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MUSIC FRAGMENTS AND MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

ALTA CAPELLA

MUSIC PRINTING IN ANTWERP AND EUROPE
IN THE 16TH CENTURY

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Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

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INTRODUCTION

The Alamire Foundation, International Centre for the Study of Music in the Low Countries, is a collaboration between the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven and Musica, Flemish Centre for Early Music in Peer. Founded in 1991, it set out a specific area of research with a distinct methodology. The subject of its research is musical life in the Low Countries within its historical context, based upon systematic archival research, the results of which are treated according to interdisciplinary and comparative methods. Finally, this local musical life is put into its broader European context.

The results offer a number of new musicological insights which may derive from particular discoveries as well as from the assembly and interpretation of all available evidence. Our ultimate goal is to help the development of (historical) performance practice and to enter into a dialogue with the performers. This research can thus take on an important social relevance at different levels, including the production and supervision of major concerts and recordings.

In 1995 the Alamire Foundation organised two international colloquia which, to a certain degree, met these objectives. Its proceedings appear in part in this second yearbook. First of all there is the two-day colloquium concerning (mostly) newly-discovered music fragments from the Low Countries which took place on 23 and 24 June as a continuation of the exhibition *Bedreigde Klanken? Muziekfragmenten uit de Lage Landen/Endangered Sounds? Music Fragments from the Low Countries* at the former Teutonic Commandery of Alden Biesen, cultural centre of the Flemish Community. David Fallows took the chair. As a follow-up to the exhibition an anthology and a short catalogue were published.

One of the results of the exhibition, colloquium and publications was that in the course of the following year and a half even more 'discoveries' were brought to light, often pieces from private collections. We are convinced that still more pieces will emerge from such sources during the coming years. While these discoveries consist largely of mere fragments, these quite often represent important glimpses of a collection which must have been considerable at the time. Our aim is to make these documents available for further research - an objective which lay also behind our *Anthology of Music Fragments from the Low Countries (Middle Ages - Renaissance). Polyphony, Monophony and Slate Fragments in Facsimile*, Leuven/Peer, 1995 - and therefore this yearbook

also contains a number of high-quality reproductions of newly-discovered works, accompanied by short - and sometimes more elaborate - commentaries.

The most striking discoveries include a parchment sheet with three motets in *Ars Antiqua* style, a parchment sheet from La Palma which includes a presumable 14th-century *Saltarello* - and which will undoubtedly remain the object of research for musicologists for some time to come - a contrafactum upon the well-known lament *Nymphes des bois* on the death of Ockeghem (but intended here for the deceased Josquin *Josquiniana sepultura*, and quite possibly the earliest work for harpsichord/virginal from the Southern Netherlands.

Since the exhibition was brought to a close with the 12th annual *Dag van Oude Muziek* (Early music Day), and as one of the main themes of this day was *Alta Capella*, the theme of music for wind instruments was also on the agenda of the second day of the Alden Biesen colloquium. Many of the contributions on this theme have already appeared in print elsewhere and therefore it will receive rather limited attention in this yearbook.

More space, on the other hand, has been given to papers from the colloquium which was held on 23, 24 and 25 August 1995 at the *Elzenveld* cultural centre in Antwerp, organised by the Festival of Flanders (Antwerp) and the Université Libre de Bruxelles. In addition to many new items of interest these contributions contain many insights dealing with European music printing in general and that of Antwerp in particular. The following year (29 June - 29 September 1996) an exhibition about Antwerp music prints was held within the same festival, including a catalogue (see p. 13 of this yearbook).

The Alamire Foundation, in collaboration with other organisations, has many plans for the future. In 1996, again working with the Festival of Flanders (Antwerp), we organised a colloquium on Giaches de Wert and his time and on the phenomenon of musicians migrating to and from the Low Countries (ca. 1400-1600). The results of this colloquium will appear in Yearbook III. Yearbook IV (1998) will contain the proceedings of the colloquium of 24 and 25 October 1997 on the role of the collegiate churches in the musical life of the Low Countries and of Europe as a whole. Yearbook V (1999) will contain papers from the colloquium on the relationship between plainchant and polyphony (20-22 November 1998). An exhibition on Petrus Alamire and his time is planned for 1999, linked to another colloquium and those proceedings will be published in the year 2000.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank a number of individuals and

institutions for their help and co-operation, in particular Lieve Schaubroek of the Festival of Flanders, Kees Vellekoop and Jaap van Benthem of the Rijksuniversiteit in Utrecht, the Alden Biesen Cultural Centre and the F.W.O. for financial support.

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AVANT-PROPOS

Depuis 1994, le 'Festival van Vlaanderen - Antwerpen' a l'excellente idée de concevoir les programmes de ses concerts autour d'un thème qui fait simultanément l'objet d'un colloque. En 1995, la commémoration du quatre centième anniversaire de la mort du compositeur et éditeur Hubert Waelrant a incité le comité organisateur à mettre en évidence la musique polyphonique qui a été imprimée à Anvers au XVI^e siècle. À côté de la série de concerts illustrant la diversité et la richesse de ce répertoire, une rencontre scientifique autour du thème 'The Antwerp Music Printers in the 16th Century' a eu lieu du 23 au 25 août au 'Centrum Elzenveld'. Le 'Festival van Vlaanderen - Antwerpen' nous en a confié la direction scientifique et a mis à notre disposition les moyens nécessaires pour réaliser le projet. Un subsidie du 'Nationaal Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek' a permis d'augmenter le nombre de conférenciers étrangers - venus d'Allemagne, des États-Unis, de France, de Grande-Bretagne, du Japon et des Pays-Bas - et de publier *in extenso* l'ensemble des communications. Nous sommes d'ailleurs particulièrement heureux que presque tous les auteurs nous aient fourni leur texte qui est parfois considérablement remanié par rapport à la version présentée oralement. Certes, nous aurions préféré que la publication suive de plus près le colloque mais la réalisation de tout ouvrage collectif pose une série de problèmes pratiques sur lesquels il est inutile d'insister car ils sont oubliés dès la parution du livre.

Que la ville d'Anvers ait été pendant quelque cent cinquante ans le centre le plus important des anciens Pays-Bas pour ce qui est de l'édition musicale, nul ne l'ignore. Le domaine s'est même révélé trop vaste pour que l'on ait pu envisager d'en aborder toutes les facettes au cours d'un colloque de deux jours et demi. Il nous a dès lors semblé opportun d'en limiter le sujet à la musique polyphonique imprimée à Anvers au XVI^e siècle. Certes, cet aspect est incontestablement celui qui a déjà le plus retenu l'attention des musicologues¹ mais le nombre même des éditeurs actifs avant 1600 et la diversité de leurs répertoires respectifs - admirablement mis en valeur par les concerts, soulignons-le!

¹ Cf. J.A. STELLFELD, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*, Bruxelles, 1949; K. FORNEY, *Tielman Susato, Sixteenth-Century Music Printer*, Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, Lexington, 1978; U. MEISSNER, *Der Antwerpener Notendrucker Tylman Susato*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1967; R.L. WEAVER, *A Descriptive Bibliographical Catalog of the Music Printed by Hubert Waelrant and Jan de Laet et Waelrant and Laet, Music Publishers in Antwerp's Golden Age*, Warren, 1994 et 1995; et G. SPIESSENS & H. VANHULST, *Antwerpse Muziekdrukken, vocale en instrumentale polyfonie (16de-18de eeuw)*, Antwerpen, 1996.

- nous a convaincu de nous intéresser à cette période. Nous espérons néanmoins que nous aurons l'occasion de lancer dans quelques années une initiative semblable au sujet des imprimeurs anversoises du XVII^e siècle.

Les dix-huits communications réunies dans ce volume, se divisent en trois grandes rubriques. La première concerne les éditeurs anversoises proprement dits et le prétexte même du colloque explique pourquoi Waelrant en Laet dominant quelque peu dans cette section, quoique Susato, Plantin et Phalèse retiennent également l'attention. Il y est question tant du matériel typographique utilisé dans l'ensemble des anciens Pays-Bas, que de problèmes bio-bibliographiques, ou encore d'études du répertoire vocal - les chansons françaises et flamandes, avant tout - et instrumental, voire d'une édition particulière.

Les études comparatives constituent un deuxième sujet de réflexion car on ne peut cerner au mieux la spécificité des imprimeurs anversoises sans s'intéresser à ce qui se passe à la même époque dans d'autres villes. C'est évidemment Venise qui a tout particulièrement retenu l'attention parce qu'en Italie l'édition musicale est concentrée dans la cité des Doges. Quelques firmes s'y livrent visiblement une concurrence qui n'a guère d'équivalent dans les anciens Pays-Bas sauf pendant la décennie 1550-1560, lorsque Susato et les associés Waelrant et Laet sont actifs à Anvers, tandis que Pierre Phalèse l'est à Louvain. Dans la mesure où, vers la fin du XVI^e siècle, les mêmes madrigaux s'impriment à quelques années d'intervalle dans plusieurs villes, l'attitude des différents éditeurs à l'égard de ce répertoire, auquel ils donnent réellement une diffusion internationale, est à la fois révélatrice de goûts particuliers et de tendances générales.

Autant un colloque est censé réunir les spécialistes d'un sujet particulier, autant il doit faire une place à de jeunes chercheurs qui vont nécessairement contribuer à renouveler les approches et les méthodes d'investigation. Leurs contributions donnent parfois l'impression de n'avoir guère de rapport avec les imprimeurs de musique anversoises et la troisième rubrique pourra sembler à d'aucuns quelque peu hétéroclite. En fait, on y traite tantôt de sujets qui n'ont pas encore été suffisamment étudiés pour Anvers - le mécénat et les liens familiaux ou autres qui existent entre les différents imprimeurs, par exemple - et tantôt il s'agit vraiment de 'free papers' qui abordent des sujets restés jusqu'ici inexplorés.

À la liste des sources de bonheur qu'Arcadelt chante dans *Vitam quae faciunt beatiorum* - sur la célèbre épigramme de Martial - tout auteur ou éditeur d'un ouvrage collectif est tenté d'ajouter les sentiments ressentis lors de la parution du livre en question. La gratitude à l'égard de tous ceux qui ont rendu possible la publication s'y mêle à la satisfaction de voir la réalisation concrète d'un

projet que l'on voulait ambitieux, à l'inquiétude face à l'accueil que le monde scientifique réserva à l'ouvrage et ... à l'envie de s'imposer d'autres défis.

Henri Vanhulst
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MUSIC FRAGMENTS AND MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

A NEW TROUVÈRE FRAGMENT IN THE HAGUE¹

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The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 72 J 17 is a parchment volume in small format containing Latin sermons, beginning with 1 August and ending with 12 November. At the time of its acquisition by the Royal Library in 1823, the librarian, Charles S. Flament (Flamand), suggested that the sermons were composed in the time between the canonization of St Clare (11-12 August 1255) and of St Thomas Aquinas (7 March 1323). The copy, in several hands, was made in northern France during the first half of the 14th century. Inside the front cover is an old binder's leaf that preserves the words and music of two unattributed trouvère chansons, in a northern text hand no later than ca. 1300.² A memorandum by Flament, presently kept inside the front cover, observes that this binder's leaf is probably older than the manuscript itself, and is "de quelque intérêt". It is presently the second leaf of a sextern, the first leaf of which is glued to the inside cover, under its leather turnings. The remaining four leaves bear a partial table of contents, the beginning of which is missing; it commences with the text of fol. 136. This gathering was the last material to be incorporated before the existing binding. The signature was sewn and the superfluous leaves trimmed off along the stitching, leaving six stubs. It is attached to the book with four stitches.³

When the theological catalogue of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek was published in 1922, the fact that the little book contained music was mentioned, but the annotation has not been pursued further by scholars.⁴ The Library had obtained the book when, under the auspices of King William I, the collection of Chevalier-Primat Joseph Désiré Lupus of Belgium was acquired for the Koninklijke Bibliotheek. The circumstances of this purchase, which included books, manuscripts, paintings, coins, seals, and other artifacts, have been

¹ The authors thank Dr. Hendrik van der Werf and Dr. Keith Busby for suggestions offered during the preparation of this paper, and the staff of the Department of Special Collections of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek for their generosity and kindness. For a facsimile see E. SCHREURS, *Anthologie van muziekfragmenten uit de Lage Landen*, Leuven-Peer, 1995.

² Dr. Malcolm B. Parkes is thanked for examining a photograph of the music leaf.

³ Dr. Jan Storm van Leeuwen, Keeper of Bindings at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, is thanked for his expert analysis of the particulars of the binding and contents of the manuscript.

⁴ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae, I: Libri theologici*, Hagae comitum, 1922, no. 511, p. 131. The entry reads: *Sermones de festis (voor den tijd van Petrus ad vincula, 1 Aug., tot Martinus, 12 Nov.) Perk. 193 Bl. 152 x 113. 1^{ste} helft 14de eeuw. Op het schutblad aan het begin van het deel: twee Fransche gedichten met muziek, pl. m. 1300.*

discussed by Leendert Brummel.⁵ Brummel suggests that Lupus had amassed the greater part of his possessions from the spoils of libraries in northern France and Belgium during the dissolution of the monasteries at the time of the French Revolution.

Lupus, in advanced years and suffering the onset of senile dementia, claimed that he had amassed his 'Museum' of about 3,200 items over a span of forty years. If he kept any records of these transactions, they have not been preserved. An amateur, of extroverted temperament, Lupus tended to exaggerate the cost, dating, rarity, and provenance of his possessions, as is evident from the catalogue he prepared for the royal representatives who negotiated the purchase.⁶ Nevertheless, his manuscript holdings, consisting primarily of religious codices (missals, books of hours, and so forth), remain of extraordinary interest.

The rich library of Lupus included the delightfully illustrated *Bible moralisée* that had been made for the bibliophile Antoine, styled *le Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne*; which was described by Lupus as *la bible de la Toison d'or moralisée à l'usage de Philippe le Bon*.⁷ This Bible was among the books examined by Achille Jubinal, Professor at the University of Montpellier, during the visit he paid in 1844 for the purpose of making a report on manuscript holdings in The Hague.⁸ Jubinal was shown other manuscripts that had belonged to Lupus, but not the document which is the subject of our discussion, the book of sermons and the fragment of music contained in it. Indeed, Lupus himself had made no mention of the music fragment in his catalogue entry (no. B 68). However, Jubinal does describe an unrelated leaf of trouvère music residing in The Hague, one which is no longer extant. Among the sigla formerly assigned to the trouvère sources, it had been variously designated as Ms. E or H, but these sigla now refer to other manuscripts.⁹ It was in the private possession of a lawyer named van der Berghe, and had consisted of three jeux-partis with music, copied in double columns. These texts, but not the music, were published by Jubinal in an appendix to his survey.¹⁰

⁵ L. BRUMMEL, *Joseph Désiré Lupus et sa collection de manuscrits*, in J.P. GUMBERT and M. J. M. DE HAAN (ed.), *Miniatures, Scripts, Collections. Essays presented to G. I. Lieftinck*, 4 (*Litterae textuales*, 4), Amsterdam, 1976, pp. 112-119.

⁶ This catalogue and a fair copy (prepared by Flament) of the portion concerned with the books and manuscripts are held in the Department of Special Collections of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

⁷ A.W. BYVANCK, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale et du Musée Meermannno-Westreenianum à La Haye*, Paris, 1924, pp. 49-51 (no. 18; Ms. 76 G 7).

⁸ A. JUBINAL, *Lettres à M. le comte de Salvandy sur quelques-uns des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de La Haye*, Paris, 1846, pp. 7-8.

⁹ A. JEANROY, *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen âge*, (*Les classiques français du moyen âge*, 2e série, 18) Paris, 1974, p. 3; E. Doss-Quinby, *The Lyrics of the Trouvères, a Research Guide (1970-1990)*, New York - London, 1994, p. 7.

¹⁰ JUBINAL, *Lettres*, pp. 25, 91-95.

The book of sermons which is the subject of this study must be counted as one of the Lupus Collection's more unusual items. It is bound in white leather which has been treated, so that its variety is uncertain. It is most likely deer-skin. Bindings in the skins of wild animals are more often found in the 12th or 13th century; that this one is undyed suggests a conservative milieu, such as a cloister. It is fastened with a strap, which was the practice from the 12th century onward, into the 15th century. The closing on this strap is attached front-to-back, so that the book rests on its pin, a practice more often encountered in southern Europe or England than in northern France. The original binding is probably late 14th century. It has been stamped and the marks rubbed with blacking (not the more usual neutral or brown markings), probably in the late 15th century. The binding was evidently reworked and repaired in the second half of the 15th century, with pigskin, a less durable leather. The capital headband and the visible marks of the kettle-stitching on the spine are characteristic of the 15th century. Both Lupus and Flament made notes on the turnings of the inside front cover: *Tractatus Sermonalis. Scriptus sue...* (by Lupus); *Sermones de festis / per annum* (by Flament). The book was repaired by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in 1974, again with pigskin. The music flyleaf, which had been glued over the turnings of the front cover (most likely in the 15th century), and had come loose before Lupus acquired the book, may have been stitched or re sewn at this time. No material which may have been removed during this repair was preserved.

In the body of the manuscript, there is evidence of trimming to the present size in the latter portion. The hand changes on fol. 185v, and the trim is apparent on fol. 186v. Thereafter, the texts are written in several hands. Evidently, the music leaf was introduced as repair material for the first signature, the incomplete table of contents. This can be determined by the size of the slits made for the stitching. Normally, these slits decrease as the cuts descend through the gathering. However, the slits in the music leaf are smaller, even though it is on the outer side of the signature. Therefore, it must have been added later, by another binder. The parchment fragment measures 150 x 110 mm at present. The recto bears a Roman numeral at the top, *ccxxv*, in a late 14th-century or early 15th-century hand. This number does not correspond to a lacuna in any of the known manuscript sources. The left edge of the music leaf, that had been turned and sewn, has probably lost approximately 2 cm of material; the same estimate may reasonably be made for the right edge, which is both trimmed and torn. The loss at the bottom of the leaf is difficult to estimate, but it may be as much as the space four or five lines of writing might occupy, about 4 cm. What remains of the left edge, now concealed among the stubs of the signature, preserves an unexecuted rubrication cue, for the letter C.

The music fragment bears evidence of three compositions. A single line of writing, the concluding verses of a chanson unidentifiable at present, appears

below the folio number.¹¹ Then follows a chanson, for which the music is virtually complete, but part of the full text is lost owing to the tear on the right side of the leaf and the cropping at the bottom. This poem, *C'est merveille se chascuns n'est amans*, has neither textual nor musical concordances. It is to this composition that the unrubricated letter C that was hidden in the stubs belongs; the black letter E that aligns with the music has been written large. No space was left for the C where text and music begin, the upper left of the page; this suggests that the C would have had a prominent position, on the left margin. Two rubricated letters are found within what remains of the text (a transcription, reflecting the layout on the leaf, is given in appendix 1).

The setting is in the courtly style, without refrain. It is largely syllabic, making use of only five note-forms. The virga is predominant, with podatus, clivis, climacus, and one plica (no punctum). On the left side, the C-clefs are faint or slightly trimmed, but can still be discerned. A bit of the music has been trimmed from the right side of the third staff, following a virga, over the word reconstructed as *l'entente*. However, the left angle of a following rhombus remains, so that the neume should read as a three-note figure, a climacus, to correspond to one syllable of the text (see at letter a). This reading is also in keeping with the conduct of the song. No further reconstruction of the melody was deemed necessary.

On the other hand, the reading of the text is more problematic. The later strophes have been cropped or torn, and even in the first strophe the right-hand trim, some small holes and some damage due to moisture or abrasion have made decipherment difficult or impossible. Nevertheless, the conventions of trouvère poetics provide the grounds for plausible conjectures for the missing or damaged passages (a reconstruction and translation of the poem are given in appendix 2).

The rhyme scheme is 'abab bcc b'. The 'a' and 'b' rhymes are masculine, the 'c' rhyme is feminine (ending in a mute e). Moreover, the same sounds appear at the rhymes in each strophe, making the poem what is called *unissonans* in the Old Occitan manuals. Thus the 'a' rhyme is always -ans, the 'b' rhyme always -er, and the 'c' rhyme always -ente, throughout the poem. The rhyme scheme of the *envoi*, 'cc b', repeats that of the last three lines of the stanzas. The plan of the stanzas is 10 10 10 10 10 7' 10' 10. The music scribe has been careful to leave space between the virga C over the first syllable of *mettre* and the virga D over the following word *en*, indicating that these syllables are elided in the first statement of the 7' line. The same elision applies in the third stanza, at *iestre — en*.

This precise combination of rhyme-scheme and stanza pattern is not attested elsewhere in the extant trouvère repertory.¹² Forty-five poems have Mölk -

Wolfzettel rhyme-scheme no. 1045 (text nos. 1697-1741). Most of them include ten-syllable lines (text nos. 1697-1721, 1726) and five of these have a mix of ten-syllable lines in the first half at least of the stanza, with shorter lines, notably seven-syllable lines, in the *cauda* (text nos. 1715-1719). Of the five songs showing a mix of ten- and seven-syllable lines, three (text nos. 1716-1718) are by Adam de la Halle, and the other two (text nos. 1715, 1719) are anonymous.

The artfulness of this little song, even lacking its full text, is remarkable. Its simplicity is deceptive. The melodic line, encompassing an octave plus the lower semitone, is elegant and well-planned, with a strong orientation around F. The final pitches of each phrase are F, F, F, F, E, A, A, F, so that five of the eight lines of verse end on F. The stepwise progress of the melody makes all the more striking the leap of a fifth, F - C, to heighten the word *douchement* in the first phrase of the *cauda*. The melodic climax, to the upper F, is saved for the penultimate phrase, on the word *servir*, as if to emphasize the poet's conceit of the benefits redounding to those who enter into the service of Love. Aside from the cadence of the last verse of the *cauda*, all verses but one end with the same little three-note gesture (F-E-F), transposed up three tones (A-G-A) for the 'cc' rhyme.

The *envoi* is unusual in that it has three verses, rather than four. The *envoi* repeats the three-note melodic figure of the 'cc' rhyme of the *cauda*, at the same time that its rhyme-syllable, -ente, is made a rhyme-word, *ente*, that is used both as a noun and as a verb. At last, the rhymes on -ente are revealed as the key to the whole song, linking Desire (*l'entente*), the Lady, and *li ente*, the Graft from which Love's good things spring forth. As it stands, the poem does not appear to diverge from its topic by employing other imagery, as is sometimes the case with trouvère texts, but develops its opening conceit by elaboration. The *envoi*, the conclusion of the song, is a distillation of subject and music that might be said to exemplify the concept of *unissonans* as an esthetic goal.

After the conclusion of *C'est merveille*, the text-scribe has written the word *Explicit*, set off by a horizontal dashed line. Then, a rubricated initial that is coordinated with the music begins one of Adam de la Halle's most popular songs, *Puis ke ie sui de l'amerouse loi*. There are eleven sources for this composition, including two sacred contrafacts, eight of which contain music.¹³ The text has been thoroughly studied and widely published. The texts of both of these songs exhibit features that have been termed *scripta picarde*, an inconsistent mixture of Francien and Picard dialect elements, which is common in the

¹¹ "... e n(')aroit on pas tant de deduit ne plaisanche k(')uns amans a d(')amie conquerer."

¹² U. MÖLK - F. WOLFZETTEL, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie lyrique française des origines à 1350*, München, 1972.

¹³ H. SPANKE (ed.), *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*, Leiden, 1955, nos. 1661, 1661a, 1662.

trouvère poetic repertory.¹⁴ In the present example, it is the music that is of primary interest.

By comparison with *C'est merveille*, which is set largely with one note and at most three notes per syllable, *Puis ke ie sui* is composed in a more elaborate style. A comparison of the music of the nine versions of this song, made with the assistance of the compilation of the musical sources published by Hendrik van der Werf, reveals the kinds of inconsistencies typical of the preserved artifacts of an orally-transmitted repertory.¹⁵ All of the sources are more or less related melodically, but the strength of the relationships varies from phrase to phrase. The tonal plan is also more complex than that of *C'est merveille*, which employs only three pitches, F, A, and E, as phrase-endings. Here, at least five different pitches may be used to end phrases. In the twelve known sources, the phrases of *Puis ke ie sui* end on G, C, G, C, G, G, D (or C), C (or B), E, and C (or D). The present version, however, is remarkable in that the first phrase is made to end on F. This is accomplished by reducing the interval on the words *sui — de* from a fourth to a third and adding a reinforcing 'G' to the two 'F's in the flourish on the penultimate syllable, the end of (*amerou*)*se* (see at letter b, appendix 4). An example for comparison, from the *Chansonnier Cangé*, has been provided (letter b').¹⁶ Thus, the number of pitches used as phrase endings is increased to six: F, C, G, D, B, E, and the phrases end as follows: F, C, F, C, G? (probable: there is a hole in the manuscript), G, D, B, E, C.

With respect to the manner of notating the melodies, none of the manuscripts is consistent, either with the other sources or within the repeated phrases required by the form of the chanson. The present version of *Puis ke ie sui* is the most elaborate of all, in that some of the syllables are set with more notes than elsewhere. In writing down the music, the scribe has adopted some of the compound ligatures of mensural notation. This was necessary so that a syllable set with several notes could be coordinated with its music unambiguously, one syllable to a group of pitches. In writing such ligatures, the scribes employed whatever comprised the current vocabulary of shapes, even for this older repertory. However, no rhythmic implications are to be drawn from this manner of writing.

¹⁴ J.H. MARSHALL (ed.), *The Chansons of Adam de la Halle*, Manchester, 1971, pp. 69-72; D.H. NELSON and H. VAN DER WERF (eds.), *The Lyrics and Melodies of Adam de la Halle*, New York, 1985, pp. 60-63. A convenient summary of the dialect of Adam's verse is found in MARSHALL, *Chansons*, pp. 12-14. To compare the versions in our manuscript (stanzas I, II, III) and Marshall's source, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 847 (ms. P), the significant variants are the substitution of the indicative for the subjunctive in l. 18 (a slightly better reading) and vice-versa in l. 24. These variants do not appear in Marshall's concordance for the text (pp. 71-72). The portion of the text preserved in the fragment is transcribed in appendix 3.

¹⁵ H. VAN DER WERF (ed.), *Trouvères-Melodien*, (*Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, 12), Kassel - Basel, 1979, pp. 615-624.

¹⁶ J. BECK (ed.), *Le Chansonnier Cangé: manuscrit français n° 846 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, (*Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi, Première série, Chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères*, 1), New York, 1964, fol. 140r (no. 255).

In the present example, for instance, in the second verse, the binaria over *en* is written 'with opposite propriety', ascender on the left, and with a descender indicating a plica on the right, the whole to be sounded as three notes (letter c). At the comparable place in verse four, the binaria is written 'with propriety', descender on the left, and 'without perfection', descender on the right, over *da(merous)* (letter d). A variant in which three pitches are given for a syllable instead of two is not uncommon. However, the mensural reading of these two binaria would be very different: three semibreves in the first instance, two breves in the second. The interpretation of the rhythm of three semibreves is uncertain without the context of an additional voice. One concludes that the choice of notational figures was made for the sake of convenience, to make clear the underlay of the text.

Some other conventions are also in evidence. For example, the scribe has canceled the descender of the first of the two virgae over *bien doi* (letter e), to conform to the notation at the repetition of the phrase, over *je doi* (letter f). Here, the scribe acknowledges the convention that two notes, of which the second is higher, are to be written punctum - virga; again, no rhythmic implication (viz., brevis - punctum) is intended. The ternaria over (*ensau*)*ci(er)* (letter g) appears as three descending rhombi over (*desi*)*ri(er)* (letter h); both forms were used in the northern French-speaking regions.

It is tempting to consider that Adam de la Halle may be the author of both songs. As has been mentioned, of the forty-five poems sharing the rhyme-scheme of *C'est merveille*, only five have ten-syllable lines in the first half of the stanza and include a seven-syllable line in the second half. Of these, two are anonymous and three are by Adam de la Halle. As far as poetic technique is concerned, Adam is not excluded as a possible author. In the trouvère repertory, only one other poem uses the word *merveille* prominently, in the first line: this is Adam's *Merveille est quel talent j'ai*.¹⁷ Another poem by Adam takes up some of the same ideas as *C'est merveille*.¹⁸ It begins, *Ki a droit weut Amours servir / et canter de goieus talent / penser ne doit as maus k'il sent / mais as biens ki en pueent venir*.

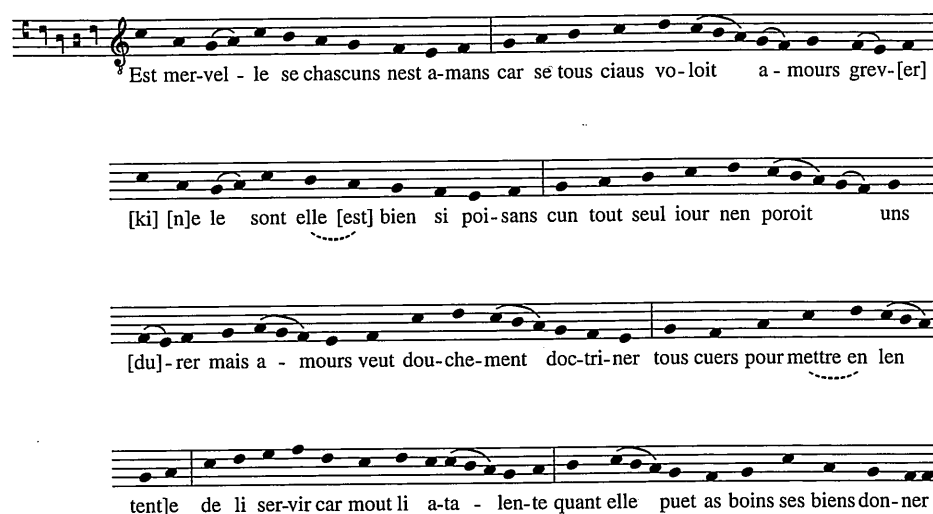
The strongest argument against this conjecture of authorship is the *Explicit* that separates the two songs, as there is no separation between the last line of the song that ends at the top of the recto and the beginning of *C'est merveille*. One possible explanation is that the word *Explicit* was in the scribe's exemplar, and he simply duplicated it in his copy. Nevertheless, the rubricated initial of *Puis ke ie sui* is aligned with the music, not placed in the margin, which suggests that the authorship of these consecutive songs may have been regarded as the same. In addition, Adam typically puts four lines in the *envoi*, as he does in *Puis ke ie sui*, whereas *C'est merveille* has only three. However, two of Adam's

¹⁷ SPANKE, *Bibliographie*, no. 52.

¹⁸ SPANKE, *Bibliographie*, no. 1458.

APPENDIX 1

DHα 72 J 17



APPENDIX 2

C'est merveille se chascuns n'est amans	10
car se tous ciaux voloit Amours grev[er]	10
[ki] [n]e le sont, elle [est] bien si poisans	10
c'un tout seul jour n'en poroit uns [du]rer.	10
Mais Amours veut douchement docttriner	10
tous cuers pour mettre en l'[entent]e	7'
de li servir, car mout li atalente	10'
quant elle puet as boins ses biens donner.	10

Dont doit cascuns bien iestre desirans	10
k'Amours le voelle aves le[s boins con]ter	10
car tant de ioie est en li apparans	10
k'elle en puet [— — — —] gouverner. ²⁰	10
Mais pur les bons vuet Amours estorer	10
[— — — — — — — — — —] ente	7'
si fallent cil dont li volontes gente	10'
[— — — — — — —] t en iaus entrer.	10

Car casc[—————]nans	10
et si'il i a teís c'on ne puist douter	10
[—————] sanz	10
mais cius ki cuide encontre li [— er]	10
[—————] penser	10
dont il doit iestre en l'atente	7'
—————ent]e	10'
de grandement a besoing conforter.	10

[— — — — —]	congnessans	10
e got les biens k'Amours li voe[t donner]		10
[— — —]uns ki onkes fust viuens		10
et cil ki sont [— — — — —]		10

* * * * *

[et n'] aukuns m'en espoente	7'
s'a boine Amours a chou mise m'entente	10'
ke [comfors?] [li?] donne sans demander.	10

Dame vous estes li ente 7'
dout li biens [vie]nt car boine Amours l'i ente 10'
pour chou vous pri de mon chant escouter. 10

N.B.: The letters in square brackets [—] are strictly conjectural.

¹⁹ SPANKE, *Bibliographie*, nos. 500, 1186.

²⁰ gouverner looks like *[g]ominer* with a superscript *e* above the *i*.

It's a wonder if everyone is not a lover
 for if Amor wanted to harm all those
 [who] are [not] [*scil.* lovers], she is certainly powerful enough
 that not one could [endure] a single day [*scil.* against her].
 But Amor wants to gently instruct
 all hearts to put them in [the desire]
 to serve her, for it is attractive to her
 when she can give her benefits to good people.
 Therefore each person should be desirous
 that Amor should [count] him among [her good people]
 for there is so much joy evident in her
 that she can govern _____ with it.
 But Amor wants to restore for good people

and those are lacking whose noble will
 _____enter into them.

For each _____
 and if there are those whom you cannot overpower

but a man who thinks to _____against her
 _____think
 for which he should be waiting

to comfort greatly in [their] need.

_____aware
 and savors the good things that Amor is willing [to give] him
 _____one who ever lived
 and those who _____

* * * * *

[and nor does] anyone frighten me away from it,
 if good Amor has directed my desire towards that
 which gives [it comfort], without being asked.

[*envoi:*] Lady, you are the graft
 from which comes good, for good Amor grafts it there.
 For this reason I beg you to listen to my song.

(Translated by F. R. P. Akehurst)

APPENDIX 3

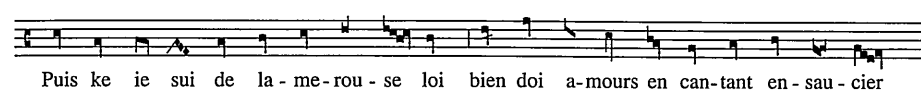
Puis ke ie sui de l'amerouse loi
 Bien doi Am(our)s en cantant ensaucier
 Encor i a [—] raison p(our) koi
 Je doi cant(er) d'amerous desirier
 Car sans manechier
 [-]ui el c(ors) t(ra)is et ferus
 D'uns vairs iex ses et ag(us)
 Rians p(our) miex assener
 A [—]er
 Haubiers ne escus

APPENDIX 4

Chansonnier Cangé f. 104r



DHa 72 J 17



A NEWLY DISCOVERED FRAGMENT OF MEDIEVAL INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

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Lecturer in Music History

People who know the few specimens of medieval music which have been preserved through the ages also will be familiar with the famous collection of *Istanpitte* in the manuscript London BM add. 29987 [LO], dating back to late-medieval Italy.¹ Up to the present we have regarded these pieces as unique, but a newly discovered manuscript tells us more.

During a stay on the Spanish island La Palma (Canary Islands) in March 1995, I happened to go to the village of Puntagorda, about twenty miles to the west of the capital Santa Cruz de la Palma. There I heard an old man play a tune which I knew very well: it was the *Istanpitta* 'Isabella' performed with some small melodic variants and added graces. I was very surprised and bewildered to hear this melody at that very moment and in such a remote spot of Europe. The old man was once a book-binder by profession as well as a musician and in earlier days he had performed at local celebrations. The instrument he used was some kind of recorder. In response to my asking how he had come across this music, he explained that he had inherited it from his teacher who had copied it from an old manuscript. We went to his former workshop where he showed me a paper manuscript, dated 1862. This manuscript contained some other pieces known from LO: two or three *istanpitte*, two *saltarelli* and the 'Lamento di Tristano'. The music was written down in 'modern' notation, provided with a tenor clef and bar-lines.

Some fragments of a second manuscript were also of great interest. It consisted of about ten to fifteen separate parchment leaves which were kept in cardboard wrappers. The music was written down in Trecento-notation: black lozenge-shaped notes on red six-linestaves. Asking the old man where the remaining parts of the manuscript had gone, he said that he had used them for book-binding. I did not have enough time to take a closer look at the two manuscripts and, the workshop being dark and without electric light, a thorough study seemed impossible anyway. Pleased with my enthusiasm, the old man agreed to give me a page from the parchment manuscript in exchange for two Havanna-cigars.²

Back in the Netherlands I contacted Prof. Kees Vellekoop (University of Utrecht) with my discovery and he introduced me to some other experts.

¹ This unique Ms. has been in the British Museum since 1876.

² It must be pointed out that the old man does not live in Puntagorda anymore (September 1996) and attempts to trace his current residence were unsuccessful. This is unfortunate, the more so as the provenance of LP cannot be verified, which diminishes its scientific value.

For about a year the page, which we now shall give the name of LP, was the subject of several scientific examinations. An analysis of the parchment, carried out by the 'Archivberatungsstelle Abtei Braunweiler' in Pulheim (Germany) using what is known as the 'Kohlstoff-14-Methode', has proved that the parchment is 650 to 700 years old. Moreover, the analysis has shown that the parchment was used several times, after being scraped and washed. No metal object was used to write on it and therefore experts assume that it must have been written in any case before the middle of the 19th century. An examination of the ink, carried out by the 'Centraal Laboratorium voor Onderzoek van Voorwerpen van Kunst en Wetenschap' in Amsterdam by means of Röntgen fluorescence, showed that the red ink contains no mercury, lead, iron or other metals. This means that well-known medieval red pigments like cinnabar, red-lead or metal-oxides were certainly not applied, but it is possible that an organic pigment has been used. Ambiguities are caused by the fact that the staves have been regenerated and that underneath the lines older ones were found.³ The black ink is ordinary carbon ink, which was already in use during the Middle Ages and therefore cannot give any indication about the dating of the manuscript.

In addition to these analyses, several palaeographers, musicologists and art-historians examined LP and their opinions are divergent. Some experts are convinced of the authenticity of LP, whereas others think it is a copy, written on authentic parchment but not before the 19th century.

LP consists of a single sheet, 199 by 124 mm, which originally formed part of a series of sheets bound together at some time. The present page shows several fresh cuts: at the top of the page a slip was cut off, above-right a pointed piece (at *aperto*), bottom-right a vertical slip and another pointed little piece, having taken the last note of what is left of *quinta pars*. These cuts probably derive from the hand of the bookbinder. The other sheets showed similar damage. At the right side, as far as it is still extant, a dog-ear can be seen, indicating that the sheet once was bound at that side. In the middle, there is a vertical row of small holes, made by a needle or a bodkin. One side of the sheet was written on and there are eight staves in red ink of six lines each. The music is notated – as is usual in Italian manuscripts – on six-linestaves. As mentioned above, these lines were regenerated. Thus, the parchment already contained six-linestaves which had lost their colour and had been traced. The page also shows a fold (running through the seventh staff), which was there before the lines were traced. The clefs, notes and legends are written in black ink. At some places a *punctus divisionis* or a dividing-line is used. The letter 'r' and the little hand function as repeat-signs. The anonymous copyist wrote his notes very carefully, though he still erred sometimes.

³ Recent research (July 1996) shows that no traces of ink from the previously mentioned older lines remain preserved. Only the places where the lines were pressed into the parchment could be seen.

The piece given in LP is the Saltarello which in LO begins at fol. 62v. There are, however, some discrepancies between LO and LP. The most significant difference between both manuscripts is that the Saltarello in LO contains four *partes* and in LP five *partes*.⁴ The *terça pars* of LO is identical to the *sechunda pars* in LP, whereas the *terça pars* of LP is lacking in LO. This *terça pars* only differs in a few notes from the *quatta pars* (sic), which again is identical with the *quarta pars* in LO.⁵ At this point, however, the copyist of LO was mistaken, which is strikingly clear when studying the manuscript. Originally he had written c'-a'-g'-d' which he later changed to e'-f'-e'-d'. The reason for this might have been that the scribe of LO first wrote the 'right' notes of the *terça pars*. Subsequently, he started from the 8th note onwards in the then equally sounding *quarta pars* and finally eliminated this error by modifying the 5th, 6th and 7th notes of the *terça pars* (as clearly shown in LO). Due to this modification, a complete *pars* might have been suppressed.

Other discrepancies refer to some musical variants in the *partes* 1 and 5; in 1, staff 2, 6th to 10th note, where a passage appears a minor third lower. Whether this version is a copying error cannot be decided here. In any case, the resulting sound of the LP-version would be musically justifiable. Our attention is also drawn to a rhythmic variant in *pars* 5: whereas in LP the 9th note – a semibrevis – is followed by a minim and a *punctus divisionis*, LO gives the minim first and no *punctus divisionis*. Although the version in LO does not seem impossible, I would rather opt for the LP because the rhythm given in LO disturbs the smooth character of the piece. It therefore seems possible that the copyist of LO was wrong here. This potential error in LO might have been caused by the scribe having to turn the page right at the point where these notes are, thereby losing his orientation for a moment.⁶

Finally, I would like to make reference to a peculiarity of the notation in the *chiusso*: the writer of our manuscript notated the flags of the seventh and eighth notes incorrectly at the left side, while in LO we find them correctly placed at the right-hand side. As we can see elsewhere in manuscript LO, flags at the left side were customary for marking triplets. This may indicate that the notator was perhaps unfamiliar not only with the terminology (as one of the experts, Prof. Gumbert of Leiden University, pointed out), but also with certain details of the notation.

Because of the discrepancies between LO and LP – the extra *pars* being the most obvious – it neither seems likely that LO was the model for LP nor that LP was the model for LO. Consequently the question arises whether there

⁴ The terms *prima pars* and *sechunda pars* are missing.

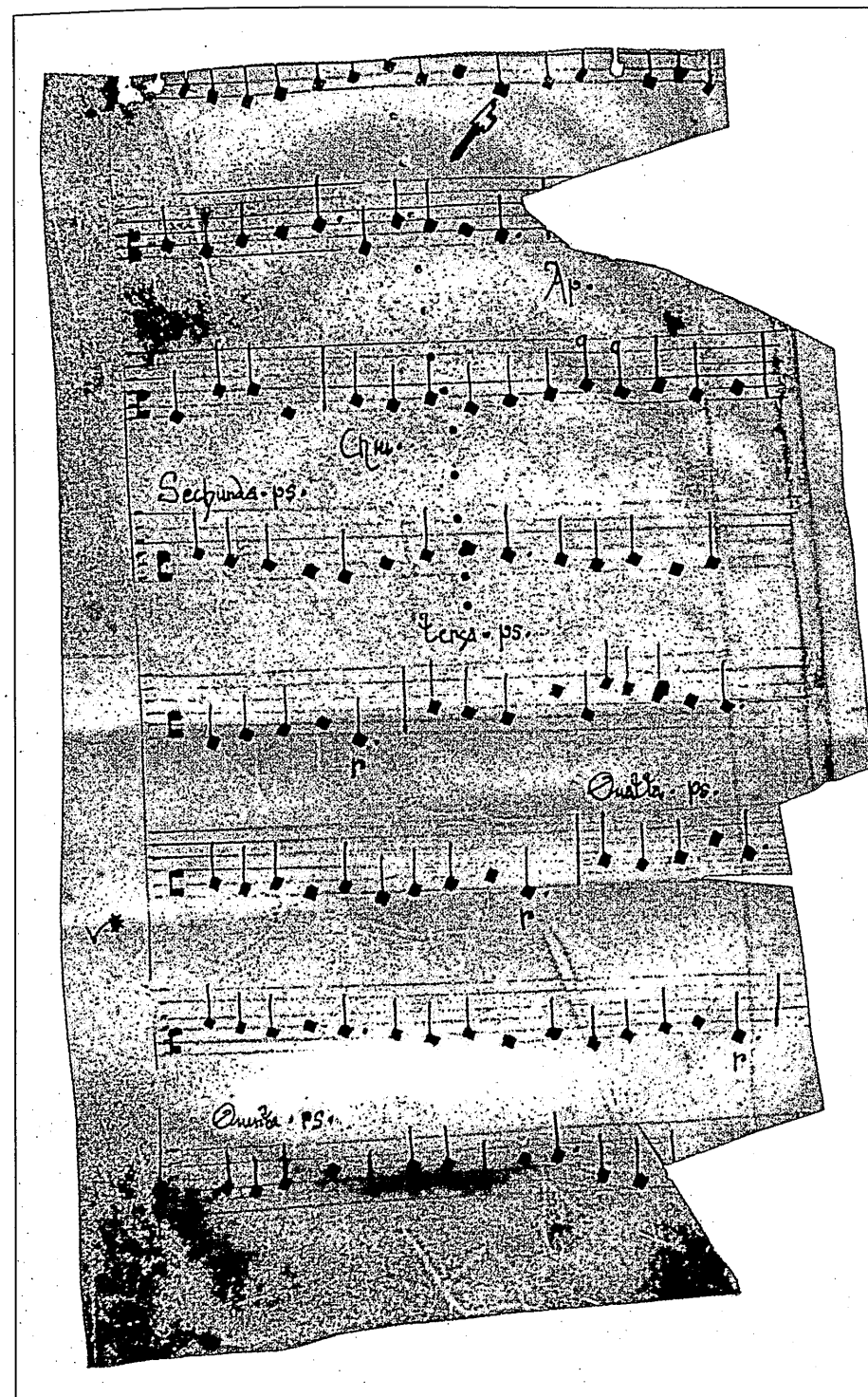
⁵ 5th – 8th notes in LP: c'-a'-g'-f'; 5th – 8th notes in LO: e'-f'-e'-d'.

⁶ Apart from me Prof. Vellekoop made the same observations on LP and used them with my knowledge and agreement in a lecture held at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis on May 3rd, 1996.

existed an unknown older source upon which both manuscripts are based. This would lead to the conclusion that the well-known repertoire of LO would be of earlier origin than we have been inclined to believe until now.⁷

Many questions remain unanswered. Even the authenticity of LP is not certified but let us hope that further research will lead to more clarity in the future.

⁷ I wish to thank the following experts for having examined the manuscript and/or for having given their opinions or advice: J.P. Gumbert (Leiden), J.A.K. Haas (Maastricht), T. Knell (South Hadley, USA), A. Korteweg (The Hague), I. van Leeuwen (The Hague), P.F.J. Obbema (Leiden), H.J. Porck (The Hague), J. Rimmer (Canterbury), E. Schreurs (Leuven), C.E. Schima (Amsterdam), A. Schirinzi (Munich), K. Vellekoop (Utrecht).



La Palma (photo Léon Gulikers, Gulpen, 1996)

Alterello. prima. pars.

Aperto.

Chiuso.

Secunda. pars.

terza. pars.

Quarta. pars.

Quinta. pars.

Rotto. prima. pars.

Aperto.

Chiusa.

Secunda. pars.

terza. pars.

Quarta. pars.

Quinta. pars.

Alterello. prima. pars.

Chiuso.

Secunda. pars. doppia.

terza. pars.

Quarta. pars.

Aperto. chiuso.

terza. pars.

Quarta. pars.

Quinta.

THE HELMOND MANUSCRIPT

Barbara Haggh
Royal Holloway, University of London

In April 1996, Godfried Croenen discovered several song parts in stroke notation in Gemeentelijke Helmond Archiefdienst, Rechterlijk Archief Helmond 1396-1810, inv. no. 215, a register with a parchment cover and comprised of 186 leaves, having entries made by the aldermen of Helmond to acknowledge debts and transfers of property. Bound into the register at an unknown date is an oblong paper leaf, measuring 90-95 x 213 mm, which was once folded in half to surround a now missing folio (fol. 98). The two entries on this leaf (fol. 99r) and dated 4 November 1416 are original, meaning that the music was probably added to this leaf soon after that date:

f. 97r	tenor	[<i>Esperance</i>]
f. 97v	tenor	[unidentified]
f. 99v	cantus (canonic)	<i>Talent me peyst</i> [sic: <i>Talent m'est pris</i>]

The same cantus part was copied again on fol. 186v. A faded, unidentified song appears on the inside back cover. All three songs are in simple stroke notation, with only semibreves and minims. The stroke notation may have been used by singers or rederijkers¹ or, given the few texts, by town instrumentalists.²

¹ see B. HAGGH, *New publications in Dutch on music before 1700 and a newly discovered 15th-century Dutch manuscript with songs*, in *Early Music*, 25/1 (1997), pp. 127-128.

² see D. LEECH-WILKINSON, *Il libro di appunti di un suonatore di tromba del quindicesimo secolo*, in *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 16 (1981), pp. 16-39, especially p. 20 and R. STROHM, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 348-357.

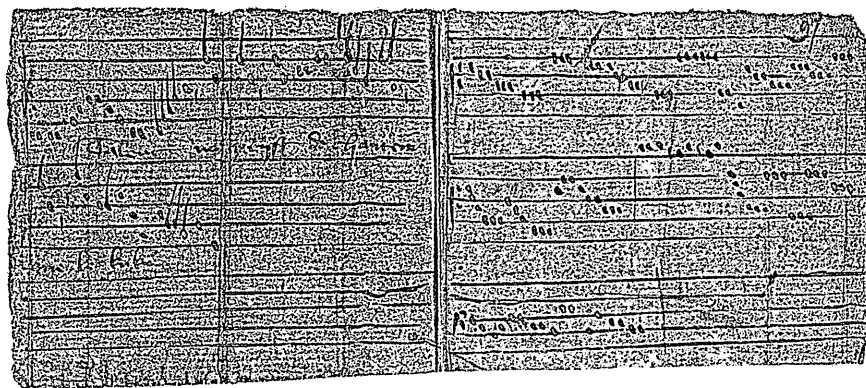


Figure 1: Rechterlijk Archief Helmond
1396-1810: inv. nr. 215, fols. 97r and 99v

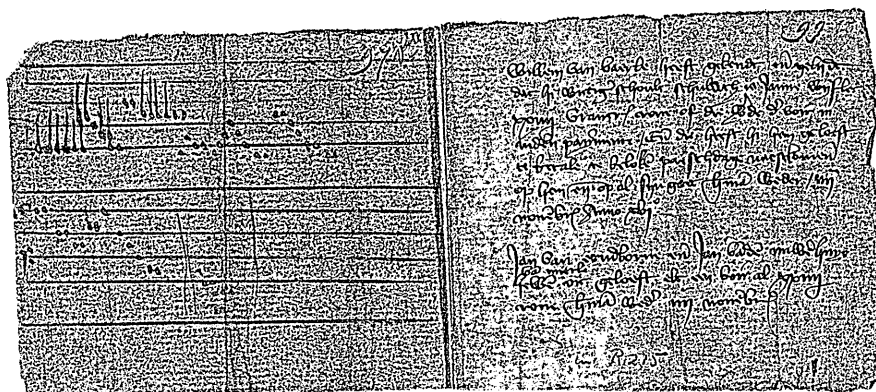


Figure 2: Rechterlijk Archief Helmond
1396-1810: inv. nr. 215, fols. 97v and 99r

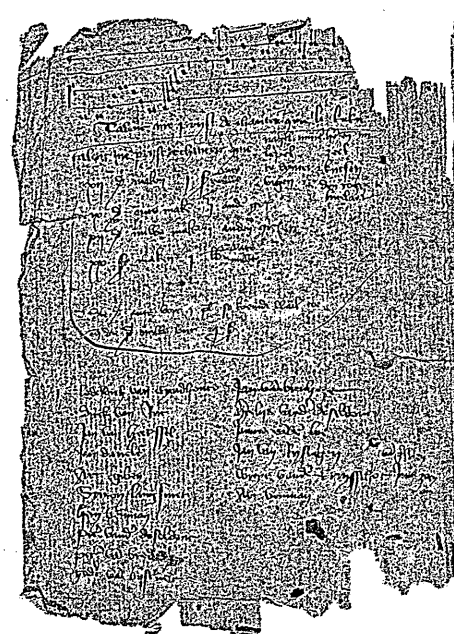


Figure 3: Rechterlijk Archief Helmond
1396-1810: inv. nr. 215, fol. 186v

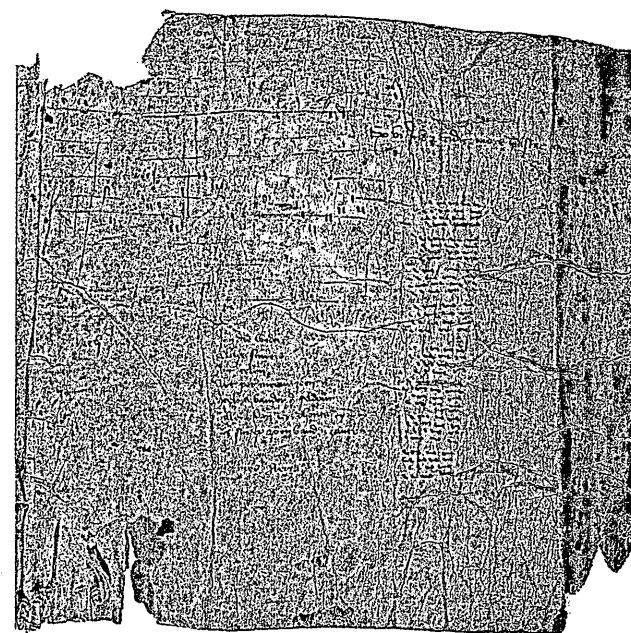


Figure 4: Rechterlijk Archief Helmond
1396-1810: inv. nr. 215, inside back cover

THE BRUSSELS Ms. 1870

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Brussels Ms. 1870 emanates from the Convent of St Clare in Brussels. The manuscript is dated 1348, though a few sections were added in the 16th century (fols. 105r-134r). The manuscript contains historical information on the foundation of the convent (fol. 144v), a calendar, Propers of the Time and of the Saints, Common of the Saints, various Offices including those for St Prisca, St Mary Magdelene, St Gabriel, Collects for St Dorothy, Eleven Thousand Virgins, and Three Kings and various other liturgical texts. Several pages contain musical notation: fols. 1v-2v and fols. 149r-152r (*Benedicamus domino* settings) and fols. 138r-144r (the Responds for the Office of the Dead). Of the more than thirty monophonic *Benedicamus domino* settings, most are troped (including texts for St Barbara, Anthony of Padua, and St Clare) and most are set to the *flos filius* melisma, a common melody for *Benedicamus domino* settings. The sole polyphonic work (fol. 1v) is a two-voice, untroped, *Benedicamus domino* setting (see Example 1). Concordances are found in numerous manuscripts from the 14th and 15th centuries, including a highly ornamented version in Las Huelgas (fols. 21v-22r). Immediately following the setting in BR 1870 is an arrangement of the two voices that results in a narrower range for both parts – a sixth in both voices rather than an eleventh and a twelfth as in the original (see Example 2). The two voices of the second version are notated in score format rather than consecutively and are linked by an arc, connecting the two staves. Since no concordances were found for this arrangement, one might presume that the sisters of St Clare have made their own arrangement of the setting, one that fits the available voices more comfortably.

Discant =B \sharp =B \sharp

Be - ne - di - ca do

CF

Be - ne - di - ca - mus do

mi - no

Example 1



Example 2

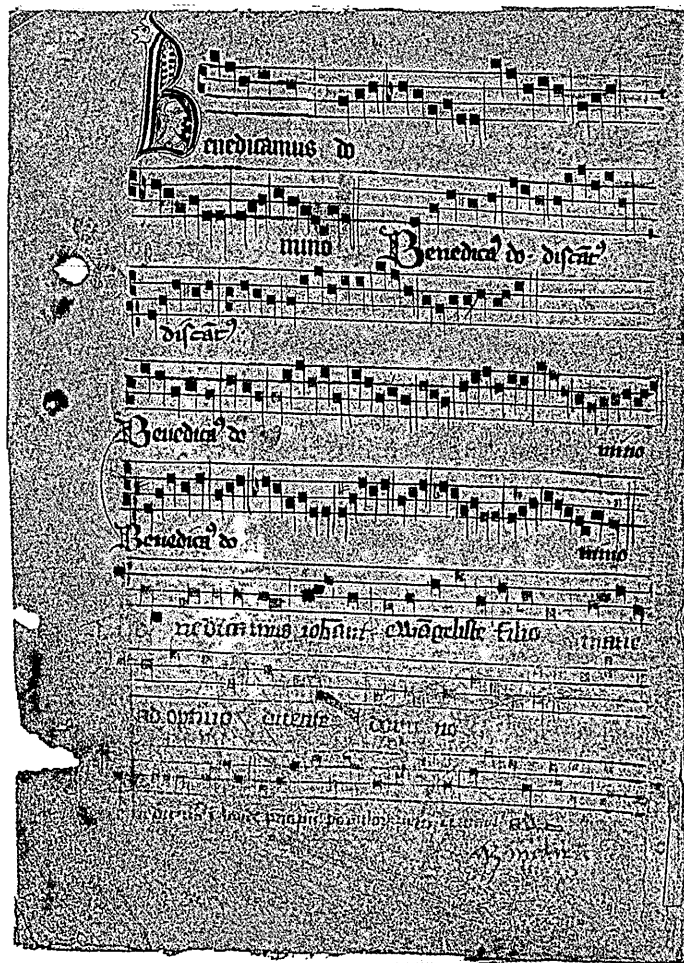


Figure 1: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. (590) 1870, f. 1v

THE ANTWERP FRAGMENTS M6

Jacobijn Kiel

It was Rudolf Rasch of Utrecht University who, during the preparation of his thesis, investigated the contents of the polyphonic Fragments M6 in the collection of manuscripts in the Museum Plantin-Moretus.¹ He told his colleague Jaap van Benthem, who prepared the short entry in the Census Catalogue.² The fragments comprise two bifolios and three folios; the size of the bifolios is approximately 215 x 310 mm, the size of the folios 300 x 220 mm. Table 1 shows an inventory of these fragments. At the beginning of the 20th century, when Maurits Sabbe was conservator, these fragments must have been removed from the binding of a volume from the rich collection of books in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. The book from which these fragments come is not identifiable. The folios are trimmed at the top as well as at both sides; consequently there is no original foliation, nor are there any names of composers; most of the clefs and initials are also lost. Unfortunately no watermarks are visible. Possibly the fragments originate from two or more different sources, written by at least four scribes.

Kristine Forney³ first recognized that one of the bifolios (no. 7)⁴, contains a fragment from Ockeghem's *Missa Mi-mi*: the Discantus and Bassus of the second Agnus Dei. The opposite page on the same bifolio has two or three voices without text; the lowest voice is labelled Bassus. Since the music on the two pages is clearly not related to each other, one or several other bifolios must have separated these two pages. The other sources for the *Missa Mi-mi* are VatS41, VatS63 and VatC234, the well known Chigi codex.

Table 2 gives a survey of the ligatures in the *Agnus dei* as far as transmitted in the Antwerp fragment. It should be noted that it is a general characteristic for the Italian source group to have few ligatures.

The Antwerp fragments have about the same number of ligatures as the Chigi codex but in the Antwerp fragments the combination of two semibreves under ligature at the end of a line, a characteristic of the notation in the Chigi codex, is missing. Moreover, only two ligatures in the fragments do not start on the first semibreve of the perfect mensuration. The reading of measure 57, which is also present in VatS41 and VatS63, stresses a hemiola. The same can be said of the ligature in measure 64, which precedes the final longa. The right page of

1 R. RASCH, *De Cantiones Natalitiae en het kerkelijke muziekleven in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*
2 *gedurende de zeventiende eeuw*, (Muziekhistorische monografieën, 10), Utrecht, 1985.

² *Census Catalogue of Manuscripts Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550*, vol. 4, p. 222.

³ Kristine Forney added some notes to the fragments in the old library catalogue of Museum Plantin-Moretus.

⁴ Folio numbers according to the facsimile edition in E. SCHREURS, *Anthologie van muziekfragmenten uit de Lage Landen*, Leuven-Peer, pp. 68-77.

this bifolio contains a fragment of Alexander Agricola's *Cecus non judicat de coloribus*.⁵ The fragment contains the Tenor and Bassus of the second part of this textless piece. Most probably, Agricola spent some time in Flanders during the late 1490's.⁶ However, nothing can be said about the origin of this piece, nor its date.

The left page on the other side of this bifolio transmits two voices of an unknown setting. Its notation is heavily damaged. Of the text only a few words can be read: *quem pro... filia apud quem... gratia... magna...*

On the right page are two voices and the indication: *Duo*. The text under the music reads: *Virgo mater resurgentis vestutatem nostrae mentis*. Concerning this text Kristine Forney has added a note in the old library catalogue of the Plantin-Moretus collections that this happens to be an English trope of the antiphon *Regina celi*. There is no evidence that this bifolio originates from England, yet the combination of an English trope with a fragment of Ockeghem's mass in which the Discantus is combined with a Bassus on the same page might tell us something about the origin of this bifolio.

The second bifolio (no. 11) contains a two-voice setting with the text *O sancta virginitas nostra mistnit pueritas...* Most probably these two voices come to a final cadence on f or a, which makes it impossible to combine them with the two parts without text on the right page, which have their final cadence on the fifth d-a. Again there must have been one or more bifolios between these two pages.

The other side of this bifolio contains three voices of a setting of the text *Virgo mater ecclesiae*. Apart from the arrangement of the voices over the page, it is their final cadence which makes clear that the setting is for three voices.



Example 1: *Virgo mater ecclesiae*: final cadence

⁵ A. Agricola, *Opera omnia*, E.R. LERNER (ed.), pp. 102-105. I am deeply indebted to David Fallows, who identified this fragment.

⁶ The epitaph of Agricola, printed in 1538 by Georg Rhau states that King Philippe recruited him from 'Belgium'. See N. BAKER, *An unnumbered manuscript of polyphony in the archives of the Cathedral of Segovia*, p. 130.

On the right page are two voices from a setting of the text *Gaude quia tui nati*, which is the second strophe of the sequence *Gaude virgo mater Christi...* Surprisingly these two voices are also Discantus and Bassus. However, a transcription of this setting does not suggest that other voices are missing.



Example 2: *Gaude tui nati*

The arrangement of the various settings precludes the possibility that these two bifolios were adjacent to each other in the original manuscript. Unfortunately the three remaining single folios do not clarify their relationship within the original manuscript.

One of these folios (no. 10) contains two settings for three voices. On one side a setting of the text *Fidelis sermo omni acceptione dignus Michael* and in the discantus the text *Lumen ad revelationem* in longer note values, on the other page a setting of *Michael archangelus intercessionem suffulti te domine*. For this setting the clefs and signatures have been preserved but the end of all the staves is missing; consequently the clefs are missing in the *Fidelis sermo* setting.

The two remaining folios contain fragments of three *Salve reginas*: two of which are preserved in Codex Trento 90.

The reading of one of these *Salve reginas* in TrC 90 on fols. 305v-307r (1025-1026) includes the trope *Virgo mater*.⁷ According to Charles Hamm this trope is of English origin.⁸ A third source for this setting is in manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XIX. 112bis fols. 37v-42r.⁹

⁷ Numbers according to G. ADLER and O. KOLLER (ed.), *Sechs Trienter Codices: geistliche und weltliche Compositionen des XV. Jahrhunderts, Erste Auswahl*, (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, VII. Jahrgang), Wien, 1900, pp. 61-62.

⁸ C. HAMM, *A catalogue of anonymous English music*, in *Musica Disciplina*, XXII (1968), p. 75.

⁹ I have not yet been able to compare its reading with TrC90 and AntM6.

TABLE 1
Inventory of Antwerpen, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Ms. M6

FOLIO	TITLE/TEXT	COMPOSER	VOICES	OTHER SOURCES	PRINTED EDITIONS
Bifolio 7 a v, left	Agnus Dei II (Missa Mi-mi)	J. Ockeghem	[S] [B]	VatS 41, [S] CXXXVI' [B] CXXXVII VatS 63, [S] XXVI' [B] XXVI[I] VatC 234, [S] XIII'I' [B] XV	Plamenac, Dragan (ed). Collected works
b r, right	Cecus non judicat de coloribus	A. Agricola	[T] B	GallS 462, 62'-64 BerlS 40021, 49'-51 BolQ 17, 12'-16 Formschneider 1538, no. 27 HradK. II A7, 1'-3 LeipU 1494, 171'-172 MünBS 3154, 70'-72 SegoA, 95'-97	Lerner, Edward R. (ed). Opera omnia
b r, left a r, right	'quem...pro...filia apud quem' Virgo mater resurgentis	[anon.] [anon.]	[?] [?] [S1] [S2]		
Bifolio 11 b r, left a v, right a r, left b r, right	O sancta virginitas nostra textless piece [Virgo] mater ecclesie Gaude quia tui nati	[anon.] [anon.] [anon.] [anon.]	[S] [CT] [T] [B] [S] [T] [CT] [S] [T]		
Folio 8 r v	Salve regina Salve regina	[anon.] [anon.]	[S] CT [T]	TrC 90, 326'	
Folio 9 r v	Salve regina Salve regina	[anon.] [anon.]	CT [T] [S] [B]	TrC 90, 305'-307	
Folio 10 r v	Lumen ad revelationem [Fidelis sermo] omni acceptione dignus Michael archangelus venit Archangeli Michael intercessione	[anon.] [anon.] [anon.] [anon.]	[plainchant] [S?] [CT?] [S] [CT] T B		

The third *Salve regina* setting is heavily damaged, but its reading is almost identical to TrC 90, fols. 324v-326v (1038). In this fragment the remaining text reads *Salve regina, misericordie*. According to Marco Gozzi the absence of the word *Mater* might indicate that this setting could be English as well.¹⁰ Recently Reinhard Strohm has suggested that the *Salve reginas* in TrC 90 might stem from a collection of *Salves* for the *Fraternity of the Salve*, later of *Our Lady* at the cathedral in Antwerp.¹¹ All these isolated aspects seem to point in the same direction: the fragments contain a very mixed ensemble of settings in which elements of the English musical tradition are still recognizable. Since the handwriting of the various scribes in these fragments are clearly continental we must assume a place of origin for this collection in close contact with English music during the second half of the 15th century. Antwerp could be a strong candidate.

TABLE 2
The Agnus Dei II of the Missa Mi-mi by Johannes Ockeghem:
Ligatures

VOICE	LIGATURES	CHIGI	VATS41	VATS63	ANTM6
[Bas.]	ligature: 33(6) - 34(1)	x			
[Bas.]	ligature: 39(2) - 39(3)	x			
[Bas.]	ligature: 41(1-2)	x			x
[Bas.]	ligature: 42(1-2)	x	x	x	x
[Bas.]	ligature: 45(1-2)				x
[Bas.]	ligature: 52(1-2)	x			x
[Bas.]	ligature: 53(1-2)	x			
[Bas.]	ligature: 54(1-2)				x
[Bas.]	ligature: 56(1-2)	x			x
[Bas.]	ligature: 57(4) - 58(1)		x	x	x
[Bas.]	ligature: 61(1-2)	x			x
[Bas.]	ligature: 61(2-3)		x	x	
[Bas.]	ligature: 64(3-4)				x
[Bas.]	ligature: 64(3) - 65(1)	x			

Measure numbers according to the edition of the Missa Mi-mi by Dragan Plamenac

¹⁰ M. GOZZI, *Il manoscritto Trento Museo Provinciale d'Arte, cod. 1377 (Tr90)*, 1992, p. 113.

¹¹ R. STROHM, *The rise of European music 1380-1500*, 1993, p. 438.

SOURCES

AntwM 6	Antwerpen, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Ms. M6
BerIS 40021	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 40021 (<i>olim</i> Z 21)
Bol Q 17	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 17
FirM XIX.122 bis	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XIX. 122bis
HradK IIA 7	Hradec Králové, Krajske Muzeum, Ms. II A 7 (<i>Codex Specíálmík</i>)
LeipU 1494	Leipzig, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Ms. 1494
Munch 3154	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 3154 (<i>Nicolaus Leopold Codex</i>)
TrC90	Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Ms. 90
VatC 234	Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi, Cod. C VIII. 234
VatS 41	Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Cod. 41
VatS 63	Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Cod. 63
Gall 462	Sanct Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 462
SegA	Archivo Capítular de la Catedral, Ms. without shelf number

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MOTETS AND MARIAN WORSHIP IN THE 14TH CENTURY

Brussel, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief Sint-Goedele, 5170

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One of the most ambitious projects ever undertaken by postwar musicology has been the publication of the volumes of the *Répertoire international des sources musicales* (RISM) that catalogue surviving music manuscripts and fragments.¹ Hundreds of thousands of items have been inventoried since RISM began in 1952, yet new fragments continue to surface as scholars sift through uncatalogued collections and archives and as libraries publish descriptions of their holdings.

When music is found on old book bindings, librarians and archivists are often faced with a dilemma: should the fragments be separated from the documents they cover and be kept with other music or remain an archival item? The modern history of Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief Sint-Goedele, 5170, here the *St Gudula fragment*, shows that there was some hesitation in making what to my mind was the correct decision.

The St Gudula fragment was found in the archives then still housed in that church. Vanden Bussche first described the fragment in his 1956 thesis, which came to the attention of Gilbert Reaney, who wrote a brief notice in an article and for RISM.² In the 1970s, the St Gudula archive was brought to the Algemeen Rijksarchief in Brussels for recataloguing. New call numbers were assigned in the 1980s.³

All fragments of chant and polyphony that were discovered during the cataloguing process, including the St Gudula fragment, were then brought next doors to the Royal Library, restored and kept as part of its manuscript collection, since for many years the policy had been to keep music manuscripts in the library rather than in the archives. The 17th- and 18th-century *fonds Ste Gudule* is also at the Royal Library, but because the music is of later date, it was purchased by the music section.⁴

¹ On the project, see R. BENTON, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 15 (1980), pp. 747-749.

² J. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Zangers en zangpraktijk aan de kapittelkerk van Sint-Goedele te Brussel* (ca. 1350-1555), masters' thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1956, chapter 7, p. 110 ff. and *Mensurale fragmenten uit een Cartularium van de Ste-Goedelekerk te Brussel* (Arab. Ka. 758), *Handelingen van het XXIIe Vlaams filologencongres, Ghent, 1957*, p. 364-368. G. REANEY, *New Sources of Ars Nova Music*, in *Musica disciplina*, 19 (1965), pp. 53-67, and *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music* (c. 1320-1400), in G. REANEY (ed.), *RISM B IV/2*, Munich, 1969, pp. 41-42.

³ The new inventory is P. DE RIDDER, *Inventaris van het oud archief van de kapittelkerk van Sint-Michiël en Sint-Goedele te Brussel*, 3 vols., Brussels, 1987.

⁴ The history of this collection is summarized in L. BARATZ, *The Concerted Motets of Petrus Hercules Breby (1673-1737), Zangmeester of the Brussels Collegiate Church of Saints Michael and Gudula*, unpublished diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1993, pp. 128-137.

As the cataloguing of the St Gudula archive ended, the St Gudula fragment was returned that collection and inventoried as an archival document, with no reference made to its binding. Even so, it is fortunate that this fragment was not separated from Cartulary 5170, because the cartulary suggests a performance context for the music in the fragment and a likely *terminus post quem* for it, which would make it the earliest known source for one of the compositions it contains and an early source for the others.

The St Gudula fragment, fols. 53 and 57bis, is a bifolio used as a cover along with another parchment bifolio, fols. 54 and 57, blank except for a 16th-century notice *overbrenghet bij francois trotz boeckvercoeper woenende Inde huevelstrate*, above which is a much later call number *VIII 8* then below 1366-1472. These two bifolios bind a fascicle of documents. All are located within a compilation of cartularies totalling 157 numbered paper and parchment leaves plus one blank ribbed paper flyleaf at each end.⁵ The cartulary brings together copies of charters of chaplaincies under the jurisdiction of, but not necessarily located in the collegiate church of St Gudula in Brussels. The charters are grouped by chaplaincy into separate fascicles. Some have dirty parchment covers, an indication that they were first kept separately and then bound together at an unknown later date.⁶

Only one fascicle in Ms. 5170 is bound with music, that containing a paper cartulary of the chaplaincy at the altar of St Anthony (in the north transept in St Gudula), as is noted in large 16th-century writing at the top of fol. 53r: *Fructus capellanie Sancti Anthonii in ecclesia beate Gudile Bruxell[ensis]*.⁷ This chaplaincy was founded by *dominus* Petrus de Zuene, priest, on behalf of his brother, Johannes Antonii, treasurer of St Gudula, in honor of the Virgin Mary and St Anthony with three weekly masses. The aldermen of Brussels approved his foundation on 24 February 1315. De Zuene assigned rents to the chaplaincy, and the cartulary records many later donations to augment his foundation. Even though this chaplaincy was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the fragments contain Marian motets, there is no evidence that polyphony was sung in the St Anthony chapel in the 14th century, although its revenues were used to hire singers beginning in 1459-1460.⁸

⁵ The fragment was discussed most recently in B. HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350-1500*, unpublished diss., University of Illinois, 1988, pp. 487-500. Facsimiles are published in E. SCHREURS, *An Anthology of Music Fragments from the Low Countries*, Leuven-Peer, 1995, pp. 8-11.

⁶ See ASG (=Archief Sint-Goedele) 1390, fols. 30v, 539r, 678r, 703r, note 9, and HAGGH, *Music*, p. 115-121, for further discussion. Chaplaincies in the church of St Gudula were those of St Lawrence, the Virgin Mary, St Elizabeth, St Agatha, St Anthony, St Cecilia, St Gertrude, St Servatius, St John the Baptist, St Agnes and of the Holy Sacrament; outside of St Gudula but under its jurisdiction were three chaplaincies in the church of St Nicholas as well as those of Nassau and of the *godshuys* of St Christopher.

⁷ The script matches that of the date '1563' on fol. 2r.

⁸ On the chaplaincy, see B. HAGGH, *Music*, p. 539, 678, 703. The altar existed prior to the chaplaincy's foundation

The parchment cover of the cartulary is a bifolio that was once part of a choirbook, but was later separated from it, bent inside-out, and trimmed, although no music is missing from the two leaves, which measure 287-295 x 215 mm. This is approximately the size of the leaves of the Apt, Barcelona, Leiden and Strasbourg codices, but smaller than those of Cambrai 1328 and of Chantilly, Ivrea, Serrant and Turin. As in many choirbooks of this time, each motet was copied on an opening, explaining why all four are incomplete.

The appearance of the music of the St Gudula fragment is unexceptional. Nine red, five-line staves were drawn with a rastrum on each page, all staves 17 cm long and 1.45 cm wide. Only fol. 53r has ten staves. The black mensural notation and texts are each by a single, perhaps the same scribe; the initials and the designations *solus tenor* and *contratenor* are in well-preserved red ink. The inside pages are undamaged, so that the text is easily legible, but the outer sides, fols. 53r and 57bisv, have become almost black from dust and humidity and their texts are difficult to read, evidence that the St Anthony cartulary was once separate from the remainder of the present codex. It should be noted that the St Gudula fragment and the Tongeren, Ghent and 'Leclercq' Ars Nova fragments each have distinctly different initials and scripts.⁹

We cannot deduce the number of folios that once came between the leaves of the bifolio, but the texts and music of the motets, as well as the identical Gothic book hand that copied them, suggest that they belonged to a uniform repertory. 14th-century documents from nearby Bruges and Ghent record the existence of only the *liber motetorum* and of no other manuscript type, suggesting that the bifolio once belonged to such a choirbook containing mainly motets.¹⁰

The four incomplete isorhythmic motets copied on the bifolio of the St Gudula fragment, listed in the Table with their concordances, constitute a French Marian repertory. One is an anonymous unicum, but two motets are attributed to Philippe de Vitry, *Vos quid* and *Impudenter*; both have a *solus tenor* and have thus been dated ca. 1330.¹¹ They differ stylistically and have divergent patterns of concordances, and, as Besseler pointed out years ago, the attribution to Vitry of *Impudenter* should not be taken for granted.

Vos quid is more tightly organized than *Impudenter*, with six *talea* to the first color, then 7 1/2 *talea* in diminution to the second color, and with imitation of

⁹ Cf. *An Anthology*, pp. 8-11, 16-25.

¹⁰ See R. STROHM, *Music in Late-Medieval Bruges*, Oxford, 1985, p. 14 (1377, St Donatian in Bruges), and Idem, *The Rise of European Music*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 67 (1387, St James in Ghent).

¹¹ *Vos quid* was edited most recently in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (hereafter PMFC), ed. L. SCHRADE, 1, Monaco, 1956, repr. 1974, as no. 7 (the second ST is marked *vacat* [not *vivat*] *iste* in the sources and must be disregarded); *Impudenter* is no. 11 of the same volume. The CT in the Bern manuscript differs from all others, and is printed in PMFC 1, p. 115. The text of *Vos quid* is edited in P. DRONKE, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric*, 2, Oxford, 1966, pp. 406-410. A facsimile of *Impudenter* in Apt is in A. MACHABEY, *Notice sur Philippe de Vitry*, in *La revue musicale*, x/4 (1929), plate between pp. 32-33.

melodic and rhythmic motifs in the upper voices. The triplum becomes isorhythmic at the end of the motet. It is ascribed to Vitry in the treatise *Quatuor principalia* copied in Oxford by 1351, a *terminus post quem* for the motet.¹² *Impudenter* is ascribed to Vitry only in a much later source, the burned Strasbourg codex, which gives emended readings of the text and contains unreliable ascriptions to Machaut.¹³ Although Besseler noticed irregularities in the musical setting of the meter in *Impudenter* and argued that the motet was not by Vitry, more recent scholarship has sought to reinstate *Impudenter* within the canon of Vitry works.¹⁴ The many Vitry motets in Strasbourg, the attributions to Vitry and the fact that the *Liber musicalium* attributed to Vitry was bound together with the music in this manuscript suggested to Welker that the compiler of the codex had sources with presumably accurate Vitry ascriptions. Welker also pointed out that Johannes Boen considered *Impudenter* a model of its kind, which could explain why it captured so much attention. He implies that its status as model argues for Vitry.¹⁵ Neither Boen nor the Anonymous Philadelphia, who also cites the motet, actually name Vitry, however. Wathey assumes implicitly (as do many others) that the motet is by Vitry.¹⁶ Yet, as he points out, the texts of *Impudenter* and *Virtutibus* appear in two poetry manuscripts that differ from the others he lists in also containing poetry not by Vitry. One of these includes poetry by Philip the Chancellor (d. 1236), and Wathey observes that 13th-century motet and conductus texts otherwise appear to circulate independently of Vitry texts. Thus, Wathey's statement "that the fact of literary circulation may even emerge as a pointer

¹² *Posset tamen prima longa imperfici a parte ante per brevem precedentem vel per valorem, nisi punctus immediate eam sequatur, ut patet in tenore de Gratissima quem idem Philippus edidit.* See *Quatuor principalia*, by an unknown English Franciscan author, edited in C.E.H. DE COUSSEMAKER, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series*, 4, Paris, 1876/ R 1931, 1963, 2/1908, U. MOSER (ed.), p. 268, and on Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 90, prepared in Oxford by 4 August 1351 and containing the treatise, see N. KER, *Medieval manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3, Oxford, 1983. Cf. F. HARRISON, *Repertories and Structures c.1270-c.1420*, in *PMMS*, pp. 312-313. Versions of the treatise in British Library, Add. 4909 and Cotton Tiberius B.IX are available as data files from *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum*, dir. T. MATHIESEN.

¹³ On this codex, burned in 1870, see, most recently, L. WELKER, *Musik am Oberrhein im Späten Mittelalter: Die Handschrift Strasbourg olim Bibliothèque de la Ville*, C. 22, unpublished Habilitationsschrift, University of Heidelberg, 1993. I am grateful to Margaret Bent for making a copy of his study available to me.

¹⁴ The attribution to Vitry was refuted by H. BESSELER, *Falsche Autornamen in der Handschriften Strassburg (Vitry) und Montecassino (Dufay)*, in *Acta musicologica*, 40 (1968), p. 201.

¹⁵ Johannes Boen, Dutch priest, music theorist who attended Oxford possibly also Paris, and parish priest in Rijnsberg from 1358 until his death in 1367, writes: 'Ut sit sensus: similis ante similem nulum capit imperfectionem. Et hoc in primis quatuor notulis illius excellentissimi moteti 'Virtutibus' clare possumus contemplare'. JOHANNES BOEN, *Ars (musicae)*, F. ALBERTO GALLO (ed.), (*Corpus scriptorum de musica*, 19), Rome, 1972, p. 26. Cf. WELKER, *Musik am Oberrhein im Späten Mittelalter*, who reexamines Besseler's argument.

¹⁶ See A. WATHEY, *The Motets of Philippe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance*, in *Early Music History*, 12 (1993), pp. 119-150, esp. p. 123.

towards attribution" might actually be turned on its head to argue against a Vitry attribution for *Impudenter*.¹⁷

Besseler noticed irregularities in the meter of *Impudenter*. It is also structurally unusual in having an introduction and an untexted diminution section with hocket at its end, the latter found mainly in mass ordinary movements, although there is at least one other anonymous motet with the same design, *Pictagore per dogmata/ O terra sancta*.¹⁸ *Impudenter* also repeats a longer talea, uses a variety of melodic material and survives with different tenors and many variants, unlike *Vos quid*. Did composers hesitate to rework *Vos quid* because it was known to be by Vitry? Differing tenors in *Impudenter* include the much later Bern tenor, which may not belong with this motet, however.¹⁹ The tenor in the Brussels rotulus is also a later addition, possibly even a later musical reading than that in the St Gudula fragment, since the former fills in intervals and simplifies and improves complex passages, bringing symmetry where there was none.²⁰

Finally, *Impudenter* attracted a parody setting found in the Turin manuscript.²¹ The totally different career of this motet from *Vos quid* may simply mark it as a later composition or a composition intended for a different milieu, but perhaps we should remain more circumspect about attributing *Impudenter* to Vitry, given its anonymous circulation not only in all manuscripts apart from Strasbourg but also in the two treatises.

The St Gudula fragment includes the anonymous Marian motet *Degentis vita*, whose subject matter places it squarely in the clerical context of a 14th-century church. The motet was widely disseminated - it is in the latter part of the Trémoille index²², at the end of Chantilly, was known in southwest Germany and also appears in a later English fragment with two compositions perhaps by Alanus (d. 1373). Bent points out that its strictly syllabic text is unusual in

¹⁷ See A. WATHEY, *The Motets*, p. 128.

¹⁸ Edited *PMFC* 5, no. 24.

¹⁹ K. KÜGLE, *The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars Nova Polyphony*, unpublished diss., New York University, 1993, p. 362, finds the *contratenor de virtutibus* in the Bern fragment unrelated to the motet, despite Schrade's claim in *PMFC* 1, pp. 114-115. On this, see D. LEECH-WILKISON, *Compositional Procedure in the Four-Part Isorhythmic Works of Philippe de Vitry and his Contemporaries*, unpublished diss., Cambridge University, 1982, p. 81ff; and A. VON STEIGER, *Das Berner Chansonier-Fragment. Beobachtungen zur Handschrift und zum Repertoire*, in *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, Neue Folge 11 (1991), pp. 43-66.

²⁰ The rotulus tenor varies slightly from that in Ivrea and Strasbourg. The CT is the same as Ivrea and Apt, but has no text.

²¹ This setting lacks the introduction and textless cauda found in the other sources.

²² M. BENT, *A Note on the Dating of the Trémoille Manuscript*, in B. GILLINGHAM and P. MERKLEY (ed.), *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, (*Musicological Studies*, 53), Ottawa, 1990, pp. 217-242. Her conclusions are summarized in the table below.

French motets and that it shares syncope with *Sub Arturo plebs* by Alanus.²³ It is amusing to note that the *motetus* of *Degentis* refers to astrologers, and the Nuremberg leaf containing the motet was used ca. 1460 to bind a treatise owned by the mathematician and astronomer Johannes Regiomontanus of Vienna.²⁴

The text of *Degentis* has defied attempts at translation.²⁵ The first person of the *motetus* is an individual named Petrus, perhaps the student of laws of the *triplum*, who bemoans his moral inability to use the necessary rhetoric – hence the perhaps deliberately confusing Latin – or pull the right political strings to obtain a benefice.²⁶ Around him simony reigns. Thus he questions the use of a life devoted to art and, in the end, leaves his fate in the hands of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Perhaps his cynicism is an indication that he was really a composer. Given the sharp criticism of the clergy in the motet's text, the name Petrus may have been selected with deliberate irony. In any case, the *acta capituli* of St Gudula in Brussels reflect the intense preoccupation of clerics with the accumulation of benefices. The *acta* entries only date from 1370, but begin immediately with summary descriptions of appointments and resignations and contain relatively few reports on other chapter business. Even more germane to both fragment and motet are the writings of the Brussels' mystic, Jan van Ruusbroec (d. 1381), who had been a minor cleric at St Gudula, since he condemns adamantly the greed for benefices and wealth of the clergy (probably why none of the many surviving post-mortem inventories of property of St Gudula canons list works of Ruusbroec).²⁷ The thoughts of lower-ranking

²³ Gomez thinks the work was composed in northern France ca. 1380. See M. CARMEN-GOMEZ, *El Manuscrito M. 971 de la Biblioteca de Catalunya (Misa de Barcelona)*, published separately and in *Bulleti de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*, 10 (1982-1984), pp. 159-317, with facsim. of *Degentis*, see esp. pp. 42-43. On the English fragment, see M. BENT and D. HOWLETT, *Subtiliter alternare: The Yoxford Motet O amicus/Precursoris*, *Studies in Medieval Music. Festschrift for Ernest Sanders*, in P. LEFFERTS and B. SEIRUP (ed.), *Current Musicology*, 45-47, 1991, pp. 57, 60-61 (43-84), with facsim. of fols. iv-iiir; also A. WATHEY (ed.), *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, Supplement 1 to RISM B IV1-2, The British Isles, 1100-1400*, Munich, 1993, pp. 30-31, and see plate 11, p. 111. *Degentis* is edited in U. GÜNTHER (ed.), *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M.5, 24 (olim lat. 568), (Corpus mensurabilis musicae, 39)*, Rome, 1965, pp. xxi-xxii, 4-7, and in PMFC 5 (Monaco, 1968, repr. 1974), nos. 23 (a4, from Chantilly), and 23a (a3, from Barcelona).

²⁴ See C. HAMM et al. (ed.), *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550*, 2, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, p. 258, and 4, 1988, p. 451. U. GÜNTHER, *The Motets*, thinks the new contratenor in this manuscript might be German. M. BENT, *Subtiliter alternare*, notes that it destroys isorhythm and creates dissonance.

²⁵ I base the following comments on a translation shared with me by David Howlett, which differs in many respects from that published in PMFC 5, p. XXI.

²⁶ Reinhard Strohm assumes that Petrus is the composer (*The Rise of European Music*, Cambridge, 1993). Bent points out, correctly, that this is not stated in the text (*Subtiliter alternare*, p. 19). The scribe of the English fragment may have misunderstood the text, giving *prebenda* for *prebenda*.

²⁷ See P. DE RIDDER, *Inventaris*, vol. 1, p. 15, who quotes J. VAN RUUSBROEC, VI. *Van den gheesteliken tabernakel* (Tiel, 1946), pp. 326-327.

clerics at St Gudula, such as musicians, might well have echoed the sentiments expressed in *Degentis vita*.

That *Degentis vita* was actually sung at St Gudula and was very likely copied onto the bifolio by 1366, which would make the St Gudula fragment the earliest surviving source for the motet, is evident from the bifolio itself and the contents it binds. Vanden Bussche assigned a *terminus post quem* of 26 November 1376 to the fragment based on a date with a name and title appearing on fol. 53v at the bottom of the page: *Anno M^oCCC septuagesimo sexto XXVIA Novembris*, then below this, *Henricus de Zelle, clericus oppidi Bruxellensis*. Vanden Bussche states that the writing of the name and title is clearer than that of the date, but writes, surprisingly, that both appear to have been copied by the same scribe. He concluded that the music had been copied by that date, but was unable to find further information on Zelle.²⁸ Unfortunately, he was wrong on all three counts.

Two men named Henricus de Zelle were active in Brussels around this time. A Henri van Zelle was elected provost of Groenendaal in 1409, a position for a mature adult, and had received a *magister artium* from Paris, but even though scribal activity was an important part of monastic life at Groenendaal, the monks are not known to have copied cartularies for St Gudula nor is there evidence that relations between the abbey and the collegiate church were especially cordial, even though the legend that the former was founded by dissatisfied clerics from the latter has been discredited.²⁹

The more likely cartulary scribe is, in fact, named clerk of Brussels in other documents as well as in cartulary 5170. This is Henricus de Zelle, city clerk and an executor of the will of another city clerk Petrus van Huffel (d. 1358), also chaplain at St Gudula (Van Huffel founded twelve poor schoolboys known as *Boni Infantes* at the church in 1358).³⁰ Thus, Zelle was associated with St Gudula not long before the cartulary was bound. The archives of Brussels were kept in the treasury of St Gudula during this period, where music manuscripts, if they existed, would have been kept and where scribes of the city such as Zelle would have worked. And although the property transactions described in cartulary 5170 were ultimately the concern of the Fabric of St Gudula, they nevertheless had to be authorized by the aldermen of Brussels, since the property came under civic jurisdiction, and recorded by city clerks rather than church secretaries. Notaries were used later on.³¹

The fascicle of the St Anthony chaplaincy does contain additional information

²⁸ J. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Zangers*, op. cit.

²⁹ On Zelle at Groenendaal, see E. PERSOONS, *Prieuré de Groenendaal à Hoeilaart*, in *Monasticon belge*, 4/4, (1970), p. 1078.

³⁰ See HAGGH, *Music*, pp. 154-155.

³¹ On Huffel, scribes and clerics, see J. PAQUET, *La collaboration du clergé à l'administration des villes de Bruxelles et d'Anvers aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, in *Le moyen âge*, 56:3-4 (1950), pp. 361-364.

about Zelle. Vanden Bussche was in error, for the date written on fol. 53v is actually 27 November 1366, and closer examination of the gathering of documents between the music folios reveals that *h de zelle* signed many entries, dated 1366 to 1383, which escaped Vanden Bussche's notice. Significantly, the first signed entry by Zelle is dated 27 November 1366 precisely.

Now this date appears above Zelle's name in quite a different hand, which may have been unclear to Vanden Bussche because the ink for that date is so light. Was the date on the cover added later by an archivist to refer to the material inside, which would allow a later date for the fragment? We shall never know, but it seems possible that the original date given by Zelle below his name was replaced when the leaf was torn off, since the tear is just below his name; in any case, earlier entries in the cartulary are of earlier date, making the two identical dates exceptional. This, together with the identical signatures of Zelle do suggest that the binding took place in 1366.³²

A full paleographical analysis of this fragment is beyond the scope of this study, yet we can observe that the Gothic book hand of uneven quality and the plain initials do not look like products of a professional scriptorium. It has often been thought that the Ars Nova fragments of the Low Countries originated in Paris and this was my original conclusion about the St Gudula bifolio, given its content. Yet we do not know how many manuscripts were circulating, and the incompatible scripts of the other 14th-century Low Countries' fragments suggest that they were numerous. Little is known about the copying of music outside of Paris during this period, but it did occur, perhaps even at St Gudula. In the accounts of the *villicus* of 1361/2, a payment is registered to a certain *her* Wouter *tes sengers behoef*, and the same year the scribe Aerde was paid by the canons for copying six books of unspecified content. Music was probably copied at the nearly court of Brabant, from which we have ample evidence for the performance of secular music, and some for its composition. Recently Remco Sleiderink has argued that Nicolas Pykini, later a canon at St Gudula and chaplain at the court of Brabant from 1364 to 1389, was the composer Pykini. Peter of Leyda, canon of St Gudula and chaplain at the court of Brabant, was paid for binding four books used by the chapel in 1367-1368, which might well have contained polyphony.³³ The possibility that polyphony, such as that in the Brussels' bifolio, was copied in the Low Countries in the mid 14th century should perhaps not be dismissed so readily.³⁴

³² Tom Ward first noticed the correspondence between Zelle's first entry and the date on fol. 53v. Zelle's signature is on fols. 60r (27 November 1366), 60v (27 November 1366, but a different donation), 63v (marginal notes), 64v (13 August 1383), 66v (16 May 1381). Other signatures are those of W. de Mesmakere, Walterus de Bulct, Arnoldus de Eycke, Jo. Daneels, and W. de Druempt.

³³ On Leyda and Pykini, see B. HAGGH, *Music*, p. 172, and R. SLEIDERINK, *Pykini's Parrot: Music at the Court of Brabant*, in B. HAGGH et al. (ed.), *Musicology and Archival Research*, Brussels, 1994, pp. 358-391.

³⁴ See ASG 4962 and B. HAGGH, *Music*, pp. 535, 660.

Given the likelihood that the St Gudula fragment is the earliest source for *Degentis vita*, and that only the fragments in Leiden and Cambrai are earlier, the former containing *Impudenter* and the latter *Vos quid* and *Impudenter*, means that the St Gudula fragment is of more than local interest.³⁵ It is a central source for our understanding of the *Ars nova* motet repertory, also a uniquely important witness to the early history of polyphony in Brussels, since it contains the only polyphony from before 1500 that can be associated in any way with a local church.

The French Marian motets would have provided music for a foundation made for polyphony by the newly-established Marian confraternity at St Gudula, the first confraternity to be founded there. On 5 December 1362, Jan t'Serclaes, then dean of St Gudula and later bishop of Cambrai, founded the Marian confraternity, whose statutes prescribed the ceremonies that were to be held regularly. These were a Saturday mass and Marian *lof*, both to include *sunderlinghe feesten van musike van discante*. What is fascinating about this foundation is not only the prescription for *discante*, a term used rarely before the mid-15th century, but also the rather sudden insufficiency of the foundation: only a few years after the *lof* was introduced the polyphony had to be discontinued for want of money to pay the singers and it could only be reintroduced after the confraternity's foundation was augmented by Margaret of Cleves at an undetermined time before her death in 1412.³⁶ It is possible that the fragment came to be used as binding in 1366 as a direct result of the discontinuation of the polyphony.

That the motets were especially well-suited to the Marian confraternity's *lof* is evident from the music as well as from the nature of the devotion and its advocates. Three of the motets take plainchant tenors or texts from the Marian antiphons. The middle of the *triplum* of *Impudenter circuivi* falls on the words *plena gratia*, a reference to the antiphon *Ave maria gratia plena*; its tenor is the intonation of the antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater*. The *duplum* of ... *vita spes* emphasizes the phrase from the *Salve regina*, *eya ergo advocata* (and other phrases) with a device known to us best from the works of Du Fay: notes of longer value (not quoting chant), here breves and longs. It ends with the text *alma redemptoris*. I have been unable to locate concordances using this clue. Finally, *Vos quid admiramini* is based on a tenor cantus firmus setting the phrase *gaude virgo gloriosa, super omnes speciosa* in the Marian antiphon *Ave regina celorum*. Such straightforward references to widely sung plainchant may explain why an

³⁵ *Vos quid* is copied in two columns and with the tenor across the bottom of the page in Cambrai 1328.

