worthwhile—how do we ensure its long-term presence in musical culture? In my opinion, the answer lies precisely in the ability of performers to keep the public's interest alive as well as helping others to perceive not only the beauty but also the relevance of this heritage for the future. Whatever paths might still be awaiting exploration, I hope that exploring them will ultimately serve this purpose.*

**AC:** Michał, Paweł, thank you very much for this conversation.

### Discography

- ◇ Ars Cantus, *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz. Muzyka XV wieku / 15<sup>th</sup>-century music* (Wratislavia Cantans, no identification number, 2009)
- ◇ Bastarda, *Promitat Eterno* (LadoABC Lado C/25, 2017)
- ◇ Bornus Consort, Ensemble Ars Nova, *Petrus de Grudziadz: Chansons et Motets* (Accord 201412, 1991)
- ◇ La Morra, *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz: Fifteenth-century music from Central Europe* (Glossa GCD 922515, 2016)
- ◇ Schola Gregoriana Pragensis, *Maiestas Dei* (Supraphon SU 3807-2, 2006)

- Acquoy, Johannes G. R., *Het Klooster te Windesheim en zijn invloed*, 3 vols. (Utrecht, 1875).
- Acta capituli Windeshemensis: Acta van de Kapittelvergaderingen der Congregatie van Windesheim*, ed. S. van der Woude, *Kerkhistorische Studien*, 6 (The Hague, 1953).
- Agee, Richard J., *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569–1611* (Rochester, NY, 1998).
- Althoff, Gerd, *Inszenierte Herrschaft: Geschichtsschreibung und politisches Handeln im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2003).
- Ambros, August Wilhelm, *Geschichte der Musik*, iii (Breslau, 1868).
- Ameln, Konrad, 'Johannes Keuchenthal', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, 3 (1957), 121–4.
- Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente*, ii (Milan, 1877).
- Antiphonarium, seu, Magnus liber de gradali et antiphonario: Color Microfiche Edition of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Pluteus 29.1: Introduction to the 'Notre-Dame Manuscript' F*, ed. Edward H. Roesner, *Codices illuminati medii aevi* (Munich, 1996).
- Anttila, Miikka, "'Geistliche, liebliche Lieder": In Search of Aesthetic Criteria for Music in Luther's Theology', in Burn et al. (eds.), *Music and Theology in the European Reformations*, 140–8.
- Applegate, Celia, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca, NY, 2005).
- Applegate, Celia, 'How German is it? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century', *19th Century Music*, 21 (1998), 274–96.
- Applegate, Celia, and Pamela Potter, 'Germans as the "People of music": Genealogy of an Identity', in Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (eds.), *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago, 2002), 1–35.
- Arlt, Wulf, "'Deduisant m'aloie ier mein": Motettische Inszenierung im Paris des 13. Jahrhunderts', in Dorothea Redepenning and Joachim Steinhauer (eds.), *Inszenierung durch Musik: Der Komponist als Regisseur. Liber amicorum für Silke Leopold* (Kassel, 2011), 170–86.
- Arlt, Wulf, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1970).
- Arlt, Wulf, 'Repertoirefragen "peripherer" Mehrstimmigkeit: Das Beispiel des Codex Engelberg 314', in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna 1987*, i (Turin, 1990), 97–125.
- Arlt, Wulf, 'Warum nur viermal? Zur historischen Stellung des Komponierens an der Pariser Notre Dame', in Annegret Laubenthal (ed.), *Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Eine Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher* (Kassel, 1995), 44–8.
- Arnold, Denis, 'The Significance of "Cori Spezzati"', *Music & Letters*, 40 (1959), 4–14.
- Arnold, Denis, Anthony F. Carver, and Valerio Morucci, 'Cori spezzati/polychoral', in *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06486>.
- Assmann, Jan, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1992).
- Assmann, Jan, and John Czaplicka, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique*, 65 (Spring/Summer, 1995), 125–33.
- Atran, Scott, *In Gods We Trust: The Evolutionary Landscape of Religion* (Oxford, 2011).
- Baini, Giuseppe, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Rome, 1821).
- Bakhtin, Mikhail, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, ed. and trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis, 1984).
- Baldwin, John W., *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970).
- Baldwin, John W., *Paris 1200* (Stanford, CA, 2010).
- Baltzer, Rebecca A., 'The Manuscript Makers of W1: Further Evidence of an Early Date', in David Butler Cannata, Gabriela Ilntichi Currie, Rena Charmin Mueller and John Louis Nadas (eds.), *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner* (Middleton, WI, 2008), 103–20.
- Baltzer, Rebecca A., 'Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre Dame Clausula' (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1974).
- Baltzer, Rebecca A., 'Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners: Lost and Found', *Journal of Musicology*, 5 (1987), 380–99.
- Baltzer, Rebecca A., 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25 (1972), 1–18.
- Barbieri, Patrizio, 'Music Printers and Booksellers in Rome (1583–1600). With New Documents on Coattino, Diani, Donangeli, Tornieri, and Franzini', *Revercare*, 16 (2004), 69–112.
- Baroncini, Rodolfo, *Giovanni Gabrieli* (Palermo, 2012).
- Bartlová, Milena, *Pravda zivotězila: Výtvarné umění a husitství 1380–1490* [The truth won: Art and Husitism 1380–1490] (Prague, 2015).

- Bärsch, Jürgen, 'Jerusalem im Spiegel der abendländischen Liturgie des Mittelalters: Anamnetisches Zitat – szenische Darstellung – visuell-haptische Inkorporation', in Nikolas Jaspert and Stefan Tebruck (eds.), *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)* (Ostfildern, 2016), 347–59.
- Baťová, Eliška, 'A Neglected Source of Utraquist Chant from the Poděbradian Period', *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, 10 (Prague, 2015), 197–224.
- Baumgart, Peter, and Ernst Pitz, *Die Statuten der Universität Helmstedt*, Veröffentlichungen der niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung, 15 (Göttingen, 1963).
- Bear, Carl, 'Why Luther Changes his Mind about Music: Martin Luther's Theology of Music in Light of his Liturgical Reforms', in Michael Klaper (ed.), *Luther im Kontext: Reformbestrebungen und Musik in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft, 95 (2nd edn., Hildesheim, New York, and Zurich, 2017), 15–38.
- Bel, Catherine, and Herman Braet (eds.), *De la rose: Texte, image, fortune* (Leuven, 2006).
- Benga, Daniel, *David Chytraeus (1530–1600) als Erforscher und Wiederentdecker der Ostkirchen: Seine Beziehungen zu orthodoxen Theologen, seine Erforschungen der Ostkirchen und seine ostkirchlichen Kenntnisse* (Gießen, 2012).
- Bent, Margaret, 'Fauvel and Marigny: Which Came First?', in Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 146 (Oxford, 1998), 35–52.
- Bent, Margaret, 'Pietro Emiliani's Chaplain Bartolomeo Rossi da Carpi and the Lamentations of Johannes de Quadris in Vicenza', *Il Saggiatore musicale*, 2 (1995), 5–15.
- Bent, Margaret, 'Reading, Memory, Listening, Improvisation: From Written Text to Lost Sound', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 34 (2010), 13–28.
- Bent, Margaret, 'What is Isorhythm?', in David Butler Cannata, Rena Charnin Mueller, Gabriela Ilnitchi Currie, and John Louis Nádas (eds.), *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner* (Middleton, WI, 2008), 121–43.
- Bergen, Benjamin K., *Louder than Words: The New Science of How the Mind Makes Meaning* (New York, 2012).
- Berger, Anna Maria Busse, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley, 2005).
- Berger, Karol, 'The Guidonian Hand', in Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (eds.), *The Medieval Craft of Memory* (Philadelphia, 2002), 71–82.
- Bergeron, Katherine, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley, CA, 1998).
- Berman, Constance H., *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 2000).
- Bernhard, Michael, 'Überlieferung und Fortleben der antiken Musiktheorie im Mittelalter', in *Rezeption des antiken Fachs im Mittelalter*, Geschichte der Musiktheorie, 3 (Darmstadt, 1990), 7–35.
- Bernstein, Jane A., 'Made to Order: Choirbook Publications in Cinquecento Rome', in M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (eds.), *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn* (Turnhout, 2009), 669–76.
- Bernstein, Jane A., 'Print Culture, Music and Early Modern Catholicism in Rome', in *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology* (Leiden, 2017), 112–28.
- Bettley, John, 'Psalm-texts and the Polyphonic Vespers Repertory of St Mark's, Venice', in Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi (eds.), *La Cappella musicale di San Marco nell'età moderna. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 5–7 settembre 1994* (Venice, 1998), 103–17.
- Blackburn, Bonnie J., 'Masses Based on Popular Songs and Syllables', in Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford, 2000), 51–87.
- Blackburn, Bonnie J., 'Variations on Agricola's *Si dederit*: A Motet Cycle Unmasked', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca* (Lucca, 2019), 187–217.
- Bloch, Marc, *The Historian's Craft*, trans. Peter Putnam with a preface by Peter Burke (Manchester, 1992).
- Blume, Friedrich, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik* (Kassel, 1965).
- Bode, Gerhard, 'Instruction of the Christian Faith by Lutherans after Luther', in Robert Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1665* (Leiden and Boston, 2008), 159–204.
- Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus, *Fundamentals of Music*, trans. with an introduction and notes by Calvin M. Bower (New Haven, 1989).
- Bollbuck, Harald, 'David Chytraeus in Rostock und Helmstedt', in Matthias Asche et al. (eds.), *Die Leucorea zur Zeit des späten Melanchthon: Institutionen und Formen gelehrter Bildung um 1550* (Leipzig, 2015), 313–42.
- Bollbuck, Harald, *Geschichts- und Raummodelle bei Albert Krantz (um 1448–1517) und David Chytraeus (1530–1600): Transformationen des historischen Diskurses im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 2006).
- Bölling, Jörg, 'Kinder, Chöre, Curricula – Zur Institutions- und Bildungsgeschichte von pueri cantores', in Nicole Schwindt (ed.), *Rekrutierung musikalischer Eliten: Knabengesang im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert = Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik*, 10 (Kassel, 2013), 93–109.
- Bonvesinus de Ripa, *Vita scolastica*, ed. Anežka Vidmanová-Schmidtová (Leipzig, 1969).
- Boogaart, Jacques, 'Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and their Function in Machaut's Motets', *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 1–86.

- Boogaart, Jacques, 'A Prism of its Time: Social Functions of the Motet in Fourteenth-Century France', in Jared C. Hartt (ed.), *Critical Companion to Medieval Motets* (Woodbridge, 2018), 155–74.
- Borkovský, Ivan, *Svatojiřská bazilika a klášter na Pražském hrade* [St. George's Basilica and Convent at Prague Castle] (Prague, 1975).
- Boucheron, Patrick, *Le Pouvoir de bâtir: Urbanisme et politique édilitaire à Milan (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Rome, 1998).
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique, précédée de trois études d'ethnologie kabyle* (Geneva, 1972). Engl. transl.: *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977).
- Bowen, José Antonio, 'The History of Remembered Innovation: Tradition and its Role in the Relationship between Musical Works and their Performances', *Journal of Musicology*, 11 (1993), 139–73.
- Boynton, Susan, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, NY and London, 2006).
- Bradley, Catherine A., 'Contrafacta and Transcribed Motets: Vernacular Influences on Latin Motets and Clausulae in the Florence Manuscript', *Early Music History*, 32 (2013), 1–70.
- Bradley, Catherine A., 'Ordering in the Motet Fascicles of the Florence Manuscript', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 22 (2013), 37–64.
- Bradley, Catherine A., *Polyphony in Medieval Paris: The Art of Composing with Plainchant* (Cambridge, 2018).
- Bradley, Catherine A., 'Re-workings and Chronological Dynamics in a Thirteenth-Century Latin Motet Family', *Journal of Musicology*, 32 (2015), 153–97.
- Branner, Robert, 'The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origins of the William of Devon Painter', *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), 24–30.
- Brejta, Anna, 'The Polychoral Technique of Giovanni Matteo Asola in his "Completorium Romanum" (1599)', in Aleksandra Patalas and Marina Toffetti (eds.), *La musica polichorale in Italia e nell'Europa Centro-Orientale fra Cinque e Seicento / Polychoral Music in Italy and in Central-Eastern Europe at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century* (Venice, 2012), 85–9.
- Brown, Elizabeth A. R., 'La Généalogie capétienne dans l'historiographie du Moyen Âge: Philippe le Bel, le reniement du reditus et la création d'une ascendance carolingienne pour Hugues Capet', in Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (eds.), *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil: Royaume capétien et Lotharingie. Actes du Colloque Hugues Capet 987–1987: La France de l'an Mil, Auxerre, 26 et 27 juin 1987 / Metz, 11 et 12 septembre 1987* (Paris, 1990), 199–214.
- Brown, Joel, 'Jingle Bells History Takes Surprising Turn', *BU Today*, 8 Dec. 2016, <https://www.bu.edu/articles/2016/jingle-bells-history>.
- Brożek, Bartosz, *Granice interpretacji* [The limits of interpretation], 3rd edn. (Kraków, 2018).
- Bryant, David, "'Cori spezzati" in Composition and Sound', in Katelijne Schiltz (ed.), *A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, Brill's Companions to the Musical Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Europe, 2 (Leiden, 2018), 371–94.
- Bryant, David, 'The "Cori Spezzati" of St Mark's: Myth and Reality', *Early Music History*, 1 (1981), 165–86.
- Bunselmeyer, Silvia, *Das Stift Steterburg im Mittelalter* (Braunschweig, 1983).
- Burkhardt, Johannes, *Das Reformationsjahrhundert: Deutsche Geschichte zwischen Medienrevolution und Institutionenbildung 1517–1617* (Stuttgart, 2002).
- Burkholder, Peter, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 9th edn. (New York, 2014); 10th edn. (New York, 2019).
- Burney, Charles, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period. To which is Prefixed, a Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients*, iii (London, 1789).
- Burton, Janet, and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011).
- Butt, John, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge, 2002).
- Butterfield, Ardis, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge, 2002).
- Büttner, Fred, *Das Klauselrepertoire der Handschrift Saint-Victor (Paris, BN, lat. 15139): Eine Studie zur mehrstimmigen Komposition im 13. Jahrhundert* (Lecce, 2011).
- Büttner, Fred, 'Weltliche Einflüsse in der Notre-Dame-Musik? Überlegungen zu einer Klausel im Codex F', *Anuario Musical*, 57 (2002), 19–37.
- Buygis, Katie, A. B. Kraebel, and Margot Fassler (eds.), *Medieval Cantors and their Craft: Music, Liturgy, and the Shaping of History (800–1500)* (Woodbridge, 2016).
- Bynum, Caroline Walker, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2011).
- Caldwell, John, 'Cantio', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. (London, 2001), v. 58–9.
- Canguilhem, Philippe, *L'improvisation polyphonique à la Renaissance* (Paris, 2015).
- Carmina Burana*, ed. Wilhelm Meyer, Alfons Hilka, and Otto Schumann (Heidelberg, 1930).
- Carmina clericorum*, ed. Jan Ciglbauer (Chomutov, 2020).
- Carruthers, Mary, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 2008).
- Carver, Anthony F., *Cori Spezzati*, i: *The Development of Sacred Polychoral Music to the Time of Schütz*; ii: *An Anthology of Sacred Polychoral Music* (New York, 1988).
- Cassia, Cristina, 'Catalogo dei Libroni gaffuriani', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca* (Lucca, 2019), 291–389.
- Cassia, Cristina, 'La compilazione del Catalogo dei Libroni: Problemi e osservazioni', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per*

- cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca* (Lucca, 2019), 275–90.
- Cassidy-Welch, Megan, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries* (Turnhout, 2001).
- Cermanová, Pavlína, Robert Novotný, and Pavel Soukup (eds.), *Husitské století* [The Hussite century] (Prague, 2014).
- Černý, Jaromír, 'Ars nova v českých zemích' [Ars nova in the Czech lands], in Tomasz Jeż (ed.), *Complexus effectuum musicologiae studia Mirosłao Perz septuagenario dedicata* (Kraków, 2003), 335–59.
- Černý, Jaromír, 'Die Ars nova-Musik in Böhmen', *Miscellanea Musicologica*, 21–3 (1970), 47–106.
- Černý, Jaromír, 'Cantio', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 2 (Kassel, 1995), 389–93.
- Černý, Jaromír, 'K nejstarším dějinám moteta v českých zemích' [On the earliest history of the motet in the Czech lands], *Miscellanea Musicologica*, 24 (1971), 7–90.
- Černý, Jaromír, 'Die mehrtextige Motette des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts in Böhmen', in *Colloquia on the History and Theory of Music at the International Musical Festival in Brno*, 5 (Brno, 1972), 71–88.
- Černý, Jaromír, 'Das retrospektive Organum oder Neoorganum?', *Hudební věda*, 38 (2001), 3–31.
- Černý, Jaromír, 'Středověký vícehlas v českých zemích' [Medieval polyphony in the Bohemian lands], *Miscellanea musicologica*, 27–8 (1975), 9–116.
- Černý, Jaromír, 'Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu v českých pramenech 15. století' [Polyphonic songs of the conductus type in Czech sources of the fifteenth century], *Miscellanea musicologica*, 31 (1984), 39–142.
- Černý, Jaromír, 'Vícehlasý repertoár v graduálu z Českého muzea stříbra v Kutné Hoře' [The polyphonic repertory in the gradual from the Czech Museum of Silver in Kutná Hora], *Hudební věda*, 43 (2006), 165–84.
- Černý, Jaromír, 'Zur Frage der Entstehungs- und Verwandlungsprozesse der mehrstimmigen Repertoires in Böhmen', in Angelo Pompilio (ed.), *Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale: Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 27 agosto–1 settembre 1987, Ferrara–Parma, 30 agosto 1987*, 1: *Round Tables* (Turin, 1990), 168–74.
- Chadd, D. F. L., 'Liturgy and Liturgical Music: The Limits of Uniformity', in Christopher Norton and David Park (eds.), *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1986), 299–315.
- Chemotti, Antonio, *The Hymnbook of Valentin Triller (Wrocław 1555): Musical Past and Regionalism in Early Modern Silesia* (Warsaw, 2020), available online via <https://epub.uni-regensburg.de/>.
- Chen, Jen-Yen, 'The Tradition and Ideal of the *Stile antico* in Viennese Sacred Music, 1740–1800' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2000).
- Chytraeus, David, *Christliche Kirchen Agenda: Wie die bey den zweyen Ständen der Herrn und Ritterschafft, im Ertzbertzogthumb Oesterreich unter der Enns, gebraucht wirdt* (Rosenburg, 1571).
- Chytraeus, David, *De lectione historiarum recte instituenda. Et historicorum fere omnium series, & argumenta* (Wittenberg, 1563).
- Chytraeus, David, *Der Fürnemsten || Heubtstück || Christlicher Lehr || Nützliche vnd kurtze Erklerung. || Sampt einer Christlichen Kirchen Agenda.* (Rostock, 1578).
- Cicero, *Brutus. Orator*, trans. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library, 342 (Cambridge, MA, 1939).
- Ciglbauer, Jan, 'Antiphon oder Cantio? Auf der Suche nach der Identität des mitteleuropäischen geistlichen Liedes', *Hudební věda*, 53 (2016), 117–28.
- Ciglbauer, Jan, *Cantio um 1400: Ausgangspunkte – Kontexte – Ausstrahlung* (Hildesheim, forthcoming in 2020).
- Ciglbauer, Jan, *Cantiones Bohemicae – Komposition und Tradition* (Ph.D. dissertation, Charles University Prague, 2017).
- Ciglbauer, Jan, 'Habent sua fata libelli: Das Lübecker Troparium und mögliche musikalische Interessen des Simon Batz von Homburg', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 73 (2016), 220–40.
- Ciglbauer, Jan, 'Quoting, Rethinking and Copying: A Few Remarks on the Tradition of the Monophonic Cantio in Central Europe', *Hudební věda*, 51 (2014), 21–32.
- Ciglbauer, Jan, and Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Manuscript RC 4 from the Silesian Museum in Opava and an Unknown Song by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz', *Muzyka*, 62 (2017), 99–105.
- Clanchy, Michael, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307* (Oxford, 1993).
- Classen, Johannes, *Barthold Georg Niebuhr: Eine Gedächtnisschrift zu seinem hundertjährigen Geburtstag den 27. August 1876* (Gotha, 1876).
- Les Clausules à deux voix du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1, Fascicule V*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer, *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, 5 (Monaco, 1995).
- Clavis nigra ([www.clavmon.cz/clavis](http://www.clavmon.cz/clavis)).
- Cocchi, Claudio, *Messe ...* (Venice: Vincenti, 1627; C 3223).
- Collingwood, Robin George, 'The Historical Imagination', in his *The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1946), 231–49.
- Colussi, Franco, 'Tracce di musica policorale in alcuni centri del Friuli storico tra Cinque- e Seicento', in Aleksandra Patalas and Marina Toffetti (eds.), *La musica policorale in Italia e nell'Europa Centro-Orientale fra Cinque e Seicento / Polychoral Music in Italy and in Central-Eastern Europe at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century* (Venice, 2012), 101–58.
- De constituties der Windesheimse vrouwenkloosters vóór 1559: Bijdrage tot de institutionele geschiedenis van het kapittel van Windesheim*, ed. Rudolf T. M. van Dijk, *Middeleeuwse studies*, 3 (Nijmegen, 1986).



- Les Constitutions des chanoines réguliers de Windesheim/Constitutiones canonicorum Windeshemensium*, ed. Marcel Haverals and Francis Joseph Legrand (Turnhout, 2014).
- Čornej, Petr, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české* [The great history of the lands of the Bohemian Crown], v: 1402–1437 (Prague, 2000).
- Čornej, Petr, and Milena Bartlová, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české* [The great history of the lands of the Bohemian Crown], vi: 1437–1526 (Prague, 2007).
- Crawford, David E., review of Thomas Lee Noblitt, 'The Motetti Missales of the Late 15th Century', in *Current Musicology*, 10 (1970), 102–8.
- Curran, Sean, 'Hockets Broken and Integrated in Early Mensural Theory and an Early Motet', *Early Music History*, 36 (2017), 31–104.
- Curran, Sean, 'Writing, Performance, and Devotion in the Thirteenth-Century Motet: The "La Clayette" Manuscript', in Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (eds.), *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context* (Cambridge, 2015), 193–220.
- Cuthbert, Michael Scott, 'The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments and the International Ars nova', *Studi musicali*, NS 1 (2010), 7–51.
- D'Alessi, Giovanni, 'Precursors of Adriano Willaert in the Practice of "Coro spezzato"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 5 (1952), 187–210.
- Dahan, Gilbert, and Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne (eds.), *Philippe le Chancelier: Prédicateur, théologien et poète Parisien du début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Turnhout, 2017).
- Daolmi, Davide, 'L'invenzione del sangue: La polifonia e il ducato sforzesco', in Pietro C. Marani (ed.), *Leonardo da Vinci: Il musicista* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2010), 61–71.
- Davison, Patrick, 'The Language of Internet Memes', in Michael Mandiberg (ed.), *The Social Media Reader* (New York, 2012), 120–34.
- Dawkins, Richard, *The Selfish Gene* (Oxford, 1976).
- Degrada, Francesco, 'Musica e musicisti nell'età di Ludovico il Moro', in *Milano nell'età di Ludovico il Moro: Atti del convegno internazionale, 28 febbraio–4 marzo 1983*, II (Milan, 1983), 409–16.
- Della Sciucca, Marco, 'L'altra Italia: Roma. Tecniche ed estetiche della policoralità in Palestrina', in Aleksandra Patalas and Marina Toffetti (eds.), *La musica policorale in Italia e nell'Europa Centro-Orientale fra Cinque e Seicento / Polychoral Music in Italy and in Central-Eastern Europe at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century* (Venice, 2012), 39–45.
- Dennett, Daniel Clement, *From Bacteria to Bach and Back: The Evolution of Minds* (New York, 2017).
- Des Augustinerpropstes Johannes Busch Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, ed. Karl Grube, *Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiete* (Halle, 1886).
- Di Adriano et di Jacbet i Salmi appertinenti alli Vesperi per tutte le Feste dell'anno, Parte a uersi, & parte spezzadi Accomodati da Cantare a uno & a duoi Chori ...* (Venice, 1550).
- Díaz de Durana, José Ramón, and Arsenio Dacosta, 'The Role of the Past in Late Medieval Hidalgo Historical Writing and Memory', *Journal of Medieval History*, 44 (2018), 595–608.
- Dijk, R. Th. M. van, and A. J. Hendrikman, 'Tabelarium Chronologicum Windeshemense: De Windeshemse kloosters in chronologisch perspectief', in Anton J. Hendrikman et al. (eds.), *Windesheim 1395–1995: Kloosters, teksten, invloeden; voordrachten gehouden tijdens het Internationale Congres '600 Jaar Kapittel van Windesheim', 27 mei 1995 te Zwolle* (Nijmegen, 1996), 186–212.
- Dillon, Emma, 'Music Manuscripts', in Mark Everist (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 2011), 291–319.
- Dreyfus, Laurence, 'Early Music Defended against its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century', *Musical Quarterly*, 69 (1983), 297–322.
- Dronke, Peter, 'The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor', *Studi medievali*, 28 (1987), 563–92.
- Earp, Lawrence M., review of Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 9 (2000), 185–202.
- Edwards, Jennifer C., *Superior Women: Medieval Female Authority in Poitiers' Abbey of Sainte-Croix* (Oxford, 2019), 201–28.
- Eisenstein, Elizabeth L., Anthony Grafton, and Adrian Johns, 'The Forum: How Revolutionary Was the Print Revolution?', *American Historical Review*, 107 (2002), 84–128.
- Eler, Franz, *Cantica sacra, partim ex sacris literis desumpta, partim ab orthodoxis patribus, et piis ecclesiae doctoribus composita, et in usum ecclesiae et iuventutis scholasticae Hamburgensis collecta, atque ad duodecim modos ex doctrina Glareani accommodata et edita* (Hamburg, 1588), Nachdruck mit einer Einleitung von Klaus Beckmann (Hildesheim, 2002).
- Eler, Franz, 'Kirchenordnung für die St. Wenzelkirche zu Naumburg von 1537/1538', in Emil Sehling (ed.), *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1904), 61–90.
- Emich, Birgit, 'Konfession und Kultur, Konfession als Kultur? Vorschläge für eine kulturalistische Konfessionskultur-Forschung', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte – Archive for Reformation History*, 109 (2018), 375–88.
- Emich, Birgit, and Matthias Pohligh, 'Frühneuzeitliche Konfessionskultur(en): Stand und Zukunft eines Konzepts', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte – Archive for Reformation History*, 109 (2018), 373–4.
- Engelberg Stiftsbibliothek Codex 314*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Mathias Stauffacher, *Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler* (Winterthur, 1986).
- Engen, John van, *Devotio moderna: Basic Writings*, trans. and introduced by John van Engen (New York, 1988).

- Erasmus, Desiderius, *Verteutschte auflegung vber diese wort sant Pauls tzu den von Corinth in der ersten Epistel am. xiiij. Capitel. Ich wil lieber in meynem gemut funff wort in der kirche[n] reden: andere tzuunterweisen: dan[n] tzebentausend wort mit der Tzungen.* [et]. *Vom Gesang* (Mainz, 1521).
- Everett, Daniel L., *Language: The Cultural Tool* (New York, 2012).
- Everist, Mark, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry, Genre* (Cambridge, 1994).
- Everist, Mark, 'From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W1', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43 (1990), 1–42.
- Everist, Mark, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York and London, 1989).
- Fabian, Dorottya, 'The Meaning of Authenticity and the Early Music Movement: A Historical Review', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 32 (2001), 153–67.
- Falck, Robert, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory* (Henryville, PA, 1981).
- Fank, Pius, *Catalogue Voraviensis seu Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Canonicae in Vorau* (Graz, 1936).
- Fankhauser, Eliane A., 'Recycling Reversed: Studies in the History of Polyphony in the Northern Low Countries around 1400' (Ph.D. diss., Utrecht University, 2018).
- Fano, Fabio, 'Note su Franchino Gaffurio', *Rivista musicale italiana*, 55 (1953), 227–44.
- Fassler, Margot, 'The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History', in Robert A. Maxwell (ed.), *Representing History 900–1300: Art, Music, History* (University Park, PA, 2010), 149–71 and 239–47 (notes).
- Federhofer-Königs, Renata, 'Ein anonymes Musiktraktat aus der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Stiftsbibliothek Michaelbeuern/Salzburg', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 46 (1962), 43–60.
- Félibien, Michel, *Historie de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1706).
- Fenlon, Iain, 'Artus Taberniel: Music Printing and the Book Trade in Renaissance Salamanca', in *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World* (Kassel, 2006), 117–45.
- Fenlon, Iain, 'Constructing Images: Giovanni Gabrieli and the Uses of History', in Rodolfo Baroncini, David Bryant, and Luigi Collarile (eds.), *Giovanni Gabrieli: Transmission and Reception of a Venetian Musical Tradition* (Turnhout, 2016), 207–18.
- Fenlon, Iain, 'Lost Books of Polyphony from Renaissance Spain', in *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden, 2016), 75–100.
- Fenlon, Iain, 'Printed Polyphonic Choirbooks for the Spanish Market', in *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden, 2015), 199–222.
- Fenlon, Iain, and Richard Wistreich (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2019).
- Ferrari da Passano, Carlo, *Storia della Veneranda Fabbrica* (Milan, 1998; reprint of an original essay of 1973).
- Filippi, Daniele V., 'Breve guida ai motetti missales (e dintorni)', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca* (Lucca, 2019), 139–69.
- Filippi, Daniele V., 'Text, Form, and Style in Franchino Gaffurio's Motets', in Thomas Schmidt-Beste (ed.), *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship between Imitation and Text Treatment?* (Turnhout, 2012), 383–410.
- Filippi, Daniele, '"Opera et solitudine Franchini Gaffori . . . impensa vero Venerabilis Fabrice": Archival Evidence on Operation Libroni' (forthcoming).
- Filippi, Daniele V., and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca* (Lucca, 2019).
- Fischer, Kurt von, 'Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts', *Acta musicologica*, 36 (1964), 79–97.
- Fischer, Kurt von, and Max Lütolf, *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts. Mehrstimmige Musik in italienischen, polnischen und tschechischen Quellen des 14. Jahrhunderts: Mehrstimmige Stücke in Handschriften aller Länder aus der Zeit um 1400–1425/30. Organale Sätze im älteren Stil und mehrstimmige Stücke in Choralhandschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts [Austria–France]*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, IV/3 (Munich, 1972).
- Fischer, Michael, *Religion, Nation, Krieg: Der Lutherchoral Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott zwischen Befreiungskriegen und Erstem Weltkrieg* (Münster, 2014).
- Fischer, Michael, 'Vom Reformationslied zum nationalprotestantischen Symbol: Der Choral *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* in musikalischen Bearbeitungen des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Beat A. Föllmi, Nils Grosch, and Mathieu Schneider (eds.), *Music and the Construction of National Identities in the 19th Century* (Baden-Baden, 2010), 225–40.
- Fisher, Alexander J., 'Lutheranism and Calvinism', in Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2019), 56–91.
- Flotzinger, Rudolf, *Der Discantussatz im Magnus liber und seiner Nachfolge*, Wiener musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge, 8 (Vienna, 1969).
- Franke, Hans Michael, *Der Liber ordinarius der Regularkanoniker der Windesheimer Kongregation* (Leverkusen, 1981).
- Frobenius, Wolf, 'Zum genetischen Verhältnis zwischen Notre-Dame-Klauseln und ihren Motetten', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 44 (1987), 1–39.
- Fuchs, Thomas, 'David und Nathan Chytraeus: Eine biographische Annäherung', in Karl-Heinz Glaser et al. (eds.), *David und Nathan Chytraeus: Humanismus im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Ubstadt-Weiher, 1993), 33–5.