³⁶ On Jean IV t'Serclaes, see U. BERLIÈRE, *Jean t'Serclaes, évêque de Cambrai (1378-1388)*, in *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis bijzonderlijk van het aloude hertogdom Brabant*, 4 (1907), pp. 245-246. The foundation charter and statutes survive only as later copies (ASG 8951-8952). Cf. Haggh, *Music*, pp. 112, 114-115, 385-386.

early 15th-century treatise of German origin later owned by the Benedictine Abbey of the Holy Cross in Donauwörth cites *Impudenter* as one of a kind of motet appropriate for the church: *Item de primo: omnes sunt moteti, quorum tenorum sunt nullius prolationis, quia tenores motetorum sunt de mo[do] vel de tempore, sicut '[I]da capillorum' vel 'Impudenter', et ultra, quorum tenores a se omnes sunt moteti etc. Et illi debent cantari in ecclesiis et est cantus ecclesiasticus.* Martin Staehelin's discussion of this treatise makes it clear that the *Impudenter* cited can only be the well-known motet.³⁷ In the Strasbourg codex, *Impudenter* was sandwiched between unquestionably sacred pieces, and the different tenor in its Turin parody is the Christmas alleluia verse *Dies sanctificatus*.³⁸ The anonymous *[I]da capillorum* also takes a votive antiphon as tenor cantus firmus.³⁹

Other motets of this period use the four Marian antiphons as tenors.⁴⁰ They may well reflect the growing number of foundations for Marian services following Compline on Saturdays and, later, weekdays. In the Low Countries, Saturday *loven* were founded at the parish church of St George in Antwerp in 1340, at the Cathedral of Tournai in 1356, and at Our Lady's in Bruges in 1365.⁴¹ The motet books documented in the 14th century outside of Brussels would most logically have found use in the earliest services to include polyphony, such foundations as these *loven*.⁴² At St Gudula, the *lof* from the years of its introduction throughout the 15th century was that service containing the most elaborate music performed by the best musicians available.⁴³

The *loven* were certainly important for the history of polyphony. By the 15th century, they were sung in nearly every larger church, often administered by the Marian confraternities, which were unquestionably the most significant patrons of polyphony in churches of the Low Countries. And the Marian confraternity of the church of St Nicholas in Brussels also founded polyphony, hired musicians and supervised the education of choirboys.⁴⁴ The isorhythmic motets of the 14th century have been considered in the past as music compo-

³⁷ See M. STAEHELIN, *Beschreibungen und Beispiele musikalischer Formen in einem unbeachteten Traktat des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 31:3 (1974), pp. 237-242, here p. 239.

³⁸ *Impudenter* comes after a 3vv setting of the paschaltide responsory verse *Dicant nunc judei* and a Sanctus, and is followed by a 4vv *Veni sancte spiritus* and 3vv *Veni creator spiritus*. Cf. WELKER, *Musik am Oberrhein im Späten Mittelalter*, pp. 63, 72-73.

³⁹ *Ida capillorum* (ed. PMFC 5, no. 5) is based on the votive antiphon *Ante thronum/thorum[sic] trinitatis*.

⁴⁰ Cf. *RISM B/IV* vols 1-3, and the motets *Zolomina zelus* with the tenor *Ave Maria* (ed. PMFC 5, no. 10) and *Apta caro* with the tenor *Alma redemptoris mater* (ed. PMFC 5, no. 4).

⁴¹ B. HAGGH, *Music*, pp. 401, 407.

⁴² In the 15th century, most of the manuscripts prepared for the Marian confraternity of Antwerp were motet books. See K. FORNEY, *Music, ritual and patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp*, in *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), p. 33.

⁴³ See HAGGH, *Music*, pp. 397-421.

⁴⁴ On the church of St Nicholas and its Marian confraternity, see B. HAGGH, *Crispijne and Abertijne: Two Tenors at the Church of St Nikolaas in Brussels*, in *Music and Letters*, 76:3 (1995), pp. 325-344.

sed and heard in private by an intellectual elite. In the Low Countries, this elite would have been found among the wealthy bourgeoisie, precisely those individuals who could afford to join the Marian confraternities responsible for the earliest *lof* foundations.⁴⁵ Indeed, Jean t'Serclaes (d. 1389), the founder of St Gudula's Marian confraternity who became bishop of Cambrai in 1478, was surely familiar with Ars Nova polyphony. It may be no coincidence that the both *Impudenter* and *Vos quid* appear in the Cambrai fragments. Thus, the possibility must be considered that some Marian isorhythmic motets of the Ars Nova could have found use in the collegiate churches of the Low Countries as part of the polyphonic *loven* founded by those individuals most concerned with music.

In this respect, the Brussels motets suggest directions that future research should take. Numerous compositions survive from the 13th century onwards based on Marian antiphon tenors. We know that the singing of the *Salve regina* after Compline was introduced by the Dominicans and Franciscans in the first half of the 13th century. Yet little is known about the early inclusion of polyphony in the so-called *Salve* services, either at secular churches or at courts. Accounts are unlikely to yield this information since few survive. But perhaps comparison of ordinals and other service books with early cartularies recording foundations of Marian altars and surviving polyphony may help us to reconstruct this important early history. Motets are characteristically considered to be independent of ritual, yet perhaps we should not be too anxious to dismiss rituals we do not understand.

⁴⁵ Jacques de Liège writes that motets were composed for accomplished musicians and lay connoisseurs. See E. SANDERS, *Motet, I.3: Medieval-Ars Nova*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and musicians*, 12, London, 1980, p. 626.

TABLE

Inventory of ASG 5170

Abbreviations: T=Tenor, Tr=Triplum, Mot=Motetus, ST=Solus Tenor,
CT=Contratenor

NO. FOLIO	TEXT INCIPITS (NO. PARTS)	COMPOSER	CONCORDANCES
1 53r	[Impudenter circui- vi solum]/ Virtutibus laudabilis moribus/ [T Alma redempto- ris mater] (end of Tr, complete Mot and ST)	[Vitry?]	Apt 16bis, 13v-14r (lacking ST) Bern A 421, 1(=xviii)r (<i>contratenor de virtutibus</i> only, per- haps to another work, cf. <i>supra</i> ; the CT is incomplete) Brussels 19606, no. 10 (textless; CT and dif. ST only) Florence 2211, 79v (frag.) Ivrea, 4v-5r (T incom- plete) Leiden 342A, 1v (Tr only) Lübeck 152, 260v (destroyed 1945) (text only) Strasbourg 222, no. 30, 20v-[21r] (ST incip. only), 'Philippus de Vitriaco' in index of Coussemaker copy Troyes 1397, 230r (text only) Turin J II 9, 69v-70r (text parody only: Incessanter expectavi/ Virtutibus ineffabilis/ T Alleluya) Vienna 883, 77r (text only)
2 53v	Degentis vita quid prodest arte/[Cum vix ardidici promo- ti sint]/[T Vera	Anon.	Barcelona 971, 8v-9r (no CT) Breslau IV Qu 16 (cited in treatise)

	pudicitia] (unidenti- fied) (Tr only)		Chantilly 564, 62v-63r (complete) Ipswich, fol.iiv (Tr,T) Melk 950 (cited in tre- atise) Nuremberg frag. lat. 9, 1r (new CT; D missing) Serrant, no. 57 (index) Strasbourg 222, no. 140, 81v
3 67bis ^r	[vita, spes claman- tium (text unidentified) (one voice unde- signated; one labelled CT with line through the word)	Anon.	Unicum
4 67bis ^v	Vos quid admirami- ni virginem/ Gratissima virginis species/[T Gaude gloriosa] (Tr and 32 bars of Mot)	Vitry	Cambrai 1328(n), 15v (lacking ST) Durham 20, 336*v- 337r (lacking ST) Ivrea, 8v-9r (with ST; complete) Serrant, no. 49 (index) (cited in treatise, <i>Quatuor principalia</i>)

SOURCES WITH CONCORDANCES

Present location; Measurements; Date(s); Origin (all as known)

Apt, Basilique Sainte-Anne, Trésor, 16bis: 27-29 x 19.3-21 cm; ca. 1405; Avignon.

Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 971: 29.3 x 21.7 cm; 14th century; Avignon.

Breslau, Universitätsbibliothek, cart. IV, Qu. 16: 20.6 x 14.5 cm; begin 15th century; 'liber monasterii beate Marie virginis in arena wrat', later property of Augustinian canons in Breslau. Cf. Johannes Wolf, 'Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 1 (1918), pp. 329-345, esp. 336.

Bern, Bürgerbibliothek: A 421; 24.2 x 18.2 cm; ca. 1350; unknown.

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 19606 (rotulus): 1320-1335; Paris, then brought north.

Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, 1328: 30.9 x 22 cm; 1350-1400; Cambrai.

Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564: 38.7 x 28.6 cm; 1370-1395; Avignon, or later Italian copy (of French exemplar).

Durham, Cathedral Library, C.I.20: 34 x 22.2 cm; 14th century; English and French origin but purchased for Durham cathedral in the 14th century.

Florence, Archivio capitolare di San Lorenzo, 2211 (fragment).

Ipswich, Suffolk Record Office, HA30:50/22/13.15: leaves now 32 x 23 cm; fragment copied in 14th century and used to bind cartulary in England in third quarter of 15th century; fragment now first pair of flyleaves to a manuscript Extent of the manor of Yoxford, Suffolk (1471-1472).

Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare: 32 x 22.5 cm; 1365-1380; Avignon.

Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit, Bibliotheek, 342A: 27.5 x 20.2 cm; ca. 1350; France.

Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, 152 (destroyed 1945) (cf. Wathey, 'The Motets', p. 148).

Melk, Benediktinerstift, Bibliothek 950, Anonymous, *Tractatulus de cantu mensurali seu figurativo musice artis* (ed. F. Alberto Gallo, Corpus scriptorum de musica, vol. 16, Rome, 1971, pp. 11-37).

Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, fragm. lat. 9: 29.1 x 25.5 cm; ca. 1390-1410, probably copied in Vienna, used at St Stephen's.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.a. fr. 23190 (=Serrant): 45.2 x 32.5 cm; first 32 folios copied by 1376, others probably later additions; first owner possibly Michael de Fontaines, first chaplain of the king of France; possibly belonged to the dukes of Burgundy until it was sold to the Trémoille family in 1477.

Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, 222 C. 22 (burnt 1870): 29 x 21 cm; 1400 (additions 1440-1450); Alsace.

Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1397: in 4^o, 15th century collection of writings from Tournai and Paris and 12th-century fragment of music treatise, later in the possession of the abbey of Clairvaux.

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, J II 9: 39 x 28.3 cm; 1413-1420; Cyprus, court of Lusignan.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 883: 14-15th century; Cistercian convent Kamp in the lower Rhine area, cf. Wathey, 'The Motets', pp. 148-149.

MANUSCRITS DE MUSIQUE DE LA COLLECTION DE G. HUYBENS (LEUVEN/BELGIQUE)

*Music Manuscripts from the Collection
of G. Huybens (Leuven/Belgium).*

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INTRODUCTION

(Gilbert Huybens)

Les quatre manuscrits musicaux datant du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle que j'ai acquis durant la période 1981-1996, sont décrits dans l'ordre de leur acquisition.

A 1-10 10 feuillets séparés de format oblong de la deuxième moitié du XVI^e siècle. Provenance: librairie ancienne J. Devroe (Leuven, 1981). Ces feuillets ont été détachés d'une reliure ancienne, sans précision d'origine, dans laquelle ils étaient fixés en renfort. Aucun de ceux-ci n'est complet. Ces feuillets, dont les bords ont été coupés et dont une partie de la surface a été enduite de colle, travent la lisibilité et l'identification de quelques fragments musicaux en nous empêchant même de les situer par rapport au côté exact (recto=R ou verso=V) dudit feuillet. L'ensemble des 10 feuillets contient 19 fragments musicaux différents, soit 11 anonymes (4 avec texte complet, 3 avec incipit, 4 sans texte), et 8 (2 avec texte complet, 4 avec incipit, 2 sans texte) mentionnant les noms de leur compositeur: Daser (A 6), Jacheto (A 7), Lassus (A 8, 9, 11), Nolleto (A 10) et Verdelot (A 10). Jusqu'à présent de ces 11 pièces anonymes, cinq ont pu être identifiées (A2r.v, 4v, 5v). Quelques feuillets portent l'indication *Cantus* (A 6, 10) ou *Bassus* (A 9); une page porte la date 1573 (A 9).

Au début, je possédais 12 feuillets. J'en offris un en présent de noces à Merle Barten et Dirk Snellings (avril 1983); l'autre, donnée en cadeau en 1986, à une personne indigne de ma confiance qui n'a jamais compris la valeur de mon geste, s'égarra.

Les 10 feuillets de ma collection (A 1-10) et le feuillet de la famille Snellings (A 11) ont attiré l'attention des musicologues lors de l'ex-

position *Bedreigde klanken ? Muziekfragmenten uit de Lage Landen*, tenue du 25 avril au 25 juin 1995 à la Landscommanderij Alden Biezen à Bilzen (Limbourg). Ils sont cités dans le catalogue de même nom (éd. E. Schreurs & B. Bouckaert, nos. 46 et 47) et reproduits en entier dans la superbe anthologie (éd. E. Schreurs), édités tous deux à l'occasion de cette exposition. Dans la présente publication nous les commentons séparément.

- B Une partie complète de basse de format oblong datant d'environ 1600. Provenance: librairie ancienne J. Devroe (Leuven, 1984). Ce recueil renferme 24 pièces anonymes qui ont toutes été identifiées: 23 d'A. Ferrabosco, 1 de W. Damon.
- C Deux parties séparées de format oblong, dont l'une est d'un cantus et l'autre d'une basse, de la deuxième moitié du XVI^e siècle. Provenance: collection privée (Antwerpen, octobre 1995).
- 1 Le premier cahier contient 4 pièces de J. Vaet, R. de Lassus, C. Festa et une *complainte inconnue* sur la mort de Josquin Desprez (d. 1521).
- 2 Le deuxième cahier, écrit d'une main grossière, contient 4 pièces d'A. Blasius.
- D Un folio en parchemin de la deuxième moitié du XIII^e siècle contenant 2 fragments et une chanson complète, en français, à 3 voix. Provenance: collection privée (Bruxelles, février 1996).

A messieurs Henri Vanhulst et Karl Kügle j'exprime ma sincère reconnaissance pour le travail qu'ils ont effectué en décrivant en détail les manuscrits C¹ et D. Je remercie également Saskia Willaert pour l'intérêt qu'elle a bien voulu porter à la vie et l'œuvre du compositeur anglais du XVI^e siècle, William Damon, dont une pièce se trouve dans le manuscrit B. Sans leur aide cette publication n'aurait pas atteint le retentissement désiré.

OUVRAGES CITÉS

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- CMM *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*.
- DTö *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*.

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CATALOGUE

- A 1 Anonyme : fragment d'un altus de 2 pièces anonymes dont une avec incipit latin et l'autre sans texte (non-identifiées).
Illustration : Schreurs, pp. 109 et 108 (côté droit, supérieur).
Papier (coupé); oblong (123 x 180 mm).
R : Altus (clé d'ut troisième ligne) d'un motet latin commençant par les mots *Sis humilis*. Au début de la pièce, devant la portée, figure le chiffre 87, probablement un numéro d'ordre.
V : Cinq portées couvertes de notes sans texte.
- A 2 Anonyme : fragment d'un ténor de 2 pièces anonymes pourvues chacune d'un texte latin (identifiées).
Ill.: Schreurs, pp. 107 et 106 (côté droit, supérieur).
Papier (coupé); oblong (140 x 187 mm); dans le coin supérieur gauche figure le fragment d'un filigrane.
R : Premier ténor du motet latin à 8 voix *Jam non dicam vos servos* (St Jean 15, 15) de Domenico Phinot, compositeur franco-italien du XVI^e siècle. Ce motet fut publié à l'époque [Lincoln², p. 291^a] et réédité dans le CMM [59, IV, pp. 154-163].
V: Premier ténor du motet latin à 8 voix *Deus misereatur nostri* (psaume 66) de Roland de Lassus. Ce motet fut publié à

l'époque [Boetticher, p. 177] et réédité par Commer et Haberl & Sandberger [Lincoln², p. 196^a].

- A 3 Anonyme : fragment d'une basse de 2 pièces anonymes sans texte (non-identifiées).

Ill.: *Schreurs*, pp. 106 et 107 (côté droit, inférieur).

Papier (coupé); oblong (152 x 175 mm); dans le coin supérieur gauche figure le fragment d'un filigrane.

R : Six portées dépourvues de notes.

V : En haut de la page figure le mot *Bass*. Bassus de deux pièces anonymes sans textes.

- A 4 Anonyme : fragment d'une basse de 2 pièces anonymes pourvues chacune d'un texte latin (1 pièce identifiée).

Ill.: *Schreurs*, pp. 108 et 109 (côté droit, inférieur).

Papier (coupé); oblong (140 x 185 mm).

R : Deuxième basse du motet latin à 8 voix *In convertendo dominus* (psaume 125) avec la seconde partie *Converte domine* de Roland de Lassus. Ce motet fut publié à l'époque [Boetticher, p. 206] et réédité par Haberl & Sandberger et A. Carver [Lincoln², p. 200^a].

V : Basse d'une chanson anonyme avec texte latin dont voici les phrases reconstituées par portée¹:

1 ... enaru[m] iacet | iacet aula subacta sororu[m] | su[n]t m...

2 ... fama fames | vulgus amat fatuos | fatuos vates q[ui]a

3 ... nullus honor musis | nunc nisi restat onus

4 ... musis rega[n]t | p[er]lege libido | su[n]t musae mutae ...

- A 5 Anonyme : fragment d'une basse de 2 pièces anonymes avec incipit français (identifiées).

Ill.: *Schreurs*, pp. 107 et 106 (côté droit, milieu).

Papier (coupé); oblong (128 x 186 mm).

R : Vagues traces de portées et de notes.

V : Basse de 2 chansons françaises commençant par les mots *Si de nouveau* et *Que pleust*. Ces chansons sont d'un certain Verius, compositeur peu connu du XVI^e siècle, que l'on peut probablement identifier à :

1. *Magistro Joanne Verius* auteur d'un recueil de *Cantiones Gallicae* (Louvain, P. Phalèse, s.d.) [Vanhulst, nos. 74 et 113];

2. *Juan Verio de nacion flamengo*, maître de chapelle de la cour de Marguerite de Parme (1522 - 1586), qui, succédant à son demi-frère Philippe II d'Espagne fut, de 1559 à 1567, régente des Pays-Bas. Après sa mort, Verio devint membre de la chapelle de l'évêque de Cività-Ducale, ville située près de Rieti en Italie [Vander Straeten, VI, pp. 482-484]. Jusqu'à présent,

seules cinq chansons françaises de Verius nous sont connues:

1 En contemplant votre divinité

2 En regardant la beaulté

3 Ma maitresse est toute angelette

4 Que pleust à Dieu

5 Si de nouveau

1568 *Si de nouveau* et *Que pleust à Dieu*, les deux chansons de notre manuscrit, apparaissent déjà dans le *Luculentum theatrum musicum* (Louvain, P. Phalèse, 1568), un recueil contenant 161 pièces arrangées pour le luth [Vanhulst, no. 123, 58-59].

1571 *En regardant la beaulté* et *Que pleust à Dieu* se trouvent dans le *Theatrum musicum* (Louvain, P. Phalèse, 1571), un recueil contenant 194 pièces arrangées pour le luth [Vanhulst, no. 156, 65-66].

1578 *Ma maitresse est toute angelette* et *Que pleust à Dieu* paraissent dans le *Sisième livre de chansons à quatre parties* (Paris, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard, 1578), un recueil contenant 18 chansons [Lesure-Thibault, no. 220].

1578 *En contemplant votre divinité* fait partie du *Vingtième livre de chansons à quatre & cinq parties* (Paris, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard, 1578), un recueil contenant 18 chansons [Lesure-Thibault, no. 227].

La chanson *Si de nouveau* ne nous est connue que par l'édition de 1568. Le texte complet nous manque puisqu'aussi bien dans notre manuscrit que dans l'édition de 1568, seul l'incipit est mentionné. *Que pleust à Dieu* fut la chanson la plus 'répandue' de Verius. Peut-être doit-elle sa 'popularité' au texte sensuel qui convenait parfaitement au climat littéraire de l'époque:

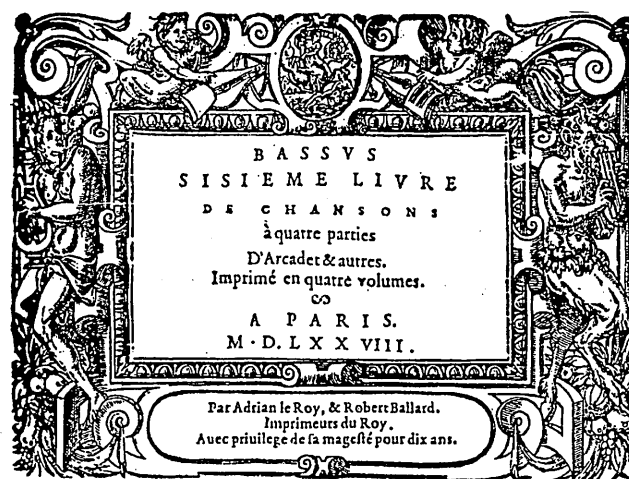
Que pleust à Dieu que je peusse
Pour un soir devenir puce,
Sans soupçon je me couçeroys,
Entre tes bras mon sucre doux,
Entre tes bras mon doux esmoy,
En te baisant tes beaux yeux,
Et ton sein délicieux,
D'ou les amours qui me tuent,
Dix mille flesches me ruent.

Les éditions de 1568 et 1571 et notre manuscrit ne donnent que l'incipit de cette chanson. Par contre le *Sisième livre* (Paris, 1578) est la seule source connue où le texte complet se présente.

Notre basse correspond, à quelques détails près, à l'imprimé de 1578.²

¹ Je remercie Mr. Gilbert Tournoy (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven) pour cette reconstitution.

² Je remercie Mr. Frédéric Vergne, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque et des Archives du Musée Condé au château de Chantilly (France) pour son concours précieux au *Sisième livre*, qu'il a bien voulu m'accorder.



VERIVS.

Q Ve pleut que pleut à Dieu que je peusse Pour vn soir .ij.
 que je peusse Pour vn soir de- nix puce, Sans
 soupçon je me couceroy, je me couceroy, Sans soupçon je me couceroy,
 Entre tes bras .ij. entre tes bras mō sucre doux Entre tes bras .ij.

VI. BASSVS. 8

mō doux mō doux esmoy, En te baïsât tes beaux yeux, Et ton sein délicieux, Et
 ton sein délicieux D'oules amours .ij. qui me tuent, Dix mille fef-
 ches me ruent. .ij. Dix mille fefches me ruent,
 .ij. Dix mille fefches me ruent.

Figure 1: Page de titre du *Sisieme livre à quatre parties* (Paris, 1578) et la basse (fol. 7v-8r) de la chanson *Que pleut à Dieu* de Verius. Ex.: Chantilly, Musée condé, XI^D 98 (6)

- A 6 Daser et anonyme : fragment d'un cantus de 2 pièces dont une avec incipit latin et l'autre sans texte et anonyme (non-identifiée).
 Ill.: *Schreurs*, pp. 108 et 109 (côté droit, milieu).

Papier (coupé); oblong (122 x 175 mm); dans le coin supérieur gauche figure le fragment d'un filigrane.

R : En haut de la page du feuillet figure le chiffre 11, probablement un numéro d'ordre. Cantus d'une pièce anonyme sans texte. La clé classique se présente ici sous la forme de la lettre g sur la deuxième ligne.

V : En haut de la page on remarque le nom *L. Daser*. Cantus du motet latin à 6 voix *Quemadmodum* (psaume 41) de Ludwig Daser (ca. 1525-1589) qui fut, de 1552 à 1563, maître de chapelle de la cour de Bavière à Munich. Roland de Lassus lui succéda. Une édition imprimée de ce motet m'est inconnue.

- A 7 Jacheto : fragment d'une basse avec incipit latin.
 Ill.: *Schreurs*, pp. 107 et 106 (côté gauche, supérieur).
 Papier (coupé); oblong (126 x 185 mm); dans le coin supérieur droit figure le fragment d'un filigrane.

R/V : En haut de la page du feuillet figurent le chiffre 17, probablement un numéro d'ordre, et le nom *Jacheto*. Bassus (clé de fa quatrième ligne) du motet latin à 5 voix *Videns dominus* avec la seconde partie (clé de fa troisième ligne) *Pulchre sunt*, commençant au verso. Ce motet, du chanteur-compositeur Jacques Colebault alias Jachet de Mantoue (1483-1559), parut déjà en 1540 à Venise. Une édition moderne de ce motet m'est inconnue.

- A 8 Lassus : fragment d'un cantus d'une pièce avec incipit latin.
 Ill.: *Schreurs*, pp. 106 et 107 (côté gauche, milieu).

Papier (coupé); oblong (134 x 187 mm).

R/V : En haut de la page du feuillet *Orlandus*. Cantus du motet latin à 6 voix *Locutus sum in lingua mea* avec la seconde partie *Fac mecum signum* se prolongeant au verso. Ce motet est de Roland de Lassus. Il fut publié à plusieurs reprises [Boetticher, p. 345] et réédité par Haberl & Sandberger [XVII, pp. 62-66].

- A 9 Lassus : fragment d'une basse de 3 pièces avec incipit français.
 Ill.: *Schreurs*, pp. 108 et 109 (côté gauche, supérieur).

Papier (coupé); oblong (150 x 176 mm).

R : En haut de la page du feuillet *orl.* et *Bass.* Bassus de 2 chansons françaises à 4 voix *Si ie suis brun & ma couleur trop noire* avec la seconde partie *Ne vous soit*, et *Quand un cordier*.

V : En haut de la page *Orl.* 1573. Bassus de la chanson française à 4 voix *Un jeune moine est sorti du couvent*. Ces 3 chansons sont de Roland de Lassus. Elles furent publiées à plusieurs reprises

[Boetticher, p. 383] et rééditées par Haberl & Sandberger [XII, pp. 30-33; 108-109; 89-93].

A 10 Nolleto et Verdelot : fragment d'un cantus de 2 pièces sans texte.

Ill.: Schreurs, pp. 109 et 108 (côté gauche, milieu).

Papier (coupé); oblong (115 x 185 mm).

R : En haut de la page du feuillet figurent le chiffre 9, probablement un numéro d'ordre, et le nom *Nolleto*. *Cantus* du madrigal italien à 6 voix *Partomi donna e teco il core* de Nolleto, compositeur italien peu connu du XVI^e siècle. Ce madrigal parut déjà en 1546 à Venise. Aux Pays-Bas, le nom de Nolleto était connu par la publication dans le *Theatrum musicum* (Louvain, P. Phalèse, 1563) [Vanhulst, no. 98, p. 73] et le *Luculentum theatrum musicum* (Louvain, P. Phalèse, 1568) [Vanhulst, no. 123, p. 106] d'un arrangement pour luth de son madrigal italien *Qual anima*.

V : En haut de la page, à côté d'un chiffre disparu (8 ou 10 ?), figure le nom *Verdelot*. *Cantus* du madrigal italien à 6 voix *Donna che deggio far s'el gran desi* de Philippe Verdelot, compositeur français du XVI^e siècle. Ce madrigal connu, à l'époque, plusieurs publications [Bragard, p. 59, no. 23; Lincoln¹, p. 687^b].

A 11 Lassus : fragment d'un cantus de 2 pièces avec incipits latins (collection privée de la famille Snellings).

Ill.: Schreurs, pp. 109 et 108 (côté gauche, inférieur).

Papier (coupé); oblong (116 x 185 mm).

R : En haut de la page du feuillet *Orlandus De Lasso. 8. Voc: Discantus pr.* Premier cantus du motet latin à 8 voix *Dixit dominus domino meo* (psaume 109) lequel continue au verso.

V : Deuxième cantus du motet latin à 8 voix *Confitebor tibi domine in toto corde meo* (psaume 137). Les deux motets sont de Roland de Lassus et furent publiés à l'époque [Boetticher, pp. 351 et 202] et réédités par Haberl & Sandberger [Lincoln², pp. 194^b et 196^b].

LE MANUSCRIT B

ANONYME: PARTIE DE BASSE CONTENANT 24 PIÈCES ANONYMES
AVEC TEXTES LATINS (IDENTIFIÉES)

(Gilbert Huybens)

Papier; oblong (137 x 195 mm); 40 feuillets dont 38 sont foliés de 1 à 38; 4 portées par page; de fol. 1r au fol. 38r musique et textes de 24 pièces; le fol. 38v et les 2 derniers feuillets ne contiennent que des portées vides; dans les feuillets 8, 15, 20, 36 et 37 figurent des fragments d'un filigrane.

La reliure d'époque, restaurée avant que je ne l'acquière, est pourvue d'une discrète surimpression dorée.

Le registre quasi alphabétique, qui figure au début du recueil après la feuille de garde, donne 24 incipits latins. Après cinq titres, une main anonyme ajouta au crayon les noms d'A. Ferrabosco et de W. Daman (voyez ci-après sa biographie).

<i>Aurora diem</i>	1	<i>Incipit lamentatio</i>	1
<i>Ad te levavi</i>	29	<i>Incipit lamentatio II</i>	3
<i>Benedic anima</i>	9	<i>In gemis susanna</i>	25
<i>Benedic anima II</i>	26	<i>Musica laeta</i>	20
<i>Conserua me</i>	22	<i>Miserere</i>	21
<i>Cantate domino</i>	30	<i>Nuncium vobis</i>	37
<i>Draco ipse</i>	17	<i>Peccata me</i>	35
<i>Domine in virtute</i>	17	<i>Posuisti</i>	36
<i>Da pacem</i>	37	<i>Qui fundasti</i>	27
<i>Ece iam noctes</i>	12	<i>Qui omittis</i>	38
<i>Emite spiritum</i>	15	<i>Sana me domine</i>	7
<i>Fleu mibi domine</i>	6	<i>Satura buntia</i>	33

Figure 1: Le manuscrit B

En suivant ces indications, nous avons pu identifier les autres compositions. Exception faite de la pièce de W. Daman, toutes les autres sont dues au compositeur anglo-italien Alfonso Ferrabosco dit 'le vieux' (1543-1588): vingt motets, deux lamentations et une chanson, tous en latin.

Ces 23 pièces se retrouvent dans l'œuvre complète de Ferrabosco éditée par R. Charteris dans le CMM. La comparaison de notre manuscrit avec les transcrip-

1	1r-3r	Incipit Lamentatio Heremie prophete - Aleph. Quomodo sedet sol - Hierusalem ... convertere ad dominum	Threni 1, 1-3 Osee 14, 2	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, II 135-147 [C 65]
2	3v-6r	Incipit Lamentatio Heremie prophete - Zain - Vocavimus amicos meos - Samech - Meminavit et aduxit in tenebras - Misericordiae domini - Bonus est dominus - Levemus corda nostra - Thau - Vocem meam audisti - Judicasti domine - Jerusalem ... Convertere ad dominum	Threni 1, 19 Threni 3, 2 Threni 3, 22 Threni 3, 25 Threni 3, 41 Threni 3, 56 Threni 3, 58 Osee 14, 2	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, II 148-163 [C 66]
3	6v-7r	Heu mihi domine [quia peccavi nimis]		A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 193-197 [C 37]
4	7v-9r	Sana me domine [et salvus ero] pars 2 ^a : Ne derelinquas me domine	Jerem. 17, 14 et Ps. 118, 25+117 Ps. 37, 22/23	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, II, 80-84 [C 55/56]
5	9v-10v	Benedic, anima mea [... et omnia]	Ps. 102, 1/6+8	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 91-97 [C 19]
6	11r-12r	Aurora diem [nuntiat et terram vos]		A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 30-35 [C 7]
7	12v-13v	Ecce iam noctis [tenuatur umbra]		A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 175-179 [C 33]
8	14r-15r	Draco iste [quem formasti]	Ps. 103, 26 ^b /29	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 76-80 [C 16]
9	15v-16v	Emitte spiritum tuum [et creabuntur]	Ps. 103, 30/32	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 81-85 [C 17]
10	17r-19v	Domine in virtute tua letabitur [rex] pars 2 ^a : Magna est gloria eius	Ps. 20, 5 Ps. 20, 6/8	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 154-165 [C 30/31]
11	20r-21r	Musica laeta [suum te gaudet habere]		A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, III 1-6 [C 79]
12	21v-22r	Miserere [nostri domine]	Is. 33, 2 Ps. 122, 3 ^a	W. Damon	
13	22v-25r	Conserva me domine pars 2 ^a : Vias tuas domine	Ps. 15, 1 et Ps. 24, 5, 8 ^a Ps. 24, 4 ^b , 7 ^a , 16 ^a	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 119-130 [C 24/25]
14	25v-26v	Ingemuit Susanna	Dan. 13, 22/23	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, II 20-26 [C 43]

15	26v-27r	Benedic, anima mea [...magnificatus es]
16	27v-28r	Qui fundasti [terram super stabilitatem]
17	28v-29r	Qui emittis [fontes in convalibus]
18	29v-30r	Ad te levavi [oculos meos]
19	30v-32v	Cantate dominum [canticum novum] pars 2 ^a : Quia beneplacitum est
20	33r-34r	Saturabuntur [ligna campi]
21	34v-35r	Da pacem domine [in diebus nostris]
22	35v-36r	Peccata mea [domine sicut]
23	36v-37r	Posuisti [tenebras]
24	37v-38r	Nuntium vobis [fero de supernis]

tions de R. Charteris, fit apparaître plusieurs différences dans la mise en place de certains mots. Les textes de quinze motets ne furent, pas toujours littéralement, empruntés à neuf psaumes différents. Remarquons la fragmentation du psaume 103 dont 23 versets sont éparpillés sur sept morceaux musicaux différents.

Le tableau ci-joint, dans lequel le contenu du volume se présente chronologiquement, donne pour chaque pièce individuelle le numéro d'ordre, le foliotage, le titre ou l'incipit de la pièce, le passage de la Bible, le nom du compositeur, et le renvoi à l'édition moderne du CMM avec, entre crochets, la numérotation de R. Charteris.

Ps. 103, 1/2a	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 36-40 [C 8]
Ps. 103, 5/9	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 44-47 [C 10]
Ps. 103, 10/12	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 48-53 [C 11]
Ps. 122, 1/2	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 7-12 [C 2]
Ps. 149, 1/3 Ps. 149, 4/5	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 107-108 [C 22/23]
Ps. 103, 16/19	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 58-64 [C 13]
	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 136-141 [C 27]
	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, II 70-75 [C 53]
Ps. 103, 20/23	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, I 65-71 [C 14]
	A. Ferrabosco	CMM 96, II 49-52 [C 48]

WILLIAM DAMON (1540 - 1591)

(Saskia Willaert)

Biography

Although it is generally assumed that the polyphonist William Damon (Guillem, Guilielmo, Wylihelm; Daman, Damond, De Man, Demande, Demano, Demawnde, Dyamond), who resided in London for most of his career, was a Walloon émigré, contemporary English registers, offering a *perfect viewe* of all the *straungers that are presentlie abidinge within the cytie ... of London*, identified Damon as an Italian musician (App. 1, nos. 1, 5), perhaps confusing the indication of *borne in Lewklande* [the land of Liège?] and *borne in Luke* [Liège?] (App. 1, nos. 2, 4) with the Italian city of Lucca.¹ Occasionally, he is enregistered as a member of the Italian church, implying that he was a Catholic (App. 1, nos. 2, 4), while at least one register reads that he belonged to the French church, suggesting a Protestant (Huguenot?) devotion, which would fit in well with the concept of his later music prints (App. 1, no. 3).

Confusion also arises with respect to the date of his immigration to England. The earliest reference (App. 1, no. 1: May 1571) indicates that the musician moved to England in 1561-62 (*hath byn in this realme X yeares*). However, according to other entries he had been living in London since 1566 (App. 1, no. 2, Nov. 1571: *hath byn in England VI yeares* and no. 4, 1583: *hath bene here XVII yeares*), a date which seems more likely as he was brought to England by Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, who toured the Continent between 1563 and 1566.² Sackville was an influential politician and diplomat, and a wealthy art lover, who is said to have supported musicians throughout his life, including *the most curious which anywhere he could have*.³ Damon followed Sackville to England with his wife Anna and at least four children, entered the service of the English patron (App. 1, no. 2) and apparently settled in the parish of St. James Garlickhithe (App. 2, no. 1a). Later, between 1569 and 1572, he moved with his family to Broad Street Ward, in the parish of St. Peter le Poor (App. 2, nos. 1b and 2).⁴

¹ See also VANNES, p. 100.

² See App. 1, no. 2 and L[EE], *Sackville, Thomas*, p. 586.

³ George Abbot's Funeral Sermon, 1608, cited in L[EE], *Sackville, Thomas*, p. 586.

⁴ The Act Book of Probates and Administration covering the years 1588-1594 (GB-Lgu, Ms. 9050/2) and containing the *testamentum* of William Damon dated 2 July 1591 (Figure 1, v. 3-4: *secundo die mensis predictis [Julio]*), names Anne Damon as *eius relicte* (*the one he left behind*; v. 4-5). As no record related to his marriage could be found in the parish registers of St. James Garlickhithe and St. Peter le Poor, he must have been married before his move to England. Four of his children are listed in the funeral registers of the said parishes, which, however, do not contain their baptism record; this implies that they were born on the continent: Elizabeth (d. 1572), Damaris (d. 1573/4), Adam I (d. 1574) and William (d. 1578); see App. 2, no. 2. For his address, see VANNES, p. 101.

Damon was employed by Sackville for twelve years. On 26 January 1577 he was appointed musician to Queen Elizabeth and left the Sackville household.⁵ He seems to have remained in royal service until his death. According to the parish registers of St. Peter le Poor, the funeral of William Damon took place on 26 March 1591. The Act Book of Probates and Administration (see Figure 1) refers to an inventory (*testamentum*), made of his goods, and declares that he left the total sum of 21 pounds and 7 shillings (... *est inven[taris?] ad summum 21li 7s*).

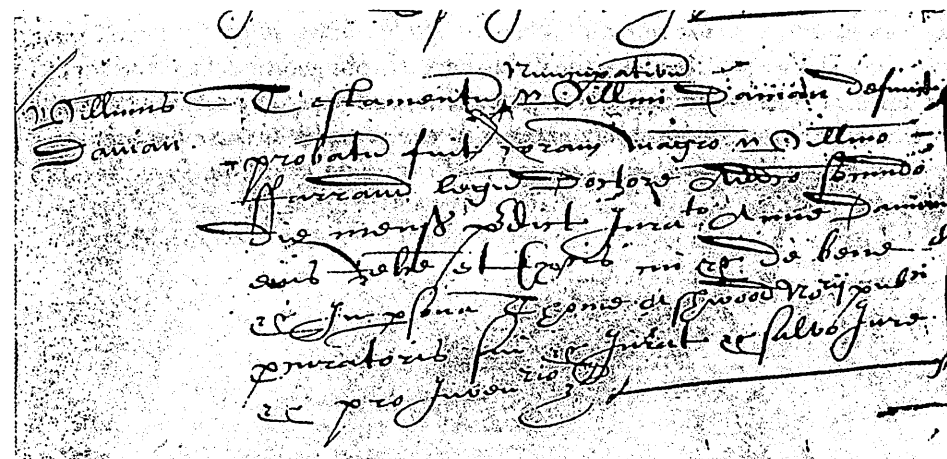


Figure 1: Act Book of Administrations and Probates 1588-94. GB-Lgu, Ms. 9050, fol. 67r

Works

Damon is mainly remembered for his harmonizations of the church tunes from the T. Sternhold and I. Hopkins English metrical Psalter, meant for domestic use. This Psalter was first published in 1549, entitled *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* and containing 37 Sternhold psalm translations and a further seven by Hopkins. The first Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter with music was published in Geneva 1556.⁶ In 1579 Damon's *Psalmes of David in English meter, with Notes of foure partes set unto them ... to the use of the godly Christians for recreatyng them selves, in stede of fond and unseemely Ballades* were published

⁵ See *Calendar of the Patent Roll*, p. 338. According to Fétis, he was organist of the chapel royal (FÉTIS, p. 419). Van den Borren states that his name is listed in the royal Harleian Ms. 1644 (for the year 1581) and in the *Household Accounts* of 1590-92 (VAN DEN BORREN, p. 81).

⁶ See LE HURAY, p. 372. Although Burney and Hawkins suggests that Damon was the first *who composed parts to these old melodies, in England* (BURNLEY, p. 53; see also HAWKINS, p. 555), John Day had published a harmonized edition of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter in 1563; see LE HURAY, p. 376.

on the demand of John Bull, goldsmith and citizen of London, who had by preece meale gotten and gathered together from the fertile soyle of his honest friend Guilielmo Daman ... such fruites as ... increased in him selfe speciall comforts and recreations aswell spirituall as corporall (see Figure 2).⁷ As it later transpired, Bull had not asked Damon's permission for publication, which explains why the preface vigorously attempts to justify that *like as by sondry good lawes and constitutions politicall, some thyngs, which seeme to be in propriete private, by reason of possession which men have in the same, are yet in their use publicque, and to retaine them, is oftentimes perillous and at all tymes iniurious*. It also explains why the publishers felt obliged to defend the composer against criticism, advertising *all those that shall yeeld any censure hereupon: to weete, that the author and composer of the musicke of these psalmes never ment them to the use of any learned and cunningg musition, but altogether respected the pleasuryng of his private friend*.⁸ The polyphonic settings were conceived in a very simple imitative style (with the cantus firmus in the tenor).

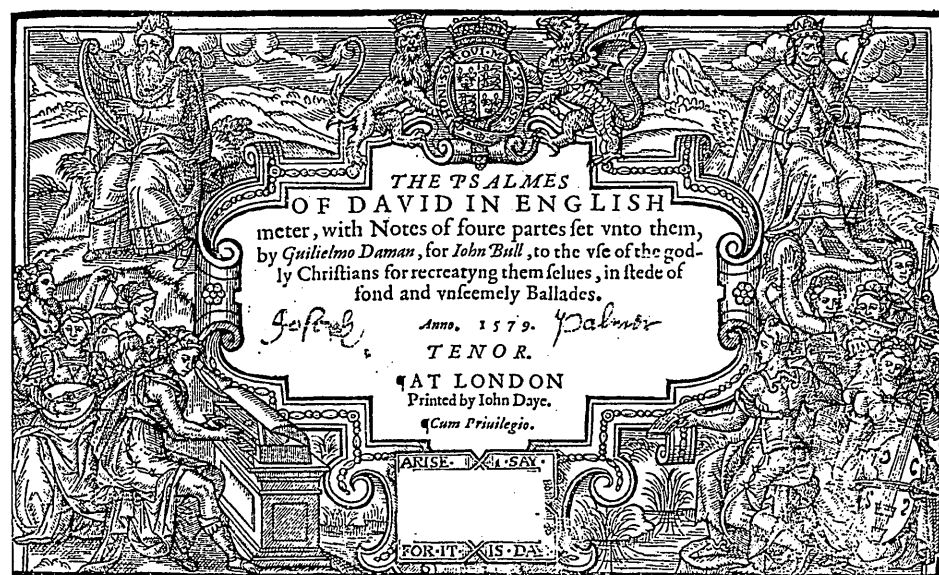


Figure 2: Titlepage *The Psalmes of David in English meter*, 1579. Ex.: London, The British Library (Music Library), k.4.c.5.

However, Damon seems not to have appreciated this act of artistic piracy. The preface of two editions with new settings by the composer, published in 1591

⁷ Preface to *The Psalmes of David in English meter*, fol. 2r. The preface is written by Edward Hake, gent.
⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 2r-v.

⁹ See the title page of *The Former Booke* and *The Second Booke*: 'Damon, late one of her maiesties musitions' (see also Figure 2). As Damon was buried on 26 March 1591, the volumes must have been printed after that date.

by William Swayne, gent., shortly after the death of the composer,⁹ reveal that Damon had been embarrassed by the 1579 edition of the psalms, which were merely intended for his friend's private use ... so set and made without labour or purpose to publish them ... not answering th' expectation that many had of the auctor's skill. It was hoped that the two new collections would give him occasion to take upon him a new labour to recover the wrong his friend did in publishing that that was so done.¹⁰ *The Former Booke* and *The Second Booke* of 1591 comprise 69 psalms, all but four of which were retained from the 1579 book. But the harmonization had been reworked. Moreover, Damon had set each psalm twice, once in the tenor voice (*The Former Booke*) and once in the cantus (*The Second Booke*), both in contrapuntal style. According to Swayne, Damon's *worthie knowledge [is] much more graced by this second trauaile*.¹¹

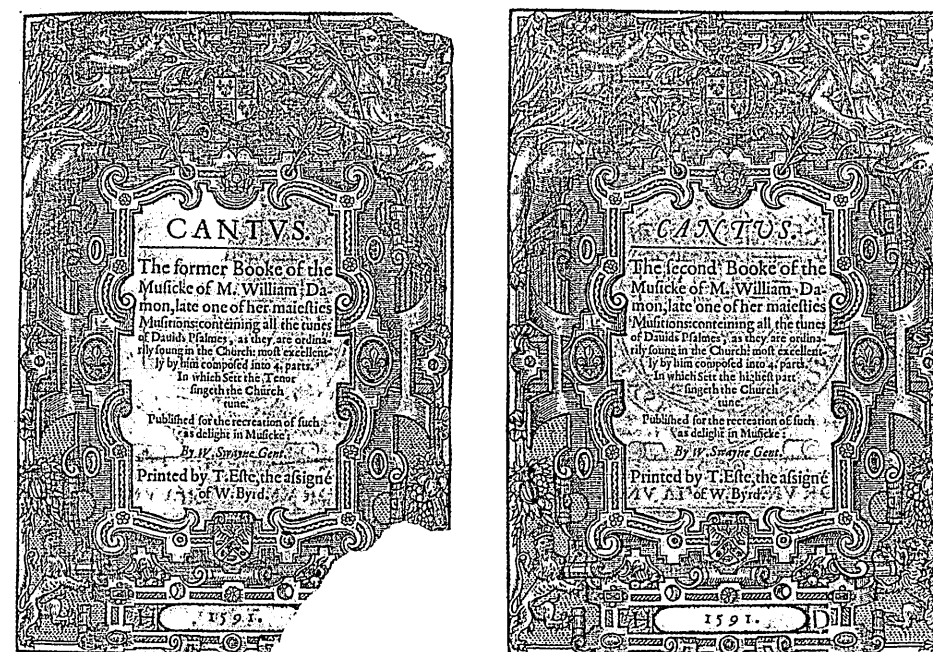


Figure 3: Titlepages *The Former Booke*, 1591 and *The Second Booke*, 1591. Ex.: Oxford, Christ Church, STC 6220-6221 (Printed Music 1083-4)

Apart from these three volumes of psalms and a *Fantasia a 3* for three viols, included in XX. *Konincklycke Fantasien, om op 3 Fioolen de Gamba en ander Speel-tuigh te gebruycken ... en noch IX. Fantasien ... door T. Lupi, I. Coprario*,

¹⁰ See the preface to *The Former Booke*, fol. 2v and *The Second Booke* (with the same preface as *The Former Booke*). Both the volumes are dedicated to William C. Knight, Baron of Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

W. Daman, O. Gibbons, Amsterdam, Paulus Mattysz., 1648,¹² a number of Latin motets and instrumental pieces are preserved in manuscript collections.¹³

1. *Miserere nostri Domine*, 5v: GB-Lbm Add. Ms. 5054, fol. 25v (score), Add. Ms. 29372-29377 (5 partbooks: i-iv: fol. 31v; v: fol. 19v), R.M.24.d.2/2 (the Baldwin Ms.; score), R.M.24.c.11/24 (score), R.M.24.h.11/27, fol. 90 (with bass; variant version); US-NH Miscellaneous Ms. 170, Filmer 1/a-e (5 partbooks: i, iii, iv: fol. 56; ii, v: fol. 57); US-NYp Ms. Mus.Res.Drexel 4302 (Sambrook Manuscript); B-Leuven-private collection Gilbert Huybens (bass partbook: fol. 21r-22v) (see Figure 4). The text of this motet, which is preserved in no less than five different manuscripts, is restricted to the three words *Miserere nostri*, *Domine*, which occur in psalm 112 (v 3) as well as the Prophet Jesaia (33, v 2). The music is simple, focusing on the notes of the descending tetrachord $a^1 - g^1 - f^1 - e^1$, its reversion and transpositions. This formula recurs about 60 times through the 46 bars of the five voices. A similar procedure appears in the superius of Damon's *Fantasia a 3* for three viols (Amsterdam, 1648), where the hexachord $g^1 - a^1 - b^1 - c^2 - d^2 - e^2$ is repeated 19 times. Charles Burney was in possession of a copy of the motet for five voices, *lent to me*, he said, by Dr. [Samuel] Pepusch about the year 1746.¹⁴ He found the harmony clear and good, and the subject extremely simple and uniform, the parts constantly singing a tetrachord in 'moto contrario'. The *Miserere* was published in 1898 in a modern edition by the English musicologist Godfrey Edward Pellew Arkwright (1864-1944) in volume 21 of *The Old English Edition*, London, 1889-1902 (Figure 5). In 1913 the Belgian musicologist Charles Van den Borren described the *Miserere* as "une belle pièce à cinq voix où la facture scolastique se concilie d'ingénieuse manière avec les nécessités de l'expression".¹⁵
2. *Beati omnes*, motet, 6v: GB-Lbm Add. Ms. 32377, fol. 40v (*Demand*)
3. *Confitebor tibi Domine*, 5v: GB-Och Mss. 979-983, no. 39 (lacking tenor)
4. *Omnis caro gramen sit*, 6v: GB-Och Mss. 979-983, no. 105 (lacking tenor)
5. *Praedicabo laudes*, 6v: GB-Och Mss. 979-983, no. 104 (lacking tenor)

¹² Zie *RISM B/I/1*, p. 524: 1648⁷. Modern edition: *XXIX Konincklycke fantasien ...*, ed. H. Mönkemeyer, in *Monumenta Musicae ad usum practicum: eine Denkmalreihe für Freunde alter Music*, iv, Celle, 1985; facsimile: Musica, Peer, 1987, 3 partbooks: i, ii, fol. 6v; iii, fol. 4v)

¹³ This opus-list has been made together with Gilbert Huybens. For bibliographical details on the manuscripts and their contents, see *Census-Catalogue of manuscript sources of polyphonic music 1400-1550*, ii., pp. 53-54, 66, 98-99, 249-250, 264-265, 313-316 (the Paris source is omitted in this Catalogue). Additional information on form of edition (partbooks/score), no. of voices, exact location within the manuscript has been given when available. I would like to thank V.H. Cummings, C.A. Banks (GB-Lbm), Kendall L. Crilly (US-NH), John Shepard (US-NYp), Janet McMullin (GB-Och), Catherine Massip (F-Pn) and Christophe Libberecht (Leuven/Peer, Alamire Foundation) for their kind collaboration.

¹⁴ BURNEY, p. 54.

¹⁵ VAN DEN BORREN, p. 86.

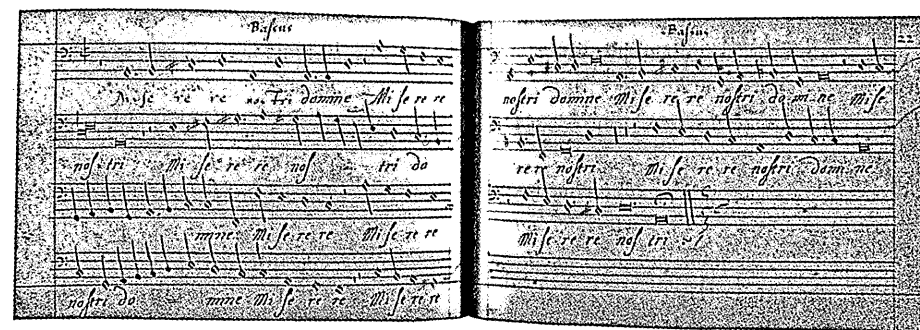


Figure 4: Bass partbook of the motet *Miserere nostri* (undated). From the private collection of Gilbert Huybens

6. *O heavenly God, O Father deare*, 5v: GB-Lbm Add. Mss. 29372-29377 (5 partbooks: i-iv: fol. 23; v: fol. 11); GB-Och Mss. 56, 57, 59, 60 (4 partbooks: i-iv: fol. 52, lacking bass); US-NH Miscellaneous Ms. 170, Filmer 1/a-e (5 partbooks: i, iii, iv: fol. 54v, ii, v: fol. 55v) (included in *The Second Booke*)
7. *O mighty God preserve the throne*, anthem, 5v: US-NH Miscellaneous Ms. 170, Filmer 1/a-e (5 partbooks: i, iii-iv: fol. 55v; ii, v: fol. 56v) (included in *The Former Booke*)
8. *Veni Creator - Come holy Ghost eternall God*, psalm, 4v: F-Pn Ms. Rés. 1186, fol. 41v (included in *The Second Booke*)¹⁶
9. *The song of y^e 3 children - Benedicite - O all yee works of God y^e Lord*, psalm, 4v: F-Pn Ms. Rés. 1186, fol. 42 (included in *The Second Booke*)
10. *The humble suite of a sinner - O Lord of whome I do depend*, psalm, 4v: F-Pn Ms. Rés. 1186, fol. 42v (included in *The Second Booke*)
11. *Te deum laudamus - Wee praise thee God*, psalm, 4v: F-Pn Ms. Rés. 1186, fol. 43 (included in *The Second Booke*)
12. *Benedictus - The only Lord of Israel*, psalm, 4v: F-Pn Ms. Rés. 1186, fol. 43v (included in *The Second Booke*)
13. *The Lamentation of a sinner - O Lord turn not thy face*, psalm, 4v: F-Pn Ms. Rés. 1186, fol. 44 (included in *The Second Booke*)
14. *The Complaint of a sinner - Where righteousness doth say*, psalm, 4v: F-Pn Ms. Rés. 1186, fol. 44v (included in *The Second Booke*)
15. *Psalm 113 - Yee children w^{ch} doe serve y^e Lord*: F-Pn Ms. Rés. 1186, fol. 50v (included in *The Second Booke*)
16. *Spem in alium. Part I and II* (lute-piece): GB-Lbm Add. Ms. 31992, fol. 55v
17. *Ut re my fa sol la* (lute-piece): GB-Lbm Add. Ms. 29246, fol. 31
18. *Fantasia di sei soprani* (instr. piece, 6v): US-NYp Ms. Mus.Res.Drexel 4302 (Sambrook Manuscript) (published in a modern edition by Peter Holman, London, 1980)
19. Untitled consort piece, 6v: GB-Och Mss. 979-983, no. 159 (lacking tenor)

¹⁶ For the references of the Paris sources, see MAAS, pp. 300-301, 303.

APPENDIX 1

William Damon's entries in English registers on foreigners living in London in the second half of the 16th century, reproduced in *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the city and suburb of London from the reign of Henry VIII to that of James I*, in *Huguenot Society* 10/i-iv, ed. R.E.G. KIRK and E.F. KIRK, Aberdeen, 1908.

1. Domestic State Papers of May 1571, containing *a perfecte viewe and note ... of all the straungers that are presentlie abidinge within the cytie ... of London*:

William Demander, musician, an Italian, and hath byn in this realme X yeares

(*Returns of Aliens*, 10/i. 442)

2. Domestic State Papers of November 1571, with *all the Straungers within London and Southwerk, and the liberties thereof*:

William de Man, borne in Lewklende, a musician, hath byn in England VI yeares, who was brought into England by my Lorde Buckhurst, and servant to the same, and is of the Italion church. Venetian, j., Italian church, j.

(*Returns of Aliens*, 10/ii. 39)

3. Cecil Manuscripts 210/11 of 1582-83, containing *the severall aunswears of all the aldremen of every warde within the citie of London ... and of what churches they are*:

William Damond, one of her Majestes musiciens, of the Frenche church

(*Returns of Aliens*, 10/ii. 276)

4. Cecil Manuscripts 208/14 of 1583, which contain *the straungers unhabitynge and dwelling in Shorditch and Hogsdon*:

Guillam Damon, one of her Majestes servantes, borne in Luke, hath bene here XVII yeares, and is of the Italian church. No denison

(*Returns of Aliens*, 10/ii. 370)

5. Cecil Manuscripts 210/14 of 1583, with *the names of Straungers, inhabitynge within the Borde Strete Warde*:

William Daman, Italien, Musicien

(*Returns of Aliens*, 10/ii. 318)

APPENDIX 2

Records in London parish registers relating to William Damon and family

1. Baptisms:

a. Parish Register of St. James Garlickhithe, cited in *Musical Antiquary* 3/iv (1912): 238:

Sara Damon, 14 February 1569/70

b. Parish Register of St. Peter le Poor 1561-1723, GB-Lgu, Ms. 4093/1:

- *William Daman the sonne of William Dama[n], 6 of June 1574*

- *Jacobus Daman filius Wylyhelmi, the 6 of November anno 1578*

- *Adam Damon the sonne of William, 3 May anno 1581* [is the second son of William with that name; the first had died on 26 October 1574]

- *Wylyhelmus Damon filius Wylyhelm, 11 December anno 1585* [is the second of William with that name; the first had died on 19 April 1578]

2. Funerals

Parish Register of St. Peter le Poor 1561-1723, GB-Lgu, Ms. 4093/1:

- *Elizabeth Damon daughter of William, 7 April 1572*

- *Damaris Damon, of William, 24 March 1573/74*

- *Adam Damon the sonne of William, the 26 of October 1574*

- *William Damon, 19 Aprill anno 1578*

- *William Damon, musician, 26 March 1591*

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R. VANNES, *Dictionnaire des Musiciens (Compositeurs)*, Brussels, [1947], pp. 100-101.

ABBREVIATION LIBRARY SIGLA

F-Pn: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Département de la Musique
2, rue Louvois, 75002 Paris, France

GB-Lbm: London, British Library
Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3DG, England

GB-Och: Oxford, Christ Church Library
Christ Church, 51 Aldate's, Oxford OX1 1DP, England

US-NH: New Haven, Yale University
P.O.Box 208320, New Haven, Connecticut 06520 - 8320, U.S.A

US-NYp: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts
40 Lincoln Center Plaza, New York, NY 10023 - 7498, USA

VI.

MISERERE NOSTRI.

WILLIAM DAMON.

TREBLE.  Mi - - se - re - re no - stri.....

ALTO.  Mi - - se - re - re no -

1st TENOR.
8^{ve} lower.  Mi - se - re - re no - stri, mi - - se - re -

2nd TENOR.
8^{ve} lower.  Mi - - se - re - re mi -

BASS.  Mi - - se re - - re no - stri Do - mi -



..... Mi - se - re - re no - stri Do -
- stri, mi - se - re - re
- re no - stri Mi - se - re -
- se - re - re no - stri, Mi - se -
- ne, Mi - se - re - re no - stri Do - mi -

- mi - ne, mi - se - re - re no - stri,
mi - se - re - re no - stri Do - mi -
- re no - stri Do - mi - ne, mi -
- re - re Do - mi - ne no - stri Do - mi - ne,
ne mi - se - re - re no -

mi - se - re - re no - stri,
- ne, mi - se - re - re mi - se - re - re no -
- se - re - re, mi - se - re - re
mi - se - re - re no - stri Do - mi -
- stri, mi - se - re - re Do - mi - ne, mi - se - re - re no -

mi - se - re - re no - stri, mi - se -
- stri Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne,
no - stri Do - mi - ne, mi - se - re - re no -
- ne mi - se - re - re no - stri Do - mi -
- stri mi - se - re - re no - stri Do - mi -

re - re mi - se - re - re no -
mi se - re - re no - stri Do - mi -
stri Do - mi - ne, mi - se -
ne, mi - se - re - re no - stri mi - se - re - re
ne, mi - se - re - re mi - se - re -
stri, Do - mi - ne, mi - se - re - re no - stri,
ne - mi - se - re -
re - re no - stri, Mi - se - re - re no - stri,
no - stri, mi - se - re - re no - stri Do -
re - Mi - se - re - re mi - se -

mi - se - re - re no - stri
re - mi - se - re - re no - stri Do -
mi - se - re - re no - stri Do - mi - ne Mi -
mi - ne, mi - se - re - re no - stri Do -
re - re no - stri Do - mi - ne mi - se -
mi - se - re - re Mi - se - re - re -
mi - ne - Do - mi - ne Do - mi -
se - re - re no - stri, no - stri - Do - mi - ne -
mi - ne, Do - mi - ne Mi - se - re -
re - re no - stri

LE MANUSCRIT C¹

(Henri Vanhulst)

Le manuscrit C n'a pas de reliure et est dépourvu de toute indication relative à sa provenance et à sa date. Il est fait de deux cahiers distincts sur lesquels le nom de la voix manque, mais qui correspondent respectivement à un Cantus (C¹) et un Bassus (C²). Il s'agit donc visiblement de deux fragments d'un manuscrit comprenant plusieurs parties séparées et dont l'origine nous est tout à fait inconnue.

De format oblong, les deux cahiers mesurent 206 x 155 mm et contiennent huit feuillets. C¹ et C² sont, en fait, constitués de quatre demi-feuilles que l'on a pliées en deux et glissées l'une dans l'autre, de sorte que le premier et le dernier feuillet forment une même demi-feuille, et ceci vaut également pour les feuillets 2 et 7, 3 et 6, et 4 et 5. Comme les parties supérieure et inférieure du filigrane sont visibles sur certaines de ces demi-feuilles, il est clair que le même papier a été utilisé pour le tout, la feuille ayant d'abord été coupée en deux dans le sens de la largeur et ensuite pliée en deux. Quant au filigrane, il représente la lettre P gothique, sommée d'une étoile qui s'appuie sur un trépied. Il est assez répandu en Allemagne au cours de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle et est très proche de filigranes dont l'emploi est attesté notamment à Linz, Prague et Vienne.¹

Sur toutes les pages de C¹ et C², on a tracé trois portées à l'aide d'une plume à cinq becs. Chaque portée a une longueur de 155 à 160 mm et une hauteur de 9 mm. L'encre est de couleur brune et elle est plus pâle que celle qui a été utilisée pour les notes et les paroles. Celles-ci ont été ajoutées par trois mains différentes, que nous appelons les copistes 1 à 3. Le copiste 1 écrit les deux premières pièces de C¹ (fols. 1v-4r), tandis que le copiste 2 prend en charge les deux œuvres suivantes (fols. 4v-7v). Le premier donne une forme triangulaire et arrondie aux notes et a tendance à situer les hampes sur le côté – à gauche pour celles orientées vers le bas, à droite pour les autres. Il incline les paroles vers la droite et les écrit systématiquement en toutes lettres. Le copiste 2 imite la forme losangée des notes imprimées et fait toujours partir les hampes de leur angle supérieur ou inférieur. Il utilise des abréviations pour les paroles, qu'il ne se donne pas la peine de diviser en syllabes sous les mélismes. Le copiste 3 intervient uniquement pour C². Son écriture est moins soignée que celle des précédents et trahit une certaine hâte. La forme arrondie des notes est souvent atténuée par un trait vertical du côté droit, tandis que les têtes des notes noires sont souvent à peine plus épaisses que le trait des hampes. Si le texte manque

¹ G. PICCARD, *Wasserzeichen Buchstabe P*, (*Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*, IV/1-3), Stuttgart, 1977: voir en particulier les illustrations XVII-55, 64, 75, 107, 130 et 138.

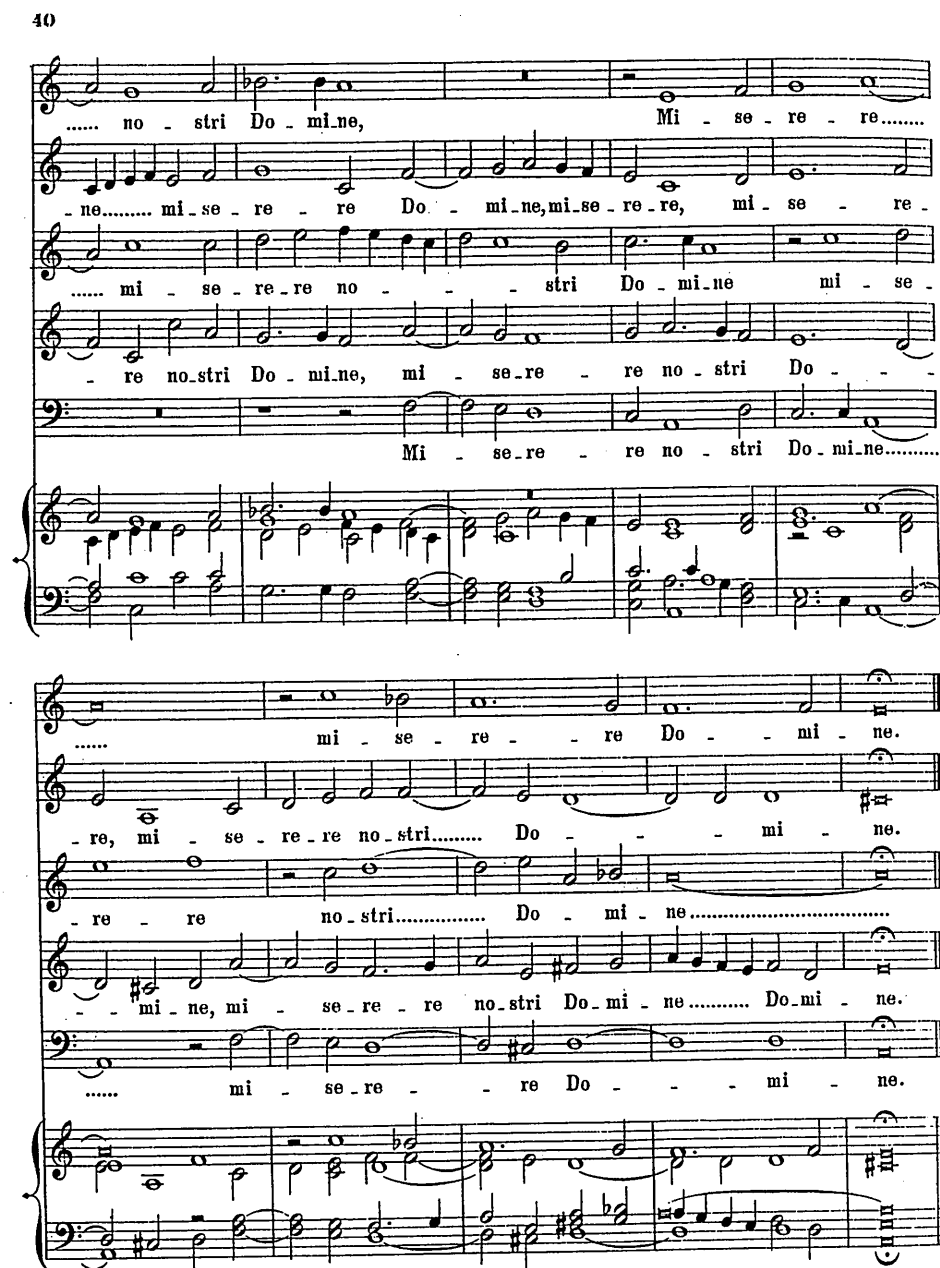


Figure 5: *Miserere nostri* in modern edition: ARKWRIGHT, *The Old English Edition*, xxi, London, 1889-1902 (with the kind permission of Stainer & Bell Ltd-publishers, London)

souvent, on note, en revanche, fréquemment la présence de barres de tactus qui semblent néanmoins avoir été ajoutées ultérieurement.

Le premier cahier commence par une page (fol. 1r) dont les portées sont restées vides. On y a noté trois séries d'une petite dizaine de lettres dont certaines sont surmontées de traits et de points, de sorte que l'on pourrait penser à une tablature d'orgue allemande, mais il ne s'agit guère plus que de bribes. C¹ contient la voix supérieure de quatre motets profanes dont le plus ancien semble dater de 1521, puisqu'il évoque le décès de Josquin. Les pièces les plus récentes sont *Tytire tu* de Lassus et *Vitam quæ faciunt* de Vaet qui ont toutes deux été composées vers les années 1557 à 1559. En somme, on doit dater ce cahier après 1560. Si l'on estime qu'il a été réalisé en même temps que l'autre, il n'a pas pu être copié avant la dernière décennie du XVI^e siècle car Blasius Ammon, dont la musique figure dans C², n'est actif qu'à partir des années 1580. Étant donné que les copistes se sont partagé le travail, une datation différente de chaque cahier n'est cependant pas à exclure du tout, d'autant que l'écriture des copistes 1 et 2 ne ressemble nullement à celle du copiste 3. Les caractéristiques physiques communes au manuscrit dans son ensemble conduisent à l'hypothèse suivante: les deux cahiers ont été préparés simultanément mais ils n'ont pas été utilisés en même temps, bien qu'ils soient restés ensemble. On a d'abord copié la musique dans C¹ et C² n'a servi que quelque vingt à trente ans plus tard - apparemment dans un but différent, comme le suggère son répertoire de caractère spécifiquement liturgique.

Deux des quatre compositions du premier cahier sont des œuvres de circonstance, qui n'avaient jamais fait l'objet d'une édition et dont l'une n'apparaît même dans aucune autre source. Elles concernent cependant des faits qui se sont produits dans les années 1520 et si l'on ne s'étonnera guère de la persistance de la réputation de Josquin, il est plus surprenant que *Florentia* de C. Festa continue à susciter l'intérêt, d'autant que ce compositeur est le seul qui soit mentionné dans le cahier et que l'œuvre s'est davantage diffusée avec un texte travesti.

Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorum - Sex vocum - fols. 1v-2v

Jacobus Vaet a mis en musique cette épigramme de Martial, qui a retenu l'attention d'autres compositeurs. C'est peut-être pour cette raison que le nombre de voix est précisé dans le manuscrit. L'œuvre est publiée pour la première fois en 1558 à Nuremberg par Berg et Neuber dans le *Novum et insignum opus musicum*² et elle figure également dans les *Modulationes... liber secundus*, qu'A. Gardano édite quatre ans plus tard à Venise.³ La liste des sources de *Vitam quæ faciunt* comprend également trois manuscrits, qui sont tous incom-

² RISM 1558⁴.

³ RISM V 26.

plets.⁴ Par rapport à l'édition de M. Steinhardt⁵, la version de C¹ présente les variantes suivantes:

musique:

- aucune altération n'apparaît dans le manuscrit;

- mes. 9/2: *sol* au lieu de *mi*;

- mes. 11/2-3: *la la* (noires) au lieu de *la* (blanche).

texte:

- mes. 41-42: *pudicus* au lieu de *pudicis*.

La comparaison avec les variantes citées par Steinhardt démontre que la version du cahier C n'est identique à celle d'aucune autre source.

Tytire tu patulæ recubans - fols. 3r-4r

Cette composition de Lassus sur la célèbre églogue de Virgile a été publiée plusieurs fois et l'étude des variantes s'en trouve quasiment impossible. L'œuvre paraît pour la première fois à Louvain dans une collection de pièces profanes souvent inédites de Lassus, le *Tiers livre des chansons* que Pierre Phalèse imprime en 1560.⁶ Par rapport à l'édition dans les œuvres complètes du compositeur⁷, nous n'avons relevé qu'un nombre très restreint de divergences:

musique:

- p. 69, 2^e système, dernière mesure, temps 3-4: *ré* au lieu de *ut*.

texte:

- mes. 1: *Tytire* au lieu de *Tityre*.

Rappelons que la graphie « Tytire » apparaît déjà dans l'édition de Phalèse, la version imprimée de 1560 étant totalement conforme à celle figurant dans le manuscrit.

Ce motet à 6 voix a servi de modèle à *Vitam quæ faciunt* de Vaet, comme il ressort d'une lettre que Seld envoie en décembre 1559 à Albert V de Bavière.⁸ Si le copiste n'ignorait pas ce détail, il a sciemment placé les deux pièces l'une après l'autre. Une origine allemande, voire bavaroise du cahier, n'est dès lors pas à exclure, comme le suggère d'ailleurs le filigrane.

⁴ J. VAET, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. III, éd. par M. STEINHARDT, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*, 103/104, Graz, Wien, 1963.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-141.

⁶ RISM L 764.

⁷ ORLANDO DI LASSO, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. XIX: *Magnum opus musicum*, éd. par F.X. HABERL, Leipzig, s.d., pp. 68-71.

⁸ M. STEINHARDT, *Jacobus Vaet and his Motets*, East Lansing, 1951, p. 10.

Florentia, tempus est poenitentiae - Constantius Festa - fols.
4v-6r

E. Lowinsky a déjà mis en évidence l'intérêt de ce motet à 5 voix de Costanzo Festa qu'il date judicieusement des années 1527 à 1529 et dont il démontre que la version avec le texte relatif à Florence est l'originale.⁹ Aux deux sources de *Florentia*¹⁰, il faut maintenant ajouter le *superius* de notre manuscrit qui présente les variantes suivantes par rapport à l'édition de Seay¹¹:

- musique

- mes. 10/1-4: pas de ligature;
- mes. 85/1: *sol fa* (croches) au lieu de *sol* (noire);
- mes. 87/4-88/1: *fa fa* (noires) au lieu de *fa* (blanche);
- mes. 88/3-4: *mi fa fa mi* (croches) au lieu de *mi mi* (noires).

- texte

- mes. 70-71: *sanctissimi* au lieu de *sanctissimos*;
- mes. 81-82: *Clemens* au lieu de *clamans*.

Fletus date et lamentamini - fols. 6r-7v

Ce motet anonyme en deux parties est surmonté de la mention *Josquiniana sepultura*. Il appartient donc apparemment au groupe de lamentations écrites à l'occasion de la mort de Josquin Desprez¹², mais ne figure dans aucune autre source. En réalité, il s'agit simplement d'une contrafacture de *Nymphes des bois*, la célèbre 'déploration' sur la mort d'Ockeghem de Jean Molinet que Josquin lui-même a mise en musique à cinq voix. Rappelons que cette œuvre est imprimée successivement par Petrucci, qui omet cependant les paroles à l'exception de celles du *cantus firmus*¹³, et par Susato¹⁴ et qu'elle est également copiée dans le codex Medici de 1518¹⁵. Nous ignorons qui a eu l'idée assez

⁹ E.E. LOWINSKY, *The Medici Codex: A Document of Music, Art, and Politics in the Renaissance*, in *Annales Musicologiques*, V (1957), pp. 61-178.

¹⁰ Cf. Costanzo Festa, *Opera omnia*, vol. V: *Motetti III*, in A. SEAY (éd.), *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 25/5, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1979, p. XVII, pour la liste complète des sources.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-91. À l'exception de la variante textuelle *Clemens*, qui est visiblement une erreur de Seay, les autres variantes se retrouvent par rapport à la transcription proposée par LOWINSKY, *art. cit.*, pp. 168-178.

¹² Cf. Josquin Desprez, *Werken*, Supplément: *Klaagliederen op den dood van Josquin*, éd. A. SMIJERS, Amsterdam, 1922.

¹³ *RISM* 1508¹, no. 8. Cf. Josquin Desprez, *Wereldlijke werken*, aflevering 5, éd. A. SMIJERS, Amsterdam, s.d., pp. 152-154.

¹⁴ *RISM* 1545¹⁵, fol. 13. Cf. Josquin Desprez, *Wereldlijke werken*, aflevering 5, éd. A. SMIJERS, Amsterdam, 1924, pp. 56-58.

¹⁵ E.E. LOWINSKY (éd.), *The Medici Codex of 1518, a Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, (*Monuments of Renaissance Music*, III-V), Chicago, London, 1968.

saugrenue de transformer la 'déploration' en une lamentation sur la mort de Josquin. Serait-ce une initiative du commanditaire du manuscrit qui souhaitait se constituer une collection de pièces de circonstance en latin et de compositions sur des poèmes d'auteurs classiques? L'idée émane en tout cas d'un admirateur de Josquin qui n'a sans doute pas choisi au hasard l'œuvre du compositeur qu'il allait transformer en motet.

Si nous ne savons pas qui est l'auteur des paroles de *Fletus date*, les nombreuses allusions mythologiques démontrent l'inspiration humaniste du texte. Nous le présentons ici de manière à mettre en évidence le parallélisme avec *Nymphes des bois*: chacune des treize lignes du texte latin se chante sur la même musique que le vers correspondant de Molinet.

Fletus date et lamentamini,
Ululate et desolamini,
Calliope, Terpsichore, Clio, Thaliaque,
Melpo[me]ne, Cleio, Melpomene,
Heu mortuus est!
Vosque Dryades, Orcades [=Oreades],
Vos Charites, Cupidines
Et Veneres, heu mortuus est!
Lugete omnes et cultori vestro bonum precemini!

Vale, decus divinae Musices,
Perennis Cantorum gloria,
Coelo dignissime, vale,
Pater Josquine felix.

Requiescat in pace [Amen].

Les seuls points sur lesquels les textes français - tant dans la version de Susato que dans celle du codex Medici - et latin se retrouvent sont l'image du 'père', que l'on peut d'ailleurs considérer comme un lieu commun, et le "Requiescat in pace" final, auquel le copiste oublie néanmoins d'ajouter le mot *amen*.

Pas plus que Petrucci, notre copiste ne recourt à une notation systématiquement noire, comme c'est le cas dans le codex Medici et l'édition de Susato. S'il renonce à l'*Augenmusik*, il ajoute, en revanche, le signe C de manière à réduire les valeurs noires de moitié, la *longa* noire devenant ici la brève blanche. Par rapport aux autres sources, on constate encore deux différences importantes dont la première est la suppression du *si* bémol et du *mi* bémol de l'armure¹⁶.

¹⁶ Seul le *si* bémol de la mesure 74 subsiste dans le manuscrit et sa présence est indispensable parce que la note précédente est un *fa*.

En même temps, l'ajout de la clé d'*ut* première transpose la pièce à la quarte inférieure. Alors que *Nymphes des bois* est dans le mode phrygien sur *la*, *Fletus date* est donc dans celui sur *mi*. Rappelons que Zarlino associe ce mode aux paroles *che sono lagrimevoli & pieni di lamenti*.¹⁷ En optant pour un registre plus grave, l'auteur de la contrafacture se serait-il souvenu d'*Absalon fili mi* tel qu'il figure dans le manuscrit Royal 8 G VII de la British Library¹⁸ ou cherche-t-il seulement à accentuer le caractère sombre de l'œuvre?

L'étude des variantes démontre que la musique subit de très petites modifications qui sont dues aux particularités du texte latin. Il s'agit soit de la division d'une note en deux de moindre durée, ou vice versa, soit de l'ajout ou de la suppression d'un signe de silence. Lorsqu'il y a des différences entre le codex Medici et l'édition de Susato, notre manuscrit suit toujours la leçon de la première source mais les cas sont trop peu nombreux pour que l'on puisse en tirer une conclusion définitive, d'autant qu'il y a aussi des concordances avec l'édition de Petrucci.

Variantes:

Le copiste supprime toutes les ligatures.

- mes. 5: *fa* (ronde) lié au *fa* de la mesure 4, comme c'est aussi le cas chez Petrucci;
- mes. 9-10: *mi mi* (ronde pointée blanche) au lieu de *mi* (deux rondes liées);
- mes. 16-17: *fa* (ronde et blanche liées) *fa* (blanche) au lieu de *fa* (ronde) *fa fa* (blanches);
- mes. 33: *mi* (ronde) au lieu de *mi mi* (blanches);
- mes. 35: le manuscrit a le même rythme que le codex Medici et l'édition de Petrucci (blanche noire noire) et s'oppose à la leçon de Susato (blanche pointée croche croche);
- mes. 36-37: *la* (ronde) demi-pause *ut* (blanche) au lieu de *la* (blanche) demi-pause *ut* (ronde);
- mes. 46-47: *ré* (deux rondes liées) au lieu de *ré* (ronde) *ré ré* (blanches);
- mes. 48-49: *ut ut* (ronde pointée blanche) au lieu de *ut* (deux rondes liées);
- mes. 59-60: le manuscrit a le même rythme que le codex Medici et Petrucci (ronde blanche blanche) et s'oppose à la leçon de Susato (ronde pointée blanche);
- mes. 69-70: *la* (ronde) demi-pause *ut* (blanche) au lieu de *la* (blanche) demi-pause *ut* (ronde);
- mes. 75: *mi* (ronde) au lieu de *mi mi* (blanches);
- mes. 94: *fa fa* (blanches) au lieu de *fa fa* (blanche pointée noire);
- mes. 100: *mi mi* (blanches) au lieu de *mi* (ronde);
- mes. 104: *ré ré* (blanches) au lieu de *ré* (ronde);

¹⁷ G. ZARLINO, *Istituzione harmoniche*, Venezia, 1558, p. 324.

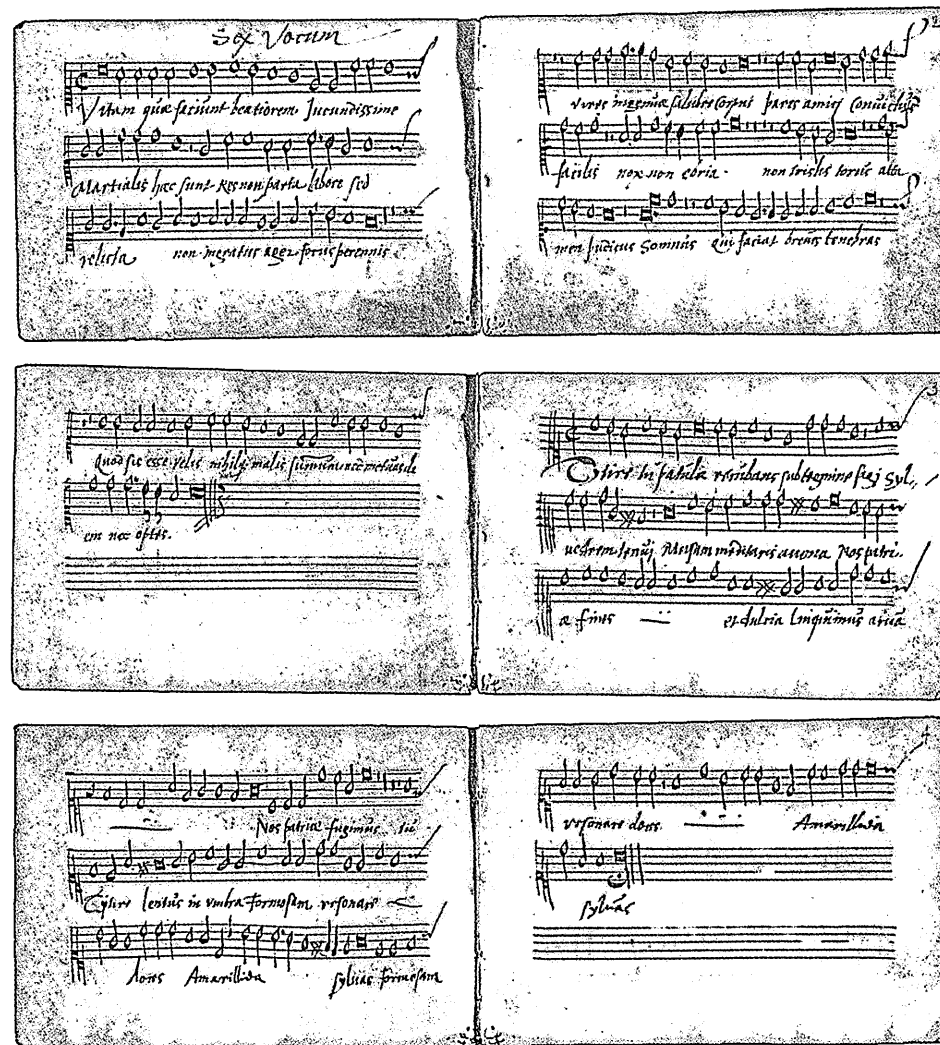
¹⁸ Cf. N. DAVISON, *Absalon fili mi Reconsidered*, in *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, XLVI (1996), pp. 42-56, qui fait l'état de la question des recherches relatives à ce motet. Pour autant qu'aucune modification n'ait été apportée à la musique de Josquin, la note la plus grave dans la partie de Bassus de *Fletu date* est E.

mes. 105/3-4-106/1-2: *la la* (blanches) au lieu de *la* (ronde);

mes. 107: *la* (ronde) au lieu de *la la* (blanches);

mes. 151-152: le manuscrit suit Petrucci et le codex Medici qui ont deux mesures, alors que Susato n'en a qu'une seule. Il introduit cependant un silence: demi-pause *ut* (ronde) *la* (blanche) au lieu de *ut* (ronde pointée) *la* (blanche).

Tant que l'on n'aura pas retrouvé d'autres cahiers du manuscrit, il ne sera guère possible d'arriver à des conclusions définitives quant à ses origine et datation. En attendant, l'intérêt de ces quelques pages de musique se révèle déjà indiscutable car elles ajoutent une 'nouvelle' pièce au corpus des œuvres écrites à propos du décès de Josquin et suggèrent que *Florentia* de Festa a continué à susciter l'intérêt plusieurs décennies après les événements auxquels le texte fait allusion.



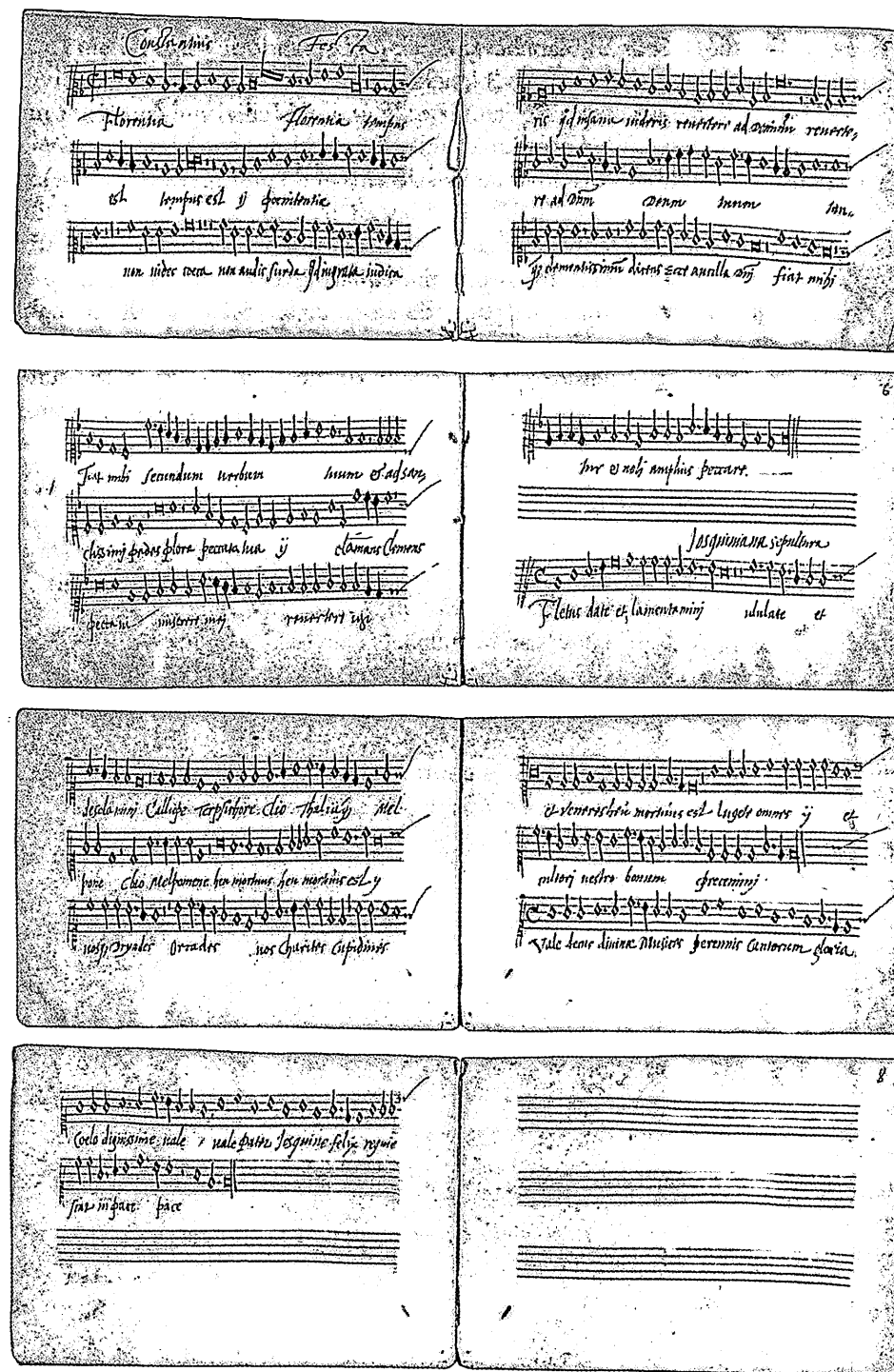


Figure 1: Le manuscrit C¹ fols. 1v-8r

LE MANUSCRIT C² 1-4

AMON: PARTIE DE BASSE CONTENANT 4 PIÈCES AVEC TITRES ET
INCIPITS LATINS

(Gilbert Huybens)

Papier; oblong (150 x 206 mm); 8 feuillets foliés de 1 à 8; 3 portées par page; les fol. 1r et 4v jusqu'au fol. 8v ne contiennent que des portées vides; du fol. 1v jusqu'au fol. 4r, basse de 4 pieces; dans le feuillet 5, en haut au milieu, figure le fragment d'un filigrane, décrit plus haut par H. Vanhulst.

La deuxième et la troisième pièce portent le nom 'Blasij Ammonij'. Il s'agit du religieux autrichien Ammon Blasius (ca. 1560 - 1590), auteur d'un grand nombre de compositions religieuses, dont la page de titre de ses *Sacrae Cantiones* (Munich, 1590) le qualifie de 'F. Blasius Ammon Tyrolensis ordinis fratrum minorum regularis observantiae'. Son œuvre fut étudiée et pour une partie éditée en 1960 dans le DTö par son confrère le père Caecilianus Huigens.

1	1v-2r	Ecce advenit + Deus iudicium	Is. 3, 1(?) et Ps. 71, 1. Introït avec son verset de la messe de l'Epiphanie de Notre-Seigneur.	DTö, année 38 ¹ , vol. LXXIII, p. 19.
2	2v-3r	Rorate caeli de- super + Caeli [Blasij ammon. Continuum]	Is. 45, 8 et Ps. 18, 1. Introït avec son verset de la messe du quatrième di- manche de l'Avent.	DTö, année 38 ¹ , vol. LXXIII, pp. 13-14.
3	3v	Domine probasti me [Blasij Ammonij]	Ps. 138, 1. Verset suivant l'introït <i>Mihi autem nimis</i> de la messe du Commun des Apôtres.	
4	4r	Mihi autem nimis	Ps. 138, 17. Introït précédant le verset <i>Domine probasti me</i> .	

A NEWLY DISCOVERED ARS ANTIQUA FRAGMENT IN LEUVEN¹

(Karl Kügle)

The most recent addition to the music collection of Gilbert Huybens (Leuven) is a parchment bifolio measuring approximately 330 by 250 mm and labelled manuscript D by its owner (henceforth: B-LVhuybens D). Acquired in February 1996 from private hands, B-LVhuybens D contains three motets in Ars Antiqua style: [*Que ferai, biaux sire Dieus?*]/[*Ne puet faillir a honour*]/[*Descendentibus*], appearing on the outermost recto; *Quant vient en mai/Ne sai que ie die/Iohanne*, copied on the inside of the bifolio (and transmitted with two additional Latin texts, *Divini roris influentia/Arida frondescit*); and *Trop sui ie loiaus amoureux/Trop par est coustumiere amors*/[...], which appears on the outermost verso.² Only the second of the three settings is complete; the other two survive as fragments, with most of the two upper voices of the first and the entire motetus of the third motet preserved intact, along with most of the corresponding triplum. Aside from adding a new piece of evidence to our knowledge of late medieval musical culture in general, B-LVhuybens D offers several special attractions to the musicologist: The fragment provides full renditions of two Latin motet texts previously known only through partial citations; it is one of only two sources with Latin and French texts for a single motet copied next to one another; it transmits two upper voices of a previously unknown motet; and, perhaps most importantly, it supplies some stimulating new insights into the dissemination of Ars Antiqua polyphony during the latter decades of the 13th century.

Physical Description³

Each page of the bifolio, which generally is preserved in very good condition⁴, is rastrated with eight red pentagrams (rastrum gauge: 13 mm). The writing block measures 180 by 125 mm on average and is laid out in two parallel columns of 51 and 55 mm width, with the triplum copied on the left-hand, the

¹ Research for this article was conducted during the academic year 1995-1996 in the course of a stay as Alamire Research Fellow at the Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven. My special thanks go to Gilbert Huybens, who invited me to work on the fragment and provided free-wheeling access to it whenever required.

² For an inventory and a concordance list, see Table 1.

³ For the following, see Figures 1 and 2.

⁴ With the exception of the outer margin of the second folio, where exposure to grease caused considerable bleeding and corrosion of the black ink, making the text illegible at times.

TABLE 1
Inventory and Concordances of B-LVhuybens D

1. fol. 44r	[<i>Que ferai, biaux sire Dieus?</i>]/ [<i>Ne puet faillir a honour</i>]/ [<i>Descendentibus</i>]	F-MO H 196, fols. 115v-117r; F-MO H 196, fols. 194v-196r; D-BAs lit. 115, fols. 45r-45v; GB-Ob Douce 308, fol. 258r (mot. text only); F-Pa 3101, fol. 5v (mot. text only) with French motetus only:
2. fols. 44v-45r	<i>Quant vient en mai</i> (<i>Divini roris</i>)/ <i>Ne sai que ie die</i> (<i>Arida frondescit</i>)/ <i>Iohanne</i>	D-W 1099, fol. 219a v; F-MO H 196, fol. 235r; GB-Lbl Add. 30091, fol. 3r; with Latin motetus <i>Clamans in deserto</i> only: I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fol. 409v; with Latin motetus <i>Cecitas arpie</i> only: D-W 1099, fols. 191v-192r; F-Pn fr. 146, fol. 13v (first word <i>Veritas</i>); with textless motetus (clausula): I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fol. 164v; with French motetus and triplum: F-MO H 196, fols. 304v-306v; D-BAs lit. 115, fols. 44r-45r; F-B 716 (mot. incipit only); with Latin motetus <i>Arida frondescit</i> and Latin triplum <i>Divini roris</i> : cited in Franco of Cologne, <i>Ars cantus mensurabilis</i> (ex. 19 and ex. 69 in CSM 18)
3. fol. 45v	<i>Trop sui ie loiaus amoureux</i> [. .]/ <i>Trop par est coustumiere amors</i> [. .]/[. .]	

motetus on the right-hand side, and the tenor appearing at the page bottom, copied across the full length of the writing block.⁵

An original Roman foliation (*xliiii* = fol. 44, *xlv* = fol. 45) copied in red ink is visible at the center of the top margin of each recto. Taken together with the fact

⁵ In case the tenor appeared on the opposite side of the opening, or if the length of the triplum required it, the triplum, too, was extended across the full length of the writing block at the bottom of the respective page; see the outer recto, inner verso, and outer verso (= fols. 44r, 44v, 45v).

that the motet *Quant vient en mai/Ne sai que ie die/Iohanne* (fols. 44v-45r) was copied across the opening, these details establish that the bifolio must once have been located at the center of a gathering within a manuscript of substantial scope.

A horizontal crease extending across the full length of the bifolio approximately 12-13 mm below the upper margin, in combination with a dark rubbed area just below that crease visible on the outside of the bifolio (fols. 45v-44r), indicates that B-LVhuybens D was used as an outer cover sheet for another book after the original codex was dismantled. The partial mirror image of a Latin text impressed on the left-hand margin of fol. 44v, moreover, provides evidence that a second sheet was glued against the inside of the bifolio; this second sheet presumably served as a binding reinforcement. Both the host volume and the reinforcement sheet were separated from the bifolio at some point prior to the fragment's latest change of ownership; their particulars therefore remain unknown.