- Fuchs, Thomas, 'Reformation als Erinnerungsrevolution: Erinnerungsstrategien der reformatorischen Bewegung', in Klaus Tanner (ed.), *Konstruktion von Geschichte: Jubelrede—Predigt—protestantische Historiographie*, Leucorea-Studien zur Geschichte der Reformation und der Lutherischen Orthodoxie, 18 (Leipzig, 2012), 15–28.
- Fudge, Thomas A., *Heresy and Hussites in Late Medieval Europe*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Farnham, 2014).
- Fudge, Thomas A., *Jerome of Prague and the Foundations of the Hussite Movement* (New York, 2016).
- Fuller, Sarah, 'Early Polyphony', ch. 11 in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. R. Crocker and D. Hiley, *The New Oxford History of Music*, 2/2 (Oxford, 1990).
- Gabussi, Giulio Cesare, *Magnificat X* (Milan, 1589).
- Gabussi, Giulio Cesare, *Motectorum liber primus* (Venice, 1586).
- Gaffori, Franchino, *Mottetti*, ed. Luciano Migliavacca, *Archivum Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense*, 5 (Milan, 1959).
- Gaffurio, Franchino, *Practica musicae*, ed. Paolo Vitorelli (Florence, 2017).
- Gaffurius, Franchinus, *The Practica Musicae of Franchinus Gaffurius*, trans. and ed. Irwin Young (Madison, WI, 1969).
- Gallerano, Leandro, *Missae ... opus decimumtertium* (Venice, 1628).
- Gamberini, Andrea (ed.), *A Companion to Late Medieval and Early Modern Milan: The Distinctive Features of an Italian State*, Brill's Companions to European History, 7 (Leiden, 2014).
- Gamberini, Andrea, and Francesco Somaini, *Letà dei Visconti e degli Sforza: 1277–1535* (Milan, 2001).
- Gancarczyk, Paweł, 'Changing Identities of Songs by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz', *Hudební věda*, 54 (2017), 5–24.
- Gancarczyk, Paweł, 'A New Fragment of 15th-Century Polyphony in Silesia and the Tradition of the Central-European Repertoire', in Paweł Gancarczyk, Lenka Hlávková-Mráčková, and Remigiusz Pośpiech (eds.), *The Musical Culture of Silesia before 1742: New Contexts – New Perspectives* (Frankfurt am Main, 2013), 45–54.
- Gancarczyk, Paweł, 'Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (b.1392) – a Central European Composer', *De musica disserenda*, 2 (2006), 103–12.
- Gancarczyk, Paweł, 'Probitate eminentem/Ploditando exarare Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz – środkowoeuropejska inkarnacja motetu izorytmicznego' [*Probitate eminentem/Ploditando exarare* by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz—a Central European incarnation of the isorhythmic motet], in Paweł Gancarczyk (ed.), *Ars musica and its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Warsaw, 2016), 255–69.
- Gancarczyk, Paweł, and Lenka Hlávková, 'The Lviv Fragments and *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*: Questions on the Early Josquin Reception in Central Europe', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 67 (2017), 139–61.
- Gasser, Nolan Ira, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices: A Musical and Liturgico-Devotional Study' (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2001).
- Gaullier-Bougassas, Catherine, 'Perceforest, entre 1327 et 1344, remanié au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle (sans doute vers 1450)', in Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas (ed.), *La Fascination pour Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures européennes (X<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle): Réinventions d'un mythe* (Turnhout, 2014), 173–9.
- Geary, Patrick J., 'Introduction', in his *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1996).
- Geck, Martin, *Die Geburtsstunde des 'Mythos Bach': Mendelssohns Wiederentdeckung der Matthäuspension* (Stuttgart, 1998).
- Gembicki, Bartłomiej, 'Psalm, mity i memy: Nieszpory w Wenecji od Willaerta do Gardinera' [Psalms, myths, and memes: Venetian Vespers from Willaert to Gardiner] (Ph.D. diss., Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of Art, Warsaw, in preparation).
- Gembicki, Bartłomiej, 'Zagadnienie polichoralności w polskich badaniach muzykologicznych' [Polish musicological research on polychoral techniques], *Muzyka*, 61 (2016), 55–68.
- Gerstenberg, Walter, 'Eine Neumenhandschrift der Bibliothek zu Köln', in Hermann Zenck, Helmut Schultz, and Walter Gerstenberg (eds.), *Theodor Kroyer Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstage, am 9. September 1933: Überreicht von Freunden und Schülern* (Regensburg, 1933), 8–16.
- Getz, Christine, 'Music in the 16th and 17th Centuries', in Gamberini (ed.), *A Companion to Late Medieval and Early Modern Milan*, 306–29.
- Giani, Federico Maria, 'Ricerche per l'altare di San Giuseppe nel Duomo di Milano', *Concorso. Arti e lettere*, 7 (2015), 5–65.
- Giraud, Eleanor, "'Totum Officium Bene Correctum Habeatur in Domo": Uniformity in the Dominican Liturgy', in Linde (ed.), *Making and Breaking the Rules*, 153–72.
- Glixon, Jonathan, 'Music in Venice: A Historiographical Overview', in Eric R. Dursteler (ed.), *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797* (Boston, 2013), 865–87.
- Godt, Irving, and Benito Rivera, 'The Vatican Organum Treatise—A Colour Reproduction, Transcription, and Translation', in Hans Tischler (ed.), *In Memoriam Gordon Athol Anderson*, Institute of Mediaeval Music, Musicological Studies, 39/2 (Binnigen, 1984), 264–345.
- Goehr, Lydia, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford, 1992; rev. edn. New York and Oxford, 2007).
- Goetz, Hans-Werner, 'The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried and Patrick

- J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), 139–65.
- Gozzi, Marco**, 'Liturgical Music and Liturgical Experience in Early Modern Italy', in Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone (eds.), *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture*, 49 (Leiden, 2017), 55–78.
- Grendler, Paul F.**, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, MD, 1989).
- Grier, James**, 'Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century: Towards a Typology of Error and Variant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1992), 373–427.
- Grier, James**, 'Some Codicological Observations on the Aquitanian Versaria', *Musica Disciplina*, 44 (1990), 5–56.
- Grillo, Paolo**, *Nascita di una cattedrale: 1386–1418. La fondazione del Duomo di Milano* (Milan, 2017).
- Grochowska, Katarzyna**, 'Tenor Circles and Motet Cycles: A Study of the Stary Sącz Manuscript [PI-SS Muz 9] and its Implications for Modes of Repertory Organization in 13th-century Polyphonic Collections' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2013).
- Groote, Inga Mai**, 'David Chytraeus und die (implizite) Geschichte der geistlichen Musik', *Musiktheorie*, 32 (2017), 243–56.
- Groote, Inga Mai**, "'KinderMusic" – Musiklehre und Allgemeinbildung für Chorknaben', in Nicole Schwindt (ed.), *Rekrutierung musikalischer Eliten: Knabengesang im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik, 10 (Kassel, 2013), 111–41.
- Groote, Inga Mai**, 'Music in David Chytraeus' *In Deuteronomium Mosis Enarratio* (1575)', in David Burn et al. (eds.), *Music and Theology in the European Reformations* (Turnhout, 2019), 233–52.
- Groote, Inga Mai**, 'Musikalische Poetik nach Melancthon und Glarean: Zur Genese eines Interpretationsmodells', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 70 (2013), 227–53.
- Groote, Inga Mai**, "'So sie in das gesang gefasset ist": Melancthons Anteil an der "lutherischen" Musikauffassung', in Klaper (ed.), *Luther im Kontext*, 71–96.
- Guérard, Benjamin**, *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, Collection des cartulaires de France, 4–7 (Paris, 1850).
- Guerrero, Francisco**, *Missarum liber secundus* (Rome, 1582; G 4872).
- Günter, Wolfgang**, *Reform und Reformation: Geschichte der Reformkongregation der deutschen Augustiner-eremiten 1432–1539* (Münster, 2018).
- Haas, Max**, 'Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiklehre I: Eine Übersicht über die Musiklehre im Kontext der Philosophie des 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhunderts', in *Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung: Texte zu einem Basler Kolloquium des Jahres 1975* (= *Forum musicologicum*, 3) (Basel, 1982), 323–456.
- Haggh, Barbara, and Michel Huglo**, 'Magnus liber—Maius munus: Origine et destiné du manuscrit F', *Revue de musicologie*, 90 (2004), 193–230.
- Haines, John**, 'The Footnote Quarrels of the Modal Theory: A Remarkable Episode in the Reception of Medieval Music', *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), 87–120.
- Haines, John**, 'Friedrich Ludwig's *Musicology of the Future*: A Commentary and Translation', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 12 (2003), 129–64.
- Hala, Patrick**, *Solesmes et les musiciciens*, i: *La Schola cantorum: Charles Bordes, Vincent d'Indy, Déodat de Séverac, René de Castéra* (Solesmes, 2017).
- Halbwachs, Maurice**, *La Mémoire collective* (Paris, 1950).
- Hamill, Kyna**, "'The story I must tell": Jingle Bells in the Minstrel Repertoire', *Theatre Survey*, 58 (2017), 375–403.
- Hammond, Frederick**, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven and London, 1994).
- Harzer, Anne-Dore**, *In dulci jubilo: Fassungen und Rezeptionsgeschichte des Liedes vom 14. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 2006).
- Hascher-Burger, Ulrike**, *Gesungene Innigkeit: Studien zu einer Musikhandschrift der Devotio moderna* (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 16 H 34, olim B 113). Mit einer Edition der Gesänge (Leiden, 2002).
- Hascher-Burger, Ulrike**, 'In omnibus essent conformes? Windesheimer Reform und liturgische Erneuerung in niedersächsischen Frauenkonventen im 15. Jahrhundert', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 93 (2013), 535–47.
- Hascher-Burger, Ulrike**, 'Orgelspiel versus Orgelverbot: Ein Paradigmenstreit im Umfeld der norddeutschen Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert?', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 35–6 (2017), 69–86.
- Hascher-Burger, Ulrike**, *Singen für die Seligkeit: Studien zu einer Liedersammlung der Devotio moderna*. Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, coll. Emmanuelshuizen, cat. VI. Mit Edition und Faksimile (Leiden and Boston, 2007).
- Hasselman, Margaret**, 'A Ring of Roses', in Judith A. Peraino (ed.), *Medieval Music in Practice: Studies in Honor of Richard Crocker* (Middleton, WI, 2013), 153–75.
- Harteringer, Anselm, Christoph Wolff, and Peter Wollny** (eds.), 'Zu groß, zu unerreichbar': *Bach-Rezeption im Zeitalter Mendelssohns und Schumanns* (Wiesbaden, 2007).
- Heal, Bridget**, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Herbst, Wolfgang** (ed.), *Evangelischer Gottesdienst: Quellen zu seiner Geschichte*, 2nd rev. edn. (Göttingen, 1992).
- Herl, Joseph**, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford, 2008).

- Hermannus Contractus, *Historia sanctae Afrae martyris Augustensis*, ed. David Hiley and Walter Berschin (Ottawa, 2004).
- Hesbert, René-Jean, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, iii: *Invitatoria et Antiphonae* (Rome, 1968).
- Heutger, Nicolaus, and Viola Heutger, *Niedersächsische Ordenshäuser und Stifte: Geschichte und Gegenwart. Vorträge und Forschungen* (Berlin, 2009).
- Hiley, David, *Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge, 2009).
- Hill, Kat, 'Making Lutherans', Introduction to *Cultures of Lutheranism: Reformation Repertoires in Early Modern Germany = Past & Present*, 234, Suppl. 12 (2017), 9–32.
- Historická antologie hudby v českých zemích (do cca 1530): Historical Anthology of Music in the Bohemian Lands (up to ca 1530)*, ed. Jaromír Černý (Prague, 2005).
- Hlávková, Lenka, 'Credo Settings in Cantus Fractus in Bohemian Sources: A Preliminary Report on a Neglected Ars nova Repertory', in Paweł Gancarczyk (ed.), *Ars musica and its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Warsaw, 2016), 247–53.
- Hledíková, Zdeňka, *Arnošt z Pardubic—arcibiskup, zakladatel, rádce* [Arnestus of Pardubice—archbishop, founder, counsellor] (Prague, 2008).
- Hledíková, Zdeňka, 'Kalendáře rukopisů kláštera sv. Jiří' [Calendars in manuscripts of the Monastery of St. George], *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Philologica et historica*, 1988/2, (=Z pomocných věd historických VIII), 35–78.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Hochradner, Thomas, and Gerhard Walterskirchen (eds.), *Stille Nacht: Die Autographen von Joseph Mohr und Franz Xaver Gruber, mit Dokumenten zur Geschichte des Liedes* (Munich, 2008).
- Hochradner, Thomas, and Michael Neureiter (eds.), *Stille Nacht: Das Buch zum Lied* (Salzburg, 2018).
- Honemann, Volker, 'Zu Leben und Werk des Saganer Augustinerchorherren Andreas Ritter', in Ralf G. Päsler and Dietrich Schmidtke (eds.), *Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters im östlichen Europa: Forschungsstand und Forschungsperspektiven* (Heidelberg, 2006), 293–314.
- Horníčková, Kateřina, and Michal Šroněk (eds.), *Umění české reformace (1380–1620)* [The art of the Bohemian Reformation (1380–1620)] (Prague, 2010).
- Horyna, Martin, 'Česká reformace a hudba: Studie o bohoslužebném zpěvu českých nekatolických církví v období 1420–1620' [The Bohemian reformation and music: A study of the liturgical chant of the Bohemian non-Catholic churches in the period 1420–1620], *Hudební věda*, 48 (2011), 5–40.
- Horyna, Martin, 'Czeska twórczość polifoniczna 1470–1620: muzyka w życiu religijnie zróżnicowanego królestwa czeskiego' [Bohemian polyphonic compositions 1470–1620: Music in the life of a religiously divided Bohemian kingdom], *Muzyka*, 52 (2007), 27–44.
- Horyna, Martin, 'Die Kompositionen von Peter Wilhelm von Graudenz als Teil der spätmittelalterlichen Polyfonie-Tradition in Mitteleuropa und insbesondere im Böhmen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts', *Hudební věda*, 40 (2003), 291–328.
- Horyna, Martin, 'Vicehlasá hudba v Čechách v 15. a 16. století a její interpreti' [Polyphony in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Bohemia and its performers], *Hudební věda*, 43 (2006), 117–34.
- Hotchin, Julie, 'Guidance for Men Who Minister to Women in the *Liber de Reformatione Monasteriorum* of Johannes Busch', in Juanita Feros Ruys (ed.), *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (Turnhout, 2008), 231–59.
- Huglo, Michel, *Les Tonaires: Inventaire, Analyse, Comparaison*, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, 3<sup>e</sup> sér., II (Paris, 1971).
- Huot, Sylvia, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford, CA, 1997).
- Huot, Sylvia, *Postcolonial Fictions in the Roman de Perceforest: Cultural Identities and Hybridities* (Woodbridge, 2007).
- Hutchins, Edwin, 'Enaction, Imagination, and Insight', in John Stewart, Olivier Gapenne, and Ezequiel A. Di Paolo (eds.), *Enaction: Toward a New Paradigm in Cognitive Science* (Cambridge, MA, 2010), 425–50.
- Immel, Steven, 'The Vatican Organum Treatise Re-examined', *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), 121–72.
- Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policratici; sive, De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum*, ed. Clemens C. I. Webb (Oxford, 1909).
- Irving, David R. M., 'Historicizing Performance Practice: Early Music through Time and Space', *Early Music*, 41 (2013), 83–5.
- Irwin, Joyce, 'Music and the Doctrine of *Adiaphora* in Orthodox Lutheran Theology', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 14 (1983), 157–72.
- Jaffé, Philip, and Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae metropolitanae Coloniensis Codices manuscripti descripturunt* (Berlin, 1874).
- Jeppesen, Knud, 'Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, 3 (1931), 14–28.
- Jistebnický kancionál: MS. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, II C 7. Kritická edice. 1. svazek. Graduale/Jistebnice kancionál: MS. Prague, National Museum Library II C 7. Critical edition. Volume 1. Graduale*, ed. Jaroslav Kolár, Anežka Vidmanová, and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, *Monumenta liturgica Bohemica*, 2 (Brno, 2005).
- Johannes Busch, Liber de reformatione monasteriorum—Briefe und Predigten. Textkritische Ausgabe. Mit einer Erstedition der Schriften von Hermann Ryd*, ed. Bertram Lesser. Publikationen der Akademie der Augustiner-Chorherren von Windesheim, Turnhout (in preparation).
- Johnson, Edmond, 'The Death and the Second Life of the Harpsichord', *Journal of Musicology*, 30 (2013), 180–214.

- Jostes, Aloysia Elisabeth, 'Die Historisierung der Devotio moderna im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: Verbandsbewußtsein und Selbstverständnis in der Windesheimer Kongregation' (Ph.D. diss., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2008).
- Kafka, Rita Petschek, 'Music in Bohemia', in Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (London, 1959), 728–41.
- Kattari, Kim, 'Identifying with the Rebel of the Past: An Ethnographic Exploration of Nostalgia in the Contemporary Rockabilly Scene of the United States', *Volume! La revue des musiques populaires*, 11 (2014), 175–89 (special issue: *Souvenirs, souvenirs: La nostalgie dans les musiques populaires*).
- Kaufmann, Thomas, 'What is Lutheran Confessional Culture?', in Per Ingesman (ed.), *Religion as an Agent of Change: Crusades – Reformation – Pietism* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2016), 127–48.
- Keller, Adolar, and Heinrich Hüschen, 'Augustiner-Eremiten', *MGG Online*, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/16279>.
- Kendrick, Robert L., 'Music among the Disciplines in Early Modern Catholicism', in Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone (eds.), *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology* (Leiden, 2017), 35–52.
- Kendrick, Robert L., *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford, 1996).
- Kendrick, Robert L., *The Sounds of Milan, 1585–1650* (New York and Oxford, 2002).
- Kennedy, Michael, and Joyce Bourne Kennedy, 'Cori spezzati', in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2013, <https://www.oxfordreference.com>.
- Kenyon, Nicholas (ed.), *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (Oxford, 1988).
- Keuchenthal, Johannes, *KirchenGesenge Latinisch und Deusch / sampt allen Euangelien / Episteln / und Collecten / auff die Sontage vnd Feste / nach Ordnung der zeit, durchs gantze Jbar / Zum Ampt, so man das Hochwürdig Sacrament des Abendmals vners HERRN IHESU CHRISTI handelt / oder sonst Gottes wort prediget / In den Euangelischen Kirchen breuchlich / Aus den besten Gesangbüchern vnd Aegenden / so fur die Euangelischen Kirchen in Deutscher sprach gestellt vnd verordnet sind / zusammen gebracht* (Wittenberg, 1573).
- Kirkman, Andrew, 'Binchois the Borrower', in Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin (eds.), *Binchois Studies* (Oxford, 1995), 119–35.
- Klein, Holger A., 'Refashioning Byzantium in Venice, ca. 1200–1400', in Henry Maguire and Robert S. Nelson (eds.), *San Marco, Byzantium and the Myths of Venice* (Washington, DC, 2010), 193–225.
- Klugseder, Robert, *Quellen des gregorianischen Chorals für das Offizium aus dem Kloster St. Ulrich und Afra Augsburg*, Regensburger Studien zur Musikgeschichte, 5 (Tutzing, 2008).
- Kornrumpf, Gisela, 'Der Conductus *Florens iuventus virginis* des Johannes von Iglau: Piae cantiones Nr. 17 in einer Handschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts', in Karl Heller, Hartmut Möller, and Andreas Waczkat (eds.), *Musik in Mecklenburg: Beiträge eines Kolloquiums zur mecklenburgischen Musikgeschichte*, Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft, 21: Musik in Mecklenburg (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York, 2000), 249–57.
- Kornrumpf, Gisela, 'Deutschsprachige Liedkunst und die Rezeption ihrer Formen und Melodien in der lateinischen Lieddichtung', in Michael Zywiets, Volker Honemann, and Christian Bettels (eds.), *Gattungen und Formen des europäischen Liedes vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 2005), 111–18.
- Kornrumpf, Gisela, 'Quid admiramini, quid opinamini, filiae Jerusalem, de partu novitatis? Eine Weihnachts-Cantio in Böhmen und anderswo', in Václav Bok and Dominique Fliegler (eds.), *Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters in Böhmen und über Böhmen* (Vienna, 2001), 181–203.
- Krabbe, Otto, *Die Universität Rostock im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Rostock and Schwerin, 1854), 550–611.
- Krämer, Sybille, 'Graphismus als Potenzial: Reflexionen über die epistemische Verschränkung von Räumlichkeit und Anschauung', in Fabian Czolbe and David Magnus (eds.), *Notationen in kreativen Prozessen* (Würzburg, 2015), 17–36.
- Kreyszig, Walter Kurt, 'Franchino Gaffurio als Vermittler der Musiklehre des Altertums und des Mittelalters: Zur Identifizierung griechischer und lateinischer Quellen in der *Theorica musica* (1492)', *Acta Musicologica*, 65 (1993), 134–50.
- Krimm, Herbert, 'Die Agende der niederösterreichischen Stände vom Jahre 1571', *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus im Ehemaligen und im Neuen Österreich*, 55 (1934), 1–64.
- Krummel, Donald W., and Stanley Sadie (eds.), *Music Printing and Publishing* (London, 1990).
- Kruse, Britta-Juliane (ed.), *Rosenkränze und Seelengärten: Bildung und Frömmigkeit in niedersächsischen Frauenklöstern* (Wiesbaden, 2013).
- Kügler, Karl, 'History as Identity Politics: The Case of Mid Nineteenth-Century Germany', *Context: A Journal of Music Research*, 22 (2001), 95–103.
- Kügler, Karl, *Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115: Introductory Study and Facsimile* (Lucca, 2019).
- Kühnel, Bianca, 'Monumental Representations of the Holy Land in the Holy Roman Empire', in Nikolas Jaspert and Stefan Tebruck (eds.), *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)* (Ostfildern, 2016), 319–45.
- Kurtzman, Jeffrey, *Approaches to Monteverdi: Aesthetic, Psychological, Analytical and Historical Studies* (Farnham, 2013).
- Kurtzman, Jeffrey G., *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance* (Oxford, 1999).
- Kurtzman, Jeffrey, 'Published Italian Music for Vespers: A Survey of the Repertoire, 1651–1725', in Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan

- (eds.), *Barocco Padano 3. Atti dell'XI Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nei secoli XVII–XVIII, Brescia 16–18 luglio 2001* (Como, 2004), 35–79.
- Kurtzman, Jeffrey, 'Stylistic Diversity in Vesper Psalms and Magnificats Published in Italy in the Seventeenth Century', *Early Music: Context and Ideas II* (Kraków, 2008), 169–87, repr. in Jeffrey Kurtzman, *Studies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Italian Sacred music* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2014).
- Kurtzman, Jeffrey G., and Anne Schnobelen, 'A Catalogue of Mass, Office, and Holy Week Music Printed in Italy, 1516–1770', *JSCM Instrumenta*, 2, <http://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/instrumenta-volumes/instrumenta-volume-2>.
- Küster, Konrad, *Musik im Namen Luthers: Kulturtraditionen seit der Reformation* (Kassel, 2016).
- Labhardt, Frank, *Das Cationale des Kartäusers Thomas Krefß: Ein Denkmal der spätmittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte Basels*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, ser. 2, 20 (Bern and Stuttgart, 1978).
- Leaver, Robin A., 'Johann Spangenberg and Luther's Legacy of Liturgical Chant', *Lutheran Quarterly*, 19 (2005), 23–42.
- Leaver, Robin, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2007).
- Leaver, Robin, *The Whole Church Sings: Congregational Singing in Luther's Wittenberg* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2017).
- Lee, Alexander, et al. (eds.), *Renaissance? Perceptions of Continuity and Discontinuity in Europe, c.1300–c.1550* (Leiden, 2010).
- Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge, 2002).
- Leitmeir, Christian, 'Tropes and Cantus firmi in Sixteenth-Century Missae de Beata Virgine', *Die Tonkunst*, 4 (2009), 8–26.
- Lesser, Bertram, *Johannes Busch: Chronist der Devotio moderna. Werkstruktur, Überlieferung, Rezeption* (Frankfurt am Main, 2005).
- Liber capelle ecclesie maioris: Quarto codice di Gaffurio*, ed. Angelo Ciceri and Luciano Migliavacca, Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 16 (Milan, 1968).
- Het liederenhandschrift Berlijn 190: Hs. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz germ. oct. 190*, ed. Thom Mertens and Dieuwke van der Poel (Hilversum, 2013).
- LIMUP ([www.clavmon.cz/limup](http://www.clavmon.cz/limup)).
- Linde, Cornelia (ed.), *Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation*, Studies of the German Historical Institute, London (Oxford and New York, 2018).
- Lipphardt, Walther, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Oster-spiele*, pt. 6: Nachträge. Handschriftenverzeichnis. Bibliographie, Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts, Reihe Drama, 5/6 (Berlin, 1981).
- Löffler, Klemens, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Augustinerchorherrenstifts Frenswegen (Windesheimer Kongregation)* (Soest, 1930).
- Longo, Kathryn Kelly, 'Sacred Renaissance Choral Music for Women's Choirs: An Annotated Repertoire List of Music from Italy and Spain' (DMA Essay, University of Miami, 2014).
- López-Calo, José, 'Autores y atribuciones', in his *La Música en la Catedral de Santiago, v: La Edad Media* (La Coruña, 1994).
- López-Calo, José, and Carlos Villanueva (eds.), *El Códice Calixtino y la música de su tiempo: Actas del simposio organizado por la Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza en La Coruña y Santiago de Compostela, 20–23 de septiembre de 1999* (La Coruña, 2001).
- Louviot, Manon, 'Controlling Space, Disciplining Voice: The Congregation of Windesheim and Fifteenth-Century Monastic Reform in Northern Germany and the Low Countries' (Ph.D. diss., Utrecht University, 2019).
- Ludwig, Friedrich, 'Die mehrstimmigen Werke der Handschrift Engelberg 314', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 21 (1908), 48–61.
- Ludwig, Friedrich, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1910).
- Luther, Martin, *Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gotes diensts, zů Wittemberg, fürgenomen* (Augsburg, 1526).
- Lutz, Eckart Conrad, *Arbeiten an der Identität: Zur Medialität der 'cura monialium' im Kompendium des Rektors eines reformierten Chorfrauenstifts. Mit Edition und Abbildung einer Windesheimer 'Forma investienti sanctimonialium' und ihrer Notation* (Berlin and New York, 2010).
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington, *Lays of Ancient Rome* (London, 1842).
- Macey, Patrick P., 'Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke and Josquin', *Early Music History*, 15 (1996), 147–212.
- McGuire, Brian Patrick, 'Constitutions and the General Chapter', in Mette Birkedal Bruun (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order* (Cambridge, 2013), 87–99.
- Machilek, Franz (ed.), *Die hussitische Revolution: Religiöse, politische und regionale Aspekte*, Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, 4 (Vienna, 2012).
- McKenzie, David, *The Panizzi Lectures 1985: Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London, 1986).
- Magnabosco, Michele, 'Le collezioni dell'Accademia Filarmonica e della Biblioteca Capitolare', in Lucia Boscolo Folegana and Alessandra Ignesti (eds.), *Dal canto corale alla musica polcorale: L'arte del 'coro spezzato'* (Padua, 2014), 359–78.
- Maguire, Henry, and Robert S. Nelson (eds.), *San Marco, Byzantium and the Myths of Venice* (Washington, DC, 2010).
- Maloy, Rebecca, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (New York and Oxford, 2010).

- Le Manuscrit 807 Universitätsbibliothek Graz (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle): Graduel de Klosterneuburg*, ed. Dom Jacques Froger, Paléographie Musicale, 19 (Bern, 1974).
- Martin, Meredith**, ‘“Imperfectly Civilized”: Ballads, Nations, and Histories of Form’, *ELH* 82 (2015), 345–63.
- Martini, Giambattista**, *Esemplare o sia Saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto* (Bologna, 1774).
- März, Christoph**, ‘Das Canticum boemiale “Otepmýry” und Frauenlobs Cantica canticorum’, in Jens Haustein and Ralf-Henning Steinmetz (eds.), *Studien zu Frauenlob und Heinrich von Mügeln: Festschrift für Karl Stackmann zum 80. Geburtstag* (Freiburg, 2002), 15–30.
- März, Christoph**, ‘Lai, Leich’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn., ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil 5 (Kassel, 1996), 852–67.
- Maschke, Eva M.**, ‘Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments’, *manuscript cultures*, 8 (2015), 138–56.
- Mašterová, Katarína**, ‘Bazilika a kláštor sv. Jiří na Pražskom hrade vo svetle archeologického výskumu’ [The St. George Basilica and Monastery at Prague Castle in the light of an archaeological survey] (Ph.D. diss., Charles University Prague, 2015).
- Mathias, Adam**, ‘Creating and Collecting *Clausulae* at Notre-Dame-de-Paris’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, in preparation).
- Mecham, June**, ‘Spatial Geography of the Convent of Wienhausen’, in Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2005), 139–56.
- Melanchthon, Philipp**, *Unterricht der Visitatorn an die Pfarrherrn im Kurfürstenthum zu Sachsen* (Wittenberg, 1528).
- Melodiarium (<http://www.musicologica.cz/melodiarium/>).
- Menzel, Stefan**, ‘Ein neues Proprium? Zum liturgischen Ort des lutherischen Kirchenlieds im 16. Jahrhundert’, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 100 (2016), 47–64.
- Merkley, Paul A.**, ‘Ludovico Sforza as an “Emerging Prince”: Networks of Musical Patronage in Milan’, in Paul A. Merkley (ed.), *Music and Patronage* (Farnham, 2012), 255–70.
- Merkley, Paul A., and Lora L. M. Merkley**, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi sulla storia della musica in Lombardia, 3 (Turnhout, 1999).
- Metallo, Grammatico**, *Messe a cinque voci ... opera XVII* (Venice, 1610).
- Metallo, Grammatico**, *Messe commodissime ... libro sesto* (Venice, 1602).
- Meyer, Heinz, and Rudolf Suntrup**, *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften (Munich, 1987).
- Miller, Clement A.**, ‘The “Dodecachordon”: Its Origins and Influence on Renaissance Musical Thought’, *Musica Disciplina*, 15 (1961), 155–66.
- Mjachká, Naděžda**, *Analýza rukopisu 59 Rs 1 z fondu Hudebního oddělení Národní knihovny v Praze: Edice vybraných vícehlasyých kompozic* [Analysis of manuscript 59 Rs 1 from the Music Department of the National Library in Prague: An edition of selected polyphonic compositions] (MA thesis, Charles University, Prague, 1999).
- Modráková, Renáta**, ‘Úřad abatyše kláštera benediktinek u sv. Jiří na Pražském hrade v období 13.–14. století’ [The office of abbess at the Benedictine Convent of St. George at Prague Castle in the 13th–14th centuries], in Pavel Kraf (ed.), *Sacri canones servandi sunt: Ius canonicum et status ecclesiae saeculis XIII–XV* (Prague, 2008), 580–92.
- Momčilovic, Drago**, *Resounding Pasts: Essays in Literature, Popular Music and Cultural Memory* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2009).
- Momigliano, Arnaldo**, ‘Perizonius, Niebuhr and the Character of Early Roman Tradition’, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 47 (1957), 104–14.
- Mompellio, Federico**, ‘La cappella del Duomo da Matthias Hermann di Vercore a Vincenzo Ruffo’, in *Storia di Milano*, ix/III: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan, 1961), 749–85.
- Monasticon Windeshemense*, ed. Wilhelm Kohl, Ernest Persoons, and Klaus Scholz, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1977–84).
- Moore, James H.**, ‘The “Vespero delli Cinque Laudate” and the Role of the “Salmi Spezzati” at St. Mark’s’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), 249–78.
- Moore, James H.**, *Vespers at St. Mark’s: Music of Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Rovetta, and Francesco Cavalli* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1981).
- Mortaro, Antonio**, *Secondo libro delle messe ...* (Milan, 1610).
- Motets of English Provenance*, ed. Frank Ll. Harrison, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 15 (Monaco, 1980).
- Mráčková (= Hlávková), Lenka**, ‘Codex Franus – a Mirror of the Musical Practice of the Bohemian Utraquist Church around 1500?’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 1 (2009), 79–85.
- Mráčková (= Hlávková), Lenka**, ‘Kodex Speciálník: Eine kleine Folio-Handschrift böhmischer Provenienz’, *Hudební věda*, 39 (2002), 162–84.
- Mráčková, Veronika**, ‘Chorální notace rukopisů kláštera sv. Jiří v Praze’ [Chant notation in manuscripts from the Convent of St. George in Prague], *Hudební věda*, 47 (2010), 131–46.
- Mužiková, Růžena**, ‘Pauli Paulirini de Praga Musica mensuralis’, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Philosophica et Historica*, 1965/2, 57–87.
- Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, ed. Fritz Reckow, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 4–5 (Wiesbaden, 1967).
- Nagley, Judith, and David Bryant**, ‘Lambardi [Lambardo], Girolamo’, *Grove Music Online* (2001).