During the binding process, B-LVhuybens D was cropped at its lateral and upper margins. However, the central fold of the bifolio remains visible, as do seven pairs of stitch holes, located at an average distance of 24 mm from each other.⁶ The appearance of the sheet suggests that its bottom was not trimmed significantly, if at all. Extrapolating from the distribution of the stitch holes, the present distance from the bottom of the writing block to the lower edge of the bifolio (45-50 mm), and the present distance between the upper end of the writing block and the upper edge of the sheet (19-22 mm), we may conjecture that about 30 mm were trimmed from the upper margin of the bifolio.

Similarly, the undamaged filigree on the left-hand side of the initial Q on fol. 44v suggests that little, if anything, was cut from the corresponding lateral margin. Assuming a border of similar size at the opposite end of the bifolio, an area of approximately 25-30 mm can be presumed to have been lost there. Combining these estimates yields a total presumptive size of about 280 by 180 mm for the manuscript in its uncropped state, placing the manuscript closest in size to D-BAs lit. 115 among contemporaneous motet collections.⁷

B-LVhuybens D was prepared for copying by first establishing the column widths. This was done by means of prickings which remain visible at the top

⁶ The distance between each hole within a given pair measures an average of 6 mm.

⁷ Measurements of D-BAs lit. 115: 263 x 186 mm; see G. REANEY, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century)*, (RISM B/IV¹), Munich, 1966, p. 56. Further codicological similarities concern the size of the writing block (187 by 136 mm.) and that of the rastrum (13-14 mm); see M. EVERIST, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution*, New York, 1989, p. 152. In accordance with its somewhat taller and slimmer format, D-BAs lit. 115 accommodates ten staves per column. For recent discussions of the manuscript, see P.L.P. NORWOOD, *A Study of the Provenance and French Motets in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Lit. 115*, diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1979; Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, pp. 149-153; P.L.P. NORWOOD, *Evidence Concerning the Provenance of the Bamberg Codex*, in *Journal of Musicology*, VIII (1990), pp. 491-504.

margin of each folio. Next, the texts were entered, followed by the stave lines; this can be inferred from the lengths of the staves, which consistently match those of the text lines.⁸ After the rastration, the music was entered. The decorations, which consist of alternating red and blue initials with black and red filigree, accompanied by border ornaments in red, blue, and black ink jutting downwards at the left-hand margins, probably were added in a batch after text and music were completed.⁹ A comparison of the scripts and ink shades reveals that the bifolio was copied by a single scribe responsible for all texts and the music. Whether the decoration of the bifolio was also his work or that of a second individual cannot be determined.

The Roman numeral *xxvij*, entered with the back of the quill in black ink, is visible at the bottom right-hand corner of the inner verso (fol. 44v). It suggests that copying proceeded according to a preconceived plan: The number probably served as a marker, perhaps indicating that *Quant vient/Ne sai/Iohanne* was to be copied as the twenty-seventh motet of the manuscript. Further evidence suggesting a pre-planned copying effort is provided by the uneven but internally consistent widths of the two columns, which are replicated on both halves of the bifolio: Clearly, the two pages were pricked simultaneously, and it is quite likely that this occurred simultaneously with pricking all other bifolios in the gathering of which the bifolio is the remainder. Such a pricking strategy, involving entire gatherings, would be characteristic of anthology copying, and would tie in well with the evidence of the foliation, assuming regular gathering structure.¹⁰ Considering the brevity of the two motets copied on the outside of the

⁸ The tell-tale evidence is provided by the irregular seventh stave in the right-hand column of fol. 44r, where text overflow into the margin was matched by a stave of corresponding length.

⁹ Evidence for this is provided by the initial I on fol. 45r. The illuminator, apparently unaware of the fact that the initial, which belongs to the tenor voice, ought to be placed next to the lowermost stave, provided a sketch of the capital I next to the uppermost stave, continuing his sketch from the top of the column downwards in the manner customary for top initials. Presumably toward the end of this activity, he became aware of his error, sketching the initial a second time at its appropriate place. He subsequently colored the initial at the page bottom and the ornamentation on the left-hand margin, leaving the sketch at the page top incomplete. Such a copying error is typical of batch illumination; it seems unlikely, if the initials were entered at the same time as text and music.

¹⁰ Under such a premise, the codex, or at least its first six gatherings, would have to have been arranged in quaterns. Such a gathering structure would be typical of French repertory manuscripts of the period. See, e.g., D-BAs lit. 115 (80 folios arranged in ten quaterns); I-Tr Vari 42 (40 folios arranged in five quaterns, preceded by a secondary fascicle comprised of an incomplete ternio); F-MO H 196 (53 quaterns, preceded by a ternio). On I-Tr Vari 42, see A. AUDA, *Les "motets wallons" du manuscrit de Turin: Vari 42*, Woluwé-St. Pierre, 1953. On F-MO H 196, see, most recently, EVERIST, *Polyphonic Music*, pp. 110-134; M.E. WOLINSKI, *The Montpellier Codex: Its Compilation, Notation, and Implications for the Chronology of the Thirteenth-Century Motet*, diss., Brandeis University, 1988. The tradition, based on the *pecia* system of the medieval university, is continued in the manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut; see L.M. EARP, *Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut*, diss., Princeton University, 1983, pp. 343-379. On the *pecia*, see J. DESTREZ, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1935. For an example of 13th-century pricking practices concerning I-Fl Plut. 29.1 and GB-Lbl Egerton 2615(2), see EVERIST, *Polyphonic Music*, pp. 69-70.

bifolio, and the likelihood that fols. 44v-45r would have been the twenty-second opening of the manuscript, the notion that not all the preceding quires of the original codex were devoted to motets seems a distinct possibility.¹¹

A second set of texts, *Divini roris/Arida frondescit*, appears underneath the French texts of *Quant vient/Ne sai/Iohanne* on fols. 44v-45r. As stated above, the evidence of the script and the inks shows that these texts were copied by the same scribe responsible for text and music throughout the remainder of the bifolio. However, since the black ink and the red initials of the added texts cover both the red ink of the stave lines and the black and blue ink of the filigreed initials, these texts must have been copied after the main copying stages of the volume, including the illumination, were completed. They therefore would seem to have been added before the book left the atelier or scriptorium, or within a very short time period thereafter, since the original scribe and ink supply were still at hand.

The combined copying of both French and Latin texts for a motet is exceedingly rare. The only other surviving example of the phenomenon is provided by F-CA A 410, a little researched composite manuscript with possible connections to Liège, parts of which may date from as late as the early 15th century.¹² The exact purpose of the addition is unclear; possibly, the scribe was working from an exemplar with both texts and erroneously copied the French version, adding the Latin texts in an effort to rectify his mistake.¹³ Perhaps more likely is a scenario in which the addition of the Latin texts to an entry within a group, perhaps a fascicle, of French motets would reflect the wishes of the patron, who may have been eager to possess a second version suitable for devotional purposes of what may have been a favorite setting.¹⁴

Repertory

The three oldest sources of *Quant vient/Ne sai/Iohanne* (D-W 1099, I-Fl Plut. 29.1 and GB-Lbl Add. 30091) offer various two-part versions (motetus and tenor) of the setting. These renditions appear in manuscripts that can be dated around the middle of the 13th century, and for all of them copying in Parisian

¹¹ If so, the kind of repertory typically to be expected preceding a motet collection would include conductus settings, organa or hockets. See the first fascicle of F-MO H 196, or the incomplete gathering (fols. A-E) preceding the motet collection of I-Tr Vari 42.

¹² See F. LUDWIG, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, vol. 1, part 2, (*Musicological Studies*, 26), n.p., 1978, pp. 612-616; also REANEY, *Manuscripts*, pp. 261-263.

¹³ For evidence suggesting that scribes may have worked from exemplars with both Latin and French texts, see the observations drawn from copying errors in F-MO H 196 in WOLINSKI, *Montpellier Codex*, p. 51.

¹⁴ Both Latin texts celebrate the Nativity of Christ and the Holy Virgin. An edition is provided in Appendix 1.

ateliers is currently being presumed.¹⁵ The two-part versions of the motet thus appear to belong to the oldest layer of Parisian motet composition, an assumption that can be supported on stylistic grounds by the strictly modal rhythms found in *Ne sai que ie die* and the corresponding tenor. The supposition of Parisian origins for the setting is strengthened by its reappearance in the sixth fascicle of F-MO H 196, a collection compiled in several stages in Paris around and after 1270.¹⁶ Finally, an unusually late testimony to the ongoing popularity of the setting in its two-part version is offered by the interpolated edition of the *Roman de Fauvel* in F-Pn fr. 146, a manuscript of impeccably Parisian pedigree copied between 1315 and 1317/8.¹⁷ There, the Latin version *Cecitas arpie* returns with a minor textual alteration (*Veritas arpie*) caused by the adaptation of the setting to the *Fauvel* narrative. The two-part version of the motet thus was in continued use in Paris for almost a century.

The three-part French-texted version of the motet as it survives in B-LVhuybens D (*Quant vient/Ne sai/Iohanne*) first appears in Fascicle VII (main section) of F-MO H 196, and in D-BAs lit. 115. The two manuscripts are approximately coeval and are currently believed to have been copied in Paris, ca. 1270 and ca. 1280, respectively.¹⁸ The two Latin texts provided as a scribal addition in B-LVhuybens D add an interesting twist to the history of the setting, for the motetus text *Arida florescit* is quoted in Franco of Cologne's *Ars cantus mensurabilis*.¹⁹ While the dating of Franco's treatise remains a matter of some dispute, it seems reasonable to assume that it was written in Paris some time during the third quarter of the 13th century.²⁰ The quotation thus reinforces the Parisian

¹⁵ For the dating and provenance of I-Fl Plut. 29.1, see R.A. BALTZER, *Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXV (1972), pp. 1-18; also EVERIST, *Polyphonic Music*, pp. 58-96, and C. WRIGHT, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1500*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 243-272. On D-W 1099, see, most recently, EVERIST, *Polyphonic Music*, pp. 97-109. For GB-Lbl Add. 30091, see G.A. ANDERSON, *A Small Collection of Notre Dame Motets ca. 1215-1235*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXII (1969), pp. 157-196; EVERIST, *Polyphonic Music*, pp. 143-145.

¹⁶ On the copying and dating of F-MO H 196, see, most recently, EVERIST, *Polyphonic Music*, pp. 118-134; WOLINSKI, *Montpellier Codex*, pp. 14-83.

¹⁷ For a recent, exhaustive study, see E.H. ROESNER, F. AVRIL and N.F. REGALADO, *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain*, New York, 1990. For the dating and origins of the manuscript, see loc., cit. pp. 4-7 and 48-53.

¹⁸ There is disagreement on the dating of Fascicle VII in F-MO H 196. EVERIST, *Polyphonic Music*, pp. 130-131, argues for the 1280s on grounds of the historiated initials, while WOLINSKI, *Montpellier Codex*, pp. 71-74, in a different reading of the evidence, considers the end of the third quarter of the 13th century a distinct possibility. For the dating of D-BAs lit. 115, see NORWOOD, *Provenance*, p. 123 ("ca. 1275-85").

¹⁹ See G. REANEY and A. GILLES (ed.), *Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis*, (*Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*, 18), n.p., 1974, p. 70 (Ex. 69). The citation consists only of the incipit; the full text, consequently, was lost. B-LVhuybens D now provides the first complete version.

²⁰ See A. HUGHES, s.v. *Franco of Cologne*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 6, London, 1980, pp. 794-795; M. HUGLO, *De Francon de Cologne à Jacques de Liège*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, XXIV-XV (1980-1), pp. 44-60. See also W. FROBENIUS, *Zur Datierung von Francos Ars cantus mensurabilis*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXVII (1970), pp. 122-127.

connection of the motet. However, Franco's treatise cites not only the motetus, but also an internal, previously unrecognizable segment from the added Latin triplum text, *Divini roris influencia*.²¹ It would thus appear that Franco, when compiling the examples for his treatise, had not just a two-part, but rather a three-part Latin-texted version of the motet in mind. It would therefore seem that the three-part version of the motet came into being some time during, or perhaps even slightly before, the third quarter of the 13th century.

Unlike *Quant vient/Ne sai/Iohanne*, no two-part version of the motet [*Que ferai*]/[*Ne peut*]/[*Descendentibus*] (fol. 44r) is known. Copies of the motet *a 3* appear in F-MO H 196 (Fascicle V) and in D-BAs lit. 115. We might take this as an indication that the motet, similarly to the three-part version of *Quant vient/Ne sai/Iohanne*, was composed about the third quarter of the 13th century. This assumption can be supported on stylistic grounds by the plentiful use of semibreves, both as syllable carriers and in ornamental groups of three, in the two upper voices of [*Que ferai*]/[*Ne peut*]/[*Descendentibus*] as well as the triplum *Quant vient en mai*; these parts therefore cannot have been composed prior to the notational developments of the mid-13th century as codified in the teachings of Magister Lambertus and Franco of Cologne.²² Given its style and the Parisian provenance of its sources, it seems likely that [*Que ferai*]/[*Ne peut*]/[*Descendentibus*] originated in Paris as well.²³

A slightly different stage of the notational and compositional development is visible in the motetus of *Trop sui/Trop par*/[...], which, unlike the previous examples, occasionally uses as many as four ornamental semibreves per breve.²⁴ This practice is sanctioned by neither Magister Lambertus nor the *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, where no more than three semibreves equivalent to a breve are admitted.²⁵ However, it is conceivable that at least the occasional practice of placing groups of four semibreves for a single *tempus* existed by the time Franco wrote his treatise.²⁶ On the other hand, by the time of Anonymous IV

²¹ The quotation consists of the words *quid plura/cedit natura*. See REANEY and GILLES, *Ars*, p. 39 (Ex. 19), and Appendix 1.

²² For an edition of the treatise of Magister Lambertus, see E. DE COUSSEMAKER, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi*, vol. 1, Paris, 1864, pp. 251-281; for a dating "1250-1260", see HUGLO, *Francon de Cologne*, p. 46, fol. 8 (with further bibliography). On Franco of Cologne, see above, fn. 19 and 20.

²³ On an additional source of the motetus text only, GB-Ob Douce 308, see below, fn. 40. The other source of the motetus text, F-Pa 3101, is an 18th-century compilation and therefore of no relevance in the present context.

²⁴ See the transcription (Appendix 2). Groups of four semibreves occur in the motetus (bb. 6, 7).

²⁵ See COUSSEMAKER, *Scriptorum*, vol. 1, 272b: *Solo recta brevis moderatur tempore quevis. Seipsamque in duas dimittit partes non equales vel in tres tantummodo equales et indivisibiles*; REANEY and GILLES, *Ars*, pp. 38-39: *Sed nota semibrevis plures quam tres pro recta brevi non posse accipi . . . nec minus quam duas . . .*

²⁶ See the reading of the treatise proposed by WOLINSKI, *Montpellier Codex*, pp. 131-133.

(ca. 1275), the practice appears to have been common²⁷, and pieces with similar style characteristics are found in Fascicles VII and Fascicle VIII of F-MO H 196.²⁸ *Trop sui/Trop par*/[...] thus may represent a slightly more recent stylistic layer than the two motets copied next to it in B-LVhuybens D. Nevertheless, compelling reasons to assign it a *terminus ante quem non* much later than the middle of the third quarter of the 13th century, if that, would seem to be lacking. Based on the preceding analysis of the repertory, it thus seems safe to say that B-LVhuybens D could have been copied at any time between the 1270/80s and the early decades of the 14th century.

Origins

The general style of the handwriting, as well as paleographic details such as the shape of the tironian *et*, the letters *g* and *d*, the use of alternating red and blue filigreed initials, or the likely arrangement of the gatherings strongly suggest the French-speaking area as the place of origin of the fragment.²⁹ This notion is compounded by the emphasis on French-texted settings in the repertory, which drastically reduces the probability that the manuscript was compiled for a patron or an establishment where French was not the vernacular, or at least a widely used language.³⁰

The dialectal shadings of the texts in B-LVhuybens D, which replace Parisian *c* by *ch* (*celant* vs. *chelant*), lower Parisian *o* to *ou* (*honourer* vs. *hounerer*), write *k* instead of *qu* (*que* vs. *ke*), replace unstressed *o* by *e* (*doner* vs. *dener*) and palatalize initial *e* (*ierbe*), do not point towards Paris or the Ile-de-France, but, rather, reflect the idiosyncrasies of the regions situated in the east or northeast of the French-speaking area, such as Champagne, Lorraine, or the Meuse val-

²⁷ See F. RECKOW, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus IV, Teil I: Edition*, (Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 4), Wiesbaden, 1967, pp. 23, 39, 45. On the dating of the treatise, see *op.cit.*, p. 17; also *Teil II: Interpretation der Organum Purum-Lehre*, (Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 5), Wiesbaden, 1967, p. 2.

²⁸ See motets 264, 298 and 299 in H. TISCHLER (ed.), *The Montpellier Codex, (Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 2-8)*, Madison, 1978, for melismatic groups of four semibreves; motets 253, 299 and 332 for syllabic use of four semibreves. See also WOLINSKI, *Montpellier Codex*, p. 134. On the dating of Fascicle VIII, see R. BRANNER, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles*, Berkeley, 1977, p. 238. Also EVERIST, *Polyphonic Music*, pp. 122-123; WOLINSKI, *Montpellier Codex*, pp. 64-65.

²⁹ For discussions of French book hands and copying habits during the 13th and 14th century, see, among others, DESTREZ, *Pecia*; S. HARRISON THOMSON, *Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages, 1100-1500*, New York, 1969; BRANNER, *Manuscript Painting*, pp. 1-21.

³⁰ Manuscripts of polyphony from the 13th and early 14th century copied outside the French-speaking area tend to collect exclusively Latin compositions. See, e.g., D-W 628 (copied in Scotland), E-Mn 20486 or E-BUlh (both copied in Castile).

ley.³¹ A closer comparison with contemporaneous vernacular documents reveals that the spelling habits of B-LVhuybens D appear to match best those to be expected in an area east of Champagne and west of Lorraine proper (i.e., the duchy of Lorraine and the prince-bishopric of Metz). This suggests the county of Bar and the prince-bishopric of Verdun as likely places of origin.³²

A Lorraine connection can nonetheless be hypothesized on grounds of what little can be deciphered of the mirror image of the second binding sheet visible at the left-hand margin of fol. 44v. Copied in a very small book hand, the sheet appears to have been some kind of legal document drawn up in Latin. Given that such documents overwhelmingly deal with feudal titles in the widest possible sense, the text fragment is likely to contain one or several toponyms or proper names; the letter *w*, clearly visible toward the bottom of the impression, and possibly part of a toponym, supports the notion of a place of origin for this document near the eastern or northeastern fringe of the French-speaking area, in this case probably the prince-bishopric of Metz, adjacent to the Barrois and Verdunois to the East. Another, perhaps less likely possibility would be the prince-bishopric of Liège further to the Northeast. In both regions, Germanic influences are commonly found not only in the local dialects, but also in proper names as well as toponyms.³³

This somewhat murky picture is clarified considerably by comparing the decoration of B-LVhuybens D with examples of Mosan book painting from the late 13th and early 14th century. Manuscripts such as D-B theol. lat. fol. 271 (a missal from the Benedictine abbey of Prüm, copied ca. 1290-1305), F-Pn lat. 1029A (a breviary made for Marguerite de Bar, abbess of the Benedictine convent of St Maur in Verdun between 1288 and 1304), or F-VN 98 (a missal produced for Renaud de Bar, bishop of Metz from 1301 to 1316) show filigreed initials and border decorations that are strikingly similar to the decoration of B-LVhuybens D.³⁴ The border decorations in particular, with their alteration of curved and

³¹ On the phonology of French dialects, see, e.g., M. POPE, *From Latin to Modern French with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman: Phonology and Morphology*, (Publications of the University of Manchester, 229, French Series, 6), Manchester, 1934, pp. 491-497; É. and J. BOURCIEZ, *Phonétique française: Étude historique*, Paris, 1971.

³² On the characteristics of Lorraine French, with specific emphasis on the 14th-century Messine vernacular, see J. LANHER, *La langue Lorraine au Moyen Age*, in S. COLLIN-ROSET (ed.), *Écriture et enluminure en Lorraine au Moyen Age: Catalogue de l'exposition "La plume et le parchemin" organisée par la Société Thierry Alix du 29 mai au 29 juillet 1984 en la chapelle des Cordeliers Musée historique lorrain*, Nancy, Nancy, 1984, pp. 179-181. For partial reproductions of various examples of Lorraine vernacular writing of the period, see COLLIN-ROSET, *Écriture et enluminure*, pp. 139, 150-151, 183-186.

³³ See, e.g., the example from the chartulary from the Cistercian convent of Freistroff (diocese of Metz) reproduced in COLLIN-ROSET, *Écriture et enluminure*, pp. 150-151. For a sample of Walloon idiosyncrasies, see, e.g., the motets texts of I-Tr Vari 42, visible in AUDA, "Motets wallons".

³⁴ For partial reproductions of these manuscripts, see J.H. OLIVER, *Gothic Manuscript Illumination in the Diocese of Liège (ca. 1250-ca. 1330)*, vol. 2, (*Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts from the Low Countries*, 3), Leuven, 1988, pl. 181, 185 and 199; COLLIN-ROSET, *Écriture et enluminure*, p. 118.

knobbed patterns ending in thick vines, typify the Mosan style of the 'School of Verdun', which is clearly set off from the slender, undulating vines and tendrils typical of border decorations produced by Parisian illuminators during the same period.³⁵ It is thus extremely likely that B-LVhuybens D was prepared somewhere within the sphere of influence of the school of Verdun.³⁶ While this area, at the time in question, extended from the upper Meuse valley as far as Strasbourg, Geneva, Flanders, and England, the dialectal features of the bifolio strongly suggest the core region around Verdun and Bar-le-Duc as the place of origin of the manuscript, or at least of its copyist and illuminator. The presumable toponym or personal name of the mirror impression on the margin of fol. 44v in turn might make the prince-bishopric of Metz, or the lower Meuse area, a possible place where the codex was dismantled and used for binding.³⁷

Conclusions

Apparently, then, B-LVhuybens D is the remnant of a larger collection of polyphony containing a mostly or exclusively Parisian repertory, but copied somewhere in or near the upper Meuse area. B-LVhuybens D thus can be grouped with the recently discovered Metz conductus fragment or, perhaps, the lost Besançon codex, all of which offer testimony to the rapid dissemination of Parisian polyphony during the latter decades of the 13th century into Lorraine.³⁸ In a larger sense, B-LVhuybens D also belongs with the related collections I-Tr Vari 42 and B-Br 19606, which witness the assimilation of Parisian polyphony in the northern portions of the French-speaking area situated at the western border of the Holy Roman Empire.³⁹ Thus, B-LVhuybens

³⁵ As visible, e.g., in F-MO H 196 and D-BAs lit. 115.

³⁶ On the School of Verdun, see OLIVER, *Gothic Manuscript Illumination*, vol. 1, (*Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts from the Low Countries*, 2), pp. 181-183 and 192-193; also P.M. DE WINTER, *Une réalisation exceptionnelle d'enlumineurs français et anglais vers 1300: le Bréviaire de Renaud de Bar, évêque de Metz*, in *Actes du 103^e Congrès national des sociétés savantes (Nancy-Metz 1978)*, Paris, 1980, pp. 27-62.

³⁷ Such a transfer could easily be envisioned given the multiple involvement of the cadet and female members of the house of Bar in high ecclesiastic positions within the wider Mosan region, and the importance of the artistic patronage exerted by them during the decades preceding and immediately after 1300. See above, p. 108.

³⁸ On the fragment Metz, Médiathèque du Pontiffroy, fonds ancien et précieux 732bis/20, see M. EVERIST, *Fast Forward into the Fourteenth Century: A New Source for the Thirteenth-Century Polyphonic Conductus*, paper read at the 23rd Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music, University of Southampton, 5-9 July 1996. On F-B 716, see E. HOEPFFNER, *Le chansonnier de Besançon*, in *Romania*, XLVII (1921), pp. 105-116.

³⁹ On B-Br 19606, see R.H. HOPPIN, *A Musical Rotulus of the Fourteenth-Century*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, IX (1955), pp. 131-142; also K. KÜGLE, *Two Abbots and a Rotulus: New Light on Brussels 19606* (forthcoming). A new study of I-Tr Vari 42 by this author is in progress in the context of a book on music in Liège, ca. 1250-1400; for some preliminary considerations, see the accompanying booklet to *Miroir d'Éternité: Motets et conduits du XIV^e siècle (Turin: Vari 42)*, Ensemble Venance Fortunat (CD Cyprès 3609 [*Musique en Wallonie*, 1997]), pp. 14-15. For a discussion of some related issues, see the section "Paris and the Provinces" in EVERIST, *Polyphonic Music*, pp. 221-225.

D provides crucial evidence for reconstructing the music history of a region still barely touched by musicologists: The lands at the border between the Holy Roman Empire and the *regnum Francorum*, and the Meuse valley in particular. If the evidence of art history and of recent musicological discoveries is any indication, it looks like we shall read a great deal more about these lands in the not too distant future.⁴⁰

APPENDIX 1

Previously unknown Latin Texts for *Quant vient/Ne sai/Iobanne*

Divini roris influentia
suo nos illustret clementia,
nec laudes extollamus virginis
que virilis ignara seminis
mater patris mirande efficitur,
nec virginitatis metas egreditur.
Ratio hec deluditur,
vim natura patitur,
argumenti virtus tollitur.
Quid plura
cedit natura
miraculo creatori creatura?
Factori subicitur factura,
nec natura iniuria leditur,
cuius opifex non astringitur
lege. Taceat
nunc incredulitas,
et pervasitas
sileat,
nam dominicalis docuit nativitas
et humanitas.

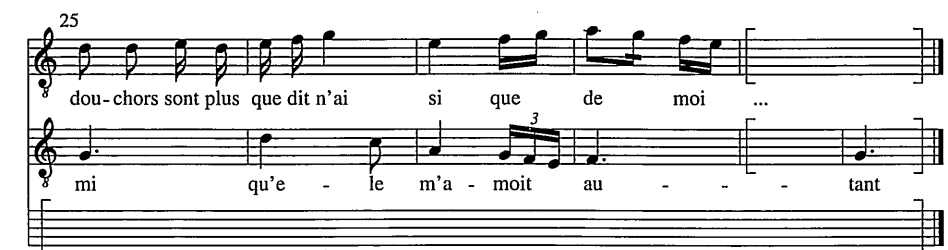
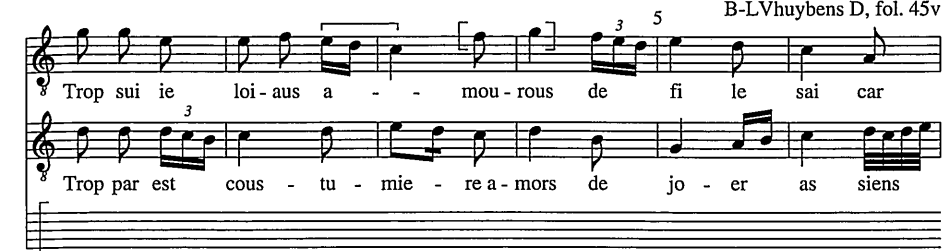
Arida frondescit
virga, que florescit,
et in eius fructu crescit
nux mirifice.
Virgo virum nescit,
que pregnans virescit
et fructificans tumescit
mystice.
Teste tegumento
nucis nucleus redditur,
et invelantur
sic velamenta
carnis. Intexitur
et circumcingitur
deitas, et tegitur.

⁴⁰ While it would exceed the scope of this report, passing mention must at least be made of the substantial legacy of poet-musicians from Champagne, Bar and Lorraine among the trouvère repertory of the 13th century. A key source for this repertory is GB-Ob Douce 308, which also preserves a copy of the motet text of [*Que ferai*]/[*Ne puet*]/[*Descendentibus*] (fol. 258r). GB-Ob Douce 308, too, was copied in the Verdun region, and can be linked with another masterpiece of the Lorraine school, the Psalter-Hours of Joffrey d'Aspremont and Isabelle de Kievraing (GB-Ob Douce 118 and Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Felton 2) through the person of Isabelle de Kievraing: Isabelle's father Louis, count of Chiny, organized the famous tournament of Chauvency-le-Château, a town north of Verdun, in October 1285; this tournament is described in Jacques Bretel's *Le tournoi de Chauvency*, of which GB-Ob Douce 308 is the primary source. GB-Ob Douce 308 was long owned by the Le Gronnais family, a house of Messine patricians. For an edition of the poem, see M. DELBOUILLE (ed.), *Jacques Bretel: Le tournoi de Chauvency*, Paris, 1932. On GB-Ob Douce 308, see P. MEYER, *Troisième rapport sur une mission littéraire en Angleterre et en Écosse*, in *Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 2nd series, vol. 5, pp. 154-162 and 213-244; O. PÄCHT and J. ALEXANDER, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1966, nr. 587. See also OLIVER, *Gothic Manuscript Illumination*, vol. 1, p. 181; COLLIN-ROSET, *Écriture et enluminure*, pp. 186-187.

APPENDIX 2

Transcription of *Trop sui/Trop par*/[...]

B-LVhuybens D, fol. 45v



Triplum: Due to the deterioration of the bifolio, most stems and many of the pitches in bb. 1-17 must remain conjectural, M. 1: Ms. e'.

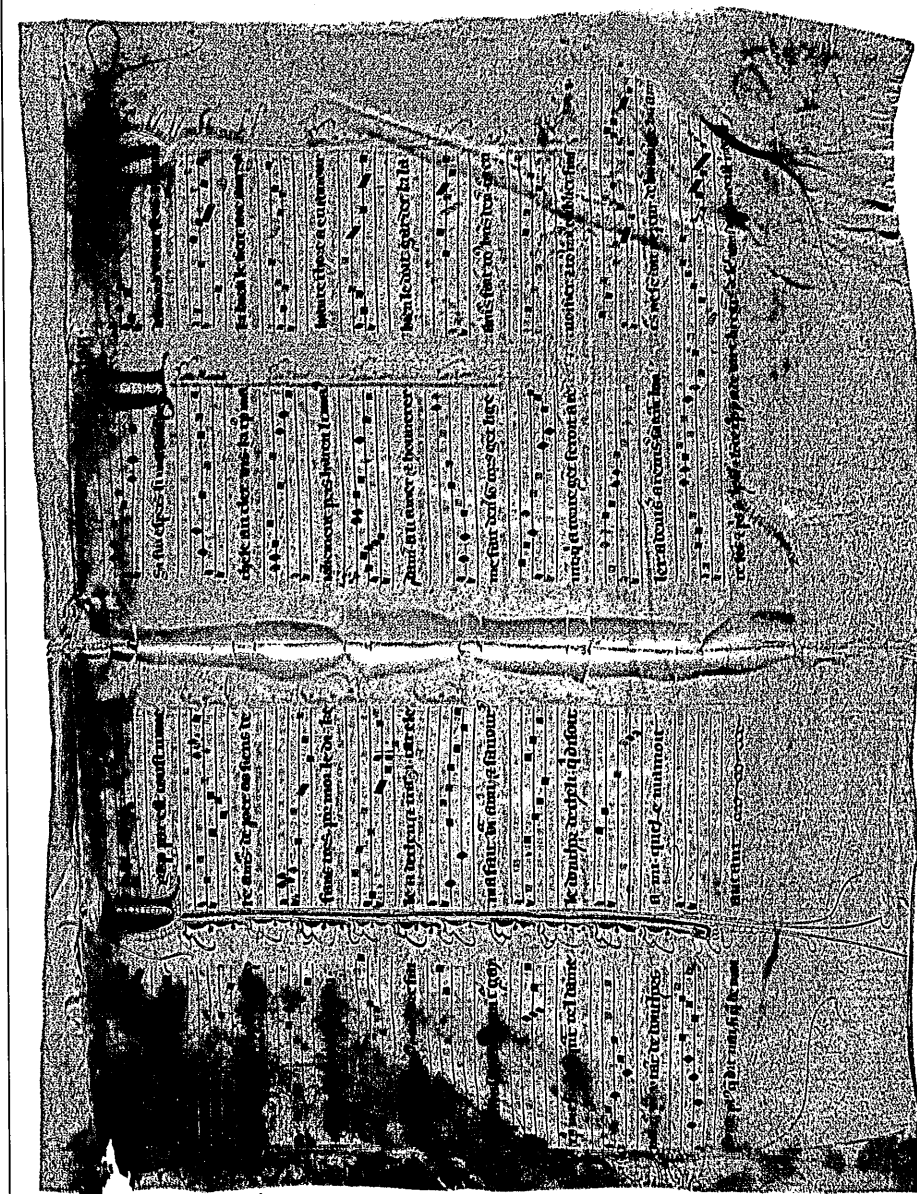


Figure 1: front of the fragment

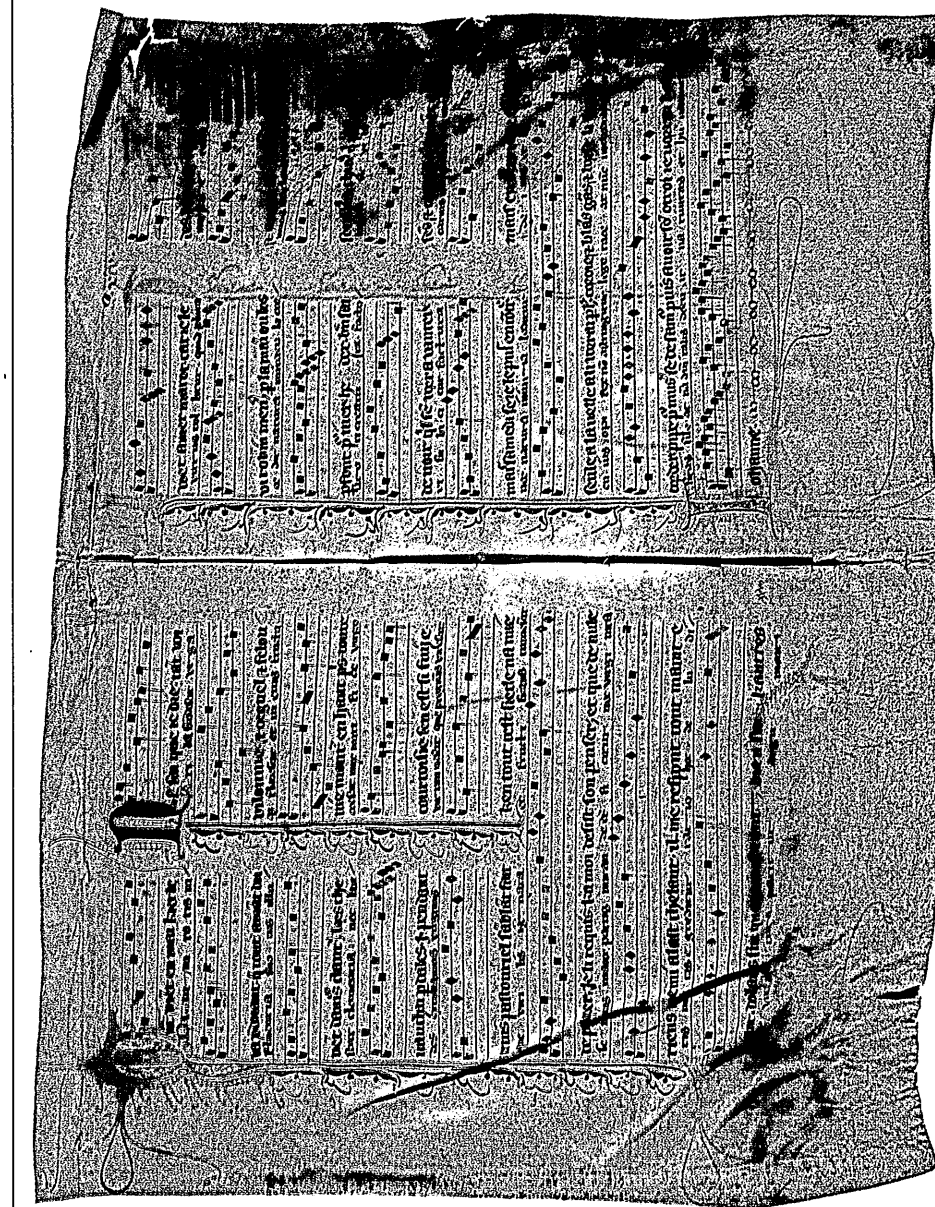


Figure 2: rear of the fragment

INDEX DES TITRES/INCIPITS CITÉS

Titre	Compositeur	Manuscrit
Ad te levavi	A. Ferrabosco	B 18
Aurora diem	A. Ferrabosco	B 6
Benedic, anima mea [... et omnia]	A. Ferrabosco	B 5
Benedic, anima mea [... magnificatus es]	A. Ferrabosco	B 15
Cantate dominum + Quia beneplacitum est	A. Ferrabosco	B 19
Confitebor tibi domine in toto corde meo	R. de Lassus	A 11
Conserva me domine + Vias tuas domine	A. Ferrabosco	B 13
Da pacem domine	A. Ferrabosco	B 21
Deus misereatur nostri	R. de Lassus	A 2
Dixit dominus domino meo	R. de Lassus	A 11
Domine in virtute tua + Magna est gloria eius	A. Ferrabosco	B 10
Domine probasti me	A. Blasius	C ² 3
Donna che deggio far	Ph. Verdelot	A 10
Draco iste	A. Ferrabosco	B 8
Ecce advenit + Deus iudicium	A. Blasius	C ² 1
Ecce iam noctis	A. Ferrabosco	B 7
Emitte spiritum tuum	A. Ferrabosco	B 9
... enarum iacet aula subacta sororum	Anonyme	A 4
Fletus date	Anonyme	C ¹ 4
Florentia tempus est	C. Festa	C ¹ 3
Heu mihi domine	A. Ferrabosco	B 3
Incipit lamentatio Heremie ... Aleph. Quomodo	A. Ferrabosco	B 1
Incipit lamentatio Heremie ... Vocavimus	A. Ferrabosco	B 2
In convertendo dominus + Convertite domine	R. de Lassus	A 4
Ingemuit Susanna	A. Ferrabosco	B 14
Locutus sum in lingua mea + Fac mecum signum	R. de Lassus	A 8
Mihi autem nimis	A. Blasius	C ² 4
Miserere nostri domine	W. Damon	B 12
Musica laeta	A. Ferrabosco	B 11
Nuntium vobis	A. Ferrabosco	B 24
Partomi donna	Nolletto	A 10
Peccata mea Domine	A. Ferrabosco	B 22
Posuisti tenebras	A. Ferrabosco	B 23
Quant vient en mai (triplum: Divini roris influentia)	Anonyme	D
- Ne sai que ie die (motet: Arida frondescit)		
- Iohanne (tenor)		
Quand un cordier	R. de Lassus	A 9
Que ferai, biaux sire Dieus? (triplum)	Anonyme	D
- Ne puet faillir a honour (motet)		
- Descendentibus (tenor)		
Quemadmodum	L. Daser	A 6
Que pleust	Verius	A 5

Qui emittis fontes	A. Ferrabosco	B 17
Qui fundasti	A. Ferrabosco	B 16
Rorate caeli desuper + Caeli enarrant	A. Blasius	C ² 2
Sana me domine + Ne derelinquas	A. Ferrabosco	B 4
Saturabuntur ligna campi	A. Ferrabosco	B 20
Si de nouveau	Verius	A 5
Si ie suis brun + Ne vous soit	R. de Lassus	A 9
Sis humilis	Anonyme	A 1
Trop sui ie loiaus amoureux (triplum)	Anonyme	D
- Trop par est coustumiere amors (motet)		
Tytire impatule	R. de Lassus	C ¹ 2
Un jeune moine est sorti	R. de Lassus	A 9
Videns dominus + Pulchre sunt	Jacheto	A 7
Vitam quae faciunt	J. Vaet	C ¹ 1

A NEW FRAGMENT WITH 16TH-CENTURY KEYBOARD MUSIC

An unknown composition by Thomas Whythorne (1528-1596)
in a manuscript from the Low Countries
(Gent-Rijksuniversiteit: Ms. G11655)

Bruno Bouckaert
Aspirant F.W.O.

Eugeen Schreurs
Alamire Foundation (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

It has already been established by many music historians that the inventory of surviving keyboard music from the Southern Netherlands from before ca. 1650 is limited.¹ If we leave out organ manuscripts (often consisting of liturgical music), there remain very few sources for the period before 1600. However, on the basis of 16th-century archival evidence and iconographical material (the latter requiring cautious interpretation), we may gather that keyboard instruments other than the organ were popular.² Numerous references to the use of the harpsichord, clavichord or virginal can be found, especially in court circles and amongst the middle classes. In 1579 there are known to have been fifteen or twenty harpsichord builders working in Antwerp, including the Ruckers family. With their activity and the presence of composers such as Peter Philips,

¹ For an overview see especially CH. VAN DEN BORREN, *Les origines de la musique de clavier dans les Pays-Bas (Nord et Sud) jusque vers 1630*, Brussels, 1914, pp. 65-131; H.M. BROWN, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600. A Bibliography*, Cambridge (MA), 1965 (henceforth cited in the text as Brown); A. CURTIS, *Sweelinck's Keyboard Music. A Study of English Elements in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Composition*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 34-35 (Keyboard Music in the Netherlands before Sweelinck); B. GUSTAFSON, *French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century: a Thematic Catalog of the Sources with Commentary*, (*Studies in Musicology*, 11), Ann Arbor, 1979, pp. 77-83, 227-250. Additional material appears in B. GUSTAFSON & D. FULLER, *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music, 1699-1780*, Oxford, 1990, pp. 352-403; L. CALDWELL, art. *Sources of Keyboard Music to 1660*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 17, London, 1980, pp. 729-730.

In addition, the Groningen organ fragments should also be mentioned: see M. VAN DAALEN & F. HARRISON, *Two Keyboard Intabulations of the Late Fourteenth Century on a Manuscript Leaf Now in the Netherlands*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 34 (1984), pp. 97-108; *Bedreigde klanken? Muziekhandschriften uit de Lage Landen (Middeleeuwen - Renaissance)*, exhibition catalogue, eds. E. SCHREURS & B. BOUCKAERT, Leuven, Peer, 1995, pp. 19, 52; *Anthologie van muziekfragmenten uit de Lage Landen (Middeleeuwen - Renaissance)*. *Polyfonie, monodie en lesteenfragmenten in facsimile. An Anthology of Music Fragments from the Low Countries (Middle Ages - Renaissance)*. *Polyphony, monophony and slate fragments in facsimile*, E. SCHREURS (ed.), B. BOUCKAERT & E. POPPE, Leuven, Peer, 1995, pp. 128.

the Southern Netherlands were to assume an ever increasing importance up until the end of the century.³

The supposedly earliest known work to date for harpsichord coming from the Southern Netherlands appears in the treatise *Livre plaisant et tres utile pour apprendre a faire et ordonner tabulatures hors le discant*. This method for arranging tablatures on the basis of vocal compositions was destined for harpsichordplayers, lutenists and flautists, and was published in 1529 in Antwerp by Guillaume Vosterman (*Brown* 1529₂). It is a free translation of the second part of Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (Basel, 1511), with the German musical example replaced by an elaborate instrumental arrangement (in tablature) of the popular Dutch polyphonic song *Een vrolijk wesen* (Barbireau/Isaac/anonymus).⁴ A Dutch translation of this same treatise appeared in Antwerp in 1554 (*Brown* 1554₉) and in 1568 (*Brown* 1568_g), this time published by Jan van Gelen with the title *Dit is een seer Schoon Boecxke, om te leeren maken alderhande tabulatueren uten Discante. Daer duer men lichtelijck mach leeren spelen opt Clavicordium, Luyte en Fluyte*, and with the same musical example as that in the French edition.⁵ This is of course an isolated composition, and therefore not a genuine *Klavierbuch*. The only 16th-century source from the Southern Netherlands that does fall into this category is the so-called *Susanne van Soldt manuscript*, London, British Library, Add. 29485.⁶ Even though Susanne van Soldt was baptised in London in 1586 and the date 1599 is given on the title page, we may assume that the greater part of this collection of thirty-three compositions was compiled in the Netherlands at the beginning of the 1570s. Hans van Soldt, Susanne's father, was an Antwerp businessman who on account of his Protestant faith apparently fled to London in 1576 after the Spanish persecution. Other early manuscript collections of keyboard music, with the exception of liturgical organ music, date from as late

² See CH. VAN DEN BORREN, op. cit. pp. 5-10. Concerning the iconography see among others K. MOENS, "Zeer lustich om singen en spelen op alle musicale instrumenten". *Iconografische, organologische en muzieksociologische bemerkingen bij het gebruik van muziekinstrumenten ten tijde van Margaretha van Oostenrijk, bijzonder in de Nederlanden*, in *Muziek aan het hof van Margaretha van Oostenrijk. Music at the Court of Marguerite of Austria, (Jaarboek van het Vlaamse Centrum voor Oude Muziek, 3)*, Peer, 1987, pp. 97-118; ID., *Muziek en Grafiek. Burgermoraal en muziek in de 16de- en 17de-eeuwse Nederlanden*, exhibition catalogue, Antwerp, 1994.

³ G. O'BRIEN, *Ruckers. A Harpsichord and virginal building tradition*, (Cambridge Texts and Monographs), ed. H.M. BROWN, P. LE HURRAY & J. STEVENS, Cambridge, New York, 1990, pp. 22-23, 218-220ff.

⁴ J.W. BONDA, *De meerstemmige Nederlandse liederen van den vijftiende en zestiende eeuw*, Hilversum, 1996, pp. 496-497, 507, 556.

⁵ For a facsimile with critical introduction see *Livre Plaisant, 1529 & Dit is een seer Schoon Boecxke, 1568*, ed. J.H. VAN DER MEER, (*Early Music Theory in the Low Countries*, ed F. NOSKE, 9), Amsterdam, 1973.

⁶ See especially the edition by A. CURTIS ed., *Nederlandse Klaviermusiek uit de 16e en 17e eeuw. Dutch Keyboard Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, (*Monumenta Musica Neerlandica*, 3) Amsterdam, 1961 (critical introduction pp. x-xii).

as the first half of the 17th century (such as the now lost *Vincentius de la Faille manuscript* from ca. 1625), or otherwise come from the Northern Netherlands. We have recently been able to add yet another music fragment to these early sources: Gent-Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. G11655, fol. 295v (see facsimile). This appears in a manuscript along with two legal treatises. Despite its consisting of only one folio-side with one composition and the fragment of another, it is in many ways an interesting and noteworthy document. Although it has been listed in the thematic card catalogue of the manuscript section of the R.U. Gent for some time, it has so far gone unnoticed by musicologists.⁷

The folio (paper, oblong, 197 x 270 mm) has been ruled with 6 six- or seven-lined staves, the bottom two of which remain blank. The top system contains the toccata-like end of a piece. This work, for which neither author nor title is given, ends on a C major chord, followed by the word *finis*. The scribe has used lozenge-type note heads. The right- and left-hand parts have not been notated completely synchronously, and it is for this reason that a light barline has been drawn in after a few beats by another hand.

The second system starts with a second composition, written (later?) in another hand. This piece is eight measures long and entitled *A morys*, a possible reference to the similarly-named English folkdance.⁸ It is a dance-like piece with a very transparent structure: A (2 + 2) | B (2 + 2) :||. The *bis* marked at the beginning of the second section indicates that the B-section should be repeated. The simple harmonic setting of the uncomplicated melody in the top voice is typical, with many parallel fifths and octaves in the left-hand part. The type of notation differs from that in the preceding piece. The scribe has mistakenly notated the f-clef on the upper staff one line too low. The note written in the right-hand margin identifies the composer: *finis quod Thomas Whythorne*.

While Thomas Whythorne (Ilminster 1528 - London 1596) is perhaps not a first-rate composer, his name has nevertheless found a permanent place in music history.⁹ Since the rediscovery of his voluminous autobiography in 1955 a good deal of information has come to light about this figure - information we usually lack about his more important contemporaries.¹⁰ At the age of ten he

⁷ It cannot be determined how and when the manuscript came to be in the library. It does not appear in A. DEROLEZ, *Inventaris van de handschriften in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Gent*, Ghent, 1977.

⁸ M. KARPELES, *England. II. Folk Music*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980, pp. 187.

⁹ For biographical information see especially J.M. OSBORN, *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, Oxford, 1961; H.F. REDLICH, *Whythorne, Thomas*, in F. BLUME (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 14, Kassel-Basel, 1968, pp. 568-570.; J.M. OSBORN, *Whythorne, Thomas*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20, London, 1980, pp. 393-394; J. BARLOW, *Thomas Whythorne: the Status of the Town Music Tutor*, paper read at the colloquium *Music & Musicians in Urban Societies: Culture, Community and Change, 1400-1600*, London, 24-25/04/1997.

began six years of training as a choirboy at the Magdalen College School, Oxford. In 1545 he came into contact with the virginalist and composer John Heywood, who for the next three years initiated him into the art of virginal and lute playing, as well as poetry. During the next twenty years Whythorne earned his living primarily as a music tutor within the higher social circles of London. His relationships with his female students receive a particularly extended treatment in his autobiography. In 1571 he became master of music to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Very little is known about his activities from 1576 (when he completed his autobiography) onwards.

Until now, Whythorne's activity as a composer has been known only through two publications, although his autobiography reveals that he had planned the publication of many other works.¹¹ In 1571 the collection *Songes, for three, fouer and five voyces...*, of which no complete copy has survived, was published in London by John Daye. This work shows Whythorne to have been a notable pioneer of the Elizabethan madrigal, which makes its first real appearance with the publication of William Byrd's *Psalms, sonets and songs...* (1588).¹² In the first edition there is a portrait of Whythorne, along with his curious motto: *Aspra, ma non troppo*. The portrait is based on an extant painting of the composer from 1569.¹³ The *Duos, or songs for two voices...*, a collection of fifty-two English songs published by Thomas East in 1590, are pieces, according to the title-page, that can be played on different instruments, and were written especially for beginners.

¹⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Engl. misc. c. 303 (the manuscript contains no less than 90 folios). For the edition of this autobiography see note 9.

¹¹ See RISM A/I/9, pp. 217; H.M. BROWN, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600. A Bibliography*, Cambridge (MA), 1965, pp. 364-365.

¹² The importance of Whythorne's collection has been referred to in numerous historical accounts. See among others J. STEVENS, *The English Madrigal Composers*, London, New York, 1921, second edition 1963; J. KERMAN, *The Elizabethan Madrigal. A Comparative Study*, (American Musicological Society. Studies and Documents, 4), New York, 1962; J. CALDWELL, *The Oxford History of English Music. Volume I. From the Beginnings to c. 1715*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 327-332; J. HARLEY, *William Byrd. Gentleman of the Chapel Royal*, Aldershot, Vermont, 1997, pp. 101, 234, 275, 292 et al.

¹³ Concerning the unusually rich iconography of Whythorne, see J.M. OSBORN, *The Autobiography...*, pp. 305-306.

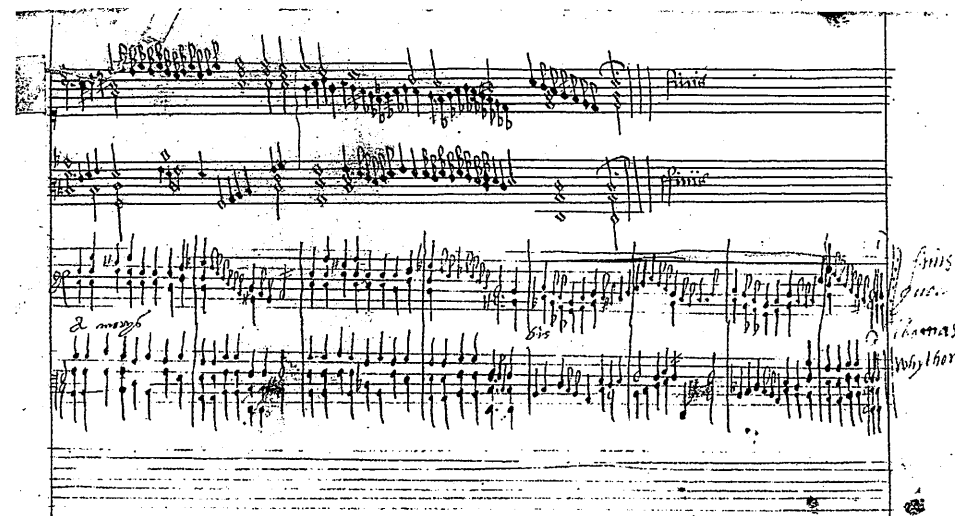


Figure 1: Gent-Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. G11655, fol. 295v

finis quod
Thomas Whythorne

Figure 2: Transcription

The keyboard fragment therefore adds one more work to Whythorne's opus, and is the only one of his compositions preserved in manuscript. A comparison of the handwriting in the autobiography with that of the text in the music fragment has revealed certain similarities. In the title, *A morys*, and in the notes in the right-hand margin there are some letters that show a remarkable likeness to Whythorne's own hand.¹⁴ The difference in handwriting between the title and the marginal notes (which at first glance seem to have been written by two different hands) can also be observed in Whythorne's handwriting, namely between that of the running text of his autobiography and the inserted sonnet (see Figure 3). Although we can never state with complete certainty on the basis of so little text in the musical autograph that these were written by the same hand, this can nevertheless be formulated as a possible hypothesis.

The fragment may be connected with an important event in Whythorne's life. In 1554/1555 he undertook a journey to the Continent that apparently lasted two years. According to his own account, he spent six months in *Low Duchland, that is to say Flaunderz and Brabant*.¹⁵ Unfortunately he says nothing more about this, except that he landed in Calais, and visited the wealthy cities of Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, Leuven, Mechelen and Antwerp before moving on to Maastricht and Cologne. He was particularly struck by the, in his opinion, excessive amount of drunkenness he encountered in these regions. The context of the manuscript containing the keyboard-music folio may also help us with our investigations concerning the date and origin of the music. The watermark of fol. 295v (in the form of a cogwheel) is identical to that of the other folios in the manuscript, and therefore the page was not added to the manuscript from elsewhere (for instance during rebinding).

Ms. G 11655 contains two Dutch-language treatises on law, which are copies of two works by the Ghent jurist Filips Wielant (1441-1520): *Corte instructie omme jonghe practisien in materie civile* (fols. 187r-240r) and *Corte instructie omme jonghe practisien in materie criminele* (fols. 241r-300r).¹⁶ The copyist is unknown, but may have been a lawyer from the Great Council in Mechelen. Between 1504 and 1520 Wielant held the position of secular justice and vice-president of the Great Council in Mechelen, and both of the treatises date from this period. The texts treat of legal regulations concerning the setting of bail, the possible sanctions that may be imposed upon offenders of the law (imprisonment, torture, sentencing to the rack, etc.), and the measures that

¹⁴ We have relied upon the photographs published in J.M. OSBORN, *The Autobiography...* (between pp. 20 and 21, pp. 122 and 123, pp. 300 and 301). A more detailed study based on examination of the complete manuscript would allow for greater certainty.

¹⁵ J.M. OSBORN, *The Autobiography...*, pp. 60-62, 66, 68, 88, 178, 247.

¹⁶ J. MONBALLYU (ed.), *Filips Wielant. Verzameld Werk. I. "Corte Instructie in Materie Criminele"*, Brussels, 1995 (a description of Ms. G11655 appears on p.36. The manuscript begins on folio 187. For biographical information about Wielant and the importance of his work see pp. 7-44). With many thanks to Prof. Monballyu (K.U.Leuven) for his written comments on this matter.

may be taken against crimes such as assault, adultery, counterfeisance, theft of church property, theft and receipt of stolen goods, forgery, fraud in the casting of die, etc. These works are of enormous importance in the history of law. It is possible that they were used as some kind of educational handbook at the Council of Flanders.

The following note appears at the bottom of fol. 300r: *finem huic praxi criminali imposui 24 aprilis anno 1565, pridie supplicationis Mecliniensis*. This does not necessarily mean that the music fragment on fol. 295v was written after this date. It may well have been done during the copying of the treatise itself. It is, however, unlikely that the note was written down ten years earlier, during Whythorne's stay in the Low Countries around 1554. It is for this reason that our hypothesis, namely that the fragment is the composer's autograph, deserves consideration. In any case, it is a possibility that cannot be ruled out. Fol. 295r is blank and the page could have been inserted at any time. Whythorne might have come into contact with these circles of lawyers during his visit (or temporary stay) in Mechelen. He in fact praises Mechelen in his autobiography on account of the lawyers there.¹⁷ Although it may be merely coincidental, there are also several references in these legal treatises to drunkenness, one of which states that people in such a state may sometimes be cleared of certain crimes.¹⁸ This is exactly what Whythorne denounces in his autobiography. Another possibility is that Whythorne's music found its way to the Low Countries through his teacher John Heywood, who stayed in Mechelen from 1564 (later also in Antwerp and Louvain), after fleeing from England on account of his Catholic beliefs.¹⁹

Whichever of the above hypotheses is accepted, this piece of keyboard music fits well in an upper middle-class milieu of lawyers and jurists. It is common knowledge that many such people were involved with vocal and instrumental music in their spare time either as amateur musicians or patrons. Filips Wielant, for example, established at the Sint-Jacobskerk in Ghent (where he is buried with his wife) *vier zinghende messen tsiaers ten hooghen aultare met vullen chore*, two of which with *orghele ende discante*.²⁰ The fragment also bears witness to the fact that English keyboard music was known in the Low Countries from quite an early date. Knowledge of the genre became increasingly widespread as many more virginalists visited the area following Whythorne's teacher, Heywood: these included, among others, Peter Philips (from 1582; active in Brussels and Antwerp), John Bull (from 1613; active in

¹⁷ J.M. OSBORN, *The Autobiography...*, p. 66.

¹⁸ See for example J. MONBALLYU (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 183 (cap. 58, (5), p. 210 (cap. 85, (3)), p. 270 (cap. 141, (11)).

¹⁹ J.M. WARD, *HEYWOOD, John*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 8, London, 1980, p. 545.

²⁰ Ghent, Sint-Jacobskerk, Archive Room: 957/197 (charter of 1489.12.14). For further clarification we refer to the doctoral thesis of B. Bouckaert in preparation.

Brussels and Antwerp), Richard Deering (from 1617; active in Brussels) and Nicholas Morgan (from 1612; active in Brussels).²¹ Finally, the fragment confirms that English virginal music before the time of William Byrd was in fact limited to a handful of single dances, variations, fantasies and compositions based upon vocal models or Gregorian melodies.²²

This music fragment came to light during the doctoral research of B. Bouckaert (*Musical Life in Ghent, c.1400-1600*) and was first brought to the attention of musicologists at the colloquium *Music & Musicians in Urban Societies: Culture, Community and Change, 1400-1600* (London, 24-25/04/1997) in supplementary comments made after a paper read by Jeremy Barlow (*Thomas Whythorne: the Status of the Town Music Tutor*).

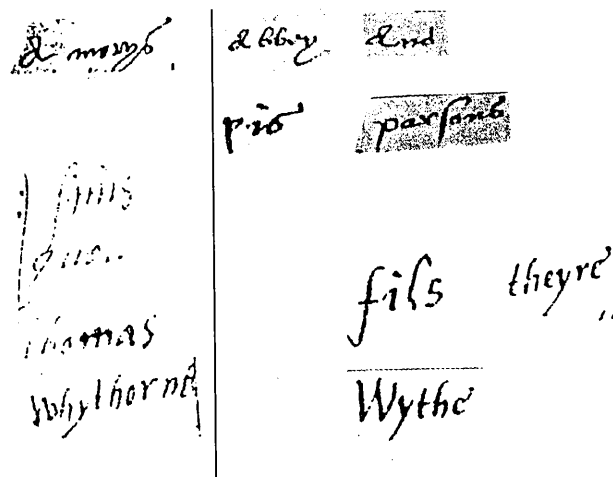


Figure 3: Ms. G 11655

Autobiography

²¹ On this subject see for example A. CURTIS, *Sweelinck's Keyboard Music. A Study of English Elements in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Composition*, Leiden, London, 1969, pp. 10-45 (English Musicians in the Netherlands around 1600); G. SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse periode van Peter Philips* (ca. 1561 - +1628), in *Musica Antiqua*, 7 (1990), pp. 108-113; S. JEANS, *Bull, John*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 3, London, 1980, pp. 438-445; P. PLATT, *Deering, Richard*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5, London, 1980, pp. 382-383.

²² J. HARLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

ALTA CAPELLA

NATIONAL STYLE IN 15TH-CENTURY EMBELLISHMENT

A Preliminary Investigation

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University of Toronto

Over the past three decades we have learned an enormous amount about early music and its performance practices, and the implementation of this information by performing ensembles has resulted in many excellent and musically exciting performances. Scholars have pursued the various areas of early performance to different degrees, however, and one area of information that has been almost totally neglected is the subject of regional stylistic differences in the music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance; a subject that is quite well-developed for the music of the Baroque period.

In a concert of Baroque music we now hear vast differences between, for example, an Italian aria and a French *air de cour*. Baroque performers are steeped in regional differences, and playing in good regional style is a very important part of any modern Baroque performance. But the same is not true for music of the earlier periods; performances of Medieval and Renaissance music from different regions of Europe tend to be stylistically alike, no matter what the repertory.

This practice of considering music before 1600 to be a single stylistic unit is not supported by historical fact. There is abundant evidence that regional differences were at least as strong during the centuries of the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance as they were during the Baroque period. That the different geographical areas possessed individual cultural traits during the earlier centuries is obvious in the language, art, costume, etc., and was therefore undoubtedly true in reference to the music. Since there was less communication between the various regions of Europe during the centuries prior to 1600, we should expect to hear even wider stylistic differences in the music of that period than we do in that of the Baroque. The fact that modern performances do not yet reflect these differences is not the fault of the performing ensembles, however, it is because the information is not yet available; musicologists have not yet produced the data that is necessary for performers to become aware of early stylistic differences. It is my intention here to begin a study of the subject with a close look at contrasting compositional devices and embellishments employed in French and Italian secular music from the early 15th century.

To begin, let us briefly analyze two secular vocal compositions that are typical of their genre from approximately the same time period: example 1, *De cuer joieux*, by Guillaume Benoit, is in the French style and was composed in the early years of the 15th century; example 2, *Come in sul fonte*, by Lorenzo da Firenze, is in the Italian style and dates from slightly earlier. I have chosen these

particular compositions because they contain lengthy melismatic passages that emphasize many of the style characteristics of their respective geographical areas during the late 14th and early 15th centuries.



Contratenor

Tenor

De cuer joy-eux je veuil chan-
Ne doy ge pas joy-e me-
Pour-tant l'a-me-rai sans a-

De cuer joy-eux je veuil chan-
Ne doy ge pas joy-e me-
Pour-tant l'a-me-rai sans a-

ter // quant ma da-me m'a de-te-nu //
ner // en di-sant, "je suis pour-ve-ü: //
mer // puis-que m'est si bien a-ve-nu //

Son ser-vant et bon
que son tres bon

son ser-
que son

Example 1: Guillaume Benoit, *De cuer joieux*



Co

Co

me in sul fon-te fu pre-se Nar-ci
me in sul fon-te fu pre-se Nar-ci

so Di
so Di

sè da ssè, co-si cos-tei, spe-chian-
sè da ssè, co-si cos-tei, spe-chian-

do, Sè,
do, Sè,

Example 2: Lorenzo da Firenze, *Come in sul fonte*

The two pieces have at least two details in common: in the melismatic passages both tend to emphasize the structure of the composition by placing longer note values at both the beginnings and ends of phrases; and in both composi-

tions a typical phrase begins with longer note values, moves to quick-moving ornamental passages in the middle of the phrase, and then slows down to make a cadence. But the differences in the two styles of writing are far more numerous: they involve the number of voices to receive melismatic elaboration, the mixture and length of rhythmic figures, and the nature of rhythmic patterns and the regularity of their use.

The differences between the two styles are as follows: melismatic passages and rhythmic subdivisions are present in all of the voices of the French piece, although the superius is somewhat more active than are the lower two; in the Italian piece all rapid motion and subdivision is isolated in the superius part – there is nothing other than simple rhythmic patterns in the lower voice. The French composition contains a variety of rhythmic groupings, all of them comparatively short. Intricate rhythmic patterns would seem to be an important element of French compositional style, both within a single line and in the relationship of the parts to one another – an element that can be termed ‘rhythmic counterpoint.’ In contrast, the Italian piece tends to have rather lengthy and smooth rhythmic patterns, and there is rarely any rhythmic complexity that involves rhythmic interchange between the upper and lower voice parts. In Italian compositions, if a mixture of values is involved in an ornamental figure, that figure is usually repeated, as in example 2, b. 8, where a four-note figure that consists of a mixture of eighth and sixteenth notes is repeated immediately. The French tend not to repeat patterns so exactly.

Although most French compositions of this period contain many short, rhythmically varied ornaments, the progression from one level of rhythmic motion to another is gradual: that is, the lines rarely jump directly from long notes to very quick one; the motion is usually by degree. The first several bars of example 1 are a good illustration of this point: each smaller rhythmic value is preceded by the next largest value – half-notes move through quarters and then eighths before reaching the level of sixteenth notes. The single obvious exception is in b. 12, where the superius moves from eighth notes to thirty-second notes without any intermediate values, but this is uncommon. In contrast, the Italian ornamentations often jolt from one extreme level of motion to another. In example 2, b. 2, the values move directly from the static held note of b. 1, to a burst of rapid motion. It is typical of Italian compositional practices to include dramatic and sustained shifts in rhythmic levels.

The French interest in intricate rhythmic patterns is also expressed in the way in which the phrases are of various lengths and are not confined by the mensural subdivisions – expressed in these examples by bar lines. The French notation system of the late Middle Ages allowed for rhythmic patterns that extend beyond the single unit of measure, permitting the final note of the tenor part in example 1, b. 1, for example, to extend into b. 2, and the superius pattern beginning in b. 7 to continue on to b. 9 without stopping or acknowledging by repetition the beginning of the new bar.

The Italian notation of the same period was different from the French in that it was confined to subdivisions of the single unit of measure, and therefore the rhythmic patterns in Italian notation could not involve time units that obscured the bar. As a result of this, it is not unusual in the Italian compositions to see new ornamental ideas or a new levels of motion beginning and ending at a bar line, producing a regularity that is not present in French music.

Another peculiarity in the French melismas is the use of long-short rhythmic groups, as in example 1, b. 8, in the superius. It is interesting to notice the resemblance of this rhythmic figure to the French Baroque rhythmic figure known as *notes inégales*. A variation of this figure, resembling the Baroque *Lombard* rhythm, can be seen in the contratenor part in bb. 7, 10, and 12. A survey of the entire repertory of the period results in the conclusions that these particular rhythmic figures can be found in most French compositions, but not at all in the Italian. Example 1 is unusual in that it does not employ the *inégales* figure more frequently.

There are also two Italian ornamentation figures that are not usually found in French music. One can be seen in example 2, bb. 3 and 23, which contain a rapid, sequential passage of even notes consisting of stepwise motion intermingled with skips of thirds. The other particularly Italianate figure is the rapid change from triplet to quadruplet subdivision, as seen in example 2, bb. 4 and 17. This type of figure is very widely used in the late 14th-century Italian vocal works of Jacopo da Bologna, Johannes de Florentia, and as it is here, of Lorenzo da Firenze.

Additional examples of these style characteristics can be found in one of the earliest sources of instrumental music. Manuscript Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale 117, known as the *Faenza Codex*, has been discussed at some length in several publications, and the repertory is available in facsimile and transcription.¹ The portion of the manuscript that contains the notated compositions is usually considered to date from ca. 1410-1430,² and includes 47 compositions:³ eight

¹ Facsimile published as *An Early Fifteenth-century Italian Source of Keyboard Music, the Codex Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale 117*, (Musicological Studies and Documents, 10), n.p., 1961. Transcriptions published as *Keyboard Music of the Late Middle Ages in Codex Faenza 117*, D. PLAMENAC (ed.), n.p. 1972; and *Transcriptions from the Faenza Codex*, R. HEUSTIS (ed.), Westwood, New York, 1971. For studies of the manuscript and its contents see: C. VAN DEN BORREN, *Le Codex de Johannes Bonadies musicien du XVe siècle*, in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, 10 (1940), pp. 251-261; D. PLAMENAC, *A note on the Rearrangement of Faenza Codex 117*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 17 (1964), pp. 78-81; D. PLAMENAC, *Alcune osservazioni sulla struttura del codice 117 della Biblioteca comunale di Faenza*, in *L'Ars nova Italiana del trecento*, III, Certaldo, 1969, pp. 161-175; D. Plamenac, *Keyboard Music of the 14th Century in Codex Faenza 117*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 4, (1951), pp. 179-201; M. KUGLER, *Die Tastenmusik im Codex Faenza*, (Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, Band 21), T.G. GEORGIADIS (ed.), Tutzing, 1972. For a discussion of the instruments for which the Ms. was intended see T.J. MCGEE, *Instruments and the Faenza Codex*, in *Early Music*, 14 (1986), pp. 480-490; R. EBERLEIN, *The Faenza Codex: Music for Organ or for Lute Duet?*, in *Early Music*, 20 (1992), pp. 460-466; and my reply, pp. 466-468.

elaborations over liturgical *cantus fermi*, including two sets of *alternatim* verses for a Kyrie and Gloria; two settings of the *Benedicamus Domino* and one of the hymn *Ave Maris Stella*; several unidentified pieces, three of which appear to be dances;⁴ and 21 pieces identified as ornamented elaborations of late 14th-century vocal compositions, seven of which are French and fourteen are Italian. By comparing these 21 elaborations with their vocal originals one can see two different approaches taken by the ornamentor who seems to have been quite aware of their basic stylistic differences.

What is interesting about the Faenza examples is that they were all written by a single musician – an Italian – who treated the two repertoires differently. It is clear that the ornamentor was quite sensitive to the two different styles, but there are two compromises he made when working with the French pieces: he did not ornament the lower voices, which is something that probably would have been done by a Frenchman; and he was not able to reflect some of the French rhythmic patterns that extended beyond the bar; this was undoubtedly because of the limitations of the Italian notation system he was using. Otherwise, we can see that the Faenza ornamentor was quite conscious of the separate national style traits described above.

The same common ornamentation principles noted above in reference to the first two examples can be seen in examples 3 and 4. In both 3 and 4 the ornamentation is arranged to emphasize the phrase structure of the composition, with the cadences clearly marked in the ornamentation; often this is achieved by a complete halt of motion and a rhythmic emphasis on the cadencing perfect interval, as in example 3a, b. 8, and example 4, b. 5.

² D. PLAMENAC, *Keyboard Music*, p. 185, dates it as beginning of the 15th century. K. VON FISCHER in *RISM II B 4*, p. 898, gives 1410-1420; M. KUGLER, *Die Tastenmusik*, suggests approximately 1430.

³ In the Plamenac edition there are 48 entries resulting from the re-copying of a portion of no. 8, *de ce que fol pense*, in the midst of no. 22, *Sangilio*, thereby making two compositions (nos. 22, and 23) from one. See G. REANEY, review of Plamenac in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 29 (1976), pp. 140-143. *Jour a jour la vie*, No. 19 in the Plamenac edition, is a nearly exact copy of No. 12, and therefore the number of different compositions is 46.

⁴ See T.J. MCGEE, *Medieval Instrumental Dances*, Indiana Univ. Press, 1989, nos. 45-47.

The musical score is written for a vocal part (Ct.) and a lute part (T.). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The score is divided into two systems, each with three staves. The first system is labeled '1. De' and '2. Gas'. The second system is labeled 'De tout flors'. The third system is labeled '5' and '10'. The fourth system is labeled 'n'a' and 'li'. The fifth system is labeled '38r' and '3'. The lyrics are: 'tou tès tes es flours toit'. The score includes various musical ornaments, such as grace notes, mordents, and trills, which are used to embellish the vocal and lute parts. The lute part is written in a simplified notation system, using a single line and a few notes to represent the complex polyphonic texture of the original piece.

Example 3a: Guillaume de Machaut, *De tout fleurs*, bb. 1-19

Example 3b: *De tout fleurs*, bb. 25-35

It is interesting to note that in constructing his highly decorative embellishments of the vocal compositions, the ornamentor was careful to begin each phrase with the same note as the original. Also, within each phrase all of the notes of the original melody are generally included in the ornamental passages, although they are not necessarily given a place of prominence. Instead of attempting to recreate the original melodic shape with the embellishment, the ornamentor created a moving passage that preserves the general harmonic flavour of the original structure. This last point can be observed in Example 3a, where it can be seen that the ornamentor has kept the general chordal structure of each bar. The most dramatic illustration of this point is in bb. 5 and 6, where the dissonant d against e, resolving to e - c, found in the original vocal version, is carefully preserved in the ornamentation. A variation on this fidelity occurs in b. 7 of the same example, where the original dissonance of a seventh - from b-flat to a - is represented in the ornamented version as a ninth. Thus it would seem that on some occasions the ornamentor felt free to substitute one disso-

nance for another.⁵

One structural element found in the vocal originals that is frequently disregarded by the Faenza ornamentor is the specific shape of the original melodic line. He has written out what Renaissance musicians would later call *passaggi*, rather than simply added *graces* to decorate the melodies.⁶ The result of this change is that the melodic and rhythmic shape of the original melody line frequently is obscured. In the original vocal version of *de tout fleurs*, example 3a, b. 7, Guillaume de Machaut has written a distinctive gentle melodic passage involving two pairs of notes with lower neighbours. The ornamented passage, however, simply obscures this gesture. A similar event can be observed in the Italian composition in example 4, bb. 7, 8, and 9, where the ornamentor becomes involved a sequence of notes that he has originated while ignoring the melodic gesture of original; in this case, however, the original line is not particularly distinctive, whereas the disregard of Machaut's melodic idea would seem to be somewhat more insensitive.

At other times the ornamentor is quite sensitive about preserving certain melodic and rhythmic traits of the original passage. In example 3a, bb. 10 and 11, the original pair of scalar passages is represented in the ornamented version by a similar pair of flourishes. In this case, although the ornamentor has changed the specific melodic figure, he does reflect the idea of symmetry found in the original. At other times, when rather special melodic effects occur in the original – such as the bird calls of example 5 – the ornamentor demonstrates his sensitivity to the particular melodic character of the original by adding very little.

Example 3a shows a comparison between an original melody and its ornamented version. The original melody is on the top staff, and the ornamented version is on the bottom staff. The ornamented version includes a flourish marked '71r' and a key signature change to one sharp. The Continuo and Tenor parts are also shown.

Example 4 shows a comparison between an original melody and its ornamented version. The original melody is on the top staff, and the ornamented version is on the bottom staff. The ornamented version includes a flourish marked '10 (o.)' and a key signature change to one sharp. The Continuo and Tenor parts are also shown.

Example 4: Bartolino da Padova, *La douce cere*, bb. 1-10

In addition to these common ornamental principles that appear to have guided the Faenza ornamentor in his treatment of all vocal pieces, we can also see clear evidence of the differences in the treatment he has given to the French and Italian compositions, reflecting his understanding of their separate regional style characteristics.

With the single exception mentioned earlier – that the Italian notation does not allow certain French rhythmic figures that exceed the limit of the bar line – the Italian ornamentor does make a number of clear distinctions between what kinds of ornaments he assigns to the two different national compositions.

⁵ I am grateful to Erika Reiman for these observations about the harmonic fidelity of the ornamented versions.

⁶ The terms *passaggi* and *grace* are from a later period and were not used during the Middle Ages. I employ them in order to assist the modern reader in understanding the nature of the embellishments. In doing so I follow H.M. BROWN, *Embellishing 16th-Century Music*, (Early Music Series, 1), Oxford, 1976, p. 1.

In general, the ornamentation of the French repertory moves more continuously than that of the Italian. Within a phrase of six or eight bars, the French ornamentations tend to have a continuous flow, whereas those in the Italian pieces often move in bursts of activity that jump suddenly from one level of subdivision to another, and are dramatically set off by sections of relative inaction.

Even within the limits of the Italian notation, it is possible to observe the differences in the rate at which rhythmic variety is introduced into the ornamentations: the French ornamentations tend to have many more mixed rhythmic groups in a small space, whereas the Italian pieces have much smoother rhythmic passages. The French use of long-short rhythmic groups, notes inégales, can be seen in Example 3b, b. 33. This figure is found in four of the seven French pieces in Faenza but not at all in the Italian, emphasizing once again that the ornamentor was aware of specific regional stylistic attributes.

There are also two Italian ornamentation figures that the ornamentor did not employ at all in the French examples: one of these can be seen in example 4, b. 10, a rapid, sequential passage of even notes that ascends one, two, or three tones and then skips down a third; this is found in every one of the Italian ornamentations in Faenza and is related to the melodic gesture noted earlier about the Italian use of occasional skips of a third in rapid stepwise passages. The other particularly Italian figure is the rapid change from triplet to quadruplet subdivision, mentioned above, which can be seen in example 4, bb. 4 and 10.

The premise that there were specific regional style characteristics in the late Middle Ages is supported by what has been noted above both in the comparison of the Faenza elaborations and in the more ornate vocal compositions. The evidence of the *Faenza Codex* is that these differences existed not only in the compositions themselves, but that they were carried over into embellishments. The presence of two distinct practices in the Faenza manuscript also is proof that the musicians themselves were quite aware of the differences; that when they added embellishments to a composition, they took care to preserve its regional style characteristics.

What can be observed in the manuscript transmission of all of these ornamented compositions, however, is only the *passaggi* type of ornamentation; there is very little evidence of graces in the sources, even though numerous theoretical treatises from the late Middle Ages provide evidence that graces of many different types were in use during that time.⁷ From as early as the 10th century, treatises mention mordents, appoggiaturas, trills and vibratos of various speeds, and include clear descriptions of the ornament that Giulio Caccini later called the *trillo*: a rapid reiteration of a single pitch on the note above the cadence.

⁷ For a discussion of Medieval ornamentation see T.J. MCGEE, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, Oxford, forthcoming.

Although it was not until the late 17th century that the French composers and theorists attempted a systematic use of stenographic signs for graces, the Buxheim manuscript, a German source from the mid-15th century, contains a mark in many of the compositions that tells the performer to add a grace.⁸

There is, however, one melodic-rhythmic gesture found in the examples provided here that could be considered to be a written embellishment, similar to one of the graces that is described in detail in treatises of the time: the *appoggiatura*, both accented and unaccented. An example of an accented appoggiatura can be found in example 3a, b. 7, and an unaccented appoggiatura in most of the bars of example 3b. The most frequent source of the written form of this ornament is French music, and medieval theorists, for example Jerome of Moravia and Johannes de Garlandia, both writing in Paris in the late 13th century, describe the common use of an extemporized appoggiatura preceding a cadential trill. From that evidence we can be sure that this ornament, among others, would have been added to the cadences in performances of examples 1 and 3.⁹ The cadential form of that ornament is seen in example 6a. Example 6b illustrates two additional forms of the appoggiatura described by Garlandia in conjunction with scalar passages within a phrase.



⁸ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 3725. Modern transcription in *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik*, B. WALLNER (ed.), vols. 36-38, Kassel, 1958. The mark is usually interpreted as a trill, but there is no evidence that it should be restricted to a single gesture.

⁹ These and other ornaments are discussed at length in T.J. MCGEE, *The Sound*.

Example 5: Anonymous, *Orsus vous dormés trop*, bb. 22-25

Example 6a: appoggiatura in a cadential trill.



Example 6b: Garlandia's two appoggiatura examples.

From the treatises we also know that in performance many more types of graces would be added to a French composition in addition to those that were written out. The sources of French music, even those with elaborate embellishments such as the *Faenza Codex*, therefore, do not transmit a complete version of how the compositions would have been realized in performance. While it is clear that graces would have been added to compositions from all regions of Europe – especially at cadences – it is interesting to note that most of the theoretical descriptions of graces, and those advocating their liberal use, emanate from France, which is exactly where the emphasis on this type of ornament is found in later centuries. As a complementary point, the dramatic bursts of *passaggi* that appear in the Italian ornamentations of the late Middle Ages parallel the Italian practices demonstrated in tutors and discussed in treatises beginning in the 16th century.¹⁰

¹⁰ For a list of the earliest sources and a discussion of the information see H.M. BROWN, *Embellishing*. For complete transcriptions of Italian ornamentation from the Renaissance, see R. ERIG and V. GUTMANN, *Italian Diminutions*, Zurich, 1979.

By combining the information gained from an analysis and comparison of the late Medieval vocal compositions, the instrumental elaborations in the *Faenza Codex*, and the information found in medieval treatises, it is possible to summarize the two late-medieval national styles of French and Italian as follows: French compositions include rhythmic subdivisions in all voices. They emphasize rhythmic complexity in each line and in the relationship of the lines to one another. Melismatic passages are made up of relatively short groups of mixed rhythmic values, and include the use of notes inégales. If we now add to this description a generous use of graces such as appoggiaturas, mordents, and trills of various speeds, a Medieval French style emerges that has many of the elements that are found later in the French ornamentation treatises of the Baroque. The Italian style of the same period emphasizes dramatic bursts of fast-moving *passaggi* in comparatively long phrases, set off by phrases with very little activity. The *passaggi* tend to be smooth and flowing rather than rhythmically intricate, and the beginning and ending of a pattern usually coincide with the bar lines. The treatises are silent on the subject of how *passaggi* are to be executed, but from the later writings of Maffei, Zacconi, and Caccini, we know that in the late Renaissance and early Baroque, *passaggi* were to be made more dramatic sounding through acceleration as well as other techniques of execution.¹¹

The two 15th-century regional styles that emerge from the analysis have clear and definite profiles. They contrast strongly with one another, both in their original written format and in the way in which they are elaborated when transformed for instrumental performance. Perhaps the most comforting, as well as surprising, element that has resulted from this analysis is the observation that all of the components that define the individual regional styles of early 15th-century French and Italian music are identical to those that are found in music of the 17th century.

We are able to conclude, therefore, that late Medieval regional styles were as separate and as distinctive as those of the later Baroque. Further, the details of the specific technical ingredients of those style characteristics demonstrate a continuity of regional stylistic traits that connect the late Middle Ages – about which we know very little – with the Baroque era for which we have an abundant amount of stylistic information.

This preliminary, and admittedly limited, investigation of the subject has revealed clear evidence of separate stylistic identities for two regions during the earlier centuries. As yet only the French and Italian secular repertory from a very limited time period has been examined, but the results are encouraging

¹¹ G. MAFFEI, *Delle lettere*, Naples, 1562. Modern edition in N. BRIDGMAN, *Giovanni Camillo Maffei et sa lettre sur le chant*, in *Revue de Musicologie*, 38 (1956), pp. 10-34; L. ZACCONI, *Prattica di musica*, 2 vols., Venice, 1592; G. CACCINI, *Le nuove musiche*, Florence, 1601.

and suggest that continued research along these lines will eventually reveal a set of style criteria that will enable performers of Medieval and Renaissance music to render that repertory in a manner that is as stylistically diverse as are current performances of the Baroque repertory.

PROBLEMS OF FORM, INSTRUMENTATION AND FUNCTION IN THE 15TH-CENTURY ALTA CAPELLA

Peter Downey

Much attention has been devoted to the medieval phenomenon known as the *alta capella* during the last thirty years or so. Despite the activity, our understanding of the windband is still beset by a number of problems and controversies concerning the instruments found in the ensemble at different times, the properties of the individual instruments themselves, and the nature of their employment. Some of the difficulties result from differing interpretations of the central body of readily-available evidence. Others are caused by the deficiencies of the period evidence itself, which force a considerable degree of speculative methodology onto the present-day researchers, performers, and musical instrument manufacturers. Some others still may result from weaknesses of modern research methodologies.

Take, for example, the murky issue of medieval and early modern transposing notation as it relates to the particular case of the shawms of the windband. The notion that shawms played a perfect fifth higher than the written notation of their parts (when these began to appear after the *alta capella* had abandoned the world of the unwritten musical tradition and entered the new world of composed and notated instrumental music) depends largely on observations made by Anthony Baines which were based on his measurements of surviving instruments and of iconographical representations. Baines noted that, when the 16th-century sizes of shawm were matched with the fingering charts provided by Martin Agricola in his *Musica Instrumentalis Deudsch* (Wittenberg, 1545), it appeared that the instruments sounded a fifth higher than the written pitches found in the charts.¹ Examination of Agricola's fingering charts is revealing. The fingering charts for discant shawm and bombard are based on those which had been included for discant and tenor recorders, respectively, in Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (Basle, 1511).² Agricola's charts also double as fingering charts for the discant crumhorn and tenor crumhorn, respectively, and their more restricted ranges are clearly indicated. According to the fingering chart, the range of the discant shawm is g-f", but Agricola included the supplementary information *Di[scant]. dd. la.* above an illustration of the discant shawm (which actually depicts a recorder) to indicate that its lowest note sounded as d', a perfect fifth higher than the notated lowest pitch; the written range of the bombard is given as c-a' and it is similarly qualified by the rubric *Te[nor]. Al[t]. g sol* to show that the bombard too sounded a perfect

¹ A. BAINES, *Woodwind Instruments and their History*, London, 1957, pp. 233 and 270-271.

² Facs. Kassel-Basle, 1983, fols. [O iii] r-v.

fifth higher than notated.³ Baines arrived at the correct conclusion in 1957, but his methodology was flawed.

Another example is found in Curt Sachs' interpretation of the representations of two angel trumpeters which are included in Michael Pacher's *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece from 1471-1481 (St Wolfgang, Austria). Sachs noted that the angel trumpeters were symmetrically placed on the triptych and that they were identical in all but one respect: one of the trumpets was being played with its telescopic single slide mechanism in an extended position. Examination of the two woodcarved angel trumpeters shows that they were conceived as mirror images: one angel holds the trumpet in his right hand, the other in his left hand; one angel holds the trumpet mouthpiece with his left hand, the other with his right hand; and so forth. However, both angels have their left legs bent forward. This basic asymmetry resulted in Pacher having to compromise the symmetry in the upper halves of the angels' bodies, including the trumpets held by them, and it forced him to include an extended mouthpipe in his representation of one of the two trumpets in an attempt to counter the effect of his earlier error.⁴

Aspects of Form

The issue of the brass instrument that came to be associated with the windband in the early years of the 15th century and that included some type of moveable slide mechanism is, of course, one of the more intractable problems. This has become even more so in recent years due to the uncovering of so many fakes among the 'authentic' Medieval and Renaissance trumpets and trombones which have previously informed our understanding of the slide brass instrument associated with the *alta capella*. (I prefer to use the term *slide brass instrument* to start with because it is neutral and carries no connotations that might interfere with investigation, unlike *slide trumpet* which carries the perceived cultural baggage of an intimate connection with the trumpet, and with the 18th-century *tromba da tirarsi* in particular.) The time is ripe for a re-examination of the surviving material, representational, and documentary forms of evidence to help remedy the situation, to provide some answers, and to raise additional queries. Trumpets were made from various metal and organic materials during the Middle Ages. Long before the start of the 14th century, the trumpet of the courts and cities – the *tuba ductilis* – was manufactured from beaten sheets of silver or brass and was made as a long, straight instrument – *tuba quae directa*

³ *Musica Instrumentalis Deusch*, fourth edition, Wittenberg, 1545/facs. Leipzig, 1896, pp. 20-21.

⁴ C. SACHS, *Chromatic Trumpets in the Renaissance*, in *Musical Quarterly*, 36 (1950), pp. 62-66, includes illustrations of the angel trumpeters.

est appellatur.⁵ By the end of that century, the straight trumpet had been joined by other trumpets which incorporated two U-shaped sections in their tubing; the slide brass instrument then evolved from the latter types. The new instruments appear to have originated in some area influenced by Franco-Burgundian court culture during the last third of the 14th century, before being adopted throughout that cultural milieu within a short space of time. The best evidence of the innovations is found in the pictorial and plastic arts. The earliest surviving representations are English, the S-shaped trumpet carved on a choir stall at Worcester Cathedral which dates from around 1394, and the twice-folded trumpet depicted in the Westminster Abbey Chapter House frescoes which date from between 1390 and 1404. The representational evidence is mirrored in the appearance of new organological terminology in the literature of the time. Jean Froissart noted the presence of a *grand'foison de trompettes, de claironceaux et de gros tambours* at the Battle of Aljubarotta (1385) in 1387-1388.⁶ These instruments were status symbols: an early 15th-century English prose translation of Vegetius' *Epiloma rei militaris* notes that *the clarioun the knyghtis signe is*⁷, and an anonymous French chronicler describes how it was a privilege accorded to kings, dukes and counts to enter cities preceded by *iiii menestrelz jouans trompe[te]s [et] clerons, tous jouans de leurs instrumens*.⁸ It is reasonable to assume that the new terms – including *cleron* and *clario(u)n* – were developed to refer to the new forms of trumpet, just as the older terms – among them *trompette* and *trompet* – indicated the older straight instrument. Four medieval trumpets survive. They are all straight instruments and they share constructional details which indicate that they represent a continuing Western tradition rather than a borrowing from the East. The three wooden trumpets originate in Ireland and are of 8th-13th-century origin. Their integral funnel-shaped mouthpieces have been carefully carved and are (or, in one case, were) protected externally by bronze collars which also supply the rudimentary mouthrims.⁹ The fourth trumpet is English. It dates from the 14th century and was deposited under water at Billingsgate in London before the end of that century. The Billingsgate trumpet is a composite instrument and it comprises

⁵ This is neatly indicated in a 14th century commentary on psalm 150 by Nicholas Trivet, who included a sketch of the straight trumpet to support his commentary: see C. PAGE, *Early 15th century instruments in Jean de Gerson's "Tractatus de Cantibus"*, in *Early Music*, 6 (1978), p. 340.

⁶ A.C. BUCHON (ed.), *Les Chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart (1337-1410)*, 3 vols., Paris, 1837, II, p. 431.

⁷ *Knyghthode and Bataile*, London, 1935, p. 48.

⁸ A. TUETÉY (ed.), *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris 1405-1449*, Paris, 1881, p. 256.

⁹ Descriptions of two of the three Irish wooden trumpets are included in P. DOWNEY, *Lip-blown instruments of Ireland before the Norman Invasion*, in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 5 (1993), pp. 86-88. The third is a recent acquisition by the Ulster Museum, Belfast, Northern Ireland, which was found near Toome, Co Antrim, in 1930. It is a very short trumpet and it includes two carrying-loops and may have been used for hunting purposes. Its dating to the 12th-13th centuries is open to argument.

four sections, each made from hammered sheets of brass. The mouthpiece is a simple flaring over the first 3 cm of the mouthtube section, together with a mouthrim. Two of the original three bosses survive.¹⁰ Much damage has been caused to the second section of tubing adjacent to where the mouthtube section is inserted and where one hand would be placed when sounding the trumpet. This seems to have been a particularly accident-prone part of the trumpet.¹¹ With this in mind, it is likely that the often-mentioned detail from Vivarini's *Adoration of the Magi*, in which the trumpeter holds the mouthtube of his straight trumpet in one hand and shoulders the rest of the instrument with the other, simply records how Medieval trumpeters sought to avoid such damage to the long instruments rather than indicating any type of moving slide mechanism. From its record of damage and repair, it is reasonable to assume that the Billingsgate trumpet represents the 14th-century norm. Unfortunately, no other brass instruments survive which predate the second half of the 16th century. This leaves a gap in the organological record at the critical juncture when first the separate mouthpiece, and then the movable slide mechanism, were introduced. The form of the late 14th- early 15th-century folded instruments must be an iconographically informed speculation, but one based on the information obtained from the four earlier trumpets.¹² Towards the end of the 14th century, U-shaped sections of tubing came to be interposed at two of the three junctions of the four-section metal trumpet. Schematic experimentation with the Billingsgate trumpet produces six possible shapes. Three are S-shaped and three are folded instruments.

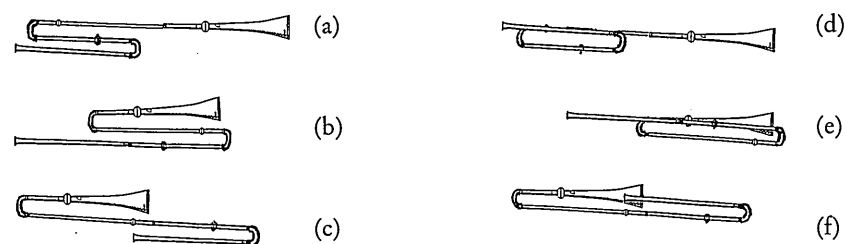


Figure 1: The instrumental forms that result from the incorporation of two U-shaped tubes in a three-section straight trumpet, such as the 14th-century Billingsgate trumpet

Allowing for the idiosyncracies of the Billingsgate trumpet itself, three of the

¹⁰ The presence of bosses does not necessarily indicate any introduction of metal trumpets from the Middle East as a result of the Crusades. Cast boss decorations were included on Irish Late Bronze Age bronze trumpets and horns, sheet-metal bosses were included in the large Irish Iron Age horns, and similar boss decorations continued to feature on Irish bishops' croziers, among other things, throughout the Irish Middle Ages.

¹¹ The large Irish horn from Loughnashade, Co Armagh, which dates from around 94BC, also shows evidence of repair at the location where one hand would be placed when sounding the instrument.

¹² J. HÖFLER, *Der "Trompette de menestrels" und seine Instrument*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 39 (1979), pp. 101-108, includes a useful chronological survey of the various types of brass instruments depicted in the representational arts.

shapes strike early iconographical resonances and appear to represent a first stage of development. Type A is included in an early 15th-century manuscript of the *St Alban's Chronicle* preserved at Lambeth Palace, type B is carved on the Worcester choir stall mentioned previously, and type D is included in the Westminster Chapter House fresco also mentioned earlier.

The others do not appear in the earliest depictions. They seem to have resulted from a second stage of development, in which the bell was moved backwards relative to the player and the lengths of the straight tubes were adjusted accordingly. When the bell settled on a position slightly further from the player than the outermost U-shaped tube, the forms of the S-shaped and twice-folded trumpets resulted. The standard S-shaped trumpet, technically an intermediate between types A and B, is depicted in the well-known copy of Jan van Eyck's Burgundian court scene from 1430 (note that this trumpet is pictured held with one hand only and cannot have functioned as a slide brass instrument). The folded trumpet, a modified version of type E, is found in the Henne-gau Chronicle of 1446 and also in the mid-15th-century frescoes which decorate the Trumpeters' Chapel in St Bavo's Cathedral, Ghent.

Some of the S-shaped instruments are not trumpets, however. A Neapolitan *Coronation of the Virgin* from around 1440, and a Florentine engraving of the *Assumption of the Virgin* from around 1460 both include representations of S-shaped instruments on which are found stays between the parallel lengths of straight tubing. Stays, normally two, are also often found between the parallel tubes in depictions of brass instruments whose bells have been moved still further backwards relative to the player, so that the nearest U-tube is resting on the player's shoulder and the bell is closer than the outermost U-shaped tube. Type F was the final result of these changes and it is depicted in Filippino Lippi's *Assumption of Mary* in *S. Maria sopra Minerva* in Rome from around 1490. The inclusion of stays on the depicted instruments is an important feature, for the evidence indicates that it points to the presence of a double slide mechanism and to the instrument known today as the trombone. This does not necessarily imply that the absence of stays in depictions of otherwise identical, or similar instruments points to a different slide mechanism. The absence of the constructional detail cannot be interpreted in the same manner as its presence for, while the depiction of the stay provides positive confirmation, its non-depiction does not *de facto* deny it; other relevant evidence must also be supplied in this case. It is also interesting to note that, while the brass instrument with stays settled on a three-dimensional shape intermediate between those of types C and F, the type C outline was subsequently used as the most expedient method of recording the form of the trombone by organologists such as Virdung, Agricola, Praetorius, and Mersenne, not to mention innumerable people engaged in other spheres of activity.¹³

¹³ This is an important point to remember. Not only were trombones commonly represented in the two-dimensional format, so too were trumpets: long after the S-shaped trumpet had been abandoned, trumpets were often represented in the simple two-dimensional S-shape form rather than in the more complicated folded form in military manuals and other books.