- Nejedlý, Zdeněk, *Dejiny předhusitského zpěvu* [History of the pre-Hussite chant] (Prague, 1904).
- Newton, Francis, 'Montecassino 318: Its Home and its Date', in *Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia Cod. 318: Facsimile e Commentarii*, ed. Mariano Dell'Omo and Nicola Tangari, 2 vols. (Lucca, 2018), xxxvii–xlii.
- Newton, Francis, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105* (Cambridge, 1999).
- Nichols, Stephen G., *From Parchment to Cyberspace: Medieval Interventions. New Light on Traditional Thinking* (New York, 2016).
- Niebuhr, Barthold Georg, *Römische Geschichte*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1811–12).
- Niebuhr, Barthold Georg, 'Über das Alter des Liedes *Lydia bella puella*', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Geschichte und griechische Philosophie*, 3 (1829), 1–8, repr. in his *Kleine historische und philologische Schriften*, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1843), ii. 257–66.
- Nieper, Lena, and Julian Schmitz (eds.), *Musik als Medium der Erinnerung: Gedächtnis – Geschichte – Gegenwart* (Bielefeld, 2016).
- Norton, Christopher, 'Table of Cistercian Legislation on Art and Architecture', in Christopher Norton and David Park (eds.), *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1986), 315–93.
- Nosow, Robert, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet* (Cambridge, 2012).
- Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, Opera Omnia X/6: 1pt conductus—Transmitted in Fascicule X of the Florence Manuscript*, ed. Gordon A. Anderson (Henryville, PA, 1981).
- Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, Opera Omnia X/8: 1pt conductus—The Latin Rondeau Répertoire*, ed. Gordon A. Anderson (Henryville, PA, 1978).
- Oehmig, Stefan (ed.), *Buchdruck und Buchkultur im Wittenberg der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig, 2015).
- Oettinger, Rebecca Wagner, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation*, *St Andrews Studies in Reformation History* (Aldershot, 2001; repr. 2017).
- O'Regan, Noel, 'Asprilio Pacelli, Ludovico da Viadana and the Origins of the Roman Concerto Ecclesiastico', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 6:1 (2000), <https://sscm-jscm.org/v6/noi/oregan.html>.
- Orel, Dobroslav, *Der Mensuralcodex Spezialnik: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Mensuralmusik in Böhmen* (Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 1914).
- Les organa et les clausules à deux voix du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.*, ed. Edward Roesner, *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, 7 (Monaco, 2009).
- Orofino, Giulia, 'La decorazione del manoscritto Montecassino 318', in *Montecassino Archivio dell'Abbazia Cod. 318: Facsimile e Commentarii*, ed. Mariano Dell'Omo and Nicola Tangari, 2 vols. (Lucca, 2018), xliii–li.
- De oudste constituties van de Dominicanen: Voorgeschiedenis, tekst, bronnen, ontstaan en ontwikkeling (1215–1237)*, ed. Antoninus Hendrik Thomas (Leuven, 1965).
- Page, Christopher, *The Christian West and its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (London and New Haven, 2010).
- Pantarotto, Martina, 'Franchino Gaffurio e i suoi libri', in Davide Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio* (Lucca, 2017), 49–72.
- Pantarotto, Martina, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti: Analisi codicologico-paleografica dei Libroni della Fabbrica del Duomo', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca* (Lucca, 2019), 103–38.
- Pantarotto, Martina, 'Notes, Texts, and Decoration: Gaffurius and his Team at Work on the Libroni' (forthcoming).
- Pantarotto, Martina, 'Per la biblioteca di Franchino Gaffurio: I manoscritti laudensi', *Scripta*, 5 (2012), 111–17.
- Passadore, Francesco, and Franco Rossi, *San Marco: Vitalità di una tradizione. Il fondo musicale e la Cappella dal Settecento ad oggi*, i: *Introduzione e indici* (Venice, 1996).
- Patalas, Aleksandra, *W Kościele, w Komnacie i w Teatrze: Marco Scacchi—Życie, Muzyka, Teoria* [In church, palace, and theatre: Marco Scacchi, his life, music, and musical writings] (Kraków, 2010).
- Patera, Adolf, and Antonín Podlaha, *Soupis Rukopisu Knihovny Metropolitní Kapitoly pražské* [Catalogue of the manuscripts of the library of the Metropolitan Chapter of Prague], i: *A–E, Soupis rukopisů knihoven a archivů zemí českých, jakož i rukopisů bohemik mimočeských* [Catalogue of manuscripts in libraries and archives in the Czech lands as well as Bohemian manuscripts preserved outside the Czech lands] 1 (Prague 1910).
- Payne, Thomas B., "'Aurelianus civitas': Student Unrest in Medieval France and a Conductus by Philip the Chancellor', *Speculum*, 75 (2000), 589–614, repr. in Edward Roesner (ed.), *Ars antiqua: Organum, Conductus, Motet* (Aldershot, 2008), 347–72.
- Payne, Thomas B., 'Datable Notre-Dame Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique', *Current Musicology*, 64 (2001), 104–51.
- Payne, Thomas B., 'Philip the Chancellor', in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001), xix. 594–97.
- Pedralli, Monica, *Novo, grande, coperto e ferrato: Gli inventari di biblioteca e la cultura a Milano nel Quattrocento* (Milan, 2002), 273–4.
- Perizonius, Jacobus, *Animadversiones historicae in quibus quamplurima in priscis Romanorum rerum, sed utriusque linguae autoribus notantur, multa etiam illustrantur* (Amsterdam, 1685).
- Peruzzo, Federica, 'Il *Breviarium Ambrosianum* di Pietro Casola (1490): Tra filologia e liturgia' (Ph.D. diss., Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, 2003).
- Petrus Wilbelmi de Grudencz – Magister Cracoviensis. Opera musica*, ed. Jaromír Černý (Kraków, 1993).

- Pettegree, Andrew, *Brand Luther: 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation* (New York, 2015).
- Pezzi, Francesco, 'Alcune osservazioni sulle tecniche compositive degli inni vespertini di Giovanni Matteo Asola', *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra*, 32 (2011), 261–301.
- Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, ed. Thomas B. Payne, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, 41 (Middleton, WI, 2011).
- Piccard, Gerhard, *Wasserzeichen Waage*, Veröffentlichungen der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg, Sonderreihe, Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Findbuch V (Stuttgart, 1978).
- Piéjus, Anne, 'Artistic Revival and Conquest of the Soul in Early Modern Rome', in Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone (eds.), *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism* (Leiden, 2017), 149–72.
- Plocek, Václav, *Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum, qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae Socialisticae in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servantur*, 1 (Prague, 1973).
- Plocek, Václav, with Andreas Traub, *Zwei Studien zur ältesten geistlichen Musik in Böhmen*, 2 vols. (Gießen and Cologne, 1985).
- Plocek, Václav, and Anežka Vidmanová, 'O quantum sollicitor', *Hudební věda*, 10 (1973), 301–19.
- Plumley, Yolanda, 'Citation and Allusion in the Late "Ars nova": The Case of "Esperance" and the "En attendant" Songs', *Early Music History*, 18 (1999), 287–363.
- Podlaha, Antonín, *Soupis rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitaní kapituly pražské* [Catalogue of manuscripts of the Library of Prague Metropolitan chapter], ii: F–P, *Soupis rukopisů knihoven a archivů zemí českých, jakož i rukopisných bohemik mimočeských* [Catalogue of manuscripts in libraries and archives in the Czech lands as well as Bohemian manuscripts preserved outside the Czech lands] 4 (Prague, 1922).
- Pohlig, Matthias, 'Harter Kern und *longue durée*: Überlegungen zum Begriff der (lutherischen) Konfessionskultur', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte – Archive for Reformation History*, 109 (2018), 389–401.
- Polc, Jaroslav, 'Ernst von Pardubitz', in *Lebensbilder zur Geschichte der böhmischen Länder*, iii: *Karl IV. und sein Kreis*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (Munich, 1978), 25–42.
- The Polyphonic Hymns of Valentin Triller's Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein (Wroclaw 1555)*, ed. Antonio Chemotti (Warsaw, 2019), available online at <https://epub.uni-regensburg.de/38328/>.
- Ponzo, Pietro, *Missarum liber secundus, cum quinque vocibus* (Venice, 1581).
- Potter, Pamela, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven, 1998).
- Pressel, Theodor, *David Chytráus* (Elberfeld, 1862).
- Průběhy krále Přemysla Otakara II [Annales Ottakariani]*, ed. Josef Emler, *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, 2 (Prague, 1874).
- Prizer, William F., 'Music at the Court of the Sforza: The Birth and Death of a Musical Center', *Musica Disciplina*, 43 (1989), 141–93.
- Pruett, James W., and Jean Lionnet, 'Vitali, Filippo', *Grove Music Online* (2001).
- Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, Barbara, 'Italian "Schools" of Polychorality from the Perspective of the Courts of the Polish Vasas and the Austrian Habsburgs', *Musicology Today*, 3 (2006), 53–74.
- Les quadruple et tripla de Paris*, ed. Edward H. Roesner, *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, 1 (Monaco, 1993).
- Quigley, Maureen Rose, 'Political Benefit and the Role of Art at the Court of Philip VI of Valois (1328–1350)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003).
- Quinto Centenario della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 1475–1975. Catalogo della Mostra*, ed. Luigi Michellini Tocci (Vatican City, 1975).
- Radin, Max, 'Tradition', in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson, vol. 15 (New York, 1959).
- Raninen, Sanna, 'The Early History of Printed Folio Choirbooks: Production and Layout', in Thomas Schmidt and Christian Thomas Leitmeir (eds.), *The Production and Reading of Music Sources: Mise-en-page in Manuscripts and Printed Books containing Polyphonic Music, 1480–1530* (Turnhout, 2018), 117–49.
- Rankin, Susan, 'Some Medieval Songs', in *Close Readings: Essays in Honour of John Stevens and Philip Brett = Early Music*, 31 (2003), 327–44.
- Rankin, Susan, 'The Study of Medieval Music: Some Thoughts on Past, Present and Future', in David Greer (ed.), *Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present and Future. Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of the International Musicological Society. London 1997* (Oxford, 2000), 154–68.
- Rankin, Susan, 'A Tenth-Century Fleury Organum', in Martin Kirnbauer (ed.), *Beredete Musik: Konversationen zum 80. Geburtstag von Wulf Arlt*, *Schola Cantorum Basiliensis Scripta*, 8 (Basel, 2019), 335–43.
- Rankin, Susan, 'Thirteenth-Century Notations of Music and Arts of Performance', in Andreas Dorschel and Andreas Haug (eds.), *Vom Preis des Fortschritts: Gewinn und Verlust in der Musikgeschichte*, *Studien zur Wertungsforschung*, 49 (Vienna, 2008), 110–41.
- Rankin, Susan, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation* (Cambridge, 2018).
- Rausch, Alexander, 'Mensuraltraktate des Spätmittelalters in österreichischen Bibliotheken', in Michael Bernhard (ed.), *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters*, iii, *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission* (Munich, 2001), 283–92.
- Ravizza, Victor, 'Gli inizi del coro spezzato nel Veneto: Una rilettura', in Folegnana and Ignesti (eds.), *Dal canto corale alla musica polichorale*, 27–39.
- Rees, Abraham (ed.), *The Cyclopaedia: Or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* (London, 1819).

- Repertorium troporum Bobemiae mediæ ævi*, i: *Tropi proprii missae*, ed. Hana Vlhová-Wörner (Prague, 2004).
- Reu, Johann Michael**, *Ost-, Nord- und Westdeutsche Katechismen*, 1. Abt.: *Historisch-bibliographische Einleitung 1*, Quellen zur Geschichte des Katechismus-Unterrichts, 1-3-1a (Gütersloh, 1927).
- Rifkin, Joshua**, 'Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin: Further Thoughts on a Familiar Topic', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, Scripta 7 (Basel, 2019), 221-335.
- Rifkin, Joshua**, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's *Ave Maria ... virgo serena*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 239-350.
- Rillon-Marne, Anne Zoé**, 'Le Frontispice du manuscrit de Florence (Plut. 29.1): Une introduction aux proportions musicales', *Polymatheia*, 1 (2015), 13-22.
- Robertson, Anne Walters**, chapter 'Machaut's David Hocket and the Coronation of Charles V (1364)', in her *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge, 2002), 224-56.
- Robinson, Lucy**, 'Viola bastarda', *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (2001).
- Rodio, Rocco**, *Salmi per i Vespri a quattro voci*, ed. Dinko Fabris (Lamezia Terme, 1994).
- Roesner, Edward H.**, 'The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of its Origins and of its Eleventh Fascicle', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1974).
- Roesner, Edward H.**, 'Who "Made" the *Magnus liber*?', *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), 227-66.
- Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146, introduction by Edward Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York, 1990).
- Rossetti, Edoardo**, 'L'"Isola beata" dei musicisti e degli aristocratici: Qualche appunto su gerarchie sociali e culturali nella Milano di fine Quattrocento', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca* (Lucca, 2019), 53-87.
- Roth, Christine**, 'Das Lied *Ein feste Burg* im Schaffen des Michael Praetorius: Von der Aktualisierung musikalischer Traditionen', in Klaus Fitschen et al. (eds.), *Kulturelle Wirkungen der Reformation/Cultural Impact of the Reformation. Kongressdokumentation Lutherstadt Wittenberg August 2017* (Leipzig, 2018), i. 345-53.
- Roth, Christine**, 'Traditionsbindungen in der lutherischen Musikkultur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu Repertoire und Kontexten in Norddeutschland' (Ph.D. diss., University of Zurich, 2019).
- Rouse, Mary A., and Richard H. Rouse**, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Bloomington, IN, 1991).
- Rubinoff, Kailan**, 'Authenticity as a Political Act: Straub-Huillet's *Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach* and the Post-War Bach Revival', *Music and Politics*, 5 (2011), 41-53.
- Rubinoff, Kailan**, "'The grand guru of Baroque music": Leonhardt's Antiquarianism in the Progressivist 1960s', *Early Music*, 42 (2014), 23-35.
- Rumbold, Ian, with Peter Wright**, *Hermann Pötzlinger's Music Book: The St Emmeram Codex and its Contexts* (Woodbridge, 2009).
- Rusconi, Angelo**, 'Matteo da Perugia', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 72 (Rome, 2008).
- Rusconi, Angelo**, 'Le notazioni musicali di Montecassino 318', in *Montecassino Archivio dell'Abbazia Cod. 318: Facsimile e Commentarii*, ed. Mariano Dell'Ormo and Nicola Tangari, 2 vols. (Lucca, 2018), lxi-lxx.
- Sachs, Jonathan**, 'Niebuhr, Barthold Georg 1776-1831', in *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era 1760-1850*, ed. Christopher John Murray, 2 vols. (New York and London, 2003), ii. 807-8.
- Saint-Cricq, Gaël**, 'Formes types dans le motet du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Étude d'un processus répétitif', 2 vols. (Ph.D. thesis, University of Southampton, 2009).
- Saint-Cricq, Gaël**, 'A New Link between the Motet and Trouvère Chanson: The *Pedes-Cum-Cauda* Motet', *Early Music History*, 32 (2013), 179-223.
- Saltzstein, Jennifer**, 'Adam de la Halle's Fourteenth-Century Musical and Poetic Legacies', in Jennifer Saltzstein (ed.), *Musical Culture in the World of Adam de la Halle* (Leiden, 2019), 352-63.
- Saltzstein, Jennifer**, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Cambridge, 2013).
- Sandl, Marcus**, 'Interpretationswelten der Zeitenwende: Protestantische Selbstbeschreibungen im 16. Jahrhundert zwischen Bibelauslegung und Reformationserinnerung', in Joachim Eibach and Marcus Sandl (eds.), *Protestantische Identität und Erinnerung: Von der Reformation bis zur Bürgerrechtsbewegung in der DDR*, Formen der Erinnerung, 16 (Göttingen, 2003), 27-46.
- Sartori, Claudio**, 'La cappella del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio', in *Storia di Milano*, ix/III: *La musica nel Duomo e alla corte sino alla seconda metà del Cinquecento* (Milan, 1961), 723-48.
- Sartori, Claudio**, 'Franchino Gaffurio a Milano (Nuove notizie biografiche e documenti inediti sulla sua attività di Maestro di Cappella e sulla sua riforma della Cappella del Duomo)', *Universitas Europae*, 1 (1952-3), nos. iv-v [a], 18-20; viii-ix [b], 13-16; xi-xii [c], 17-20.
- Sartori, Claudio**, 'Josquin des Pres cantore del Duomo di Milano (1459-1472)', *Annales musicologiques*, 4 (1956), 55-83.
- Sartori, Claudio**, 'Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feraut i due primi Maestri di Cappella del Duomo di Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, 28 (1956), 12-27.

- Sartori, Claudio, *Le musiche della Cappella del Duomo di Milano: Catalogo delle musiche dell'Archivio* (Milan, 1957).
- Saucier, Catherine, 'Acclaiming Advent and *Adventus* in Johannes Brassart's Motet for Frederick III', *Early Music History*, 27 (2008), 137–79.
- Scheepsma, Wybren, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries: The 'Modern Devotion', the Canonesses of Windesheim, and their Writings*, trans. David F. Johnson (Woodbridge, 2004).
- Schlager, Karlheinz, *Alleluia-Melodien II. Ab 1100*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, 8 (Kassel, 1987).
- Schmid, Bernhard, 'Die Motette bis in das frühe 15. Jahrhundert', in Horst Leuchtman and Siegfried Mauser (eds.), *Messe und Motette*, Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen (Laaber, 1998), 15–57.
- Schmidt-Beste, Thomas, 'Polyphonic Sources, ca. 1450–1500', in Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2015), 641–62.
- Schmidt-Beste, Thomas, 'The Repertoire of the Papal Chapel after the Council of Trent: Tradition, Innovation, or Decline?', in M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (eds.), *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn* (Turnhout, 2009), 109–20.
- Scholz, Klaus, *Monasticon Windeshemense*, ed. Wilhelm Kohl, Ernest Persoons, and Klaus Scholz, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1977).
- Schrade, Leo, 'Political Compositions in French Music of the 12th and 13th Centuries', *Annales musicologiques*, 1 (1953), 9–63.
- Schröder, Gesine, 'Satztechnische Aspekte geistlicher Musik zwischen 1520 und 1600', in Wolfgang Hochstein and Christoph Krummacher (eds.), *Geschichte der Kirchenmusik*, 1 (Laaber, 2011), 256–65.
- Scribner, Robert W., *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford and New York, 1994).
- Sherman, Bernard D., *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (Oxford, 1997).
- Shevchenko, Nadezda, *Eine historische Anthropologie des Buches: Bücher in der preußischen Herzogsfamilie zur Zeit der Reformation* (Göttingen, 2007).
- Shills, Edward, *Tradition* (London, 1981).
- Signer, Emanuel, 'Polyphonic Masses in Italian Music Printing 1550–1650: A Big Data Approach to Paratext' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2018).
- Signori, Gabriela, 'Wanderers between Worlds: Visitors, Letters, Wills, and Gifts as Means of Communication in Exchanges between Cloister and the World', in Jeffrey H. Hamburger and Susan Marti (eds.), *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York, 2008), 259–73.
- Siller, Max, 'Wo und wann ist die Sterzinger Miszellen-Handschrift entstanden?', in Anton Schwob and András Vizkelety (eds.), *Entstehung und Typen mittelalterlicher Lyrikhandschriften. Akten des Grazer Symposiums 13.–17. Oktober 1999*, Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik. Reihe A. Kongressberichte (Bern, 2001), 255–80.
- Šmahel, František, '*Causa non grata*: Premature Reformation in Hussite Bohemia', in Paweł Kras, Jerzy Kłoczowski, and Wojciech Polak (eds.), *Proceedings of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Éclesiastique Comparée, Lublin 1996* (Lublin, 1999), 224–31.
- Šmahel, František, *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter: Gesammelte Aufsätze/The Charles University in the Middle Ages, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 28 (Leiden and Boston, 2007).
- Šmahel, František, and Ota Pavlíček (eds.), *A Companion to Jan Hus*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 54 (Leiden, 2015).
- Small, Christopher, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, NH, 1998).
- Smith, Norman E., 'From Clausula to Motet: Material for Further Studies in the Origin and Early History of the Motet', *Musica Disciplina*, 34 (1980), 29–65.
- Smith, Norman E., 'The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School', 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1964).
- Smith, Norman E., 'Interrelationships among the Alleluias of the "Magnus liber organi"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25 (1972), 175–202.
- Smith, Norman E., 'Interrelationships among the Graduals of the Magnus Liber Organi', *Acta Musicologica*, 45 (1973), 73–97.
- Smith, Norman E., 'Some Exceptional Clausulae of the Florence Manuscript', *Music & Letters*, 59 (1973), 405–14.
- Smith, Norman E., 'Tenor Repetition in the Notre Dame Organa', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 19 (1966), 329–51.
- Smits van Waesberghe, Joseph, *Musikerziehung: Lehre und Theorie der Musik im Mittelalter*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, 3/3 (Leipzig, 1969).
- Soares, Joseph A., 'A Reformulation of the Concept of Tradition', *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 17/6 (1997), 6–21.
- Somaini, Francesco, *La Signoria e il Principato, La grande storia di Milano*, i/II (Turin, 2010).
- Soukup, Pavel, 'Kauza reformace: Husitství v konkurenční reformních projektech' [The cause of the Reformation: Hussitism in competition with other reform projects], in Pavlína Rychterová and Pavel Soukup (eds.), *Heresis seminaria: Pojmy a koncepty v bádání o husitství* [Heresis seminaria: Ideas and concepts in research about Hussitism] (Prague, 2013), 171–217.
- Spangenberg, Johann, *Cantiones ecclesiasticae latinae/Kirchengesenge Deutsch* (Magdeburg, 1545).
- Spruchsang: *Die Melodien der Sangspruchdichter des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Horst Brunner and Karl-Günter Hartmann, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, 6 (Kassel, 2010).

- Spunar, Pavel, *Repertorium auctorum bohemosum provectum idearum post Universitatem Pragensem conditam illustrans*, ii, *Studia Copernicana*, 35 (Warsaw and Prague, 1995).
- Spunar, Pavel, 'Das Troparium des Prager Dekans Vít (Prag Kapitelbibliothek, Cim 4)', *Scriptorium*, 11 (1957), 50–62.
- Stäblein, Bruno, "'Gregorius Praesul', der Prolog zum römischen Antiphonale: Buchwerbung im Mittelalter', in *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag* (Kassel, 1968), 537–61; repr. in his *Musik und Geschichte im Mittelalter: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Horst Bunner and Karlheinz Schlager (Göppingen, 1984), 117–42.
- Stachelin, Martin, 'Beschreibungen und Beispiele musikalischer Formen in einem unbeachteten Traktat des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 31 (1974), 237–42.
- Stachelin, Martin, *Neues zu Werk und Leben von Petrus Wilhelmi: Fragmente des mittleren 15. Jahrhunderts mit Mensuralmusik im Nachlaß von Friedrich Ludwig*, Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 im deutschen Sprachgebiet (Göttingen, 2001).
- Stahlmann, Joachim, *Die Melodien 1571–80, Textband*, Das deutsche Kirchenlied, Abt. III, Bd. 2 (Kassel, 2002).
- Starr, Pamela F., 'Musical Entrepreneurship in 15th-Century Europe', *Early Music*, 32 (2004), 119–33.
- Les Statuts de Prémontré au milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Placide F. Lefèvre and Wilfried M. Grauwen, *Bibliotheca analectorum praemonstratensium*, 12 (Averbode, 1978).
- Steer, Georg, 'Dat dagelyt von der heiligen passien: Die sogenannte "Große Tageweise" Graf Peters von Arberg', in Kurt Ruh and Werner Schröder (eds.), *Beiträge zur weltlichen und geistlichen Lyrik des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts. Würzburger Colloquium 1970* (Berlin, 1973), 112–204.
- Stefani, Davide, 'Le vite di Gaffurio', in Davide Daolmi (ed.), *Ritratto di Gaffurio* (Lucca, 2017), 27–48.
- Steiner, Kate Kennedy, *The Second City: Notre Dame Polyphony and English Liturgy at St Andrews* (forthcoming).
- Steiner, Ruth, *Some Monophonic Latin Songs from the Tenth Fascicle of the Manuscript Florence*, *Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1* (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1963).
- Stede, Wolfram, *Untersuchungen zur mitteldeutschen Musikpflege und Musiküberlieferung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1978).
- Steven, Jan, *The Memetics of Music: A Neo-Darwinian View of Musical Structure and Culture* (Aldershot, 2007).
- Stevens, John, 'Angelus ad Virginem: The History of a Medieval Song', in P. L. Heyworth (ed.), *Medieval Studies for J. A. W. Bennett aetatis suae LXX* (Oxford, 1981), 297–328.
- Stewart, Columba, 'Monastic Space and Time', in Hendrik W. Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante Litteram: The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011), 43–51.
- Strohm, Reinhard, 'Music, Humanism, and the Idea of a "Rebirth" of the Arts', in Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn (eds.), *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, New Oxford History of Music, new edition, 3, pt. 1 (Oxford, 2001), 346–88.
- Stone, Anne, 'Machaut Sighted in Modena', in Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano di Bacco, and Stefano Jossa (eds.), *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, i: *Text, Music and Image from Machaut to Ariosto* (Exeter, 2011), 170–89.
- Strozzi, Bernardo, *Messe... opera settima* (Venice, 1626).
- Stuchtey, Benedikt, 'German Historical Writing', in Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca and Attila Pók (eds.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: 1800–1945* (Oxford, 2011), 161–83.
- Swift, Kristy, 'Getting the Story Crooked: Donald J. Grout, Claude V. Palisca, and J. Peter Burkholder's *A History of Western Music*, 1960–2009' (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 2013).
- Szacki, Jerzy, *Tradycja* [Tradition] (2nd edn., Warsaw, 2011).
- Szendrei, Janka, 'Notation als Identitätsausdruck im Mittelalter', *Studia Musicologica*, 27 (1985), 139–70.
- Szendrei, Janka, 'Prager Quellen zum Hirsauer Choral', in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 7th Meeting, Sopron 1995* (Budapest, 1998), 555–74.
- Szweykowski, Zygmunt Maria, 'Technika polichóralna, jej typy i przemiany w XVII wieku' [Polychoral technique, its types and its changes during the seventeenth century], in Zygmunt M. Szweykowski (ed.), *Muzyka we Włoszech. II: Technika polichóralna* [Music in Italy. II: Polychoral technique] (Kraków, 2000).
- Tacitus, *Agricola. Germania. Dialogus*, trans. M. Hutton, rev. trans. E. H. Warmington, Loeb Classical Library, 35 (Cambridge, MA, 1970).
- Tangari, Nicola, 'Montecassino 318 nella tradizione e negli studi', in *Montecassino Archivio dell'Abbazia Cod. 318: Facsimile e Commentarii*, ed. Mariano Dell'Omo and Nicola Tangari, 2 vols. (Lucca, 2018), cvii–cxliv.
- Taruskin, Richard, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (New York and Oxford, 2004–5); 2nd rev. edn. (2009–10).
- Taruskin, Richard, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York and Oxford, 1995).
- Torelli, Daniele, 'Gli inni e il repertorio per l'ufficio nei Libroni gaffuriani', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca* (Lucca, 2019), 233–71.
- Towne, Gary, 'Over the Hills and Far Away: The Place of Bergamo in the Development and Transmission of Polychoral Music', in L. Boscolo Folegnana and Alessandra Ignesti (eds.), *Dal canto corale alla musica polichorale: L'arte del coro spezzato* (Venice, 2014).

- Trabacci, Giovanni Maria, *Passionem D. N. Iesu Christi secundum Matthaëum, Marcum, Lucam et Ioannem: ad ipsius redemptionis dulcedinem a fidelibus degustandam* (Naples, 1634).
- Tractatulus de cantu mensurali seu figurativo musicae artis*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo, Corpus scriptorum de musica ([Rome], 1971).
- Traill, David, 'More Poems by Philip the Chancellor', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 16 (2006), 164–81.
- Traill, David, 'Philip the Chancellor and Fro: Expanding the Canon', *Filologia mediolatina*, 10 (2003), 219–43.
- Traube, Ludwig, 'O Roma nobilis: Philologische Untersuchungen aus dem Mittelalter', *Abhandlungen der historischen Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 19 (1891), 299–395.
- Treitler, Leo, 'The Vatican Organum Treatise and the Organum of Notre Dame of Paris: Perspectives on the Development of a Literate Music Culture in Europe', in his *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it Was Made* (Oxford, 2003), 68–83.
- Treitler, Leo, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (New York, 2003).
- Tuzi, Stefania, *Le colonne e il tempio di Salomone: La storia, la leggenda, la fortuna* (Rome, 2002).
- Upton, Elizabeth, 'Concepts of Authenticity in Early Music and Popular Music Communities', *Ethnomusicology Review*, 17 (2012), <https://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/journal/volume/17/piece/591>.
- Van der Werf, Hendrik, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester, NY, 1989).
- Van Orden, Kate, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (Berkeley, CA, 2013).
- Vergosová, Eva, 'Neumovaný misál CZ-Pnm XIV D 12: Analýza pramene a zařazení do historického kontextu' [The neumed missal CZ-Pnm XIV D 12: Analysis of the source and its place in the historical context] (Master's thesis, Charles University, Prague, 2018).
- Verheijen, Luc, *La Règle de Saint Augustin, Études augustiniennes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967).
- Vicetextová moteta 14. a 15. století: Mehrtextige Motetten des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Jaromír Černý (Prague, 1989).
- Vihová-Wörner, Hana, 'Main Sources Containing Tropes for the Ordinary of the Mass', in her *Reperitorium Troporum Bobemiae Medii Aevi II–IV*, 3 vols. (Prague, 2006–13).
- Wagner, Peter, 'O Roma nobilis', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 22 (1909), 1–16.
- Waite, William G., *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice* (New Haven, 1954).
- Wald-Fuhrmann, Melanie, 'Die Motette im 15. Jahrhundert, ihre Kontexte und das geistliche Hören: Forschungsüberblick und Perspektiven', in Laurenz Lütteken (ed.), *Normierung und Pluralisierung: Struktur und Funktion der Motette im 15. Jahrhundert*, Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik, 9 (Kassel, 2011), 57–86.
- Walkley, Clivey, *Juan Esquivel: A Master of Sacred Music during the Spanish Golden Age* (Woodbridge, 2010).
- Walther, Gerrit, *Nieuburs Forschung*, Frankfurter historische Abhandlungen, 35 (Stuttgart, 1993).
- Ward, Tom R., 'A Central European Repertory in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274', *Early Music History*, 1 (1981), 325–43.
- Weber, William, 'The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), 488–520.
- Weerbeke, Gaspar van, *Collected Works: Motets*, ed. Agnese Pavanello in collaboration with Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Corpus Mensuralis Musicae 106/4 ([Rome], 2010).
- Wegman, Rob C., *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470–1530* (New York, 2005).
- Wegman, Rob C., 'From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 49 (1996), 409–79.
- Welch, Evelyn, 'Sight, Sound and Ceremony in the Chapel of Galeazzo Maria Sforza', *Early Music History*, 12 (1993), 151–90.
- Welker, Lorenz, 'Ein anonymes Mensuraltraktat in der Sterzinger Miszellenen-Handschrift', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 48 (1991), 255–81.
- Wessler, Jonathan, 'An Examination of the Relationship between Johann Spangenberg's *Cantiones ecclesiasticae/Kirchengesenge Deutsch* and Martin Luther's *Formula missae* and *Deutsche Messe*' (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 2011).
- Whitman, Jon (ed.), *Romance and History: Imagining Time from the Medieval to the Early Modern Period* (Cambridge, 2015).
- Willmann, Joseph, 'Strophische Formung in den Motetten des Codex Engelberg 314', in Andreas Haug, Christoph März, and Lorenz Welker (eds.), *Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter: Überlieferung – Ästhetik – Ausstrahlung*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi. Subsidia (Kassel, 2004), 345–79.
- Wilson, Nick, *The Art of Re-enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age* (New York, 2014).
- Witkowska-Zaremba, Elżbieta, 'Mensural Treatises from the Manuscript WaN BOZ 61', in Witkowska-Zaremba (ed.), *Notae musicae artis: Musical Notation in Polish Sources, 11th–16th Century* (Kraków, 2001), 487–537.
- Witkowska-Zaremba, Elżbieta, 'The Minim–Semiminim Relation in 15th-Century Central-European Mensural Theory', in Walter Pass and Alexander Rausch (eds.), *Mittelalterliche Musiktheorie in Zentraleuropa*, Musica mediaevalis Europae occidentalis (Tutzing, 1998), 163–70.
- Wolf, Johannes, 'Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (1918–19), 331–45.
- Wolff, Christoph, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (Oxford, 2000).

- Wright, Craig, 'Leoninus, Poet and Musician', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), 1–35.
- Wright, Craig, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Zager, Daniel, 'Music for the Lutheran Liturgy: Johann Spangenberg's *Cantiones ecclesiasticae/Kirchengesenge Deutsch* (1545)', in James Freese (ed.), *This is the Feast: A Festschrift to Richard Hiller at 80* (St. Louis, MO, 2004), 45–60.
- Zaggia, Massimo, 'Materiali per una storia del libro e della cultura a Milano negli anni di Franchino Gaffurio (1484–1522)', in Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (eds.), *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca* (Lucca, 2019), 3–51.
- Zagorski-Thomas, Simon, *The Musicology of Record Production* (Cambridge, 2014).
- Zarlino, Gioseffo, *The Art of Counterpoint, Part Three of Le Istituzioni harmoniche 1558*, trans. Guy A. Marco, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, 1968).
- Zarlino, Gioseffo, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558).
- Žemlička, Josef, 'Děkan Vít, hodnostář a dobrodinec pražské kapituly' [Dean Vitus, dignitary and benefactor of the Prague Chapter], in Ivan Hlaváček, Jan Hrdina, Jan Kahuda, and Eva Doležalová (eds.), *Facta probant homines: Sborník příspěvků k životnímu jubileu prof. Zdeňky Hledíkové* [Facta probant homines: Collection of essays for the life jubilee of Prof. Zdeňka Hledíková] (Prague, 1998), 549–68.
- Ziino, Agostino, 'La policoralità in alcuni teorici italiani del Seicento', in Giuseppe Donato (ed.), *La policoralità in Italia nei secoli XVI e XVII: Testi della giornata internazionale di studi (Messina, 27 dicembre 1980)* (Rome, 1987), 119–34.
- Žůrek, Jiří, 'The Utraquist Sanctoral in Sixteenth-Century Czech-Language Graduals', *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, 10 (Prague, 2015), 279–307.
- Zwolińska, Elżbieta, 'Musica mensuralis in the Polish Music Sources up to 1600', in Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba (ed.), *Notae musicae artis: Musical Notation in Polish Sources, 11th–16th Century* (Kraków, 2001), 403–85.