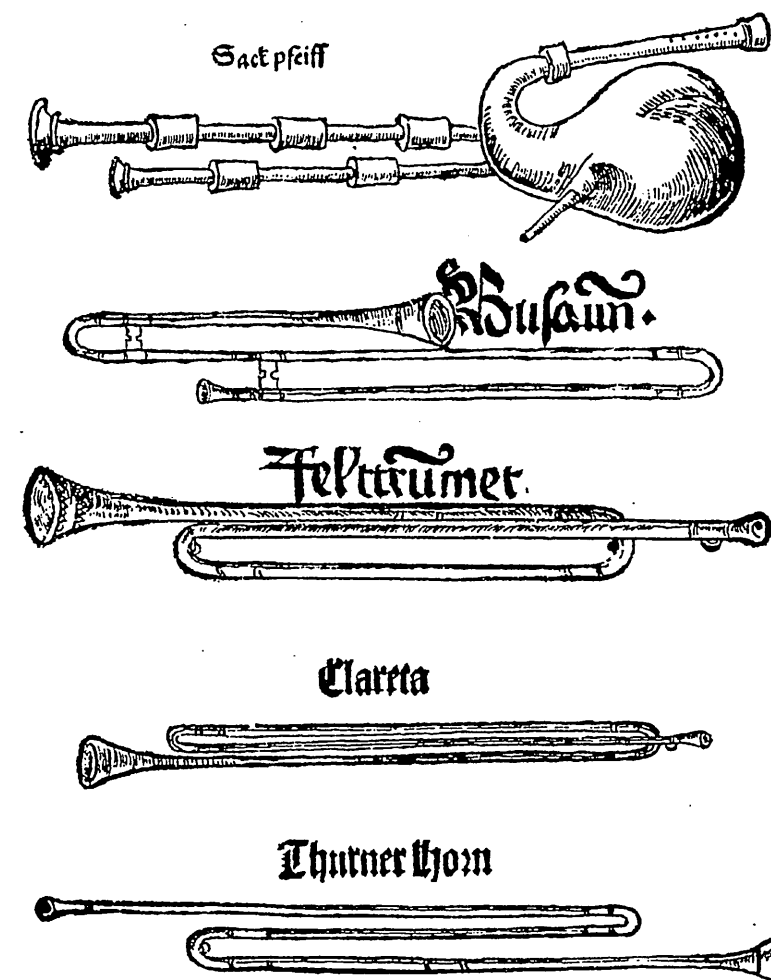
The Billingsgate trumpet has a total length of 144.5 cm and is pitched around modern A. The incorporation of two U-shaped tubes, each approximately 14 cm in length, would result in an instrument pitched around modern F#. This high pitch is also suggested by measurements taken from 15th-century iconographical sources, although these depend to a large extent on a definition of the dimensions of perfect beings such as angels. Working backwards in time from the more detailed early 17th-century information also leads to a similar estimation of the pitch of the 15th-century S-shaped and folded instruments. Praetorius noted in 1618 that his contemporary trumpet was pitched in C, modern C#, but that this had been achieved by lowering the pitch of the mid-16th century trumpet by around one tone. There is evidence that the mid-16th century trumpet in modern D# had itself replaced an even earlier trumpet which was higher pitched still. Early 16th-century pieces of music that include quotations from trumpet signals also indicate an instrument pitched in F.¹⁴

The high pitch that is suggested by the different types of period evidence sits uncomfortably with the much lower pitch – D – that has been argued in recent years for the postulated early 15th-century single slide trumpets. Certainly it might appear totally appropriate to employ a trumpet pitched in D together with a shawm pitched in d' and a bombard pitched in g, but modern logic does not always guide the practices of earlier periods of human cultural activity. Moreover, when the early representations of what are generally accepted to be trombones are examined, it seems that these 15th-century instruments were also pitched around F; the other sizes of trombone only began to be introduced at the start of the 16th century.

One critical change was the development of the separate mouthpiece. This occurred at around the same time as the U-shaped tubes were incorporated in the instruments. It had certainly taken place long before 1490, when documentary evidence of separate mouthpieces appears, but the total absence of any mouthpieces from the archaeological record of the time is a major disappointment which repercussions markedly on any discussion of the third and most controversial technical development – the movable slide mechanism. All that may be safely stated about slide mechanisms is that the iconography indicates that

¹⁴ Trumpet signals in F, but notated one octave lower than they would have been sounded, supply the bass parts in *Symphonia nobili frenetur organo* from the Apel Codex (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 1494, fols. 191v-192), and *Laudate Dominum* from a set of Danish court instrumental music partbooks which were copied around 1545 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige bibliotek, Gl kgl Saml 1872, no. 93; see *Dania Sonans V* (1986), pp. 175-179, together with my correction of a lacuna in the music of the piece in *The Danish Trumpet Ensemble at the Court of King Christian II – some Notes on its Instruments and its Music*, in *Dansk årbog for musikforskning*, 19 (1992), pp. 10-15). Janequin supplies extracts from trumpet signals in his well-known battle pieces, but these are not always pitched in F for compositional reasons. Cesare Bendinelli also included a range table for the *trombetta antiqua* in F, again notated one octave lower than sounding pitch, in *Tutta l'arte della trombetta*, 1614, fol. 1 (fac. Kassel-Basle, 1975).

double slide mechanisms were in use by the 1440s, in Northern Italy at least. The iconography informs us that the important 15th-century developments in brass instrument technology were more-or-less in place by the 1450s. A useful summary of the resultant instruments was supplied by Sebastian Virdung in 1511.



Des selbzenweyten geschlechtes der hollen rorē / ist die ander art von den instrumenten / welchen der mensch durch sich selb nit winds genūg mag gebē oder dye nyemant erblasen kan / das synd alle dye instrumenta / dar zu man pflaspelg hat
ben müss.

Figure 2: The brass *instrumentarium*, according to Sebastian Virdung (*Musica getutscht*, Basle, 1511, fols. B[iv]^v - C[i])

Virdung was concerned to approach his *Musica getutscht* from the novel angle of *jubilatio activa* – actual rejoicing – rather than from the more traditional and theological pathway of *jubilatio contemplativa* – inner rejoicing. He sought to locate the information on the employment of the various instruments depicted in the book within his contemporary musical culture, and to justify their use in the context of a late medieval Christian milieu by including references to appropriate German translations from the Book of Psalms.

Virdung indicated that the S-shaped *ThurnerHorn* was played by tower watchmen as a signal instrument to mark daybreak and nightfall, and referred to Psalm 80, v 4: *buccinate in neomenia tuba* (blow the trumpet on the new moon).¹⁵ The folded trumpets called *Clareta* and *Felttrummet* – which other contemporary documentary evidence indicates were the high-sounding trumpet with a narrow bore and the low-sounding trumpet with a wide bore, respectively – were employed together with kettledrums (*Herpaucken*) at princely courts to *blow-to-table, at ceremonial entrances and exits, and in war-trains*; their use was justified with reference to Psalm 150, v 3: *Laudate eum in sono tubae* (Praise Him with the sound of the trumpet).¹⁶

The *Busaun* was explained with reference to Psalm 97, v 6: *In tubis ductilibus...iubilare in conspectu regis Domini* (To the sound of the trumpet... acclaim the presence of the King). Virdung's German text is revealing at this point: *Lobet in in den zehenden Busaunē* (Praise Him with the stretching Busaun).¹⁷ This important statement has been widely ignored by researchers. It indicates that the meaning of *ductilis* had evolved. It no longer described the manufacture of the instrument from hammered metal sheets, but it had come to represent the presence of a movable slide mechanism in the instrument. It is also clear from the statement that the *Busaun* – that is, the trombone – was the only slide brass instrument known to Virdung, and there is evidence that he understood the instrument to be of non-German origin.¹⁸ Due to the presence of the two essential stays in Virdung's depiction of the instrument, it is clear that this *Busaun* has an unstayed double slide mechanism. One of the arms of the movable slide must have been grasped by one hand, which then moved in and out to manipulate the slide itself. As late as 1619, by which time the double

¹⁵ *Musica getutscht* (Basle, 1511/ facs Kassel-Basle, 1970), fol. A[iii]: *mā soll in lobē in Neomenia tuba/ Das ist mit dem Thurnerhorn/ do mit man dē tag vnd die nacht anplaset.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. C [iv]^v: *die grossen Herpaucken...daruff schlecht man mit klüpfeln...An der fürsten höfe zu den felt trümeten/ wañ man zu tisch plasat/ oder wañ ein fürst in ein stat ein reitet/ oder auszeucht/ oder in dz felt zeucht'; and fol. A [iii]: 'Lobent in d' stym der Trümeren [=Trummeten].*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. A [iii].

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. E: A. *Was sagstu dan von den ubrigen instrumentē/ als Pusaunē Trümetē vñ der glychen Se. Ich hab dir gesagt/ wie das ich ein deutsche Musica...gemacht hab - 'A[ndreas]: 'What do you say about the other instruments, such as the trombone, trumpet, and the like?' S[ebastianus]: 'I have told you that I have made [an account of] a German Music' (my italics). Others have interpreted this exchange to mark a point at which some intermediate material was excised when *Musica getutscht* was prepared for publication, although Sebastianus' response is quite emphatic.*

slide had long been provided with its own stay, Praetorius was still able to describe the older method of moving the double slide mechanism as it was still common among the trombonists of his time.¹⁹ The same hand position is abundantly met in connection with representations of slide brass instruments in the iconography.

Virdung maintains that the movable slide was a double slide, but he is not the only commentator to do so. Until the watershed year of 1648, every organological and lexicographical work, no matter how detailed, remains silent on the existence of any alternative to the trombone with its double slide mechanism. While this might be the result of oversight in individual instances, the absolute completeness of the apparent ignorance is difficult to account for. Moreover, Adam Drese's announcement of the single slide trumpet as an *Invention... zur Trombetten* on the title-page to his funeral motet *Wie seelig sind die Toten* (1648) is also totally corroborated by the subsequent literature, archival documentation and music.²⁰ The thrust of this evidence argues strongly against the existence of a single slide brass instrument before 1648.

The earlier iconography often includes depictions of instruments which appear as S-shaped or folded trumpets and which are held in a manner that has been interpreted as indicating the presence of a single movable slide. However, it must be remembered that the earliest trombones must have been trumpet-like in form, given their origin; that trombones were generally depicted as S-shaped instruments, due to the easier perspective; that the double slide mechanism of the trombone was grasped along one of the straight lengths of tubing until long after a third stay was introduced between the parallel straight lengths of the movable slide; and that an identical two-handed holding manner had been employed on natural trumpets since time immemorial and also continued to be used long after the more convenient trumpet forms appeared. It is often found that the same representations have been employed in different contexts by individual artists, or by their workshops. Identical depictions of S-shaped and folded 'trumpets' held in the two-handed manner by identical performers, may be found equally in association with shawms in dance music situations – where the presence of a slide brass instrument would be suspected – as well as with straight trumpets in ceremonial and proclamatory settings – where the presence of natural brass instruments would be required; the mid-15th-century manuscript paintings from the workshop of Loyset Liedet, to name but one example, exhibit this use of stock trumpeter figures. While closer scrutiny and greater circumspection may still result in the conclusion that a movable slide must be depicted in the painting, the hand positions can only imply the presence of a slide, not the nature of the slide mechanism itself.

¹⁹ *Syntagma musicum* 2 (Wolfenbüttel, 1619; facs Kassel-Basle, 1958), p. 2.

²⁰ See my Adam Drese's 1648 *Funeral Music and the Invention of the Slide Trumpet*, (*Irish Musical Studies*, 1), Blackrock, Dublin, 1990, pp. 200–217.

The iconography is beset by a fundamental difficulty. With very few exceptions, it has been the artist who has concentrated on the visual creative and expressive arts, not the musician. There is the inevitable possibility – indeed the distinct probability – of a physical separation of the artist from the arenas of music. The lack of close acquaintanceship with musical instruments can all-too-easily result in half-understood representations. There is plenty of evidence of just such a misunderstanding in the particular case of the trombone, of which the following are a few examples. Tileman Susato included a woodcut of a choir singing at mass in the Tenor partbook of his *Liber primus missarum* (Antwerp, 1546) which depicts a trombone being played along with the singers; the trombone was carelessly copied as an outsize trumpet-like instrument by the illustrator of Heinrich Finck's *Musica practica* (Wittenberg, 1556), who also added cornetts that appear as outsize crumhorns to the scene; the Finck woodcut subsequently inspired the illustrator of Elias Amerbach's *Orgel oder Instrument Tabulatur* (Leipzig, 1571).²¹ There are the strange folded-trumpets with mid-tube crooks – termed *aeri Fistula*, or 'pipes of bronze' – which were engraved by Philipp Galle in the *Encomium musices* (Antwerp, ca. 1590), whose double slide mechanisms are actually prevented from moving by being held in a vice-like grip.²² There are also the S-shaped trumpet-like instruments complete with stays that can only have incorporated double-slide mechanisms and that are depicted by, among others, Jean Stumpf in *Illustrations de la chronique des cantons Suisse* (Zurich, 1548) and Lonhard Flexel in *Grazer Schützenbuch* (1568).²³

A series of 16th- and 17th-century depictions of the Nuremberg Stadtpfeiffer highlights the problem well. An illustration of a Patrician Dance in the Nuremberg Rathaus from around 1500 includes the Stadtpfeiffer – two shawmists, one bombardist, and two players on correctly-depicted trombones – playing the music for the dance in the gallery; among the four Stadtpfeiffer who are depicted announcing the New Year in an anonymous late 16th-century picture, there is one who plays a strange oversized trumpet-like instrument that is held in an impossible two-handed manner, with one hand grasping the bell and the other holding the second length of straight tubing at the shoulder; an illustration from around 1600 shows the same four-part band but clearly depicts the brass instrument as a trombone.²⁴ Payment records for the period

²¹ Illustrations of the three woodcuts mentioned may be found in, respectively, K. FORNEY, *Music, Ritual and Performance Practices: the Laity as Patron in Antwerp's Church of Our Lady*, in *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), p. 15; D. ALTENBURG, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Trompete im Zeitalter der Clarinblaskunst*, 3 vols., Regensburg, 1973, vol. 3, Plate 10, and A. BAINES, *Brass Instruments*, London, 1978, p. 106.

²² K. FORNEY, *16th-Century Antwerp*, in I. FENLON (ed.), *The Renaissance*, London, 1989, p. 365.

²³ These are reproduced in *Early Music*, 17 (1989), pp. 401 and 409, respectively.

²⁴ Reproductions of the first and third representations are found in H. ZIRNBAUER, *Musik in der alten Reichstadt Nürnberg*, Nuremberg, 1965, plates 24 and 41; the second is reproduced in S. GATTUSO, *16th-Century Nuremberg*, in I. FENLON (ed.), *The Renaissance*, London, 1989, p. 288.

confirm that the slide brass instrument played by the Stadtpfeiffer was a trombone. The same error – for that is what it must be in the present instance – is perpetrated in the depiction of the celebration for the Peace of Westphalia which took place in the Nuremberg Rathaus in 1649; the printed account of the event confirms that the instruments depicted are various sizes of trombone, and the performers trombonists, but only one of the instruments is correctly depicted with the nearest U-tube placed on the player's shoulder.²⁵ This confusion of the trumpet and trombone forms is even found in influential texts such as Latin-vernacular textbooks by Johan Amos Comenius – the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* – that were correctly interpreted by the German lexicographer of the Nuremberg first edition in 1658 but were beyond the understanding of his English counterpart in the London edition of 1659. The latter resulted in further peculiar outsize trumpet-like depictions in England, of which the most famous in modern times are the two outsize trumpet-like trombones depicted in Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II* (1687).²⁶

The obscure nature of the trombone and its little-understood double-slide mechanism was a long-term problem that actually continued to affect iconographical representation for hundreds, rather than tens, of years after the introduction of the instrument in the early years of the 15th century. This deficit of experience had already resulted in Castiglione's anecdote of 1528 concerning the young Brescian nobleman, who was impressed by the gymnastics of the trombonist among the doge's *piferi* who took part in the Ascension Day ceremonies at Venice, but who was unable to match what he thought he saw with what was actually happening because he lacked the appropriate knowledge that a true courtier would have had, although Castiglione's purpose was altogether much deeper in its symbolism than the simple metamorphosis of a *tromba strana* into a *trombone*.²⁷ I would strongly suggest that the iconography preserves a rich tradition of misrepresentation, but one whose origins and transmission may be accounted for.

In the written sources of evidence, every cognate term used to describe the *tuba ductilis* – *trompette des menestrels*, *trompette saqueboute*, *saqueboute*, *sacabuche*, *tromba torta*, *tromba retorta*, *tromba storta*, *tromba squarciate*, *tromba ricurva*, *sackbut*, *draught trumpet*, and *posaun* – after the technological changes of around 1400 had altered the original meaning of the Latin term

²⁵ H. ZIRNBAUER, *Musik in der alten Reichstadt*, plate 45. The celebration is described in T. NORLIND, *Ein Musikfest zu Nürnberg im Jahre 1649*, in *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 7 (1905), p. 111 ff.

²⁶ Regarding Comenius and Sandford, see my *On sounding the Trumpet and beating the Drum in 17th century England*, in *Early Music*, 24 (1996), pp. 266–267.

²⁷ B. CASTIGLIONE, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, Venice, 1528: see the edition by B. MAIER, Turin, 1981, pp. 277–278. The English Renaissance translation, T. HOBY, *The Book of the Courtier*, London, 1651, shows that the Italian *trombone* was the same as the English *Shagbut*, or trombone: see the edition by J. H. WHITFIELD, London, 1975, pp. 145–146.

ductilis can be shown to be directly linked to the term *trombone* from the earliest years of the appearance of the slide brass instrument itself. It is important to note that the German term *Zugtrompete* cannot be considered as evidence in any medieval or early modern sense; this term made its first appearance towards the end of the 16th century when it referred to military, or natural trumpets, and it only began to be employed to designate the slide trumpet towards the end of the 17th century. If the term *trombone* was at all meaningful – which would accord with the contemporary practice in which difference in size or shape tended to result in new appellation – then its meaning was that which was confirmed by Virdung in 1511 and which was indicated from as early as the 1450s, when the instrument was still in the process of being exported from its Franco-Burgundian origin.²⁸

It is true that there is another apparent difficulty with the German terminology. *Busaun/Posaun* was exceptionally employed for two different, but related, instruments. This may be explained in part by the change in meaning of the Latin parent term *tuba ductilis*, together with a continued acknowledgement of the meaning that was understood before the technological changes began. Martin Luther was aware of this when he prepared his German translation of the Bible. As the direct result of a confluence of religious concern, historical awareness, and close knowledge of the contemporary, the German term *Posaune* came to possess two meanings: it continued to describe the straight trumpet of biblical antiquity, for this instrument was still being employed in contemporary civil and religious ceremonial; and it simultaneously referred to the trombone with its double-slide mechanism which had also found a place in sacred worship by around 1500. Nor was Luther unique in this practice. The theologically-oriented Michael Praetorius was intimately conversant with the duality of the term and, assuming the same understanding among his readers, found no need to qualify his employment of *Posaun* for both purposes in his writings. It was only with later non-Lutheran German speakers that this understanding was eventually lost, as the *Tuba mirum* from Mozart's Requiem shows.²⁹

The evidence from the period sources of information contrasts markedly with the postulations of the period after 1949, when Besseler and Sachs competed to propose the idea of a Renaissance single slide trumpet. Their arguments were heavily dependent on the simultaneous appearance of an entire family of trombones during the second half of the 15th century, which is demonstrably not

²⁸ See my "In tubis ductilibus et voce tubae" – *Trumpets, Slides and Performance practices in late Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, (*Irish Musical Studies*, 2), Blackrock, Dublin, 1993, pp. 302–332, and Monteverdi's "Mass of Thanksgiving" – *Aspects of Tension in Historical Musicology*, (*Irish Musical Studies*, 4), Blackrock, Dublin, 1996, pp. 152–188, for more detailed accounts of this aspect of historical musical instrument terminology.

²⁹ See *Syntagma musicum* 2, pp. 1–2 of the foreword to the volume.

the case, and they were also ideologically influenced by the flawed suggestion, made by August Wilhelm Ambros almost three quarters of a century earlier, that the *Triplum* was a type of trumpet. There are three major modern theories which postulate the existence of a Renaissance single slide trumpet, but they sit uneasily together. The first argues that the slide trumpet was in continuous use from the 14th century until around 1800, initially as a straight instrument, then in the S-shaped form, and finally in the twice-folded form.³⁰ The second argues that the slide trumpet, possibly in straight form, but certainly in the S-shaped and twice-folded forms, was developed before the year 1400 but fell into disuse before 1520.³¹ The third maintains that the slide trumpet, in the twice-folded form only, was in continuous use from around 1550 until around 1800.³² There are many fundamental problems in trying to accommodate the serious mutual contradictions found in the three theories. On the other hand, the concept that the single slide trumpet was developed in 1648 for a particular trumpeting purpose, and that the only previously existing movable slide mechanism was the double slide (the simple and logical extension of the initial incorporation of U-tubes in the straight trumpet), agrees with the major sources of period evidence and requires neither complex leaps of faith nor explanations of tortuous mutual contradictions.

Aspects of Instrumentation and Function

The function of the brass instrument of the *alta capella*, and also the time when it first undertook that function, are also beset with difficulties. The natural trumpet was employed in medieval times for the transmission of military commands on the field and to signal daybreak and nightfall elsewhere; for the enhancement of important ceremonial occasions of church and state, including noble weddings, proclamations of treaties and laws, and legal judgements and their enforcement; and to signal the arrival of the different courses and also the entertainment of the *entremets* during aristocratic and civic feasts. A pair of trumpets was the norm, often accompanied by nakers.³³ These military

³⁰ This is maintained by D.L. SMITHERS, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721*, London, 1973, pp. 36–49, and, more recently, by H.W. MYERS, *Slide trumpet madness: fact or fiction?*, in *Early Music*, 17 (1989), p. 388, note 12. The illustrations included by R.W. DUFFIN, *The trompette des menestrels in the 15th-century alta capella*, in *Early Music*, 17 (1989), pp. 399 and 40, also indicate that he subscribes to this view.

³¹ This is suggested in K. POLK, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1992, especially pp. 56–70.

³² This is the position adopted in R. DAHLQVIST, *Bidrag till trumpetten och trumpetspelets historia från 1500-talet till mitten av 1800-talet med särskild hänsyn till perioden 1740–1830*, 2 vols., Göteborg, 1988, vol. 1, pp. 53–62.

³³ Edward II of England (r.1307–1327) required *II trompeters & two other minstrels* for such duties: see H. HEYDE, *Trompete und Trompeteblesen im europäischen Mittelalter*, dissertation

and ceremonial duties were of early Medieval European origin; they are recorded in early Irish literature as early as the 8th century, for example, as also is the employment of an early type of *alta capella*.³⁴ Whatever influences and instruments may have come from the Saracen Middle East as a result of the Crusades, these are more likely to have participated in the development of an essentially indigenous European practice rather than established any new practices.

Western European trumpeters were musically separated from the shawmists until the turn of the 15th century. Confirmation of the separation is found time and time again in archival records of payment and in literary accounts of duties, not to mention the iconography. It is also implicit in the statements of theorists such as Jean de Gerson, who noted around 1400 that, apart from the ubiquitous organ, trumpets might occasionally be heard in churches at important ceremonies and coronations, but that the shawms, bombards and cornemuses of the *alta* were heard only very rarely.³⁵ There is, of course the apparently contrary evidence of Konrad von Megenberg (ca. 1350), but this may be interpreted as referring to separate, but similar-sounding, two-part ensembles of either shawms only or of trumpets only, rather than to a single mixed-instrument ensemble.³⁶ The separation of trumpet from shawm was retained for some time after the S-shaped and folded trumpets began to appear. Froissart understood this when he described the embarkation of the French fleet for the Barbray coast in 1390 and noted that it was a *great beauty and great pleasure... to hear these trumpets and clairons resound and bound, and other minstrels undertake their trade on pipes and shawms and nakers*³⁷; and the Burgundian court archivist also indicated the same separation when he recorded payment to the *six trumpeters of his* [ie the Duke of Burgundy's] *cousin from England* [ie the Duke of Gloucester], *his loud minstrels, his string-playing minstrels, and his fool*; [and] *to the three loud minstrels, three trumpeters, and one string-playing minstrel of* [the

University of Leipzig, 1965, p. 180. King John of France included two players of *trompettes* and one of *naquaires* among his minstrels in 1350: see C. WRIGHT, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364-1419*, Henryville-Ottawa-Binningen, 1979, p. 18. 14th century English and French depictions confirm the statements and also indicate the physical and musical separation of the trumpeters from the other musicians, among them the illustrations found on the *Braunche Brass*, King's Lynn, Norfolk, which may depict the court of King Edward III (reproduced as Plate X in the *Galpin Society Journal*, 6 (1953)), and in the *Remede de Fortune* (Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Ms. fr 1586). King Jaime III of Aragon also required five minstrels, of whom one group consisted of *duo sint tubicinatores et tercius sit tabelarius*, in 1337: see H. HEYDE, *Trompete und Trompeteblasen*, p. 121.

³⁴ See my Crutti, *cuslennaig, cornairi - instruments and music in early medieval Ireland*, a paper delivered at the Royal Musical Association Annual Conference, London, 7 April 1994, forthcoming.

³⁵ C. PAGE, *Early 15th Century Instruments in Jean de Gerson's "Tractatus de Canticis"*, p. 347.

³⁶ C. PAGE, *German musicians and their instruments - A 14th-century account by Konrad of Megenberg*, in *Early Music*, 10 (1982), p. 193.

³⁷ *Les Chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart*, vol. 3, p. 59: *...grand'beaute et grand'plaisance...de ouir ces trompettes et ces claironceaux retentir et bondir, et autres menestrels faire leur metier de pipes et de chalumelles et de naquaires.*

Duke of] *Cornwall* in 1416.³⁸ Instead, there is increasing evidence of a rudimentary trumpet ensemble music comprising *clairon* melodies in the closely-spaced high register supported by a *trompette* part on the more widely-spaced lower harmonics, an ensemble which mirrors the roles given to the shawm and bombard in the contemporary *alta capella*.

A definite change is nonetheless indicated early in the 15th century as a single brass instrument gradually came into close association with the shawms and bombards. The brass instrument may have been initially employed for ceremonial purposes only, sounding a signal before and/or after - but not during - the performance by the woodwind instruments, but soon there are unmistakable signs of the inclusion of the brass instrument in the ensemble itself. The change is noted in the iconography and also in the documents. In addition to the reasons already outlined, the iconography must again be treated with circumspection for, in recording events such as banquets or entertainments, it must of necessity conflate temporally separate events when recording them in single artistic testaments. Nor can payment records tell us much more than who were present on a particular occasion and how much they were paid. Financial accounting and its physical - and, indeed, societal - distance from the venues of actual musical performance severely attenuates its usefulness as a criterion. Unless there is firm evidence of the musical awareness of each accountant, simple fiscal convenience cannot be invoked as performance practice evidence. Just as the term *menestrel de trompette* does not carry the same implication as *trompette des menestrels*, a record of fees paid does not *de facto* indicate the performance manner: to coin a phrase, *payment* does not equal *playment*.

Nor are there many undisputed repertories of 15th century instrumental *alta capella* music to guide us. The pieces which are *gut zu blasen* in the Mondsee Liederbuch (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2856) indicate an *alta capella* of woodwinds only, shawm and bombard. They also argue for a primitive homophonic superius-tenor performance manner which includes a version of the practice of *fifthing* in which the tenor is mainly confined to three pitches only: a low fundamental note, a second note pitched a perfect fifth higher, and a third note pitched a perfect fourth higher again. This manuscript has been dated to the 1460s which indicates that the practices of the German-speaking lands lagged behind those of the rest of Western Europe at this time; this finds support in the lateness with which German documents begin to indicate the inclusion of a brass instrument in their windband ensembles.³⁹

The music found in the manuscript once owned by Zorzi Trombetta (London,

³⁸ C. WRIGHT, *Music at the Court of Burgundy*, p. 210: *6 trompettes de son dit cousin d'Angleterre, ses haults menestriers, ses menestriers de corde et a son fol; a 3 menestriers haults, 3 trompettes et un menestrier de corde a Cornauille.*

³⁹ L. WELKER, *Some aspects of the notation and performance of German song around 1400*, in *Early Music*, 18 (1990), pp. 238 and 240.

British Library, Ms. Cotton Titus A. XXVI) indicates that the *alta capella* employed on the ships he served on normally performed as a two-part ensemble.⁴⁰ The tenor and contratenor parts are of equal written compass and this implies the performance of both parts on similar instruments. At the very least, there is no need to suggest that the *Contratenor* parts were designed for performance on, or even required, any brass instrument, as others have done.⁴¹ As Daniel Leech-Wilkinson has pointed out, Zorzi was a ship's trumpeter on Venetian State sea-going vessels which were required by Venetian maritime law to have one or more trumpeters on board, to sound natural trumpet signals on arrival and on departure, to act as a watchman when en route, particularly when in hostile waters and when fog-bound, and at night, for instance.⁴² Zorzi was also a shawmist and he later led the ducal windband at Venice, so it is reasonable to assume that he played the shawm in a woodwind-only *alta capella* on board ship. It is no coincidence that the 15th-century Trumpeters' Chapel in St Bavo's Cathedral at Ghent includes depictions of trumpets and shawms, hinting at a multi-instrumental capability of the trumpeters there which is also reflected in the contemporary situation known to have existed at Basle and elsewhere. The Cassanatense Chansonnier (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 2856) has been extensively promoted for more than a decade as an undisputed source of *alta capella* music, rather than a songbook-without-words.⁴³ Close study of the music results in a rather different conclusion. The adjustments in tessitura found in some of the pieces have been viewed as indicative of alterations made to suit the ranges of the various types of shawm and slide brass instrument found in the *alta capella*, but they are more likely to be indications of a tendency to improve the musical arguments of the individual pieces themselves. For example, the changes made to Martini's three-part *Vive, vive/Martinella* serve to correct consecutive fifths between the cantus and contratenor and to momentarily give the impression of an expansion of the texture to four parts,

⁴⁰ Six of the fourteen pieces contained in the manuscript are two-part, three are three-part, and five include the tenor parts only. A different copyist was responsible for entering most of the three-part repertory: Zorzi's contribution to these was the addition of a *Contratenor* part to an already-existing two-part setting of *Une fois avant que mourir*.

⁴¹ K. POLK, *German Instrumental Music*, p. 86.

⁴² In *Il libro di appunti di un suonatore di tromba del quindicesimo secolo*, in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 16 (1981), p. 28.

⁴³ A.S. WOLFF first proposed this in *The Chansonier Biblioteca Casanatense 2856, Its History, Purpose, and Music*, 2 vols., diss., North Texas State University, 1970, i, pp. 47, 48, 50, 95, and, especially, p. 129. L. LOCKWOOD brought the proposal to a wider audience in *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505*, London, 1984, but the nature of the proof is suspect: Lockwood notes that *exclusively instrumental performance seems to be specifically intended* by the music in the manuscript (p. 106), adds that a Ferrarese court payment record of 1483 mentions *cantiones a la pifarescha*, probably the *Casanatense chansonier* (p. 138) - although the description of the manuscript included in the payment record does not quite match the *chansonier* - and then states that the *chansonier was made a la pifarescha, and was therefore intended for these players* (p. 143), before mentioning adjustments made in some pieces to the *extremes of tessitura...to accommodate the known ranges of the instruments of the Alta* (p. 270).

rather than to remove a pitch one step below the range of the discant shawm (see Example 1.) Moreover, when the entire corpus of compositions is examined against this key criterion upon which the *chansonier* has been proclaimed as a genuine *alta capella* repertory, a number of worrying discrepancies arise.

A. Florence 229, no. 45. Parallel fifths are indicated with asterisks (*).



B. Casanatense 2856, no. 25. expanded to highlight the implied four-part texture.



Example 1: Johannes Martini, *Martinella*, bb. 17-26

As many as eighteen pieces exceed the proposed instrumental gamuts. Some of them, particularly those by Alexander Agricola, have been suggested as pieces composed for *bas* ensemble. If this is the case, then why were these pieces included in a manuscript of *cantiones a la pifarescha*? The employment of the standard late 15th century shawm-bombard-trombone ensemble must also be abandoned for many of the three-part pieces and replaced by one of two other ensembles, for either shawm-trombone-trombone or for bombard-bombard-trombone. It is noticeable that, while the wind instruments must be assumed to sound a perfect fifth higher than the written pitches for most of the 123 pieces, five compositions require non-transposing ranges while a further nine pieces are arguably for either. Any adjustment made to the proposed interval of transposition (a perfect fifth higher) to account for the eighteen pieces which include parts whose written compasses lie outside the proposed instrumental ranges only exacerbates the situation. Increasing the interval of transposition to a major sixth to solve the problem with eight of the errant pieces results in the appearance of nine newly-problematic pieces, while decreasing the interval of transposition to a perfect fourth to normalise nine of the original deviant pieces causes no fewer than 38 other pieces to exceed the proposed instrumental ranges. In both cases, the resultant tenor parts often become unplayable on the bombard. The Casanatense Chansonier actually fails to satisfy the very criteria upon which it has been 'proven' to be a model source of alta capella instrumental repertory. It is also worth noting that part-writing which was previously regarded as instrumental in nature has recently begun to be considered afresh as a necessary stage in the evolution of pervading imitative vocal counterpoint.⁴⁴

The non-function of *trumpetum* must also be flagged. An increasing focus of interest on the octave and its subdivision into the perfect fifth and perfect fourth – Grocheo's *glorious trinity* – came to be placed in the tenor parts by Ciconia and other composers at the same time as literary references to *trompettes* and *claironceaux* began to appear. By the early 15th century, these, and other intervals which strongly resemble the character of the natural harmonic series of the trumpet – the widely-spaced pitches of natural harmonics 1-6 and the diatonic character of harmonics 8-10 – albeit in the Dorian mode, came to be found in parts which normally supported superius canons and which were often labelled *trompetta*, *tuba* or *tuba gallicalis*. The last reference implies an origin in the Franco-Burgundian cultural milieu – whether in France itself, or in another French-speaking political entity, such as Burgundy, Savoy, or

⁴⁴ This underpins the discussion of the development of Obrecht's compositional style in R.C. WEGMAN, *Born for the Muses – The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht*, Oxford, 1994. Despite the claims made by Lockwood in *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, there is precious little stylistic difference between the vocal style of the sacred music, represented by the settings of the hymn *Deus tuorum militum* (Exs. 10a)-b) on pp. 252-254), and the pieces with instrumental status, represented by Martini's *La Martinella* (Ex. 15 on p. 274).

England – and this also reflects the literary situation, all of which was noted earlier. This *trumpetum* style was mentioned in the Breslau and Melk music treatises, and it was clearly described by Paulus Paulirinus as a vocal style which included an obvious imitation of the *tuba gallicana* or *lyra* in one part. The allusion to the *lyra* confirms a preoccupation with natural trumpet intervals, since the *lyra* included characteristic drone strings on the pitches G, d, and g.⁴⁵ Later *trumpetum* compositions were set in the Ionian mode and they were conscious parodies of Dufay's *Gloria ad modum tubae* with its double canon construction and trumpet-imitation in both the tenor and contratenor parts. The later compositions permitted the trumpet imitation to permeate all of the parts, and this mature *trumpetum* style was explained by Tinctoris as a vocal imitation of the sound of the natural trumpet. There have been modern attempts to split hairs and to distinguish between a vocal *trumpetum* style and an instrumental *trumpetum* style – the latter apparently in *cantus firmus*-bearing tenor parts of mass settings by Dufay and Obrecht – but the latter conflicts with the *a capella* aesthetic of the time. Indeed, when Adam de Fulda was faced with Dufay's inclusion of a *Contratenor Trompetta* with a two octave range D-d' in Fontaine's *J'aime bien celui qui s'en va*, his equalling of its lowest limit in *Se la face a'y pale* and his surpassing of it by descending to C in *Les douleurs, dont me sens tel somme* – never mind the wide-ranging high and low contratenor parts which are found in much of his secular output – and also with the experience of Binchois' *Gloria, laus et honor*, and the wide-ranging parts found in Ockeghem's *oeuvre*, he simply remarked on the extension of the vocal range but was silent about any special instrument employed to achieve this in the past.

It is more significant that the appearance of *trumpetum* – or, more accurately, *trumpetum seu lyra* – more-or-less coincides with the addition of the brass instrument to an alta capella which had already expanded from a two-part superius-tenor *paire* to a three-part superius-tenor-contratenor *paire* in some areas. My researches have indicated a Franco-Burgundian cultural milieu for the initial occasional substitution of the brass instrument for the contra shawm.⁴⁶ The German cities appear to have been slow to include the brass instrument in their ensembles, and the earliest players of the brass instrument in France and Italy were of non-Germanic origin. 'Germans' may have cornered the alta capella market during the subsequent Italian craze for *oltramontani*, but even these are as likely to have come from a region under Franco-Burgundian influence as from the other Germanic regions.

The first reasonably firm traces are found at the Savoy court in 1411, where a payment was made *a Petrogniat e a due menestrelli di Ginevra* ('to Petrogniat

⁴⁵ According to Jerome of Moravia: see J.H. VAN DER MEER, *Musikinstrumente von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich, 1983, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁶ In my *In tubis ductilibus*; see note 28 above.

and to two minstrels from Geneva'). This Petrogniat may have been the same person as the *Friminet trompeta minorum* who was regularly mentioned in the records for 1419-1421, for references to *Petrogniat* become very infrequent at this time. After 1421, the references to *Petro Petrogniat* resumed until 1429, when Thierry de Lemy was appointed *trompette des menestriers* and probably replaced Petrogniat. Thierry de Lemy served until at least 1445. The court *alta capella* consisted of *quatuor mimis et uni trompette* in the 1430s: one brass player together with, on treble shawm, Jehan d'Ecosse (1428-1449) and/or Thomas de Caumont (1430-1450), and, on bombard, Jehan Maistre (1421-1449) and/or Peronet des Ayes (1430-1450).

With this in mind, the presence of the court head trumpeter Etienne Fourier (served from 1424 until 1455) in the court chapel between 1449 and 1455 does not prove any musical use of any brass instrument in the composed music of the chapel choir (certainly not a slide brass instrument, in which case the court *trompette des menestriers* would have been present), but is totally accountable as a continuing aspect of Franco-Burgundian court ceremonial - the performance of a trumpet signal to announce the departure of the duke from the chapel at the end of the service, or from his quarters - which had been described by Guillaume de Machaut in the late 14th century and was still being mentioned by Olivier de la Marche in the late 15th century.

A brass instrumentalist was apparently included in the *alta capella* at the Savoy court as early as 1411. The practice was being followed at the French and Aragonese courts by 1418, at Burgundy by 1420, and at Anjou and Brittany by 1426. Francophilic Ferrara had followed suit by 1439, Florence by 1443, and Verona by 1451. It was only then that the instrument was met in Germany, possibly - but not certainly - at Nuremberg in 1458, before appearing at Castille by 1470, in England before 1495, and in Scotland by 1505.⁴⁷

The contemporary literature also provides evidence of the transition from a performance practice manner based on dance improvisation to one governed by the forms of mainstream music, further highlighting the central position that literary sources should occupy in our deliberations. The starting-point is noted in 1350, when King Edward III of England organised his fleet at Winchelsea in preparation for battle against the Spaniards. Froissart tells us that:

on that day...he [i.e. the king] was in a lighter mood than he had ever been seen before. He told his minstrels [that is, shawmists] to play ('corner') a dance tune which Sir John Chandos, who was there beside him, had recently brought back from Germany. And out of sheer high spirits

⁴⁷ The information mentioned here is based on that found in *In tubis ductilibus*, pp. 304 and 314-316. Discussion of the Savoy court has been supplemented by additional archival material uncovered by R. BRADLEY, *Musical life and culture at Savoy, 1420-1450*, diss., City University of New York, 1992, particularly pp. 346-350, and *Courtly Secular Music-Making at Savoy 1420-1450*, (*Cahiers de l'Institut de recherches et d'histoire musicale des états de Savoie*, 2), 1993, pp. 31-67.

he made Sir John sing with the minstrels, to his own vast amusement.⁴⁸

The end-point was probably reached in 1468, when an *alta capella* consisting of three shawms and one trombone played a *motet* at the well-known celebrations which surrounded the marriage of Charles of Burgundy with Margaret of York.⁴⁹

The Mondsee Liederbuch provides a flavour of the late 14th- early 15th-century improvisation practice of the two-part shawm-bombard *paire* with its primitive homophony and almost exclusive use in the tenor of two notes separated by a perfect fifth. The survival of some of the late 15th- early 16th-century *alta capella* repertory from Maximilian I's essentially Burgundian court music supplies the apogee of the windband and confirms the literary evidence of change. It consists of transcriptions of vocal compositions, and these show the sophistication the greatly expanded windband was capable of. The music may include as many as twelve separate instrumental parts, and the *res facta* repertory is complex and includes compositions with two- and three-part canonical *cantus firmus* axes surrounded by additional free counterpoints, as well as works with intricate proportional composition schemes and prolational structures.⁵⁰ Despite its purely representational nature, it is in the intermediate *trumpetum seu lyra* vocal style that some insight into the function of the trombone in the unwritten tradition of the 15th-century *alta capella* may be found. It probably began as a *Harmonieträger* to canonic shawms, employing a version of the practice of *fifthing* to improvise its part and utilising its slide extensions to supply the intervals characteristic of the natural trumpet but at a number of diatonic pitch levels; it then transferred to the role of a contratenor and added its own distinctive, triadic and wide-ranging commentary to the musical dialogue of the shawm and bombard; and finally, when the *alta* tried to mirror the exploration of the lowest realms of the Gamut which had begun in vocal music but was found to lack the necessary bass bombard voice, the trombone obliged and embraced the responsibility for the *contratenor bassus*.

⁴⁸ *Les Chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart*, vol. 1, p. 286: *Et faisoit ses menestrels corner devant lui une danse d'Allemagne que messire Jean Chandos, qui la estoit, avoit nouvellement rapportee; et encore par ebatement il faisoit le dit chevalier chanter avec ses menestrels*. The verb *corner* was characteristically employed at this time with reference to performance on woodwind instruments.

⁴⁹ H. BEAUNE and J.J. MAULBON D'ARBAUMONT (ed.), *Les Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, 1re Serie, 9, Paris, 1820, p. 344. The instruments are listed as one *trompette saqueboute* and three *schalmayes*, but comparison with the 1469 and 1474 Burgundian court ordinances indicates that *trompette saqueboute* and *trompette des menestrels* are synonymous terms: see D. FALLOWS, *Ensembles for composed polyphony, 1400-1474*, in S. BOORMAN (ed.), *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, Cambridge, 1983, p. 146, and *Les Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, p. 538.

⁵⁰ See my *From the Rim to the Hub - Fortuna's Wheel and Instrumental Music at the German-speaking Renaissance Courts*, paper International Historic Brass Symposium, Amherst, Mass., July 28 1995, forthcoming.

MUSIC PRINTING IN ANTWERP AND
EUROPE IN THE 16TH CENTURY

PRINCIPIUM ET ARS TOCIUS MUSICE

An early example of mensural music printing in the Low Countries (ca. 1500-1508)

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Until recently the oldest extant polyphonic music print was assumed to be that of the two motets by Benedictus de Opiitiis, published in 1515 in Antwerp by the little-known printer, Jan de Gheet, on the occasion of the 'Joyeuse Entrée' of the subsequent emperor Charles.¹ This would, in fact, be true only if the loose woodcut depicting the basic principles of polyphonic, mensural music, the *Principium et ars tocius musice* (printed by Jost de Negker, Figure 1) were not considered.² While this leaf does not contain any polyphonic music as such, it does show all of the note values and mensuration signs necessary for printing it. It is remarkable that this print has been neglected in musicological

¹ V. NIJHOFF and M.E. KRONENBERG, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, Den Haag, 1923-1971, no. 1505 and 3509; Facsimile edition: *Lofzangen ter eere van keizer Maximiliaan en zijn kleinzoon Karel den Vijfde. Met houtsmeden en muziek van G. en B. de Opiitiis, Antwerpen, Jan De Gheet, 1515*, facsimile ed., Den Haag, 1925; see also: C. VAN DEN BORREN, *Sur Benedictiis de Opiitiis et deux de ses oeuvres récemment publiées en facsimile*, in *Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique. Congres jubilaire*, Brugge, 1925, p. 95; P. VERHEYDEN, *De drukker en de componist van het Maximiliaan-boek (1515)*, in *Antwerpsch archievenblad*, 2nd series, 3, 1928, pp. 268-282; C.P. BURGER, *Lofzangen en prenten ter verheerlijking van keizer Maximiliaan*, in *Het Boek*, 2nd series, 17, 1928, pp. 23-48 and 145-146; H. ALBRECHT, *Benedictus de Opiitiis*, in F. BLUME (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1, Kassel-Basel, 1949-1951, kol. 1631-1635; A. DUNNING, *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555*, Utrecht, 1977, pp. 61-64; G. TOURNOY, *Unio pro conservatione rei publice...*, in J. VAN DER STOCK (ed.), *Stad in Vlaanderen. Cultuur en maatschappij 1477-1787*, exhibition catalogue, Brussel, 1991, pp. 322-323; C. COPPENS, *Unio pro conservatione rei publice (Tribute to the emperor Maximilian I)*, in J. VAN DER STOCK (ed.), *Antwerp, story of a metropolis 16th.-17th. century*, exhibition catalogue, Antwerpen, 1993, pp. 155-157; E. SCHREURS and A. WOUTERS, *Het bezoek van keizer Maximiliaan en de blijde intrede van aartshertog Karel (Antwerpen, 1508-1515)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 12/3, pp. 100-110; *Antwerpse muziekdrukken. Vocale en instrumentale polyfonie (16de-18de eeuw)*, Antwerpen, 1996; see also *Muziekdruk Antwerpen 1515* by A. WOUTERS and G. HUYBENS in *Musica Antiqua*, 13/1, p. 34.

² Hannover, Kestner Museum, inv. Culeman collection, 'Einblätter', ii, 497.

literature, and that it has been left in virtual obscurity in art history circles.³ It is comparable in terms of printing technology to the 1515 woodcut of Jan de Gheet, thus showing that the technical expertise needed for printing polyphonic music in a skilful way was being applied in Antwerp some time earlier than we have previously assumed. This older print shows even more care in printing than the 1515 one, notably in the formation of note. It is also of a higher quality than the *Odhecaton* of Petrucci (Venice, 1501), in that it made use of a work-intensive woodcut, while that of Petrucci used the more commercially-viable movable type, which was not employed in the Netherlands until 1542.⁴

This carefully-made woodcut coloured, in with stencil, is one of the very few prints made by Jost de Negker (Antwerp ca. 1485 - Augsburg 1544) in the city of his birth. His monogram appears at the bottom of the leaf, flanked by the arms of the margraviate of Antwerp (right) and the arms of the imperial eagle (left). De Negker, who played a crucial role in the development of the chiaroscuro woodcut, and who enjoyed particular fame as director of the large-scale graphic projects launched by Emperor Maximilian, left Antwerp for Augsburg during or after 1508.⁵ It is certain that he worked in Augsburg from 1512, together with the Antwerp block cutter Willem Liefreynck and his brother Cornelis, but he may have begun working for Emperor Maximilian before this. It is not clear when he actually went to Augsburg, but he was in any case still in Antwerp on August 13, 1508⁶, when at the council of aldermen he made a declaration, together with his wife Cornelia, daughter of Andries Buysers, and in the name of other family members, to the effect that the tailor Anthonis de Vree had settled all his debts. On this occasion he was described as *print-snijde(re)*, which shows that he was already working as block cutter in

³ Recently appeared in: *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts. 1400-1700*, vol. XXIX, Roosendaal, 1990, p. 256; older literature: C. DODGSON, *Catalogue of early German and Flemish Woodcuts preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, vol. II, London, 1911, pp. 204-205; C. DODGSON, *An early Dutch Woodcut of St. Christopher*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. XVIII, 1910-1911, pp. 44-50; C. DODGSON, *The earliest Works of Jost de Negker*, in *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, 22, 1935, p. 14.

⁴ See among others A. GOVAERTS, *Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas*, (*Mémoires de l'académie royale de Belgique*, 19), Antwerpen-Brussel, 1880, and more recently B. HUYS, *Overzicht van de muziektypografie in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden voor 1800*, in *De eodem et diverso. Bundel essays over diverse themata van het oude muziek-onderzoek*, (Jaarboek van het Vlaams centrum voor oude muziek, 2), Peer, 1986, pp. 21-29. See also *Antwerpse Muziekdrukken. Vocale en instrumentale polyfonie (16de-18de eeuw)*, Antwerpen, 1996, especially pp. 13-21.

⁵ A great deal of research has been done into de Negker's activities in Augsburg. A selection of recent literature: L. SILVER, *Prints for a Prince: Maximilian, Nuremberg and the Woodcut*, in J. CHIPPS SMITH (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg. Five Essays*, Austin (Tex.), 1985, pp. 7-21; D. LANDAU and P. PARSHALL, *The Renaissance Print. 1470-1550*, New Haven-London, 1994, pp. 198, 200-202, 207-209, 211-212, 217-218 and 221; G. BARTRUM, *German Renaissance Prints. 1490-1550*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1995, pp. 130-164.

⁶ According to some researchers he was already working for the emperor in 1508, others believe only in 1510 or 1512.

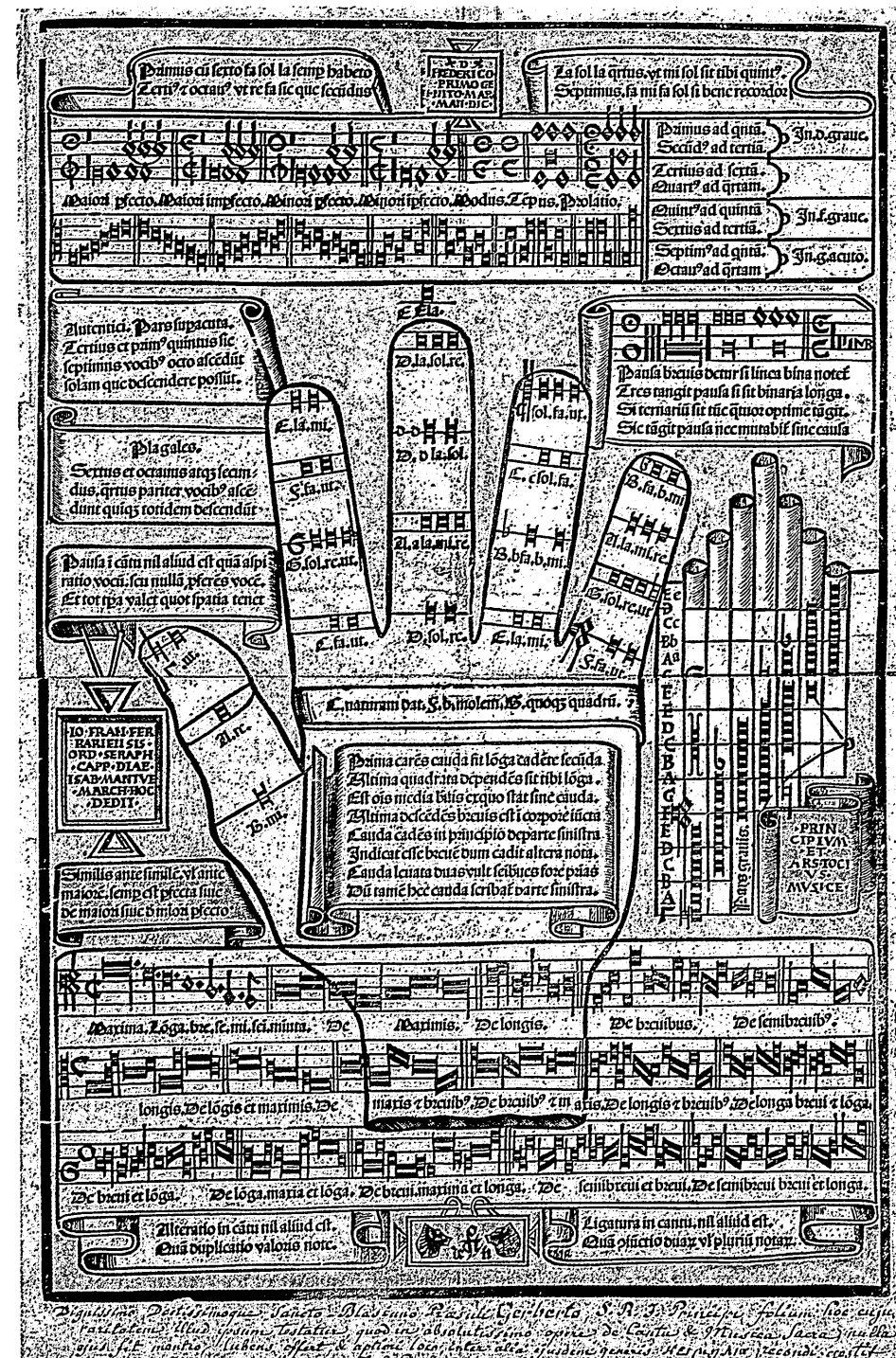


Figure 1: Hannover, Kestner Museum, inv. Culeman collection, 'Einblätter, ii, 497': Antwerp, Jost de Negker.

Antwerp.⁷ He may have left the city with Emperor Maximilian, who was on a state visit with the young Prince Charles on 16 September 1508.⁸ The coat of arms of the margraviate of Antwerp shows in any case that our woodcut dates from 1508 or before.

The title of the print, *Principium et ars tocius musice*, appears on the right-hand side. The dedication centred at the top reads: *D(OMINO) / FREDERICO / PRIMOGEO / NITO MAR(CHIONIS) DIC(ATVM)* (*Dedicated to Lord Frederik [Gonzaga], the first son of the marquis of Mantua*). Frederik Gonzaga was born on the 7th of May 1500, which may be considered a *terminus post-quem* for the print. The dedication on the left reads: *IO(HANNES) FRAN(CISCVS) FER / RARIENSIS / ORD(INIS) SERAPH(ICI) / CAPP(ELLANVS) D(OM)I(NE) / ISAB(ELLE) MANTVE / MARCH(IONISSE) HOC / DEDIT* (*Johannes Franciscus of Ferrara, of the Seraphic (i.e. Franciscan) Order, chaplain dedicated this to the honorable Lady Isabelle [d'Este], marquise of Mantua*). It is possible that the author of these mensural music instructions dedicated the work to the honorable Lady Isabelle d'Este on the occasion of the birth of her oldest son Frederik Gonzaga. The print may therefore be placed some time between 1500 and 1508.

This loose leaf (463 x 307 mm), which exists in isolation, contains the basic principles of mensural music instruction. Next to the customary Guidonian hand⁹ are brief instructions concerning mensural notation, including mensuration signs (*tempus perfectum* and *imperfectum*, *prolatio perfecta* and *imperfecta*), followed by a series of intervals (from seconds to octaves), various note values (from *maxima* to *fusa*, except that here the rather unusual term *minuta* is used instead of *fusa*), rests and ligatures. In addition, a few customary rules of thumb are given relating to music instruction. Although these are common rules, only two of them, concerning the reading of ligatures, can be found in contemporaneous treatises.¹⁰ For *carens* and *dependens* there are the following concordances:

⁷ Stadsarchief Antwerpen, S.R. 133, fol. 93r (document of 14.08.1508).

⁸ A handwritten note that the clerk on duty happened to write down in the aldermen's register reads: *An(n)o XVcVIII, XVI Augusti [read September] soe qua(m) Maximiliae(ne) de Romsche keyser, hier tantwerpe(n) met hertoge(n) Kaerle(n) / en(de) vrouwe Magrieet syn suster* [this word has been crossed out] *moeye, met vele hee(re) en(de) prince(n) en(de) des anders daachs d(aer) na, soe dede de keyser / syn(en) eed als voecht en(de) momboe(re) va(n) hertogen kaerlen syne(n) brueder en(de) suste(re)n [ten bysyne va(n) / h(er)toge(n) Kaerlen]*. Stadsarchief Antwerpen, S.R. 134, fol. 111v (the last five words of this text have been crossed out).

⁹ Compare with a Guidonian hand from Mantua from the last quarter of the 15th century: GB-Ob Can.Lit.216, fol. 168r. For a picture of this hand, see A. HUGHES, *Solmisation*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980, vol. 17, p. 458, fig. 2.

¹⁰ We have made grateful use of the *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum* (TML) of the School of Music of Indiana University (Project Director THOMAS J. MATHIESEN), which is available through the WWW. Searches of less frequent headwords such as *fore* and *prias* yielded no concordances in 15th- and 16th-century Latin treatises in the TML.

* Anonymous, *Introductorium musicae*,¹¹ (ca. 1500), De ligaturis figurarum, fol. 10v

[Fifth rule] (slightly different)

Introductorium... - Prima carens cauda longa est cadente secunda

Principium et ars... - Prima carens cauda fit longa cadente secunda

[Sixth rule] (identical): - Vltima quadrata dependens sit tibi longa

* Cochlaeus, Johannes, *tetrachordum musices, tractatus quartus* (Nuremberg, 1514), fol. Eir. 3, Quot sunt regulae ligaturum? Septem

* Glareanus, Henricus, *Dodecachordum, Liber tertius* (Basel, 1547), [196], De notarum ligaturis, Caput II.

Fifth rule (identical): - Prima carens cauda fit longa cadente secunda

Sixth rule (identical) - Vltima quadrata dependens sit tibi longa

In 1910-1911 Campbell Dodgson referred to an other woodblock print (445 x 328mm), similar to that of de Negker and preserved at the British Museum in London. It has the same title, the same author, and an identical dedication to Isabella d'Este.¹² The dedication to Frederik Gonzaga, however, is missing. It was published by Antonio Strambi in Rome, and, like the other print, is undated.

The contents of both prints are almost identical; the Roman one, however, is somewhat more complete, as are the later prints from Modena (cf infra). There are, for example, fewer abbreviations in general, and *In .e. grave* appears in the upper right-hand corner. The indications to the right of the *gamut* (*pars super-acuta*) are complete in the Roman print. The layout is identical, but the decorations (in the background of the Guidonian hand and on the borders of the print) are more elaborate. The similarities in content and in form are such that we may assume that the Roman and Antwerp prints are quite closely related, the Antwerp one possibly being a little later and less complete copy.

The Bolognese composer and musicologist Gaetano Gaspari knew of two other versions of this print.¹³ The oldest, described as a *foglio volante* (391 x 278 mm), was published in Modena by I. Gadaldini, and was produced as a

¹¹ For an edition see H. RIEMAN, *Anonymi introductorium musicae* (c. 1500), in *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, 29 (1897), pp. 149-154, 157-164; 30 (1898), pp. 1-8, 11-19.

¹² See British Museum inventory, shelfmark I.600.(49.). Thanks to Dr. Nick Chadwick of the Music Library in the British Library in London for providing a picture and additional information. See also C. DODGSON, *An early Dutch Woodcut of St. Christopher*, in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. XVIII, 1910-1911, p. 50.

¹³ See G. GASPARI and F. PARISINI, *Catalogo della biblioteca del liceo musicale G. B. Martini di Bologna*, 1, Bologna, 1890, (*Studi e testi di Musicologia*, 1, ed. O. MISCHIATI and L. TAGLIAVINI, Bologna, 1961), pp. 220-221.

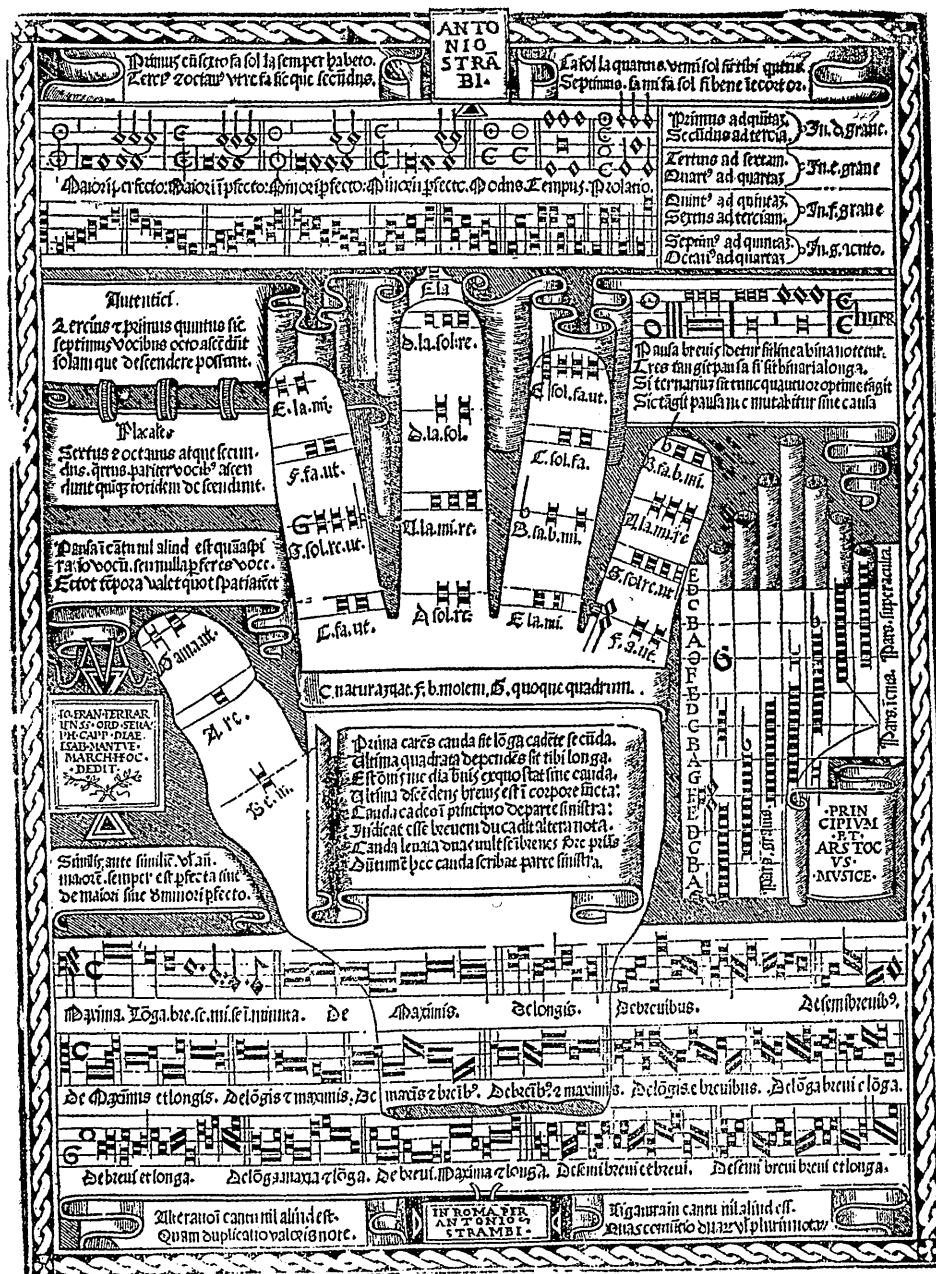


Figure 2: London, British Museum, I.600.(49.): Rome, Antonio Strambi.

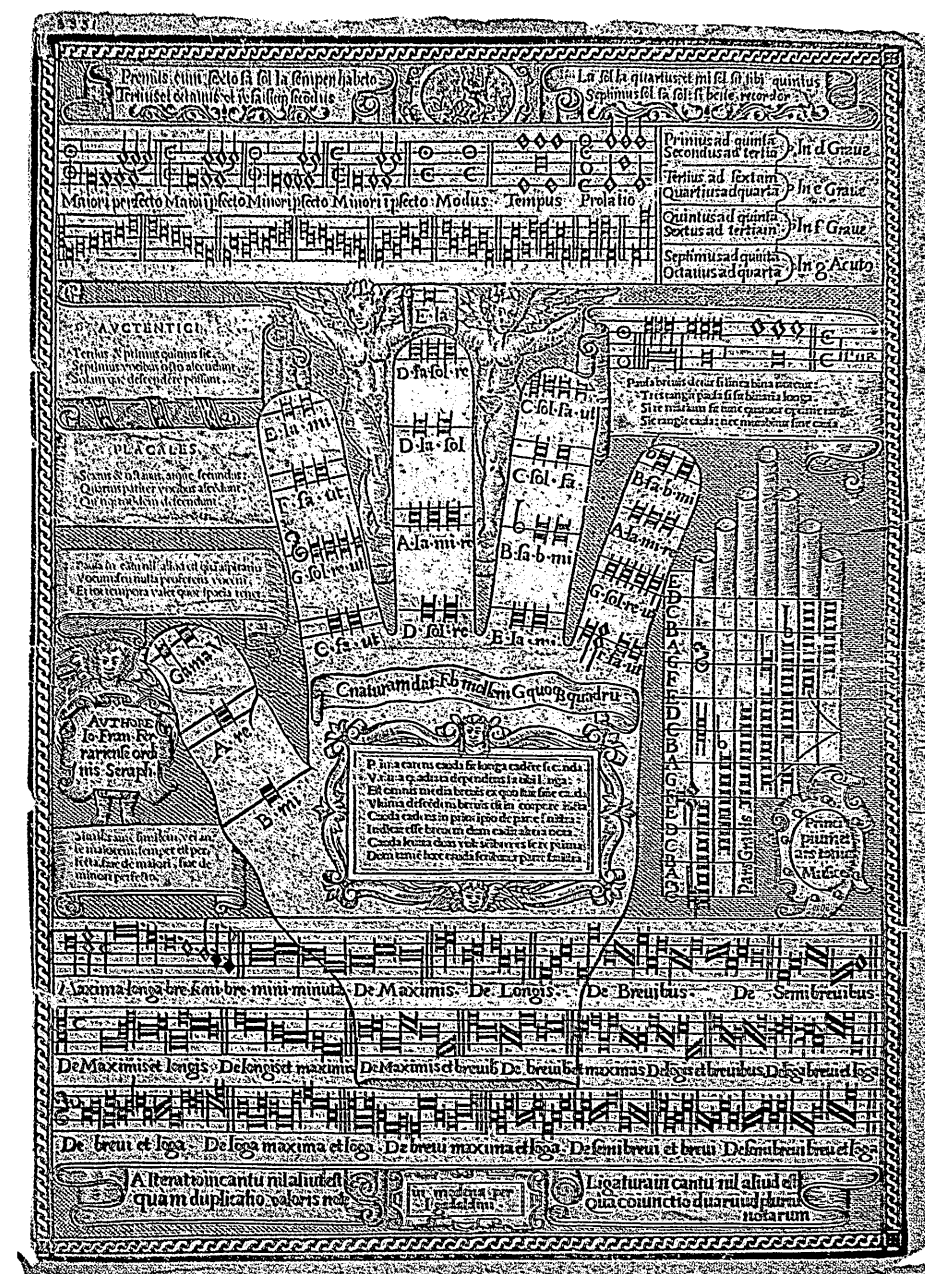


Figure 3: Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, B 74: Modena, I. Gadaldini.

woodcut, like the Antwerp version. It also gives the author as Johannes Franciscus (Figure 3). The print is undated, but was probably made in the middle of the 16th century. Its contents and lay-out are practically identical to the Roman print. The dedications to Isabelle d'Este and her son no longer appear.

The second print mentioned by Gaspari is a later, probably early 17th-century copper engraving (467 x 370 mm), with the same title (Figure 4). Here neither publisher, place of publication, date, author, nor dedications are given.¹⁴ The composition and content of the print do not differ much from the earlier versions. The Guidonian hand remains in the centre. Underneath and to the left of the hand note values are given (from *maxima* to *fusa*¹⁵, but the *semiminima* is here probably called *semitoni*, in contrast to the Antwerp and Roman prints), followed by an almost identical series of ligatures. The *gamut* appears to the right of the Guidonian hand, as well as the title of the print. The position of the instructions concerning mensuration signs, rests, and intervals has been changed, appearing mainly in the left-hand corner. The rules of thumb concerning ligatures, rests, etc. are now placed primarily to the left of the thumb of the Guidonian hand, and also partly above it. New rubrics include *De tonis* (top centre), solmization exercises (top right-hand corner) and the psalm tones (*Dixit dominus*, at the very bottom). As we have seen, these elementary instructions in mensural music were still being produced probably until the early 17th century, even at a time when the use of many ligatures had already significantly declined; this may be compared, among others, to the short instructions found in the Low Countries, for instance in the highly-successful series of the *Livre Septième*, which continued to be published up until ca. 1660.¹⁶

The author of *Principium et ars tocius musicae* is identified in the Antwerp, Rome, and Modena copies as a certain Johannes Franciscus [Francesco], a Franciscan from Ferrara and chaplain to Isabelle d'Este. On 15 February 1490 Isabelle (1474-1539) married Francesco Gonzaga (1466-1519), marquis of Mantua. The couple were extremely supportive of culture and music, and their reign provided the ideal environment for the production of such a treatise, however modest in dimensions and contents.¹⁷ During this period of growth, there were many musicians residing at the court or who retained close links with it, among them

¹⁴ Thanks to Dr. Mario Armellini of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale for providing the illustrations and additional information.

¹⁵ The copyist forgot to blacken in the *Semiminima* and the *fusa* in this print.

¹⁶ See H. VANHULST, *Un succès de l'édition musicale: le Septiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties (1560-1661/3)*, in *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap/Revue belge de Musicologie*, 32-33, 1978-1979, pp. 87-120. See also R. RASCH, *The Editors of the Livre Septième* on page 279 of this volume.

¹⁷ I. FENLON, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, 1, Cambridge-Sydney, 1980, pp. 15-16.

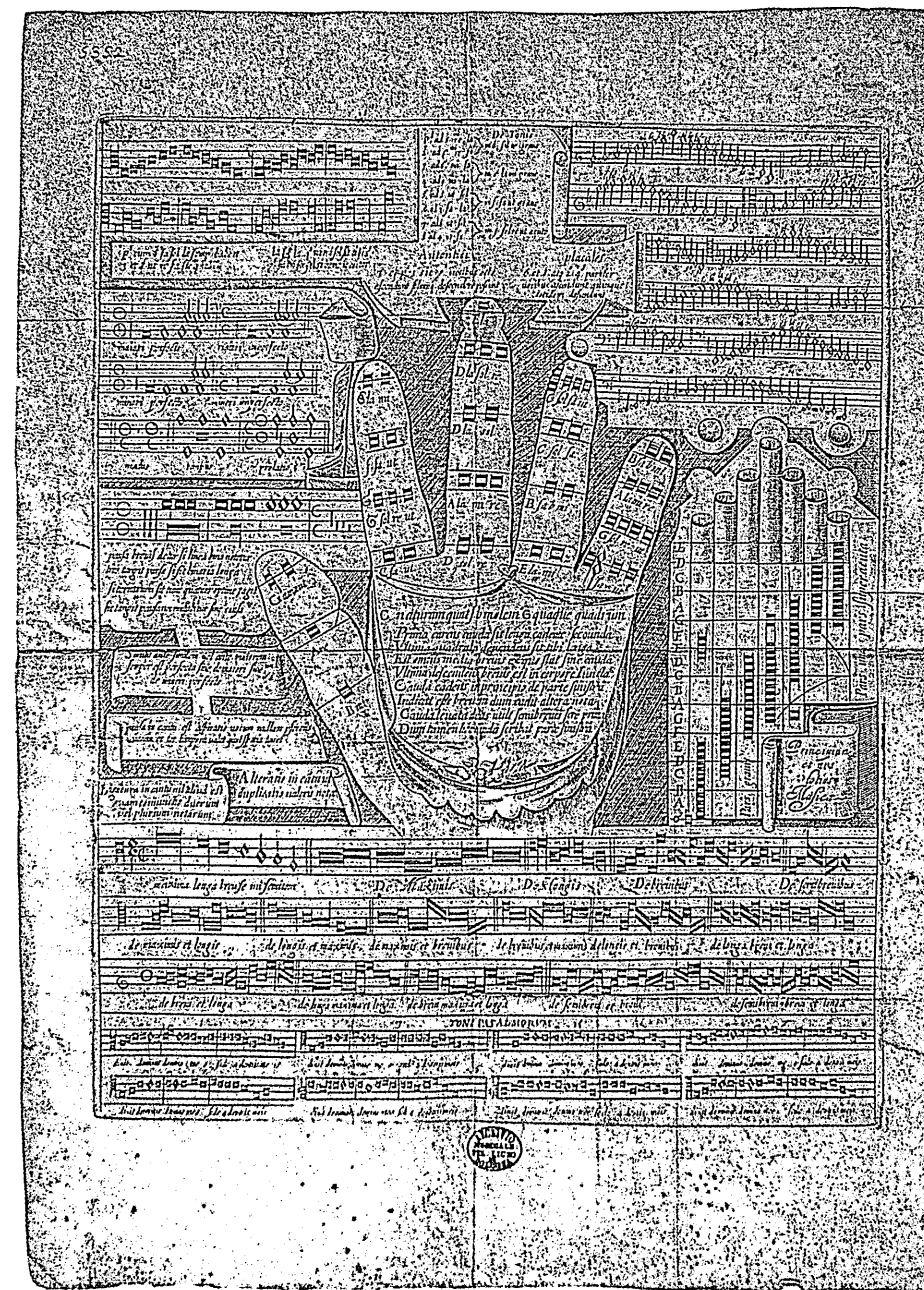


Figure 4: Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, B 75: s.l., anonymous.

were the Italians Marchetto Cara and Bartolomeo Tromboncino, and northerners such as Alexander Agricola (1491), Johannes Ghiselin (Verbonet) (1491), Colinet de Lannoy/Launoy (shortly after 1490, in any case in 1499), Johannes Martini (1491-1492) and Jacob Obrecht (1505).¹⁸

The author/musician of the *Principium* can be identified with *Fr. Francisco Capellano illustrissimae dominae nostrae*, to whom Isabelle's husband, Francesco Gonzaga, sent a letter on 20 July 1497. A. Bertolotti is of the opinion that this Fra Francesco could have been the Gonzagas' *Maestro di Musica*.¹⁹ Also *Frate* (sic) *Francisco*, tutor to a certain *Don Filippo*, singer and instrumentalist, may possibly be identified as the author of the *Principium*.²⁰ Johannes Franciscus Ferrariensis may have entered into the service of Isabelle and her consort just after their marriage in 1490. From this point on the court chapel was considerably enlarged with the addition of new singers.²¹

There were yet another three people with the same name. In Mantua there was a Fra Francesco, singer at San Pietro, who, according to a necrology from 1527-1528, died during an epidemic of the plague.²² Another, perhaps older Johannes Franciosus (sic), alias *l'Abate*, was a singer at San Giovanni in Florence in 1467.²³ Last of all there was a Jehan Franciscus de Flandria, singer at the ducal chapel of Savoy in 1504. On account of his Flemish origins it seems quite unlikely that this last Jehan was our composer.²⁴

The connection between Antwerp (place of publication) and Mantua (the author and the persons to whom the work is dedicated) remains for the time being unclear. There may have been Antwerp musicians with connections in Mantua, but this is pure speculation. Jacob Obrecht, who died of the plague in Ferrara in 1505, had, for example, ties with northern Italian cities and resided primarily in Ferrara from 1504 to 1505. In May of 1505, shortly before his death in July of that year, he travelled from Ferrara to Mantua in order to pres-

¹⁸ I. FENLON, *Op. cit.*, p. 15-16. F.A. D'ACCONE, *The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961), pp. 344-345 and 350. C. GALLICO, *Mantua*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980, vol. 11, 1980, p. 633.

¹⁹ A. BERTOLOTTI, *Musici alla Corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII. Notizie e documenti raccolti negli Archivi Mantovani*, (Bibliotheca Musica Bononiensis, ed. G. VECCHI, III, 17), anastatic reprint of the Milanese edition, [1890], Bologna, 1969, p. 15. L. LOCKWOOD, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara. 1400-1505. The Creation of a Musical Centre in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, 1984 does not make any mention of a Johannes Franciscus.

²⁰ P. CANAL, *Della musica in Mantova*, pp. 11-12: 21 July 1497: according to a letter of Tolomeo Spagnuolo, *Scrive da Mantova alla Marchese assente* (absent), it seems that they threatened to leave the first-rate *sonatore e cantore*, *Don Filippo*.

²¹ See I. FENLON, *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

²² I. FENLON, *Op. cit.*, p. 53, footnote 18.

²³ In the identification of the last two, we made grateful use of, among others, R. WEGMAN, *Bibliography of Singers in Continental Europe (1450-1500)*, Preliminary Version, Amsterdam, 1990. See also F.A. D'ACCONE, *Op. cit.*, pp. 322-323.

²⁴ L.T. BOUQUET, *La Cappella musicale dei duchi di Savoia dal 1504 al 1550*, in *Rivista Italiana*, 5 (1970), p. 35: FRANCISCUS DE FLANDRIA Jehan, 11 Iuglio 1504 - 1° ottobre 1504.

ent Francesco Gonzaga with several of his compositions, probably in the hope of some time entering into his service. It is possible that Obrecht, who had lived in Antwerp for some time, maintained contact with the city even after leaving for Italy.²⁵

Other musicians who may have maintained contact between northern Italian cities and the Low Countries around the turn of the century include Alexander Agricola, Johannes Ghiselin (Verbonet), who probably returned to the Low Countries in 1504,²⁶ Colinet de Lannoy/Launoy and Johannes Martini (possibly the tutor to Isabelle d'Este prior to her marriage, but dead by the end of 1497/1498).

Little is known concerning the later history of the *Principium* print. It reappeared only at the end of the 18th century. Quite interesting, especially from a historiographical point of view, is the handwritten commentary at the bottom of the print: *Dignissimo doctissimoque sancto Blasiano praesuli Gerberto, Sancti Romani Imperii principi, folium hoc, cujus raritatem illud ipsum testatur, quod in absolutissimo opere de cantu et musica sacra nulla ejus fit mentio, lubens offert, et aptiori loco, inter alia ejusdem generis κεινηγλια recondi gestit Johannes Hermann medicinae doctor et professor publicus ordinarius Argentoratensis, anno 1791.* (Johannes Hermann from Straatsburg, doctor of medicine and public professor takes pleasure in offering this folio, which is very rare, as there is no mention of it in the most complete work *De cantu et musica sacra*, to the very reverend and very learned abbot of Sint-Blasius, Gerbert, Prince-Abbot of the Holy Roman Empire, and desires that it be stored in a more suitable place, among other similar valuables.)

It may be gathered from this handwritten note that the German music historian Martin Gerbert, who was *Fürstabt* of Sint-Blasius from 15 October 1764, did not mention the print in his standard work, *De Cantu et Musica Sacra* (1774).²⁷ In 1887 the print belonging to the collector and senator Friedrich Culemann (1811-1886) became the property of the city of Hannover. It continues to remain unclear how the work came to rest in his collection.²⁸

²⁵ On Obrecht in Ferrara and Mantua see R. WEGMAN, *Born for the Muses. The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 348-350.

²⁶ Ghiselin stayed in 1503 in the company of Josquin with the Mantuan ambassador to the French Court in Lyon. See C. GOTTWALD, *Ghiselin, Johannes*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980, vol. 7, p. 340. There is also an outstanding balance entry for a Johannes Verbonet in Maastricht, St.-Servaas. See E. SCHREURS, *Aspecten van het muziekleven in Maastricht in de 15e en 16e eeuw*, in *Polyfonie in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, Maastricht, 1996, pp. 8-9. In 1507-1508 a Johannes Verbonet is mentioned in the accounts of the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen op Zoom. See R. WEGMAN, *Music and Musicians at the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen op Zoom, c. 1470-1510*, in *Early Music History*, ed. I. FENLON, 9, 1989, pp. 236 and 245.

²⁷ On Gerbert see H. SERWER, *Gerbert, Martin*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980, vol. 7, pp. 249-250. A search in Gerbert's *De cantu et musica sacra* confirms that the print in fact is not mentioned there.

²⁸ Thanks to Dr. Birgitta Falk of the Kestner Museum for providing the illustrations and additional information.

Despite the speculation and uncertainty surrounding the origin of this print, we have reason to believe that it is an unusually important and beautiful copy of an almost unknown mensural music print from the Low Countries, which is older than that of Jan de Gheet of 1515. This shows that the technology of music printing was well known in Antwerp earlier than we had thought. The procedure was not immediately imitated, however, and music printing in Antwerp had to wait until the arrival of movable type before it came into full bloom. These short mensural music instructions were evidently successful, judging by the number of later editions.²⁹

²⁹ I would like to thank Liam Fennelly for the English translation and Annelies Wouters for translating the Latin texts.

LES CARACTÈRES DE MUSIQUE UTILISÉS DES ORIGINES À ENVIRON 1650 DANS LES ANCIENS PAYS-BAS

Laurent Guillo

Préambule

La présente étude a l'ambition de présenter un panorama documenté des caractères de musique et de tablature utilisés dans les anciens Pays-Bas depuis l'apparition de la typographie musicale dans ces contrées (c. 1540) jusqu'aux environs de 1650. Elle s'est nourrie de l'examen de plusieurs centaines de documents originaux et de la synthèse de plusieurs études, consacrées soit à la typographie musicale¹, soit à un imprimeur particulier², soit à un répertoire particulier.³ Elle tente de présenter une synthèse sur la diffusion de ces caractères essentiellement axée sur les aspects chronologiques et géographiques. Nous n'avons pas pris en compte les caractères liturgiques, qui recouvrent un répertoire tout autre sur lequel la littérature est moins riche et les outils de travail très différents.⁴

Cette étude a été menée dans un esprit synthétique et non pas analytique: nous avons privilégié une approche qui comparait ces caractères et mettait en perspective leurs lieux et leurs périodes de diffusion, plutôt qu'une approche qui tendrait à les étudier individuellement avec le soin infini – et néanmoins justifié – que requièrent les études typographiques. Nous avons voulu, en quelque sorte, broser un paysage dans lequel des études plus poussées pourraient venir s'insérer.

C'est naturellement dans les villes développées que l'édition musicale polyphonique s'est concentrée (Leuven, Antwerpen et Amsterdam notamment) mais les traces de l'usage des caractères de musique apparaissent beaucoup plus dispersées si l'on étudie les livres monodiques, notamment les psautiers et les recueils de chansons spirituelles. Le répertoire *Fontes Hymnodiae Neerlandicae* de 1985, qui recense toutes les publications de musique monodique publiées en néerlandais avant 1700, nous a permis de ne pas limiter notre recherche aux éditions polyphoniques et donc de dresser un tableau beaucoup plus documenté. Les caractères exposés dans cette étude décrivent ainsi ce qui a été utilisé des origines à 1650 environ dans les limites actuelles de la Belgique

¹ Comme VERVLiet, BAIN, GOOVAERTS...

² Comme VANHULST, RASCH Plantin et STELLFELD, WEAVER, RASCH, FORNEY et MEISSNER, etc.

³ Comme FHN, GROSS, GROSS London, RASCH Gastoldi, etc.

⁴ Signalons cependant que VERVLiet décrit les caractères liturgiques du XVI^e siècle.

et des Pays-Bas, en citant des emplois constatés de ces caractères en France (Douai, Valenciennes...), en Grande-Bretagne (London, Norwich, Edimburgh) ou en Allemagne.⁵ Quant aux dates, elles dépassent parfois allègrement 1650 puisque certains de ces caractères sont repérés jusqu'au milieu du XVIII^e siècle ; il nous a semblé judicieux de le mentionner quand ces données étaient disponibles.

Premiers essais: la gravure sur bois

Un bref rappel, tout d'abord, sur la technique de la gravure sur bois, qui précéda la typographie dans l'édition musicale. Elle est utilisée dès 1515 dans un recueil poétique imprimé en l'honneur de l'empereur Maximilien pour l'entrée à Antwerpen de son petit-fils Charles-Quint, le 3 février 1515. Ce recueil, contenant deux *Hymnes* composés par Benedictus de Opiitis, fut imprimé à Antwerpen par Jan de Gheet en 1515.⁶ En 1529, la gravure est aussi utilisée dans la même ville par Willem Vosterman pour les exemples musicaux du *Livre plaisant et très utile pour apprendre à faire & ordonner toutes tablatures*.⁷ Plus au Nord à Utrecht, elle est aussi utilisée par Herman I van Borculo autour de 1552 pour illustrer des ouvrages pédagogiques.⁸

A la différence de ce qui se passa en Italie entre 1510 et 1535, et dans une moindre mesure à Lyon autour de 1525, où la gravure de musique sur bois fut exploitée pour imprimer un nombre significatif d'éditions polyphoniques (notamment par l'entreprise du graveur Andrea Antico, actif à Rome et à Venise), ce procédé ne fut quasiment utilisé qu'à titre anecdotique dans les anciens Pays-Bas.⁹ Très vite remplacée par la typographie, la musique gravée sur bois ne réapparaîtra que pour les exemples musicaux de quelques traités de musique.¹⁰

On peut donc dire qu'ici l'édition musicale commence presque directement avec la typographie en caractères mobiles. Mais, là comme ailleurs, on devra distinguer le procédé à double impression (procédé dit de Petrucci) et le procédé à simple impression (procédé d'Attaignant).

⁵ Les villes citées en Belgique et aux Pays-Bas sont: Alkmaar, Amsterdam, Antwerpen, Arnhem, Brugge, Bruxelles, Den Haag, Delft, Deventer, Dordrecht, Enkhuizen, Franker, Gent, Gouda, Haarlem, 's-Hertogenbosch, Hoorn, Kampen, Leeuwarden, Leiden, Leuven, Maastricht, Middelburg, Rotterdam, Tournai, Utrecht, Vlissingen, Wesel, Zierikzee, Zwolle.

⁶ Reproduction dans BERGMANS p. 64, WOUTERS-SCHREURS Maximiliaan et ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 53. Bibliographie dans WEAVER I p. 86 n. 4 et dans BERGMANS p. 51. On trouvera dans la contribution de M. Eugene Schreurs (p.171) un exemple encore plus ancien d'empression de musique mesurée à Antwerpen, selon le procédé de la gravure sur bois.

⁷ BROWN 1529². Voir NIJHOFF Vorsterman.

⁸ Exemples dans GOOVAERTS p. 37 ou SWILLENS Oudste.

⁹ Sur cet aspect moins connu de l'édition musicale gravée sur bois, voir GUILLO chap. 2.

¹⁰ Par exemple dans certains exemples de Pierre Maillart, *Les tons ou discours sur les modes de musique...* - Tournai, 1610.

Liste des caractères typographiques décrits

Le tableau ci-dessous regroupe les principales caractéristiques des 27 caractères que nous avons pu identifier. Les caractères sont regroupés dans les catégories qui nous serviront à les commenter plus bas et, au sein de chaque catégorie, présentés par taille décroissante. Chaque colonne du tableau est détaillée dans la fiche descriptive du caractère, en annexe.

NOM	HAUTEUR DE 5 LIGNES	APPARITION ¹¹	EMBOÎTAGE	MATÉRIEL
Les tablatures				
<i>Tablature Phalèse</i>	14,5 mm	1545		
<i>Tablature Roy-Rhenen</i>	14 mm	1601		
<i>Tablature Roy</i>	14 mm	1612		
<i>Tablature Laet</i>	13 mm	1569		
Les caractères en double impression				
<i>Buys-Loys</i>	15 mm	1542		
<i>Cock</i>	10,0	1540		
<i>Schöffner</i>	10,0	c. 1540		
Les caractères de grande dimension (simple impression)				
<i>VDK Grande</i>	22,5 mm	1578	non	MPM ¹²
<i>Phalèse Grande</i>	17,0 mm	1563	oui	
Les caractères de moyenne dimension (simple impression)				
<i>Vissenaeken</i>	14,0 mm	1542	non	
<i>Susato</i>	11,7 mm	1543	oui	
<i>Matthysz</i>	11,2 mm	1641	non	
<i>Phalèse Moyenne</i>	10,7 mm	1552	non	MPM
<i>Tavernier</i>	10,3 mm	1554	oui	MPM
<i>VDK Moyenne</i>	9,2 mm	1579	non	MPM
<i>Petreius Small</i>	9,2 mm	1551	oui	MPM
<i>Lyon Moyenne</i>	9,2 mm	1632	non	
<i>Jansson</i>	8,2 mm	?	?	
Les caractères de petite dimension (simple impression)				
<i>Granjon</i>	7,0 mm	1565	non	MPM
<i>Plantin Leiden</i>	6,1 mm	1585	non	
<i>VDK Petite</i>	5,0 mm	1572	non	MPM
<i>Psautier Gouda</i>	5,0 mm	1648 ?	non	
<i>Psautier Plantin</i>	4,9 mm	1564	non	MPM
<i>Psautier Nord</i>	4,9 mm	1582	non	
<i>Psautier Wouw</i>	4,0 mm	1641	non	
<i>Petit Psautier Etroit</i>	3,2 mm	1617	non	
<i>Petit Psautier Large</i>	3,2 mm	1615	non	

Les tablatures: luth et cistre

Si l'on excepte une tablature *italienne* utilisée sans lendemain par la veuve de Jan de Laet en 1569 (*Tablature Laet*), les tablatures imprimées dans les anciens Pays-Bas sont toutes des tablatures *françaises*. Elles se partagent entre *Tablature Phalèse*, exclusivement et longuement utilisée par l'atelier Phalèse pour le luth ou le cistre, et deux copies plus tardives, apparaissant à Utrecht, Haarlem et Leiden durant le premier tiers du XVII^e siècle (*Tablature Roy-Rhenen* et *Tablature Roy*). Ces trois tablatures ont un graphisme et des dimensions très proches qui les rendent difficiles à distinguer. Ce sont toutes trois des tablatures "en règle", c'est-à-dire que les lettres qui indiquent la position du doigt sont enfilées sur la ligne, et non pas dans les interlignes.¹³ La technique de l'emboîtement ne relève pas ici d'un choix mais d'une nécessité.¹⁴ Très vite, les tablatures en typographie sont remplacées par des tablatures gravées, comme dans les oeuvres de Nicolas Vallet publiées à Amsterdam en 1618-1619.¹⁵

Pas très loin vers l'Est, on peut noter que la tablature française en règle utilisée à Köln par Gerard Greuenbruch autour de 1603 ressemble beaucoup à celle de Phalèse. On la trouve dans le fameux *Thesaurus harmonicus* de J. B. Bésard.¹⁶

Les caractères en double impression

Les caractères en double impression sont prévus pour que la portée et les notes soient imprimées en deux opérations successives. Ce procédé, développé par Ottaviano Petrucci en Italie à partir de 1501, procurait un résultat esthétique mais générait de délicats problèmes de superposition. Il fut assez rapidement supplanté par le procédé en simple impression de Pierre Attaingnant, développé à Paris dès avant 1528.¹⁷ Les nouvelles semblent ne pas s'être propagées très vite en direction des Flandres puisque, dans la période 1540-1542, les trois premiers caractères recensés sont encore des caractères en double impression (*Cock*, *Schöffner* et *Buys-Loys*). Deux sont des créations originales, tandis que *Schöffner* n'est autre que le beau caractère utilisé par Peter Schöffner à Mainz, Worms et Strasburg entre 1512 et 1539. Naturellement, ces trois caractères ne firent que des apparitions fugitives, les caractères en simple impression apparaissant dès 1543.

¹¹ Apparition dans les anciens Pays-Bas, pas dans les autres pays.

¹² Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerpen.

¹³ Auquel cas on les appellerait des tablatures "en espace".

¹⁴ Sur la technique de l'emboîtement, voir plus bas à propos des caractères de musique de moyenne dimension.

¹⁵ Sur l'intérêt technique ou commercial que les imprimeurs pouvaient trouver à passer de la typographie à la gravure au burin, voir par exemple GUILLO Problèmes.

¹⁶ *RISM* 1603¹⁵.

¹⁷ Nous passons sur les tentatives londonniennes de John Rastell.

Si l'on met de côté les tablatures, dont l'usage est très spécialisé, et les caractères en double impression qui font office de vétérans, il reste de nombreux caractères en simple impression (procédé d'Attaingnant) qui se distinguent essentiellement par trois critères: leurs dimensions, l'emboîtement et leur usage. De ces caractères nous avons été tentés d'isoler les plus grands, qui servent dans les livres de choeurs en format in-folio, et à l'inverse ceux qui, de petites dimensions, étaient presque exclusivement réservés aux psautiers et à la musique spirituelle, publiés très souvent en petit format. Le reste constitue la série des caractères usités dans les publications de format in-quarto oblong, c'est-à-dire les livres de motets, madrigaux et chansons.

Les caractères de grande dimension: pour les formats in-folio (messes, cantiques)

En matière de livres de chœur, les caractères utilisés sont seulement au nombre de deux: *Phalèse Grande* et *VDK Grande*. Ce faible nombre ne doit pas surprendre puisqu'en général les ateliers de typographie musicale ne disposaient que d'un seul caractère de grande dimension, et encore seuls les ateliers les plus importants en eurent l'usage.¹⁸ C'est à Hendrik van den Keere qu'on doit celui de Plantin; il façonna là un caractère superbe et très grand dont les pleins et les déliés sont très accentués, ce qui lui confère une certaine finesse malgré ses dimensions importantes. Avec lui, Christophe Plantin imprima les livres de chœur parmi les plus somptueux du XVI^e siècle, en format grand in-folio. Le caractère de Phalèse, dont le graveur n'est pas connu, est quant à lui moins original; son graphisme est d'ailleurs proche du caractère de Pierre Attaingnant (17,3 mm, Paris, dès 1532) et de celui de Nicolas Du Chemin (16,5 mm, Paris, dès 1556).

Les caractères de moyenne dimension: pour les formats in-quarto (motets, chansons, madrigaux)

Dans les anciens Pays-Bas, six caractères de cette catégorie apparaissent en l'espace de trente ans, au milieu du XVI^e siècle. Les premiers - *Vissenaeken* et *Susato* - surgissent en 1542-1543 et talonnent la typographie en double impression (1540-1542). Tous deux auront une durée de vie assez brève (22 ans et 8 ans) alors que leurs successeurs directs - *Phalèse Moyenne*, *Tavernier* et *VDK*

¹⁸ Un chez Pierre I Phalèse, un chez Christophe Plantin, un chez Pierre Attaingnant (17,3 mm), un chez Nicolas Du Chemin (16,5 mm), un chez Adrian Le Roy et Robert I Ballard (14,7 mm, jamais remplacé), un chez Jacques Moderne (16 mm).

Moyenne vivront jusqu'au troisième quart du XVIIe siècle. Au milieu du XVIIe siècle, trois nouveaux caractères apparaissent: *Lyon Moyenne* (qui n'est qu'un caractère du XVIe siècle tardivement apparu dans le Nord), *Matthysz* et *Jansson*¹⁹, qui sont neufs.

C'est dans cette catégorie que se situent les caractères de diffusion internationale, soit qu'ils partent d'Antwerpen vers l'étranger (*Tavernier*, *Phalèse Moyenne*) soit qu'ils soient au contraire importés (*Lyon Moyenne*, *Petreius Small*).