## A

Acevedo y Zúñiga, Manuel de 172, 181  
*Achtliederbuch* 244  
 acrostics 150  
*Ad te domine* [*Ieuauí*] 79  
 Afán de Rivera, Pedro, Viceroy of Naples 179  
 Agostini, Giovanni Maria 15  
 Agostini, Paolo 159, 176  
 Agricola, Alexander 103  
*Alabastrum frangitur* 55  
 Albert V, Duke of Bavaria, dedication to 179  
 Albertis, Gaspar de 262  
 Albertus Parisiensis, Magister 51  
 Albrecht of Habsburg, Cardinal, dedication to 177  
*Alleluia V. Hodie Maria* 70  
*Alleluia V. Pascha nostrum immolatus est* 61  
 Alleluias, German 243  
 Amadino firm 169–71  
 Amadino, Ricciardo 179  
*Anglia planctus itera* 54  
 Animuccia, Giovanni 168–9, 174  
 Anonymous IV 53–4  
 anthologies of music 60–2, 73–4  
 anthologies of old compositions 119  
 Antico, Andrea 175  
 Arnestus of Pardubice, Archbishop of Prague 81–2, 90, 121  
 Arnold, Denis 267  
 Aroldo, Sebastiano 179  
 Ars Cantus (ensemble) 284  
 Ars Nova (ensemble) 278, 280  
 Asola, Giovanni Matteo 169–71, 178, 262  
 Assmann, Jan 120  
 Augsburg Confession 235, 237  
*Aurelianus ciuitas* 55  
 authenticity and performance 281–3  
 authorship 51  
*Ave coronata/Alma parens/Ave regina celorum* 144, 145  
 (Ex. 6.1), 153, 206–7  
*Ave non Eve meritum* 122–4, 137  
*Ave non Eve meritum/Digna laude gaude* 124–8, 138–9  
*Ave regina celorum* (antiphon) 145

## B

B. de Cluni, *Apollinis eclipsatur/Zodiacum/In omnem terram* 143–4  
 Babst, Valentin 240  
 Bach, J. S., St Matthew Passion 250–1

Bakhtin, Mikhail 141  
 Balbi, Ludovico 178  
 Baldo firm 168–9  
 Barberini, Cardinal Antonio 165  
 Barberini, Cardinal Francesco 159; dedication to 177  
 Barberini, Taddeo 159  
 Barbieri, Patrizio 158  
 Baroncini, Rodolfo 263  
 Bartlová, Milena 208  
 Basa, Domenico 158  
 Bastarda (ensemble) 273–84  
 bastarda (term) 276–7  
 Belli, Giulio 268  
 Beltrano, Ottavio 172, 181  
 Bergen, Benjamin 267–8  
 Berman, Constance 232  
 Bernini, Gian Lorenzo 164  
 Besozzi, Francesco 162  
 Besozzi, G. F. 181  
 Binchois, Gilles 103; *Te Deum* 104–5  
 Blasco de Dobrzán 134  
 Bloch, Marc 57  
 Boethius 56  
 Bohemia: changes in society 1350–1500, French-inspired music in 26–7  
 Bohemian Brethren 240; viewed as contemporary composers 238  
 Bonelli, Carlo Michele, dedication to 175  
 Bornus Consort 275, 278, 280, 284  
 Borromeo, Cardinal Carlo 181  
 borrowing, musical 50  
 Bourdieu, Pierre 21  
 Bradley, Catherine A. 64  
 Brassart, Johannes, *O rex Fridrice/In tuo adventu* 154  
 Brätel, Ulrich 196  
 Brejta, Anna 262  
 Brumel, Antoine 103, 174  
 Bryant, David 266  
 Burkholder, Grou, and Palisca, *A History of Western Music* 18–19  
 Burney, Charles 269  
 Busch, Johannes 218, 220, 226–8, 230–2  
 Busse, Paul 218

## C

Calvin, Jean 195  
 Camagno firm 163, 181  
 Cancer, Matteo 163, 181, 187

- Canguilhem, Philippe 105  
*cantiones* 200  
 Cappella Sistina 160  
 Carmina Burana 134  
 Carver, Anthony 262  
 Casola, Pietro 108  
 Cathedral of Notre Dame, music at 53  
 Cato 38  
*Cedit hiems* (2v.) 210  
 Central Europe, attitudes to musical culture of 200  
 Černý, Jaromír 144–5, 147, 150, 201–3, 206–7, 281  
 Cesarei, Gioseffo 159–60  
 Chadd, David 216, 224, 229  
 Chamber Choir of Europe 263  
 change, wanted and unwanted 23–7  
 chant, Gregorian 118  
 Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy, dedication to 175  
 Charles IV, Emperor 90  
 choirbook layout, adaptation of 168–73  
 choirbooks printed in Italy 157–87  
     combined choirbook and partbook layouts 171–2  
     dedicatees of 165–6, 175, 177  
     design of title pages 163–6  
     genres in 166–8  
     in Milan 162–3, 180–1  
     in Naples 163, 180–1  
     in Rome 158–61, 174–7  
     in Venice 161–2, 178–9  
*choro spezzato* (term) 268–70  
*Christus assistens pontifex* 55  
 Chytraeus, David 233–46  
     Agenda of 1578 234–9; compared with cantionales of Spangenberg and Keuchenthal 239–46  
     catechism 234–5  
     on music history 234–9  
     order of German Mass 241–5  
 Cicero 38, 40  
 Cifra, Antonio 159, 176, 184  
 circulation of music 51–2  
 Cistercian uniformity 215–16, 224  
*clausulae* 45 (Ex. 1.1), 52, 59–74  
     duplications in *F* 69–73  
     fascicle 5 of *F* 63–74  
     liturgical ordering of 64–5, 67–9  
     motet concordances 66  
     oral aspects of transmission 72–3  
*Clauus clauo refunditur* 55  
 Clement VIII, Pope, dedication to 179  
*clivis*, Lotharingian 83, 85, 87  
 Coattino, Francesco 158, 177, 183  
 Coenobium Sancti Spiritus 161–2, 179, 186  
 Collingwood, Robin George 38  
 Colonna, Anna 159  
 Colonna, Cardinal Girolamo 159; dedication to 177  
 Colussi, Franco 262–3  
 Compère, Loyset 101, 103, 109  
 compositions, related 45–50  
*Concrepet/Nate dei/Exordium quadruplate/Verbum caro* 206  
*Congaudeant catholici* 51  
*Congaudemus pariter – En lux* 212  
 consciousness of music, historical 53–4  
 Consort of Musicke 280  
 contrafacts 123  
 Coppini, Alessandro 103  
 core and periphery 30; perception of 20  
*cori spezzati*:  
     ideas on origin of 268  
     as a meme 257–71  
     term 253, 262, 268–70  
     as title of concerts or recordings 263  
*Cori Spezzati* (vocal ensemble) 264–5  
 Cornelio, Marco 179  
 Corteccia, Francesco 178  
 Cortellini, Camillo 166  
 Crivelli, Arcangelo 176  
*Cum Rex glorie* 223 (Pl. 9.1)
- D**  
 Dal Pane, Domenico 160, 168, 176, 184  
 Dawkins, Richard 257  
*De flore martirum/Deus tuorum militum/Ave rex gentis* 145  
 Decius, Nicolaus 243–4  
*Deduisant m'aloie ier mein* 48 (Ex. 1.5), 49–50  
*Degentis vita/Cum vix artidici/Vera pudicitia* 143–4  
 Della Rovere, Cardinal Giulio 179  
 Denis, St, holy nail of 55  
*Deo gracias papales/Deo gracias fidelis* 144  
*devotio moderna* movement 196, 216  
 devotion:  
     and music 196  
     personal 26  
*Dies iam letitiae* 212  
*Digna laude gaude* 124, 127  
 Dijk, Rudolf T. M. van 222  
 Dillon, Emma 60  
 [DOMI]NE *clausulae* 68  
 [DOMI]NE *melisma* 67  
 Dominican uniformity 215–16, 222, 226  
 DOMINUS *melisma* 61–2  
 Donangeli, Ascanio 177  
 Donangeli, Girolamo 169  
 Donangeli firm 158, 183  
 DONEC VENIAM *melisma* 67  
 Dorico, Valerio and Luigi 175  
 Dorico firm 158, 163–4, 187  
*Dorothea mens ut rhea* 212  
 Du Fay, Guillaume 103
- E**  
*Ecce tempus gaudii* 55 (Ex. 1.6), 56  
*Eclipsim passus totiens* 54  
 Egidius de Pusiex, *Ida capillorum/Portio nature/Antethronum* 143–4  
*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* 27  
 Eler, Franz 242  
 Elevation, music for the 111

emulation of earlier Masses 167–8  
 Ensemble Ars Nova 275  
 Erasmus, Desiderius 195  
*Erfurt Enchiridion* 244  
 Ernest of Bavaria 179  
 ethnocentrism, hidden 29–30  
 events commemorated in music 54–5  
 Everett, Daniel L. 267, 270  
*Ex stirpe paganorum* 212  
 exemplars, multiple 65, 68  
*Exiit sermo* 67

## F

Falconi, Placido 178  
 feasts, local 229–31  
*Fenix Arabia* 144  
 Ferdinand II, Emperor 171  
 Ferdinand II of León 54  
 Ferragut, Bertran 101, 110  
 Févin, Antoine de 174  
 Fisher, Alexander 193  
 Floris van Wevelichoven, Bishop of Utrecht 216  
 FLOS FILIUS EIUS melisma 72  
 Forum Vocale Köln 264  
 Frederick III Habsburg, German King 154  
 Fux, Johann Joseph, *Gradus ad Parnassum* 249

## G

Gabrieli, Andrea 260, 263  
 Gabrieli, Giovanni 263; *In ecclesiis* 260  
 Gabussi, Giulio Cesare 112, 162, 180  
 Gaffurius, Franchinus:  
   *Ave verum corpus* III  
   and the Milanese Libroni 101–14  
   *Quando venit ergo/Ave corpus Jesu Christi* III  
   *Salve decus genitoris/Qui nepotes plus quam natos* 109  
   as theorist 107–8  
 Gancarczyk, Paweł 206–7, 281  
 Gardano, Alessandro 158, 161, 169  
 Gardano, Angelo 161, 179  
 Gardano, Antonio 161, 166, 179  
 Gardano firm 162, 185  
*Gaudeat turba clericorum* 212  
 GAUDETE *clausulae* 72  
 GAUDETE melisma 70–1 (Ex. 2.2)  
 genealogy as remembrance 25–6  
 genres, musical 141; defined in treatises 142–3  
*Genti confer opem* 212  
 Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany 54  
 Ghibel, Eliseo 174  
 Giraud, Eleanor 216, 222, 226  
 Glarean, Heinrich 191  
 Gloria, German 243  
 Gondko, Michał 276–7, 273, 280–4  
 Górczyński, Michał 273, 278  
 Gradual of Bellelay 84  
 Graduals, German 243  
 Grancini, Michel'Angelo 162, 180  
 Gregorian chant, establishment of 41

Gregory the Great, Pope 41  
 Gregory XIII, Pope, dedication to 175  
 Groote, Inga Mai 239  
 Grossi, Giovanni Antonio 162, 180  
 Gryz, Sophia 221–2  
 Guerrero, Francisco 158, 174, 182  
 Guidonian hand 40

## H

Handel, George Frideric 251  
 Hascher-Burger, Ulrike 225–6  
 Henry II, Count of Champagne 54  
 heritage and tradition 118  
 Heugel, Johannes 196  
 historicism, humanist and 19th-century 250–3  
 historiography:  
   ballad-theory of 37–8  
   musical 19–20, 29–30  
 history, rewriting of 28  
 Hobsbawm, Eric 21, 120  
*Hora est* 86  
 Horyna, Martin 202, 208  
*Hufnagelschrift* 223  
 Huglo, Michel 86  
 humanists and revival of ancient music 250  
 Hussite movement 192  
 hymns, German 244–5

## I

*Iberusalem, Iberusalem* 54  
 improvisation on music by Petrus Wilhelmi 275  
 In natali Domini 212  
*In qua civitate cum puellis* 86  
*Insignis infantule* 212  
 Isaac, Henricus 103; *La Morra* 276  
 Isabella of Aragon 105–6  
*Ite missa est* 82

## J

Jachet of Mantua 268  
*Jam adest dies iubilaeus* 144  
*Jingle Bells*, tradition of 22–3  
 Johann Georg of Holdingshausen 171; dedication to 177  
 John, King of Bohemia 90  
 Josquin des Prez 101, 103, 174  
   *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae* 167  
   *Missa La sol fa re mi* 167  
   *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* 167  
   *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* 153  
 Julius III, Pope, dedication to 164, 175

## K

Kaufmann, Thomas 193  
 Kendrick, Robert 114, 270  
 Kerle, Jacobus de 161, 178, 185  
 Keuchenthal, Johann, *KirchenGesenge Latinisch und  
   Deutsch* 234, 240–6  
 Klug, Joseph 240  
 Konrad von Würzburg, 'Reihen-Ton' 135

Kreß, Thomas 123, 128, 136  
 Kurtzman, Jeffrey 269–70  
 Kyrie *Creator pater* 82  
 Kyrie *Immense conditor poli* 81  
 Kyrie *Summe deus noster* 82

## L

Kyries, Lutheran, troped 241–3  
 La Morra (ensemble) 253–4, 273–84  
 La Rue, Pierre de 174  
 Lambardi, Girolamo 161–2, 178, 185  
 laments in music on historical figures 54–5  
 Landi, Stefano 159, 176  
 LATUS melisma 61  
*laude*, printed books of 168–9  
*Laudes dicat omnis* (= *Iesu dulcis mater*) 212  
 Laurentini, Curzio 177  
 layout and performance 60  
 Leaver, Robin 243  
 Leo X, Pope, dedications to 164, 175  
 Leoninus 53  
 Lesser, Bertram 230–1  
*Liber quindecim missarum* as model 164–5  
 Lichtenberger, Eva 264  
*Linor aula* 144  
 Liszt, Franz 39  
 Litta, Cardinal Alfonso Michele 163, 181  
 Little, Jonathan David 265–6  
 liturgy:  
   adaptation of 194–5  
   Ambrosian 110–11, 112–14  
   and cultural memory 21–3  
   and history 57  
   Lutheran and music 233–46  
   Milanese 108  
   and music 57, 59  
   songs in 121–2  
   and tradition 40–1  
   of Windesheim monastic houses 215–32  
 Livia di Capua 181  
 Lossius, Lucas 240; *Psalmodia* 245  
 Louis VIII, King of France 55  
 Ludwig, Friedrich 63, 146  
 Lupino, Francesco 166  
 Luther, Martin 192, 194  
   German Mass 233; order of 241–5  
   hymns 244  
   viewed as contemporary composer 238  
 Lutheran communities 27  
 Lutheran musical repertory 197  
 Lutz, Eckart Conrad 222–3

## M

Macaulay, Thomas Babington 37  
 Machaut, Guillaume, longevity of his music 25  
 Magnasco, Ludovico 164  
 Magni, Bartolomeo 161, 179  
 Magnus of Saxe-Lauenburg, Prince-Bishop 230  
 MANERE *clausulae* 68–9 (Ex. 2.1)

MANERE melisma 67

## MANUSCRIPTS

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Musiksammlung,  
 AN II 46: 128  
 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer  
 Kulturbesitz. Musikabteilung:  
   Mus. ms. 40078: 85  
   Mus. ms. 40580: 147  
 Bratislava, Univerzitná knižnica, Inc. 318-I (Košice/  
 Kaschau fragments) 207  
 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár:  
   lat. 243 (Trnava manuscript) 130–1, 147, 150–1,  
   203, 206, 210, 212  
   534 (Zips fragments) 206, 210, 213  
 Chrudim, Regionální muzeum, 12580: 149, 202,  
 208, 211, 213  
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,  
 Vat. lat. 3227: 40  
 Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dom-  
 bibliothek, 215: 84, 85 (Pl. 3.3), 86  
 Engelberg, Benediktinerkloster, Musikbibliothek,  
 314 (Engelberg codex) 146–7, 149  
 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus  
 29.1 (F) 24, 45–6 (Ex. 1.1, 1.3), 54, 55 (Ex. 1.6),  
 56, 59–68, 69 (Ex. 2.1), 70, 71 (Ex. 2.2), 72–4  
 Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka  
 Gdańska:  
   2153a: 144  
   2315: 144  
 Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Univer-  
 sitätsbibliothek, Nachlass Ludwig XXX,1:  
 149  
 Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech:  
   II A 6 (Franus Codex) 144, 149, 202, 208, 211  
   II A 7 (Speciálník Codex) 144, 149, 195, 202,  
   206–9, 211, 213  
 Klatovy, Vlastivědné muzeum Dr. Hostaše v  
 Klatovech, 403: 202, 211, 213  
 Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska:  
   2464: 206, 210, 212  
   Mus. 40098 (*Żagań* partbooks) 152  
   Mus. 40580: 146  
 Kutná Hora, Oblastní muzeum, 88/85: 211, 213  
 Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek:  
   MS 1236: 211, 213  
   MS 1494: 103  
 London, British Library, Add. MS 27630: 146–7  
 Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Musikabteilung, theol.  
 lat. 2° 16: 124, 130–1  
 Malibu, Getty Museum, MS Ludwig V 4: 87  
 Merseburg, Domstiftsarchiv und Domstifts-  
 bibliothek, 13b: 149–50  
 Milan, Duomo, Libroni 101–14  
 Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia 318: 40  
 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabtei-  
 lung:  
   cgm 716 (Tegernsee Cantional) 124, 127–8,  
   130–1, 138–40  
   clm 4660: 134

- clm 5023: 128  
 clm 14274 (St. Emmeram Codex): 206, 210,  
     212  
 Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. lat. 9: 144  
 Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, 46: 128  
 Opava, Knihovna Slezského zemského muzea, RC 4:  
     210, 212  
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146: 24, 58  
 Porrentruy, Bibliothèque cantonale Jurassienne 18:  
     84 n. 20  
 Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 7022 (Lviv  
     fragments) 152–3  
 Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu:  
     A 59.3: 134  
     M 104: 134  
     fond Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, Cim 4  
         (St Vitus Troper) 75–76 (Pl. 3.1),  
         77–87, 94–100  
 Prague, Národní archiv, 376: 203, 206, 211, 213  
 Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky  
     59 R 5116: 204–5, 211, 213  
     I G 39: 134  
     III D 10: 124, 127–8  
     V H 11: 130–1  
     VI B 24: 211, 213  
     VI C 20a: 211, 213  
     XIV A 19: 89 (Pl. 3.4)  
     XIV B 13: 90, 91 (Pl. 3.5)  
     XIV D 12: 75, 77 (Pl. 3.2); contents 78–80;  
         illuminations 79; Western influ-  
         ence in 80; origin of 86–7  
     XIV G 17: 124, 127–8, 137  
     XIV G 46: 92, 93 (Pl. 3.6)  
 Prague, Národní muzeum, České muzeum hudby,  
 hudebně-historické oddělení:  
     II C 7 (Jistebnice Cationale) 203, 206, 210,  
         212  
     XII F 14 (Jistebnice Gradual) 211, 213  
     XIII A 2: 202, 211, 213  
 Prague, Památník národního písemnictví (Strahov),  
     D.A.III.17: 151  
 Santiago de Compostela, Codex Calixtinus 51  
 Tours, Bibliothèque municipale 927: 56  
 Třeboň, Státní oblastní archiv, MS A 4: 211, 213  
 Trento, Archivio Diocesano, MS 93: 279 (Ex. 12.1)  
 Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 322/1992: 147, 203, 210, 212  
 Ústí nad Orlicí, Státní okresní archiv, A 3 (Vysoké  
     Mýto fragments): 148 (Pl. 6.1), 149, 203, 206, 208–9,  
     211, 213  
 Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 432 (4 F 16):  
     222, 223 (Pl. 9.1–2), 224 (Pl. 9.3), 225, 226  
     (Pl. 9.4), 231  
 Voraú, Chorherrenstift, 401: 134–5  
 Vyšší Brod, Knihovna cisterciáckého kláštera:  
     42 ('Hohenfurter Liederhandschrift') 203,  
         206, 210, 212  
     65: 147  
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek:  
     Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (*W*) 52, 54, 64  
     Cod. Guelf. 1028 Helmst.: 222, 223  
         (Pl. 9.1–2), 224 (Pl. 9.3), 225, 226  
         (Pl. 9.4), 228–9, 231  
     Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (*W*) 47–9  
         (Ex.1.4–5), 54, 64  
     Cod. Guelf. 30.9.2 Aug. 4<sup>o</sup>: 210, 212  
 Wrocław, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne i Biblioteka  
     Kapitulna, 58: 128  
 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I.F.269:  
     210, 212  
*Maria triuni gerula* 129–31, 139–40  
 Marti, Corina 273  
 Martini, Giambattista 269  
 Martini, Johannes 103  
 Mary and Eve 122  
 Mascardi, Giacomo 160, 168, 177, 184  
 Masecki, Marcin 278  
 Masotti, Paolo 159, 177  
 Mass Propers, Lutheran 244  
 Master of Golgotha 208  
 Matteo da Perugia 101  
 Maximilian II, Emperor 235  
 Medici, Carlo de', Cardinal, dedication to 177  
 Medici, Cosimo I de', dedication to 175, 179  
 melody:  
     uniformity of in Windesheim Congregation 222–7  
     chant, change in 45 (Ex. 1.2), 46  
 meme theory 257–8  
 memory:  
     collective musical 17–33  
     cultural, in music 20–7  
     of genre 141  
 Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix 250–1  
 Merkley, Paul and Lora 105  
 Merulo, Claudio 263–4  
*Metaphisice salūt – In tempesto – Ordo nature* 212  
 Milan, Duomo:  
     emblem in Librone I (Pl. 4.1) 106  
     music and musicians at 101–14  
 Milan, printing of choirbooks in 162–3  
 Modern Devotion (*devotio moderna*) 196, 216; reform  
     and rejection of the past 26  
*Moduliseumus omnes* 212  
 Molli, Giovanni de 101  
 Momigliano, Arnaldo 38  
 Morales, Cristóbal de 164, 174, 178  
 Mortaro, Francesco 270  
 motet:  
     Central European 146–55  
     in mensural theory 142–5  
     motet cycles 103  
     polytextual, in Central Europe 141–55  
     quoted in treatises 143–4  
*motetti missales* 103, 110  
 Mouton, Jean 103, 174  
 music:  
     as gift from God 238  
     as a historical medium 39–41  
     as history 42, 45–6

- in the liturgy, justification of 238  
of the past in the present 17–33  
written 52–3, 59–61, 74
- musica mundana, humana, and instrumentalis* 56–7
- Mutii, Nicolò 160, 171, 177
- Müntzer, Thomas 194
- N**
- Naples, printing of choirbooks in 163
- Navarro, Giovanni 174
- neumes:
- German 87; on staves 89 (Pl. 3.4)
  - Lotharingian, in St Vitus Troper 82–3
- Nicholas of Cusa, Cardinal 218, 231
- Niebuhr, Berthold Georg 37–9
- notation 26
- Bohemian staff 92, 93 (Pl. 3.6)
  - evolution of 24
  - full black 199–200, 206–13
  - German Gothic, on staves 90, 91 (Pl. 3.5)
  - German neumatic 75, 77, 83
  - Lotharingian neumatic 82–5
  - modernization of 75
  - neumatic, on 4-line staves 75–93
  - neumatic, in St Vitus Troper 75–8
  - in St Vitus Troper 82–5
  - staff 40; aborted introduction of 88
- Nox precessit* 86
- O**
- O admirabile Veneris idolum* 40
- O Maria mater pia* 46, 47 (Ex. 1.4), 49–50
- O Maria virgo davitica/O Maria maris stella* 144
- O quantum sollicitor* 131–5
- O regina lux divina* (= *Mundo deus nunc illustra* = *Ut igitur plenitudo*) 212
- O Roma nobilis* 39–40
- O salutaris hostia* 212
- Obrecht, Jacob 103
- obsolescence, notion of musical 18–20
- Offertories with verses 82
- Offertory verses in St Vitus Troper 78–80, 94–100
- old and new, coexistence of 42
- OMNES melisma 66
- Omnis in lacrimas* 54
- Omnis nunc microcosmus – Omnis mundus* 212
- Opdebeeck, Olivier 264
- Ordinary tropes 78; in St Vitus Troper 80–2
- organum, liturgical ordering of 64
- organum purum* 65
- Ortiz, Diego 178
- ostinato 45–6
- P**
- Pacciotto, Pietro Paolo 158
- Pacelli, Asprilio 160, 171–2, 176
- Paciotto, Pietro Paolo 174, 183
- Palermitano, Mauro, *Missa Fa sol la re* 167
- Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da:
- and Fux 249
  - Missa Papae Marcelli* 261
  - Missa Ut re mi fa sol la* 167
  - printed Masses 160, 164, 174, 176, 183, 187
- Paminger, Leonhard 196
- Pamphilij, Cardinal Benedetto, dedication to 177
- Passions, printing of 172–3
- past, musical
- awareness of 249–55
  - revival of 250–5
- Patalas, Aleksandra 263
- Paul III, Pope, dedication to 164, 175
- Paul V, Pope, dedication to 159, 164, 177
- Paulirinus, Paulus 143, 202
- Pellegrini, Vincenzo 162, 178, 180; *Pontificalia Ambrosianae ecclesiae* 112, 113 (Pl. 4.2), 114
- performance practice, historically informed 275
- Perizonius, Jacobus 37–8
- Perotinus 53
- persistence of tradition, associated with distant regions 20
- Perz, Mirosław 281
- Peter the Chanter 54
- Peter of Nemours 55
- Peter von Arberg, *Große Tageweise* 129
- Petrucci, Ottaviano 166
- Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz 141, 202, 208
- Central European motets 149–55
  - in contemporary performances 253–4
  - early compositions 206
  - Kyrie *Fons bonitatis* in Bastarda's preparatory material 279 (Pl. 12.3)
  - Kyrie *Fons bonitatis* in Trento 93: 279 (Ex. 12.1)
  - nationality 274
  - Panis exvus/Pange exul/Panis ecce/Patribus veteribus/Tantum ergo* 153, 212
  - Pax eterna – Jacob scalam – Terribilis* 212
  - Pneuma eucaristiarum/Veni vere/Dator eia/Paraclito tripudia* 149–51 (Ex. 6.3), 152
  - as a Polish composer 280–1
  - Predulcis eurus turbinis* 212
  - Prelustri elucencia* 207
  - Probitate eminentem/Ploditando exarare* 152–3 (Ex. 6.4), 154 (Ex. 6.5), 155
  - Probleumata enigmatum* 203, 212
  - recordings 273–84
- Philip Augustus, King of France 55
- Philip II of Spain, dedications to 160, 175, 177
- Philip the Chancellor 54, 56
- Philippe de Vitry (?), *Impudenter circuiui/Virtutibus laudabilis/Alma redemptoris* 144
- Pipelare, Matthaeus 174
- plainchant, Bohemian tradition of 200
- Plocek, Václav 135
- Pokrzywiński, Tomasz 273, 276
- polychoral music in choirbook format 169–73
- polychorality:
- performance practice or compositional technique? 267

- Roman 260  
and separation of choirs 266–7  
terms for 259, 261  
Venetian 259–61
- polyphony:  
criticism of 195  
semi-improvised 104–6
- Porta, Costanzo 178, 185; *Missa La sol fa re mi* 167
- practice, musical, as historical material 42
- Prague  
St George's monastery 90  
St Vitus Cathedral 75; manuscripts made for 81
- Prague diocese, musical scripts in 75–93
- Prague University and music 142, 201–3
- Premonstratensian uniformity 215
- printers, music 157–87
- printing:  
of liturgical books in Milan 108  
*see also* choirbooks printed in Italy
- processions, forbidden to nuns 227–9
- progress, notion of 29
- Pueri natiuitatem* 210
- Pullois, Jean 103
- Q**
- Que est ista* 210
- Quem elegit* 210
- quilisma*:  
German 83–4  
Lotharingian 83
- quotation 50; musical 46; *see also* refrains
- R**
- Radewyns, Florens 216
- Radin, Max 118
- Raninen, Sanna 157, 164
- Ranuccio I Farnese, dedication to 177
- rearrangement, musical 46
- Rees, Abraham 269
- Reese, Gustave 200
- reform:  
of chant 40–1  
goal of Lutheran music 27  
and reformation 192–3  
and rejection of the past 26  
religious, and links with the past 191–7  
as restoration 191
- Reformation, consequences of for music 27
- reformations, role of music in 193–7
- refrains 50, 55
- Regi regum Domino* 212
- Reinso, Abbot Francisco de, dedication to 175
- repertory, musical, and retention of older works 196–7
- repetition and cultural phenomena 257–8
- restitution, concept of 191
- Resultet gens angelica* 212
- revival of earlier music 27–9
- Richafort, Jean 178
- rite, Ambrosian, printed music for 162–3
- Ritter, Andreas 153–5
- Riva, Bonvesin de la, *Vita scolastica* 111
- Robletti, Giovanni Battista 159, 164, 177
- Rodio, Rocco 163, 174, 180, 187
- Roesner, Edward 65
- Rolla, Giorgio 162, 181
- Roman de Fauvel* 24, 58
- Roman de la Rose*, reception of 25
- Roman de Perceforest*, reception of 25
- Roman vs. Gallican chant 23, 40–1
- Rome:  
printing of choirbooks in 158–61  
significance of 41
- Rosselli, Petrus 174
- Rusticucci, Cardinal Hieronymus, dedication to 175
- S**
- St Vitus Troper (Cim 4), musical scripts in 74–85
- salmi spezzadi* 266, 268
- Salve Regina* 129, 131; tropes 124, 128, 130
- Samsonis honestissima* 210
- Sanctus *Pater deus iudex* 82
- Santa Croce, Francesco di 262–3
- Sartori, Claudio 102, 110
- Savonarola, Girolamo 195
- Scacchi, Marco 159, 176; *Missa pacis* 263
- Schmid, Bernhold 147
- Schmidt, Thomas 160
- Schola Gregoriana Pragensis 284
- Scientes quia hora est* 86
- Scotto, Girolamo 166
- script, musical, imported 42
- Scripture, as basis of Lutheran Confession 237
- Sederunt principes* 67
- Sedit angelus* 223 (Pl. 9.2)
- sequences:  
German 245  
Latin, in the Lutheran church 245
- Sequentia (ensemble) 280
- Sforza, Galeazzo Maria 109
- Sforza, Gian Galeazzo 105
- Sforza, Ludovico 109
- Sforza family, music associated with 108–10
- Shils, Edward 119
- Sigismund II Augustus of Poland, dedication to 175
- Silent Night*, tradition of 22–3
- simplicity, desire for 26
- singers, French, in Italy 110
- singing, as belonging to *adiaphora* 237
- Sixtus V, Pope, dedication to 175
- Smith, Hopkinson 280
- soggetto cavato* Masses 167
- Sol eclipsim patitur* 54
- Soldi, Luca Antonio 159, 168, 177, 184
- solmization syllables 40; Masses based on 167
- song, Latin, in Central Europe 121–40
- songs:  
as carriers of historical knowledge 38–9  
secular, adapted to liturgy 128, 130–1, 135–6  
spiritual 121–40; adapted to liturgy 131, 135–6

- Soriano, Francesco 159, 164–5, 174, 176, 183; *Missa super voces musicales* 167
- Spain, printed choirbooks in 165
- Spangenberg, Johann, *Cantionale* 233–4, 239–46
- Spataro, Giovanni 103
- Speratus, Paulus 244
- Spunar, Pavel 78, 82
- Steterburg 221–2
- Steude, Wolfram 196
- Surgite sancti dei* 225, 226 (Pl. 9.4)
- symbolism of the number 11 154
- Szamburski, Paweł 273, 276–81
- T**
- Taberniel, Artus 165
- Tacitus 38
- Tarditi, Paolo 159, 176
- Taruskin, Richard 19, 193
- technology and revival of earlier music 28
- tenor repetition 66
- tenorista* 105
- Tiburtino, Giuliano 166
- Tinctoris, Johannes 103
- Tini, Simone 162, 181
- Tornieri, Giacomo 158, 169, 183
- Towne, Gary 262
- Trabaci, Giovanni Maria 163, 172, 180
- tradition:
- change within 118–19
  - and the Church 119
  - definitions of 21
  - distinguished from heritage 118
  - in historical research 117
  - and identity 120
  - preservation of 119
  - problem of 117–20
  - and social conditions 120
  - and stability 119
  - and universities 119–20
- traditions, liturgical 22
- treatises on mensural theory 142–4, 206; Central European 201, 203–4
- Triller, Valentin 283
- tropes 122, 124, 128, 136, 241–3; *see also* Ordinary tropes
- Tuba sacre fidei/In arboris/Virgo sum* 144
- types used by printers of Italian choirbooks 182–7
- U**
- university students and music 55–6
- Urban VIII, Pope 165; dedication to 159, 177
- Utraquist Church 192, 194
- music books 199
  - older artistic styles 208
- Utraquist communities 26–7
- Utraquist musical repertory 197
- Utraquist sources of polyphony 199–213
- Utraquists, Czech, repertory of 146–9
- V**
- Vancouver Cantata Singers 264
- Varro 38
- Vecchi, Orfeo 162, 180
- Veni sancte spiritus* 241
- Veni sancte spiritus/Da gaudiorum premia/Veni sancte* 150, 151 (Ex. 6.2), 152–3, 203, 204–5 (Pl. 8.1), 206
- Venice:
- and polychorality 259–61
  - printing of choirbooks in 161–2
- versus*, polyphonic 51
- Viadana, Ludovico da 161, 178, 185
- Victoria, Tomás Luis de 158, 166, 174, 176, 178, 182–3
- Viderunt omnes* 56, 62
- Vidmanová, Anežka 135
- Vincenti, Giacomo 166
- Vinci, Pietro, *Missa La sol fa mi re ut* 167
- Virgo plena graciae* 50
- Vitali, Filippo 165, 176
- Vitus, Dean of St Vitus Cathedral, Prague 75, 87–9
- Vivanco, Sebastián de 165
- Vlhová-Wörner, Hana 80–2, 86–7
- Voce cordis/Pulchre Syon* 148 (Pl. 6.1), 149
- W**
- Wagner, Richard 250
- Walter, Johann, Wittenberg hymn book 241
- Weerbeke, Gaspar van 101, 103, 109; *Christi mater ave* 111
- Wegman, Rob 105
- Weisse, Michael 244
- Wenceslas I, King 89
- Werrecore, Matthias Hermann 112
- Wessler, Jonathan 243
- Wilhelm V, Duke of Bavaria, dedication to 175
- Willaert, Adrian 263, 268
- and double-choir music 258
  - salmi spezzati* 269
- Windesheim Congregation 216–18
- ceremonies 229–31
  - liturgy of monastic houses 215–32
  - processions 227–9
  - reform 218
  - uniformity of liturgy 218–22; exceptions 227–31
- Władysław IV Wasa 159; dedication to 177
- Wycliffe, John 195
- Z**
- Zacheus arboris* 210
- Zannetti, Francesco 158
- Zarlino, Gioseffo 269; on double-choir music 268
- Zophia nascifertur – O quam pulcra – Magi videntes* 212
- Zwingli, Huldrych 195