Représentés au XVIe comme au XVIIe siècle, et suffisamment grands pour que leur dessin puisse s'exprimer, les caractères de moyenne dimension sont ceux sur lesquels l'évolution graphique est la plus sensible. Dans ceux du XVIe siècle, les hampes sont plutôt courtes, les fuses portent des ergots anguleux, les guidons et les clefs sont plutôt simples. Dès les travaux de Hendrik Van den Keere, dans les années 1570, le dessin se complique, avec des spirales dans les clefs et les guidons, des fuses plus travaillées. Au XVIIe siècle, les hampes s'allongent, les fuses portent des boucles plutôt que des ergots, les clefs de sol se compliquent. Cette évolution trouvera son apogée avec l'abandon du dessin caractéristique en fer-de-lance (ou losange) pour des notes arrondies, qu'on trouvera à la fin du siècle chez Antoine Pointel mais qui sortent du cadre chronologique de cette étude.²⁰

Les caractères de petite dimension: psautiers et musique spirituelle

C'est à la taille de 7 mm au plus que nous avons posé la limite qui détermine les caractères de petite dimension. Cette limite n'est pas complètement arbitraire puisqu'on s'aperçoit que, à partir du caractère *Granjon*, leur usage se concentre fortement dans les psautiers et les recueils de musique spirituelle.

Granjon est un type à la fortune extraordinaire, aisément reconnaissable par son graphisme mais aussi par cette dimension de 7 mm qu'il est le seul à posséder. C'est probablement à elle que ce caractère doit son succès. En effet il est assez petit pour convenir à l'impression d'ouvrages de petit format (in-16°, in-12°) tout en étant bien plus lisible que les caractères de 5 mm. L'usage des fuses et des ornements gagne à cette lisibilité.²¹ Utilisable aussi pour des formats in-8°, il devient pour l'imprimeur un matériel intéressant, qui lui permet d'imprimer des ouvrages en divers formats pour un investissement unique. De plus,

¹⁹ Ce dernier est cité ici pour mémoire, étant trop tardif pour avoir été étudié mais étant identifié juste après la période qui nous occupe.

²⁰ On observe aussi à Paris des notes rondes chez Pierre III Ballard vers 1695, et en Angleterre à la même époque (cf. KRUMMEL p. 130 sq.).

²¹ La musique imprimée à Haarlem à partir de 1640 avec *Psautier Plantin* manque singulièrement de lisibilité.

n'étant pas emboîtable, sa composition typographique reste simple. Son succès dépassant largement les limites géographiques ou chronologiques de cette étude, nous avons tenté d'en rendre compte en insérant les références de son emploi disponibles dans la littérature. Ce caractère est le champion toutes catégories sur les critères de la diffusion et de la longévité (il est encore attesté au milieu du XVIIIe siècle), loin devant *Petreius Small* qui a pourtant fait une carrière plus qu'honorable.

Nous sautons allègrement sur *Plantin Leiden*, très peu utilisé, en notant toutefois que ce caractère nous semble n'avoir jamais été cité ni reproduit, ce qui est étonnant venant d'un atelier dont le matériel a pourtant fait l'objet de nombreuses études.

Avec les caractères de 5 mm, les choses se compliquent quelque peu. *Psautier Plantin*, *Psautier Nord*, *VDK Petite* et *Psautier Gouda* ont tous les quatre des dimensions très proches. Heureusement, leur emploi régulier dans les psautiers permet de les comparer sur des musiques identiques, ce qui permet d'en mieux apprécier les différences. En mettant *Psautier Gouda* à part, qui apparaît semble-t-il tardivement, on voit que les trois autres apparaissent dans la période 1564-1582. Ils accompagnent l'essor extraordinaire des psautiers et des chansons spirituelles qui suit l'avancée de la Réforme, avec notamment la traduction en flamand du *Psautier de Genève*, donnée par Pieter Dathen. Au XVIIe siècle, cet engouement ne se démentira pas et sera même relayé par les nombreuses éditions des *Stichtelijcke Ryemen* de Dirck Rafaelsz Camphuysen.

Parmi ces trois caractères de 5 mm du XVIe siècle, *Psautier Plantin* semble avoir eu un destin particulier puisque, utilisé en 1564 par Christophe Plantin dans un petit psautier qui lui a causé quelques ennuis avec les autorités, il restera au placard durant plus d'un demi-siècle. Il nous semble que c'est bien ce caractère qui réapparaît, plus au Nord, à partir des années 1620.²²

Nous n'avons pas tenté d'établir d'éventuelles concordances entre ces caractères de 5 mm et les caractères de dimension similaire utilisés hors des anciens Pays-Bas (en France, Suisse et Allemagne notamment), manquant d'une documentation suffisamment pointue pour le faire. Nous donnerons cependant les caractères comparables que nous avons pu repérer (liste non limitative):

- GUILLO 134 = NOAILLY Type 2 (utilisé à Genève de 1562 au début du XVIIe siècle, ainsi qu'à Lyon, Grenoble, La Rochelle et Rouen. Peut-être taillé à Genève par Pierre Haultin pour l'impression du *Psautier de Genève*.).
- GUILLO 139 (employé à Genève dès 1554 dans divers psautiers ou éditions polyphoniques de petit format).
- NOAILLY Type 1 (utilisé à Paris par Michel Fezandat en 1562, peut-être repris par Jean Jannon à Sedan à partir de 1632, cf. GUILLO Jannon p. 89).

²² Voir SLENK Psalter.

- NOAILLY Type 4 (utilisé à Paris par Jean Le Royer ou Richard Breton en 1561 et 1562).
- KRUMMEL Van der Keere (improprement nommé), utilisé à London par John Day en 1572, Thomas East en 1604, Snodham, Thomas Harper dès 1650, notamment dans des psautiers (reproduction dans KRUMMEL p. 60, étude p. 59-61).
- BERZ Typensatz F (utilisé à Frankfurt/Main entre 1578 et 1629, reproduction dans BERZ p. 134).
- BERZ Typensatz G (utilisé à Frankfurt/Main par Nicolas Bassée entre 1582 et 1590).
- DAVIDSSON Typo. Abb. 4 (utilisé à Stockholm, 1^e moitié du XVII^e siècle).

Plus petit que 5 mm, on trouve un caractère de 4 mm (*Psautier Wouw*) qui apparaît dans les années 1640 mais aussi deux caractères de 3,2 mm (*Petit Psautier Etroit* et *Petit Psautier Large*). Ceux-ci se distinguent essentiellement par la largeur des losanges, leurs dimensions étant tout-à-fait similaires (on est ici à la limite de la précision des mesures). Ces caractères sont assez spécifiques de l'édition amstelodamoise ou des villes proches (Leiden et Haarlem notamment).

Petit Psautier Etroit ressemble fortement au petit caractère que Jean Jannon avait commencé à utiliser à Sedan à partir de 1623 (cf. GUILLO Jannon p. 89 et 92-93), mais ce ne sont pourtant pas les mêmes.

Quand à *Petit Psautier Large*, il ressemble fortement à des caractères qui apparaissent

- sous l'appellation *Mediaen Psalm-Nooten* sur le specimen typographique de Jansson (Amsterdam, 1666), exemplaire à Oxford BL: Marshall 148.
- sous l'appellation *Mediaen Nooten* sur le specimen typographique de la Veuve de Dirck Voskens (Amsterdam, c. 1695), reproduction dans TYPE SPECIMEN I pl.8.
- sous l'appellation *Mediaen Nooten* sur le specimen typographique de Christoffel van Dyck (Amsterdam, 1681), repr. dans TYPE SPECIMEN I pl. 12 et dans UPDIKE pl. 207, puis de son successeur Jan II Roman (Amsterdam, c. 1762), reproduit dans TYPE SPECIMEN I pl. 13. Les poinçons et matrices de cette musique sont en possession de la fonderie Enschedé en Zonen.

... mais dans ces trois cas l'identité reste à démontrer.

La technique de l'emboîtement

La technique de l'emboîtement consiste à utiliser des caractères où les notes portent seulement 3 ou 4 lignes, la portée étant complétée avec des filets plus longs. Elle permet d'économiser sur le nombre de types différents qui doivent être fondus, sur le nombre des matrices à frapper et de poinçons à tailler. Elle permet un meilleur blocage des types dans la forme et, en améliorant la linéa-

rité de la portée, rend la composition typographique plus agréable à l'œil.²³

Cette technique semble avoir eu un réel succès au XVI^e siècle (avec notamment les caractères *Petreius Small*, *Tavernier* et *Susato*), et notamment dans les caractères d'origine germanique.²⁴ Cependant elle ne s'est pas généralisée puisque, plus avant dans le siècle et notamment au XVII^e siècle, les imprimeurs préférèrent simplifier la composition typographique pour favoriser la rapidité de la production, quitte à sacrifier la qualité graphique de leurs ouvrages. Le graveur Hendrik Van der Keere, qui grava trois beaux caractères pour Plantin, ne l'a jamais utilisée. L'emboîtement n'a jamais été utilisé pour les caractères de petite dimension (7 mm ou moins), sans doute parce qu'il devenait trop compliqué à mettre en oeuvre (les types deviennent alors trop petits et le caractère répétitif de la composition typographique des psautiers s'y adaptait mal).

Les collections du Museum Plantin-Moretus

Il faut souligner ici que parmi les 27 caractères décrits il s'en trouve au moins 7 pour lesquels des jeux de poinçons ou de matrices existent dans les collections du Museum Plantin-Moretus à Antwerpen (ils sont signalés dans le tableau précédent et la cote des boîtes de poinçons ou de matrices est donnée dans leur fiche descriptive).

Pour *VDK Grande* ou *VDK Moyenne*, taillés par Hendrik Van den Keere, cette présence s'explique naturellement par le fait que ceux-ci avaient été taillés pour l'atelier de Christophe Plantin. C'est aussi le cas de *Psautier Plantin*, quoique le père de ce caractère reste inconnu. Robert Granjon avait également travaillé pour Plantin dans les années 1562-1570, essentiellement pour des alphabets latins ou des alphabets exotiques, mais son caractère *Granjon* passa d'abord par les mains de Van den Keere avant d'être revendu à Plantin par sa veuve. Pour *VDK Petite*, on suspecte aussi une transaction de cette nature. Pour les autres caractères, leur présence s'explique plutôt par du rachat de matériel anversoise, rachat qui est parfois connu par des actes du temps. C'est le cas du matériel de Thielman Susato, par exemple, qui contenait les caractères *Susato* et *Petreius Small*. Ces caractères ne furent cependant jamais utilisés par l'atelier Plantin.

L'approche géographique de la diffusion des caractères

A étudier la diffusion des caractères, on s'aperçoit d'une très grande disparité. Certains caractères n'ont qu'un destin purement local et semblent n'avoir jamais franchi, ni sous forme de poinçons, de matrices ni de fontes, les portes de

²³ Pour plus de détails, voir WEAVER I p. 198-202 ou GUILLO p. 138-141.

²⁴ On la retrouve dans le caractère *Petreius Large* (cf. KRUMMEL German), originaire de Nürnberg et largement diffusé en Europe (Venezia, Paris, Krakow, Praha, etc.).

la ville où ils ont été taillés. A l'inverse, d'autres suivront une carrière totalement internationale, passant d'ateliers en ateliers, de ville en ville et de pays en pays. Ainsi, les caractères *Tablature Laet*, *Cock*, *Buys-Loys*, *VDK Grande*, *Vissenaeken* et *Susato* semblent n'être jamais sortis d'Antwerpen. On peut agréger à cette catégorie *Tablature Phalèse*, qui passe seulement de Leuven à Antwerpen, et *Phalèse Grande*, utilisé à Leuven mais qui suivit très probablement l'atelier Phalèse à Antwerpen.²⁵ A l'exception de *VDK Grande*, aucun de ces caractères ne reste usité après 1600. En règle générale (et là *Vissenaeken* est une exception) ils ne franchiront même pas la porte d'un autre atelier que celui qui les a utilisés pour la première fois. On dispose ici d'un groupe de 8 caractères qui peuvent être qualifiés de caractères typiquement anversoïses, à condition d'agréger Leuven à Antwerpen.

Avec *VDK Moyenne*, *Psautier Plantin* et *Psautier Nord*, on trouve trois caractères aussi nés à Antwerpen mais qui subissent cette fois une diffusion significative vers le Nord (Middelburg, Dordrecht, Leiden, Amsterdam, Enkhuizen, Rotterdam, Hoorn, Den Haag et Delft).²⁶ Cette diffusion leur permettra de tomber dans l'oubli moins vite que les caractères précédents, puisque ceux-ci resteront utilisés après 1650, soit une utilisation d'au moins 75 ans.

Enfin, avec *Tavernier*, *Phalèse Moyenne* et *Granjon*, trois autres caractères aussi nés à Antwerpen ou Leuven ont eu une diffusion internationale: outre le fait que chacun des trois est diffusé dans plusieurs villes des anciens Pays-Bas, ils sont de plus diffusés dans au moins une des trois régions suivantes: le Nord de la France ou le Sud de la Belgique (Valenciennes, Douai, Tournai), le couple Lyon-Genève, l'Angleterre (London, Norwich, Edimburgh) ou les pays allemands (Düsseldorf, Würzburg).

Avec ces 14 caractères, Antwerpen est sans conteste le centre de la typographie musicale du XVI^e siècle dans les anciens Pays-Bas. C'est ici que le plus grand nombre de caractères ont été gravés et le rôle des tailleurs Robert Granjon, Ameet Tavernier et Hendrik Van den Keere y apparaît comme primordial.²⁷

Pour apprécier les conditions de la diffusion géographique des caractères anversoïses, nous avons sélectionné les 5 caractères précédents²⁸, calculé le temps moyen mis pour apparaître dans les principales villes avoisinantes²⁹ et divisé ce temps par la distance à vol d'oiseau entre Antwerpen et ces villes. Nous obtenons, pour chaque ville, la vitesse moyenne de diffusion des caractères à partir d'Antwerpen.³⁰

²⁵ Nous ne connaissons pas d'utilisation de ce caractère dans la période anversoïse de l'atelier Phalèse, mais peut-être n'avons nous pas assez cherché ?

²⁶ *Psautier Plantin* est utilisé à Paris avant de l'être à Antwerpen mais, l'étant chez le facteur de Plantin, nous supposons qu'il a été importé d'Antwerpen...

²⁷ Pour ceux dont on ignore l'identité du graveur, c'est tout au moins à Antwerpen qu'ils ont été utilisés pour la première fois...

²⁸ Nous éliminons donc *Phalèse Moyenne*, qui apparaît non pas à Antwerpen mais à Leuven et dont la diffusion est par ailleurs assez atypique.

²⁹ Nous n'avons gardé que les villes pour lesquelles deux dates au moins étaient disponibles, pour disposer de moyennes.

nous, pour chaque ville, la vitesse moyenne de diffusion des caractères à partir d'Antwerpen.³⁰

	<i>Tavernier</i>	<i>Psautier Plantin</i>	<i>Granjon</i>	<i>VDK Moyenne</i>	<i>Psautier Nord</i>	<i>Temps Moyen</i>	<i>Distance (Directe)</i>	<i>Vitesse</i>
Anvers	1554	1564	1565	1579	1582			
Gent	1620		1565			33 ans	50 km	1,5 km/an
Dordrecht	1610		1581		1597	29 ans	66 km	2,3 km/an
Rotterdam	1603	1647	1582			50 ans	76 km	1,5 km/an
Den Haag			1615		1604	35 ans	94 km	2,7 km/an
Leiden		1624	1578	1600	1596	27 ans	101 km	3,7 km/an
Utrecht	1601		1598			40 ans	105 km	2,6 km/an
Haarlem		1643	1629	1621		62 ans	125 km	2,0 km/an
Amsterdam	1603		1613	1634	1610	45 ans	127 km	2,8 km/an
Enkhuizen			1668		1644	82 ans	166 km	2,0 km/an
London	1561		1567			4,5 ans	310 km	69 km/an

Ce qui frappe tout d'abord, c'est la vitesse extraordinaire avec laquelle *Tavernier* et *Granjon* atteignent London, malgré la distance et la mer à traverser. Pour les autres, les vitesses moyennes de diffusion sont comprises entre 1,5 et 3,7 km/an et sont donc très homogènes. Ceci équivaut à une diffusion d'environ 40 à 90 km par génération.³¹

Avec *Tablature Roy-Rhenen*, *Matthysz*, *VDK Petite*, *Petit Psautier Large* et *Petit Psautier Etroit*, on peut constituer un second groupe de caractères qui sont tous utilisés à Amsterdam (mais pas forcément pour la première fois) et dans les villes avoisinantes (Utrecht, Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, Enkhuizen, Brugge, Rotterdam, Hoorn, Den Haag et Delft), deux d'entre eux (*VDK Petite* et *Petit Psautier Etroit*) ayant même traversé le Channel³² vers London ou Cambridge. Autour d'Amsterdam se constitue un second pôle de typographie musicale qui, outre le fait qu'il inclut toutes les villes les plus importantes des Pays-Bas, ne se développe qu'au XVII^e siècle. On peut agréger à ce groupe

³⁰ Seule la vitesse moyenne à partir de la ville d'origine peut être appréciée, puisque l'itinéraire réel des caractères de ville en ville est inconnu.

³¹ En comptant 25 ans pour une génération.

³² Par voie de surface...

Tablature Roy et Psautier Wouw, qui s'en rapprochent sans toutefois être utilisés à Amsterdam.

Ici notre analyse sera différente puisque, si le pôle anversoïse se caractérise par une diffusion qui irradie autour d'Anvers, le pôle amstelodamoïse nous paraît au contraire se caractériser par des échanges multiples en tous sens. En nous limitant aux villes dans lesquelles on constate l'utilisation d'au moins deux caractères, et en ne gardant que les caractères qui n'apparaissent que dans deux de ces villes au moins, on obtient les données suivantes:

	<i>Tablature Roy-Rhenen</i>	<i>Tablature Roy</i>	<i>Psautier Wouw</i>	<i>Matthysz</i>	<i>Petit Psautier Large</i>	<i>VDK Petite</i>
Amsterdam				1641	1627	1594
Den Haag			1641	1659	1650	
Dordrecht			1646			1572
Haarlem	1626				1635	1615
Leiden		1616			1615	1572
Utrecht	1601	1612		1683		1625
Trajets	1	1	1	2	3	4
Durée totale	25 ans	4 ans	5 ans	42 ans	35 ans	53 ans
Durée moyenne par trajet	25 ans	4 ans	5 ans	21 ans	12 ans	13 ans

Le nombre de trajets constatés (c'est-à-dire le nombre de villes moins 1) et les limites des dates d'apparition dans les villes donnent un indice significatif: au sein du pôle constitué par ces 6 villes, un caractère met en moyenne entre 4 et 25 ans pour passer d'une ville à l'autre, cette valeur se stabilisant entre 12 et 21 ans pour les caractères qui suivent 2 trajets ou plus.³³

Restent enfin les caractères importés de l'étranger: *Schöffner* (importé d'Allemagne et utilisé à Kampen), *Petreius Small* (importé de Nürnberg et utilisé à Antwerpen) et *Lyon Moyenne* (importé de Lyon et utilisé à Amsterdam).

Nous ne pousserons pas plus avant l'étude du cheminement des caractères de

³³ Comparons les vitesses moyennes de diffusion: ces 6 villes sont presque situées sur un cercle d'environ 30 km de rayon. Si on considère que la longueur moyenne du trajet est égale à ce rayon, la vitesse moyenne de diffusion entre villes s'évalue à 30 km/13,5 ans = soit 2,2 km/an: elle reste dans la fourchette des vitesses constatées pour le groupe des caractères du pôle anversoïse.

ville en ville. En effet, cet exercice se heurterait à plusieurs difficultés. Tout d'abord, dans la mesure où toutes les sources ne peuvent pas être étudiées, les éléments donnés dans nos relevés ne peuvent donner qu'une idée approchée de la diffusion réelle du caractère.

D'autre part, les ouvrages sont imprimés avec des fontes; les fontes sont fondues dans des matrices et les matrices sont frappées avec des poinçons. Un imprimeur qui utilise un caractère peut soit avoir hérité une fonte de ce caractère, soit l'avoir rachetée à un autre imprimeur, soit avoir acheté une nouvelle fonte au détenteur des matrices. En général, on ne peut pas savoir le chemin précis qu'ont fait les poinçons (qui voyagent d'ailleurs peu), les matrices (qui voyagent plus) et les fontes (qui voyagent encore plus). On hésite donc entre établir des circuits en étoile (en supposant que l'imprimeur s'adresse au fondeur de caractères) ou des circuits par transmissions successives (en privilégiant les achats et les héritages). Les archives (notamment les actes de vente ou les inventaires après décès) donnent parfois des indications sur le fait qu'un imprimeur disposait des matrices des caractères qu'il utilise, et on pourrait alors remplacer une hypothèse par une certitude, mais ce genre d'information est trop rare pour que leur prise en compte apporte des éléments significatifs sur l'étude de la diffusion des caractères.

D'autre part, on observe des variantes dans les polices utilisées d'une ville à l'autre ou d'un atelier à l'autre. Il arrive que quelques clefs, altérations, guillemets, fuses, etc. soient changés. Dans certains cas, les caractères alternatifs étaient prévus dans la police, comme le montre l'examen des poinçons ou des matrices.³⁴ Dans d'autres cas, ils ont été retailés. Ils peuvent l'avoir été parce que tel caractère, plus fragile, s'est usé plus vite que les autres (cas des fuses, des dièzes...), ou parce que le style graphique a évolué. L'examen précis et systématique de ces variantes devrait donner des indices sur les filiations entre les variantes des caractères, mais nous n'avons pas eu le loisir de le faire puisque, comme nous l'avons rappelé plus haut, nous avons préféré travailler dans une optique macroscopique plutôt que microscopique.

Enfin, la détection d'une variante peut être le signe d'un phénomène beaucoup plus grave: la copie intégrale du caractère (nouveaux poinçons, matrices et fontes). Ceci est toujours possible (puisque des copies ont été décelées dans les caractères de lettres taillés par Garamont ou Granjon, par exemple) mais très difficile à vérifier sans un examen extrêmement pointilleux. Là encore, soucieux de privilégier la durée et l'espace dans cette étude, nous avons pris le parti de "confondre" sous le même nom un caractère et les éventuelles copies qui auraient pu en être faites.³⁵

³⁴ C'est le cas par exemple de *Tavernier*, dans lequel il existe trois formes différentes du dièze (cf. WEAVER I p. 202-203).

³⁵ A ce sujet, *Tavernier* nous semble être un caractère dont il a vraisemblablement existé des copies.

De plus, si on peut supposer que les éléments donnés dans nos relevés sont significatifs quant à la diffusion d'un caractère de ville en ville, on doit être plus réservé sur le passage d'un caractère d'un imprimeur à l'autre au sein d'une même ville. D'une part, un ouvrage ne porte pas toujours le nom de son imprimeur réel. Lorsque deux noms y figurent, nous avons bien sûr privilégié celui de l'imprimeur - l'aspect éditorial ne nous intéressant pas ici - mais il arrive que seul soit connu le nom du marchand-libraire qui a payé l'édition. Dans certains cas, l'imprimeur réel peut même se trouver dans une autre ville. D'autre part, lorsque l'imprimeur n'imprime de la musique qu'occasionnellement, il peut emprunter une police de musique à un collègue. Voir son nom sur un psautier ou un livre de chansons spirituelles, par exemple, ne signifie donc pas à coup sûr que cet imprimeur se soit équipé avec cette police.³⁶

Ces réserves, si elles ne nous semblent pas mettre en péril les conclusions générales de cette étude, nous paraissent suffisamment fortes pour nous empêcher de pousser le trait plus loin. Nous retiendrons donc les éléments majeurs suivants:

- A partir du XVI^e siècle, Antwerpen reste le principal pôle de production des caractères et les diffuse dans tous les anciens Pays-Bas.
- Amsterdam et les autres villes néerlandaises constituent un second pôle, qui se constitue plutôt au XVII^e siècle et qui culminera à la fin du XVII^e et au début du XVIII^e siècle avec l'établissement de firmes comme celles d'Etienne Roger, Antoine Pointel ou Michel-Charles Le Cène.
- On observe des importations et des exportations à l'Est (Nürnberg, Düsseldorf...) et à l'Ouest (London, Norwich, Cambridge, Edimburgh).
- Pour les caractères d'origine anversoise, on observe un étalement de l'usage des caractères sur le Nord de la France et le Nord de l'actuelle Belgique (Valenciennes, Douai, Tournai), l'Ouest des anciens Pays-Bas (Gent, Brugge, Middelburg) et vers le Nord (Utrecht, Amsterdam, Dordrecht, Leiden, Enkhuizen, Hoorn, Den Haag/Delft).
- Quelques importations ou exportations à longue distance, notamment avec Lyon. Ce fait s'explique d'une part par le trajet de Robert Granjon de Lyon vers Antwerpen vers 1562 et aussi par les relations commerciales intenses qui s'étaient établies entre ces deux cités.

Antwerpen et Lyon

La comparaison avec les caractères de musique utilisés dans un autre grand centre typographique comme Lyon permet de mettre en évidence quelques

³⁶ Ayant beaucoup exploité les *Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae* pour cette étude, ces réserves prennent tout leur sens en ce sens que ce répertoire fourmille d'éditions dues à des imprimeurs n'imprimant qu'occasionnellement de la musique (monodique, le plus souvent).

similitudes historiques. Lyon et Antwerpen partagent la caractéristique majeure d'avoir été, au XVI^e siècle, des cités marchandes extrêmement riches et actives, où de nombreuses familles de marchands très puissants étaient installées depuis plusieurs générations. Elles traitaient des affaires avec toute l'Europe, de l'Italie à la péninsule scandinave, et imposaient leurs cours de change à l'Europe entière.³⁷ Elles furent également des centres typographiques très actifs.

A Antwerpen comme à Lyon, l'édition musicale apparaît très tôt (c. 1515 à Antwerpen, c. 1525 à Lyon) et elle suit une évolution classique: quelques éditions gravées sur bois, quelques éditions en double impression et enfin de nombreuses éditions avec le procédé en simple impression.

Les caractères de musique utilisés à Lyon sont au nombre de 16 des origines (c.1530 environ) à 1650 environ (et quasiment autant à Antwerpen). On trouve là aussi une première génération purement locale, constituée de caractères jamais utilisés en dehors de leur atelier d'origine. Les caractères de Jacques Moderne sont, à ce titre, très typiques.

S'y trouvent aussi des caractères internationaux, gravés entre 1545 et 1562, comme *Petreius Small* (importé de Nürnberg via Basel et Genève), *Phalèse Moyenne* (présent dès 1556, utilisé en 1567), *Granjon* (dès 1615) ou *Lyon Moyenne*.³⁸

Une troisième génération de caractères, plus tardive, se diffuse dans les nombreux ateliers de Lyon ou de Genève qui, à l'époque de la réforme calvinienne, participent à l'impression massive du *Psautier de Genève*. Une partie d'entre eux parvient en 1585 à Genève du fait de l'exil de Jean II de Tournes, imprimeur réformé. On peut ainsi montrer, entre 1559 et 1585, l'échange de 8 caractères différents entre Lyon et Genève, une partie servant aux psautiers, une partie servant aux impressions polyphoniques. Ceci rappelle, en termes de distances et en termes de répertoire (psautiers et chansons spirituelles), ce qui arrive entre Antwerpen et les villes du Nord voisines d'Amsterdam à partir des années 1560, avec notamment les caractères *Granjon*, *Psautier Nord*, *VDK Petite* et dans une moindre mesure *Psautier Plantin*.

A la différence d'Antwerpen, cependant, aucun nouveau matériel n'apparaît au XVII^e siècle³⁹, ce qui n'est pas étonnant puisque, après s'être déplacée vers Genève dans le mouvement des imprimeurs réformés, la typographie musicale s'éteint à Lyon, étouffée par le privilège parisien des Ballard.

Ces trois générations de caractères, qui se succèdent en Europe en l'espace de vingt ou trente ans, illustrent le développement rapide des circuits de diffusion de la typographie musicale. Ils répètent, en l'accéléralant sensiblement, les phases

³⁷ Sur l'importance économique de Lyon au XVI^e siècle, voir prioritairement GASCON. Sur Antwerpen, voir les travaux d'Emile Coornaert, et notamment COORNAERT sur les rapports entre Antwerpen et les commerçants français (dont certains des plus importants sont lyonnais).

³⁸ Respectivement: GUILLO 124, 135, 137, 131.

³⁹ Hormis *Granjon*, mais qui est déjà fort ancien à cette époque.

du développement de la typographie en lettres qui s'étaient étalées durant presque un siècle, entre l'invention de l'imprimerie (où chaque atelier avait son caractère) et l'époque des grands tailleurs de caractères comme Granjon ou Garamont, dont la production atteint une diffusion européenne. La typographie musicale, qui était partie dans la course avec un demi-siècle de retard, eut donc tôt fait de rattraper son aînée.

Remerciements

Nous tenons à remercier les bibliothécaires de nombreuses bibliothèques municipales, universitaires ou royales d'Amsterdam, Antwerpen, Brugge, Bruxelles, Den Haag, Gent, Groningen, Stuttgart, Utrecht, pour l'aide qu'ils nous ont apportée. Nos remerciements vont ainsi à Susan Bain (Lewes, Sussex), Anne Tatnall Gross (Wilmington, Delaware), Rudolf Rasch (Utrecht), Henri Vanhulst (Bruxelles) et Hendrik D. Vervliet (Antwerpen), avec qui nous avons eu de fructueuses correspondances.

Méthode de travail

Nous avons procédé en identifiant d'abord les différents caractères utilisés durant cette période. Ils sont décrits à l'aide des informations suivantes:

Nom	Nom du caractère
Dimensions	Dimensions suivant la méthode de Vervliet-Heartz. ⁴⁰
Concordances	Identifications du caractère dans d'autres études. ⁴¹
Particularités	Notes sur les particularités typographiques.
Procédé	Simple ou double impression, avec ou sans emboîtement.
Graveur	Nom du graveur s'il est identifié.
Matériel	Lieu de conservation du matériel original (poinçons, matrices,

⁴⁰ La méthode de Vervliet-Heartz est exposée dans HEARTZ Typo. Nous l'avons rappelée avec quelques précisions dans GUILLO p. 377. Elle consiste à mesurer successivement la hauteur d'une portée de 5 lignes, d'une minime posée sur une ligne extérieure puis d'une minime posée sur un interligne extérieur. Les mesures sont faites au compte-fil gradué ou au pied à coulisse et sont données ici avec une précision de $\pm 0,1$ mm. Les mesures données ici sans décimales doivent être considérées comme moins précises (environ le demi-millimètre). Les mesures des portées sont faites au milieu de l'épaisseur du trait pour pouvoir être extrapolées sur un nombre de lignes différent. Elles sont faites sur des caractères nets, pas trop encrés ni trop usés. La reproduction des types caractéristiques de chaque fonte (clefs, guidons, bémols, ligatures...) permet de compléter la description.

⁴¹ Notamment, KRUMMEL, KRUMMEL German, GUILLO, NOAILLY,

Reproduction | fontes) s'il existe.
Reproductions du matériel original (poinçons, matrices ou classement des types)

On a ensuite relevé les utilisations qui sont faites de ce caractère chez divers imprimeurs dans diverses villes. Pour chaque imprimeur, nous avons relevé les données suivantes:

Ville⁴², imprimeur⁴³ et période d'utilisation.

Date: première source relevée (titre court⁴⁴ et références bibliographiques)

Date: dernière source relevée (titre court et références bibliographiques)

Notes sur l'usage de ce caractère chez cet imprimeur et mention de reproductions.⁴⁵

Nous avons tenté de relever deux éditions les plus éloignées qu'il était possible, pour trouver la période la plus longue possible durant laquelle le caractère est utilisé chez cet imprimeur.⁴⁶

Comparaison des trois tablatures françaises "en règle"



Tablature Phalèse



Tablature Roy-Rhenen

⁴² Les villes sont données sous leur appellation nationale.

⁴³ A de rares exceptions près, les imprimeurs sont cités sous la forme qui est donnée dans le *Thesaurus* de Gruys et Wolf.

⁴⁴ Les noms d'auteurs sont donnés d'après le RISM ou sinon d'après *Fontes Hymnodiae Neerlandicae*.

⁴⁵ Les reproductions citées ne correspondent pas forcément aux éditions citées: il peut s'agir d'éditions intermédiaires.

⁴⁶ Il n'est pas exclu qu'on puisse trouver une édition antérieure à la source 1 ou postérieure à la source 2 qui utilise ce même caractère chez ce même imprimeur. Le tout est de les trouver et toutes les bonnes volontés seront les bienvenues. D'autre part, les mentions des sources 1 et 2 n'implique pas que le caractère ait été utilisé entre les deux. Ce sont parfois les deux seules sources qui utilisent ce caractère chez cet imprimeur.



Tablature Roy

	Tablature Phalèse	Tablature Roy-Rhenen	Tablature Roy
Apparition	1545	1601	1612
Dimensions	5 lignes = 14,5 mm 6 lignes = 17,7-18 mm	5 lignes = 14 mm 6 lignes = 17,5 mm	5 lignes = 14 mm 6 lignes = 17,5 mm
Signes rythmiques	Traités en croisillons, puis plus tard en boucles. La boucle infé- rieure des triples croches est ouverte.	Traités en boucles. La boucle inférieure des triples croches est ouverte.	Traités en boucles. La boucle inférieure des tri- ples croches est fermée.
Lettres		Nettement plus petites que dans les deux autres.	Taille identique à Tablature Phalèse mais graphisme différent: le "d" est moins couché, le "c" est moins large, le "b" plus rond.

Nom	Tablature Phalèse
Dimensions	5 lignes = 14,5 mm, 6 lignes = 17,7 à 18 mm.
Concordances	VERVLIET M11.
Notes	Tablature française "en règle". Il existe deux séries de signes rythmiques: au début les doubles et triples croches consécutives sont traitées en croisillons (1564, 1569). Ensuite elles sont traitées avec des boucles (1592, 1600).

Leuven, Pierre Phalèse puis ses héritiers, 1545-1576.

1545: *Des chansons reduicts en tablature de luth*. RISM 1545²¹, VANHULST 1.

1576: *Thesaurus tabulaturae vulgaris cytharae...* [perdue]. VANHULST 184.

Reproduction: VANHULST p. 152, VANHULST Thèse p. 55.

Antwerpen, Pierre II Phalèse, 1582-1600.

1582: *Hortulus cytharae vulgaris continens optimas cantionae...* RISM 1582¹⁶.

1600: E. Adriaensen, *Pratum musicum*. RISM 1600¹⁸.

Reproduction: VERVLIET p. 343, GOOVAERTS p. 60, RASCH p. 41, BERGMANS p. 61, ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 73.

Nom	Tablature Laet
Dimensions	5 lignes = 13 mm.
Notes	Tablature italienne. Les signes rythmiques associés sont les caractères Tavernier.

Antwerpen, veuve de Jan de Laet, 1569.

1569: V. Bacfark, *Harmoniarum musicarum*. RISM B 725. Reproduction: WEAVER I p. 78.

Nom	Tablature Roy-Rhenen
Dimensions	5 lignes = 14 mm, 6 lignes = 17,5 mm (mesures approximatives).
Notes	Tablature française "en règle". Les signes rythmiques sont traités avec des boucles.

Utrecht, Salomon de Roy et Jan Willemsz van Rhenen, 1601.

1601: J. Van den Hove, *Florida, sive cantiones...* RISM H 7453. Cette édition utilise aussi le caractère *Tavernier*.

Haarlem, Adriaen I Roman, 1626.

1626: Ad. Valerius, *Nederlantsche Gedenck-clanck*, imprimé pour l'auteur. RISM V 147, FHN Valerius 1626. Reproduction: BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 355.

Nom	Tablature Roy
Dimensions	5 lignes = 14 mm, 6 lignes = 17,5 mm (mesures approximatives).
Notes	Tablature française. Les signes rythmiques sont traités avec des boucles.

Utrecht, Salomon de Roy, 1612.

1612: J. Van den Hove, *Delitiae musice, sive cantiones*. RISM H 7454. Cette édition utilise aussi un caractère de musique mensurale: *Tavernier*.

Leiden, Govert Basson, 1616.

1616: J. Van den Hove, *Praeludia testudinis*. RISM H 7455.

Lieu inconnu, 1631.

1631: L. de Moy, *Le petit bouquet de frise orientale*. RISM M 4023.

Nom	<i>Cock</i>
Dimensions	10,0 / 8,5 / 8,5 mm.
Concordances	VERVLIET M7.
Particularités	Facture assez grossière.
Procédé	Double impression (Petrucchi).

Antwerpen, Simon Cock, 1540.

1540: *Souterliedekens*. FHN 1540a-e. Ces éditions montrent des problèmes de superposition mal maîtrisée. Reproduction: VERVLIET p. 333, GOOVAERTS p. 14.

Nom	<i>Schöffer</i>
Dimensions	10,0 / 11,2 / 11,2 mm.
Graveur	inconnu mais germanique.
Procédé	Double impression (Petrucchi).

Mainz-Worms-Strassburg, Peter Schöffer, 1512-1539.

1513: [*Liederbuch 3-4 v.*], RISM 1513².

1539: *Cantiones quinque vocum*. RISM 1539⁸.

Kampen, Jan Peterssoon, c. 1540.

c. 1540: [*Kamper Liedboek*]. Reproduction: KRONENBERG Liedboek p. 166 et 169.

Nom	<i>Buys-Loys</i>
Dimensions	15 / 13,5 mm ?
Procédé	Double impression (Petrucchi).

Antwerpen, Henry Loys et Jean de Buys, 1542.

1542: B. Appenzeller, *Chansons à quatre parties*. RISM A 1291.

Reproduction: BAIN, THOMPSON Loys pl. 1.

Nom	<i>Phalèse Grande</i>
Dimensions	17,0 / 16,1 / 16,1 mm.
Concordances	VERVLIET M9.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), avec emboîtement.

Leuven, Pierre Phalèse, 1563-1570.

1563: F. Guerrero, *Canticum beatae Mariae*. RISM G 4868, VANHULST 91.

1570: *Praestantissimorum divinae musices auctorum missae decem*. RISM 1570¹, VANHULST 140.

Reproduction: VERVLIET p. 339, VANHULST p. 98, VANHULST Thèse p.48.

Nom	<i>VDK Grande</i>
Dimensions	22,5 / 20 / 21 mm.
Concordances	VERVLIET M8.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), sans emboîtement.
Particularités	Clés d'ut et guidons à spirales. Dans les losanges, le rapport des pleins et des déliés est très accentué.
Graveur	Hendrik Van den Keere, 1576-1577, pour Christophe Plantin. Attribuée à Van den Keere dans les Registres Plantin et dans l'inventaire de la fonderie Plantin de 1581 (cf. PARKER Plantiniana 2 p. 74-75). Détail de la taille exposé dans une lettre de H. Van den Keere à Plantin du 16 janvier 1576, transcrite dans
Reproduction	VERVLIET p. 337 et traduite en anglais p. 334.
Matériel	VERVLIET p. 335 (specimen de c. 1585), TYPE SPECIMEN II n° 17 (specimen de c. 1585), STELLFELD pl. VII (specimen, en bas, réduction 5/3e), PERSOONS Bogard p. 614 (specimen), KRUMMEL SADIE p. 545 (specimen, en haut), Poinçons, matrices et composition illustrés dans ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 43, p. 54 (en haut et au milieu), p. 55 et notices 44 et 45. Antwerpen MPM: ST 68 (39 poinçons et 4 contrepoinçons), MA 91a (63 matrices). Détail des poinçons dans VERVLIET p. 336. Ce matériel est présent dans les inventaires plantiniens entre 1581 et 1652.

Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin, 1578-1587 puis Jean Moretus, 1605 puis Balthasar Moretus, 1621-1644.

1578: G. de La Hèle, *Missae*. STELLFELD 1, RISM L 285.

1644: G. P. da Palestrina, *Hymni sacri*. STELLFELD 16, RISM P 741.

Reproduction: STELLFELD pl. VIII, UPDIKE pl. 193, GOOVAERTS p. 46, PERSOONS Bogard p. 615, HUYS Trésors p. 17, PERSOONS-VER-

VLIET p. 24, BERGMANS p. 65, PARADISUS p. 16-17, ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 24.

Nom	<i>Vissenaeken</i>
Dimensions	14,0 / 12,7 / 12,7 mm.
Concordances	VERVLIET M10.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant).

Antwerpen, 1542-1564.

Antwerpen, W. van Vissenaeken, 1542.

1542: *Quatuor vocum musicae modulationes numero xxvi*. RISM 1542⁷.

Reproduction: VERVLIET p. 341. Type vendu ensuite à Martin Nuyts puis à Symon Cock.

Antwerpen, Symon Cock, 1559.

1559: *Souterliedekens*. FHN Souterl 1559d. Reproduction: HUYS XV-XVII p. 331.

Antwerpen, Claes van der Wouvere, 1564 (d'après KRUMMEL-SADIE p. 461).

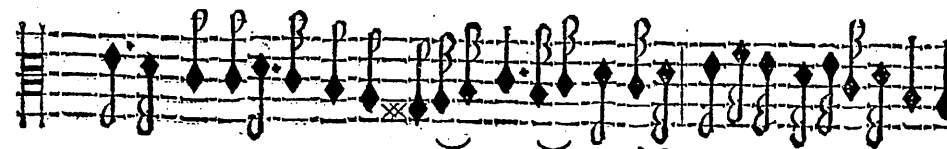
1564: *Souterliedekens*. FHN Souterl 1564b.

Quatre caractères de moyenne dimension (de 11,7 à 10,3 mm)



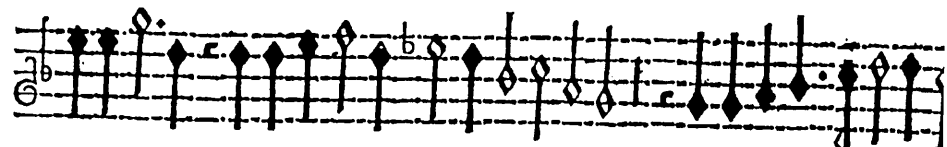
foy ne loyaulte La fême va changeant cōme la lune cōc .n.

Susato



uwen wil. :ff: zal voc- gh

Matthysz



per fauore Ne porto punto dolcemet'il core Ne porto pun- to d

Phalèse Moyenne



Tavernier

Nom	<i>Susato</i>
Dimensions	11,7 / 10,0 / 10,5 mm.
Concordances	VERVLIET M12.
Particularités	Il existe dans ce caractère un jeu de ligatures assez riche ainsi que des notes noires.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), avec emboîtage.
Graveur	inconnu, mais probablement anversoï.
Notes	Probablement commandé au graveur par Hendrik Terbruggen, associé avec Susato avant 1542. Revient à Susato après la dissolution de l'association, par jugement. Ce matériel aurait pu parvenir dans les mains de Plantin à la vente du matériel de Susato en 1565 (cf. VOET II, 106 n. 4).

Antwerpen, Thielman Susato, 1543-1550.

1543: *Premier livre des chansons à quatre parties*. RISM 1543¹⁶.

1550: *Le treiziesme livre contenant trente chansons...* RISM 1550¹⁴, MEISSNER 1550¹⁴.

Reproduction: BERGMANS p. 56, VERVLIET p. 345-346, KRUMMEL SADIE p. 440, HUYS XV-XVII p. 210, GOOVAERTS p. 29, PER-SOONS-VERVLIET p. 18, CHARBON p. 97, ANTWERPSE MUZIEK-DRUKKEN p. 19 et p. 63.

Nom	<i>Matthysz</i>
Dimensions	11,2 / 10,3 / 10,6 mm.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), avec emboîtage.
Notes	La clef de sol a le même graphisme que dans <i>Phalèse Moyenne</i> . Guidons souples en queue d'écureuil. Semi-fuses à deux boucles.

Amsterdam, Paulus Matthysz, 1641-1674.

1641: G. G. Gastoldi, *Balletti a cinque voci* [pour E. Cloppenburg] RISM G 530 (dans certaines pages seulement).

1674: C. Hacquart, *Cantiones sacrae*. RISM H 34.
Reproduction: RASCH Matthysz p. 93 (en bas).

Brugge, Lucas vanden Kerckhove, 1651.

1651: H. P. Jennyn, *Gheestelycken Wakenden Staf...* FHN Jennyn 1651.

Rotterdam, Johan van Geertsom, 1657.

1657: *Scelta di motetti di diversi eccellentissimi autori, racc. di G. van Geertsom*. RISM 1656².

Den Haag, Adriaen Vlacq, 1659.

1659: J. Lambrecht, *Vlaemsche Vrede-Vreucht...* FHN Lambrecht-V 1659a.

Utrecht, Arnold van den Eynden, 1683-1686.

1683: Benedictus a Sancto Josepho, *Encomia sacra musice decantanda...* RISM B 1925.

1686: C. Hacquart, *Harmonia parnassia*. RISM H 35.

Nom	Phalèse Moyenne
Dimensions	10,7 / 11,7 / 11,2 mm.
Concordances	VERVLIET M14, GUILLO 135, KRUMMEL German <i>Phalèse</i> .
Particularités	Les hampes sont légèrement penchées vers la droite.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant).
Matériel	Antwerpen MPM: MA 101b (19 matrices). Ce matériel n'est présent dans aucun inventaire plantinien.
Notes	Un nouveau caractère apparaît pour la fuse dès 1574 (VANHULST p. XIX). Comprend des signes particuliers pour les ligatures.

Leuven, Pierre Phalèse puis ses fils, 1552-1578.

1552: Jehan de Latre, *Chansons à quatre parties ...* VANHULST 8.

1578: O. de Lasso, *Patrocinium musices*. VANHULST 188.

Reproduction: VANHULST p. 58, VANHULST Thèse p. 50 et 51,
WEAVER I p. 228.

Maastricht, Jacobus Bathen, 1554.

1554: *Dat ierste boeck van den nieuwe duytsche Liedekens...* RISM 1554³¹.

Reproduction: SALEMANS Bathen p. 26.

Düsseldorf, 1555-1589.

Düsseldorf, Jacobus Bathen, 1555-1557.

1555: Martin Peudargent, *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum*, 1555. RISM M 781.

1557: J. Oridryus, *Practica musicae utriusque praecepta brevia*. RISM B-VI² p. 626.

Reproduction: COLSMI Bathen p. 40.

Düsseldorf, imprimeur non identifié, 1568.

1568: C. Boscoop, *Psalmen Davids... mit vier partyen...* RISM B 3791. Cité
d'après COLSMI Bathen p. 47.

Düsseldorf, Albert Buyss, 1589.

1589: *Die Psalmen Davids... durch Conrad Hagium*. DKL 1589-04. Cité
d'après KRUMMEL German p. 94 et COLSMI Bathen p. 42.

Lyon, c. 1556-1567.

Lyon, Godefroy Beringen, c. 1556.

Jamais utilisé par cet imprimeur, mais présent dans l'inventaire de son matériel
fait en 1556 (*nocte de Louain à longue queue*). Cf. GUILLO p. 392.

Lyon, Antoine Cercia, 1567.

1567: G. A. di Mayo, *Primo libro di madrigali*. GUILLO 81, RISM M 1487.

Douai, Jean I Bogard, puis Jean II Bogard, puis Pierre Bogard, 1578-1633.

1578: A. Pevernage, *Cantiones aliquot sacrae*. RISM P 1669, PERSONS
Bogard 3.

1633: *Livre septiesme des chansons vulgaires*. RISM 1633², PERSONS
Bogard 52.

Reproduction: PERSONS Bogard p. 635, GROSS London p. 294. Il s'a-
git de nouvelles fontes. Chez Bogard, les boucles des fuses sont ouvertes,
alors qu'elles sont fermées chez Phalèse à Leuven/Antwerpen (comparaison
dans PERSONS Bogard p. 662) et à Lyon chez Cercia.

Antwerpen, 1582-1708.

Antwerpen, Pierre II Phalèse puis ses héritières Magdalena et Maria, 1582-
1674.

1582: J. de Castro. *Chansons, madrigaux et motets à 3 parties*. RISM C 1475.

1674: W. Bart. *Missae et motetta*. RISM B 1056.

Reproduction: ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 70 (1582), p. 72
(1596), p. 74-76 (1607, 1609, 1610), p. 80-82 (1631, 1649, 1649), BERG-
MANS p. 63 (1590), ROUZET Imprimeurs p. 58 (1591), RASCH p. 41
(1592), p. 48 (1667), p. 132 (1670), HUYS XV-XVII p. 299 (1593), p. 208
(1598), p. 279 (1644), p. 383 (1665), VERVLIET p. 350 (1600), GROSS
London p. 293.

Antwerpen, Hendrik I Aertssens, 1619.

1619: *Gheesteliick Paradijsken der Wellusticheden*. FHN De Pretere 1619.

Antwerpen, Lucas de Potter, 1676-1684.

1676: M. Cazzati, *Motteti a voce sola con due violini...* Opera LI. RISM C

1647, SPIESSENS De Potter A1.

1684: G. Doré, *Philomela aurea... opus tertium*. RISM D 3430, SPIESSENS DE Potter A17.

Reproduction: ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 87. Les fontes utilisées par De Potter n'ont pas les particularités de celles qui sont utilisées à Douai par Bogard.

Antwerpen, Hendrik III Aertssens, 1688-1708.

1688: J. Berckelaers, *Cantiones natalitae opus quartum*. RISM B 1985, FHN Berckelaers4 1688.

1708: Polaroli, *Parnasso celeste overo concerti sacri...* (Liège CRM).

Il s'agit ici de nouvelles fontes (l'impression est très nette). Reproduction: RASCH p. 145, ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 88.

Bruxelles, Rutgers Velpius, 1590.

1590: *Die Christelycke Leeringhe...* FHN ChrLeeringhe 1591.

Köln, Gerhard Greuenbruch, c. 1593-1603.

Cité d'après KRUMMEL German p. 94.

Gent, 1651-1689.

Gent, imprimeur non identifié, 1651.

1651: *Cantiones natalitiae*. RISM 1651³. Reproduction: RASCH p. 52 et p. 165.

Gent, Henricus Saetreuver, 1689.

1689: G. Vanden Eede S. J., *Laurus austriaca augustissimo Caesari Leopoldo primo...*

Nom	Tavernier
Dimensions	10,3 / 10,3 à 10,8 / 10,3 mm. N.B.: ces dimensions sont celles du caractère neuf ; ce caractère apparaît souvent assez usé, avec des hampes un peu raccourcies.
Concordances	VERVLIET M15, KRUMMEL <i>Day's Part-book type face</i> , cf. KRUMMEL p. 47-50).
Particularités	Les losanges sont petits par rapport aux hampes.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), avec emboîtement.
Graveur	Probablement Ameet Tavernier, à cause de l'utilisation qui en est faite par sa veuve. Discussion dans VERVLIET M15 et dans PARKER Plantiniana 3 p. 62-63. KRUMMEL p. 49, propose quant à lui une origine nurembergeoise sur la base d'utilisations en Allemagne au XVIIe siècle et de la technique de l'emboîtement.
Matériel	Antwerpen MPM: MA 92c (23 matrices). Ce matériel n'est

Notes

présent dans aucun inventaire plantinien. Détail des matrices dans WEAVER I p. 197.

Description poussée du caractère dans WEAVER I p. 197-204. A la fin du XVIe siècle, le C barré est remplacé par un autre, un peu plus refermé. Ce caractère a peut-être fait l'objet d'une ou plusieurs copies aux dimensions très approchantes, mais nous n'avons pas eu la possibilité de pousser plus loin les investigations. En effet, ses dimensions apparaissent un peu fluctuantes. Les utilisations mentionnées par KRUMMEL à Londres pourraient avoir été faites avec une copie. Quant aux utilisations allemandes, elles n'ont pas été examinées.

Antwerpen, 1554-1614.

Antwerpen, Jan de Laet et Hubert Waelrant, 1554-1558.

1554: *Sacrarum cantionum, liber primus*. RISM 1554⁶, WEAVER II n° 2.

1558: H. Waelrant, *Sacrarum cantionum, 5-6 v., liber sextus*. WEAVER II n° 17.

Reproduction: KRUMMEL SADIE p. 464, WEAVER I, *passim*, ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 64.

Antwerpen, Jan de Laet puis Veuve de Jan de Laet, 1556-1569.

1556: O. de Lassus, *Il primo libro di mottetti a 5-6 v.* RISM L 758, WEAVER II n° 21.

1569: J. de Castro, *Il primo libro de madrigali*. RISM C 1468, WEAVER II n° 34.

Reproduction: WEAVER I, *passim*.

Antwerpen, Veuve de Ameet Tavernier, 1571.

1571: *Een bequam maniere om.. sanck te leeren*. FHN Sonnius 1571.

Reproduction: VERVLIET p. 351, PARKER Plantiniana 3 p. 62.

Antwerpen, Geleyn Jansz, 1614.

1614: G. De Coster, *Den Blompot den Gheestelicker Liedekens*. FHN De Coster 1614.

London, John Day puis John Wolfe et John Windet, 1561-1606.

1561: *Foure score and seven Psalmes*, 1561.

1606: *Psalm book*, 1606.

Cité d'après KRUMMEL p. 47-51.

Utrecht, Salomon de Roy [* et Jan Willemsz van Rhenen], 1601-1612.

1601*: J. Van den Hove, *Florida, sive cantiones*. RISM H 7453

1608: *Septiesme livre de chansons vulgaires*. FHN Septiesme Livre 1608, RISM 1608¹¹. [Imprimé pour Cornelis Claesz à Amsterdam. Attribution de l'impression à S. de Roy faite par GROSS]. Reproduction dans GROSS London p. 292.

1612: J. Van den Hove, *Delitiae musice, sive cantiones*. RISM H 7454.

Franker, Gillis van den Rade, 1602.

1602: J. Vredeman, *Musica miscella*. RISM V 2565. Reproduction: CHARBON p. 161.

Amsterdam, 1603-1647.

Amsterdam, Willem Swart, 1603.

1603: W. Swart, *Den Lust-hof der nieuwe musycke*. RISM S 7243.

Amsterdam, Willem Jansz Wyngaert, 1628.

1628: G. G. Gastoldi, *Balletten met drie stemmen*. RISM G 543, FHN GastoldiOldenraet 1628..

Amsterdam, Paulus Matthysz pour Evert Cloppenburg, 1641 (certaines pages seulement).

1628: G. G. Gastoldi, *Balletti a cinque voci*. RISM G 530, FHN GastoldiOldenraet 1628..

Amsterdam, Jacob Aertsz Colom, 1647.

1647: D. R. Camphuysen, *Stichtelycke Rymen*. FHN Camph-R 1647a. Reproduction: BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 150, 217 et 246.

Rotterdam, 1603-1641.

Rotterdam, Jan II van Waesberge, 1603-1614.

1603: *Der Reden-Ryckers stichtighe tsamenkomste*. FHN Tsamenkomste [1603].

1614: *Spelen van Sinne vol schoone Allegatien...* FHN Spelen 1614.

Rotterdam, Isaac van Waesberge, 1628.

1628: G. G. Gastoldi, *Balletti a 5 v.* RISM G 526.

Rotterdam, veuve Matthijs Bastiensz, 1641.

1641: G. G. Gastoldi, *Balletti a 3 v.* FHN GastoldiOldenraet 1641a.

Zwolle, Zacharias Heyns, 1607-1608.

1607: *Const-thoonende Juweel*. FHN ConstJuweel 1607a.

1608: *Haerlems Juweel*. FHN HaerlJuweel 1608.

Dordrecht, Peeter Verhaghen, 1610.

1610: H. Speuy, *De Psalmen Davids gestelt op het Tabulatur...* RISM S 4094.

Portées de six lignes.

Zierikzee, Hans van der Hellen, 1616.

1616: G. C. Udemans, *Corte ende duydelijcke Verclaringe...* FHN Udemans 1616a.

Gent, Jan vanden Kerchove, 1620.

1620: J. de Harduyn, *Goddelicke Lof-sanghen*. FHN De Harduyn-L 1620.

Leuven, Bernardinus Masius, 1631.

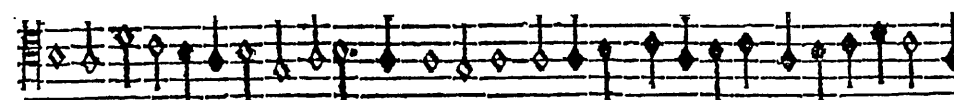
1631: J. B. Stalpart van der Wiele, *Extractum catholicum*. FHN Stalpart-EK 1631.

N.B.: d'après KRUMMEL, ce type réapparaîtrait en Allemagne au XVII^e siècle (Dillingen, Neuburg).

Trois caractères de moyenne dimension (5,2 mm)



Lyon Moyenne



Petreius Small



Lyon Moyenne

Nom	VDK Moyenne
Dimensions	9,2 / 8,8 / 8,8 mm.
Concordances	VERVLIEET M16.
Particularités	Clés avec des spirales (comme dans VDK Grande).
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant).
Graveur	Hendrik Van den Keere, en 1578, taillée pour Christophe Plantin. Attribuée à Van den Keere par les Registres Plantin et dans l'inventaire de la fonderie Plantin de 1581 (cf. PARKER Plantiniana 2 p. 75).
Reproduction	TYPE SPECIMEN II n° 17 (specimen de c. 1585), STELLFELD pl. VII (specimen, au milieu, réduction 5/3e), KRUMMEL SADIE p. 545 (specimen, en bas à gauche), ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 54 en bas et notice 46.
Matériel	Antwerpen MPM: ST 70 (43 poinçons et 8 contrepoinçons), MA 100 (67 matrices), MA 102 (second jeu de 62 matrices).

Notes

Ce matériel est présent dans les inventaires plantiniens entre 1581 et 1652.

D'après KRUMMEL German p. 95, ce type (qu'il dénomme *Van den Keere*) aurait été utilisé à Heidelberg par Jérôme Commelin. Il y a là deux erreurs: les éditions musicales de Commelin ont en fait été imprimées à Genève par Jean II de Tournes (cf. GUILLO 79 et 79 bis); de plus le caractère utilisé n'est pas le même, il s'agit de GUILLO 136, qui ressemble à VDK Moyenne par ses dimensions.

Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin, puis sa veuve, puis Johan Moretus, 1579-1601.

1579: J. de Brouck, *Cantiones sacrae*. STELLFELD 3.

1601: J. David S.J., *Veridicus Christianus*, FHN David 1601.

Reproduction: VERVLiet p. 353, HUYS XV-XVII p. 288, ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 69 en bas.

Leiden, imprimerie plantinienne de Raphelengius, 1600-1612.

1600: C. Schuyt, *Il primo libro di madrigali*. STELLFELD 17, RASCH Plantin p. 14 n° 1.

1612: J.P. Sweelinck, *Rymes françoises et italiennes*. STELLFELD 21, RASCH Plantin p. 14 n° 6.

Ce caractère aurait été disponible en Leiden dès 1590 dans cette imprimerie.

Reproduction: STELLFELD pl. XX, Cat. Scheuerleer, p. 440.

Haarlem, 1621-1631.

Haarlem, Herman Theunis Kranepoel, 1621-1631.

1621: J. P. Sweelinck, *Livre quatrième... des Pseaumes de David*. RISM S 7253, RASCH Plantin p. 14 n° 7.

1631: C. Th. Padbrué, *Kusjes*. RASCH Plantin p. 15 n° 12.

Reproduction: CHARBON p. 144.

Haarlem, Adriaen I Roman, 1626 ? -1629.

1626 ? : Ad. Valerius, *Nederlantsche Gedenck-clanck*, Haarlem, [Adriaen I Roman] pour l'auteur [attr. par R. Rasch]. RISM V 147, FHN Valerius 1626.

1629: S. Ampzing, *De Klaeg-lieden van de H. Propheet Jeremias*. RASCH Plantin p. 16, FHN Ampzing-K 1629.

Reproduction: HUYS XV-XVII p. 377, BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 139 et 354.

Amsterdam, 1634-1657.

Amsterdam, Broer Jansz, 1634-1646.

1634: J. J. Starter, *Friesche Lust-hof... vijfden druck*. RASCH Plantin p. 15 n° 13, RISM S 4712.

1646: C. de Leeuw, *Stichtelycke Rymen*. FHN CamphLeeuw-R 1646,

RASCH Plantin p. 15 n° 25.

Amsterdam, Cornelis I Danckerts van Zeevenhoven, 1639.

1639: J. H. Krul, *Minne-spiegel ter Deughden*. RASCH Plantin p. 16.

Amsterdam, Cornelis Dircksz I Cool, 1640.

1640: J. H. Krul, *Christelyke Offerande*. FHN Krul-O 1640, RASCH Plantin p. 16.

Amsterdam, Dominicus van der Stichel, 1647.

1647: Fr. Es. den Heussen, *Den Christelijcken Jonghelingh*. (impr. pour Marten Jansz Brandt). FHN Den Heussen-J 1647, RASCH Plantin p. 16.

Amsterdam, Cornelis de Leeuw, 1648.

1648: G. G. Gastoldi, *Balleten met drie stemmen*. RASCH Plantin p. 15 n° 26,

Amsterdam, Paulus Matthysz, 1657.

1657: G. G. Gastoldi, *Balleten lustigh om te zingen, en speelen, met drie stemmen*. RISM G 545, RASCH Plantin p. 16 n° 27.

Vlissingen, Jacob Jansz Pick, 1642.

1642: *Vlissings Redens-Lust-hof...* FHN Redens Lusthof 1642.

Nom	<i>Petreius Small</i>
Dimensions	9,2 / 7,8 / 8,0 mm.
Concordances	KRUMMEL German type 3: <i>Petreius small</i> . GUILLO 124. DAVIDSSON Typo n° 1 (p. 78).
Particularités	Doté tardivement de caractères de solmisation.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), avec emboîtement.
Graveur	Nurembergeois.
Matériel	Antwerpen MPM: MA 92a (69 matrices), MA 74b (17 matrices VRMFSL et numéros). Ce matériel n'est présent dans aucun inventaire plantinien. Ce matériel aurait pu parvenir dans les mains de Plantin à la vente du matériel de Susato le 26.2.1565 (cf. VOET II, 106 n. 4).
Notes	Caractère d'origine nurembergeoise (voir les autres usages).

Antwerpen, Thielman Susato, 1551-1561.

1551: *Het ierste musyck boexken mit vier partyen...* MEISSNER 1551^{Susato}, RISM 1551¹⁸.

1561: *Souterliedekens V. Het achste musyck boeck mit vier partijen*. FHN Mes¹ 1561.

Reproduction : ROUZET Imprimeurs p. 60, POGUE p. 83, HUYS XV-XVII p. 60, WEAVER I p. 201 en haut, ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 65. L'abandon par Th. Susato du caractère *Susato* en faveur de ce type correspond à l'époque du déménagement de son atelier à Antwerpen.

Antwerpen, Willem Silvius, 1564.

1564: *Spelen van Sinne vol schoone allegatien*. FHN Spelen 1564.

Autres usages: Nürnberg, Johannes Petri, 1537- (reprod. HUYS XV-XVII p. 114), puis Johannus Montanus et Ulrich Neuber, 1553-. Augsburg, Michael Kriegstein, 1540-. Lyon, frères Beringen, 1547-1559 (cf. GUILLO 124). Basel, Heinrich Petri, 1547- (reprod. HUYS XV-XVII p. 91), puis Sebastian Henricpetri, avant 1582. Genève, plusieurs imprimeurs, 1550-1562. Breslau, Crispin Scharffenberg, 1555. Wien, Adam Singreiner, 1561. Frankfurt/Main, Hans de Braeker, 1565. Kobenhavn, Benedicht, 1569-1592 (reprod. DAVIDSON Typo Abb. 1). Heidelberg, 157x, etc. (cf. KRUMMEL German p. 83-84).

Nom	<i>Lyon Moyenne</i>
Dimensions	9,2 / 8,1 / 8,9 mm.
Concordances	GUILLO 131.
Particularités	Graphisme ancien (fuses et semi-fuses très simples). Guidons en boucle.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), sans emboîtage.
Graveur	Peut-être Robert Granjon, à Lyon. En tout cas, caractère d'origine très probablement lyonnaise, éventuellement genevoise.

Source: Cf. GUILLO p. 388.

Genève, divers imprimeurs, 1562-1587.

Source: Cf. GUILLO p. 388. N.B.: la référence à l'édition de Pierre Chouët de 1658 est à supprimer.

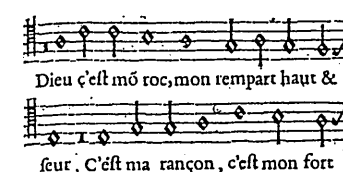
Amsterdam, Johannes Janssonius, 1632.

1632: Livre septiesme des chansons vulgaires. *RISM* 16325. Les raisons de l'apparition tardive de ce caractère dans les anciens Pays-Bas sont mystérieuses, dans la mesure où les typographes disposaient déjà sur place de caractères équivalents. Peut-être ce caractère était-il assez ancien pour être peu cher... Reproduction: GROSS London p. 296.

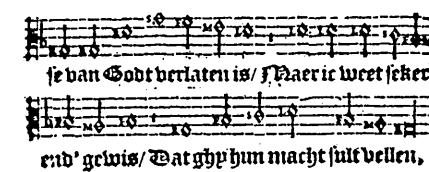
Nom	<i>Jansson</i>
Dimensions	8,2-8,4/7,5/8,6 mm.
Particularités	Facture approximative, caractère irrégulier.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant).
Graveur	Jansson ?
Reproduction	Epreuves des caractères de Jansson, Amsterdam, 1666 (Oxford BL: Marshall 148).

Notes	Ce caractère est cité ici pour mémoire. Sortant de la période étudiée, nous n'avons pas cherché à le localiser dans des éditions.
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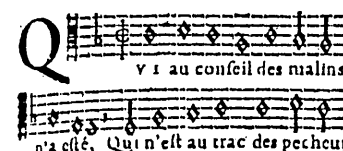
Les grands caractères pour psautiers (7 à 5 mm)



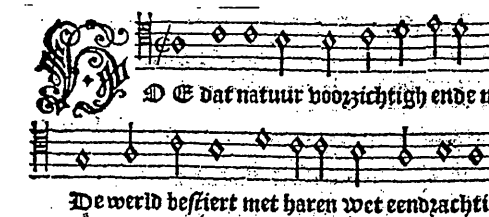
Psautier Plantin



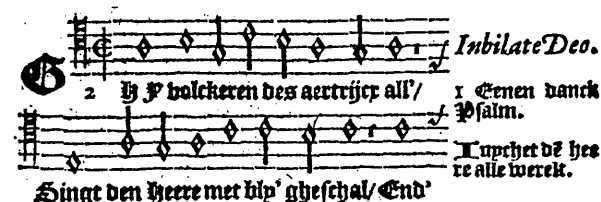
Psautier Nord



VDK Petite



Plantin Leiden



Granjon

Nom	<i>Granjon</i>
Dimensions	7,0 / 6,4 / 6,7 mm.
Concordances	KRUMMEL Type 8, GUILLO 137.
Particularités	Les losanges sont un peu creux sur les notes externes.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), sans emboîtage.
Graveur	Robert Granjon, probablement à Lyon ou à Antwerpen vers 1565. Les poinçons auraient été vendus par Granjon au graveur Hendrik van der Keere qui ajouta les caractères de solmisation VRMFSL vers 1570-1574 (PARKER Plantiniana 2 p. 59). Sa veuve aurait tout revendu à Plantin.
Matériel	Antwerpen MPM: ST 71a (73 poinçons), ST 71b (caractères de solmisation, 12 poinçons). Ce matériel est présent dans les inventaires plantiniens entre 1580 et 1652.

Reproduction	FHN p. 18 (imprimeur non identifié), ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 56 (poinçons).
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Antwerpen, 1565-1667.

Antwerpen, Willem Silvius, 1565.

1565: Jan Fruytiers, *Ecclesiasticus oft de wijse sproken*. FHN Fruytiers-E 1565.

Reproduction: BERGMANS p. 64, PARADISUS p. 26, GOOVAERTS p. 37.

Antwerpen, Gillis van den Rade, 1574-1580.

1574: *Diversche Refereynen ende Liedekens*. FHN Refereynen [1574]b.

1580: Ph. Marnix, *Het boeck der Psalmen Davids*. FHN Marnix 1580.

Antwerpen, Jasper I Troyen, 1578.

1578: C. L. *Psalmen van David, wten Franchoyshendichte*... FHN Dath 1578d.

Antwerpen, pour Arnoult s'Conincx, 1579.

1579: *De CL. Psalmen Davids...* door Willem van haecht (aux frais de A. s'Conincx). FHN Van Haecht 1579.

Antwerpen, veuve de Girard Smits, 1580.

1580: Ch. de Navières. *Psalmes mis en vers français*. (impr. pour Arnoult s'Conincx). BPVF PsNa1580con.

Antwerpen, Joachim Trognese, 1600.

1600: V. Le Blanc, *Hymnes*. RISM L 1234.

Antwerpen, Jeroom Verdussen, 1614-1630.

1614: *Het Prieel der gheestelijcke Melodie*. FHN Prieel 1614.

1630: *Het Prieel der gheestelijcke Melodie*. FHN Prieel 1630.

Reproduction: BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 170 et p. 229 (en 1614), FHN p. 78 (en 1618).

Antwerpen, Veuve Jacob Mesens, 1628.

1628: J. Ysermans, *Triumphus Cupidinis*. FHN Ysermans 1628.

Antwerpen, Jan Cnobbaert puis Veuve Cnobbaert, 1631-1647.

1631: S. Theodotus, *Het Paradys der Gheestelycke en Kerckelycke Lof-sangen*. FHN Theodotus 1631.

1647: M. Teresa van Jesus, *Bruydegoms vredekus oft Bemerckinghen*. FHN Teresa 1647.

Reproduction: RASCH p. 13, p. 122 et 166. BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 102, 255 et 314.

Antwerpen, Hendrick I Aertssens puis Hendrik II Aertssens, 1631-1653.

1631: *Den boeck der Gheestelijcke Sanghen*. FHN Requiem 1631.

1653: *Het Paradys der Geestelijcke en Kerckelijcke Lof-sangen*. FHN Theodotus 1653a.

Antwerpen, Jacob Mesens, 1653-1667.

1653: F. P. De Beer. *Gheestelycke Rym-Konst*. FHN De Beer 1653.

1667: *Devote aendachtighe Meditatie*... FHN Meditatie 1667.

Antwerpen, Guiliaem Lesteens, 1655.

1655: G. W. De Swaen, *Den Singende Swaen...* FHN De Swaen 1655.

Antwerpen, Arnout van Brakel, 1664.

1664: G. W. De Swaen, *Den Singende Swaen...* FHN De Swaen 1664.

Gent, Ghislain Manilius, 1565-1574.

1565: L. De Heere, *Psalmen Davids*. FHN De Heere 1565.

1574: M. de Casteleijn, *Diversche Liedekens*. RISM C 1456.

Reproduction: BERGMANS p. 66 et 67.

Wesel, s.n., 1567.

1567: *Den Geheelen Souter des Koenincklijcken Propheten Davids...* FHN Hantboecxken 1567b.

London, 1567-1654-.

London, John Day et ses successeurs, 1567-

1567: Parker, *The whole Psalter*. Cité par KRUMMEL p. 52.

London, Henry Denham, 1583-

1583: W. Hunnis, *Seven sobs of a sorrowful soule for sinne...* RISM H 7931. Cité par KRUMMEL p. 57.

London, Peter Short, 1597.

1597: W. Hunnis, *Seven sobs...* RISM H 7934. Cité par KRUMMEL p. 58.

London, Humphrey Lownes, 1609-1615.

1609: W. Hunnis, *Seven sobs...* RISM H 7935.

1615: W. Hunnis, *Seven sobs...* RISM H 7936.

Cités par KRUMMEL p. 58.

London, John Legate, 1638.

1638: G. Sandys, *Paraphrase upon the psalmes of David*. Reproduction: KRUMMEL p. 54.

London, Thomas Harper, 1654-.

Cité par KRUMMEL p. 56.

Norwich, Anthonius de Solemne, 1568.

1568: P. Dathenus, *Psaumes*. FHN Dath 1568a. Cité par KRUMMEL p. 51.

Leiden, 1578-1635.

Leiden, Andries Verschout, 1578.

1578: *De C.L. Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath 1578a.

Leiden, Jan Paets Jacobszoon, 1582.

1582: Jan Fruytiers, *Den Sentbrief Pauli tot den Romeynen*. FHN Fruytiers-S 1582.

Leiden, Lowijs Elzevier, 1617.

1617: *De C.L. Psalmen Davids...* door Philips van Marnix. FHN

- MarnixDath 1617.
 Leiden, Andries Clouck, 1620.
 1620: Cl. Goudimel, *De CL Psalmen Davids in Nederlantschen dichte overgheset...* FHN DathGoudimel 1620.
 Leiden, Justus Livius, 1635.
 1635: Cl. Le Jeune, *Les pseumes de David*. RISM L 1685, BPVF PsMB1635liv(IV).
 Dordrecht, Peeter Verhaghen, ou Delft, Cornelis Jansz, 1581.
 1581: *De CL. Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath 1581b/c.
 Rotterdam, 1582-1644.
 Rotterdam, Dirck Mullem, 1582.
 1582: *Liedtboeck Inhoudende Schrifverlijcke vermaen Liederen...* FHN De Ries 1582.
 Rotterdam, Johannes Naeranus, 1644.
 1644: D. R. Camphuysen. *Stichtelijke Rymen*. FHN Camph-R 1644.
 Reproduction: BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 250.
 Lieu inconnu, imprimeur inconnu, 1584.
 1584: *Souter liedekens...* FHN Souterl 1584. Reproduction: WEAVER I p. 72. Commentaire sous WEAVER II p. 139-140.
 Utrecht, 1598-1613 ?
 Utrecht, Salomon de Roy, 1598.
 1598: *Souter liedekens...* FHN Souterl 1598.
 Utrecht, Herman II van Borculo, 1613.
 1613: *Souter liedekens, gemaect ter eeren Gods...* FHN Souterl 1613a/b (peut-être imprimé à Amsterdam par Claes Jacobsz Paets ?)
 Alkmaar, Jacob de Meester, 1604.
 1604: *Liedtboeck, Inhoudende Schrifverlijcke vermaen-Liederen...* FHN De Ries 1604.
 Brugge, 1609-1662.
 Brugge, Pieter Sotaert, 1609.
 1609: *Priemel der Gheestelijke Melodie*. FHN Priemel 1609. Reproduction: RASCH p. 172-173.
 Brugge, veuve Joannes Clouwet, 1662.
 1662: J. Lambrecht, *Rachel ofte Thoonneel van oprechte liefde...* FHN Lambrecht-R 1662.

- Amsterdam, 1613-1700.
 Amsterdam, Claes Jacobsz Paets, 1613.
 1613: *Souter liedekens, gemaect ter eeren Gods...* FHN Souterl 1613a/b (peut-être imprimé à Utrecht par Herman II van Borculo ?)
 Amsterdam, Jan Evertsz I Cloppenburg, 1613.
 1613: *De CL psalmen Davids... P. Dathenum*, 16°. Mq à FHN. Paris BNF: A 8499.
 Amsterdam, Pieter Jacobsz Paets, 1616.
 1616: Boethius. *Van de vertroosting...* vertaalt door D. V. Coornhert. FHN BoëthiusCoornh 1616.
 Amsterdam, Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn, 1619-1621.
 1619: N. Vallet, *Bruylofts eer-gaef...* Den Haag KB.
 1621: J. J. Starter, *Friesche Lust-hof...* [Ie édition, pour Dirck Pietersz], RISM S 4708. Il y a visiblement, en 1621, usage de deux caractères mélangés. Reproduction: BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 200 et 334.
 Amsterdam, Gillis Joosten Saeghman, 1643.
 1643: *Het eerste deel van d'Amsteldamsche Minne-zuchjens*. Reproduction: BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 94, 172 et 263.
 Amsterdam, anonyme, 1644.
 1644: *Pampiere Wereld*. FHN Krul-P 1644. Reproduction: GOOVAERTS p. 119.
 Amsterdam, Paulus Matthysz, 1643-1684.
 1643: B. Fonteyn, *Monsieur Sullemans soete vrijag*, [impr. pour D. C. Houthaek]. RASCH Matthysz 18.
 1684: J. J. Bakker, *De CL Psalmen Davids*. FHN Backer 1684, RASCH Matthysz 24b.
 Reproduction: BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 98, 124 et 314, RASCH Matthysz p. 90 et p. 93 (en haut), Cat. Scheurleer p. 471, PARADISUS p. 34.
 Amsterdam, pour Cornelis de Leeuw, 1648.
 1648: C. de Leeuw, *Christelijke Plicht-Rymen*. FHN De Leeuw 1648/1649.
 Reproduction: BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 89.
 Amsterdam, Herman Aeltz, 1682.
 1682: Chr. de Plackers, *Evangelische Leeuwerck*. FHN De Placker 1682.
 Reproduction: RASCH p. 284.
 Amsterdam, Héritières de Paulus Matthysz, 1686-1700.
 1686: M. Gargon, *Nut Tyd-Verdryv*. FHN Gargon-T 1686, RASCH Matthysz 28a.
 1700: *De CL Psalmen Davids...* FHN Backer 1700, RASCH Matthysz 24c.
 Den Haag, Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw, 1615.
 1615: *Hymni ofte Loff-sangen op de Christelijke Feest-Dagen ende Ander-sins*. FHN Hymni 1615a. Reproduction: BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 170.

's-Hertogenbosch, Jan III Scheffer, 1621-1628.

1621: S. Theodotus, *Het Paradys der Gheestelijcke ende Kerckelijcke Lof-sangen*. FHN Theodotus 1621.

1628: *Gulde Iaer onses Heeren Jesu Christi*. FHN Stalpart-GJZ 1628.
Reproduction: RASCH p. 45, BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 297.

Haarlem, 1629-c. 1759.

Haarlem, Hans Passchiers van Wesbusch, 1629-1631.

1629: S. Ampzing, *Heylige Traenen...* FHN Ampzing-HT 1629.

1631: S. Ampzing, *De Christen-Hoog-tijden...* FHN Ampzing-CH 1631.

Haarlem, Isaac van Wesbusch, 1649 ? - 1651.

1649: *Haerlemsche Mei-Bloempjes, derde offer...* FHN Meibloempjes 1649.
Cette édition a probablement été imprimée par Wesbusch. Elle emploie d'ailleurs deux caractères: *Granjon* et *Psautier Plantin*, ce dernier aussi employé par Wesbusch dans les années 1640 dans des volumes de la même collection.

1651: *Haerlemsche Winter-Bloempjes...* FHN Winterbloempjes 1651.

Haarlem, veuve Hermanus van Hulkenroy, 1708.

1708: *De Carnaval van Roomen*. Reproduction: GOOVAERTS p. 149.

Haarlem, Izaak van Hulkenroy, [actif 1729-1759].

Source: C. Kauwenberg et W. Vermooten, *Dankbaare naagedachten en geboorte gezangen, [s.d.]*. RISM V 1259-1261. Reproduction: RASCH p. 18.

Leeuwarden, 1634-1717.

Leeuwarden, Dirck Albertsz, 1634.

1634: *De CL Psalmen...* FHN Dath 1634a.

Leeuwarden, François Halma, 1717.

1717: J. Riehman, *Dauids Harpzangen of de CL. Psalmen...* RISM R 1401.

Reproduction: KING Riehman p. 42.

Deventer, Nathanael Cost, 1640.

1640: *De CL Psalmen...* FHN DathRevis 1640.

Bruxelles, Jan Mommaert, 1642.

1642: *Geestelyck Cabinet van Devotie*. FHN Cabinet 1642.

Würzburg, Christophe Küchler, 1662.

1662: J. Gippenbusch, *Psalteriolum harmonicum*. DKL 1662-02.

Reproduction: RASCH p. 270.

Enkhuizen, Meynerdt Mul, 1668.

1668: *Enchuyser Liedt-boecksken*. FHN Enchuyser Lb 1668. Reproduction: BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 240.

Lyon, divers imprimeurs, 1615-1710.

Cf. GUILLO 137.

Valenciennes, J. Vervliet, 1616-1631.

1616: *Les Rossignols spirituels*. RISM 1616⁷.

1631: *Les Rossignols spirituels*. RISM 1631¹.

Tournai, Adrien Quinqué, 1632-1640.

1632: *La Philomèle séraphique*. RISM 1632⁴.

1640: *La Philomèle séraphique*. RISM 1640⁵.

Reproduction: GOOVAERTS p. 85.

Edimburgh, héritiers de Andro Hart, 1635.

1635: *The Psalmes of David in meeter*. Reproduction: KRUMMEL p. 53.

Pour d'autres références en Angleterre, voir KRUMMEL.

Nom	<i>Plantin Leiden</i>
Dimensions	6,1 / 5,5 / 6,2 mm.
Particularités	Losanges assez gras. C barré incliné. Guidons inclinés rectilignes évasés au bout.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), sans emboîtement.

Leiden, Christophe Plantin, 1585.

1565: Boethius, *Van de Vertroosting*. FHN BoëthiusCoornh 1585, VOET Press 739. A cette date, ce caractère est quasiment neuf.

Comparaison des caractères d'environ 5 mm (*Psautier Plantin*, VDK *Petite*, *Psautier Nord*, *Psautier Gouda*).

La petitesse et la similitude des caractères dont les dimensions avoisinent 5 mm nous incite à présenter un tableau synoptique de leurs différences, pour faciliter les identifications. Ces caractères ont parfois été confondus et la présente étude a l'ambition de préciser quelque peu leurs usages respectifs chez tel ou tel imprimeur (ce qui n'exclura pas, sans doute, quelques erreurs d'attribution ici ou là, puisque la possibilité de les distinguer dépend beaucoup de la qualité de l'impression).

Les descriptions et les mesures données ici concernent les premières années de l'existence du caractère. Plus un caractère vieillit, plus il a tendance à être "pollué" avec des types d'une autre provenance (notamment les clés, les guidons, les altérations, les signes de mensuration...).

	<i>Psautier Plantin</i>	<i>VDK Petite</i>	<i>Psautier Nord</i>	<i>Psautier Gouda</i>
Dimensions	4,9 / 4,2 / 4,5 mm	5,0 / 5,0 / 5,1 mm	4,9 / 4,1 / 4,6 mm	5,0 / 4,4 / 4,6 mm
Apparition	1564	1572	1582	1648 ?
Solmisation	Non	1572	1582	?
Losanges	Assez carrés, inclinés de 40 à 45° sur la verticale	Assez allongés, inclinés de 30 à 35° sur la verticale. Les pointes d'un losange posé sur une ligne touchent les lignes voisines	Assez maigres et allongés, inclinés de 30 à 35° sur la verticale. Les pointes ne touchent pas les lignes voisines	Assez carrés et gras
Hampes	Plutôt fines, légèrement élargies du côté opposé au losange. Fuses droites	Assez grasses, côtés pratiquement parallèles	Plutôt fines, légèrement élargies du côté opposé au losange. Fuses courbes et refermées	Courtes et grasses
C barré	Barre longue dépassant de la portée des deux côtés, très légèrement inclinée	Barre verticale, plus longue en bas	Barre inclinée	Barre très inclinée
Clef d'ut	Étroite (1,0 mm)	Assez large (1,4 mm)	Intermédiaire (1,2 mm)	Étroite (1,0 mm)
Clef de sol			Style de Van der Keere	
Guidons	Longs et droits.	Recourbés avec terminaison horizontale	Droits, avec terminaison élargie	Droits avec amorce grasse
Aspect général	Sobre et régulier. Ne peut pas être distingué de <i>Psautier Nord</i> par ses seules dimensions	Plutôt gras	Assez semblable à <i>Psautier Plantin</i> mais un peu plus élancé	Très gras et inélégant

Nom	<i>Psautier Plantin</i>
Dimensions	4,9 / 4,2 / 4,5 mm.
Concordances	NOAILLY 3.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), sans emboîtement.
Reproduction	TYPE SPECIMEN II n° 17 (specimen de c. 1585), KRUMMEL SADIE p. 545 (specimen, en bas à droite). STELLFELD pl. VII en haut (réduction 5/3e).
Graveur	Une attribution à Granjon a été tentée (cf. TYPE SPECIMEN II p. 11) mais sans preuves.
Matériel	Antwerpen MPM: ST 74 (21 poinçons). Ce matériel est présent dans les inventaires plantiniens entre 1580 et 1652. N.B.: dans PARKER Plantiniana 2 p. 60 (ST 73), la référence à la <i>Petite Musique</i> du specimen de c. 1580 est fautive ; le type qui correspond aux poinçons ST 73 est <i>VDK Petite</i> .
Notes	Cité dans VERVLIT p. 354 (mais assimilé à d'autres caractères encore différents).

Paris, Martin Le Jeune, 1562.

1562: *Les Pseaumes de David*. NOAILLY 11, BPVF PsMB1562jeu. Martin Le Jeune était facteur de Plantin à Paris.

Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin, 1564.

1564: *Les Pseaumes de David*. BPVF PsMB1564pla. Cité dans VERVLIT p. 354.

Leiden, Pieter Muller, 1624.

1624: S. Ampzing, *Rym-Catechismus...* FHN Ampzing-R 1624.

1624: A. de Hubert, *De Psalmen des Propheeten Davids...* FHN De Hubert 1624.

Hoorn, 1633-1648.

Hoorn, imprimeur inconnu pour Jan Claesz Haan, 1633.

1633: *Het Triumphhofjen Jesu Christi en Marie*. FHN Triumphhofjen 1633.

Hoorn, Isaac Willemsz, 1634-1648.

1634: *Schat-Kist der Liefde* (imprimé pour Lourens Willemsz). FHN Meyvogel 1634

1648: *De Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath/De Ries 1648

Haarlem, 1643-1649. Les références à Haarlem sont données sous réserves: le caractère est difficile à comparer du fait de la nature de ces éditions (peu de minimes, beaucoup de fuses).

Haarlem, Michiel Segerman, 1643-1646.

1643: *'t eerste Deel van Sparens Vreughden-Bron*, FHN deest. Den Haag

KB: 1.E.39(1).

1646: *Tweede Deel van Sparens Vreugden-Bron*, FHN Vreugdenbron 1646.
Haarlem, Isaac van Wesbusch, 1645-1647-1649.

1645: *D.R. Camphuyzen Stichtelijke Rymen* (impr. pour Thomas Fonteyn).
FHN Camph-R 1645.

1647: *Haerlemsche Winter-bloempjes* (impr. pour Claes Albertsz Haen).
FHN Winterbloempjes 1647.

1649: *Haerlemsche Mei-Bloempjes, derde offer...* FHN Meibloempjes 1649.
Cette édition est attribuable à Wesbusch mais n'est pas signée par lui, à la
différence des deux autres.

Rotterdam, Bastiaen Wagens, 1647.

1647: *D. R. Camphuysen, Stichtelijke Rymen...* FHN Camph-R 1647b.

Nom	VDK Petite
Dimensions	5,0 / 5,0 / 5,1 mm.
Concordances	VERVLIET M17, KRUMMEL Granjon Psalm Book.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), sans emboîtement.
Graveur	Hendrik Van den Keere. Attribution dans PARKER Plantiniana 2 p. 60 (ST 73).
Matériel	Antwerpen MPM: ST 73 (36 poinçons). Ce matériel est présent dans les inventaires plantiniens entre 1580 et 1652. Existe avec une solmisation.
Concordances	Assimilable au caractère malencontreusement baptisé <i>Granjon Psalm Book</i> par KRUMMEL p. 62-63. Il ne s'agit pas en revanche du caractère de 5 mm malencontreusement baptisé <i>Van den Keere</i> par KRUMMEL p. 59-61. Dans ce dernier les losanges sont plus carrés, les hampes encore plus triangulaires.

Dordrecht, 1572-1615.

Dordrecht, Jan I Canin, 1572-1576.

1572: *De Psalmen Davids, door Petrus Dathenum*. (pour F. Sampsons à
Gent). FHN Dath [1572]a. Avec solmisation.

1576: *De Psalmen Davids... door P. Dathenus*. FHN Dath 1576.

Reproduction: VERVLIET p. 354.

Dordrecht, Isaac Jansz Canin, 1614.

1614: *De Psalmen Davids wt den Fransoyschen in Nederlandschen dicht
overgheset...* FHN BIB/Dath 1614b.

Dordrecht, François Bosselaer, 1615.

1615: *De Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath 1615b. Attribution à VDK Petite
donnée sous réserves.

Leiden, 1572-1607.

Leiden, Jan Paets Jacobszoon, 1572-1585

1572: *De CL Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath 1572c. Avec solmisation.

1585: *De CL Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath 1585. Avec solmisation.

Leiden, Andries Verschout, 1587.

1587: *De Psalmen Davids, door Petrus Dathenum*. FHN Dath 1587b. Cité
d'après VERVLIET.

Leiden, Antoine Maire, 1603.

1603: *Psaumes*. BPVF PsMB1603mai

Leiden, Henrick Lodewijcxsoon van Haestens, 1607.

1607: *De CL Psalmen Davids...* FHN Van Haecht 1607.

Delft, 1578-1596.

Delft, Aelbrecht Hendricksz, 1578-1590.

1578: *Psalmen Davids... door P. Dathenum*. FHN Dath 1578c.

1590: *De Psalmen Davids, [trad. P. Dathen]*. FHN Bib/Dath 1590b.

Delft, Cornelis Jansz, 1584.

1584: *De Psalmen des Propheten Davids*, [pour Peeter Verhaagen à
Dordrecht FHN Bib/Dath 1584.

Delft, Bruyn Harmansz Schinckel, 1590-1596.

1590: *De Psalmen Davids, [trad. P. Dathen]*. FHN Bib/Dath 1590e.

1596: *De Psalmen Davids, [trad. P. Dathen]*. FHN Bib/Dath 1596c.

London, 1587-1624-.

London, Thomas Vautrollier, 1587.

1587: *[Psalm books]*. Cité par KRUMMEL p. 62-63.

London, Richard Field, 1622.

1622: *[Psalm books]*. Cité par KRUMMEL p. 63.

London, George Miller, 1624-.

1624: *[Psalm books]*. Cité par KRUMMEL p. 63.

Amsterdam, 1594-1756.

Amsterdam, imprimeur inconnu, 1594.

1594: *Psaumes*. BPVF PsDa-MB1594ams

Amsterdam, Evert Cloppenburg, 1639.

1639: *De CL. Psalmen des Konincklijcken Prophete Davids*. FHN Dath

1639a. Reproduction: BAAK GRIFFIOEN p. 279.

Amsterdam, Zacharias II Chatelain & fils, 1756.

1756: *Les Pseaumes de David, mis en vers françois...* BPVF
PsWa1756cha(8°).

Enkhuizen, 1613-1629 ?

Enkhuizen, Jacob Lenaerts Meyn, 1613.

- 1613: *De CL. Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath 1613.
 Enkhuizen, Jan Jacobs Palensteyn, 1629.
 1629: *Het Nieuwe Testament. Dat is....* FHN NT/Lofsangen 1629.
 Attribution à VDK Petite donnée sous réserves. Reproduction: FHN p. 98.
- Haarlem, David Wachtendonck, 1615.
 1615: *De C.L. Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath 1615a.
- Hoorn, Jan Jochimsz Byvanck, 1618.
 1618: *De C.L. Psalmen des Conincklijcken Propheten Davids.* FHN Dath/De Ries 1618.
- Utrecht, Jan Amelisz, 1625.
 1625: *De CL Psalmen des Conincklijcken Propheten Davids.* FHN Woerdische Sb 1625
- Middelburg, pour la veuve Symon Moulert, 1633.
 1633: *De CL Psalmen ...* FHN Dath 1633b. Dans la mesure où cette édition est faite pour la veuve de Symon Moulert et puisque cet atelier utilisait plutôt le caractère *Psautier Nord* et non pas *VDK Petite*, on peut supposer ce psautier n'a pas été imprimé par cet atelier.
- Arnhem, Jacob van Biesen, 1639.
 1639: *Die CL. Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath/Lobw/PsL 1639.
- 's-Hertogenbosch, Jan van Dockum, 1645.
 1645: Fr. De Wael, *Lust-hof des Geestelijke Gedichten...* FHN De Wael 1645.

Nom	<i>Psautier Nord</i>
Dimensions	4,8 / 4,1 / 4,6 mm.
Description	Existe avec des lettres de solmisation (s'Conincx 1582, Claesz 1604, Moulert 1611...).
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), sans emboîtage.
Notes	Cité dans VERVLIEET p. 354 (et confondu avec <i>Psautier Plantin</i>).

- Antwerpen, Arnoult s'Conincx, 1582-1583.
 1582: *De Psalmen Davids.* FHN Van Haecht 1582.
 1583: *De Psalmen Davids.* FHN Van Haecht 1583.
 Arnoult s'Conincx étant le seul à disposer de ce caractère en 1584, c'est peut-être à lui qu'il faut attribuer l'impression d'un placard anonyme intitulé *NULLE SCIENCE SANS DILIGENCE*, qui contient un cantique à 4

- voix *Assuerus*, au troisieme an de son regne (Antwerpen, 1584. Antwerpen MPM): reproduction dans ANTWERPSE MUZIEKDRUKKEN p. 71.
- Middelburg, 1591-1644.
 Middelburg, Richard Schilders, 1591.
 1591: *Het boeck der Psalmen...* door Philips van Marnix. FHN Marnix 1591. Cité par VERVLIEET p. 354. KRUMMEL donne une identification discordante (ce serait le type *Van den Keere*).
- Middelburg, Symon Moulert, 1611-1632.
 1611: *Les pseumes de David.* BPVF PsMB1611mou.
 1632: *Les CL Pseumes de David.* BPVF PsMB1632mou.
- Middelburg, Adriaen van de Vivere, 1617.
 1617: *De CL. Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath 1617.
- Middelburg, Zacharias et Michiel Roman, 1644.
 1644: *De CL. Davids Psalmen ...* FHN De Brune 1644.
- Leiden, 1596-1619.
 Leiden, Jan Paets Jacobszoon, 1596-1619.
 1596: *De Psalmen Davids wt den Fransoyschen in Nederlantschen dichte...* FHN Bib/Dath 1596a.
 1619: *Les Pseumes de David = Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath/MarotB 1619.
- Leiden, Jan Claesz van Dorp, 1600-1610.
 1600: *De C.L. Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath 1600.
 1610: *De CL Psalmen des Conincklijcken Propheten Davids...* FHN Dath 1610a.
- Leiden, Lowijs Elzevier, 1606.
 1606: *Les Pseumes de David...*, 1606. BPVF PsMB1606elz. Edition partagée avec Thomas Estienne à Dieppe (BPVF PsMB 1606est).
- Leiden, Jacob Marcus, 1611.
 1611: *De C.L. Psalmen Davids...* FHN Van Haecht 1611.
- Leiden, Henrick Lodewijcxsoon van Haestens, 1612.
 1612: *De Psalmen Davids...* [pour Jan Evertsz I Cloppenburg et H. Laurensz à Amsterdam], FHN Bib/Dath 1612.
- Dordrecht, 1597-1622.
 Dordrecht, Isaac Jansz Canin, 1597.
 1597: *De Psalmen des Propheten Davids...* FHN Bib/Dath 1597.
- Dordrecht, Abraham Canin, 1606.
 1606: *De CL Psalmen Davids... P. Dathenum.* Mq à FHN. Paris BNF: A 6466(2)
- Dordrecht, François Bosselaer, 1612.
 1612: *De C.L. Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath 1612.
- Dordrecht, Nicolaes Vincentsz [van Spierinxhouck], 1614-1622.
 1614: *De C.L. Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath 1614a.
 1622: *De C. L. Psalmen Davids... Petrum Dathenum.* FHN Dath 1622.

Delft, 1602-1644.

Delft, Bruyn Harmansz Schinckel, 1602.

1602: *Les Pseaumes ... mis en musique par Claude Goudimel*. BPVF PsMB1602sch(IV).

Delft, Jan Pietersz Waelpot, 1640-1644.

1640: *Les Pseaumes en vers*. BPVF PsMB1640wae.

1644: *Les Pseaumes de David*. BPVF PsMB1644wae.

Den Haag, Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw, 1604.

1604: *De CL Psalmen des Conincklijcken Propheten Davids...* FHN Dath 1604.

Amsterdam, 1610-1644.

Amsterdam, Jasper Tournay, 1610 (pour Jan Evertsz I Cloppenburg).

1610: *De CL Psalmen Davids. Les Pseaumes de David*. FHN Dath 1610b.

Amsterdam, Jan Evertsz I Cloppenburg, 1631.

1631: *Les Pseaumes de David*. BPVF PsMB1631clo.

Amsterdam, Boudewijn Du Preis, 1644.

1644: *Psaumes*. BPVF PsMB1644dup.

Kampen, Hendrick Dircksz de Vries, 1643.

1643: *De CL Psalmen Davids...* FHN Dath 1643b. Attribution à *Psautier Nord* donnée sous réserves.

Enkhuizen, 1644-1649.

Enkhuizen, pour Jan Jansz Pottjen, 1644.

1644: C. J. Wits, *Onledige Ledicheyte...* FHN Wits-L 1644.

Enkhuizen, pour Albert Wesselsz Kluppel, 1649.

1649: C. J. Wits, *Stichtelijcke Bedenckinge*. FHN Wits-BLT 1649.

Nom	<i>Psautier Gouda</i>
Dimensions	5,0 / 4,4 / 4,6 mm.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), sans emboîtement.

Gouda, Johan Rammazeyn pour Pieter Rammazeyn, 1648.

1648: *De CL Psalmen Davids... P. Dathenum*. FHN Dath 1648c.

Nom	<i>Psautier Wouw</i>
Dimensions	4,0 / 3,5 / 3,6 mm.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), sans emboîtement.

Den Haag, veuve et héritiers de Hillebrant Jacobsz I van Wouw, 1641.

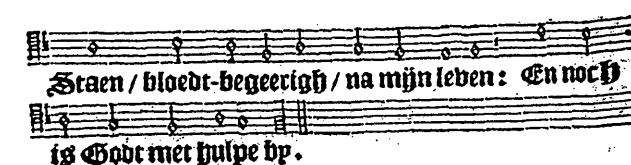
1641: *De Psalmen des Propheten Davids...* P. Dathenum. FHN Bib/Dath 1642a.

Dordrecht, Hendrick van Esch, 1646-1650.

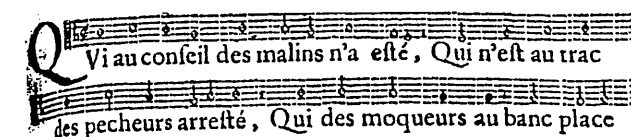
1646: *De CL Psalmen des Propheten Davids...* FHN Dath 1646.

1650: D. R. Camphuysen, *Uytbreyding over de Psalmen des Propheten Davids...* FHN Camph-P 1650a/b.

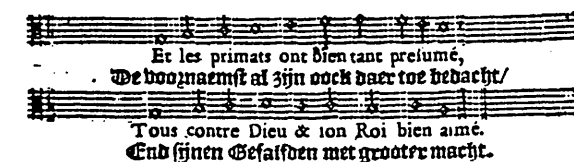
Les trois petits caractères pour psautiers (4 à 3,2 mm)



Psautier Wouw



Petit Psautier Etroit



Petit Psautier Large

	<i>Petit Psautier Etroit</i>	<i>Petit Psautier Large</i>
Dimensions	3,2 / 3,0 / 3,0 mm	3,2 / 3,0 / 3,0 mm
Apparition	1617	1615
Solmisation	Non	Oui
Losanges	Assez étroits, largeur = 1.0 mm	Assez larges, largeur = 1.3 mm
C barré	Barre oblique ne dépassant pas de la portée	Barre verticale ou oblique, suivant les témoins
Guidons	Droits	Droits
Aspect général	Plus sobre	Plus gras

Nom	<i>Petit Psautier Etroit</i>
Dimensions	3,2 / 3,0 / 3,0 mm.
Concordances	KRUMMEL Dutch.
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), sans emboîtement.

Amsterdam, 1617-1647.

Amsterdam, Theodoor Voscuyt, 1617.

1617: *Psaumes*. BPVF PsMB1617vos.

Amsterdam, Hendrick Laurensz, 1628.

1628: *Psaumes*. BPVF PsMB1628lau.

Amsterdam, Boudewijn Du Preis, 1646-1647

1646: *Les CL. Pseaumes de David*. BPVF PsMB1646dup.

1647: *Les CL. Pseaumes de David*. BPVF PsMB1647dup

Gouda, Jasper Tournay, 1621.

1621: *De Psalmen des Propheten Davids...*[impr. pour Hendrick Laurensz à Amsterdam], FHN Bib/Dath 1621.

Cambridge, Buck and Daniel, 1645.

1645: *Psalm book...*, 1645. Reproduction: KRUMMEL p. 70 (fig. 24).

Nom	<i>Petit Psautier Large</i>
Dimensions	3,2 / 3,0 / 3,0 mm
Procédé	Simple impression (Attaignant), sans emboîtement.
Graveur	Jansson ?
Matériel	Comprend les caractères de solmisation.

Leiden, 1615-1646.

Leiden, Uldrick Cornelissz Honthorst, 1615.

1615: *De Psalmen des Propheten Davids...* FHN Bib/Dath 1615.

Leiden, Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn, 1635-1646.

1635: *Psaumes*. BPVF PsDa-MB1635rav.

1646: *Psaumes*. BPVF PsMB1646rav.

Amsterdam, 1627-1650.

Amsterdam, Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn, 1627-1650.

1627: *De CL Psalmen Davids... P. Dathenum*, 12°. FHN deest. Paris BNF: A 6229(2).

1650: *De CL Psalmen Davids... P. Dathenum*. FHN Dath 1650b.

Amsterdam, Hendrick Laurensz, 1635.

1635: *La Bible*. BPVF B1635lau.

Amsterdam, Boudewijn Du Preis, 1649.

1649: *Psaumes*. BPVF PsMB1649dup.

Amsterdam, Jacob Pietersz Wachter ou Jan Marcusz, 1649.

1649: *Psaumes*. BPVF PsDa-MB1649wac/mar, FHN Dath/MarotB 1649a/b

Haarlem, Thomas Fonteyn, 1635.

1635: *De CL. Psalmen Davids... door P. Dathenum*. FHN Dath 1635a.

Den Haag, veuve et héritiers de Hillebrant Jacobsz I van Wouw, 1650.

1650: *De CL Psalmen Davids*. FHN Bib/Dath 1650.

Deventer, Nathanael Cost, 1651.

1651: *De CL. Psalmen Davids*. FHN DathRevis 1651.

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Waelrant's Working Relationship with Jan de Laet, as given in the Prefaces to their Partbooks

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Hubert Waelrant and Jan de Laet formed a partnership for publishing music part-books during the period 1552/1554-1558. Unfortunately no documentation about the firm's history survives except for the prints themselves and the dedications and prefaces given in the book.¹ This paper will, through these documents, attempt to answer, firstly, the dates regarding the beginning and the end of the association. Secondly, the study will speak to the question of the division of work between the two men: did it follow the norms for Renaissance printers/editors and publishers/booksellers?² Thirdly, how did Waelrant and Laet intend to meet the local competition? Although Tylman Susato was very active in the 1540s as a printer of music, his interest shifted to the real estate world in the 1550s.³ Pierre Phalèse, in nearby Louvain, opened his shop in 1545 with a specialty in lute music. In 1552, he began to print a series of chansons and, in 1554, motets.⁴ What was it about the Waelrant and Laet partbooks that the two felt secure enough to enter such a demanding competition? As background for these questions we will take brief looks at the lives and the careers of Waelrant and of Laet.

Waelrant's life and activities

Waelrant was born in Antwerp about 1517, but we do not know the exact location. He died 19 November 1595 at Antwerp at the age of 78 according to his pupil Franciscus Sweertius (1567-1629).⁵

¹ R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet: Music Publishers in Antwerp's Golden Age*, (*Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music*, 15), Warren, MI, 1995, pp. 309-330.

² Publishers/booksellers usually took the responsibilities of financing a work, making content decisions, binding the book, selling, and sometimes securing the privilege for the volume. Bookmakers dealt with concerns of layout, composition, presswork, proofreading, corrections and collation of pages. For the some of the duties often editorial staff was used or hired.

³ U. MEISSNER, *Der Antwerpener Notendrucker Tylman Susato*, 2 vols., (*Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 11), Berlin, 1967, and K. FORNEY, *New Documents on the Life of Tielman Susato, Sixteenth-Century Music Printer and Musician*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 35-36 (1982-1984), pp. 18-52.

⁴ H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions de Musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils, 1545-1578*, (*Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires de la Classe des Beaux-Arts*, 16), Bruxelles, 1990.

⁵ Regarding the most recent findings about Waelrant's life, and the three or four Hubert Waelrants living in Antwerp at this time, see G. PERSOONS, *De genealogie van de Antwerpse toonkundige Hubertus Waelrant (1517-1595)*, *Zijn biografische data en 'Voces belgicae'*, in *De Gulden Passer*, 57 (1979), pp. 142-163 and G. SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk op componist Hubertus Waelrant (°Antwerpen? vóór 19 november 1517-† Antwerpen 19 november 1595)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 12 (1995), pp. 52-64.

His early days are shrouded in obscurity. Some scholars believe that he studied in Venice with Willaert and Zarlino; others even claim that his first compositions were published there.⁶ We have no firm evidence for either of these hypotheses, however.⁷ The closest we can come to the statement regarding an Italian publication is to note that a manuscript, issued between 1545-1550 and labeled Bologna Ms. Q26, contains three Waelrant madrigals and a chanson. If there was a printed source for these works, it is now lost.⁸

The first mention of Waelrant in Antwerp archival sources (1544-1545) is that he was a singer (tenor) for evening *salve* services, known as *het lof*, in the Chapel of the Confraternity of Our Lady, a part of the Church of Our Lady. Documents also show that he sang at mass for the same fraternal group and that Melchior Schetz paid for his services. We shall later meet his brother Cunrad as one of Waelrant's long-time and influential patrons.⁹ About 1547 or 1548 Waelrant wed Maria Loockenborch, who is believed to have given birth to nine or ten children.¹⁰ Raymund, the oldest male, was organist in the Antwerp Church of St James and the Church of Our Lady. After the death of Maria (?1551 or 1570), the composer married Anna Ablijt (Tanneken Ablijns alias van Covelijns) on 18 May 1564.¹¹ Following Anna's death (about 19 November 1580), Waelrant married Johanna Cleerhagen on 13 May 1581.

During the period 1545-1552 the archival sources are silent about the musical activities of our composer. We might surmise that he continued to work as a soloist or choir member and, because of his documented role as a teacher in 1553-1556, that he taught music to his patrons. At least one preface to Waelrant's and Laet's books furnishes evidence that the benefactor had a continuing

⁶ E.L. GERBER, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 4, Reprint Graz, 1966-69, col. 491.

⁷ F. FÉTIS, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie général de la musique*, 1st ed., 8 (1844), p. 496. Also see E. LOWINSKY, *Das Antwerpener Motettenbuch Orlando di Lasso's und seine Beziehungen zum Motettenschaffen der niederländischen Zeitgenossen*, in *Tijdschrift der Vereniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, 14 (1935), pp. 185-229 and 15 (1939), pp. 1-46, 194-205. Also published as a book, Den Haag, 1937. Recently an English translation appeared in E. LOWINSKY, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, 2 vols., B. BLACKBURN (ed.), Chicago, 1989, 1, pp. 421-424.

⁸ R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, pp. 49-51, and G. SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk*, pp. 56-57.

⁹ G. PERSOONS, *De genealogie*, p. 152; G. SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk*, pp. 55-56 and L. DE BURBURE, *Notes historiques: uittreksels uit de archieven der stad en der kerken van Antwerpen, 1100-1796*, 2, p. 439; 6, p. 100; 7, p. 242; and *Kathedrale Archieven*, Rek. B.M.V., 1545.

¹⁰ G. PERSOONS, *De genealogie*, p. 152; G. SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk*, p. 53; R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 43.

¹¹ In the possibility of still a fourth wife, see G. SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk*, pp. 53, 55-56. A "Walranck", with no profession added to his name, married a Maria Corecopers on 23 July 1551. If this is the composer, then it would be his second marriage. It would seem likely, then, that she must have borne some of the children. Regarding social functions of the Waelrant family, see the sworn statement given by Josyna Waelrant Diopits in R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet* (in English translation), pp. 339-341.

teacher-pupil relationship with Waelrant. In the 1556 *Jardin musical à 4*, book one, he notes that Cunrad Schetz is a gifted musician and that by ear and natural inclination he can judge what is good music.¹² Waelrant also mentions that he has had for some time a very strong desire to collect chansons that were worthy for publication in honor of his patron.¹³

Waelrant in 1552 became a published composer. Pierre Phalèse at Louvain printed three of our composer's chansons in his second book of chansons for four voices. During the same year, Phalèse's chanson books two-four followed, each presenting compositions by Waelrant.¹⁴ In 1553 Waelrant had a six-voice chanson appear in Phalèse's new series for five and six voices. The same year saw Montanus and Neuber print one or two motets by Waelrant.¹⁵

In 1553 Waelrant associated himself with Gregorius de Coninck, a professional instrumentalist.¹⁶ According to a three-year lease signed the last of February 1553, Waelrant rented de Coninck's house *Februarius* on the *Twaalfmaandenstraat* (Street of the Twelve Months) for 23 Brabant pounds. In addition to the cash payment, the lease required Waelrant to teach de Coninck's pupils without further reimbursement. It is very likely that Waelrant taught a new solmization system, known as *bocedization* or *voces belgicae*.

In 1554, Waelrant and Laet issued their first publication, a book of motets for five and six voices. By the end of 1556 the series numbered five. As the series of motets and chansons progressed, Waelrant gradually began to include his own pieces. By 1558 he must have felt that he had gained enough stature that he could issue a volume of motets and another of madrigals and chansons, all from his own pen. The madrigals are of special note since they are the first of this genre from a Lowland composer. Table 1 shows Waelrant and Laet's publications, with patrons, in a chronological order based on their watermarks.

¹² R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 318.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ H. VANHULST, *Pierre Phalèse*, nos. 9-11, pp. 20-23. R.L. WEAVER, *A Descriptive Catalog of the Music Printed by Waelrant and Laet*, (*Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography*, 73), nos. 37-39, pp. 166-169.

¹⁵ H. VANHULST, *Pierre Phalèse*, no. 14, pp. 29-30; no. 20, pp. 38-39; and R.L. WEAVER, *Descriptive Catalog*, nos. 40-42, pp. 170-173.

¹⁶ See H. SLENK, *The Music School of Hubert Waelrant*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21 (1968), pp. 156-160; G. PERSOONS, *De genealogie*, pp. 156-158; G. SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk*, pp. 59-61 and WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, pp. 52-54.

TABLE 1
Waelrant & Laet publications

CAT. NO.	WAE LRANT & LAET PUBLICATIONS	DATE	DEDICATED TO	POSITION
2.	Motets à 5 & à 6, Bk. I	1554	Johannes Ulstatt	Augsburg merchant
3.	Motets à 5 & à 6, Bk. II	1555	Culmann Asschenhaymer à Mosprun (Austria)	
4.	Jean Louys, Pseaulmes à 5, Bk. I	1555	Geraerdt Grammeyer (by Jean Louys)	City Treasurer of Antwerp
5.	Motets à 5 & à 6, Bk. III	1555	Marcus Welser	Augsburg merchant
6.	Jean Louys, Pseaulmes à 5, Bk. II	1555	Jean Cocquiel	Merchant of Antwerp
7.	Jean Louys, Pseaulmes à 5, Bk. III	1555	Loyal colleagues of the College of Music Antwerp (by Jean Louys)	
8.	<i>Jardin Musiquel</i> , à 4, Bk. I	[1556]	Cunrad Schetz	Lord of Lier
9.	Motets à 5 & à 6, Bk. IV	1556	William Trainer	Patrician of Regensburg
10.	Motets à 4, Bk. I	[1556]	(none)	
11.	<i>Jardin Musiquel</i> , à 4, Bk. II	1556	Michel de Francqueuille (by Jean Caulery)	Abbot of Saint Aubert, in Cambray (his cousin)
12.	<i>Jardin Musiquel</i> , à 3, Bk. I	[1556]	(none)	
13.	Motets à 4, Bk. II	[1556]	(none)	
14.	Motets à 5 & à 6, Bk. V	[1556]	(none)	
15.	<i>Jardin Musiquel</i> , à 4, Bk. III	[1556]	(none)	Patrician of Antwerp
16.	Motets à 5 & à 6, Bk. VI	[1558]	Cornelius Pruenen	Italian patrician
17.	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali & canzoni francezi</i> , à 5 & à 6, Bk. I	1558	Bartolomea Doria Inurea	
55.	H. Waelrant (ed.), <i>Symphonia angelica</i> , à 4, à 5 & à 6 (printed by Phalèse and Bellère)	1558	Cornelius Pruenen	Patrician of Antwerp

In 1561, Waelrant began publishing music with other firms. Perhaps the most significant fact that accrues from surveying these post-Waelrant and Laet prints is our composer's interest in the madrigal. In 1565, Scotto, at Venice printed Waelrant's *Le canzon napolitane*, a collection of lighter madrigals. Although only two partbooks survive, at least half of these pieces maybe known in their entirety through their repetition in a Winchester College manuscript (Ms. 153).¹⁷ This source also contains other music by our composer in this same style.

Waelrant's work as a musician, instructor, editor, and composer may not have brought him financial security, but it did bring him fame as a composer. The Antwerp poet Jan Maes, writing about the cultural life of the city, honored him with these words:¹⁸

¹⁷ R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, pp. 49-51 and IDEM, *Descriptive Catalog*: Scotto, *Le canzon*, no. 48, pp. 179-181, and also Winchester College Ms. 153, no. 72, pp. 210-211.

¹⁸ R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. xxiii. Note that the poet is Jan Maes and the first composer mentioned is Trehou, not Tournhout, as it appears in the book.

*Trehou, Waelrant, Verdonck, and Pevernage, they together
Adorn Belgica, O most beautiful, strong land,
With the heavenly art (full of honor, free from infamy)
of music: which rouses men to virtue and freedom*

Laet's life and activities

Jan or Johannes de Laet (ca. 1524-ca. 1566) is a relatively little-known person to musicians.¹⁹ His first publication, completed in 1545, was a grammar by

¹⁹ Information regarding Laet may be found in A. ROUZET, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle*, Nieuwkoop, 1975, pp. 115-117. For other accounts, see E. ROOBAERT and A. MOERMAN, *Libraires et imprimeurs à Anvers du XVIe siècle, notes et documents I: Jean de Laet, imprimeur de la ville d'Anvers 1549-1566*, in *De Gulden Passer*, 39 (1961), pp. 188-210, and R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, pp. 57-83.

Noël van Berlaimont. In addition to his ordinary shop activities, we know from Plantin's records that he trained apprentices. Henri Vanhulst has recently uncovered such a contract from 1562 between Pierre Phalèse and Jean Laet regarding Jacob Phalèse.²⁰

The exact size of Laet's shop, both in equipment and in personnel, is not known. A safe conjecture is that it was medium-sized with two presses.²¹ A comparative look at Plantin's in 1564, when it was at low ebb and included only two presses, affords us a reasonable guess at the personnel in Laet's establishment: it may have included four press operators, five compositors, several proofreaders, and a collator.

Laet printed a variety of books on many subjects. Included are writings of classical authors, three editions of the Dutch Bible, polyglot editions of the Psalms, Latin grammars, and writings of Erasmus and More. Also he issued legal documents and placards for Charles V and Philip II. The accounts of the Antwerp city treasury show that different items, including ordinances for processions, noticed of houses for sale, and details connected with lotteries. Although one document specifically refers to Laet as *city printer*, he was never accorded this title nor granted an annual stipend, as was later given to Plantin.²²

Laet, we must note, in 1556, without the assistance of Waelrant, printed a set of partbooks using the same musical typefont as found in Waelrant and Laet's 1554 motet publication. This set of partbooks, Lassus's *Antwerp Motet Book* for five and six voices, is dedicated to Cardinal Granvelle (Antoine Perrenot, Lord of Granvelle).²³ The Lassus book has one noticeable difference from the Waelrant and Laet prints: the compositor has achieved a very exact alignment of word and tone by leaving more space between the notes. The hand guiding the compositor seems to have had Italian training, similar to be found in Gardane's motet publication of 1545. Perhaps it was Lassus himself, for he would have been well-acquainted with Gardane's practices and, moreover, resident in Antwerp at this time.

In 1559 Laet began to issue a considerable number of music books and sheets of music without Waelrant. The first of these was a copy of the *Souterliedekens* – the tenth edition of Symon Cock's Psalter. When compared to the earlier ver-

²⁰ H. VANHULST, *Le contrat d'apprentissage conclu en 1562 entre Pierre Phalèse et Jean Laet*, pp. 255-259, in *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum natalicum Willem Elders*, A. CLEMENT and E. JAS (eds.), (*Chloë, Beihefte zum Daphnis*, 21), Amsterdam, 1993.

²¹ L. VOET, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1969-1972, 1, pp. 132-133; 2, p. 335. See also P. GASKELL, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 163-164, 175-176.

²² E. ROOBAERT and A. MOERMAN, *Libraires et imprimeurs*, p. 197; doc. 10, p. 204; and doc. 15, p. 208.

²³ See R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, pp. 52, 54, 67-69, 202-203, 209, and IDEM, *Descriptive Catalog*, no. 21, pp. 96-102.

sions, Laet's shows a new typeface and a new format. He issued another *Souterliedekens* in 1564.²⁴ In 1561 he brought out a Dutch madrigal, *Ghelijs den dach hem baert*, à 5, for the *Die Violieren* (The Violet), an Antwerp Chamber of Rhetoric.²⁵ Similarly, there is a madrigal for the *Heybloemkens* (Heather), Chamber of Rhetoric from Turnhout, which I believe, by its type, was printed by Laet, although no name is given on the sheet. About the same time, 1563, Laet issued Severin Cornet's *Canzoni a Napolitane à 4*. A song for the Procession Celebrating the Assumption of Mary (1563) is found in a small pamphlet. Other partbooks include Orlande de Lassus's 1566 book of chansons à 4; Noe Faignt's *Chansons, Madrigales, & motetz*, à 4, à 5, and à 6, printed in 1568; and Jan de Castro's *Madrigali, canzoni, & motetti* for three voices, printed by Laet's widow in 1569. Lastly Laet's widow brought out a lute book by Valentin Greff Bakfark in 1569.

Duration of the partnership

We come next to consider the length of the partnership. The first Waelrant publication that survives today, as noted above, is a 1554 book of five- and six-voice motets dedicated to the south German merchant Johannes Ulstatt. There is a possibility, however, that the partnership began as early as 1552 with a now-missing motet collection, but the evidence is weak. An Inquisition document from Mons, dated 16 March 1568 (1569 n.s.), records that in the house of the city's sworn bookseller, officials took possession of two motet volumes, both published by Waelrant and Laet.²⁶ The official recorded that one had been printed in 1552 and the other in 1554. No other direct mention of this 1552 work can be found. The question comes to mind as to whether the Inquisition officer saw two copies of the same volume and simply recorded the one with the wrong date.

Before discounting the 1552 volume simply as a scribal error, however, we must turn to the dedicatory preface of the 1554 work, where Waelrant describes his beginnings in music printing. Here a series of verbs offers some possibility of a previous book, namely, a 1552 volume: *This is about the second year a number of learned and sacred songs have been submitted to us ... But since there was such a dearth of copyists, no means could be found that was either faster or more suitable than to undertake this tasks in print. And this work*

²⁴ See illustrations in R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, pp. 70-71.

²⁵ These and other publications noted below may be found in R.L. WEAVER, *Descriptive Catalog*, nos. 22-36, pp. 103-166.

²⁶ H. VANHULST, *Les éditions de musique polyphonique et les traités musicaux mentionnés dans les inventaires dressés en 1569 dans les Pays-Bas espagnols sur ordre du duc d'albe*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 31 (1997), pp. 60-71.

*did not remain a completely unrealized intention; the type was set, it was applied in the press, and, finally, what has been published is now being discovered in performance. When, indeed, we saw the undertaking universally approved, we sent forth these [even] choicer compositions by various authors and have dedicated them to your name.*²⁷

The question raised by the 1554 preface may be found in the last two sentences. The final sentence suggests that there was a previous book: *Now when, indeed, we saw the undertaking universally approved: we sent forth these [even] choicer compositions by various authors and have dedicated them to your name.*²⁸ These *choicer compositions* sound as though they belong to a second volume; and those that were printed because *no means could be found that was either faster or more suitable than to undertake this task in print* seem to belong to a still earlier book. The verb tenses in these passages, unfortunately, keep us from accurately unraveling the meaning of the sentences. We do learn, however, from this preface that Waelrant and Laet were working together at least informally since about 1552 or 1553.

On marking the end of the Waelrant and Laet partnership, we again come into controversy. The two principal music historians presenting differing views are François Fétis and Walter Piel. Fétis, in his *Biographie universelle* (1866-1880) mentions a 1565 Waelrant and Laet *Symphonia angelica*, a collection of madrigals for four-, five- and six-voices.²⁹ No copies of this Waelrant and Laet volume have been found, and the contents have never been listed. Fétis, we should note, was aware of the 1585 *Symphonia angelica* which Waelrant edited for Phalèse and Bellère. There is no mention, moreover, of the 1565 *Symphonia* among the early booksellers such as Willer (1595 catalogue) or Draudius (1611 catalogue). One is tempted to believe that the 1565 *Symphonia* is a bibliographical ghost, a mix-up with the 1585 book, since Fétis never handled the earlier 1565 volume.

Walter Piel, in his 1969 work, writes that the joint venture ended in 1558, with the two books devoted to Waelrant's music.³⁰ After these two Waelrant volumes, his compositions appeared, first in 1561, in books of other publishers. Piel's most convincing argument for limiting the duration of the partnership to 1554-1558 is his observation that during these years, Waelrant's compositions appeared only in his and Laet's prints. The look at Laet's music published later further underlines this assumption since he himself issued a *Souterliedekens* in 1559 and in 1563 a book of four-voice works by Severin Cornet.

²⁷ R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 310.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ F. FÉTIS, *Biographie universelle*, 8, p. 392.

³⁰ W. PIEL, *Studien zum Leben und Schaffen Hubert Waelrants, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Motetten*, (Marburger Beiträge zur Musikforschung, 3), Marburg, 1969, pp. 66-67.

The partnership advantages

The advantages to both men in this partnership are clear. For Laet, this meant diversification in his work and perhaps a chance to broaden his profit base. Since Laet had no musical education, as far as we know, a versatile musician such as Hubert Waelrant would have enabled Laet to get by with hiring as few new workers as possible. Only during 1556 would the shop have a full-time roster of employees, some of whom were engaged almost daily in bringing out partbooks.

During the Renaissance, fame was more important than profit in producing a book. Composers generally offered their music without charge to a printer.³¹ For Waelrant, this relationship provided a ready outlet for his own works, and if the venture were successful, a chance to gain a reputation in the musical world, as well as a little profit. What Waelrant could offer Laet was a number of valuable and practical in-house services: 1) a collector of compositions, 2) the securer of finances, 3) a competent lay-out master and organizer of contents, 4) a typesetter, 5) a proofreader and corrector, and 6) a seller of the books. Clearly he saw his work to be that of a bookseller/publisher combined with numerous duties a bookmaker in an untraditional way.

Patrons

We turn next to the finding of patrons. Waelrant depended, as we will see, on wealthy merchants and city officials for his financial resources (see Table 1). Almost all the dedications make this point, either in flowery or in subtle language. Waelrant often writes about the patron as one who has power and prestige in his homeland and has devotion to the art of music. Such a typical honor is that written in the 1555 motet book for Culmann Asschenhaymer of Mosbrun: (*think[ing] that he [Laet] would [not] have sufficient defense in me*), *I have chosen you as the most powerful, O most eminent sir, not only because you are of the Austrian nobility and illustrious in your father's glory, but also because you are expert in all the affairs of music.*³² To Marcus Welser, he wrote similarly: *But also the noblest men ... school themselves diligently in this discipline, admire the art greatly, embrace it eagerly, and cultivate it zealously.*³³ Waelrant also lauds his patrons for the Renaissance practice of using music for relaxation. Regarding Mardus Welser he wrote: *To you, I say, O excellent Marcus - who are considered preeminent not only in your zeal for good literature and your many other virtues, but also in this most honorable kind of*

³¹ See R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 286.

³² Ibid., p. 312.

³³ Ibid., p. 314.

*attempt (whenever graver concerns allow it) to avoid the world's annoyance and to delight the mind unrestrainedly.*³⁴

Patrons were often credited for knowing and practicing music which made the work on an edition that much more demanding in matters of layout. Knowledge regarding music is singled out as one of Culmann Asschenhaymer's aptitudes: *I have chosen you ... not only because you are of the Austrian nobility ... but also because you are expert in all the affairs of music.*³⁵ Similarly, Bartolomeo Doria Inurea used music to bring calm to his day. In the preface to Waelrant's madrigals and chansons dedicated to his Italian student Waelrant wrote: *Among the many fine and noble talents that shine in you like bright stars, you have for some time been very given to music, for whose harmony you are wont to gather frequently with joyful conversation as a break from your daily and honorable affairs.*³⁶ For his Antwerp friend Cunrad Schetz he wrote: *Knowing, beloved Lord, the singular affection and good will which by natural inclination you have always brought especially to music [and knowing] that you are so learned in that art that by ear alone you can pass judgment and discern what is worthy of praise.*³⁷ The Bartolomeo preface presents a similar thought - Waelrant directed his whole energy in composing a fine volume for his knowledgeable and musical pupil and patron.³⁸

Following his praise of the patron in these prefaces, Waelrant usually moves directly to his point: financial assistance for the publication. To Doria he writes: *Because you ardently love this faculty of music and because what I dedicate to you is my labor and travail, it should be not only welcomed and received by you in a happy spirit but also shielded and defended under the shadow of your name.*³⁹ To Ulstatt, in the first book of motets, at the end he simply says *We now leave it to your prudence to determine a just and proper recompense. But if our estimation is correct, we will not regret our efforts, but rather, with the aid of the muses, we will attempt greater things in the future.*⁴⁰

Selection of compositions

The prefaces show that another of Waelrant's important publisher/bookseller responsibilities to have been the finding and selecting of music. In the *Jardin*

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 312.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 325.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 318.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 325.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 310.

musiqua, book one, we find an emphasis on his own personal satisfaction in his selection of composers. To Cunrad Schetz he wrote: *I have always had a very keen desire to compile and make a collection of some good chansons, which would not only deserve to be published, but would also be worthy of being dedicated to you. Therefore, now that I have found material to my taste, I could not fail to put my hand to the task and to discharge, in part, my obligation for so many favors I have received from you and from all the noble family of Schetz.*⁴¹

For Ulstatt's dedication, Waelrant notes his apparent ease in acquiring compositions: *This is about the second year a number of learned and sacred songs have been submitted to us. Their harmony was so well received, [even] by musicians, incredible as it sounds, that they all wanted the songs to be published.*⁴² Similarly to Welsher, Waelrant wrote, *For the common pleasure of all men, we have collected certain new and previously unpublished measures of sacred song.*⁴³

We can see the value that Waelrant placed on originality when we note that the number of compositions borrowed from earlier publications is relatively few. Of the 98 works issued by the Antwerp partners in the *Jardin musical* series, only five had appeared before in printed form. Of the 112 motets Waelrant and Laet printed, ten had been brought out earlier. With three exceptions, most of Waelrant and Laet's duplicates were done close to this proximity, one is tempted to ask whether in these instances the composers might have offered their music to two different publishers at about the same time. This unique repertory is a measure of the effort Waelrant exerted in his search for unpublished works. Waelrant himself, in the third book of motets for five and six voices, expressed this concern directly: *For the common pleasure of all men, we have collected certain new and previously unpublished measures of sacred song.*⁴⁵ The dedication to Schetz echoes similar thoughts.

We come now to look at how Waelrant and Laet intended to bring their books into meeting the competition of music printers in their surrounding area. The three chief printers of Antwerp and Louvain - Susato, Phalèse and Waelrant & Laet - chose music mainly from Clemens non Papa and Crecquillon for their motet anthologies. Manchicourt is more prominent in Susato and Phalèse than in Waelrant and Laet. According to Lowinsky⁴⁶, the style of the Waelrant motet selection differs from that of Susato and Phalèse principally by the de-

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 318.

⁴² Ibid., p. 310.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 314.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 289-292.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 314.

⁴⁶ E. LOWINSKY, *Das Antwerpener Motettenbuch*, pp. 50-51; (translation, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance*, pp. 411-412).

gree of emphasis on progressive tendencies. These innovative features include 1) increased attention to text and musical rhythm and in precise musical setting of the word with the note; 2) freer musical forms, governed not by preexisting melodic materials or strict use of contrapuntal devices but by responsiveness to text meaning and mood; and 3) new harmonic procedures, notably fuller and more colorful harmonies.

What are we to think, then, about the books that have no patron and no dedication? Perhaps they are speculative trials on the part of Waelrant or Waelrant and Laet. Having chosen what they thought what was fine literature and having established a good record of sales over the past years, they may have taken a chance that additional financing would not be necessary. Another possibility would be that these were volumes for which there was a hoped-for benefactor who for some reason did not materialize.

Layout

Preliminaries completed, Waelrant and Laet could begin production of the partbooks: paper, layout, and editing. We first examine the partbooks with regard to paper, their size and format. Waelrant regularly used foolscap size, folded so as to make the books oblong-quarto in format. Each page held five or six staves of music. Waelrant, in good Renaissance style, liked Laet's format because of its simplicity and elegance. He expressed his opinion very firmly in the preface to Asschenhaymer: *I leave it to you to defend both my own opinion and the work of Laet which I have recommended ... Laet has been so diligent in faultlessly and elegantly manufacturing it ... I do not hesitate to compare these works, whether you consider craftsmanship or ingenuity, with any other works published in this discipline.*⁴⁷ To Welser he said the same thing of his partner's work: *[the pages] have been reproduced in this most elegant format as accurately as they could be.*⁴⁸ Moreover, Laet's partbooks are unique because of the attention they display for the performer: 1) in the layout they preserve the tactus at the line endings; 2) they are precise with text underlay and accidentals; and 3) they take special care in marking corrections.

Text Setting

Waelrant as composer and editor seems to have responded constructively to the criticisms expressed by theorists such as Zarlino that many who wrote

⁴⁷ R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 312.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

music did not know how to set texts appropriately. Lowinsky was the first to point out that Waelrant's methods followed those of Willaert and Gardane. For the Italians, a significant turning point came in Gardane's 1545 edition of the five-voice motets of Cipriano de Rore.⁴⁹ In order to fully realize the ideals of Willaert and Zarlino, Waelrant initiated the following changes: 1) he aligned words more accurately with their appropriate notes by allowing more space between notes, 2) he divided words with a melismatic setting to show the correct groupings of notes with the syllable, 3) he employed more ligatures, many of which were new to his type font and, 4) he used fewer *iterum* signs, preferring instead to set the repeated text in full in order to promote understanding of phrases. Waelrant's text underlay in his own works tends to be even more accurate than the editions of other composers because of his musical style, namely, his preference for declamatory melodic patterns, imitative motives with repeated pitches, and limited number of melismas.

Layout: Accidentals

In addition to practices regarding tactus and text underlay, Waelrant and Laet's editions are distinguished from those of their competitors by their use of accidentals. Not only did they have more typographical forms of these signs, notably their sharp on a space, but in some pieces they occur in greater numbers when compared to other editions. But, as in our discussion of text underlay, we must distinguish between Waelrant's work as a composer and as an editor. The danger in adding sharps and flats beyond those needed to correct obvious melodic and harmonic faults and to raise tones at cadences is that they begin to change the harmonic color and melodic features of a work. In a comparison of fourteen selected motets from Waelrant and Laet's press with their appearance in Susato's and Phalèse (and Bellère's), seven of the compositions show differences of only one or two flats. In all but two, the work with the larger number does not belong to Waelrant and Laet.⁵⁰ In pieces with four to eighteen sharps and flats, it is usually Waelrant's edition that includes the larger number of accidentals. Waelrant and Laet's editions do, then, show some slight tendency to include more accidentals, but not with any predictable regularity.

When we move to accidentals in Waelrant's own compositions, however, we find a more radical departure from tradition than in his work as an editor. Both sacred and secular pieces show an abundance of sharps and flats. As a

⁴⁹ E. LOWINSKY, *Zur Frage der Deklamationsrhythmik in der a-cappella Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *Acta musicologica*, 7 (1935), pp. 65-67, and M. LEWIS, *Antonio Gardane and his Publications of Sacred Music, 1538-55*, Ph.D. diss., 2 vols., Brandeis University, 1979, 1, pp. 198-199, 227-231.

⁵⁰ R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, pp. 233-240.

result of his specification of accidentals, chords change their major and minor colorings rather frequently, especially in certain modes. *Pater Abraham*, from the sixth book of motets, serves as a good example of Waelrant's use of accidentals to enhance quickly-paced emotional moods, especially through alternation of chord colors – major chords at cadences and cross relationships within the phrases.⁵¹ In this motet we must attempt also to determine 1) which notated signs are realizations of *ficta* rules so obvious that they are really unnecessary but bring added help to the singer, 2) which of the specified accidentals would not have been added through *musica ficta* regulations, and, consequently, represent Waelrant's personal choices, and 3) which of the unnotated accidentals are to be supplied by the performer's knowledge (and must be added by the modern editors) to fulfill the dictates of *musica ficta* and good counterpoint. In his application of accidentals, then, we find Waelrant a progressive musician who cares especially for the problems faced by performers in works that stress the changing text moods.

Typesetting

When the copy had been edited and the type prepared, the typesetter or compositor could begin his work. It is plausible that, with Waelrant to provide well-marked copy, Laet may have been able to use in-house compositors rather than to hire additional help for this work. Several of the dedicatory prefaces suggest rather strongly that Waelrant himself participated in typesetting and related matters. In the salutation to Marcus Welser, he called himself *Hubertus Waelrandus, Musico typographus*, and to William Trainer *Hubertus Waelrandus, typographus*.⁵² In the discussion of Waelrant's editorial policies, we noted his interest in modal organization, text underlay, and specifying accidentals. These features, carried out with the hand of a musician skilled in typesetting, would have created partbooks of outstanding quality. Even if we cannot be certain about Waelrant's exact role in typographical setting, there would seem to be little doubt that he could have guided those who were regularly employed by Laet. For a printer like Jan de Laet to have ventured into the specialty of music printing without a counselor and proofreader would have been ill-advised. Unless assistance from a musician could be obtained, one untrained in music ran the risk of publishing works of little interest and poorly set on the page.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 240-247.

⁵² Ibid., pp. 313, 312.

Proofreading and Corrections

Proofreading during this era was the task of one of the more educated members of the firm. Heartz, for example, notes that in Paris the most exacting printers often saw to this job themselves; Attaignant, for one, he believes, likely continued in the tradition of serving as his own proofreader.⁵³ Since type fonts had a limited number of characters, a sheet was usually printed as soon as it was set; it was then broken apart, and the type redistributed so the next forme could be set. Unless the author or composer could conveniently stop by the printer's shop as the work progressed, the only practical alternative was to have an in-house reader. Because Waelrant and Laet printed anthologies with many composers represented in a partbook, an in-house proofreader, such as Waelrant, was a very practical solution.

After the proofreader had completed his task, the corrector then set about his work, which included marking misspelled words, turned letters, wrong fonts, and pages out of order. When finished, the corrector returned the forme to the compositor, who took the letters and symbols needed for the changes and set about the job. Here, too, Waelrant could have performed this role with little practice.

Summary

As we look at the partbooks of Waelrant and Laet, we see that they are characterized by high-quality technical features and, especially a layout that appeals to the humanists' taste by its simplicity and elegance. Laet's typographical setting and press work led to his partbooks as having the reputation for being "diligently and faultlessly manufactur[ed]".⁵⁴ They were lauded by Waelrant for their elegance, beauty and accuracy – not to be compared to others of their kind. Furthermore, these books are geared to the needs of the performer: lines end with an unbroken tactus, a clear placement of word and tone, and an ample specification of accidentals, following the progressive trends of the Italians. New compositions, primarily from Flemish and Franco-Flemish masters, fill the volumes. Waelrant took responsibility for finding prominent patrons, sympathetic to the arts and financially capable of bringing monetary support to the projects. Waelrant and Laet, in summary, seemed to be mutually attracted by excellence. It marks their tasks and likely their personal relationship throughout. It seems to allow the two partners to work in areas where they had indivi-

⁵³ D. HEARTZ, *Pierre Attaignant, Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical catalogue*, Berkeley, 1969, p. 117.

⁵⁴ R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 312.

dual skills, not binding themselves tightly into more usual 16th-century roles of bookmaker/printer and publisher. Each served wherever needed in order to meet the competition at hand.

THE TYPOGRAPHY OF THE FIRM OF HUBERT WAE LRANT AND JEAN DE LAET

Susan Bain
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The music books published by the Antwerp firm of Waelrant and de Laet make an immediate impact, by virtue of the clarity of the printed page, and the elegant music and text types employed. The quater-centenary of Waelrant's death (1595) prompted this analysis of their fine typography, based largely on the British Library's collection of their publications. In addition, Waelrant's remarks on music printing will be examined, and the distinctive music type will be identified with 16th-century matrices conserved at the Museum Plantin-Moretus.¹

Hubert Waelrant's career encompassed singer, teacher and composer, as well as music editor.² Jean de Laet, by contrast, was an enterprising and prolific printer in Antwerp for more than twenty years (1545-1567), working either alone or with other important figures, such as Steelsius and Bellère. Together with Christophe Plantin and Willem Silvius, he served as Town Printer, and as such his name is found frequently in the town accounts. He printed a number of Ordinances, and other official publications, lottery tickets in a variety of languages, Bibles, psalters, classical texts, as well as a number of Spanish and English books.³ He seems to have been successful in exporting and distributing his books, and maintaining commercial dealings with other printers, both in the Low Countries, and abroad.⁴ Perhaps it was his business acumen and wide-spread contacts, as well as his reputation for an attractive finish to his printing, which appealed to Waelrant and prompted their partnership.⁵ Waelrant, as editor, had assembled a considerable corpus of music for publication, but it is clear that de Laet also appreciated the commercial possibilities of printing music. Their partnership was only of five years' duration (1554-1558), yet de Laet issued a number of prints during the years 1556-1566 under his sole

¹ The illustrations used are by courtesy of the British Library (ex. 1, 3-11), the Museum Plantin-Moretus (ex. 2) and the Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (ex. 12). I should like to thank these institutions most warmly for their generous permission and help.

² R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant* in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 (1980), pp. 97-99.

³ E. ROOBAERT and A. MOERMAN, *Jean de Laet*, in *De Gulden Passer*, 39 (1961) pp. 188-211.

⁴ According to *RISM*, Waelrant & de Laet's music publications are to be found in libraries at London, Stockholm, Uppsala, Rostock, Lübeck, Vienna, Munich, etc. There are relatively few copies in Belgium, where they were prohibited by the Inquisition. See H. VANHULST, *Les éditions de musique polyphonique...dans les inventaires dressés en 1569...sur ordre du Duc d'Albe*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 30 (1977). pp. 60-71.

⁵ See F. OLTHOFF, *De boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers in Antwerpen...*, (1891), p. 50.

name, including two editions of the popular *Souterliedekens*, and two books (motets and chansons) by Lassus. After his death, his widow continued this tradition of music publication (1568-1569) including a volume of lute music, printed in Italian lute tablature – the only instance known of this tablature being printed in the Low Countries.

Eleven of the sixteen books published jointly by Waelrant and de Laet are to be found in the British Library, albeit mostly incomplete sets of parts. These are: Books 1-5 of the *Sacrarum cantionum...quinque et sex vocum*⁶, but lacking the quinta/sexta part; (in addition, there is a complete set of Book 5 of this series); Books 1-2 of the *Sacrarum cantionum...quatuor vocum*⁷, lacking the superius part; Books 1-3 of the *Jardin Musiqua...a quatre parties*⁸, again lacking the superius part; and Waelrant's *Il primo libro de madrigali & canzoni francezi* (1558)⁹, of which yet again the superius part is missing. These four sets, now separated, may once have been bound together. They all have deckle-edged paper, gilt and gauffed. (In contrast, the separate fifth book of the first set of motets has narrower margins and no special finish). Of de Laet's separate music publications, the British Library holds the superius part of Lassus' *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque & a sei voci* (1556)¹⁰ and two editions of the popular *Souterliedekens* (1559 and 1564).¹¹ Apart from the *Souterliedekens*, which are small octavos, all these books are oblong quartos, signed in 4s, with vertical chainlines, and they all employ the distinctive music type associated with Waelrant and de Laet. It is generally combined with an italic type for the texts, whether Latin, French or Italian. Only the *Souterliedekens*, traditionally, are printed with a combination of gothic and roman types for the Dutch and Latin texts respectively.

In the dedications of the 5/6-part motet series, Waelrant makes specific and striking reference to the music type. By contrast, the dedications in the other, secular collections, such as *Jardin Musiqua*, books 1-2, and Waelrant's *Madrigali & canzoni francezi*, contain no mention of typography: the quality of the music is praised, and the musical skill of the dedicatee, inviting his patronage; but only in the motet collections are these sentiments linked, and indeed crowned, with praise of the printing types employed.¹² The first four books of this series are dedicated to merchants and patrician figures, one from Austria, one from Regensburg, and two from Augsburg; book 6, containing only com-

⁶ RISM 1554⁶, 1555⁶, 1555⁷, 1556⁶, (1556)⁷.

⁷ RISM (1556)⁴, (1556)⁵.

⁸ RISM (1556)¹⁷, (1556)¹⁸, (1556)¹⁹.

N.B. Some errors in RISM: 1556⁶ (Book 4): BL has SATB only; (1556)⁴⁻⁵: BL has ATB, not STB; (1556)¹⁷⁻¹⁹: BL has ATB, not STB.

⁹ RISM W1.

¹⁰ RISM L758.

¹¹ D.F. SCHEURLEER, *De Souterliedekens*, 1898, nos. 15 & 21.

¹² The dedications are fully transcribed in W. PIEL, *Studien zum Leben und Schaffen Waelrant's*, (*Marburger Beiträge z. Musikforschung*, III), 1969.

positions by Waelrant, is dedicated to Cornelius Pruennen, sheriff of Antwerp and a music dilettante, whom Waelrant addresses *Musices patrono unico*.¹³ Book 5 has no dedication, and neither do the two books of four part motets.¹⁴

The dedication in Book 1 is signed by both Waelrant and de Laet, though Waelrant appears to be the author. He sets out his objectives in practical terms: as scribes are in such short supply (*quoniam scribarum tanta erat inopia*), the quickest and most convenient method of publishing the music would be to print it.¹⁵ He then gives details of the work that this involved: *Neque vana omnino ea remansit coniectura, parantur typi, praelo adhibentur, ac quid tandem aedidissent, avide exploratur. Ubi iam vero negotium omnibus probari videremus...*

(So that this should not remain an empty conjecture, types were prepared, first tried out, then finally finished, and eagerly put to the proof. And now we shall see the result of all these efforts...). Here Waelrant is taking the reader step by step through the whole working process, inviting us not only to appreciate the labour involved, but also, as it were, to share in the excitement as the different techniques are mastered.

The dedication to the second book, dated January 1555, is signed by Waelrant alone; but he refers straight away, in the very first sentence, to the high quality printing types used by de Laet: *Ioan Latius typographus, meo hortatu, typis suis, quos semper habet elegantissimos, evulgare statuisset* (Jean de Laet the printer, with my encouragement, decided to publish, using his types; he always has the most elegant ones). Later in the same preface, Waelrant refers to de Laet by name three more times, praising his diligence and care in printing exactly what he (Waelrant) authorises. The close working partnership between editor and printer is emphasised because this leads to a copy free of error.

In the dedication to the third book, four months later, Waelrant's confidence has increased sufficiently to style himself *musico typographus*. Here the typography is referred to as the finishing touch to the whole musical and publishing enterprise: the motets are pleasing to the ear, and a delight to the mind, and *Eos*

¹³ A. DAVIDSSON, *Musikbibliographische Beiträge*, (1954), p. 16 draws attention to Waelrant's unusual choice of patrons to whom these motet volumes are dedicated.

¹⁴ Unless they were printed in the missing Superius part-books – unlikely, given that the Index of each volume is found on the verso of the title-page in the part-books which have survived, as unique copies, in the British Library. It is, however, probable, that there was once a copy of these two volumes in the Herwart library. See H. COLIN SLIM, *The music library... of H.H. Herwart*, in *Annales Musicologiques*, 7 (1977) pp. 67-109. Items 88-89: *Sacr. Cant. sive Motetarum Diversorum 4 vocum, libri duo. Antwerp*. Slim suggests these are Susato publications (RISM 1553⁸⁻⁹) but the title of Susato's motet series is *Ecclesiasticarum Cantionum...*; whereas the catalogue gives the title used by Waelrant & de Laet. Moreover, there are 13 further publications from their firm listed in the catalogue. Items 88-89, however, form part of the library which was given to the Jesuits in 1588.

¹⁵ J. Louys, in the dedication to volume 2 of his settings of the psalms, printed by Waelrant & de Laet (RISM L2889) also describes the inaccuracy and dishonesty of scribes as the prime reasons for going into print. See W. PIEL, *op. cit.*

autem perelegantibus his formis quam castigatissime descriptos (Moreover, they are transcribed with these supremely elegant types, and most assiduously corrected).

The dedication to the fourth book, signed by *Hubertus Waelrandus typographus* refers to *musicis nostris typis*, while in the sixth book it takes the form of a poem, the final line of which highlights the typography.¹⁶ Waelrant lists the different aspects of composition – the sweetness of a melody, the addition of pleasing harmonies, the choice of devout texts from the Gospels, and the whole enterprise offered to his patron, *typis meis* (with my types).

The progression from *typis suis* (book 2) through *typis nostris* (book 4) to *typis meis* (book 6) surely reflects Waelrant's growing pride as the series was completed, and also his sincere conviction that the publication of these motets merited the best presentation possible – de Laet's fine typography. As already noted, this handsome typeface was used by de Laet, and by his widow, for a further decade after the end of the partnership with Waelrant.

The music type is illustrated in example 1 – part of the first motet from Book 1 of the 5/6 part series.¹⁷

This type has been attributed to Ameet Tavernier (1522-1570), printer, type-cutter and type-founder.¹⁸ Many Antwerp printers owned founts of his distinguished roman and italic types, including de Laet. Tavernier had also cut a Flemish *civilitéé* type, the first in the Low Countries, and it is not unlikely that Waelrant and de Laet would have approached him when wishing to acquire music type. However, the strongest reason for the attribution is that the music type is used in a book printed by Tavernier's widow, in 1571.¹⁹ The type measures 10.5 x 10 mm, giving a pleasing proportion of note to stave; the notes are neat, with long stems.²⁰ This single-impression music type is carefully and skilfully assembled. The segments of type fit so well together that there are scarcely any uneven stave lines, or gaps between segments of type. In other words, with these types the printer achieves an excellent register, giving a very professional appearance to the page, and justifying Waelrant's eulogies. Besides its elegance, the type has been cast in a variety of widths, making it versatile and adaptable. In some places a very narrow body is used, and up to sixty

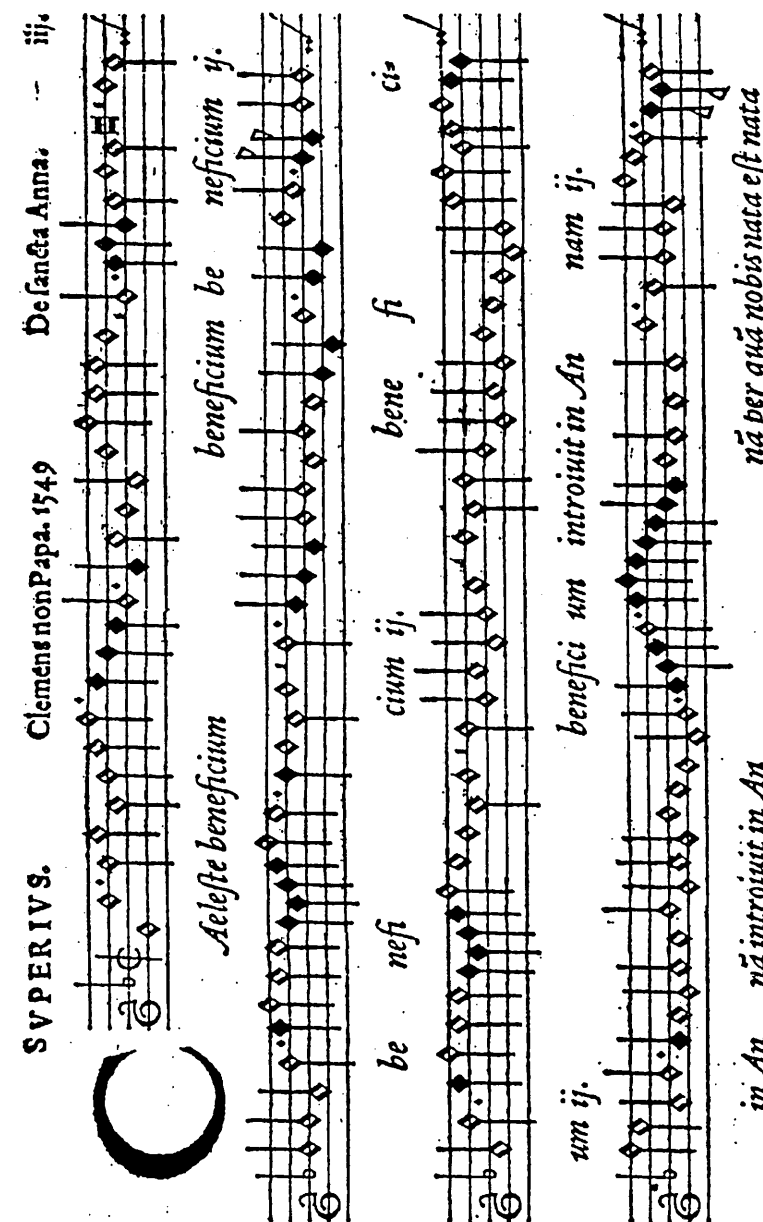
¹⁶ The unique copy is in the Musikaliska Akademiens Bibliotek, Stockholm.

¹⁷ The music type is also illustrated and described in H.D.L. VERVLIET, *Sixteenth century printing types in the Low Countries*, 1968, p. 351. (M 15). Ex. 1 here shows only four of the five staves on the printed page.

¹⁸ M. PARKER, K. MELIS and H.D.L. VERVLIET, *Ameet Tavernier, punchcutter*, in *De Gulden Passer*, 39 (1961).

¹⁹ See H.D.L. VERVLIET, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

²⁰ According to the system of measuring adopted by D. HEARTZ, *Typography and format in early music printing*, in *Notes*, 23 (1967) pp. 702-706. H.D.L. VERVLIET, *op. cit.*, p. 351, gives 10.5 : 9 mm, which seems too small a measurement for the note.



Example 1: Jean de Laet's music type (actual size). London, British Library.

notes, rests and accidentals, apart from blank stave segments, are fitted onto one stave. At other points, where fewer notes have to be fitted, a wider casting is used. The different sizes of italic type used with the music type reinforce this impression of flexibility.

Among the typographical material preserved in the Museum Plantin-Moretus,

Madrigali (1558) but absent from the motet books and the *Jardin Musiquel*.²³ In MA 92b there are also many pieces from completely different typefaces – for example the G, C and F clefs, and the direct (lines 6 and 7).

It is striking that the breves (lines 4 and 5) and the longa (line 8) of de Laet's type are present with body sizes of different widths: some with the stave lines around the note, while on others the note extends right to the edge of the matrix, enabling two or more notes to be close-set for ligatures. This usage is often found in the motet books, and there are occasional examples of other ligatures which hark back to earlier notational practice: two longas combined to form a maxima, for instance²⁴, and the use of a diagonal ligature (as in line 9, item 1).²⁵

MA 92a (catalogue 240), illustrated in lines 1, 2 and 3, and the beginning of line 4, comprises 69 matrices, of mixed stave sizes. The main group – a set of 36 matrices drilled, rather than notched at the foot – measures five lines – 9 mm, a smaller stave size than de Laet's; however, there are a few matrices in MA 92a which match his stave size, and occur in his printing. Both designs of the number 3 shown here (in line 4, from MA 92a, and line 5, from MA 92b), used to indicate a change of time signature, or a group of triplets, are found in Waelrant's and de Laet's publications.

Unlike many of the music types at the Museum Plantin-Moretus, there is no record in the archives of how and when these matrices came to the house. Plantin's own appraisal of Tavernier's competence testifies to his skills as a type-cutter and type-founder²⁶, and it is possible that Tavernier himself offered the set of 'curiously grooved' matrices, but perhaps not likely. The type seems to have been used only by Waelrant and de Laet, and de Laet's widow, until 1570, and briefly by Tavernier's widow after 1570. Apart from a pocket psalter with music (1564), Plantin printed no other books of mensural music until 1578, using the music type specially commissioned from Hendrik van den Keere. It is more probable that Plantin acquired these matrices in payment of debt, or at a sale of printing goods. The sale of Jacques Susato's effects (15 May 1564) and that of his widow (25/26 February 1565) was one such occasion, when among the goods bought by Plantin, which included a press, paper, printing moulds and type, we find a quantity of both *petite notte* and *grosse notte*²⁷ (Interestingly, the smaller notes were valued at a higher price per pound).

A variety of sizes of italic type were used by Waelrant and de Laet in different

books. Books 1-4 of the 5/6-part motet series, books 1-2 of the four-part motet series, and the volume of Lassus' *Motetti* (1556) all use a large italic type, which may be identified as François Guyot's Great Primer italic.²⁸ This has been described as one of the most successful Antwerp types, used by nearly all the printers in the Low Countries from 1547 onwards, and also found abroad. It is attractive and easily legible, and one of its advantages is the large number of ligatures and contractions which belong to it. They make it very adaptable: where the notes are set closely together, the use of contractions enables the text to be underlaid accurately, without over-running; when space is not at a premium, and the notes are set out with plenty of blank stave segments between, the text can be set out in full. This handsome type is also used for dedications, including those in publications such as *Jardin Musiquel* which use a smaller italic for the texts to the songs.

The Great Primer italic is used in combination with a smaller Pica italic, most probably the one designed by Tavernier²⁹, in Books 1-4 of the 5/6-part motet books. The largest type is used for pages with five staves, and the smaller one whenever six staves have to be fitted to the page. (Examples are given below). The two books of four-part motets also use the large italic type throughout. However, Books 5 and 6 of the 5/6-part series, while using only five staves per page, use a smaller text type, Tavernier's English italic.³⁰ Example 3a and 3b, taken from Book 5, illustrate this typeface, in two contrasting pages – the first spacious, the second more crowded, and employing contractions, and amper-sands, in the text underlay.

The ornamental woodcut initials (20 mm) used by de Laet in some of the dedications also come from an alphabet designed by Tavernier.³¹ The initial letters used at the opening of each motet are plain Roman capitals (17 mm), very similar to his 11 mm titling.³² Although well designed, unfortunately some initials are worn and chipped, others inaccurately placed, which detracts from the overall neatness of the page.

²³ There is an illustration in R.L. WEAVER, *op. cit.*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 20, p. 98.

²⁴ In Lassus' *Motetti* (1556) – Dij of Superius.

²⁵ In Book 4 of the 5/6-part motets – Dij of Bassus.

²⁶ See P. ROMBOUITS, *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs... par Christophe Plantin*, 1881, p. 17.

²⁷ In *Archives Plantiniennes* at the Museum Plantin-Moretus, vol. 35, folio 12 & folio 84. J.A. STELLFELD, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*, 1949, which gives details of further listing of music type in the Plantin inventories, incorrectly dates Susato's sale as 26 February 1568.

²⁸ H.D.L. VERVLIT, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-289, (IT 3).

²⁹ H.D.L. VERVLIT, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-299, (IT 8).

³⁰ H.D.L. VERVLIT, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-291, (IT 4).

³¹ See M. PARKER, K. MELIS and H.D.L. VERVLIT, *op. cit.*, fig. 53, pp. 68-69. C, D, P and V from this alphabet occur in de Laet music books. They are all open letters with a two-line border.

³² See M. PARKER, K. MELIS and H.D.L. VERVLIT, *op. cit.*, fig. 23, p. 42.

Caesaris auspicijs illustrates an elegantly spaced, five-stave page, with the large text type. On the facing page, *Verbum caro* uses six staves, and the smaller text type. There are a number of ligatures on this page. *In principio* fully occupies six staves, and ends with a signum, indicating that this motet will be concluded on the facing page. *Ave mundi* however, is another long piece, and the staves have been set even more closely - perhaps anticipating that, with the signum and the conclusion of *In principio*, seven staves might be required? In fact, six were sufficient.

[illegible]

Example 6-7: Four pages from Book 2 of the 5/6 part motet series (reduced). London, British Library.

All have five-stave pages, and use the elegant Guyot italic type. *Gaudeamus* is printed with widely-spaced notes, and an absence of contractions in the text. By contrast, *Laudem dicite*, *O magnum mysterium* and *Domine audiui* have closely-spaced notes, and many contractions in the text. Examples 8-9 are from the Contratenor and Tenor part-books of Book 4 (5/6-part motet series).

[illegible]

Examples 8-9: Four pages from Book 4 of the 5/6 part motet (reduced). London, British Library.

The signum at the end of the first page *Virgo gloriosa*, may have prompted the use of the smaller text type for *Biduanis* on the facing page; however, only five staves were needed. *Et veniat*, one of Waelrant's own compositions included in this series, is a further illustration of the use of many contractions in the text, allowing notes to be close set, and text accurately underlaid. The two different initial E blocks rather detract from these two pages.

Examples 10-11 are from the Bassus and Contratenor part-books of Books 1 and 2 of the four-part motet series).

[illegible]

Examples 10-11: Four pages from Books 1 & 2 of the 4 part motet series (reduced). London, British Library.

Not only is the initial E in the opening motet set at a sloping angle, it is the wrong initial! (The Contratenor and Tenor have, correctly, a D). Many initials in the four-part series are badly placed: N and S are sometimes printed upside down. The Bassus part-book also shows a number of faults in the Index – an

jj.

FANTASIA
Trium Vocum.

The musical score is written on four staves. The top three staves represent the voices, and the bottom staff is the basso continuo with figured bass notation. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and figured bass numbers (e.g., 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

Example 12: Italian lute tablature type, used by Jean de Laet's widow in 1569. Wien, Musiksammlung d. Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.

'e' missing from *Descendit* (in all three part-books); *ncertus author* rather than *Incertus author*; and in the Contratenor, *Filiae Ierusalem* has become *Filij Ierusalem*. There are also mistakes on the title-pages (*Antverpae* rather than *Antverpiae* and *Hermoniam* rather than *Harmoniam*), though the music and texts are printed with customary care.³³ The signum used in the first book is the vine-leaf, and in the second book, the Maltese cross (example 11). (Similarly, in *Jardin Musiquel* à 4, the vine-leaf is used in Book 1, and the Maltese cross in Books 2 & 3).

This was a reprint of the 1565 Cracow edition of lute music by Valentin Bakfark, and similarly dedicated to the King of Poland.³⁴ The colophon, on the verso of the last page, proudly states *Typis Viduae Latii*. We cannot tell whether this type face was commissioned by Jean de Laet, or by his widow; but it is a clear and elegant type: the note size, and design, particularly of the fusa and semifusa, would suggest that this face, too, was cut by Ameet Tavernier.

³³ P. GASKELL, *A new introduction to bibliography*, 1979, pp. 49, 112-113, 352, gives examples of copy set, and proofs corrected, by dictation. This might account for errors in the Index.

³⁴ H.M. BROWN, *Instrumental music printed before 1600*, 1965. 1569¹. The only copy known is in the Austrian National Library, Vienna.

THE FIRM OF PHALÈSE: A MODEST VENTURE

Anne Tatnall Gross

The view of the Phalèse family business offered here is based mainly on a study of the famous *Livre septième des chansons à quatre parties*. The celebrated anthology was printed within the Phalèse establishment at least nineteen times between 1560 and 1641, in editions representing every decade of that time span. Henry Vanhulst, Rudolf Rasch, and others have chronicled various aspects of the *Livre septième*'s life.¹ I shall base my conclusions on a detailed bibliographical study of the anthology.

The Phalèse firm was clearly not one of the printing giants of the region. Although Phalèse had relatively little competition as a printer of polyphonic music in the Netherlands, North or South, his market could not compare in size and prestige with the markets for scholarly books or for the Church. Printers like Bellère or Plantin, who produced many types of books, printed far more editions than did Phalèse. In addition, these two great Antwerp publishers regularly attended the Frankfurt fairs, where they acted as agents for the smaller-scale printing houses of their region, including that of Phalèse.

The picture of the house of Phalèse that reveals itself through bibliographical analysis strongly suggests a printing venture modest in scope and unpretentious in its background and resources. The earliest *Livre septième* editions, for example, show the elder Pierre Phalèse as an editor with limited access to chanson sources outside his own geographical area, a printer who appears to have struggled to master the technical aspects of typesetting by trial and error. This second point is seen most clearly in the editions printed by Phalèse during the eight years leading up to the *Livre septième*'s debut in 1560, editions replete with errors in signatures and pagination. Book Three of motets à 5-6, 1554 (*RISM* 1554³), gives the most dramatic illustration with a numbering of pieces (substituting for page numbers) that can only be described as haphazard.²

¹ B. VAN DEN SIGTENHORST MEYER, *Een volledig exemplaar van het 'Livre septième'*, in *Tijdschrift van der Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 15 (1939), pp. 250-263; F. NOSKE, *The Linköping Faignient-manuscript*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 36 (1964), pp. 152-165 (including A postscript on the *Livre septiesme*, pp. 164-165); R. RASCH, *Musica dis curae est: the life and work of the Amsterdam music printer Paulus Matthysz (1613/14-1684)*, in *Quaerendo*, 4 (1974), pp. 86-99; H. VANHULST, *Un succès de l'édition musicale: le Septiesme livre des Chansons à quatre parties (1560-1661/3)*, in *Revue belge de musicologie*, 32-33 (1978-79), pp. 97-120; H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545-1578*, (*Académie royale de Belgique, Mémoires de la classe des beaux-arts*, Collection in-8°, 2^e série, XVI/2), Brussels, 1990, especially catalogue nos. 77, 89, 107, 120, 147, 166, and 183; R. RASCH, *The 'Livre septième'*, in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia* (Bologna 1987), 1990, 1, pp. 306-318.

Virtually all the Phalèse editions of the 1550's contain errors in signatures. The typesetter also struggled with problems of estimating the amount of space needed, confusion with the use of woodcut initial letters, and errors in the title pages and tables of contents. It seems that the presses were often stopped for corrections. While the forme was off the press, a number of corrections would be made, some of them trivial. The typesetting and printing process in these editions must have ambled along at a leisurely rate. It appears that printing may have been a relatively insignificant part of the business at this point, perhaps carried on when the bookstore was empty of customers.

The first edition of the *Livre septième* in 1560 fits into this general pattern, with a number of errors in pagination. There are also stop-press corrections found in the two extant copies of the Bassus.³ The inner and outer formes of gathering F in Oxford are post-proof versions, with stop-press corrections. The inner forme of gathering C in Gdansk is also post-proof. In addition, the format of the table of contents of this edition evolved gradually over the printing of the four partbooks. The page was printed in the order Contratenor, Tenor, Bassus, and Superius, with adjustments to the original typesetting that produced changes in spelling and in the information given, as the typesetter moved from one partbook to the next. Later editions from this firm would be much more sparing in printers' corrections, limiting them to musical errors or attributions and reusing the original title-page setting for all partbooks. After the firm moved to Antwerp, ca. 1580, the younger Pierre Phalèse would allow errors in the table of contents of the *Livre septième* to remain in the anthology for decades.

The original repertory of the *Livre septième* raises interesting questions concerning Pierre (I) Phalèse's familiarity with printed sources outside the Low Countries. Many of the pieces had appeared earlier in editions of Attaignant, Moderne, and others, but Phalèse's readings contain variants that suggest other means of transmission. Eight of the original 45 pieces in the anthology were taken directly from Susato.⁴ Musical line-endings, distribution and spelling of the text, and transfer of errors clearly point to Susato's printed versions as the

² In the Bassus, the piece numbers proceed as follows: 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 13, 16 There are no numbers in the Contratenor until fol. 11, which is still unnumbered in the Oxford copy (*GB-Och*, 508) but has been changed stop-press in the Gdansk partbook (*PL-GD*, Ee 2165) to no. 16.

³ Both sets of extant partbooks of the 1560 *Livre septième* are bound with the Phalèse 1554 motet collection mentioned in fn. 2 (Ct, B in Oxford; S, T, Ct, B in Gdansk), and the shelf numbers are therefore the same. The two Contratenor copies contain no discernible stop-press changes (although the copy in Oxford has a large pasteover on fol. 4r, lacking in the Gdansk partbook). The Superius and Tenor partbooks in Gdansk are *unica*, and it is thus impossible to tell if they contain stop-press corrections.

⁴ *Je prens en gré* (Clemens non Papa), *D'amour me plains* (Rogier), *Pour un plaisir* (Crecquillon), *Si de present peine* (Susato), and *Un gay bergier* (Crecquillon) from Susato's Book 1 (1543¹⁶); *Doulce memoire* (Sandrin) and *Finy le bien* (Certon) from Book 2 (1544¹⁰); and *Ce mois de may* (Godart) from Book 4 (1544¹²).

exemplars. Phalèse added not a single cadential ornament, not a passing tone, not even one accidental.

On the other hand, a number of old-fashioned and beloved pieces from the international repertory, including several from the 'Parisian' chanson school, are found in the *Livre septième* with odd readings – especially for the texts.⁵ Sixteen of the chansons contain variants suggesting the misreading of handwritten poems. In addition, at least seven pieces are the work of Crecquillon or Clemens non Papa, regional composers whose work was often printed by Phalèse. He apparently had access to manuscript sources for many of their chansons, as well as for their sacred music. I would contend that Phalèse had taken most of his pieces for the *Livre septième* from manuscript sources. The unorthodox texts were 'corrected' for the second edition in 1562, still without reference to earlier printed versions.

Musical variants seen in the *Livre septième*, on the other hand, were not corrected. Many of the famous chansons, pieces known and loved throughout Europe, kept their variant readings throughout the life of the anthology. In fact, several pieces are found with similar variants in earlier manuscript sources of the Low Countries, and some also in Susato. It appears that the Southern Netherlands, perhaps even including its famous metropolis and printing center of Antwerp, were more provincial in this respect at mid-century than has heretofore been assumed. I have no reason to believe that Phalèse owned any chanson editions by his famous French forerunners.

The *Livre septième* shows strong ties to lute repertory. Twenty-six of the 45 pieces that appeared in 1560 in their four-part versions can be found in the editions of lute tablature published by Phalèse during the 1540's and 1550's. Several of these chansons are given more than one setting in these lute volumes. It seems possible that Phalèse could have obtained his four-part chanson exemplars in manuscript from a lutenist friend or friends.

In the second edition, 1562³, evidence emerges for a typesetting procedure that reinforces the image of a small-scale printing business. The clue appears in the guise of a specific element that is reused from inner to outer forme, gathering to gathering, partbook to partbook, and even edition to edition in this period. If a typesetter has to wait while the forme is printed before he can retrieve elements to be reused in the setting of the next forme, the operation must proceed one task at a time. These conditions suggest that a single person was both setting type and doing the press work.⁶ I am convinced that Phalèse himself was doing all the significant work in the print shop at this point.

⁵ Variants in both text and music will be set out in detail in my forthcoming New York University dissertation, entitled *The Livre septième des chansons à quatre parties of Phalèse: studies in music printing and the book trade in the Low Countries, 1560-1660*, Chapter 1.

⁶ VANHULST, *Catalogue*, p. xi, mentions a document of 1560 that suggests otherwise, but I believe this contract mentions extra workers brought in to deal with a particular edition, of plainsong.

The typographical element alluded to is the empty stave or staves often found at the bottom of the page, in the *Livre septième* as well as in other editions of the Phalèse firm. These staves were assembled, in this period in Phalèse's work, from individual short rules fitted together in a mosaic construction – a tedious chore that Phalèse apparently wanted to avoid repeating. He clearly had a system whereby such a construction could be held together as it was moved from one forme to the next; perhaps the staves were tied up when not in the forme. Individual sorts sustained damage as the assembled stave was reused, and the stave often appeared in different positions from one page to another. Sometimes a particular empty stave is found at the bottom of a page, sometimes above another empty stave, and sometimes even as the third from the bottom, in the unvarying Phalèse format that included only one musical piece per page.

Figure 1 includes examples of these staves. Although the figure is taken from the 1567 edition, and the specific staves shown do not appear as early as the 1562 *Livre septième* being discussed here, the pattern is the same. Figures 1, a-b show the same last stave, with a damaged sort seen on the left side. Figures 1, c-d use another empty stave with a different mosaic configuration. The idiosyncrasies of each individual set of lines tend to stand out clearly, and the stave becomes an old friend as one follows it through an edition or several editions.

xxxiij. SUPERIVS. Petit Iean,

Omme la rose se perd en peu d'espace, Ainsi le tainct & la beauté mondaine, En
 peu de tēps se cōsomme & se pas se, Et n'a pour vray qu'une durée soubdaine, Or dōc mamye, en
 beauté tant humaine, De ta beau té & naturelle grā ce, Prenōs plaisir & lieffe certai-
 ne, Avant le temps, qu'ū tel bien nous deffa ce.

xxxiij. BASSVS. Petit Iean,

Omme la rose se perd en peu d'espace, Ainsi le tainct & la beauté mondaine, En
 peu de tēps se cōsomme & se pas se, Et n'a pour vray qu'une durée soubdaine, Or dōc mamye, en beauté tant hu-
 maine, De ta beauté & na. tu relle grace, Prenōs plaisir & lieffe certaine,
 Avant le tēps, qu'ū tel bien nous deffa ce.

Figure 1 a-b: Superius and Bassus: *Livre septième*, 1567: Louvain: Pierre (I) Phalèse, fol. 18v (E2v) (US-NYp, Mus. Res. *MN.P534). Extra stave at the bottom of each: note the damage to the left side of the second line from the top.

xxxiij. TENOR. Petit Iean,

Omme la rose se perd en peu d'espace, Ainsi le tainct & la beauté mondaine, En
 peu de temps se consomme & se passe, Et n'a pour vray qu'une dure soubdaine, Or dōc mamye, en
 beauté tant hautaine. De ta beauté & naturelle grace, Prenōs plaisir & lieffe certai-
 ne, Avant le temps, qu'ū tel bien nous deffa ce.

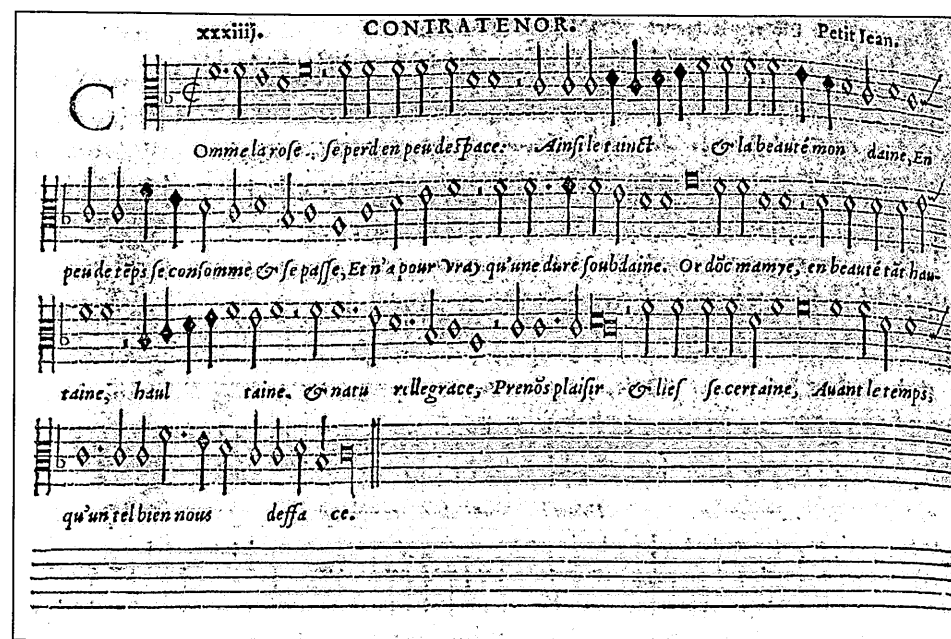


Figure 1 c-d: Tenor and Contratenor. Different extra stave: notice where the breaks in the lines occur.

One such stave seen in the 1562 *Livre septième* is particularly distinctive. The stave sustained damage in several different areas during its lifetime. One sort in particular was bent into a shape that printed like a tiny bracket lying horizontally in the configuration; the sort obviously refused to stay in place in the mosaic, and it was moved from staff line to staff line, right side to left side of the stave, and appeared both right side up and upside down. Different areas were reset to accommodate the changes. Phalèse eliminated the top line, moving the rest of the configuration up and constructing a new line at the bottom, at two different times during the printing of the edition.

The stave is seen in all four partbooks of the 1562 *Livre septième*. In the Contratenor, it appears in every gathering but the first, and in both inner and outer form of all but one of the next five gatherings.⁷ The pattern of progressive damage to the stave indicates that this Contratenor partbook was set backwards, F-B gatherings.⁸

Book Three of Lassus's chansons à 4-6, in its second edition printed in this same year of 1562 (*RISM* L 770), uses the same extra stave. I have seen only

⁷ The stave appears on Contratenor B3r, B4r, C1v, D3r, D4r, E1r, E2r, F2r, and F3r.

⁸ Other staves shared between these gatherings and the first gathering of the book lack progressive damage, and it is therefore impossible to say whether the A gathering was set immediately after the sequence given above.

the Superius, but in that partbook the stave in the opening gatherings looks like its earliest version seen in the *Livre septième*. At the end of the Lassus partbook the stave appears in yet another version, earlier than any found in the *Livre septième*. The Lassus Book Three was clearly printed before the *Livre septième*, and its Superius partbook was also printed from back to front.

Other empty staves found in Phalèse's output from 1562-1564 are seen in more than one edition. There were, for example, a total of five extra staves used in the typesetting of the Superius part of Book One of chansons à 4, printed by Phalèse in 1563.⁹ Books Three and Six, printed the same year, both use four of these same extra staves. Book Five, 1564, uses at least one of the same staves from the year before, as does the Contratenor partbook of the *Livre septième* of 1564, the only partbook remaining from that edition.

I have not seen all extant Phalèse partbooks from this period. It should be possible, however, to establish at least a partial printing order for his editions of the 1560's by following empty staves (with their progressive damage) from partbook to partbook. By the late 1570's, Phalèse spread the pieces out more on the page, and there is less need for extra staves to fill space at the bottom.

To return to the *Livre septième* edition of 1562: Phalèse added new music to the anthology in this edition, necessitating an additional gathering, signed G. The addendum was clearly an afterthought, as indicated by various pieces of textual and typographical evidence. One of the typographical clues is the fact that the new gathering is printed with a completely different set of fresh, undamaged extra staves.

As one works through the remaining years of the elder Pierre Phalèse's life, the number of extant editions rises and falls from one year to the next. Speculatively, this may indicate the comings and goings of Phalèse's four sons in the shop. His son who would eventually take over the business, the younger Pierre, may have been as old as fifteen in 1560 when the *Livre septième* was first brought out. The only extant editions from the firm in 1578, about the time of his father's death, carry his name. The oldest son, Cornelius, was apparently working with his father in 1574; Cornelius's name is seen on a volume of Lassus motets produced by the firm in that year.¹⁰ The third son, Jacob, may have had the greatest influence on the working methods of the Phalèse firm. Jacob was apprenticed to the Antwerp printer Jean Laet early in the 1560's, to learn typesetting. It seems likely that he had returned to work with his father by 1567, because the *Livre septième* of that year shows a sudden infusion of new printing techniques, as well as new information on details such

⁹ None of the editions mentioned in this paragraph is in *RISM*. The copies of the first four are bound with the 1567 *Livre septième* at US-NYp; the *Livre septième* Contratenor of 1564 is in B-Br.

¹⁰ See VANHULST, *Catalogue*, nos. 172, 188, and 189 for the three editions that bear the names of Cornelius and Pierre (II).

as attributions.¹¹

This 1567 edition of the *Livre septième* (the fourth extant; not in *RISM*; all four partbooks at *US-NYp*) reveals a major change in the firm's working methods. The edition appears to have been set by two compositors, one working on the Superius and Bassus, the other on the Tenor and Contratenor. There are clearly two patterns of preferences at work here, in areas such as spelling, indicating the presence of two distinct personalities. The two typesetters shared a pool of extra staves and initial letters, each workman transferring material within his own pair of partbooks. These initial letters and extra staves were moved back and forth between the pairs of partbooks, suggesting that the compositors may have been working next to or across from one another, with the shared materials between them. In whatever order he was moving through his two partbooks, each typesetter took the forme that had come off the press and moved any material that he could use in his next typesetting to the new forme to be set.

Figure 1 shows fol. 18v from all four partbooks of 1567. Note that each pair shares one initial letter and one extra stave. The typesetting of the attribution to Petit Iean [Delatre] has also been transferred within the pair, as indicated by the use of a comma instead of a period after the name in the Superius and Bassus. The text was apparently also transferred within each pair, with an occasional change in an abbreviation. For example, in the Tenor/Contratenor pair, the 'O' of 'Comme' at the beginning is not in italic. The damaged 's' in 'rose' is also shared by both partbooks.

This is a highly professional method, resulting in fewer errors in the printed copy. It is carried out with greater consistency throughout the Tenor/Contratenor pair. My guess is that Jacob set that pair, and that his father was still learning the procedure as he set the Superius and Bassus. The sense of a new personality and a new fingerprint comes through clearly.

Henri Vanhulst has suggested that Jacob returned to Antwerp to help the widow of Jean Laet in 1569.¹² She printed several editions in 1568-1569, before she closed down the business. After 1569, no further archival references to Jacob Phalèse have been found.

Editions of the *Livre septième* in 1570 (1570⁸) and 1573 (1573⁴) continue the procedures established in 1567, with two typesetters working side by side. I assume that this represents Phalèse with another one of his sons. There are new sets of fingerprints present, mainly concerning spelling preferences, as well as a new tendency in 1573 to use French instead of Latin for notations such as *Liu*. 7 in the signature line. As mentioned above, we know that Cornelius was working

¹¹ I am grateful to Henri Vanhulst, who suggested this interpretation of the evidence. Vanhulst has written on Jacob's apprenticeship: Le contrat d'apprentissage conclu en 1562 entre Pierre Phalèse et Jean Laet, in A. CLEMENT and E. JAS (eds.), *Chloe, Beibefte zum Daphnis: donum natalicum Willem Elders, (From Ciconia to Sweelinck, 21)*, Amsterdam, 1994, pp. 255-259.

¹² VANHULST, *Le contrat d'apprentissage*, p. 257.

in the shop in 1574, and he would be a possible candidate.

Phalèse had formed a partnership in 1570 with the great Jean Bellère of Antwerp, a partnership that would continue until Bellère's death some 25 years later. The arrangement brought obvious benefits, in allowing the firm to buy new printing materials¹³ and in providing access to the Frankfurt bookfair and the international book trade, but I have seen no indication that it resulted in the hiring of extra technicians in the print shop, with the possible exception of a pressman. The older Pierre Phalèse died sometime at the end of the 1570's and his son Pierre moved the business to Antwerp. The *Livre septième* editions, however, beginning with that of 1576 (1576^{2a}), reverted to composition by a single typesetter, the procedure followed in all the extant editions printed by Phalèse and remaining in enough copies to allow one to determine this.

The 1589 *Livre septième* (1589⁵) gives us yet another procedure. A single compositor has worked through all four partbooks, gathering by gathering, in what Mary Lewis has called "vertical setting".¹⁴ Material, such as the initial letter and the typesetting for parts of the headline, is shared by all the partbooks in a given gathering. The procedure is careful and done with skill. We certainly have the fingerprint of a new workman, introduced at some stage after the firm's move to Antwerp. The younger Pierre Phalèse was using procedures quite different from those established in his father's shop. I have no sense, however, that the business was any larger than it had been twenty years earlier.

Henri Vanhulst, in his catalog of editions published by the Phalèse firm in Louvain, lists the most editions for the years 1559 (thirteen editions, all in *RISM*) and 1569 (fourteen editions, all but one in *RISM*).¹⁵ *RISM* does not give as many editions for the firm at any later time. The high point for Pierre (II) Phalèse comes in the years 1610-1615 with, respectively, eight, four, seven, nine, five, and eight extant editions during those years.¹⁶ The heirs of the younger Pierre Phalèse have seven titles listed in *RISM* for 1634, seven in 1640, eight in 1648, seven in 1649, and seven in 1668. None of this suggests that the print shop was enlarged at any time after the death of its founder.

Under the daughters of Pierre (II) Phalèse, the printing materials became increasingly shabby. Even as early as the *Livre septième* of 1636, the type is badly worn. The paper is of a poorer quality than any used by their father or

¹³ The *Livre septième* of 1570 uses new woodcut initials, that of 1573 contains a new italic typeface, 1576 contains new versions of the music typeface for fusae and semiminim rests, and the next extant *Livre septième* (1589) will make use of a new printer's mark, several new series of woodcut initials, and one-piece extra staves.

¹⁴ M.S. LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano: Venetian music printer 1538-1569: a descriptive bibliography and historical study*, 1, New York - London, 1988, pp. 68-69.

¹⁵ VANHULST, *Catalogue*, pp. 64-76 and 137-152.

¹⁶ Stanley Boorman has graciously allowed me to use his indices of printed musical editions.

grandfather. There is an unusual degree of show-through to the verso of each leaf, and the paper has darkened to an extreme degree – even though the one extant partbook of 1636 (the Bassus; not in *RISM*; found at *PL-Kj*) is otherwise preserved in excellent condition. This description also applies to the two remaining Superius copies from 1641 (not in *RISM*; at *B-Amp* and *NL-DHk*). The paper used in editions of *les herétiers de Phalèse* beginning in the early 1650's – approximately contemporary with the death of Madeleine Phalèse, who was probably the major force in the firm in the preceding years – is even worse. This paper tended to absorb the ink so that the printing shows as unusually black. It is also of such an inferior grade that, when one examines it closely, the laid lines are unusually far apart, and the distance between any two chain lines can vary as much as ten millimeters as the lines proceed down the page.

It is true that some new type was acquired in the 1650's. In 1650, an edition of Casati's *Sacrae concentus* (*RISM* C 1414) contains new accidentals that are darker and clearer than everything around them. The rest of the type is worn, with prominent gaps between sorts. In 1654, Casati's *Moteta una et duabus vocibus* (*RISM* C 1422) was printed with new music types, as well as new mosaic extra staves. In general, however, the publications of the firm continue to look distinctively shabby. Although some new initial letters were added in the 1650's, the old initials were used along with them. These initials were apparently made of metal, nailed on blocks of wood, and the nailheads became more and more prominent as the materials aged. The two Casati editions mentioned above, from 1650 and 1654, contain an initial with a corner in the process of breaking off, and another with three of the four corners reinforced by nails.

It would be naïve to suppose that the precise typesetting procedures described by Joseph Moxon late in the 17th century were the norm, especially for small operations.¹⁷ The house of Phalèse appears always to have been a small family business, probably worked by father and son; later, in the 17th century, father and daughter; and, finally, one or both daughters – most likely all with the use of only one printing press. The professionalism of the firm developed gradually under the elder Pierre Phalèse, and the job of typesetting was approached with a variety of individual methods. Probably in any small printing house such as that of Phalèse, everyone who put his hand to typesetting had his own individual methodology. Moxon's procedures may have borne the same relationship to the methods of the average small printing house, as did the immaculate and orderly woodcut representations of the printshop-genre to the many cluttered, dirty, and poorly lit pressrooms of the real world.

¹⁷ J. MOXON, *Mechanick exercises on the whole art of printing*, London, 1683. Revised edition, H. DAVIS and H. CARTER (eds.), London, 1962.

THE EDITORS OF THE *LIVRE SEPTIÈME*

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Whereas it is conceivable that a volume of music by a single composer goes directly from the composer to the compositor, an anthology cannot come into existence without the intervening activities of an editor, someone who starts with a certain conception, collects and selects pieces, puts together the collected and selected pieces in a certain order, arranges them if necessary, proposes a title, looks for a dedicatee, writes a dedication, corrects proofs, and so forth. Since publishers of 16th- and 17th-century anthologies often were specialized music publishers, and sometimes even trained musicians as well, many of them must have been able to do this work. But would they have time for it? And would they not rather delegate that work to another person, a musician by profession, who can be supposed to have a wider overview of the available material than the publisher himself? Indeed, if we look at title-pages, dedications, prefaces, etc. of these anthologies, we frequently find the name of an external editor. There are also, of course, many anthologies that do not provide the name of such a person.

As a matter of fact, a first edition needs an editor more than later editions. Reprinting without significant changes is usually a rather simple affair, which most if not all music publishers could easily handle themselves. Only if reprints deviate substantially from their exemplars does one need some kind of editing and an editor for doing it, be it the publisher himself or a hired hand.

As 16th-century examples of collective volumes that mention their editors on the title-page, one can quote the four volumes with Italian madrigals, first published by Pierre Phalèse the Younger in Antwerp in the years from 1583 to 1591 under analogous titles. The first one, titled *Musica divina di XIX autori illustri, a IIII, V, VI et VII voci*, was prepared by Phalèse himself: *nuovamente raccolta da Pietro Phalesio, et data in luce*.¹ For the *Harmonia celeste di diversi eccellentissimi musici a IIII, V, VI, VII et VIII voci* Phalèse made use of the services of the Antwerp-based composer Andreas Pevernage: *raccolta per Andrea Pevernage et data in luce*.² The *Symphonia angelica di diversi eccellentissimi musici a IIII, V, et VI voci*, issued in 1585, was edited by another Antwerp composer, namely Hubertus Waelrant: *Nuovamente raccolta per Huberto*

¹ *RISM* 1583¹⁵. Facsimile reprint Brussels, Éditions Culture et Civilisation, 1970. Undated dedication by Phalèse to Giovanbattista di Gioiliere.

² *RISM* 1583¹⁴. Facsimile reprint Brussels, Éditions Culture et Civilisation, 1970. Dedication by Pevernage to Cesare Homodei of Milano, dated 22 October 1583, in which there is a reference to the *Musica divina*.

Waelrant et data in luce.³ Finally, the *Melodia olympica di diversi eccellentissimi musici a IIII, V, VI et VIII voci*, issued in 1591, was edited by the English refugee composer Peter Philips, then in the Low Countries.⁴ These examples, of course, do not come close to exhausting the number of Phalèse's anthologies that name editors on their title-pages. There are, besides these, many anthologies that never directly name an editor.

Many of the publications from the presses of the Phalèse firm went through a number of editions.⁵ But the chanson anthology entitled *Septiesme livre des chansons à quatre parties* surpasses any other anthology in prolonged popularity. Including its first edition of 1560 it went through twenty editions, in Louvain and Antwerp, by the Phalèse family themselves – father, son, and heirs – until 1641. There were at least eleven editions by Amsterdam publishers, from 1608 until about 1660, and two by Douai publishers, from 1617 and 1633. This makes a total of thirty-three editions within the span of one hundred years.⁶

Some of the reprints of the *Septiesme livre* – or the *Livre septième* as it was titled from 1573 onwards – do not change the contents of the anthology. Throughout its publication history, however, it is more normal to see the continuous introduction of changes. These changes include omitting and adding pieces, reordering the volume, adding accidentals to the music, adding Latin and Dutch translations to the texts, etc. Many of these changes clearly require the intervention of an editor. But none of the editions mentions an editor's name, on the title-page or elsewhere. One has to look for indirect evidence to identify them.

The *Premier-sixiesme livre des chansons à quatre parties*

A discussion of the *Livre septième* must begin with some words about the anthologies that preceded it, the *Premier* to *Sixiesme livre des chansons à*

³ RISM 1585¹⁹. Facsimile reprint Brussels, Editions Culture et Civilisations, 1970. Undated dedication by Waelrant to Cornelius Pruenen.

⁴ RISM 1591¹⁰. Facsimile reprint Brussels, Editions Culture et Culture, 1970. No dedication. A Latin panegyric by J. Gheesdalijs links all four madrigal volumes together.

⁵ See H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545-1578*, Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1990, quoted below as VANHULST 1990.

⁶ H. VANHULST, *Un succès de l'Édition musicale: le Septiesme livre des chansons à quatre parties (1560-1661/3)*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 32-33 (1978-1979), pp. 97-120. See also R. RASCH, 'The "Livre septième"', in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia I: Round Tables*, a cura di Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Bianconi, F. Alberto Gallo, Torino, 1990, pp. 306-318; A.T. GROSS, *A musicological puzzle: Scrambled editions of the Phalèse Livre septième in two London libraries*, in *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 40 (1993), pp. 283-313. For bibliographical data about the various editions, one is implicitly referred to Vanhulst's overview, published in 1978-1979.

quatre parties.⁷ The first five of these were published as a five-volume set dated 1552 (=1553, see below), *pour luy [=Phalèse] et Martin Rotaire*. Considering the date of the dedication, VI Idus Januarii MCCCCCLII, 8 January 1552 Old Style, these volumes must have appeared 1553 in New Style. Each volume comprises thirty-two pages. The contents reflect the output of the Franco-Flemish chanson composers of the second quarter of the 16th century, who were active in the Burgundian Netherlands (Flanders, Brabant, Hainault) and the prince-bishopric of Liège. Among those most prominently represented are Baston, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, De Latre, and Waelrant. Since all volumes carry the same date, it is assumed that they were issued either all at once or in rapid succession, to form a 'closed' set, not as a periodical series.

The *Chansons à quatre parties ... Premier livre* of 1552-1553 is, in fact, not an anthology, but an *Einzeldruck*, with chansons by Petit Jean de Latre, who dedicated this first volume to his employer, George of Austria, prince-bishop of Liège.⁸ Considering the prominent position of the De Latre volume in the set of five, I believe that it is not too daring to think of De Latre as the editor of the full set of five volumes, and not only of the first volume. As a composer, De Latre has a modest presence in only one of the anthologies: the *Tiers livre* contains three chansons by De Latre, chansons that, significantly, occupy the first (two) and the last positions in the volume.

In the years 1554-1555 all five volumes were reprinted without any change in contents, but with a significant change in the organization of the set. The De Latre volume, first in the series in 1552=1553, is delegated to the sixth position, without dedication.⁹ The first position is taken by a new anthology, similar to the volumes two through five: *Premier livre des chansons à quatre parties* (1554).¹⁰ The new *Premier livre* may again have been edited by De Latre, considering the three pieces of his composition in this collection. But there is no way to know for sure.

The hypothesis that De Latre was the editor of the *Premier-sixiesme livre des chansons à quatre parties* may be right or wrong, but the pattern of the relationship between series, editor, and dedicator is repeated in other sets of publications brought out by Phalèse during the 1550s. Of the two volumes of *Chansons a cinq et six parties* (1553), only the first has a dedication, by

⁷ Jean de Latre, *Chansons à quatre parties ... Premier livre*: RISM L 1060, VANHULST 1990, no. 8; *Second livre des chansons à quatre parties*: RISM 1552¹², VANHULST 1990, no. 9; *Tiers livre*: RISM 1552¹³, VANHULST 1990, no. 10; *Quatriesme livre*: RISM 1552¹⁴, VANHULST 1990, no. 11; *Cinquiesme livre*: RISM 1552¹⁵, VANHULST 1990, no. 12.

⁸ Text in VANHULST 1990, Document 5a, pp. 352-353.

⁹ *Second livre*: RISM 1554²³, VANHULST 1990, no. 24; *Tiers livre*: RISM 1554²⁴, VANHULST 1990, no. 25; *Quatriesme livre*: RISM 1555²⁰, VANHULST 1990, no. 32; *Cinquiesme livre*: RISM 1555²¹, VANHULST 1990, no. 33.

¹⁰ RISM 1554²², VANHULST 1990, no. 23.

Phalèse and Rotaire to the Antwerp businessman Melchior Schetz.¹¹ Of the six volumes of *Cantiones sacrae quinque et sex vocum* brought out in 1554, only the fifth volume has a dedication.¹² This volume is devoted to works by Pierre de Manchicourt, and is dedicated (by Manchicourt) to Granvelle, then bishop of Arras.¹³ In the series of masses by Clemens non Papa, it is again only the first volume (1558) that has a dedication, by Phalèse to George of Austria, the prince-bishop of Liège (the dedicatee of De Latre's *Livre premier*).¹⁴

In light of these parallels, I would suggest the working hypothesis that Phalèse was the editor of the five-part and six-part chansons and the masses by Clemens, and Manchicourt the editor of the series of five-part and six-part motets.

The *Septiesme livre* of 1560

Actually, the *Septiesme livre* of 1560 is not simply a seventh volume cast in the mold of the first six. It differs from the preceding volumes in several ways. First of all, its size is larger than the preceding volumes by fifty percent; it now includes 46 pages of music. Secondly, the repertoire is not just the Franco-Flemish chanson, as it was for the first six books, but a combination of the Franco-Flemish and the Franco-Parisian chanson. Third, it contains pieces already published before (with exceptions), rather than of pieces being published for the first time. Fourth, none of the pieces in the *Septiesme livre* bears an attribution to a composer. And, fifth, while the *Premier* to *Sixiesme livres* are normally found bound together (and therefore were probably distributed together), most extant copies of the *Septiesme livre* are not found with the previous volumes of the series.¹⁵

If we look at the repertoire of the *Septiesme livre* of 1560, 26 pieces can be classified as Franco-Flemish or Netherlandish of origin. The largest contributions by far are those by Crecquillon (eight pieces) and Clemens non Papa

¹¹ *Premier livre des chansons à cinq et six parties*: RISM 1553²⁴, VANHULST 1990, no. 14; *Second livre*: RISM 1553²⁵, Vanhulst b1990, no. 15.

¹² *Liber primus*: RISM 1554¹, VANHULST 1990, no. 18; *Liber secundus*: RISM 1554², VANHULST 1990, no. 19; *Liber tertius*: RISM 1554³, VANHULST 1990, no. 20; *Liber quartus*: RISM 1553¹¹, 1554-4, VANHULST 1990, no. 21; Pierre de Manchicourt, *Liber quintus*: RISM M 272, Vanhulst no. 17; *Liber sextus*: RISM 1554⁵, VANHULST 1990, no. 22.

¹³ VANHULST 1990, Document 8b, pp. 356-257.

¹⁴ Clemens non Papa, *Missa cum quatuor vocibus* (1556): RISM C 2666, VANHULST 1990, no. 34; *Tomus II* (1557): RISM C 2669, VANHULST 1990, no. 38; *Tomus III*: RISM C 2671, VANHULST 1990, no. 39; *Missa cum quinque vocibus ... Tomus IIII*: RISM C 2673, VANHULST 1990, no. 40; *Tomus V*: RISM C 2675, VANHULST 1990, no. 41; *Tomus VI*: RISM C 2677, VANHULST 1990, no. 42; *Tomus VII*: VANHULST 1990, no. 43.

¹⁵ The *Septiesme livre* is most often found alone or with other series published by Phalèse, notably those with motets and five and six-part chansons.

(seven pieces). Smaller samples are by Bracquet, De Latre, Baston, Benedictus, Gombert, and others. For nearly all of these chansons there were Flemish sources available to Phalèse and/or his editor. Susato's first, eighth, and eleventh books (of 1543, 1545, and 1549), for example, provided together no less than fourteen pieces.¹⁶ The three-volume set *Jardin musical*, published by Waelrant and Laet in 1556, may have been the source for the two Bracquet pieces and one of the De Latre pieces.¹⁷ Benedictus' *Si dire je l'osoie* was probably borrowed from the Loys and De Buys edition of Benedictus' *Chansons à quatre parties* (Antwerp 1542).¹⁸

Among the French (Parisian) composers represented in the *Septiesme livre*, Sermisy, with six pieces, is by far the most prominently present. Smaller contributions were made by Sandrin, Cadeac, Certon, and others. All of these pieces were published in Paris by Attaignant; several of them also appeared in reprints either by Susato in Antwerp or by Du Chemin in Lyons.

In fact, the 1560 *Septiesme livre* is a retrospective volume, containing works of deceased - or at least old - composers, who represented the once new styles of the second quarter of the 16th century. Only De Latre was still producing new music in substantial quantities around and after 1560. At the same time, De Latre is the composer of one of the very few pieces in the collection which was not reprinted from an earlier known source: *Comme la rose*. This may be considered an indication for editing by De Latre, as an extension of his work done for the *Premier* to *Sixiesme livre*. But one cannot deny that this is, for the time being, mere speculation.

Between *Septiesme livre* 1560 and *Livre septiesme* 1573

Regarding efforts to name editors for the various editions of the *Livre septième*, things get more difficult after the first edition. It is impossible to grasp the intent of the alterations made during the first decade of the anthology's history. Every edition up to and including that of 1570 brings new elements and adds to the variety present in the preceding editions. First these alterations will be reviewed and then the role of possible editors will be commented upon.

The 1560 edition of the *Septiesme livre* was reprinted without changes in 1562, but with an added collection of seven pieces, different from the preceding col-

¹⁶ *Premier livre des chansons à quatre parties* (Antwerp: Tielman Susato, 1543): RISM 1543¹⁶; *Le huitiesme livre* (1545): RISM 1545¹⁶; *L'unziesme livre* (1549): RISM 1549²⁹.

¹⁷ *Jardin musical ... Le premier-tiers livre* (Antwerp: Hubert Waelrant and Jan Laet, 1556): RISM 1556¹⁷⁻¹⁸⁻¹⁹.

¹⁸ B. APPENZELLER, *Chansons à quatre parties*, Antwerp, Henry Loys and Jehan de Buys, 1542: RISM A 1291.

lections in printing details. Because of these additions, the size of the volume increased to 53 pages of music. The majority of the new additions are of French origin: four of the added chansons are by Sermisy; the fifth one is the famous *Susanne ung jour* by Lupi Second. The last added piece is entirely unexpected: it is a political motet in two parts by the Flemish composer Eustachius Barbion, *Gallibus hostibus in fugam coactis*.¹⁹ Considering the eccentric character of Barbion's motet and its position as final piece, one could imagine Barbion as the editor of this edition of the *Septiesme livre*. De Latre had left Liège around 1561 to become maître de chapelle in the northern town of Amersfoort, and this may have induced Phalèse to look for another editor. However, Barbion, maître de chapelle of the Church of Our Lady in Courtrai, had already died in 1556.²⁰ One could think of Barbion's son Petrus Barbion, who had taken his father's place at Courtrai²¹, but this seems too speculative at this point.

The 1562 edition differs in one important respect from that of 1560: composers' names have been attached to all of the pieces. Although many attributions are wrong, a detailed discussion of these misattributions is beyond the scope of this study. It suffices here to say that they tend to favor Flemish above Parisian composers.

The 1564 edition comes up with new surprises. The size of the 1562 edition, with 53 pages of music, is maintained. But no less than eleven pieces (or sections) have been left out. The rationale behind these removals remains unclear. Ten new pieces (or sections) took the places of the omissions. The additions are of a very diverse nature. Some are regular Franco-Flemish chansons like the main contents of the volume. Among them is the *Fricassée sur le dessus de Mon pourceur, Amoureux suis*, by De Latre. However, there is also *O souverain pasteur* and *Père éternel* by Clemens non Papa, settings of the *Prière devant* and *après le repas* from the Marot psalter, pieces that carry distinctly Huguenot flavor. Another novelty is the introduction of pieces with Italian text (Berchem's *O s'io potessi* and Donato's *Si pur ti guardo*) or with Spanish text (Bracquet's *Quando bon hombre*). And, for the first and last time, there are two pieces by Lassus: *Soyons joyeux* and *Fertur in conviviis*, which were printed by Phalèse concurrently in Lassus' *Quatriesme livre des chansons à*

¹⁹ The addition of this piece is puzzling. The text of its first section describes how a military man in the service of Charles V was killed by the French after having chased them; in the second part his wife is deploring him. Albert Dunning (*Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555* [Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1969], pp. 171-172) applies this text to Adrien le Croy, who died when taking Hesdin in 1553, after having taken Théroüanne in 1552.

²⁰ Barbion must have died relatively young, since his son Guilielmus was admitted as a choirboy in his father's church as late as 1562. See G. SCHMIDT-GOERG, *Die Acta Capitularia der Notre-Dame-Kirche zu Kortrijk als Musikgeschichtliche Quelle*, in *Vlaamsch Jaarboek voor Muziekgeschiedenis*, 1 (1939), pp. 21-80, especially p. 69.

²¹ SCHMIDT-GOERG 1939 (see previous note), pp. 59-60.

quatre et cinq parties of the same year. Remarkably, three pieces, placed close together in the volume, have a Latin text accompanying the original French or Italian. In two of these (*Susanne ung jour* - *Susanna se videns*; *Si pur ti guardo* - *Quum sis caelestis*) the Latin text is a translation; in the third, the Latin is spiritual paraphrase (*O s'io potessi* - *O dulcissime Jesu*).

A second aspect of the 1564 edition is the reordering of the volume, probably done in order to bring some system to the random mixing of pieces of widely varying characters and languages. Pieces are grouped according to rough categorizations. The first piece, *A demy mort*, is left in its initial position. Then follow, on pages 2-19, the nine pieces with a *Responce*, always with the first sections on the left-hand pages, the *responces* on the right-hand pages. A group of single-section French chansons is placed on pages 20-34. Then follow De Latre's fricassée and Clemens's table prayers. The Latin pieces are brought together on pages 38-44, the Italian ones on pages 45-46. Pages 48-52 contain the new French pieces of 1562. Bracquet's single Spanish piece is placed at the very end of the collection.

All the changes together fully justify the following phrase added on the title-page: *De nouveau reveu, corrigé, et de plusieurs aultres nouvelles chansons, lesquelles jamais n'ont esté imprimées, augmenté*. Since the last piece is of a singular character, one may think of its author as the editor: in this case Gilles Bracquet, the composer of *Quando bon hombre*, the only Spanish piece in the collection. Bracquet was chapel master of the Church of Saint-Martin in Ieper. There is, however, a difficulty in this assumption, since he apparently died in 1563, when Bonaventura Hardenpont was appointed as his successor.

The changes from 1564 to 1567 are minor compared to earlier ones. Three pieces have been omitted, the two by Lassus and the fricassée by De Latre. The pieces now inserted are a Dutch psalm by Clemens non Papa (Psalm 26 from the *Souterliedekens*) and two chansons by Crequillon, previously included in 1560 and 1562, but left out in the 1564 edition. The edition of 1570 again shows only minor differences compared to the previous one. Three pieces or sections were left out, among them the Dutch psalm by Clemens non Papa. Inserted were one chanson by Clemens and two by Crequillon. The 1573 edition is the first one that simply reprints the contents of the preceding edition (although the remark about the correction and the enlargement remained on the title-pages). The 1573 edition introduces the new title *Livre septiesme des chansons à quatre parties*.

It is difficult to speculate about the editors of the editions from 1562 to 1573. The pattern of alterations seems too erratic to suggest a single editor. In the cases of the 1562 and the 1564 editions the final pieces (by Barbion and Bracquet respectively) could suggest these names as editors, but the relation is speculative at best. In the editions from 1567 to 1573, it seems best to assume for the moment that Phalèse himself was responsible for the changes.

The *Livre septième* from Louvain 1576 to Antwerp 1622

The edition of the *Livre septième* of 1576 compares with those of 1570 and 1573 in a very specific way. Its contents are nearly exactly the same; only one piece (Bracquet's *Quando bon hombre*) has been removed to allow a more spacious printing of another (*Demandez-vous*). The title-page statement about corrections is now given as *nouvellement recorrigé, et augmenté de plusieurs chansons non imprimées auparavant*. In the 1576 edition, however, the pieces have been reordered completely according to their 'tones', a reordering announced in the title by the phrase *Toutes mises en ordre convenable selon leurs tons*. The new order remained the basic ordering of the Louvain-Antwerp editions until 1622, and of the Amsterdam editions until the very end. Only the Antwerp editions from 1636 onwards introduced another ordering. The tonal ordering of 1576 needs some comment.

During the first half of the 16th century, polyphonic pieces were rarely connected with specific church modes. During the second half of the century, however, it became increasingly popular to assign modal categories to polyphonic pieces. This was done either in publishing – when a set of pieces of arbitrary modal characters were systematically arranged according to their modes – or in composing, when a set of pieces was constructed to reflect a certain pattern of modes. In addition, modal grouping was sometimes done without a clear connection to specific modes. Rather, it involved the grouping together of pieces with certain common characteristics regarding key signature, cleffing, and final. In these cases it is better to speak about 'tonal types' than about 'modal categories'.²²

When the editor of the 1576 edition of the *Livre septième* rearranged the entire contents of the 1573 edition, this was clearly done on the basis of tonal type, as defined by the combination of key signature (with or without a flat), cleffing (low or high; see below), and final (the diatonic pitches from C to A). Tonal types will be indicated by codes for the three defining elements separated by vertical dashes: first the pitch of the final (C, D, E, F, G, or A), then the key signature ('flat' or 'none'), and finally the cleffing ('low' or 'high'). From this system arise combined codes such as Gflathigh, Dlnonellow, etc.

Only the second aspect – cleffing – needs a little discussion. Traditionally there are two main types of cleffing: the *chiavi naturali* (or low cleffing: soprano, alto, tenor, and bass clefs, or a closely related set) and the *chiavetti* (or *chiavi trasportate* or high cleffing: violin, mezzo, alto and baritone clefs, or something closely related). Now, the pieces in the *Livre septième* show a large variety in cleffing combinations, making it difficult to divide them in two groups using

²² The basic discussion of 'tonal types' is H.S. POWERS, *Tonal types and modal categories in Renaissance polyphony*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), pp. 428–470.

the simple dichotomy of the *chiavi naturali* and *trasportate*. When one looks at the ordering of pieces in the 1576 edition, however, it becomes clear that the editor took a shortcut by deriving the criterium for high or low cleffing merely from the bass voice: a bass voice with a bass clef was indicative of low cleffing, a bass voice with a baritone or tenor clef was indicative of high cleffing.

In theory there can be $6 \times 2 \times 2 = 24$ tonal types. In the *Livre septième* we find thirteen types, some represented by a fair number of pieces, some only by a single example. The largest group by far is the one with final G, one flat as key signature and high cleffing: Gflathigh (eleven pieces). Other significant groups are Gflatlow (5), Fflathigh (7), Alnonehigh (4), Clnonehigh (6), Fflatlow (6), and Dlnonehigh (5).

Within one group, the order of the pieces is usually the same as that in the 1573 edition, so that it looks as if the editor took a certain type in mind and went through the 1573 edition for pieces conforming to this type. In addition, it looks a bit as if the editor started with the first piece of 1573, determined the type and looked for the other pieces of this type, then went back to the beginning, looked for the first piece not yet assigned to a type, determined the type, looked for the other pieces of this type, etc. This procedure, however, was not followed consistently throughout.

It may be assumed that the person who did the tonal reordering was also responsible for the editing in general. Paradoxically, although there are no added pieces, the identification of this editor was much easier than was the case with earlier editions, when there were newly added pieces to factor into the decision. If one looks at the anthologies published by Phalèse during the years just preceding 1576, two of them bear significance in relation to the *Livre septième*: *La fleur des chansons à trois parties* (1574) and the *Livre de meslanges contenant un recueil de chansons à quatre parties* (1575).²³ Both consist of a first section devoted in its entirety to compositions by Jean de Castro and a second section which is actually an anthology. Both have the remark *mis en ordre convenable suivant leurs tons* on their title-pages. Both have dedications by Jean de Castro to major Antwerp figures. The *Livre de meslanges* discloses Jean de Castro as its editor on the title-page: *choisy des plus excellens auteurs de nostre temps par Jean Castro*. The involvement of Jean de Castro in the two volumes is so overwhelming that he must be seen as the editor of both. Of greatest importance here is the fact that the tonal ordering applied in both volumes follows the same criteria as those for the 1576 edition of the *Livre septième*. Thus, there seems little doubt that Jean de Castro was the editor of the 1576 *Livre septième* as well.²⁴ The 1576 version can be called the *Castro version*.

²³ *La fleur des chansons* (1574): RISM 1574³, VANHULST 1990, no. 173; *Livre de meslanges* (1575): RISM 1575⁴, VANHULST 1990, no. 177.

²⁴ Henri Vanhulst (Brussels) mentioned to me in a personal communication that, in addition to the modal ordering, the placement of accidentals in the 1576 edition also points to Jean de Castro as its editor.

From 1576 onwards, the editorial history of the *Livre septième* enters calmer waters. From about 1577-1578 onwards, the Phalèse firm was headed by Pierre Phalèse II (or the Younger; ca. 1550-1629), who moved the firm to Antwerp in 1580 or 1581. No copy of the editions of the *Livre septième* of 1580 and 1584 is known to be extant²⁵, so let us first examine the edition of 1589. Comparing this edition to that of 1576, six pieces (or sections) are found replaced by six other pieces (or sections). Among the pieces eliminated are the last remaining ones on Latin texts; among the pieces that replaced them we find no fewer than four pieces by Huybert Waelrant (ca. 1515-1595). I believe that this strongly points to Waelrant's editorship of this version of the *Livre septième*. I here say 'version' and not 'edition,' since I believe that it is justified to see him rather as the editor of the lost 1584 edition, which is closer in time to the 1585 publication of the *Symphonia angelica* that does mention Waelrant as an editor on the title-page. By 1580, Castro must have left the Southern Netherlands for Germany and France, so that the appearance of a new editor in the 1580s is understandable.

The 1584-1589 version, which can be called the *Waelrant version*, was reprinted unchanged every three to five years during the next two decades. Beginning in 1601, all editions have a brief music instruction on the verso of the title-page. For the time being, it is impossible to say who drafted this instruction. A wealth of speculation is possible: Waelrant's son Raymundus Waelrant (1549-1617), organist of the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp; Antonie (III) Barbé (ca. 1570-1626), organist of the Church of St James in Antwerp and author of *Exemplaire des douze tons de la musique et de leur nature*, published by Phalèse in 1599; and also Pierre Phalèse himself. By this time, the volume had apparently begun to be seen as a sort of historical anthology, a kind of summary of the art of the French chanson during the 16th century. This view would influence the changes that took place in the 17th century. The title now reads *Livre septième des chansons vulgaires, de diverses auteurs à quatre parties*, and a significant phrase precedes the remainder of the subtitle: *convenables et utiles à la jeunesse*.

It is the edition of 1613 that shows changes in contents for the first time since 1589, or perhaps 1584. Four pieces or sections (among them three by Waelrant) have been omitted and replaced by five other pieces or sections. Four of these new pieces and sections were composed by Noë Faignient, for which reason we will call this version the *Faignient version*. The pieces by Faignient (*Soyons playsans*; *Overvloedigen ryckdom*; *Musica aldersoetsten*) are

²⁵ The editions of 1580 and 1584 were, as those of 1570, 1576, 1589, 1593, and 1606, presented at the Frankfurt book fairs of those years. See A. GÖHLER, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien*, Leipzig 1902, reprint Hilversum: Knuf, 1965, quoted below as GÖHLER 1902/1965), p. 61, nos. 1270-1273.

all taken from his *Chansons à 4, 5 et 6 parties* published by the widow of Jan Laet in 1568. The fifth piece, *Cruyceloos*, is anonymous; it is a polyphonic Dutch song much in the style of Faignient. Were it not that Faignient must have been dead many years before 1613, we certainly would consider him to be the editor of this version. Now one has to face the question of who the editor was who inserted, in 1613, a significant number of Faignient pieces - on Dutch texts, moreover - into an anthology of the French 16th-century chanson. The only acceptable candidate seems to be Pierre Phalèse himself, especially considering the fact that at least he was the dedicatory of many anthologies published by him during the decades around 1600²⁶, and even of a number of editions of single composers, among them several (unauthorized) reprints after Italian source editions.²⁷ These dedications show a serious concern of Phalesius regarding his editions.

The edition of 1613 is provided with an ecclesiastical approbation, given by Egbertus Splitholdius, canon of the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp, dated 22 November 1611. It approves of the volume as *tanquam recreativum* (with recreational qualities). It is worth noting that other Phalèse editions of this period are provided with approbations giving the same wording.²⁸

The Faignient version was reprinted in 1617 and 1622. The 1622 edition brought to an end the regular series of *Livre septième* editions of the Phalèse firm, a series that had proceeded with no longer than five years between any two reprints.

The Amsterdam edition of 1608

The Amsterdam printer and publisher Cornelis Claesz (Leuven? ca. 1550-1609 Amsterdam) was responsible for the first edition of the *Livre septième* in the Northern Netherlands, which had by that time become the Dutch Republic.²⁹ Claesz's edition appeared in 1608, divided into two sections. The first section

²⁶ To name but a few anthologies with dedications signed by Petrus Phalesius: *Madrigali a otto voci* (1596⁸/1597¹²), *Il vago alboreto di madrigali et canzoni* (1597¹⁵), *Le rossignal musical des chansons* (1597¹⁰/1598⁵), *Selectissimarum missarum flores* (1599¹, edited by Matthias Potier, chapel master of the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp), *Ghirlanda di madrigali* (1601⁵), *Florilegium sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum* (1609¹), *Novi frutti musicali: Madrigali a cinque voci* (1610¹⁴, enlarged reprint after the edition Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1590¹⁵).

²⁷ Among them the following reprints: A. AGAZZARI, *Madrigali harmoniosi e dilettevoli a sei voci* (1600, after the edition Venice 1596), G. HEREMITA, *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (1602, after the edition Ferrara 1584), and B. PALLAVICINO, *Madrigali a sei voci* (1606, reprint of edition Venice 1587); and first editions: O. DE LASSUS, *La fleur des chansons musicales* (1590, 1596, 1604, 1612, 1629), L. NERVIVUS, *Missae decem, quatuor, quinque, sex et septem vocum* (1618), and J.P. SWEELINCK, *Cantiones sacrae* (1619).

²⁸ For example, the *Florilegium sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum* (1609) and Peter Philips's *Cantiones sacrae pro praecipuis festis totius anni et communi sanctorum quinis vocibus* (1612).

simply reproduces the contents of the Antwerp Waelrant version. After fol. 28v, however, a number of compositions by Northern-Netherlandish composers have been added. The additions consist of an Italian madrigal and a French chanson in two sections by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, the famous Amsterdam organist; five four-part songs (four on Dutch text, one on French text) by Jacques Vredeman, musician of the city of Leeuwarden; and a sacred piece on Dutch text by Gerard Janszoon Schagen, musician of Alkmaar.³⁰ Was one of these composers the editor of Claesz's *Livre septième* – and, if so, which one? Claesz himself can by no means be seen as a music publisher: the *Livre septième* of 1608 was his only musical publication apart from a few psalm books. I believe that there are good reasons to regard Schagen as the editor of the 1608 Amsterdam edition of the *Livre septième*. Sweelinck's musical competence and status would put him above the mere reprinting of an existing, rather old, corpus with the addition of a somewhat incoherent set of new pieces, with texts in different languages and of varying characters, and of a varying musical level. Jacob Vredeman (ca. 1565-1629), a musician of intermediate standing in the Dutch Republic, would be a better candidate, were he not geographically rather far removed from Amsterdam. Therefore, Schagen seems to be our man, especially in view of the text of his composition, which is of Mennonite leanings. No editor would think of including a piece with such an eccentric text in the *Livre septième*, unless it were of his own composition.³¹ A minor, additional point may be that Schagen's piece occurs at the very end of the volume. So, for the time being, we assume that Schagen edited the 1608 Amsterdam edition for Cornelis Claesz.³²

²⁹ On Cornelis Claesz: E.W. MOES and C.P. BURGER, *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, Amsterdam, 4 vols., 1900-1915, dl. II, pp. 27-209; J.G.C.A. BRIELS, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630*, Nieuwkoop, 1974, pp. 238-239; B. VAN SELM, *Een menighe treffelijke boecken: Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zestiende eeuw*, Utrecht, 1987, pp. 174-252; E. HOFMAN, *Liedekens vol gheestich comfort: Een bijdrage tot de kennis van de zestiende-eeuwse schriftuurlijke lyriek*, Hilversum, 1993, p. 62.

³⁰ Very little is known about the biography of Schagen, to put it mildly. He must have been a brother of Pieter Janszoon Schagen (1578-1636), who fulfilled various official positions both in Alkmaar and in bodies of the federal government of the Dutch Republic, and who is also reported to have been an able amateur or semi-professional musician, a music teacher and even 'composer.' See L. STRENGTHOLT, *De dichter van «Bauw-heers wel-leven»: Pieter Janssoon Schaghen*, Leiden, 1977, especially pp. 12-14 and 65-66. Their father was Jan van Schagen, who became anabaptist around 1600.

³¹ The pieces by Vredeman and Schagen were nevertheless republished in *Balletten ... met drie stemmen*, Rotterdam: Widow of Matthijs Bastiaensz, 1641, one of several Dutch editions of Gastoldi's three part balletti with an added fourth part (tenor) and Dutch sacred contrafactum texts. See R. RASCH, *The Balletti of Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi and the musical history of the Netherlands*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 23 (1973), pp. 112-145.

³² A copy of the 1608 Amsterdam edition of the *Livre septième* was in the possession of the heirs of Pieter Janszoon Schagen's son Gillis Pietersoon Schagen (1616-1668), which in some way confirms Schagen's involvement in the publication of the volume. See STRENGTHOLT 1977, p. 66.

The Douai editions 1617-1633

Two editions of the *Livre septième* are known to have appeared in Douai, in 1617 and 1633, published by Jean and Pierre Bogart respectively. These editions make up a separate version, based on the Antwerp Waelrant version of 1609, and thus parallel to the Phalesius' 1613 Faignient version. Three pieces or sections of the Waelrant version (among them two by Waelrant himself) were removed and replaced by other pieces. Two of the additions are by Andries Pevernage (*Ma mignonne; Pour estr'aymé*); one is by Noë Faignient (*Le seul espoir*). These new pieces were probably borrowed from the chanson anthology *Le rossignol musical*, published by Phalèse in 1597-1598, in which all three can be found. (None of them had been published before *Le rossignol*.) To distinguish this version from the later Antwerp editions, it will be called the *Pevernage version*. The question about the identity of the editor is only answerable in a speculative way. Considering the minor character of the changes, one could imagine the publisher, Jean Bogart, as the editor of the volume. The 1633 Douai edition is simply a re-edition of the 1617 version by Jean's son Pierre Bogart.

The Amsterdam editions 1621-1660

The later Amsterdam history of the *Livre septième* is difficult to sketch because of the lack of extant copies. At least ten editions appeared in Amsterdam from 1621 to about 1660, but of only one edition does a complete copy survive. Five more are extant in, at most, two partbooks. The remaining four seem to be lost entirely; what we know about them comes from bibliographical sources.

The first Amsterdam edition after that of Cornelis Claesz provides the first example of insufficient publication information: it is the edition of 1621 by Hendrick Laurensz, listed in the Frankfurt book fair catalogues and by Draudius, but otherwise unknown.³³ It may have been a mere reprint of the latest Antwerp version, that is, the Faignient version.³⁴

³³ GÖHLER 1902/1962, p. 61.

³⁴ Sometimes the suggestion is given that Laurensz exhibited Claesz's edition of 1608, but it does not seem to have been a practice at the book fairs to exhibit any editions other than the most recent ones. Therefore, I have assumed that the Laurensz edition of 1621 really existed. Hendrick Laurensz's *Catalogus ofte register van verscheyde boecken* (Amsterdam: Hendrick Laurensz, 1628) mentions among the *Libri musici Livre septiesme - 0:18*, but this does not tell what edition he was selling at that time. Laurensz's shop catalogue of 1647 (*Bibliotheca selectissima: Catalogus librorum in officina Henrici Laurentii*, Amsterdam: Hendrick Laurensz, 1647) lists the editions of Broer Jansz and Paulus van Ravesteyn (advertised 1633; price f1:6) and of Joost Jansz (1644; price f1:4); the auction catalogue of his estate of 1649 (*Catalogus variorum et insignium librorum Hendrici Laurentii*, Amsterdam: heirs of Hendrick Laurensz, 1649) gives editions of 1632 (Jan Jansz), 1640 (Cloppenburgh?) and 1644 (Joost Jansz). The discrepancy between the listings in the catalogues of 1647 and 1649 is somewhat remarkable, since in general they correspond rather than deviate.

We stand on firmer ground with the next edition, issued by the Amsterdam printer Jan Jansz (Arnhem ca. 1590-1664 Amsterdam) in 1632: one partbook is extant. Its contents merely reproduce the Faignient version. Jan Jansz had some experience as a music dealer and probably was quite capable of overseeing the reprinting of the *Livre septième* himself.³⁵

The edition brought out by Broer Jansz (ca. 1580-1652; no relative of Jan Jansz) and Paulus van Ravesteyn (ca. 1585-1655) in 1633 is known to us from a newspaper advertisement.³⁶ No additions or alterations are mentioned, so that again it is probably merely a reprint of the latest Antwerp, that is, Faignient version. Broer Jansz, one of the most important book printers in Amsterdam in the first half of the 17th century³⁷, is described in one source as a pupil of Jan Pietersz Sweelinck³⁸, and music plays a significant role in his printing output.³⁹ He might well have done the overseeing of the printing himself.

Broer Jansz reprinted the *Livre septième* in 1640; the two partbooks extant confirm our assumption that his version of the *Livre septième* is the Faignient version.⁴⁰

The year 1640 saw the issuing of another Amsterdam edition of the *Livre septième*, published by Everhard Cloppenburg (ca. 1610-1643). Unfortunately, this edition is known only from bibliographical sources, i.e., an advertisement in a contemporary newspaper and a listing in the *Catalogus universalis*.⁴¹ Both sources mention a four-part setting of *Amarilli mia bella* and a number of canons for two to four voices. The *Catalogus universalis* listing also mentions an unspecified four-part added piece, which probably is a four-part *Den Mey*

komt ons seer lieflyck aen. The piece, known from the 1644 edition of the *Livre septième* (see below), is mentioned in the reprint of Cloppenburg's edition by Broer Jansz (see below).

Cloppenburg had brought out a Dutch edition in 1639 of the *Balletti a tre voci* by Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi under the title *Balletten met drie stemmen*, a version that was, according to the phrasing on the title-page, edited by the musician Jan Pietersz. One may assume that this Jan Pietersz was also responsible for the editing of Cloppenburg's edition of the *Livre septième* of 1640. The edition may, therefore, be called the *Jan Pietersz version*.

This Jan Pietersz is, of course, not Sweelinck but a minor musician of a later generation, who was employed by the Amsterdam Theatre during the years 1638-1639, and who wrote a number of music instructions to precede psalm books.⁴² The *Den Mey* and *Amarilli* settings of the 1640 Cloppenburg *Livre septième* may well be his compositions, judging by a comparison of their style and quality with the stylistic elements of the four-part psalms ascribed to him in the psalm books he edited.⁴³

It may be assumed that Cloppenburg's 1640 edition was printed by Paulus Matthysz (ca. 1615-1684).⁴⁴ It was Matthysz who, in 1641, printed both Clop-

³⁵ During his years in Arnhem, Jan Jansz issued Michiel Vredeman's *Der violen cyther* (1612, no copy extant) and Daniël Laelius's *Testudo spiritualis* (1617), both in tablature (at least the last one typeset). Once in Amsterdam, he bought Nicolas Vallet's *Secretum musarum* (1615, engraved edition by the composer), another volume of lute music, to sell under the new title of *Paradisus musicus testudinis* (1618).

³⁶ *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt*, no. 26, 25 June 1633: By Broer Iansz ende Paulus van Ravensteyn is ghedruckt op goetd fijn papier seer curieus *Livre Septieme*, ende sal toecomende weke by haerlieden uytgegeven worden. Van Ravensteyn, who worked from 1612 to 1635 in Amsterdam, from 1635 to 1647 in Leiden, and from 1647 to 1655 again in Amsterdam, is one of the most important printers of psalmbooks in the Dutch Republic during the first half of the 17th century.

³⁷ On Broer Jansz: *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw: Biografische en geschiedkundige aantekeningen* (Verzameld door M.M. Kleerkoper, aangevuld en uitgegeven door W.P. van Stockum Jr.; Den Haag, 1914-1916); *The Catalogus universalis: A facsimile edition of the Dutch booktrade catalogues compiled and published by Broer Jansz Amsterdam 1640-1652* (With an introduction and indexes by H.W. de Kooker; Utrecht: Hes Publishers, 1986).

³⁸ See B. VAN DEN SIGTENHORST MEYER, *Jan P. Sweelinck en zijn instrumentale muziek*, Den Haag, 1934, p. 72.

³⁹ Broer Jansz published music by Cornelis Thymanszoon Padbrué and Cornelis de Leeuw during the years 1640-1645.

⁴⁰ *Ordinaris Middelweeckse Courante*, 18 August 1640: *t' Amsterdam, by Broer Jansz. is gedrukt, ende werdt uytgegeven, Livre Septieme, in Quarto. Catalogus universalis N° 2: ... anno MDCXL* (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 1640), p. 13: *Livre Septième, t'Amsterdam by Broer Jansz, in 4.*

⁴¹ *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt*, no. 52, 29 December 1640: *t' Amsterdam by Everhard Cloppenburg is gedrukt ende wert uytghegheven, Livre Septieme des Chansons vulgaires à 4 parties in quarto, seer correct sonder eenighe foute in de Nooten, ende vermeerderd met een Italiaens Musijck stuck Amarilli mia Bella, als oock verscheide aerdighe ende vermakelijke Canons à 2, 3 ende 4 parties, noyt voor desen soo ghedruckt. Zijn noch by den selven onderhanden de Italiaensche Balletten de Giacomo Castoldi à 5 voci, seer correct, ende de octonaires van Claudijn le Jeune, met duytsche woorden. Catalogus universalis N° 3: ... ultimo semestri Anni Domini proximè elapsi MDCXL* (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 1641), pp. 10-11: *Livre Septième des Chansons Vulgaires de diverses auteurs, à 4 parties, vermeerderd met eenige nieuwe vermakelijke Canons à 2, 3, ende 4 stemmen, als oock met een Musijck-stuck Amarilli mia Bella, ende noch een ander, noyt voor desen soo correct gedrukt. t'Amsterdam by Everhard Cloppenburg, in 4.*

⁴² He is the author of a preface to the Mennonite *Boeck der ghesanghen ... Psalmen Davids* (De Rijp [North-Holland]: Claes Jacobsz, 1624); of *Een korte onder-wijsinghe voor de gene die de hooghloflijke konst der musijcke begeeren te leeren singhen* in the Lutheran psalmbook *De CL psalmen Davids* (text Willem van Haecht; Amsterdam: widow Paulus Stroobant, 1627); and of a *Korte onderwijsinghe voor de gene die de musijcke begeeren te leeren* in the Calvinist psalmbook *De CL psalmen des Koninckliken Prophete Davids* (text Petrus Dathenus; Amsterdam: Everhard Cloppenburg, 1639). In these sources he is called *Boeck-drucker ende musick-meester [or: musicien] tot Amsterdam*.

⁴³ The Lutheran psalmbook of 1627 edited by Jan Pietersz (previous note) contains two four-part settings of Psalm 128, the first according to the 'Old compositor' (16th-century version of both text and melody), the second according to the 'New composition' (newer version of both text and melody). Both settings are entirely homophonic and have the psalm tunes (not those of the Genevan psalter) in the highest part. The Calvinist psalmbook of 1639 contains four-part settings of Psalm 23 (described as 'Table-psalm') and 128 (described as 'Wedding-psalm'), again with the psalm-tune (now Genevan) in the Superius of a homophonic setting.

⁴⁴ On Matthysz: R. RASCH, *Musica dis curae est: The life and works of the Amsterdam music printer Paulus Matthysz (1613/14-1684)*, in *Quaerendo*, 4 (1974), pp. 89-99.

penburgh's edition of Gastoldi's *Balletti a cinque voci* and Jan Jansz's edition of Gastoldi's *Balletten ... met drie stemmen*. The last edition uses the same musical typeface as does Jan Jansz's edition of the *Livre septième* of 1632. The 1640 Cloppenburg edition, therefore, links up with the Jan Jansz edition of 1632, and was probably brought out to compete with the 1640 Broer Jansz edition. Since Paulus Matthysz apparently was once a pupil of Hendrick Laurensz, there may be a connection with the 1621 edition by Laurensz as well.

There were four months between the advertisements of the competing editions by Broer Jansz (18 August 1640) and Everhard Cloppenburg (29 December 1640). Less than four months after the latter (on 6 April 1641), Broer Jansz advertised a new reprint of the *Livre septième*.⁴⁵ Although no copy is known to be extant, this was probably simply a competing and identical reprint of the Cloppenburg edition of 1640. Its listing in the *Catalogus universalis* N° 3 mentions exactly the same additions found in the listing of Cloppenburg's *Livre septième*: four-part settings of *Amarilli* and *Den Mey* and canons for two to four voices.⁴⁶

As far as we know, the 1641 edition of the *Livre septième* was the last by Broer Jansz. The line from Hendrick Laurensz via Jan Jansz to Everhard Cloppenburg, however, was farther extended in time. In 1644 Jan Jansz's son Joost Jansz (ca. 1590-1664) brought out a new edition of the *Livre septième*, printed by Paulus Matthysz, of which, fortunately, a complete copy survives.⁴⁷ In one way it is a sequel to Cloppenburg's edition of 1640, but at the same time it differs greatly from it. The words *Livre septième* have been retained as a heading, but after that the title is completely in Dutch:

LIVRE | SEPTIEME, | DAT IS, | HET BOECK VANDE ZANGH-KVNST, | Vyt versheyden auteurs by een vergaert, om met 4 stemmen te zingen: | En op nieuw verrykt, met versheyden stukken, a. 2. 3. 4. en 5. stemmen. | door D. J. SWELINGH, Organist van d'Oude Kerk, tot Amsterdam, en andere | voorname Autheuren, dewelke op de navolgen-

⁴⁵ *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt*, no. 14, 6 April 1641: 'T Amsterdam by Broer Jansz worden uytgegeven, KUSJES. In 't Latijn door Ioannes Secundus, in Duytsche veerssen ghestelt door Iacob Westerbaen, den tweeden druck. Midsgaders *Livre Septieme*, met versheyde vermakelijke Canons, noyt voor desen also in druck geweest. Als mede Lof-sangen op de Geboorte Christi, door D. Hugo de Groot. Op Musijck met twee stemmen.

⁴⁶ *Catalogus universalis* No 3 ... ultimo semestri Anni Domini proximè elapsi MDCXL (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 1641), p. 15: *Livre Septième des Chansons vulgaires de divers Autheurs à 4 parties, vermeerderd met eenighe nieuwe vermaeckelijke Canons à 2. 3. ende 4. stemmen, als oock met een Musijck-stuck Amarilli mia bella, ende noch een ander, Den Mey komt ons seer lieflijck aen: noyt voor desen soo in druck geweest, t'Amsterdam by Broer Jansz. in 4.*

⁴⁷ B. VAN DEN SIGTENHORST MEYER, *Een volledig exemplaar van het "Livre septième"*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 15 (1939), pp. 252-263.

de zyde worden aangewezen. | Oock een lichte en korte instructie, zoo met als zonder veranderingh, | bequaem om wel Musyk te leeren.

The number of newly added pieces has been greatly enlarged, sometimes causing the removal of pieces, sometimes not, when the new pieces were simply printed in the spaces left in the lower margins. Among the additions there are, apart from pieces for four voices, pieces for two, three, and five parts. A fairly large number of canons have also been printed as fillers on many pages scattered through all four partbooks, probably many more canons than in 1640-1641. The 1644 edition is definitely a complete reworking of the volume. The following non-canonic pieces of 1644 are new, compared to the Faignient version:

De Mey komt ons seer lieflijk aen (anonymous; included as early as 1640-1641)
Hoe schoon lichtet de morgenster (D.J. Sweelinck)
O kersnacht schoonder dan de dagen (anonymous: Cornelis Thymanszoon Padbrué?; text Joost van den Vondel)
Soo droegh Kleopatra (à 2; Dirck Janszoon Sweelinck; text Vondel)
Laura die groen laur'en (anonymous)
Cruda mia tiraniella (Orazio Vecchi)
Mascarada: Semo tre vecchinet (à 3; Vecchi)
Een kindeken is ons geboren (à 3; Cornelis de Leeuw)
Mascarada: Welkom gesellen (à 3; Vecchi; contrafactum of *Non v'accorze Madonna*)
Caecilia-liedt: Maeckt vreught nu overal (à 5; D.J. Sweelinck)
Amarilli mia bella / Amarilli mijn schoone (anonymous; included as early as 1640-1641)

The pieces by Vecchi are borrowed from his *Convito musicale*, either from the original Venetian edition of 1597 or (more probably) from the Antwerp (Phalèse) reprint of 1598.⁴⁸

Who was the editor of the 1644 Amsterdam edition of the *Livre septième*? I believe that the most likely candidate is Dirck Janszoon Sweelinck (1591-1652), son of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, and the latter's successor as organist of the Old Church in Amsterdam. His name figures prominently among those

⁴⁸ The pieces by Vecchi all figure among the added pieces in Mathysz's edition of Gastoldi's five-part balletti entitled *Italiaense Balletten met 5 en 6 stemmen* (Amsterdam: Paulus Matthysz, 1648 and 1657-1658). *Non v'accorze Madonna* appeared in these sources with the original, Italian text. Its Dutch contrafactum had been published as an added piece as early as the *Balletten met drie stemmen* (Amsterdam: Paulus Matthysz for Jan Jansz, 1641).

of the composers of the newly added pieces. Especially significant is the inclusion of the five-voice *Caecilia-liedt*, a Dutch polyphonic invitation to make music together, written in two sections, that is printed near the end of the volume, immediately preceding the four-voice *Amarilli* appearing at the very end. Sweelinck is also mentioned as composer on the title-page. His presence in Amsterdam placed him within easy reach of the publisher. The 1644 version can be called the *Dirck Sweelinck version*.

The printer of the 1644 edition, Paulus Matthysz, was responsible for bringing out the final Amsterdam editions of the *Livre septième*. Their history is clouded, however, by the lack of complete sets of dated partbooks. What we have is an undated bass partbook in the Royal Library in Brussels (which we will call the Brussels bass), undated tenor and bass partbooks in the Library of the Faculty of Theology in Herborn (the Herborn tenor and bass), and a manuscript copy, from about 1900, of a fragment of a soprano partbook then in Leeuwarden, lacking the title-page (the Leeuwarden soprano fragment). The title in this group of editions now reads:

LIVRE | SEPTIEME | DES CHANSONS VULGAIRES. | DAT IS, |
Het zevende Boek van de Gemeene Zang-stukken, met 4 Stemmen. |
Verbeterd, en vermeerderd met verscheide stukken, en Canons van 2, 3,
4, en 5 stemmen, | door D.J. Zweeling, Orgelist van d'Oude Kerk in
Amsterdam, en verscheide andere treffelyke Auteurs; | En nu op 't
nieuw met de Vertaaling van de Latynsche, Italiaansche, Spaansche,
Fransche, | in Duitsche woorden verrykt. | Ook een licht en korte
onderwyzingh, zoo met als zonder veranderingh, bequaem om wel
Musyk te leeren.

It is, in fact, possible that – in this stage of the history of the *Livre septième* – ‘re-editions’ did not necessarily have to include all four partbooks. If one partbook was sold out before the others, nothing prevented the publisher from having only that partbook recomposed and printed again. And if only the canon repertory was changed, nothing prevented the publisher from combining this partbook with other partbooks printed earlier. This procedure would explain the lack of dates on these late reprints of the *Livre septième*. The same holds true for the more-or-less simultaneous reprints published by Paulus Matthysz of such works as Jacob van Eyck's *Der fluyten lust-hof*, Gastoldi's three-part and five-part balletti and the instrumental anthology 't *Uitnemen Cabinet*.

And indeed, if the Brussels and the Herborn bass partbooks are compared with one another, it becomes clear that their contents are identical, although they are not printed from the same type-setting. Instead, one of them must be a ‘typographical copy’ of the other, line-for-line, note-for-note, word-for-word. It is better then to speak of ‘issues,’ and not of ‘editions.’ I assume that the Herborn

bass is the later one of the two bass partbooks available. Some canons in that partbook have been (re-)set with music-type from the Antwerp Plantin shop, a type not used in any publication by Matthysz datable before 1657.⁴⁹

The last issues of the *Livre septième* share some common new editorial features. All pieces (and *Responces*) are now numbered in Roman numerals from I to LVI. Dutch translations set in small Dutch type have been placed above all original non-Dutch text set in a larger Roman type-font. The Brussels and Herborn partbooks share the replacement of one piece (Vecchi's *Semo tre vecchinet*) by another (an anonymous four-part setting of the air de cour *Repicavan*). In the Leeuwarden fragment the two-sectioned ‘Dutch madrigal’ *Laura die groene laur'en* has been replaced by three pieces also on Dutch texts: 't *Is waer*, 't *is waer een schoon musyck* (I.H., a drinking song), *De doot speelt met de mensch zoo wel* (anonymous, with tune reference *La Cardinale*, marked A 4), and *Steckt vrunden het heuft ter deuren oet* (*Starre-gesangh*, anonymous, in the dialect of the northern province of Groningen, 15 brief strophes of text underneath the notes).

Connections exist between these last issues of the *Livre septième* and some other publications by Matthysz of the mid-1650s, such as his re-editions of Gastoldi's *Balletten met drie stemmen* (surviving partbooks partly dated 1657 and partly undated; advertised 14 July 1657) and *Italiaense balletten* (surviving partbooks partly undated and partly dated 1657 or 1658; advertised 3 December 1657). The word *Musyk-boek* in the *Livre septième* imprint is spelled that way only in the Gastoldi editions of the 1650s. The *Livre septième* and the Gastoldi editions concerned are the only ones mentioning the sale of music paper on their title-pages. The Herborn partbooks are bound with a copy of the *Balletten met drie stemmen*. And finally, the addition of Dutch translations is a feature shared with the *Italiaense Balletten* of 1657–1658.

What can be said about the dating of these last issues of the *Livre septième*? Since the Brussels partbook has the inscription *Eva Rave Catherina Rave 1652* on its flyleaf, and, moreover, on the title-page Dirck Sweelinck is simply called *organist of the Old Church of Amsterdam* – which was strictly true only up to 1652 – the suggestion is that the Brussels partbook was issued no later than 1652. A safe guess is perhaps ‘ca. 1650’. The Herborn partbooks, which must have been produced closer in time to the *Balletten met drie stemmen* (probably of 1657), can be likewise dated ‘ca. 1655’. The date of the Leeuwarden fragment can perhaps be derived from the tune-reference *La Cardinale*, given for one of the newly added pieces. This tune enjoyed only a brief period of popularity, beginning in 1659. Therefore, the date ‘ca. 1660’ seems fit for the Leeuwarden fragment.

⁴⁹ See R. RASCH, *Noordnederlandse muziekkuitgaven met de Plantijnse notentypen*, in *De Gulden Passer*, 51 (1973), pp. 9–18.

Who was the editor of this last edition of the *Livre septième*? Dirck Janszoon Sweelinck could have taken care of the first issue, if this was indeed published around 1650. If this all were true, the issue of ca. 1650 should be called the *Dirck Sweelinck version* [ii].

Since Dirck Sweelinck died in 1652, however, someone else must have taken care of the issues released later. Considering the intricate relationship between the *Livre septième* on the one hand and the Gastoldi editions dated 1657-1658 on the other, one may assume that one person was dealing with them all. It is impossible to tell with certainty who this person was, but a good candidate seems to be Jacobus Haffner (ca. 1615-1671), a musician of Austrian/German extraction who had been working in Amsterdam since the mid-1640s.⁵⁰ Matthysz published Haffner's motet collection *Alauda spritualis* in 1647. Five Dutch polyphonic songs by Haffner are added to Mastthysz's edition of the *Balletten met drie stemmen* of 1657, which explicitly refers at the end to the *Livre septième*: 'Repicavan, Amarilli mia bella &c. ziet in *Livre Septieme*'. The ca. 1655 issue of the *Livre septième* may, therefore, be called the *Haffner version*. The Leeuwarden soprano fragment includes a newly added piece signed with 'I.H.', which probably is just an abbreviation for 'Iacobus Haffner'.⁵¹ In a way this seems to confirm Haffner's work for the collection. Since this very last issue contains a few new pieces, it can be considered a new version which can be called the *Haffner version* [ii].

The Antwerp editions 1636-1641

With the last known Antwerp edition of the *Livre septième*'s Faignient version (1622), the Phalèse firm was not yet finished with the collection. At least two more editions were published, in 1636 and 1641, editions that have identical contents but that differ considerably from the previous ones. The 1636 edition is a rather drastic reworking of the Faignient version – in fact, the most drastic reworking that has been done at any time in the history of the *Livre septième*. The 1636 edition is (like the very early editions) paginated, instead of foliated. Its size has been reduced from twenty-eight folios to forty-eight pages. Its contents now falls into two sections. The first section (about two-thirds of the anthology, pp. 3-31) contains a selection of pieces from the Faignient version. The second section (about one-third, pp. 32-45) contains newly-added pieces, from various sources of varying age. First, there is a group of seven pieces borrowed from *Een Duytsch musyck-boeck*, a publication by Pierre Phalèse the

Elder (Louvain 1572)⁵², including composers such as De Latre, Lupus Hellinck, Faignient, Jan Belle and Ludovicus Episcopius. Second, the pieces on Dutch texts from the Faignient version of the *Livre septième* have been moved from the main corpus to the added corpus, probably because of their Dutch texts. Third, there is (rather mysteriously) an isolated 16th-century French chanson by Abran (*Tant vous allés*), borrowed from the anthology *Livre des meslanges* (Louvain: Phalèse, 1575).⁵³ And finally, there are four pieces by contemporary Antwerp composers: three by Guilielmus Messaus and one by Jacobus le Fèvre.

It seems that we must see the pieces by Guilielmus Messaus as the 'editor's signature.' His pieces are placed near the end of the volume. More important yet is the observation that the editing procedure shown in this edition of the *Livre septième* is recognizable in a number of other anthologies published by the Phalèse firm about the same time – notably the *Laudes vespertinae* of 1629, the *Luscinia sacra* of 1633, and the *Pratum musicum* of 1634. Each of these collections consists of a main section derived from an older source and an added section filled with pieces mostly by contemporary Antwerp composers.⁵⁴ Messaus is the common element through all of these volumes.

Guilielmus Messaus (1589-1640) worked as phonascus of the Church of Saint Walburga in Antwerp from about 1619 onwards.⁵⁵ Phalèse published a volume of *Missae 5-12 vocum* in 1633 and one of *Cantiones sacrae octo vocum* in 1634, but there is apparently no copy of either edition extant.

The *Messaus version*, as the 1636 Antwerp edition can now be called, not only reduces the number of pieces in the main section, it also reorders them. If we look at the new ordering, it appears to be yet another order by tonal type, with a redefinition of one classifying aspect. Key-signature and final have been retained unchanged as classifying aspects, but the distinction between normal and high cleffing is now based on the clef of the soprano part, not of the bass part as in 1576. Pieces with soprano parts in the violin clef are considered high-cleffed, pieces with soprano parts in the soprano clef are low- or normal-cleffed. This change of criterion reflects, of course, the change in viewpoint from the 16th to the 17th century on what is the most significant voice of a composition.

⁵⁰ D. VAN DEN HUL, *Jacobus Haffner en zijn Alauda spritualis* (1647), in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 21 (1970), pp. 225-239.

⁵¹ Although only the soprano part of 't *Is waer* survives, a structural similarity with the five four-part pieces in the 1657 edition of the *Balletten met drie stemmen* can be discerned. These pieces are based on existing melodies, but are not strictly homophonic.

⁵² *Een Duytsch musyck-boeck*: RISM 1572¹¹, VANHULST 1990, no. 161.

⁵³ *Livre des meslanges*: RISM 1575⁴, VANHULST 1990, no. 177.

⁵⁴ *Laudes vespertinae* (RISM 1629²), opening with a corpus of Marian antiphons by Pevernage and Viadana (probably already published in this form in 1616), adds a number of four-part Dutch Christmas carols by Messaus and other composers. *Luscinia sacra* (1633), a reprint of Giovanni Battista Ala da Monza's *Primo libiri di concerti ecclesiastici* (Milan 1618) contains added pieces by Messaus only. *Pratum musicum* (RISM 1634²), a reprint of Ala's *Secondo libro* (Milan 1621), has added pieces by Messaus, Henricus Liberti (organist of the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp) and Jacobus Molet (musician at various Antwerp churches).

⁵⁵ On Messaus: R. RASCH, *De cantiones natalitiae en het kerkelijke muziekleven in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden gedurende de zeventiende eeuw*, Utrecht, 1985, pp. 73-76.

In addition, along with the new tonal grouping, some order has been brought into the succession of the tonal types. The tonal types with low cleffing are given first, those with high cleffing later. Within the first class of types, those with a flat as key signature precede those without. Within the second class of types, this order has been reversed. In the section with added pieces, it is very difficult to discern any tonal ordering. Sometimes pieces with the same type follow each other, but on other places pieces are placed together because of their origins.

The 1636 Antwerp edition was reprinted once, without changes. This reprint is dated MDCXLI with added *II* in manuscript in one surviving partbook, MDCLXI with the same added *II* in manuscript in the other, identical, surviving partbook. There is consensus among '*Livre septième* scholars' that MDCXLI provides the right date for this reprint. (In addition, 1661 would provide a truly unusual gap between the two editions.) Considering the consistent manuscript addition, the reprint was obviously not released until 1643.

Conclusion

In this contribution on the subject of the editors of the *Livre septième*, an editor's name could sometimes be connected to a particular edition with ease, sometimes the connection was stated with much reservation, sometimes no name could be given at all. The basis for making the connection between an edition and an editor varied, but basically two types of reasoning were used.

In several cases, the presence of a few newly added pieces by a little-known composer working in the vicinity of the publisher was interpreted as a sign pointing to the editor, especially if these pieces deviated from the mainstream of the contents. If we analyze the rationale behind this procedure, it seems to be the negative answer that would be given to the question 'who else than their composer would insert these pieces into an anthology of famous, time-honored pieces?' This method provided the names of De Latre for the first edition (1560), Waelrant for the 1584 edition, Schagen for the 1608 Amsterdam edition, Messaus for the 1636 Antwerp edition, Dirck Jansz Sweelinck for the 1644 edition.⁵⁶

In other cases it was possible to point to an editor who did similar work for the publisher in comparable editions from roughly the same period of time as

⁵⁶ This point was made explicit by John Relfe when he added piano works of his own composition to a compilation of works by well-known masters, in *A set of twelve miscellaneous lessons for the harpsichord or pianoforte* (London, 1786): *An apology will doubtless be expected for the seeming presumption of the Compiler, in annexing some of his own Compositions to those of the reputation which chiefly compose this Work. The apology offer'd is that such Pieces were compos'd by him as subservient to the general plan, ...*

the edition under consideration, and who was mentioned on the title-pages of those editions. I am thinking of Jean de Castro for the 1576 edition and Jan Pietersz for the 1640 Cloppenburg edition.

In a number of cases there is concurrence between the two grounds: Waelrant provided new pieces for the 1584-1589 version and edited the *Symphonia angelica* in 1585. Messaus contributed to at least three other anthologies from the years around 1630 in the same way that he did to the *Livre septième* of 1636. Haffner provided pieces both for the *Balletten met drie stemmen* of 1657 and the ca. 1660 issue of the *Livre septième*.

The validity of our methods is corroborated, more or less, by anthologies other than the *Livre septième* which do have the editor mentioned explicitly on the title-page. The *Harmonia celeste*, edited by Pevernage in 1583, contains five madrigals of his composition, pieces that are almost the only ones not borrowed from existing printed sources (in addition, there are two madrigals by Noë Faignt). Pevernage is the composer of the very first piece of the volume and the first six-part piece, both dedicated as single pieces to the dedicatee of the whole volume, Cesare Homodei. The same holds true for Waelrant's *Symphonia angelica* of 1585. There are three madrigals by Waelrant himself, among them the first six-part piece, dedicated separately to Cornelis Pruenen. Peter Philips's *Melodia olympica* of 1591 contains four madrigals of his own composition, but also some by Pevernage, Cornelis Verdonck and Jan van Turnhout. Interestingly, the volume opens with three 'local' contributions, by Pevernage, Verdonck and Philips. The first six-part piece is by Philips, as well as the very last piece of the volume, the only one for eight voices. With regard to the *Musica divina*, edited by Phalèse himself in 1583, this type of signature cannot be expected, since Phalèse is not documented as having been a composer. However, the first piece, with a separate dedication to the dedicatee of the volume, Giovanbatista di Bartolamei Gioliliere, is anonymous, as are eight other pieces in the collection, an unusually high number. Were they composed by Phalèse himself and did he want to hide his authorship because he was the publisher as well? The only other local contributions are two madrigals by Faignt.

It would be worthwhile to apply the same methods to other anthologies published by Phalèse and other publishers throughout the 16th to 18th centuries. Undoubtedly, the outcome of such investigations will be as unpredictable and uncertain as is the case for the various editions of the *Livre septième*. It is hoped, nevertheless, that the thoughts given in this article will contribute to the thinking about those who were, in some way, instrumental in bringing out the numerous anthologies of early music, a type of musical publication whose importance for the history of music can hardly be overestimated.

APPENDIX I

Editions of the *Septiesme livre / Livre septième*

YEAR	PLACE	PUBLISHER(S)	RISM	VH	PHAL	TITLE	VERSION
1560	Louvain	Pierre Phalèse [I]	1560 ⁶	1	77	<i>Septiesme livre des chansons à quatre parties, convenables tant aux instrumentez comme à la voix. de nouveau revu, corrigé, et de plusieurs aultres nouvelles chansons, lesquelles jamais n'ont esté imprimées, augmenté. ...</i>	Delatre
1562			1562 ³	2	89		[Barbion?]
1564				3	107		[Bracquet?]
1567				4	120		?
1570			1570 ⁸	5	147		?
1573	Louvain and Antwerp	Pierre Phalèse [I] and Jean Bellère	1573 ⁴	6	166	<i>Livre septiesme des chansons à quatre parties, ... nouvellement recorrecté, et augmenté de plusieurs chanssons non imprimées auparavant, accomodées tant aux instruments, comme à la voix: toutes mises en ordre convenable selon leurs tons.</i>	
1576			1576 ^{2a}	7	183		De Castro
1580	Antwerp?	Pierre Phalèse [II] and Jean Bellère?	lost				= De Castro?
1584			lost				= Waelrant?
1589	Antwerp	Pierre Phalèse [II] and Jean Bellère	1589 ⁵	8			Waelrant
1592			1592 ⁸	9			= Waelrant
1597	Antwerp	Widow of Jean Bellère	1597 ⁹	10			= Waelrant
1601	Antwerp	Pierre Phalèse [II]	1601 ⁴	11		<i>Livre septième des chansons vulgaires de diverses auteurs à quatre parties, convenables et utiles à la jeunesse, toutes mises en ordre selon leurs tons. Avec une brieve et facile instruction pour bien apprendre la musique.</i>	= Waelrant
1605			1605 ⁵	12			= Waelrant
1608	Amsterdam	Cornelis Claesz	1608 ¹¹	13		<i>... A la requeste d'aucuns amateurs avons adjousté certaines chansons, comme de Maistre Jean Pietersen Swellinck, Organiste à Amsterdam, Maistre Jaques Vredeman, Maistre Musicien de la ville de Leeuwerden, et Maistre Gerard Jansen Schagen, Maistre Musicien de la ville d'Alcmar.</i>	Schagen
1609	Antwerp	Pierre Phalèse [II]	1609 ¹²	14		= 1601	= Waelrant
1613			1613 ⁷	15			Faignient
1617				16			= Faignient
1617	Douai	Jean Bogart	1617 ⁶	17			Pevernage
1621	Amsterdam	Hendrick Laurensz	lost				= Faignient?
1622	Antwerp	Pierre Phalèse [II]	1617 ^{6a}	18			= Faignient
1632	Amsterdam	Jan Jansz	1632 ⁵	19			= Faignient
1633	Amsterdam	Broer Jansz & Paulus Aertsz van Ravensteyn	lost				= Faignient?
1633	Douai	Pierre Bogart	1633 ²	20			= Pevernage

YEAR	PLACE	PUBLISHER'S	RISM	VH	PHAL	TITLE	VERSION
1636	Antwerp	Heirs of Pierre Phalèse [II]		21		... <i>De nouveau revue, et corrigé avec des nouvelles chansons.</i>	Messaus
1640	Amsterdam	Broer Jansz	1640 ⁶	22		... <i>Le tout de nouveau revu & exactement corrigé & esprouvé, sans qu'il y aye resté aucune faute es Notes.</i>	= Faignient
1640	Amsterdam	Everhard Cloppenburgh	lost			<i>vermeedert met eenighe nieuwe vermaeckelijcke Canons à 2, 3 ende 4 stemmen, als oock met een Musijck-stuck Amarillia mia bella, ende noch een ander, Den Mey komt ons seer lieflijck aen: noyt voor desen soo in druck geweest.?</i>	Jan Pietersz
1641	Amsterdam	Broer Jansz	lost				= Jan Pietersz
1641-1643	Antwerp	Heirs of Pierre Phalèse [II]		23, 27			= Messaus
1644	Amsterdam	Joost Jansz	1644 ³	24		<i>Livre septième, Dat is, het boeck vande zangkunst, Uyt verscheyden auteurs by een vergaert, om met 4 stemmen te zingen: En op nieuw verrykt, met verscheyden stukken, a 2, 3, 4 en 5 stemmen, door D. J. Swelingh, Organist van d'Oude Kerk, tot Amsterdam, en andere voorname Auteurs, dewelke op de navolgende zyde worden aangewezen. Oock een lichte en korte instructie, zoo met als zonder veranderingh, bequaem om wel Musyk te leeren.</i>	Dirck Sweelinck I
ca. 1650?	Amsterdam	Paulus Matthysz		25		<i>Livre septième des chansons vulgaires. Dat is, Het zevende Boek van de Gemeene Zangstukken, met 4 Stemmen. Verbetert, en vermeedert met verscheyde stukken, en Canons van 2, 3, 4, en 5 stemmen, door D.J. Zweeling, Orgelist van d'Oude Kerk in Amsterdam, en verscheyde andere treffelyke Auteurs; En nu op 't nieuw met de Vertaaling van de Latynsche, Italiaansche, Spaansche, Fransche, in Duitsche woorden verrykt. Ook een licht en korte onderwyzingh, zoo met als zonder veranderingh, bequaem om wel Musyk te leeren.</i>	Dirck Sweelinck II
ca. 1655?	Amsterdam	Paulus Matthysz		26			Haffner I
ca. 1660?	Amsterdam?	Paulus Matthysz?					Haffner II

The columns provide the following information:

- Date of publication; - Place of publication; - Publisher(s)
- Code in *RISM*; - VH: No. in Vanhulst 1979; - Phal: No. in Vanhulst 1990.
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SUSATO'S *MUSYCK BOEXKEN* I AND II

Music for a Flemish Middle Class

Timothy McTaggart

The polyphonic Dutch song of the 16th century could be designated a "rare and endangered species". Fewer than two hundred of these curious pieces exist in manuscript and printed sources. Franco-Flemish composers, the leaders of European musical culture in the 15th and 16th centuries, seldom composed songs with Dutch words, although this was the dominant language of their homeland. Bear in mind there are some 10,000 French chansons from the same period and an even greater number of Italian madrigals. The Dutch song, or better, the *liedeken* (for so they were called in printed collections) was a rare bird indeed.¹

Whatever the genre's limited appeal at home and abroad, being a small corpus does offer advantages, at least to the music researcher. Two hundred pieces is an easy musical sample to control and so one expects the music to be thoroughly studied. Strangely, this is not the case. René Bernard Lenaert's *Het Nederlands polifonies lied in de zestiende eeuw* (1933), for all its flaws, remains the standard work on the Dutch song.² For over sixty years little new has been on offer, especially from authors writing in English.³ Eugeen Schreurs presents a brief overview of the repertory from the 14th to the 17th centuries in *Het Nederlands polyfone lied* (Peer, 1986), and Willem Elders includes a few pages on the Dutch song in his monograph, *Composers of the Low Countries*.⁴ But the remarks of these two authors, however valuable, only scratch the surface of the subject. Recently, there has been a growing interest on the part of musicologists and literary historians. Reinhard Strohm devotes several pages to the development of "Dutch/Flemish poetry and song" in his book *The Rise of*

¹ Poetic and musical sources of the period always use the word *liedeken* (little song), a term I believe should be adopted by modern scholars. The neutral English term 'Dutch song' I would also consider acceptable. The Dutch word 'lied' is too close to German to be of any use, and the term 'Flemish song' should be avoided as it is too restrictive. (In its correct usage 'Flemish' refers to Flanders in northern Belgium, its people or its language). Certainly, we should abandon the nomenclature introduced by Gustave Reese, 'Middle Dutch chanson' (see *Music in the Renaissance*, New York, 1959, p. 308).

² Hereafter cited as LenaertsN. Although indispensable for any research on the subject, this basic textbook on the Dutch song, written by Belgian priest and musicologist René Bernard Lenaerts (1902-1992), badly misrepresents the repertory by excluding any consideration of songs with obscene lyrics. The indecent lines are all excised and none of the 'dirty' songs appears in the musical appendix.

³ Charles van den Borren wrote the most extensive discussion of the 16th-century Dutch song in *Geschiedenis van de muziek in de Nederlanden*, Antwerpen, 1948, I, pp. 376-392.

⁴ Trans. G. DIXON, Oxford, 1991, pp. 109-113.

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European Music (Cambridge, 1993). Another welcome contribution is Jan Willem Bonda's doctoral dissertation in progress (Utrecht University), which should provide a thorough investigation of the late medieval Dutch song. In the field of literary history, Herman Pleij, Frits Pieter Van Oostrom, and Frank Willaert have contributed immensely to our understanding of Dutch medieval literature.⁵

This essay focuses on Susato's *Musyck boeckken*, volumes one and two (hereafter: MB), the primary source for Dutch songs published in the 16th century.⁶ The subject is treated in three parts: first, an overview of the transmission of the liedeken in printed anthologies; second, a discussion of the inventory and composers of the MB with an examination of the preface; and third, a commentary on the poetic and musical style. Here, I will show that the song texts spring from a unique literary tradition quite separate from the chanson and that the liedeken is a distinct genre in its own right.

Susato's objective in publishing the MB – like his other series – was to provide a repertory of polyphonic music for the entertainment of the nobility and middle class living in prosperous Flemish towns, such as Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and Brussels. The less flattering name for this type of music is *Tafelmusik*, a derogatory term if one accepts Reinhard Strohm's claim that "the leading works of the sixteenth century, and most of the secondary ones, were not produced for urban communities, but for the pope, the kings and the dukes".⁷ I myself do not share this view, since it hardly accounts for one of the most important musical events of the century, the transformation of music into a commodity through the revolution of the printing press. A second idea of

Strohm's that also seems to me suspect is that Antwerp was "the place where music was printed rather than composed".⁸ The outstanding inventory published in Antwerp by Susato, Waelrant and Laet, Phalèse, and Plantin, much of it composed by local masters, contradicts such a view. The repertory of the MB epitomizes the kind of music Netherlandish composers produced for a local urban environment.

Table 1 is a list of all 16th-century printed music books containing liedekens. Five editions (numbered 1-5) consist exclusively of Dutch-texted songs and are thus of chief importance. A scattering of Dutch songs shows up especially in German prints from the years 1536 to about 1553. The publication of the MB at mid century marks a peak in efforts to distribute the repertory to a wider audience. Several manuscript sources from the early 16th-century also contain liedekens, perhaps the best known being the London chansonnier Add. 35087 (dated 1505-1506).⁹ For present purpose I shall limit my discussion to the five anthologies containing only liedekens.

TABLE 1
16th-Century Printed Books Containing Liedekens

PLACE / YEAR	TITLE / VV	PUBL. / RISM	TOTAL PIECES
Venice, 1501-1504	<i>Odhecaton A, Canti B, Canti C</i>	Petrucchi, 1501, 1502 ² , 1504 ³	16
Frankfurt, after 1536	Paris discantus partbook, Rés. Vm ⁷ 504 (1)	vol. 1 [Egenolff], [c. 1535] ¹⁴ vol. 2 vol. 3	3 36 3
Nuremberg, 1538	<i>Trium vocum carmina</i> , 3vv	Formschneider, 1538 ⁹	4
Augsburg, 1540	<i>Selectissimae Cantiones</i> , 5-6vv	Kriesstein, 1540 ⁷	2
Nuremberg, 1540	<i>Der ander Theil</i> , 4vv	Petreyus, 1540 ²¹	2
Kampen, ca. 1540	(2) <i>Kamper Liedboek</i> (fragments)	[Jan Peterszoon of Kampen]	37

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ For a modern edition of the Dutch songs from Add. 35087, see WOLF (ed.), *25 driestemmige oud-nederlandsche liederen*. Three other important manuscripts containing liedekens are the Basevi Codex (dating 1505-1508), Brussels-Tournai partbooks (dated 1511), and Cambrai 125-128 (dated 1542).

⁵ See H. PLEIJ, *Het gilde van de Blawwe Schuit: Literatuur, volksfeest en burgermoraal in de late middeleeuwen*, Amsterdam, 1983; F.P. VAN OOSTROM, *Court and Culture: Dutch Literature, 1350-1450*, trans. A.J. POMERANS, Berkeley, 1992; F. WILLAERT (ed.), *Een zoet akkoord: Middeleeuwse lyriek in de Lage Landen*, Amsterdam, 1992; H. PLEIJ, *The Rise of Urban Literature in the Low Countries*, in *Medieval Dutch Literature and its European Context*, ed. E. KOOPER, Cambridge, 1974, pp. 62-77; and G. KOMRIJ (ed.), *De Nederlandse poëzie van de twaalfde tot en met de zestiende eeuw in duizend en enige bladzijden*, Amsterdam, 1994.

⁶ Almost all the surviving Dutch songs were published in modern score prior to World War II, but in editions now considered unreliable. See J. WOLF (ed.), *25 driestemmige oud-nederlandsche liederen uit het einde der vijftiende eeuw, naar den Codex London British Museum Add. Mss. 35087*, Amsterdam, 1910; F. VAN DUYSE (ed.), *Een duytsch musyck boeck (1572)*, Leipzig, 1903; IDEM (ed.), *Het ierste musyck boeckken van Tielman Susato (1551)*, Amsterdam, 1908; LenaertsN, with a lengthy appendix of musical transcriptions; and LENAERTS (ed.), *Fiinfzehn flämische Lieder der Renaissance, (Das Chorwerk, 92)*, Wolfenbüttel, 1964. I am now preparing a new edition of the MB, Books 1 and 2, to be published by A-R Editions (Madison, Wis.). See T. McTAGGART (ed.), *Tielman Susato, Musyck boeckken, Books 1 and 2: Dutch Songs for Four Voices, (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, 108)*, forthcoming in Spring 1997. The English translation of the texts have been prepared with particular care, enlisting the help of a number of experts. I should like to thank Jan Willem Bonda, W.P. Gerritsen, Hermina Joldersma, and Frank Willaert for reading my translations and making numerous corrections.

⁷ R. STROHM, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford, 1990, p. 150.

PLACE / YEAR	TITLE / VV	PUBL. / RISM	TOTAL PIECES
Wittenberg, 1542	<i>Tricinia</i> , 3vv	Rhau, 1542 ⁸	7
Antwerp, 1551	(3) ... <i>Musyck boexken</i> , I and II, 4vv	Sus., 1551 ¹⁸⁻¹⁹	55
Nuremberg, 1553	<i>Des andern Theyls</i> , 4vv	Berg & Neuber, 1553 ³⁰	3
Maastricht, 1554	(4) ... <i>Nieuwe duytsche liedekens</i> , 3-6, 8vv	Baethen, 1554 ³¹	30
Louvain, 1567	<i>Septiesme livre</i> , 4vv	Phal., VanhulstP 120	2
Antwerp, 1568	<i>Chansons, madrigales</i> (Faignant), 4-5vv	Widow of Jan de Laet	6
Louvain, Antwerp, 1571	<i>Liber musicus duarum vocum</i> , 2vv	Phal. & Belle, 1571 ¹⁵	7
Louvain, Antwerp, 1572	(5) <i>Een Duytsch Musyckboeck</i> , 4-6vv	Phal. & Belle, 1572 ¹¹	33
Louvain, 1573	<i>Modulorum aliquot tam</i> (Florius), 3vv	Phal., VanhulstP 164	24
Antwerp, 1584	<i>Pratum musicum longe</i> (Adriaenssen)	Phal. & Leon, BrownI 1584 ₆	4
Amsterdam, Antwerp, Douai, 1608-1641	<i>Septiesme livre</i> , 4vv	See VanhulstS	34

(1-5) = contains only liedekens

Abbreviations and bibliographical siglas are explained in Appendix 1

The earliest known printed anthology devoted solely to Dutch songs was published in Frankfurt by Christian Egenolff (1502-1555).¹⁰ It is the second of three Paris discantus books preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale under the call number Rés. Vm⁷ 504.¹¹ The edition, lacking a title page, contains 36 four-voice liedekens with text incipits and no composer attributions. Most of the

¹⁰ Known to musicologists primarily for his anthologies of German lieder, Egenolff was the first publisher in Germany to use the single impression method first developed by Attaignant; see M.L. GÖLLNER, *Egenolff, Christian*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980.

¹¹ For a list of the contents, see LenaertsN, pp. 16-18; and N. BRIDGMAN, *Christian Egenolff, imprimeur de musique (À propos du recueil Rés. Vm⁷ 504 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris)*, in *Annales musicologiques*, 3 (1955), pp. 122-141 and 176-177.

songs come from the late 15th century, although recent scholarship puts the date of publication after 1536.¹² Among the compositions identifiable through concordances are Pierre de La Rue's *Myn hert heeft altyt verlangen* and Heinrich Isaac's *In mynen syn*. Egenolff's edition is firm proof that Dutch songs appealed to musicians outside the Low Countries.

Closely related to the second Paris discantus partbook is the so-called *Kamper Liedboek* held in the city archives of Kampen (a former Hanseatic League city located near Zwolle in eastern Holland).¹³ The fragments, believed to have been printed using a double impression process around the year 1540, consist of five unbound sheets printed on both sides. All that survives is the table of contents together with the contratenor and bassus parts (some incomplete) of seventeen songs. *Die tafel Van Desen liedekens* (the table of contents) lists the same 36 titles in exactly the same order as found in the second Paris discantus partbook, plus one additional song, *Allsoe sy seet*. Thus the pages appear to be castoffs from a revised reprint edition of Egenolff's anthology of Dutch songs. Unlike Egenolff's usual practice of texting only the tenor part, the *Kamper Liedboek* has fully-texted voice parts, an improvement in layout typical of the German publisher's music books produced after 1536. The printer of the *Kamper Liedboek* has been identified as the schoolmaster Jan Peterszoon of Kampen and the music type the product of Peter Schoeffer of Strasbourg.¹⁴ Some ten years later, in 1551, Tielman Susato issued the first two books of a new series entitled *Musyck boexken*. *Het ierste* and *Het tweetste musyck boexken*, the largest anthology of liedekens published in the 16th century, contain a total of 55 liedekens for four voices.¹⁵ The other nine books in the series are

¹² See GÖLLNER, *Egenolff*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

¹³ Lenaerts thought mistakenly that the second Paris discantus partbook and the *Kamper Liedboek* were two copies of the same print (see LenaertsN, pp. 16-19). For further commentary on the possible origin of the *Kamper Liedboek*, see M.E. KRONENBERG, *Het Kamperliedboek, c. 1540*, in *Het Boek*, 23 (1935-36), pp. 165-174; C.W.H. LINDENBURG, *Het 'Kamper' liedboek*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 16 (1946), pp. 48-62; BRIDGMAN, *Christian Egenolff, imprimeur de musique*, p. 81; and S. BAIN, *Music Printing in the Low Countries in the Sixteenth Century*, Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1974, pp. 27-33. For a critical edition of the texts, see F. VAN DUYSSEN, *Oude Nederlandse meerstemmige liederboeken*, in *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis*, 3 (1890), pp. 147-157. An example of one sheet from the *Kamper Liedboek* is reproduced as fig. 4 in ELDERS, *Composers of the Low Countries*, p. 13. I should like to thank Eric Jas for sending me photocopies of the fragments and Susan Bain for calling my attention to Kronenberg's article and her own research in her diss.

¹⁴ See BAIN, *Music Printing in the Low Countries*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁵ The modern editions by F. van Duyse and Lenaerts are cited in note no. 6 above. For facsimile editions edited by E. Schreurs, see SUSATO, *Het ierste musyck boexken, nieuwe amoreuse liedekens mit vier partyen* (1551), Peer, 1989; and SUSATO, *Het tweetste musyck boexken, nieuwe amoreuse liedekens mit vier partyen* (1551), Peer, 1987. The only complete copy of the MB (Books 1 and 2) is held by the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, Poland. This set of four partbooks, once the property of the Prussian State Library in Berlin, was thought to have been destroyed during World War II. The books finally resurfaced in 1987.

devoted to Susato's instrumental dances and *souterliedekens* by Clemens non Papa and Gerardus Mes.¹⁶

Three years later, in 1554, another competitor entered the restricted market of the Dutch song, the Maastricht printer Jacob Baethen, who published *Dat ierste boeck vanden nieuwe duytsche liedekens*, an anthology of thirty songs in three, four, five, six, and eight parts.¹⁷ Most of the composers represented are *Kleinmeesters* from Maastricht and Liège. Unfortunately, the superius part is lost.

The last major anthology of Dutch songs to appear during the century (and luckily all the partbooks survive) is *Een Duytsch Musyckboeck*, issued in 1572 from the presses of Pierre Phalèse in Leuven and Jan Belle in Antwerp.¹⁸ The print contains 33 Dutch songs in four, five, and six parts. Twelve of the compositions were reprinted from Baethen's anthology *...Nieuwe duytsche liedekens* and three from the MB. Most of the composers represented come from the Antwerp orbit.

Returning to the MB, I direct the reader to the inventory list, Appendix 1, which gives each piece a number and a first line title. The composers' names are spelled as in the partbooks with further identification given in brackets.

¹⁶ *Het derde musyck boecken* (*Danserye*) contains dance music, the first collection of its kind printed in the Low Countries and the only book of instrumental music issued by Susato. The printer himself composed these tuneful arrangements of basse dances, allemandes, branles, and galliards, many of which are based on popular melodies of the day. See *Het derde musyck boecken, alderhande danserye* (1551), ed. H. BAETEN, Peer, 1987; and for the latest modern edition, see *Danserye (Het derde musyck boecken) 1551: Complete Edition with Commentary*, ed. B. THOMAS, Brighton, England, 1993. Books 4-7 (published 1556-1557) contain the famous *souterliedekens* (150 Psalter songs) for three voices by Clemens non Papa, employing popular Netherlandish melodies as cantus firmi. The preexistent melody appears usually in the tenor and sometimes in the superius. See Clemens non Papa, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, *Souterliedekens*, ed. K.P. BERNET KEMPERS, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, vol. 4, Rome, 1953. Recently a complete copy of Book 7 was discovered in Kraków's Jagiellonian Library, a print that was thought to have been destroyed during World War II. See J. Clemens non Papa, *Het sevenste musyck boecken souterliedekens. II. (Antwerp: Susato, 1557)*, Ed. I. BOSSUYT, Peer, 1987. Clemens probably died before he was able to finish the series since ten pieces are credited to Susato. Books 8-11 (1561) are four-voice *souterliedekens* by Gerardus Mes, named on the title page as a 'student' (*discipel*) of Clemens. Sadly, the bassus partbooks of these last volumes has not survived. See L.P. GRIJP, *The Souterliedekens by Gherardus Mes* (1561), *An Enigmatic Pupil of Clemens non Papa, and Popular Song of the Mid-Sixteenth Century*, in *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum natalicium Willem Elders*, ed. A. CLEMENT and E. JAS, Amsterdam and Atlanta, Ga., 1994, pp. 245-254.

¹⁷ For a list of the contents, see LenaertsN, pp. 22-24. For examples of the music (with reconstructed superius parts), see L. Episcopius, *Fünf flämische Lieder aus Nieuwe Duytsche Liedekens* (1554), ed. M.P. VAN WELY, *Das Chorwerk*, vol. 122, Wolfenbüttel, 1977.

¹⁸ For a list of the contents, see H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils, 1545-1578*, Bruxelles, 1990, cat. no. 161. The whole volume is available in modern edition; see F. VAN DUYSE, *Een duytsch musyck boeck*, 1572. More recently, ten songs from the print have been edited by Bernard Thomas; see *Five Dutch Songs From a Phalèse Print of 1572 for Four Voices or Instruments ATTB*, (*Thesaurus Musicus*, 23), London, 1981; and *Five Dutch Songs From a Phalèse Print of 1572 for Four Voices or Instruments SATB*, (*Thesaurus Musicus*, 47), London, 1985.

Only two poets can be identified as authors of any song text: Jan van Doesborch (fl. 1500-1540) and Matthijs de Castelein (1485/1486-1550), both *rederijker* poets, i.e., members of the Chambers of Rhetoric.¹⁹ The texts of five pieces first appeared in the *Antwerp Liedboek* of 1544 (marked "AL" in the list). As the list shows, there are relatively few concordances with other prints and manuscripts from the period. A total of nine pieces have concordances, three from Book 1 and six from Book 2. Four pieces first appeared in the Egenolff Paris discantus partbook (nos. 38, 40, 43, and 54). Because of the numerous variants, it is unlikely that Susato obtained his readings from Egenolff's print. Two pieces (nos. 12 and 36) have concordances in Baethen's *...Nieuwe duytsche liedekens*, but again the differences in readings suggest that Baethen used an independent source for his edition. Three pieces published in Phalèse and Belle's *Een Duytsch Musyckboeck* (nos. 7, 32, and 36), on the other hand, could well be reprints from the MB. Only two songs are preserved in manuscript sources, nos. 22 and 54. Finally, there are two concordances with editions of the *Septiesme livre* dating after 1636 (nos. 7 and 36). These readings derive from Phalèse and Belle's *Een Duytsch Musyckboeck*.

An unusual feature of the MB's inventory is the inclusion of four pairs of settings of the same text, namely: *O wrede fortune* (nos. 5 and 11), *Myn boel heet my cleker bille* (nos. 8 and 37), *Myns liefkens bruyn ooghen* (nos. 9 and 12), and *Een meysken eens voerby* (nos. 18 and 49). The second pair, *Myn boel heet my cleker bille* (both anonymous), is really two versions of the same song. No. 8 is expanded with fourteen measures of extra music. Clearly, one piece is a reworking of the other, but which one constitutes the earlier version is hard to say.

Two other pieces from the MB relate directly to settings of the same text in Baethen's and Egenolff's *liedeken* editions. A varied version of *Myn liefkens bruyn ooghen* (no. 12) by Swillart was reissued by Baethen with an attribution to Joannes Zacheus. The counterpoint is mostly identical, so there can be little doubt that these settings are the same. This collaboration between Swillart and Zacheus provides a rare opportunity to observe firsthand how Renaissance composers reworked their music. One more example is Susato's setting of *Diepe ghepeys* (no. 28), a piece that appears to be a parody based on a setting of the same text in Egenolff's *liedeken* print. The melodic correspondences are especially strong in the first and last phrases.

Table 2 is a list of the composers represented in the MB with their dates and

¹⁹ Doesborch of Antwerp was not only a poet but also an important printer of books who published the first collection of *rederijker* poetry in the Low Countries. Castelein was a priest and poet from Oudenaarde. His poem *Ghepeys, ghepeys* is the only one in the *Antwerp Liedboek* whose author can be identified. For more biographical details, see D. COIGNEAU, *Castelein, Matthijs de*, in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, Brussel, 1985, vol. XI, pp. 102-110.

geographical distribution.²⁰ They are divided into two groups, those born before 1500 and those born after. Not surprisingly, most are Flemish *Klein-meisters* who worked in Flanders and Brabant. Clemens non Papa stands out as the only major composer. The best-represented are Josquin Baston (with seven songs), Carolus Souliaert and Tielman Susato (both with six), Lupus Hellinck (three), and Jheronimus Vinders (two). Almost half of the collection, 25 pieces in all, is anonymous. Why did Susato have such trouble ascribing songs written by Flemish composers? His other publications generally give far more attributions. I would offer two explanations, though there could well be others. First, despite Susato's claim on the title page that the anthology contains 'new' liedekens, some of the anonymous pieces probably date from the late 15th century. Because they were so old, Susato had no idea who had written them.²¹ Second, the printer probably felt no need to be precise about attributions since the selling point of the series was that it contained Dutch-texted music, not that it contained music by famous composers.

TABLE 2
The Composers

1. OLDER GENERATION BORN BEFORE 1550

Appenzeller, Benedictus (ca. 1480/1488-1558)	Bruges, Brussels, 's-Hertogenbosch
Champion (alias Liégeois), Nicolas (died 1533)	Chapel choir of Philip the Handsome and Charles V; Namur, Lens, Valenciennes, Briel, Lier
Gheerkin [Geerhart] de Hondt (fl. 1539-1547)	Bruges, 's-Hertogenbosch, Friesland
Ghiselin (alias Verbonnet), Johannes (ca. 1455-1511)	Florence, Ferrara, Bergen op Zoom
Hellinck, Lupus (ca. 1494-1541)	Bruges, Rome, Ferrara

2. YOUNGER GENERATION BORN AFTER 1500

Barbe, Antoine (died 1564)	Bruges, Antwerp
Baston, Josquin (fl. 1542-1567)	Kortrijk, Vienna, Kraków, Dresden, Stockholm, Copenhagen
Clemens (non Papa), Jacob (ca. 1510-1555/1556)	Bruges, 's-Hertogenbosch
Souliaert, Carolus (fl. mid 16th century)	Lier
Swillart/Swillart	
Susato, Tielman (1515-after 1567)	Soest (?), Antwerp, Alkmaar, Stockholm
Vinders, Jheronimus (fl. 1510-1550)	Ghent

Interestingly, the editors of the two liedekens anthologies published after the MB were more thorough in naming the composers. Baethen's *...Nieuwe duytsche liedekens* contains only four anonymous pieces and Phalèse and Belle's *Een Duytsch Musyckboek* only one.

Two names that one would not expect to find in a publication from the 1550s are Ghiselin and Nicolas Champion, both members of the Josquin generation. The MB is the only complete source for Ghiselin's *Ghy syt die wertste* (no. 38), a rare example of a 15th-century liedeken with its text fully preserved.²² This is his only four-voice Dutch song still extant and the model for a parody mass by the same composer. Nicolas Champion's liedeken, *Noch weet ick* (no. 54), likewise, is the model for a parody mass.

While on the subject of composers, I should like to mention the recent discoveries relating to two of the most talented contributors to the MB, Hellinck and Vinders. Richard Sherr has recently solved the so-called "Lupus Problem" by establishing that the Italian Lupus was Lupus Hellinck.²³ The motets in Bologna Q 19 can now be ascribed to the Lupus from Bruges. Nothing was known about Vinders's life until Rob Wegman found four payments to the composer from the year 1525 for his services as choirmaster of the confraternity of *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-op-de-rade* at the Church of St John in Ghent (today's St Bavo's Cathedral).²⁴

In a long-winded preface, Susato explains his reasons for publishing the MB:

²⁰ All the composers represented in the MB are listed in *New Grove* with the exception of Carolus Souliaert. (The name *Swillart* or *Swiliart*, credited with one liedeken in Book 1, probably refers to Souliaert, the author of five liedekens in Book 2.) I have followed the *New Grove* in the spelling of the composers' names. For biographical articles on Clemens, Ghiselin, and Hellinck, see ELDERS, *Composers of the Low Countries*, the Appendix. Notable for their absence are Gombert and Crecquillon, court composers who wrote many chansons but apparently no liedekens. They are well-represented in Susato's chanson anthologies with 46 and 129 chansons, respectively.

²¹ On the basis of style, several of the anonymous pieces might be from the 15th century. The strongest candidates for this are nos. 1, 4, 10, and 14, which have long, melismatic lines with an abstract relationship between words and music.

²² Ghiselin's song appears to have been first printed in a chanson anthology cataloged in the music library of Ferdinand Columbus, *Chanson 20 a 4 parties en frances ultima est gi fit die... 1530*. This lost anthology has been identified as *Viginti Cantiunculae gallicae quatuor vocum* (Strasbourg, Peter Schoeffer, 1530), mentioned in the bibliographies of Eitner and Fétis. See C.W. CHAPMAN, *Printed Collection of Polyphonic Music owned by Ferdinand Columbus*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 22 (1968), pp. 55 and 84. I would like to thank Susan Bain for pointing out this lost concordance and directing my attention to Chapman's article.

²³ According to newly discovered documents, in April 1518 Hellinck was a member of the papal household in Rome and between June 1518 and April 1519 a singer in Ferrara. Later in the same year he returned to St Donatian's as a singer and in 1521 assumed the duties of choirmaster at the Church of Our Lady, Bruges. See R. SHERR (ed.), *Selections from Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 19 ("Rusconi Codex")*, (*Sixteenth Century Motet*, vols. 6-7), New York, 1989, pp. xi-xii.

²⁴ E. JAS, *A Rediscovered Mass of Jheronimus Vinders?*, in *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum natalicum Willem Elders*, ed. A. CLEMENT and E. JAS, Amsterdam and Atlanta, Ga., 1994, p. 235.

To the esteemed amateurs of noble music: Tielman Susato: A few years ago I began publishing various types of music, such as masses, motets, and certainly many French chansons (as everyone is well-aware), yet I have always had the intention of bringing to light the noble, heavenly art of music in our Netherlandish mother tongue, as is the case with music in the Latin, French, and Italian languages, which is well-known and has been disseminated in all countries. And to carry this work out the sooner the better, I have with great diligence brought together the best, most artful, choicest songs, by artful masters, composed in our mother tongue that it was possible for me to find, out of which (leaving aside those that through dishonorable words may encourage mischief) I have three books in hand, of which the first book I publish now for the first time, the second shall follow shortly, and the third thereafter, which shall consist only of new pavaues, galliards, basse dances, branles, and allemandes, until I am able to find more of the same artful pieces in our mother tongue. I bid each and every one of you, O you artful souls with a lust for musical composition, that you should now and again allow yourselves to display your art in songs, or in other similar pieces in rhyme, or prose, sacred or profane, in our aforementioned Netherlandish mother tongue, and send them to me, so that these, for your honor and for general use, can be published and distributed in every country. But please avoid dishonorable and improper words, which might disgrace this noble, heavenly art, and which might debase and corrupt young souls. Only words that (on the contrary) promote virtuous endeavors ought to be sent. Because Music is a singular, heavenly gift ordained by God and given to mankind not for dishonorable and careless misuse, but above all to thankfully praise Him, to shun idleness, to use time [well], to overcome melancholy, to drive away trouble, to lighten heavy spirits, and to gladden depressed hearts. And why should one not be able to do this henceforth with equal art and sweetness in our own mother tongue, as has been done in the Latin, French, and Italian languages? If the art and sweetness are just alike, why should one want to scorn one language more than another? Let us then from now on devote all diligence to the music of our fatherland, which is no less in art and sweetness than others, to make it public and bring it into general use everywhere, as has been done with the others. Herewith, let it be commended unto God, the giver of all art, in Antwerp.²⁵

With the salutatory phrase *To the esteemed amateurs of noble Music*, Susato addresses his music buying clientele. These were nonprofessional musicians,

²⁵ The original text in Dutch is found in the tenor partbook of Book 1.

mainly members of the burgher class. He states further that the collection contains liedekens in *our Netherlandish mother tongue*. Such wording makes it plain that the edition's intended buyers were native speakers of Dutch. Baethen and Phalèse, on the other hand, refer in the titles of their liedekens prints to *duytsche liedekens* (Germanic songs), a designation meant to appeal to speakers of all German dialects.

In his preface Susato does not mention a patron, implying that the publication was undertaken as a personal initiative. But why did Susato take on such a risky venture as a series devoted to Dutch-texted songs? Surely he knew the genre had less selling potential compared to his other series. Dutch was not one of the principal languages spoken at European courts: French and Italian held that distinction. Furthermore, the patterns of musical taste were well-established by 1550; the liedeken could not compete with the rising tide of chansons and madrigals circulating in printed editions. In addition to this there were other factors within Flemish culture that conspired against the liedeken. The Flemings, famed for their linguistic skills, could sing expertly in any number of European languages, making less demand for the liedeken. As Ludovico Guicciardini wrote, *[they] have such an intimate knowledge of languages that it is remarkable and a source of wonder, for there are countless numbers who, besides their mother tongue and notwithstanding that they have never been abroad, speak various other languages, and principally French, which they know well; and many who speak German, English, Italian, Spanish, and several other tongues which are more distant.*²⁶

Another difficulty for the liedeken had to do with certain qualities of the language itself. Guicciardini described Dutch as *a full language, with capacious vocabulary and most capable of conceiving, expressing, and shaping all possible words and phrases; but it is most difficult to learn and even more vexing to pronounce; so that even children born to it are already well advanced in years before they can shape and utter it properly.*²⁷ This did not bode well for the acceptance of the liedeken outside the Low Countries.

Despite the drawbacks, Susato's enthusiasm for the genre remained unabated. His commitment may have come from a sense of national pride. At least that is the impression one gets from his plea to Flemish composers: *Let us then from now on devote all diligence to the music of our fatherland*. Susato calls on his Flemish countrymen to *display your art in liedekens, or in similar pieces in rhyme, or prose, sacred or profane*. This suggests the printer also wanted poetry and prose, presumably so it could be set to music. Significantly, such a request was never made by any other publisher of liedekens. Susato betrays a hint of defensiveness in asking *why should one want to scorn one language more than*

²⁶ Quoted in C-H. ROCQUET, *Bruegel, or, The Workshop of Dreams*, trans. N. SCOTT, Chicago, 1991, p. 17.

²⁷ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 16.

another? He asserts further that Dutch songs are *no less in art and sweetness than others*.

The fact that Susato needed to solicit composers to write liedekens implies that the music was in short supply or that the material on hand was unfit for publication. The first three volumes of the MB all appeared in the same year, no doubt the fruits of many years of collecting. Susato himself wrote six of the songs in this first installment. The dances were added to the series, Susato explains, because there was not enough suitable material to make a third volume of vocal music. But the dances are actually out of place in the series, especially since many of the arrangements are based on French chansons. The printer states that he had to withhold a certain number of songs with *dishonorable words* because they might cause mischief. Such remarks may have been calculated to please a middle-class audience. Antwerp's burgher society would have strongly approved of the idea that the purpose of music is *to praise God ... to shun idleness, to use time [well], [and] to overcome melancholy*. Susato should be given credit for practicing what he preached; his own choice of texts are inoffensive love songs. How many unpublishable, lewd songs Susato suppressed is anyone's guess. As we shall see, quite a few obscene texts found their way into the MB despite the printer's objections. Susato's call for the composition of new liedekens appears to have gone unanswered, for when the next volumes of the series were released five years later, the printer still did not have enough material for another book of secular songs. The final volumes of the MB were devoted to *souterliedekens*, a safe bet for good sales.

The title page of the prints calls the songs *amoreuse liedekens*. And indeed, most of the song texts deal with love in its various permutations. What is remarkable, however, is the presence of numerous songs unrelated to love. Table 3 presents one possible typology of the MB, dividing the collection into five categories. The two most important types, the *lover's complaint* and the *zotte liedekens* (types 1 and 5), are represented by 24 pieces each.

TABLE 3
A Typology of the Liedekens

1. Lover's complaint (24): nos. 1, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46, 54.
2. Lover's praise (1): no. 40.
3. May song (5): nos. 3, 21, 45, 47, 55.
4. Religious song (1): no. 20.
5. Zotte liedeken (24):
 Lewd sexual encounter, nos. 19, 23*, 33, 48, 51, 53.
 Lewd female(s), prostitution, nos. 2, 8, 31, 37, 50*.
 Drinking, nos. 7, 52.
 Lack of money, nos. 6*, 17.

Ship of fools, nos. 36.
 Reveller rides an old horse, no. 30*.
 Gambling, no. 15.
 Holy Innocents' Day, no. 16.
 Sexual license, no. 42.
 Gossiping girls, nos. 18, 49.
 Ill-married woman, no. 22.
 Fortune's lottery, no. 29.

* gildeken song

Type 1, the lover's complaint, is a conventional courtly love song. The recurring theme is that love is a mental illness causing physical pain and ultimately death. The woman, who is the object of infatuation, is generally portrayed as fickle and untrue. Sadness and despair overshadow all other emotions. A typical example is no. 39, set by an anonymous composer:

Schoen lief, ick moet u groeten
 Al uut myns hertsen gront,
 En om myns sins versoeten,
 Die deerlyc ben duerwont.
 Want u twee schoon bruyn ooghen,
 Die doen myn vruecht verdroghen:
 Dys blyf ick nu zeer ongesont.

Pretty darling, I must greet you
 From the bottom of my heart,
 In order to sweeten my senses
 Which are gravely wounded.
 Because your two beautiful brown eyes
 Cause my joy to wither away:
 Thus I remain now very unwell.

Type 2, the lover's praise, takes a more positive view of love. The one example is *Een Venus dierken* (no. 40), a poem from the *Antwerp Liedboek* set to music by Brussels court composer Benedictus Appenzeller. The poet lists the beauties of his lady love, more beautiful than all others, with her 'smiling lips', white throat', and 'round breasts'.

Type 3, the May song, celebrates the arrival of spring when love is in the air. The common images are flowers, leaves, and birdsong, the symbols of fertility and renewal. A poem set by Susato (no. 21) is a fine example:

Int midden van den meye
 Laet ons vruecht orboren.
 Al aen gheen groene heyde
 Heb ick een lief uutvercoren:
 Noit schoendre'en was geboren.
 Die mey wil ick haer gaen planten
 Met dicht, met spel, met sanck soet,
 Met hulpe van Venus clanten.
 Neempt, alder schoenste lief, toch in danck goet:
 U liefde my zeer in bedwanck doet.

In the middle of May
 Let us take our pleasure.
 On yonder green heath
 I chose a sweetheart:
 Never was a more beautiful one born.
 I wish to plant a May tree for her,
 With poetry, with music, with sweet song,
 With the help of Venus's companions.
 Take it, most beautiful darling, with gratefulness:
 Your love so overwhelms me.

Type 4 is the only example of a religious song: *Ick, arm schaep* (no. 20), a setting by an anonymous composer. The text parodies a poem from the *Antwerp Liedboek*. The last category, type 5, is the *zotte liedekens* or *foolish song*.²⁸ As the table shows, these texts encompass a wide range of subjects and themes. Nearly half of the songs in the MB belong to this distinctive textual type. The sources for its style are to be found in the urban festivals, such as Mardi Gras, the Feast of Fools, and Holy Innocents' Day, occasions in the church year of revelry and merrymaking.²⁹ At these times of institutionalized madness, gluttony, sex, and brutality ruled the day, as Rabelais describes so graphically in his *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. The object of a *zotte* text is to turn the world upside down, to expose and ridicule human folly. Two well-known examples of moralistic, *zotte* literature are Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* (1494) and Erasmus's *In Praise of Folly* (1509). According to Herman Pleij, "[these texts] heap ironic

²⁸ See J.W. BONDA, *Zotheid in muziek: Composities met zotte tekst in de zestiende eeuw*, in F. WILLAERT (ed.), *Een zoet akkoord: Middeleeuwse lyriek in de Lage Landen*, Amsterdam, 1992, pp. 268-286.

²⁹ I am indebted to the following studies for my thinking on 'madness' in 16th-century European culture: M. BAKHTIN, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. H. ISWOLSKY, Bloomington, Ind., 1984; P. BURKE, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, New York, 1978; and N.Z. DAVIS, *The Reasons of Misrule*, chap. 4 in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*, Stanford, 1975, pp. 97-123.

praise on the most extreme forms of loose living so that the ordinary citizen could infer what was expected of him or her under normal circumstances: hard work, thrift, moderation, self reliance".³⁰ Many *zotte liedekens*, however, can be understood on two levels, either as an attack on dissolute ways or an incitement to join in. The *rederijker* poets did not intend one strict meaning. Few 16th-century sources tell us so much about Flemish folkways as the *zotte liedeken*. These texts range in subject matter from the mildly titillating to the crudely obscene. In the earthier lyrics, one encounters the taverns, brothels, and gambling dens frequented by the dregs of society. The world's oldest profession is a favorite theme, the women portrayed happily plying their trade. Gossiping girls are ridiculed in *Een meysken eens voerby* (nos. 18 and 49), where the refrain is *One gossip is sure to know another*. The amusing bedroom scene described in Baston's *Een meysken* (no. 33) highlights the practicality of the girl who tells her lover *Come tickle me now, I'm not shy, but don't tear my dress*. An anonymous setting of *Het clopten een vrouken* (no. 15) tells the story of a barroom brawl that erupts when a woman finds her husband gambling with friends in a tavern. In a reversal of roles the woman beats up her husband. The subject of money, especially the lack of it, arises in no fewer than twelve songs, making it one of the most persistent thematic elements. One example is Josquin Baston's *Een gilde jent* (no. 30), which pokes fun at a *jolly reveller* who is jeered at for riding an old, worn-out horse.

A *zotte* text is usually easy to recognize by the presence of diminutive endings. For example, the form *vrouken* (literally *little woman*) is often used in place of *vrouw*. Another marker is the word *gilde* or *gildeken* (guild-brother), a reveler or a member of a drinking club. Middle-class society looked down on the *gildekens*, viewing them as riff-raff who squandered their money on drink. In Appendix 2, I present three typical examples of *zotte liedekens*, including my English translations. A few comments are necessary about each one.

Dese coxkens (no. 2), set by an anonymous composer, has a puzzling text. The diminutive endings at nearly every line end tell us at once we are dealing with a *zotte* text. The words *coxkens* and *moxkens* refer to *girls*, but *whores* or *prostitutes* may be a more accurate translation. They are depicted wearing indecent clothing, red chemises and short skirts, and their breasts are *as hard as blocks*. The meaning of the poem becomes more ambiguous at lines 6 and 7. The gist of it seems to be that these lusty girls are out to ensnare men. The last two lines, *Jumping in socks, Most in the row* may refer to dancing. The situation appears to be a group of youths joining in a round dance. Another more lurid interpretation is also possible. Line 11, *En volgen die trapkens*, could mean either *And they follow them*, or *And they go upstairs*. This reading would see the *coxkens* as prostitutes luring in some customers.

³⁰ PLEIJ, *The Rise of Urban Literature in the Low Countries*, pp. 70-71.

Baston's *Lecker Beetgen* (no. 19) narrates the sexual escapades of Tasty Tidbit and Small Beer, characters representing men of different worth, one virile and rich, the other impotent and poor. *Cleyn Bier* is a term used for cheap, watery beer. The humor here is mocking and a bit absurd. The two adventurers knock at the door of deaf Nancy who refuses to open. She tells Small Beer: *Go away, nobody's home*. Then Nancy, peeping through a crack, realizes that Tasty Tidbit is standing outside as well. She happily lets them both in and the three enjoy themselves *beyond description*. The moral of the tale delivered in the last two lines is that without Tasty Tidbit there (the rich and well-endowed fellow), Nancy never would have opened her door.

Wy comen hier gelopen (no. 36), by an anonymous composer, warrants more detailed commentary. Reprinted five times during the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, this song was surely one of the best-known pieces of its kind (see Appendix 1 for the concordances). The text tells the story of a band of beggars on pilgrimage to the *Land of Hunger*. These pathetic creatures have no money, no food, and even their clothes are full of holes. From the mocking tone of the poem it becomes plain that the only pilgrimage these lowlifes are making is to the nearest alehouse. This is another moralizing attack on the lower classes who are viewed as *sluggards who seldom work*. Wealthy burghers of the time saw beggars as cheats and fakers. It was an article of faith that the blind and crippled had earned their fate through sinfulness. In line 21, the reference to *Sinte Reynuut* is a pun on the expression *reine uut*, which roughly translated means *bottoms up*. Castelein wrote a mock sermon entitled *Sermon Sente Reinhuut* that relates the exploits of this patron saint of wastrels. Line 22, *The ship is ready*, is a reference to the Ship of Fools, confirming that the characters in the poem are meant to represent outcasts and vagabonds. The rhyme and meter are carefully controlled in this poem. The text is in three stanzas, each consisting of eight lines. The rhyme scheme is a-b-a-b-c-d-d-c. The scansion of the first stanza is 7-6, 7-6, 7-4-4-7. The two "d" rhymes occur on the short four-syllable lines. The metric pattern of the stanza is therefore mirrored in the rhyme scheme. The second and third stanzas use the same metric pattern but slightly varied. All of these elements show that we are dealing with an elegantly structured poem that must be the work of a *rederijker* poet.

Leaving aside the question of typology, let us examine some aspects of the poetic form. Here too the liedeken exhibits a number of special characteristics. The song texts can be sometimes quite long. Ten lines is average but some are as long as 24. Line lengths are generally irregular, varying from four to twelve syllables. Only thirteen texts have a uniform metric organization and these usually involve alternating line lengths. To give an example, several poems bear alternating line lengths of 8/7 or 7/6 (nos. 8, 13, and 39). The use of rhyme is also quite varied. Normally the rhymes alternate a-b-a-b, occasionally with rhymed couplets c-c inserted. However, it is not uncommon to find single

lines rhyming with nothing else. Another important characteristic is that, unlike chanson verse, the caesura after the fourth syllable is absent in Dutch lyrics. The metric organization within the line is totally free.

Much could be said about the musical style of the liedekens, but for present purposes I will highlight just a few of the most salient features.

Eighteen liedekens begin with a dactylic pattern (long, short, short) resembling the so-called 'chanson rhythm'. On the face of it, one might assume this to be a stylistic trait borrowed from French music. However, liedeken texts, as mentioned above, have no poetic caesura after the fourth syllable as in the chanson. For example, in *Hoe drucklic* (no. 25) there is no caesura in the first line and no pause in the first musical phrase (see example 1). Each voice starts with the chanson rhythm and moves on to the end of the line without a break. Thus the presence of the dactylic rhythmic pattern in the liedeken must not be construed as a stylistic link with the chanson.

Example 1

Another striking aspect of style is the use of antiphonal duets, a feature found exclusively in zotte liedekens.³¹ These are usually handled as paired imitation with the duets written in homorhythm, as occurs in the opening phrase of *Dese coxkens* (no. 2); see example 2. Often these imitative exchanges between paired voices, tenor/bassus and superius/contratenor, are only brief snatches of counterpoint. Sometimes, as is the case with Barbe's *Och hoort toch ons bediet* (no. 17), the paired exchanges do not involve exact imitation (see example 3, measures 25-29). Barbe returns to the more usual type of antiphonal duet in measures 30-33, where the paired voices sing exactly the same music, one after another. Antiphonal duets are especially effective for the delivery of dialogue, as we find in Baston's *Lecker Beetgen* (no. 19); see example 4.

Example 2

³¹ Bonda writes that there is no difference in musical style between zotte liedekens and other textual types (see *Zottheid in muziek*, p. 278), a point on which I would disagree.

Example 3

20

pe. Wy es daer? sprack sy. Neen way, neen way, daer

pe. Wy es daer? sprack sy. Neen way, neen way, daer

clop- pe. Tis Cleyne Bier, sey hy. Neen way, neen way, daer

clop- pe. Tis Cleyne Bier, sey hy. Neen way, neen way, daer

Example 4

Further stylistic features can be cited that distinguish the zotte liedeken from the lover's complaint. Zotte texts are often set syllabically in a fast-moving parlando. Triple-time sections, too, occur most often in zotte liedekens. Of the eighteen pieces in the collection that utilize triple meter sections, thirteen of these are zotte. Ternary sections are usually written in homorhythmic style and occasionally in paired imitation.

Flemish composers preferred thematic variation over exact repetition, so it comes as no surprise to find complicated musical forms employed in the liedeken. Twelve pieces are through-composed, and for the rest the musical repetition is often varied or disguised. Where there is a musical refrain it usually takes place in the last phrase and involves a repeat of the same words. The purpose of such refrains is to provide a sense of closure; they are more like codas than real structural repeats. Occasionally there is also a refrain of the first phrase but always with different text.

A final aspect of style that should be mentioned is the use of preexistent monophonic melody. Eight pieces take their thematic material from identifiable popular songs or folksongs. (These are marked with asterisks in Appendix 1). Typically, the preexistent material is freely paraphrased in all voices. This technique then bears little relation to the German Tenorlied, employing a strict cantus firmus. It should also be noted that two monophonic songs by Matthijs de Castelein from his songbook *Diversche liedekens* of 1574 are used as the basis for liedekens nos. 24 and 47.

In closing, I should like to summarize two of my main points. First, I have argued that the liedeken - no matter how small the repertory - should be viewed as an individual genre with its own stylistic traits and its own history of development. We should ban from our music history textbooks the idea of categorizing the liedeken as a subgenre of the chanson.³² As I have tried to

demonstrate, the liedeken's most distinctive quality is its evocative Dutch texts imbued with the spirit of carnival. This poetry teaches us much about the values and preoccupations of Flemish middle-class society. And second, I made the case that Susato more than any other publisher was committed to promoting the liedeken. He has been given due credit for rescuing from oblivion an important corpus of chansons by Josquin. He must also be given credit for helping to save the liedeken from extinction.

APPENDIX 1

Inventory of Susato's *Musyck boecken I and II* (RISM 1551¹⁸⁻¹⁹).

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| [1] Ick draeg in mynder herten verborghen | [Anon.] |
| [2] Dese coxkens en aerdighe moxkens | [Anon.] |
| [3] Den lustelycken mey / Met zynen bladen vry | [Anon.] |
| [4] Noit meerder last myn herte past | [Anon.] |
| [5]* O wrede fortune, ghy doet my trueren nu | Tielman Susato |
| [6] Die gild is by der doot | [Anon.] |
| [7] Janne moye, al claer, al claer | Lupus Hellinc |
| Concordances: | |
| Phal. & Belle, RISM 1572 ¹¹ ; VanhulstP 161-5. | |
| <i>Septiesme livre</i> , eds. after 1636, VanhulstS | |
| [21:37] (lost); 23:37 (S only); 27:37 (S only). | |
| [8] Myn boel heet my cleker bille | [Anon.] |
| No. 37 is a shorter version of the same piece | |
| [9] Myns liefkens bruyn ooghen | Tielman Susato |
| [10] Eylaes, eylaes, myn vruecht is al verjaegt | [Anon.] |
| [11] O wrede fortune, ghy doet my trueren nu | Jeronimus Vinders |
| [12] Myns liefkens bruyn ooghen | Swillart/Swillart |
| Concordance: | |
| Baethen, RISM 1554 ³¹ , no. 11, attrib. Joannus | |
| Zacheus (S lost); a reworking. | |
| [13] In drucke moet ick sterven | [Anon.] |
| [14] Myn herteken is my heymelic wuyt gheoogen | [Anon.] |
| [15] Het clopten een vrouken voer een taverne | [Anon.] |
| [16] Nieuwe almanack ende pronosticatie | Lupus Hellinc |
| [17] Och hoort toch ons bediet | Anto. Barbe |
| [18] Een meysken eens voerby passerde | [Anon.] |
| [19] Lecker Beetgen en Cleyne Bier | Josquin Baston |

³² See footnote no. 1, above. In a discussion of the MB, Reese placed emphasis on what he saw as "a general resemblance" between the Dutch song and the French chanson, and he coined the strange term "Middle Dutch chanson". See *Music in the Renaissance*, p. 308.

- [20]* Ick, arm schaep aen gheen heyden
 [21] Int midden van den meye
 [22]* Het was my van te voren gheseyt (AL)
 Concordance:
 Cen-Cat, F-CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 136
 (dated 1542, Bruges).
 [23] Een gilde heeft syn deerne ter scheymaeltyt
 ghebeden
 [24]* Ghepeys, ghepeys vol van envye (AL)
 [25] Hoe drucklic is dat herte myn
 [26] Niet dan druck en lyden
 [27] Och rat van aventueren
 [28] Diepe ghepeys en swaer versuchten
 [29] Compt alle uut by twe by drye
 [30] Een gilde jent reet laest naer Ghent
 [31] Naelde, naelde, goe fyne naelden
 [32] Een Venus schoon fray van persoon
 Concordance:
 Phal. & Belle, *RISM* 1572¹¹; VanhulstP 161-2
 [33] Een meysken was vroeck opgestaen
 [34] Ick truere en ick ben van minnen alsoe zieck
 T2: Druck en verdriet / Soe moet ick altyt
 [35]* Peynsen en trueren, duchten en hopen
 [36] Wy comen hier gelopen
 Concordances:
 Baethen, *RISM* 1554³¹, no. 21 (S lost).
 Phal. & Belle, *RISM* 1572¹¹; VanhulstP 161-23.
Septiesme livre, eds. after 1636, VanhulstS
 [21:32] (lost); 23:32 (S only); 27:32 (S only).
 [37] Myn boel heet my cleker bille
 No. 8 is a longer version of the same piece.
 [38] Ghy syt die wertste bovenal
 Concordance:
 [Egenolff], *RISM* [ca. 1535]¹⁴, 2-1 (S only,
 anon., notated a fifth higher).
 [39] Schoen lief, ick moet u groeten
 [40]* Een Venus dierken heb ick uutvercoren (AL)
 Concordances:
 [Egenolff], *RISM* [ca. 1535]¹⁴, 2-36 (S only,
 anon.); Ct and B (incom.) in *Kamper
 Liedboek*.
 Cittern intab., *Een venus dierken*, in Phal.:
 BrownI 1568₆, no. 5; VanhulstP 124-5 (anon.).

[Anon.]
 Tielman Susato
 Geerhart [de Hondt]

Josquin Baston
 [Anon.]
 [Anon.]
 [Anon.]
 Jeronimus Vinders
 Tielan Susato
 Lupus Hellinc
 Josquin Baston
 Josquin Baston
 Clemens non Papa

Josquin Baston
 Carolus Souliaert

Tielman Susato
 [Anon.]

[Anon.]

Verbonet [J. Ghiselin]

[Anon.]
 Benedictus
 [Appenzeller]

- BrownI 1570₃, no. 136; VanhulstP 148-134 (anon.).
 BrownI 1582₅, no. 145 (anon.).
 [41] Schoen lief, wat macht u baten (AL) [Anon.]
 [42] Ghy edel jonghe gheesten [Anon.]
 [43] O wrede fortune, wat hebby nu bedreven [Anon.]
 Concordance:
 [Egenolff], *RISM* [ca. 1535]¹⁴, 2-8 (S only, anon.).
 [44] Lyden en verdraghen / Moet ick op dit termyn Jo. Baston
 [45] Verhuecht u nu, bedruckte geesten Joesquin Baston
 [46] Myn lyden swaer mach ick wel claghen [Anon.]
 [47]* O tyt zeer lustich vul melodyen Tielman Susato
 [48] Een costerken op syn clocken clanc Carolus Souliart
 [49] Een meysken eens voerby passeerde [Anon.]
 [50] Aenmerckt nu hier dees meyskens fyn [Anon.]
 [51] Het soude een knechtken uut vryen ghaen Carolus Souliaert
 [52] Wilt doch met maten drincken Carolus Souliaert
 [53]* Ick ginck gisteravent / Zo heymelyck... (AL) Carolus Souliaert
 [54] Noch weet ick een schoen joffrau fyn Nicolas liegoes
 Concordances:
Noch ways ich ain schöne junckfraw, anon.,
 Cen-Cat, A-VienNB Mus. 18810, no. 61.
 [Egenolff], *RISM* [ca. 1535]¹⁴, 2-4 (S only, anon.).
 Lute intab, *Noch weet ic een scoon vrouken*, in
 Phal.:
 BrownI 1546₁₈, no. 28; VanhulstP 2-28 (anon.).
 BrownI 1552₁₁, no. 68; VanhulstP 13-68 (anon.).
 [55] Ghelyc den mey met volder vruecht [Anon.]

Notes:

- * based on a preexistent monophonic melody
 Nos. 24 and 47: poems by Matthijs de Castelein
 No. 52: poem by Jan van Doesborch

Abbreviations and Bibliographical Siglas

MB = *Musyck boecken* 1-2

Phal. = Phalèse

Sus. = Susato

SCtTB = Superius, Contratenor, Tenor, Bassus

AL = *Antwerp Liedboek: Een schoon liedekens boeck*. Antwerp: Jan Roulans, 1544. (The only surviving copy is held by the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, call number 236.5 Poetica). See H. JOLDERSMA, *Het Antwerps liedboek: A Critical Edition*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1982.

BrownI = H.M. BROWN, *Instrumental Music printed before 1600: A Bibliography*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

Cen-Cat. = *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550*, 5 vols., Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1979-1988.

RISM = *Répertoire international des sources musicales* (International Inventory of Musical Sources). B I: *Récueils imprimés, XVI^e-XVII^e siècles*. 1. *Liste chronologique*, Ed. by F. LÉ-SURE, München-Duisberg, 1960.

RISM [ca. 1535]¹⁴ = [Christian Egenolff], no date; see N. BRIDGMAN, *Christian Egenolff, imprimeur de musique (A propos du recueil Rés. Vm⁷ 504 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris)*, in *Annales musicologiques*, 3 (1955), pp. 77-177; and M.L. GÖLLNER, *Egenolff, Christian*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980.

RISM 1554³¹ = *Dat ierste boeck vanden nieuwe duytsche liedekens*, Maastricht, Ed. by Jacob Baethen, 1554 (Heilbronn, Germany, Musiksammlung Stadtarchiv).

RISM 1572¹¹ = *Een Duytsch Musyckboeck*, Leuven and Antwerpen, Ed. by Pierre Phalèse and Jan Belle, 1572 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4^o Mus. pr. 185/2).

VanhulstP = H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils, 1545-1578*, Bruxelles, 1990.

VanhulstS = H. VANHULST, *Un Succès de l'Édition musicale: Le Septiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties (1560-1661/3)*, in *Revue belge de musicologie*, 32-33 (1978-1979), pp. 97-120.

APPENDIX 2

Three Zotte Liedekens

[2]

Dese coxkens en aerdighe moxkens,
Si gaen al lonckende onder haer
clockkens
Met rode baykens en corte rocckens,
Wel also gaykens.
Sy hebben die borstkens hert als
bloxckens;
Sy weten haer locckens
Om te smetsen haer lekker brocx-
kens,
Wel also fraykens.
Dan comen dees knaepkens
Met spaensche kapkens
En volgen die trapkens,
Soe ick u sey.
Dus comen dees coxkens
Ghespronghen op socckens,
Meest an den rey.

These cocottes and comely wenches,
They walk along peering behind their
cloaks
With red chemises and short skirts,
So very gay.

5 They have breasts as hard as blocks;

They know how to use their tresses
To entice their tasty tidbits,

So very fancy.

Then come these boys

10 With Spanish capes,
And they follow the [dance] steps,
As I have told you.

So these cocottes come
Jumping in socks,

15 Most in the row [round dance].

[19]

Lecker Beetgen en Cleyn Bier
Gingen wuyt om aventuere.
Sy quamen by avent int doncker
bestier
Voor doeve Nanens duere.
Cleyn Bier sprack met sinne:
Hoe geraken wy hierinne?
Ick sal eens proeve met eenen cloppe.
Wy es daer? sprack sy.
Tis Cleyn Bier, sey hy.
Neen way, daer en sit niet oppe.
Maer wy es daer by u?
Sprack daer een meysken schoon,
Kykende door een spleetgen.
Hy sey: tis Lecker Beetgen.
Och Lecker Beetgen, sydy daer?
Die doer ginck open sonder vaer;
Men bedreeffer vruecht boven scre-
ven.
Maer en had Lecker Beetgen gedaen,
Cleyn Bier waer buyten bleven.

Tasty Tidbit and Small Beer
Went out looking for adventure.
They arrived at night in a dark quar-
ter,
Before deaf Nancy's door.

5 Small Beer spoke with cunning,
"How do we get in here?
I shall give it a try with a knock."
"Who's there", she asked.
"It's Small Beer", he said.

10 "Go away, nobody's home.
But who's that with you?"
Spoke a pretty girl
Peeping through a crack.
He said, "It's Tasty Tidbit."

15 "Oh, Tasty Tidbit, are you there?"
She opened the door fearlessly;
They all enjoyed themselves beyond
description.
But if Tasty Tidbit had not been there,
Small Beer would have stayed out-
side.

[36]

Wy comen hier gelopen;
 Ons gelt is al verteert.
 Ons cleeren wy vercoopen;
 Den cost geeft ons den weert.
 Als wy niet meer betalen
 Dan eest: Packt uut,
 Ghy vuylen druyt!
 Ick sal den dienaer halen.

Wat sullen wy bedrieven?
 Wy dragen die buerse plat,
 Van coude wy verstyven,
 Ons cleeren zyn al een gat.
 Al sonder pot oft heyse
 Naer Bystervelt
 Noch broot noch gelt,
 So nemen wy ons reyse.

Hoert, leeken ende clercken,
 Die van ons syn besmet,
 Luyaerts die seldom wercken,
 Die zyn al in ons wet.
 Sinte Reynuut die is ons paige,
 Tschip is bereet,
 Soe elc wel weet:
 Compt doet u pelgremaige.

- We have come here walking;
 Our money is all spent.
 We sell our clothes;
 4 The landlord gives us food.
 If we cannot pay anymore
 Then it is: "Get out,
 You wretched lout!
 8 I'll go fetch the sheriff."
 What shall we do?
 We carry a flat purse,
 We freeze from the cold,
 12 Our clothes are full of holes.
 Without a pot or a handle,
 We set out for the Land of Hunger,
 Without bread or money,
 16 That is how we make our journey.
 Hear ye, laymen and clerks
 Who are corrupted by us,
 Sluggards who seldom work,
 20 They all belong to our order.
 Saint Bottoms-Up is our page,
 The ship is ready,
 As everyone well knows;
 24 Come make your pilgrimage.

JEAN DE CASTRO'S IL PRIMO LIBRO DI MADRIGALI, CANZONI E MOTETTI

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AN ANTWERP DEBUT - 1569 (Saskia Willaert)

In 1569 a young and unknown composer, Jean De Castro, had his first volume published at the firm of a low profile Antwerp music printer, Elizabeth Saen, widow of Jean Laet. The book contained compositions in the then most current genres (madrigal, chanson and motet) and was dedicated to an Italian trader, Giovanni Giacomo Fiesco. At first sight this début is noteworthy only for its inconspicuousness.

However, between 1555 and 1569 four other young polyphonists wrote their debuts in Antwerp and had them published in quite similar circumstances: Orlandus Lassus, Hubert Waelrant, Séverin Cornet and Noé Faignt.¹ As can be seen in Table 1, all of these first editions were dedicated to wealthy merchants residing and working in Antwerp, most of whom even originated from the same Italian city, Genoa; all contained a mixture of the familiar genres; and none were printed at the then most renowned music printing house in the Low Countries, that of Pierre Phalèse Sr in nearby Louvain.

Closer examination of the dedication, outlook and contents of De Castro's first volume quickly reveals that there is more to be said other than it appears to be the first shaky steps by a young musician introducing his work to the world. When compared with the debut of his fellow-composers, it uncovers a story of a progressive city which was politically explosive but culturally a Mecca of artistic activity, of traders with money and a passion for music, and the story also of a careful and conservative printer. The second part of this article will show that also musically De Castro's first volume of *tricinia* is a remarkable debut.

Antwerp's appeal to a young composer

In the 1560s Jean De Castro, born in Liège around 1540, left his native town

¹ Gerard Van Turnhout also published his début in Antwerp (1569). The fact that he is not included in the discussion here is because at the time of the appearance of his first edition the nearly fifty-year-old composer was already an established musician in Antwerp, with an official position at the Cathedral of Our Lady as *zangmeester*, and succeeded in having his début, containing exclusively sacred music, published at the Louvain printing house of Phalèse.

TABLE 1 Antwerp debuts between 1555 and 1570

COMPOSER	YEAR OF PUBLICATION	TITLE	DEDICATION	PLACE OF PUBLICATION, PRINTER
Orlandus Lassus	1555	<i>Il primo libro dovesi contengono madrigali, vilanesche, canzoni francesi, e motetti a quattro voci</i> ²	Stefano Gentile, Genoese merchant residing in Antwerp	Antwerp, Tielman Susato
Hubert Waelrant	1558	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali & canzoni francezi a cinque voci</i>	Bartolomeo Doria Inurea, Genoese merchant residing in Antwerp	Antwerp, Jean Laet & Hubert Waelrant
Séverin Cornet	1563	<i>Canzoni napolitane a quattro voci</i>	Giuseppe Doria, Genoese merchant residing in Antwerp	Antwerp, Jean Laet
Noé Faigrient	1568	<i>Chansons, madrigales et motetz à quatre, cinq et six parties ... le premier livre</i>	Gonçalo Garcia, foreign (Portuguese or Spanish) merchant residing in Antwerp	Antwerp, Elizabeth Saen
Jean De Castro	1569	<i>Il primo libro di madrigali, canzoni e motetti a tre voci</i>	Giovanni Giacomo Fiesco, Genoese merchant residing in Antwerp	Antwerp, Elizabeth Saen

for Antwerp, a city which must have appealed to the young composer in many ways. He may have been tempted to follow Lassus' example, who fourteen years earlier, in 1555, had successfully published his debut in Antwerp with the help of an influential merchant (as will be seen in the second part Lassus also musically acted as a model for De Castro).³ The city housed several other composers, such as Waelrant, Cornet, Faigrient and Gerard Van Turnhout, who apparently succeeded in securing a living in Antwerp either through the financial support of the rich trading bourgeoisie or through an official musical position at the cathedral. Above all, Antwerp was the centre of a flourishing musical life. The Flemish port on the North Sea had developed into a cosmopolitan trade centre and a cultural city of international fame. Though wracked at that time with deep-rooted political and religious problems caused by the Spanish oppression and the rise of Protestantism, Antwerp would uphold its economical supremacy until 1585 with the closure of the Scheldt; it would maintain its artistic aura until well into the 17th century.

One of the main reasons for Antwerp's exceptional commercial position around the middle of the 16th century and its subsequent cultural richness was

the great potential of loyal patrons living in Antwerp. Rich foreign traders in particular, who had come to reside in the city after the decline of Bruges, were keen to support artists; the possession of art and actual connections in the artistic world suited their aspirations to be wealthy, tasteful world citizens.⁴ Especially the Italians were distinctive art lovers.

The Genoese Nation

Unlike the English, Spanish and Portuguese communities, the Italian merchants in Antwerp grouped themselves separately according to their city of origin, thus reflecting the politically fragmented character of Italy itself.⁵ The Genoese Nation was one of the most powerful of these communities. Most members were rich bankers, specializing in maritime insurance, and were known for their prominent role in the financial world.⁶ Together with the

² Lassus' first volume was published earlier in the year as the last part of Susato's series *Livres à quatre parties*, under the title, *Le quatoirsiesme livre à quatre parties contentant dixhuyct chansons italiennes, six chansons françoises, et six motets*, with no dedication.

³ For Lassus' debut, see K. FORNEY, *Orlando di Lasso's Opus 1: the Making and Marketing of a Renaissance Music Book*, in *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap/Revue belge de Musicologie*, 39-40 (1985-86): pp. 33-60.

⁴ See H. VAN DER WEE, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth-Sixteenth Century)*, Leuven, 1963, vol. ii, p. 192. For wealthy business men in Antwerp acting as art patrons, see for example the patronage of Gilles Hooftman in Jean De Castro, *Sonets, avec une chanson ... livre premier (1592)*. *Chansons, stanses, sonets, et epigrammes ... livre second (1592)*, Jean De Castro. Opera Omnia, ed. I. BOSSUYT a.o., vol. i, Leuven, 1993.

⁵ See J.A. GORIS, *Etude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (Portugais, Espagnols, Italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567. Contribution à l'histoire du capitalisme moderne*, Leuven, 1925, repr. New York, 1971, pp. 32, 70-71, 77.

⁶ See G. PERSOONS, *Orlandus Lassus in Antwerpen (1554-1556)*, in *Orlandus Lassus 1532-1594*, exhibition catalogue, ed. I. BOSSUYT, Leuven, 1982, p. 73.

Augsburg Fugger family they were the most important moneylenders to the Spanish Crown.⁷ Most of them belonged to the nobility and displayed a genuine interest in the arts and sciences.⁸ Their generous patronage undoubtedly influenced the local trade élite who were eager to adopt a touch of aristocratic prestige themselves.⁹

As said before, no less than four composers living in Antwerp in the 1550s and 1560s thanked the launching of their career to a member of the Genoese Nation: Lassus, Waelrant, Cornet and De Castro. One of the most important Genoese patrons in Antwerp was Stefano Gentile, a distinguished poet himself. He was not only Lassus' first patron and encouraged him to publish his *Il primo libro* in 1555, but he also supported the poets Jan vander Noot and Stefano Schiappalaria, the Hungarian humanist Johannes Sambucus, and the theologian and writer, Johannes Garetius.¹⁰ He co-sponsored the poet Guillaume De Poetou together with his friend, Giovanni Grimaldi, also a member of the Genoese Nation, who in turn acted as patron of Philippe De Monte during the composer's early years in Antwerp.¹¹

As can be learned from documents held at the Antwerp City Archive, the activities of De Castro's first patron, Giovanni Giacomo Fiesco, also show him as a true member of the Genoese nation, though his contributions to Antwerp's cultural life were more modest than those of Lassus' first patron. Fiesco settled in the city at the end of the 1550s.¹² He became one of the trade partners of Stefano Gentile, played an important role in the confiscation of (English) merchandise by the Spanish government and gave further proof of his loyalty towards Spain by acting as moneylender to Philip II.¹³ He was creditor of the renowned carpet weaver Peter Van Uden and other local shopkeepers in Antwerp, such as the baker Anthonis Hortman and the shoemaker Jacob De

⁷ See H. LAPEYRE, *Simon Ruiz et les 'asientos' de Philippe II*, (Affaires et gens d'affaires, vi), Paris, 1953, pp. 12-14; VAN DER WEE, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market*, pp. 201-202.

⁸ See K. BOSTOEN, *Dichterschap en koopmanschap in de zestiende eeuw. Omtrent de dichters Guillaume de Poetou en Jan vander Noot*, (Deventer Studiën, i), Deventer, 1987, 275.

⁹ See also S. WILLAERT and K. DERDE, *Het mecenaat van de Genuese natie in Antwerpen in de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw, in Orlandus Lassus en Antwerpen. 1554-1556*, exhibition catalogue, ed. I. BOSSUYT, Antwerpen, 1994, pp. 47-56.

¹⁰ See K. BOSTOEN, *Dichterschap en koopmanschap*, 1987, pp. 48, 313-314; J. SAMBUCUS, *Emblemata, cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis*, Antwerpen, 1564, facsimile, Budapest, 1982, pp. 98-99; E. VAN EVEN, *Garet (Jean)*, in *Biographie Nationale*, (Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts, xvii), Brussel, 1880-83, pp. 488-489.

¹¹ See G. DE POETOU, *La grande liesse en plus grand labeur*, Antwerpen, Guillaume Silvius, 1565; B. MANN, *The Secular Madrigals of Filippo di Monte. 1521-1603*, (Studies in Musicology, lxiv), ed. G. BUELOW, Ann Arbor (MI), 1983, pp. 4-5, 426.

¹² The earliest reference to Fiesco's activities in Antwerp can be found in a document dating from 1559: see ANTWERPEN, STADSARCHIEF (SAA), PK915, fol. 289r.

¹³ See SAA, CB17, fol. 42v; CB16, fol. 274r; M.F. RACHFAHL (ed.), *Le registre de Franciscus Lixaldius, trésorier général de l'armée espagnole aux Pays-Bas, de 1567 à 1576*, Brussel, 1902, pp. 70-2, 74.

Hont, who, to repay his debts, offered Fiesco a small organ.¹⁴ Towards the end of his career, his influence within the Genoese Nation increased and in 1597 he was appointed their consul together with Ottavio Spinola (to whom De Monte dedicated his twelfth book of five-part madrigals).¹⁵

Fiesco's keen cultural interests were obvious. He loved poetry (he wrote verses himself,¹⁶ was interested in tapestry and loved music) and he even might have played an instrument himself, as is suggested by one of the poems of De Poetou, where it says: *Live happily in harmony / Sounding to your strings / My verses from Béthune*.¹⁷ It is also known that he owned a small organ. However, his love for music is most manifest in the dedication of Jean De Castro's volume of 1569. The preface to this volume explicitly mentions *the great affection you [Fiesco] bear towards my profession*.¹⁸ It leads one to surmise further that Fiesco, being one of the first people to take an interest in De Castro's music, became not only his patron, but also his friend: *I ... feel very much obliged towards You for ... Your amiabilities and distinct signs of kindness towards me*, De Castro continued in the preface.¹⁹ Fiesco must have been enthusiastic about the music of the then unknown composer and may have decided to help him with the edition; De Castro even seems to credit Fiesco with the actual commission of the volume, when the composer writes: *I am certain that You will be pleased to see one of Your loyal servants, as I am, fulfilling his obligations towards you*.²⁰ This might imply that Fiesco was the driving force behind the publication and helped De Castro financially with the edition, an introductory role which he is known to have played also in the career of the poet De Poetou.²¹ It should be noted that Kristine Forney suggests a similar situation with respect to Lassus' *Il primo libro* of 1555, possibly financed by Stefano Gentile.²²

Giovanni Giacomo Fiesco and Stefano Gentile were not the only Genoese traders in Antwerp at that time who loved to see their name linked with the debut

¹⁴ See SAA, PK630, fol. 66v; CB23, fol. 9v; CB25, fol. 261v; CB27, fol. 182v and 188r; SR313, fol. 237v.

¹⁵ See J. DENUCÉ, *Italiaanse koopmansgeslachten te Antwerpen in de XVIe-XVIIIe eeuwen*, Mechelen, [n.d.], p. 119.

¹⁶ See De Poetou's ode for Fiesco in *La grande en plus grand labeur*, fol. 7r: *N'oseroy-ie entreprendre / Et tant d'audace prendre / Ce Moron approcher? / Qu'Appolon mene & guide / Sous la flamme feruie. Du Prophetiqu' rocher?*

¹⁷ *La grande en plus grand labeur*, fol. 7r: *Vix heureux et t'accorde / D'entonner sur ta corde / Mon vers Bethunien*

¹⁸ *la grande affectione che porta alla professione mia.*

¹⁹ *me le tengo ... molto obligato ... oltre tante amoreuolezze, & segni euidenti del buono animo suo verso di me.*

²⁰ *mi rendo certo, che deggia veder voluntieri, che vno suo Seruitore, come le sono io, tanto deuoto, faccia al meglio che puo, il debito suo verso di lei.*

²¹ See K. BOSTOEN, *Dichterschap en koopmanschap*, p. 165.

²² See K. FORNEY, *Orlando di Lasso's Opus 1*, p. 38.

of a promising composer. In 1558 Bartholomeo Doria Inurea promoted the first individual volume of Hubert Waelrant. Five years later another member of the Doria family, Giuseppe, encouraged the publication of Séverin Cornet's first volume. Further research into the activities and patronage of this Genoese family is needed to uncover the actual role they played in the launching of the two debuts. However, their impact is obvious at least in the fact that the two volumes, like the debut of Lassus and De Castro, include Italian music. And when combined with other genres, the madrigals always open the 'Genoese' volumes. Significantly, when in 1568 Noé Faignient put his first publication under the patronage of Gonçalo Garcia, a wealthy merchant either from Portugal or Spain, his volume did not open with madrigals but with chansons. The nationality of the patron also accounted for the language of the title page and preface. All the volumes addressed to a Genoese patron bear an Italian title page and preface, even though they include French and Latin pieces. Faignient's book for Garcia, on the other hand, was put into French although the volume also contained madrigals and motets.²³ That De Castro's, Lassus', Waelrant's and Faignient's debuts were not restricted to madrigals, may have been dictated by the fact that in the case of a first venture by an unknown composer, a combination of genres was calculated to broaden appeal and increase sales.²⁴

Antwerp editions

One may wonder why, in the case of De Castro and Faignient, their debut came from the presses of the third-rate printing house of Elizabeth Saen, in spite of the backing of influential patrons. Her activities as a music publisher until then had been scarce. When De Castro's manuscript arrived at her firm, she had presumably printed only one music volume, namely Faignient's debut in 1568.

By the middle of the 16th century, Antwerp's fame as a centre for music printing was well established. However, in 1568-69, when Faignient's and De Castro's first volumes were ready for publishing, the Antwerp music printing trade was in a state of transition. Tielman Susato, who had started printing in

²³ This also means that the language of the volume and the opening genre may be of help in the identification of the patron.

²⁴ An exception is found in Cornet's volume. Though he was still unknown when his debut was published in 1563, his book for Giuseppe Doria is filled exclusively with the relatively unfamiliar *canzone napolitane*. Maybe his influential father-in-law Antheunis Barbé, who had served in the Sistine chapel in Rome and was *zangmeester* of the Our Lady Cathedral in Antwerp until 1562 vouched for Cornet's marketability and therefore reduced the risk in this debut. See D.G. CAR-DAMONE, *Cornet, Séverin*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980, vol. iii, p. 787.

Antwerp in 1542 and published Lassus' debut in 1555, left the city in 1561.²⁵ His son Jacob took over the business, but printed only one further volume before his death in the same year (1564).²⁶ Jean Laet started a music printing firm in 1554, issuing Waelrant's debut in 1558 and Cornet's in 1562; but Laet died in 1566.²⁷ Christopher Plantin printed music only from 1578 and Pierre Phalèse Jr took up publishing in Antwerp only in 1582.²⁸ Thus in 1568 and 1569, Saen, the widow of Laet, was the sole music publisher left in Antwerp. The question remains why Faignient and De Castro did not have their first volume printed at Phalèse's established firm in Louvain, where Van Turnhout's first volume was issued. The question becomes the more pressing when it is observed that in the case of De Castro, several of his compositions were indeed published in anthologies by Phalèse in Louvain that same year, and all of the individual volumes that followed, as far as the 'Low Countries' editions were concerned, De Castro left in the care of the Phalèse printers (Phalèse Sr in Louvain from 1570 and Phalèse Jr in Antwerp from 1582 onwards).²⁹ However, as Henri Vanhulst has shown, Phalèse hardly ever launched a debut. He certainly could not be accredited for the discovery of new talent. He was much more interested in musicians who already enjoyed a certain fame in Antwerp and abroad.³⁰ Another reason why De Castro and Faignient had little chance of having their first book published at the Louvain firm was that Phalèse as yet had not published any madrigals. The printer was reluctant to present a genre and a language unfamiliar to his Louvain customers.³¹ When

²⁵ See K. FORNEY, *New Documents on the Life of Tielman Susato, Sixteenth-Century Music Printer and Musician*, in *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap/Revue belge de Musicologie*, 36-38 (1982-84), pp. 18, 25, 30.

²⁶ It concerns *Le premier livre de chansons* of Lassus. See K. FORNEY, *New Documents on the Life of Tielman Susato*, p. 30.

²⁷ See A. ROUZET, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs belges des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites de la Belgique actuelle*, Nieuwkoop, 1975, pp. 115-116; W. PIEL, *Studien zum Leben und Schaffen Hubert Waelrants unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Motetten*, (*Marburger Beiträge zur Musikforschung*, 3), ed. H. HÜSCHEN, Marburg, 1969, pp. 41, 66-67.

²⁸ See J.A. STELLFELD, *Bibliographie des Etudes Musicales Plantiniennes*, Gembloux, 1947; A. GOOVAERTS, *Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas*, Brussels, 1880, repr. Frits Knuf, Amsterdam, 1963, p. 54.

²⁹ The four anthologies from 1569, containing music by De Castro are: *Selectissimarum sacrarum cantionum ... Liber primus* (RISM 1569⁴); *Selectissimarum sacrarum cantionum flores, trium vocum ... Liber tertius* (RISM 1569⁶); *Recueil des fleurs produictes de la divine musique à trois parties ... Second livre* (RISM 1569¹⁰); *Recueil des fleurs produictes de la divine musique à trois parties ... Tiers livre* (RISM 1569¹¹). For the 'Low Countries' publications, see RISM C1469-71, C1473, C1475-7, C1479, C1482, C1484, C1486-7, C1492.

³⁰ See H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545-1578*, (*Académie Royale de Belgique. Mémoires de la Classe des Beaux-Arts, 2nd series*, 16/2), 1990, p. xxxvii. That Phalèse did decide to print Turnhout's debut may be ascribed to the fact that the composer by then was an established musician holding official positions at the Cathedral in Antwerp and Lierse. Phalèse may have had confidence in the saleability of Turnhout's debut, at least if more than one genre was included.

Phalèse later did begin to print madrigals, he never devoted an entire volume to the genre.³² The fact that in 1570, only a year after De Castro's debut, Phalèse did risk an edition of music by De Castro including madrigals, should be linked to the beginning of his collaboration that year with the bookseller Jean Bellère, who had many Italian acquaintances in Antwerp, rather than to a sudden confidence in the young composer's capacities.³³

³¹ Turnhout's volume contained motets and chansons, no madrigals.

³² See H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions*, p. xxxi.

³³ See *ibid.*, p. xii.

DE CASTRO'S *TRICINIA* OF 1569

(Ignace Bossuyt)

De Castro's first volume of *tricina* constitutes quite a remarkable debut. The book contains twelve madrigals, thirteen chansons and eight motets. Most of the compositions are apparently arrangements of pre-existing pieces for four to six voices as three-part settings.

At least ten madrigals can be traced to older pieces. De Castro displayed a clear preference for the madrigals of Cypriano De Rore, from whom he borrowed no less than four pieces (*Non mi tolg' il ben mio*, *Er' il bel viso*, *Non è lasso martire* and *Anchor che col partire*). *O s' io potessi* and *Quand' io penso* are arrangements of pieces from the famous first book of four-part madrigals by Jacob Arcadelt (Venice, 1539), of which *O s'io potessi* has been attributed to Jacquet de Berchem in later editions.³⁴ De Castro used one madrigal each from Verdelot (*Vita de la mia vita*) and the Italian composers Domenico Maria Ferabosco (*Io mi son giovinetta*), Alessandro Striggio senior (*Nasce la pena mia*) and Pietro Taglia (*Quanti son poi*).

With the exception of four pieces, De Castro based all the chansons in the book on compositions by Orlandus Lassus (*Susanne ung jour*, *Quant mon mary*, *Enfant à l'aborder*, *Mon coeur se recommande à vous*, *Petite folle*, *Margot labourés les vignes*, *Bonjour mon coeur*, *Je ne veux rien* and *Las, voulez vous*). He borrowed *Tout ce qu'on peult en elle voir* from Cypriano De Rore, and *Sortés, regrets* from Philippus De Monte. Half of all the motets refer to music by Clemens non Papa (*Venit vox*, *Qui consolabatur*, *Pater peccavi* and *Maria Magdalena*). He chose one further motet by Thomas Crequillon (*Nigrasum*, sometimes attributed to Clemens), one by De Rore (*Ad te levavi*) and two by Lassus (*Veni in hortum* and *In te Domine speravi*).

The models of the remaining four pieces cannot yet be identified (*Io son ferito*, *Chiara luce d'amore*, *Helas ma fille*³⁵ and *Je suis quasi prest*); they may constitute original compositions by De Castro. The text of the madrigal *Chiara luce d'amore*, which seems never to have been set by another composer, might have been written by the patron of the volume, the Genoese merchant Giovanni Giacomo Fiesco, who is known to have been an amateur poet.³⁶

For each genre De Castro relied on one famous colleague: De Rore for the madrigal, Lassus for the chanson and Clemens for the motet. It is noteworthy that for the motet De Castro borrowed from a composer of the previous gen-

³⁴ Cf the introduction to *Jacobi Arcadelt Opera Omnia*, ed. A. SEAY, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 31, Vol. 2, p. XXIII.

³⁵ Not based on Lassus!

³⁶ See *supra* and footnote 16.

eration; Lassus's contribution to this genre clearly did not yet play an influential role in De Castro's output. Only in the latter's three-part motets of 1574 (the *Tricinium sacrorum ... Liber unus*) did Lassus's music, especially the Nuremberg motet book of 1562, definitely become De Castro's model.³⁷

De Castro undoubtedly knew Lassus's French chansons from the editions of Phalèse, who published them from 1560 onwards.³⁸ For the motets of Clemens non Papa, De Castro could refer to the Susato editions dating from 1547 onwards and the Phalèse books of 1554 onwards.³⁹ The madrigals of De Rore, Arcadelt and Verdelot were accessible mainly through Venetian *Einzeldrucke* and anthologies. It is interesting to note that five compositions used as a model by De Castro in his debut were selected by him – in their original version – for his anthology *Livre de melanges*, published by Phalèse in 1575: namely Ferabosco's *Io mi son giovinetta*, Taglia's *Quanti son poi* and De Rore's *Non mi tolgl' il ben mio*, and the two chansons that were not borrowed from Lassus: De Rore's *Tout ce qu'on peult* and de Monte's *Sortés regretz*.⁴⁰

De Castro's debut can be considered one of the most representative examples of the *imitatio* principle of the second half of the 16th century, whereby the young composer would master the technique of writing polyphonic music by using and arranging compositions by distinguished figures. Some of the madrigals and motets show that De Castro's arrangements went beyond a mere reduction of the number of voices; he created new combinations with old material, making a great personal compositional contribution. The result therefore amounts to more than a faithful copy of the original. Comparison of originals with De Castro's arrangements has uncovered the principles that form the basis of De Castro's *imitatio* technique.⁴¹

De Castro consistently retained two basic principles from the model: the mode and the division of the text into specific parts. It is striking, however, that he did not always close on the finalis of the mode (contrary to the model), but occasionally on the dominant (the fifth or the fourth). For example, the madrigal *Er' il bel viso* is written in the Dorian mode. De Rore's version closes on the finalis (*re*), De Castro's on the fifth (*la*).

³⁷ Modern edition: Jean de Castro, *Tricinium sacrorum ... Liber unus* (1574), Jean de Castro. Opera Omnia, ed. I. BOSSUYT a.o., vol. iv, Leuven, 1997.

³⁸ H. VANHULST, *op. cit.*

³⁹ U. MEISSNER, *Der Antwerpener Notendrucker Tielman Susato. Eine bibliographische Studie zur niederländischen Chansonpublikation in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1967 and H. VANHULST, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ On the content of *Livre de melanges*, see H. VANHULST, *op. cit.*, pp. 214–217.

⁴¹ On the French chanson based on Lassus, see I. BOSSUYT, *Jean de Castro and his Three-Part Chansons Modelled on Four- and Five-Part Chansons by Orlando di Lasso. A Comparison*, in *Orlando di Lasso in der Musikgeschichte. Bericht über das Symposium der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, 4.–6. Juli 1994*, ed. B. SCHMID, München, 1996, pp. 25–26. Extensive studies on the madrigals and the motets are in preparation.



Example 1a: De Rore



Example 1b: De Castro

The madrigal *Quand'io pens'al martire*, based on a madrigal by Arcadelt in the eighth mode, does not end on the finalis (*sol*), as is the case in the model, but on the dominant (*ut*).



Example 2a: Arcadelt

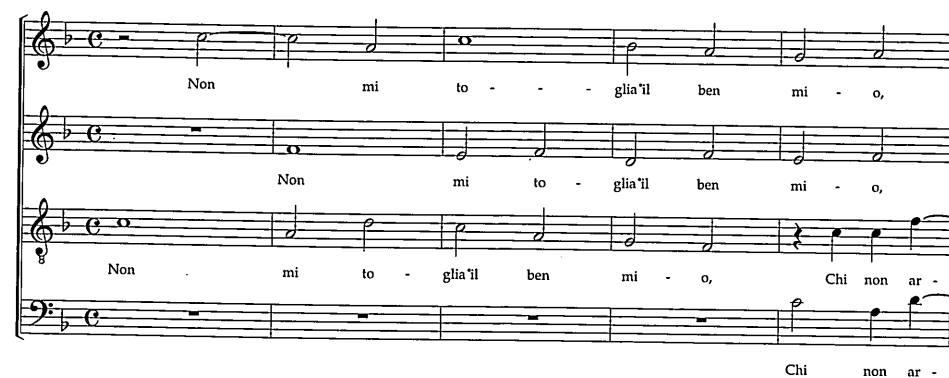


Example 2b: De Castro

As polyphonic compositions that end on la and ut create many problems for the identification of the mode, De Castro's music often offers a definitive answer.⁴²

His arrangements are more than literal citations. He seldom borrowed literally, in the sense of a 'vertical quotation'. His imitation technique is based mainly on one of the freest forms of parody, namely the borrowing of melodic motives, which he manipulated in his own way, deviating from the model. The following examples from the beginning of a number of madrigals and motets illustrate his working method.

He seldom borrowed from the upper voice, preferring the tenor or even the bass. The upper voice of the beginning of the madrigal *Non mi tol'g'il ben mio* quotes the tenor of the model, as is revealed by the ascending leap of the fourth, *la-re*.



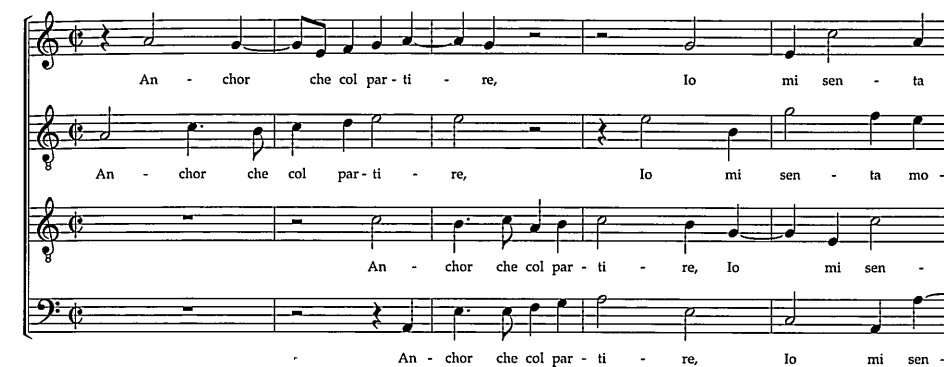
Example 3a: De Rore

⁴² See e.g. B. PERGQUIST, *The Modality of Orlando di Lasso's Compositions in "A Minor"*, in *Id.*, pp. 7-18.



Example 3b: De Castro

When he did use a theme from the upper voice of the model, he usually moved it to other voices, as is illustrated in the madrigal *Anchor che col partire*, where the theme of the model's upper voice appears in the second and third voice of De Castro's version, while the upper voice develops an independent melodic line.



Example 4a: De Rore



Example 4b: De Castro

Another technique that points to a free reworking of the model is the reordering of entries in contrapuntal passages. For example, in *Non mi tol'g'il ben mio*

(Example 3) De Castro retained the tenor and alto of De Rore's model, but reversed the order of the entries. De Castro's personal style is also apparent in the changed texture: he changed passages that were originally chordal into more contrapuntal fragments, as can be seen at the beginning of *O s'io potessi*.

Example 5a: Arcadelt

Example 5b: De Castro

When he did retain homophonic sections, he often altered them in order to enrich the harmony (as is obvious from the section *invidioso farei* in the same madrigal). In this respect he was following the latest trend as advocated by De Rore, and so it is remarkable that the expressive madrigal of De Rore was not his primary inspiration.

Sometimes De Castro even intensified the expressiveness of the model. In the madrigal *Non è lasso martire* he strengthened the emotional expression of the words *Non è lasso* in the first measure by way of an octave leap.

Non è, las - so, mar - ti - re, non è, las -

Non è, las - so, mar - ti - re, non è, las -

Non è, las - so mar - ti - re, non è

Non è, las -

Non è, las - so, mar - ti - re, non è,

Example 6a: De Rore

Non è, las - so, mar - ti - re, non è,

Non è, non è, las - so, las - so, mar - ti - re, non è,

Non è, las - so, mar - ti - re, non è, las -

Example 6b: De Castro

In this madrigal, too, De Castro went beyond sheer literal quotation, designing a new composition using melodic, rhythmic and harmonic patterns from the model. As is clear from Example 7, he intensified the 'madrigalian', striking sudden pause just before the end, after the word *morire*, by using a minor third (instead of the major third of De Rore).

ri - re, Il con - venir per voi don - na mo - ri - re.

voi don - na mo - ri - re, per voi don - na mo - ri - re.

Il con - venir per voi don - na mo - ri - re.

voi don - na mo - ri - re, per voi don - na mo - ri - re.

Il con - venir per voi don - na mo - ri - re.

Example 7a: De Rore

nir per voi don - na mo - ri - re, don - na mo - ri - re, don - na mo - ri - re.

re, il con - ve - nir per voi don - na mo - ri - re, don - na mo - ri - re.

re, il con - ve - nir per voi don - na mo - ri - re. don - na mo - ri - re.

Example 7b: De Castro

It is not surprising that occasionally De Castro drastically reworked the motets of Clemens non Papa, the long and often uniform counterpoint of which conforms to the stylistic principles of the previous generation. In the motet *Venit vox de caelo*, Clemens employed a conspicuous octave leap on *de caelo*, after which the melody descends in seconds. In the third voice of De Castro's version the melody continues to rise rather than to descend immediately.

Ve - - - nit vox de cae - - - - - lo,

Ve - - - nit vox de cae - - - - - lo, ve -

Ve - - - nit

Example 8a: Clemens non Papa

Ve - nit vox de cae - lo, ve - nit vox de cae - lo, de

Ve - nit vox de cae - lo, ve - nit vox de cae - lo, de

Ve - nit vox de cae - - - - - lo, ve - nit vox de

Example 8b: De Castro

Typical examples of this madrigalian approach can be seen in the motet *Pater peccavi*, based on the Parable of the Prodigal Son. In the *hic fame pereo* (Here I am, starving) section, De Castro alludes to the style of the madrigal by inserting a rest in all the voices after the short, last note on the word *per eo*.

Example 9a: Clemens non Papa

Example 9b: De Castro

The sequel also has a strong madrigalian character: see for example the exuberant ascending melismas on *Surgam* (I will stand up). An attempt to adapt the style of composers of the previous generation, such as Clemens and Gombert, to a more contemporary style (i.e. of De Rore and Lassus) is apparent in the shortness of the motets (Clemens' *Venit vox de caelo* contains 140 bars, while De Castro's has only 99) and the limited use of the melisma in favour of a more syllabic texture. As is apparent from the motet *Pater peccavi*, the melismas have an expressive meaning, rather than the merely decorative function they had before.

De Castro's Antwerp debut is a notable achievement in many respects, not least because the composer reveals himself as an exceptional representative of the parody technique, applied not in the mass and the Magnificat, where it tended mostly to be used, but in the madrigal, the chanson and the motet.⁴³ The creative arrangement in three-parts of often very well-known four- and six-part compositions by masters such as Clemens non Papa, Lasso, Arcadelt and De Rore seems to have had some success; the pieces were in great demand in Antwerp.

⁴³ See e.g. the excellent study by D. CROOK, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich*, Princeton, NJ, 1994.

PLANTIN ET L'ORGANISATION MODALE DES MELANGES DE CLAUDE LE JEUNE (1585)¹

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La seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle connaît une sorte de cohabitation de différentes théories modales: celles de Glaréan (*Dodecachordon* de 1547) et de Zarlino (*Istitutioni harmoniche* de 1573), diffusées dans des traités imprimés, sont faciles à appréhender, mais percevoir clairement comment les musiciens mettaient ces théories à l'épreuve de la pratique est une entreprise plus délicate. Selon le(s) lieu(x) de sa formation, ses lectures, ses voyages, ses rencontres, un musicien pouvait à cette époque être amené à considérer qu'il existait soit huit modes, hérités de la tradition médiévale, soit douze modes, mais ordonnés en commençant par la finale Ré (Glaréan) ou la finale Ut (Zarlino).

Dans un article majeur sur ce sujet, Harry Powers a montré qu'à l'origine, et au moins jusqu'au *Trattato* de Pietro Aron (1525), la question de l'identification d'un mode ne se posait qu'*a posteriori*.² Au cours du siècle, l'intérêt croissant des musiciens pour la question modale transparait dans l'organisation des corpus publiés (chez Susato, Attaingnant et Le Roy, par exemple³), voire dans la composition même de corpus (chez Utendal, Lassus, Rore ou Palestrina par exemple⁴). La comparaison de différentes classifications adoptées d'un recueil à l'autre fait apparaître d'importantes divergences de vues, ce qui amène Powers à adopter, à la suite de S. Hermelinck, trois paramètres clés permettant de décrire de la façon la plus objective qui soit les classifications observées dans les recueils. Il s'agit du système de la pièce (Bmol ou Bdur), de son ambitus, caractérisé par la clé de la partie supérieure (sol 2 ou ut 1), et de la fondamentale du dernier accord. Ces trois paramètres définissent un 'type tonal' déterminé, qui peut être choisi selon les recueils pour représenter des modes différents; inversement, plusieurs types tonaux parfois très éloignés peuvent représenter un même mode.⁵

¹ Cet article est le remaniement de *Le Livre de melanges de Claude Le Jeune (Anvers, Plantin, 1585) au cœur du débat modal de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle*, in M.-Th. Bouquet-Boyer et P. Bonniffet (éds.), *Claude Le Jeune et son temps en France et dans les Etats de Savoie, 1530-1600. Actes du colloque international de Chambéry, nov. 1991*, Berne, 1996, pp. 82-92.

² H.S. POWERS, *Tonal types and modal categories in Renaissance polyphony*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXXIV/3 (1981), pp. 428-470.

³ Pour Susato, voir *ibid.*, p. 445. Pour Attaingnant, voir H.M. BROWN, *Theory and practice in the sixteenth century: preliminary notes on Attaingnant's modally ordered chansonniers*, in L. LOCKWOOD et E. ROESNER (éds.), *Essays in musicology: a tribute to Alvin Johnson*, Philadelphia, 1990, pp. 75-100.

⁴ Voir POWERS, *ibid.*, p. 435.

⁵ Par exemple les types La et Do, ou ceux de b Ré et b La, qui sont 'gênants' pour les adeptes de la théorie des huit modes, trop étroite pour la pratique. Les adeptes des douze modes ne connaissent en principe pas ces problèmes; pour eux, il faut surtout choisir de commencer leur numérotation par Ré ou par Do.

Dans le débat sur ce sujet, Claude Le Jeune occupe une position assez exceptionnelle puisqu'au moins deux recueils de sa main présentent une organisation modale forte et explicite: il s'agit du *Dodécacorde* (La Rochelle: Haultin, 1598) et des *Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde* (Paris: Ballard, 1606). Outre son titre qui porte une référence directe au traité de Glarean, le *Dodécacorde* s'ouvre par une dédicace au Duc de Bouillon qui constitue un témoignage majeur sur la pensée modale de Claude Le Jeune, sa bonne connaissance des écrits consacrés par les anciens à ce sujet⁶. Par ailleurs, chacun des douze psaumes présentés ensuite annonce son mode ('Du premier mode authentique', 'Du second mode plagal'...), et le choix des textes dans le psautier s'est fait en tenant compte du mode des mélodies qui leur sont associées, que le musicien reprend comme *cantus firmus*. Quant aux *Octonaires*, ils procèdent du même type de planification modale précompositionnelle, comme en témoigne la dédicace de sa soeur Cécile Le Jeune:

Il y a seulement trois pièces de chaque mode, à trois & à quatre parties (...) on jugera par cet eschantillon, combien, s'il eust vescu, la piece entiere eust esté pleine de perfection. Car son intention n'estoit pas de s'arrester là, mais d'y joindre encore trois pieces de chacun Mode, à cinq & à six parties, dont il avoit projeté les desseins si hauts, qu'il asseuroit que tout ce qu'il avoit fait auparavant de plus beau, ne paroistroit rien au prix (...).

Ces deux recueils cycliques sont presque des manifestes en faveur des douze modes ordonnés en référence à Zarlino. Ils seront d'ailleurs utilisés par la postérité pour leur clarté, leur valeur didactique: le Ms. N.A.Fr 4679 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris contient en effet un chapitre intitulé *Reigle des Douzes Modes approuvez des meilleurs Autheurs Anciens & modernes, et mis en pratique par Claude Le Jeune Compositeur de la musique de la Chambre du Roy, en ses Pseaumes de david / Lan 1598*. Il semble que dans ce manuscrit un musicien, qui avait le *Dodécacorde* sous les yeux comme le suggère la reproduction scrupuleuse du titre (*approuvez des meilleurs Autheurs anciens & modernes*), cherchait à comprendre à partir du recueil les règles propres à chaque mode, en notant systématiquement les clés de chacun des douze psaumes, la mélodie du *cantus firmus*, ainsi que les degrés cadentiels rencontrés dans la polyphonie. Chaque mode est accompagné de quelques commentaires, excepté, chose très intéressante, les septième et huitième modes de Fa: le scribe a quelque raison d'être troublé puisque Le Jeune, qui n'a effectivement pas trouvé dans le psautier de mélodie-matrice en 'vrai' mode de Fa (sans bémol), a choisi deux psaumes en Do pour élaborer ses polyphonies en Fa. A lui seul,

⁶ Voir I. HIS, *L'Edit de Nantes et la musique: autour d'une préface de 1598*, in *Bretagne, art, création, société-Mélanges offerts à Denise Delouche*, Rennes, 1997, pp. 279-285.

l'espace prévu dans le manuscrit pour les habituels commentaires mais laissé vierge à cet endroit, marque d'une perplexité compréhensible, donne à ce chapitre manuscrit une valeur de 'prise de notes'. Pour les *Octonaires*, ce sont quelques lignes de Brossard qui nous livrent de précieux renseignements sur leur postérité comme traité plus que comme oeuvre musicale:

C'est ici sans contredit le meilleur et le plus sçavant des Ouvrages de Claudin le Jeune, et j'ai été tenté bien des fois de le mettre au rang des Theoriciens, quoi qu'il soit imprimé en parties séparées, et s'il avoit été imprimé en partition, je n'aurois pas hésité: Car en fin c'est le modèle le plus exact que nous ayons de l'observation des regles de l'ancien Contrepoint. Les pieces de cet oeuvre sont composées chacune sur lequel un des 12 modes ou Ton des anciens, et les Maitres du Mans, de Rouen &c qui envoient des paroles pour composer des Motets pour les prix qu'on y distribue le jour de Sainte Cecille tous les Ans marquent toujours le mode sur lequel il faut qu'ils soient composez, et ne manquent point de renvoyer auxd. Octonaires de Claudin le Jeune pour y voir et examiner comment chaque mode y est traité et noté soit qu'il soit Diatonique ou naturel, soit qu'il soit transposé, et pour les trouver plus aisement, il y a une Table à la fin de chaque Partie où sont marquez les modes sur lesquels chaque piece a été composée; en un mot c'est le livre où il y a le plus de bonnes choses à apprendre, sur tout pour les jeunes gens, qu'on ne peut rendre trop exacts sur l'observance rigoureuse des règles de l'ancien Contrepoint (...).⁷

Trois autres publications de Le Jeune, toutes posthumes, s'organisent également en fonction des modes. Il s'agit du *Printemps* (1603), des *Airs* (1608), du *Second livre des airs* (1608), mais ces recueils n'ont vraisemblablement pas été conçus comme des tous: le *Printemps* présente des genres hétérogènes (chansons polyphoniques et musique *mesurée à l'antique*), les deux livres d'*Airs* sont chronologiquement composites. Quant au *Second livre des meslanges* (1612), qui combine hétérogénéité des genres et diversité chronologique, il ne présente aucune organisation modale évidente, mais des regroupements par mêmes types tonaux. Dans tous ces recueils, le répertoire présenté n'est jamais entièrement inédit. C'est donc surtout l'explicite organisation modale du *Dodécacorde* et des *Octonaires* qui me servira ici de témoignage sur les conceptions modales de Claude Le Jeune au moins à la fin de sa vie, celles que retiendra un théoricien du XVII^e siècle comme Antoine Parran lorsqu'il associera les noms de Zarlin et de Claudin:

⁷ Voir *Catalogue de musique théorique et pratique (...)*, 1724 (Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Res. Vm⁸ 21).

(...) me semble que Claudin, du Caurroy, Glarean & plusieurs autres, ont eu raison d'en constituer douze (modes), puis qu'il y a de la différence entre les Authentiques & les Plagaux (...).

Je sçay bien qu'ordinairement, & selon les anciens on commence le premier mode par re, suivant le Plein-chant, & les Tons de l'Eglise: mais pour parler avec plus de raison, j'estime avec plusieurs modernes, comme sont, Zarlin, Claudin, du Caurroy, & autres, qu'il est plus à propos de commencer par ut, c'est la première clef ou note des six fondamentales de l'art (...).⁸

Si l'on reprend la technique de Harold Powers, dans le *Dodécacorde*, les douze modes de Zarlino sont représentés par les types tonaux suivants:

Dodécacorde (1598)

MODE	SYSTÈME	FINALE	CLÉ SUPERIUS
1e	b	FA	sol2
2e	b	FA	ut1
3e	b	SOL	sol2
4e	b	SOL	ut1
5e		MI	ut1
6e		MI	ut2
7e		FA	sol2
8e		FA	ut1
9e		SOL	sol2
10e		SOL	ut1
11e		LA	sol1
12e		LA	ut1

Dans les *Octonaires*, les choix de Le Jeune sont identiques, excepté pour le 11e mode, également représenté par les deux types: LA sol2 et b RE ut1.⁹

Le *Livre de melanges* publié chez Plantin en 1585, n'est que le deuxième recueil entièrement consacré à des oeuvres de Claude Le Jeune; il est donc intéressant d'observer auparavant l'organisation modale du premier, c'est à dire

⁸ A. PARRAN, *Traité de la musique*(...), Paris, 1639. Ed. en fac-similé. Genève, 1972, II, p. 115 et III, p. 119.

⁹ Dans *Le printemps*, le mode 4 est aussi représenté par le type Ré sol2, le mode 6 n'est pas représenté, le mode 11 est aussi représenté par les types La sol2 et b Ré sol2; dans les *Airs*, le mode 2 est aussi représenté par le type Do sol2, le 3 par Ré ut1, le 4 par Ré sol2, le 4 ou 5 par Do sol2, le 6 par b La sol2, le 11 par La sol2 et b Ré ut1, le 12 par b Ré ut1. Pour *Le printemps*, le dialogue final est manifestement hors-ordre.

celui des *Dix pseumes* (Paris, Le Roy & Ballard, 1564). Ce livre de psaumes, contrairement aux autres de Le Jeune, tous posthumes, est ordonné non pas en suivant la numérotation du psautier de Genève, mais dans un 'désordre' ordinal que pourrait expliquer un certain ordre modal:

Dix Pseumes (1564)

N°	PSAUME	SYSTÈME	FINALE	CLÉ SUPERIUS	G?	8
1	96	b	SOL	sol2	1	1
2	102		RE	ut1	1	1
3	135	b	SOL	ut1	2	2
4	88		MI	ut1	3	3
5	57	b	LA	ut2	4	3/4
6	98	b	FA	sol2	11	5
7	149		DO	sol2	12	6?
8	95		SOL	sol2	7	7
9	97		SOL	ut1	8	8
10	81		DO	ut1	11	8?

Dans deux thèses¹⁰, les modes de ces *Dix pseumes* ont été analysés et numérotés en référence à la théorie de Glaréan (colonne "G"), sans que cela se justifie, puisque Le Jeune a effectivement 'milité' pour les douze modes, mais dans l'ordre proposé par Zarlino. Il est à mon sens plus convaincant de considérer, au vu de la trop belle logique qui caractérise l'ordonnance des cinq premiers psaumes, que ce recueil de jeunesse est organisé en référence à la théorie des huit modes (colonne "8"), et que les types tonaux qui semblent 'mal rangés' ne font que révéler en fait les inconforts de cette théorie. Le no. 5 (b LA) est d'ailleurs assimilé chez Pietro Aron (*Trattato della natura*(...)) au mode de Mi, et le type DO (no. 7 et no. 10) aux modes de FA et de SOL par le même théoricien. Il ne me semble donc pas abusif de déduire de cette première publication de Le Jeune des conceptions modales encore assez traditionnelles, même si dix pièces suffisent à peine pour tirer des conclusions définitives.

Reste néanmoins une question essentielle: cette organisation modale est-elle pratiquée par le compositeur ou par l'imprimeur? Comme cela apparaît clairement dans sa préface au *Dodécacorde*, Le Jeune a des opinions fermes sur les modes puisqu'il annonce même un traité sur la question, malheureusement

¹⁰ Il s'agit de celle de J.E. HAMERSMA, *Les Dix pseumes of Claude Le Jeune. A study in the sixteenth century french psalmody*, Thèse inédite, New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1961 et de celle de D.R. LAMOTHE, *Claude Le Jeune, le Psautier Huguenot et la musique religieuse à la cour pendant les règnes de Charles IX, Henri III et Henri IV*, Thèse de Doctorat inédite, Strasbourg, 1980.

jamais retrouvé. Quant au personnage d'Adrian Le Roy, qui jouera son rôle dans la diffusion de l'oeuvre de notre compositeur, il est difficile de le cerner dans ce domaine: l'importance de son statut de musicien-imprimeur, éventuellement commanditaire, s'exprime bien dans la préface aux *Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac* de Guillaume Boni (1582): *l'ordre que j'ai dressé (...) mon dessein (...)*. Mais on connaît également son attitude fluctuante concernant la théorie modale de référence: huit modes dans son *Instruction pour le luth* vers 1570 (cet ouvrage reprend l'ordre du *Mellange* de Lassus dans lequel sont choisis ses exemples), dix modes dans les *Quatrains*¹¹, douze modes dans son *Traicté de Musique* de 1583... Il faut sans doute tenir compte de la différence de ton entre ces ouvrages, le premier étant une instruction à but pratique, le second une oeuvre cyclique, le dernier un traité plus théorique et normatif.

C'est l'imprimeur Plantin qui, par chance et pour des raisons conjoncturelles, s'est trouvé chargé de l'édition originale du *Livre de melanges* de 1585, avant une réédition l'année suivante à Paris chez Le Roy & Ballard¹². Plantin a probablement laissé à Le Jeune le soin d'organiser l'édition de son premier gros recueil: Stellfeld dit n'avoir trouvé trace d'aucune correspondance entre l'imprimeur et le compositeur, et signale en revanche qu'en juin 1583, Le Jeune acquiert un ouvrage chez Plantin¹³, ce qui invite à penser qu'il se trouvait à Anvers au moment des préparatifs. Les quelques données biographiques que nous possédons rendent plausible cette présence sur place: Le Jeune est défini, dans le privilège des *Melanges* (janvier 1582), comme *maistre de la Musique* du Duc d'Anjou, frère du roi, celui même qui, après avoir passé l'hiver 1581-1582 avec sa suite en Angleterre, se rend aux Pays Bas et entre dans Anvers en février comme Duc de Brabant¹⁴. Plantin immortalise l'événement en publiant cette même année 1582 *La Joyeuse et magnifique Entrée de Monseigneur François, fils de France, et frère unique du Roy par la grace de Dieu, Duc de Brabant (...) en sa tresrenomée ville d'Anvers*. Le Duc montre qu'il apprécie l'hommage, en le reconnaissant bientôt comme son imprimeur. L'illustre Plantin présente pour nous l'avantage, par rapport à Adrian Le Roy, de ne pas être spécialiste de musique; il se trouve vraisemblablement au-dessus de tout soupçon d'*interventionnisme*. Un sondage pratiqué dans trois recueils de Séverin Cornet publiés chez lui dans la même année 1581¹⁵

¹¹ Ordonnés en commençant par Ré, ces dix modes s'expliquent par l'amalgame pratiqué entre le mode de Fa (avec bémol, ici) et celui de Do (souvent transposé sur Fa). Il s'agit en fait d'une sorte de compromis entre les modes ecclésiastiques et la théorie de Glaréan.

¹² Il s'agit en réalité d'une même édition sous deux dates, 1586 et 1587. Voir I. HIS, *Le Livre de mélanges de Claude Le Jeune (Anvers: Plantin, 1585) - Transcription et étude critique*, Thèse de Doctorat, Tours, 1990.

¹³ Voir *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*, Bruxelles, 1949, pp. 86-87. Cette mention ne précise pas cependant que le compositeur est présent à Anvers.

¹⁴ Voir M.P. HOLT, *The Duke of Anjou and the politique struggle during the wars of religion*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 161-167.

¹⁵ *Chansons françoyses (...), Madrigali (...)* et *Cantiones musicae (...)*

révèle que seul celui de répertoire latin, essentiellement sacré, se trouve manifestement organisé, en l'occurrence selon les huit modes. Les *Melanges* de Le Jeune présentent quant à eux la succession donnée dans le tableau suivant. Des astérisques y signalent deux déplacements intervenus lors des rééditions de 1586-1587 et 1607 chez Le Roy & Ballard; les colonnes G et Z correspondent respectivement aux classifications de Glaréan et Zarlino.

Melanges

INCIPIIT	SYST.	FINALE	CLÉS	TÉNOR	G	Z
CHANSONS A 4						
Que ie porte d'envie		RE	ut1/ut3/ut4/fa4	ré2-mi3	1	
Quell'eau quel air		la	id.	ré2-fa3	1	
Si ie meur dedans		RE	id.	ré2-mi3		
Blessé d'une playe	b	ré	id.	ré2-fa3		
Comm'un roc	b	ré	id.	ré2-fa3	1?	
Ainsi qu'au clair	b	RE	id.	ré2-ré3		
Tu ne l'enten pas	b	SOL	id.	ré2-fa3	2	
L'aspre fureur		sol	id.	mi2-mi3	3	
Seroit-ce un feu		MI	id.	ré2-mi3		
Ie ne me plain de		mi	id.	ré2-mi3	3	
Ie ne me plain qu'en		LA	id.	ré2-fa3		
Vous estes belle		SOL	id.	ré2-mi3	8	
En m'oyant chanter		SOL	id.	ré2-mi3	8	
Si dessus vos lèvres	b	FA	sol2/ut2/ut3/fa3	fa2-la3	11	
Ie voulu baiser	b	FA	id.	fa2-la3	11	
Vilageoise de Gascogne	b	FA	id.	fa2-la3	11	
Si madame eust jadis		mi	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut4	sol2-la3	12	
L'aveugle mendiant		DO		sol2-la3		
Ie ne m'eleve	b	do	ut2/ut3/ut4/fa4	do2-fa3	12	
Ie ne say manier	b	FA		ré2-ré3		
CANZONETTES A 4						
O vilanella	b	FA	sol2/ut2/ut3/fa3	fa2-sol3		1
O occhi manza mia	b	FA	id.	fa2-sol3		1
Vorria che tu cantassi	b	fa		fa2-la3		
Vorria toccassi	b	fa	sol2/ut2/ut3/fa4	fa2-la3		1
Ch'io canteria	b	DO		fa2-la3		
Io piango	b	FA	sol2/ut2/ut3/fa3	fa2-lab3		1
O faccia che ralegr'	b	FA	ut1/ut3/ut4/fa4	fa2-la3		2
Assa buccuccia	b	FA	id.	ré2-ré3		2
Donna voi mi		RE	id.	ré2-fa3		3

INCIPIIT	SYST.	FINALE	CLÉS	TÉNOR	G	Z
Latra traitora		RE	<i>id.</i>	rê2-mi3		3
Sta costante	b	SOL	<i>id.</i>	rê2-mib3		4
Oime crudel	b	SOL	<i>id.</i>	rê2-sol3		4
Chi vuol vedere		SOL	<i>id.</i>	rê2-mi3		10
Fa mi sicuro		SOL	<i>id.</i>	rê2-rê3		10
Sappi madonna		LA	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut4	la2-do4		11
S'io canto		LA	<i>id.</i>	sol2-do4		11

CHANSONS A 5

Un iour estant seulet		la	ut1/ut3/ut4/fa4	rê2-mi3		
Puis en mer		mi		do2-fa3		
Après ie vy		la		rê2-mi3		
Au mesme boys		mi		do2-fa3	10	
Au boys ie vy		la		rê2-mi3		
Enfin ie vy		mi		do2-mi3		
O chanson		LA		mi2-mi3		
Mon coeur avecque vous	b	SOL	sol2/ut2/ut3/fa3	sol2-sol3	1	
Susanne un iour	b	SOL	<i>id.</i>	sol2-fa3	1	
Las il n'a nul mal	b	SOL	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/fa3	fa2-sol3	1	
D'où vient l'amour*		RE	ut1/ut3/ut4/fa4	do2-mi3	1	
Povre coeur entourné	b	rê	<i>id.</i>	rê2-mib3	2	
Quell'aide maintenant	b	SOL		do2-mi3		
I'ay senti les deux maux	b	rê	ut1/ut2/ut3/ut4/fa4	do2-mib3	2	
Un soldat courageux	b	SOL		do2-rê3		
Rossignol mon mignon		sol	sol2/ut2/ut3/fa3	fa2-la3	7?	
Toutefois rossignol		DO		sol2-la3		
Hélas i'ay sans mercy		sol	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/fa3	sol2-sol3	7	
L'un en la violette		SOL		sol2-la3		

CANZONETTES A 5

Fuggite amor'	b	FA	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/fa3	fa2-fa3		1
Dimmi donna	b	FA	<i>id.</i>	fa2-la3		1
Raggi dov'è	b	FA	ut1/ut2/ut3/ut4/fa4	do2-rê3		2
Ma donn'un Eremit'	b	FA	<i>id.</i>	do2-rê3		2
Poi che disì	b	SOL	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/fa3	fa2-sol3		3
Mill'affanni	b	SOL	<i>id.</i>	sol2-la3		3
Sto'inamorato	b	SOL	ut1/ut2/ut3/ut4/fa4	rê2-rê3		4
Io piansi un tempo	b	SOL	ut1/ut3/ut4/fa4	do2-rê3		4
Tra le piu belle Ninfe		FA	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/fa3	fa2-la3		7
Su su ch'el giorno		FA	ut1/ut2/ut3/ut4/fa4	do2-fa3		8
Quegli occhi		SOL	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/fa3	sol2-la3		9
Fuggi fuggi		SOL	<i>id.</i>	fa2-sol3		9
Io ti ringrati amor		SOL	ut1/ut3/ut4/fa4	do2-mi3		10

INCIPIIT	SYST.	FINALE	CLÉS	TÉNOR	G	Z
Viv'in dolor		SOL	ut1/ut2/ut3/ut4/fa4	do2-mi3		10
Se Diana inel ciel		LA	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/ut4	sol2-la3		11
Na persona che va		LA	<i>id.</i>	fa2-la3		11

CANZONETTES A 6

Stella crudel	b	SOL	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/ut4/fa3	fa2-sol3		3
Amanti miei	b	SOL	sol2/ut2/ut3/fa3	fa2-sol3		3
Quando lo gallo		SOL	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/fa3	sol2-sol3		9
Ogn'un s'allegri		SOL	<i>id.</i>	sol2-la3		9
Pasco mi sol di piant'		LA	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/ut4/fa3	la2-la3		11
Saporitella mia		LA	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/fa3	mi2-sol3		12

CHANSONS A 6 & 8

Elle n'eust sceu		RE	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/fa3	fa2-la3	2	
Monsieur l'Abbé	b	SOL	ut1/ut3/ut4/fa4	do2-fa3	2	
Amour et Mars		SOL	sol2 à fa3	rê2-fa3	8	
Arreste un peu		LA	sol2 à fa3	sol2-la3	9	

MOTETS DIVERS

Sancti Spiritus*		do		fa2-la3		
Quando machinam		rê		fa2-la3	7	
Ergo nos supplicantes		SOL	sol2/ut2/ut3/fa3	fa2-la3		
Emendemus	b	la	<i>id.</i>	mi2-la3	10	
Peccavimus	b	RE		fa2-la3		
Omnes gentes plaudite	b	do	sol2/ut1/ut2/ut3/fa3	mib2-sol3	11	
Regnabit Deus	b	FA		fa2-sol3		
Veni sancte Spiritus		SOL	ut1/ut2/ut3/ut4/fa4	rê2-rê3	8	
Philomena praevia		la	sol2/ut2/ut3/fa3	fa2-la3	2	
Veni dulcis amica		RE		sol2-la3		
Adiuvo vos		la	sol2 à fa4	fa2-la3	2	
Quo abijt		RE		fa2-la3		
Quae celebrat thermas	b	FA	ut1 à fa4	rê2-rê3	12	

Le regroupement se fait donc par langues et par effectifs, puis, à l'intérieur de ces groupes, en fonction des numéros de modes. Pour reconnaître cette ordonnance interne, il faut cependant admettre, chose étonnante, que les répertoires français et italien n'ont pas été organisés en référence à une même théorie modale... En effet, le premier groupe des pièces françaises à quatre voix contient les deux types tonaux susceptibles d'amorcer soit la numérotation de Glarean (RE ut 1), soit celle de Zarlino (b FA sol2), et c'est la première qui est

manifestement choisie (colonne G).

Le second groupe, celui des pièces italiennes à quatre voix, contient lui-aussi les deux types tonaux déterminants, mais cette fois, c'est le mode de DO transposé, celui même qui conclut le groupe précédent, qui ouvre la série, et le mode de LA qui le termine. La belle succession obtenue en référence à Zarlino (modes 1, 2, 3, 4, 10 11) est plus convaincante que celle obtenue en référence à Glarean (11, 12, 1, 2, 8, 9). Il faut donc croire que Le Jeune a changé de point de mire.

Pour le troisième groupe, il faut me semble-t-il tenir compte de la présence d'une pièce exceptionnelle, la fameuse canzone de Pétrarque traduite par Marot, *Un jour estant seulet*, mise en musique par Le Jeune sous la forme d'un cycle de sept sections madrigalesques. Sa longueur et sa difficulté lui confèrent un statut de 'chef d'œuvre' qui explique probablement son classement en tête de sa catégorie, en dépit de ses caractéristiques modales. Dès la chanson suivante, la numérotation correspond de nouveau aux principes de Glarean.

Le groupe des pièces italiennes à cinq voix marque ensuite un retour à la référence à Zarlino. Quant aux groupes suivants (gros effectifs et motets), ils sont trop maigres pour qu'on puisse déduire une suite probante; on peut croire cependant que celui des pièces italiennes à six voix se réfère lui-aussi à Zarlino, et celui des pièces françaises à Glarean. On peut même imaginer que les pièces latines sont ordonnées en fonction des huit modes ecclésiastiques... Quoiqu'il en soit, parmi les trois motets à cinq voix, le changement de place intervenu entre l'édition Plantin et la réédition Le Roy & Ballard semble aller dans le sens d'un passage de la référence à Glarean ("G") à celle des huit modes ecclésiastiques ("8"):

1585				8	G	Z
Sancti Spiritus		SOL	sol2	7	7	9
Emendemus	b	RE	sol2	2	10	12
Omnes gentes	b	FA	sol2	5	11	1

1586-7				8	G	Z
Emendemus	b	RE	sol2	2	10	12
Omnes gentes	b	FA	sol2	5	11	1
Sancti Spiritus		SOL	sol2	7	7	9

Ce changement serait-il le fait d'Adrian Le Roy, qui pourtant reconnaît dans son *Traicté* de 1583 l'existence de douze modes? A-t-on voulu pour des raisons de similitudes de texte rapprocher les motets *Sancti Spiritus* et *Veni sancte spiritus*? A-t-on tout simplement jugé dérisoire de chercher à classer trois motets seulement? Aucune contrainte typographique ou matérielle ne semble en tous

Las il n'a	b	SOL	sol2	1
D'où vient		RE	ut1	1
Povre cœur	b	SOL	ut1	2
I'ay senti	b	SOL	ut1	2

Las il n'a	b	SOL	sol2	1
Povre cœur	b	SOL	ut1	2
I'ay senti	b	SOL	ut1	2
D'où vient		RE	ut1	1

cas avoir obligé à ce déplacement. L'autre cas de changement de place entre les éditions anversoise et parisienne, celui de la chanson *D'où vient l'amour*, est tout aussi difficile à interpréter:

A-t-on voulu regrouper les pièces par bémol avant celles par nature, au détriment d'une distinction entre authentique et plagal? Quoi qu'il en soit, ces deux changements sont plus probablement le fait d'Adrian Le Roy que de Le Jeune lui-même. Le recueil tel qu'il se présente en 1585 à la sortie des presses de Plantin n'est cependant pas exempt de cas particuliers. Si la référence simultanée à Glarean et Zarlino, en fonction de la langue du répertoire, me paraît claire, il n'en reste pas moins quelques pièces qui, pourquoi le nier, se font remarquer au sein de la logique globale du recueil:

- *Blessé d'une playe*, de type b RE ut1, qui se trouve apparemment considérée comme de mode 1 et non comme mode 9. Un adepte des douze modes ne devrait pas avoir de raison d'hésiter ici. Remarquons qu'*Emendemus in melius*, seule autre pièce du corpus à représenter ce même type tonal, se trouve mêlée aux déplacements évoqués plus haut.

- *Rossignol mon mignon* semble être considérée comme une chanson du septième mode de SOL, avec fin irrégulière sur DO. *Je ne me plain* et *Vorria che tu* sont quant à elles correctement classées malgré leur dernière finale, irrégulière.

Tout semble donc indiquer que celui qui se fera dans les années 1590 le champion de la théorie de Zarlino n'avait pas dans les années 1580 - le privilège des *Melanges* est daté de janvier 1582 - d'opinion très arrêtée sur le traité auquel se référer. Cette organisation originale puisqu'apparemment 'relativiste', évoque celle qu'adoptera un Guillet lorsqu'il fera paraître en 1610 des fantaisies sous une double numérotation, celle des 'anciens' et celle des 'modernes'; elle peut également être mise en relation avec le Praetorius du *Syntagma musicum*¹⁶, qui tient compte à la fois de Glarean (*vulgata opinio*) et de Zarlino (*Italarum opinio*) pour numéroter les douze modes. Cette dernière terminologie est particulièrement intéressante puisqu'elle fait écho à la distinction opérée ici entre les répertoires français et italien.

¹⁶ Vol. III, *Termini musici*, 1619. Ed. en facsimilé par W. GURLITT, Kassel, 1958, p. 36.

On peut voir dans cette position mitigée une hésitation toute humaniste destinée à s'effacer bientôt en faveur du parti des 'modernes'. On pourrait aussi la considérer comme l'indice d'une différence chronologique entre le répertoire français, peut-être prêt depuis plus longtemps sous une forme éventuellement fixe et reliée, et l'italien: les *Melanges* réuniraient alors deux corpus indépendamment constitués. Ce qui distingue notre recueil du *Dodécacorde* et des *Octonaires*, c'est précisément l'absence de plan modal précompositionnel: l'organisation s'est faite *a posteriori*, presque 'tant bien que mal', puisque tous les modes ne sont pas représentés, et qu'il s'agit de réunir des répertoires stylistiquement et chronologiquement divers¹⁷. L'ordre modal donné au recueil, qui est censé être un facteur d'unité au sein de cette diversité, porte donc paradoxalement les marques de théories divergentes. Quelle que soit la façon dont on interprète cette diversité, force est bien de la constater.

L'organisation modale des *Melanges*, très personnelle et originale, semble donc prouver que le musicien applique très tôt, dès le début des années 80, la 'nouvelle' théorie que Zarlino publie en 1573 et qui semble trouver bien peu d'écho dans l'ordonnance des recueils en général et italiens en particulier. Les deux grands contemporains de Le Jeune que sont Lassus et Palestrina, plus conservateurs, resteront par exemple fidèles aux huit modes ecclésiastiques¹⁸. Je signalerai enfin que neuf pièces des *Melanges* sont rééditées dans l'anthologie des *Nervi d'Orfeo* (Leiden, Haestens, 1605), anthologie qui annonce qu'elle est organisée *seguendo l'ordine de suoi toni*, mais qui opère en fait, vingt ans après les *Melanges*, un retour aux huit modes ! On mesure alors combien Le Jeune est de ce point de vue une figure originale et avant-gardiste. La troublante organisation de ses *Melanges* de 1585, fort heureusement publiés chez Plantin ce qui nous permet d'y deviner la main du compositeur lui-même, peut être vue comme une étape intermédiaire, entre les huit modes des *Dix pseumes* (1564) d'une part, et les douze modes du *Dodécacorde* (1598) et des *Octonaires* (1606) d'autre part, donc une étape vers des choix encore plus radicalement tournés vers le futur.

¹⁷ Voir I. HIS, *Les mélanges musicaux au XVIe et au début du XVIIe siècles*, in *Nouvelle revue du XVIe siècle*, 8 (1990), pp. 95-110.

¹⁸ Voir POWERS, *Op. cit.*, p. 467.

VERSIONS VOCALES ET INSTRUMENTALES DES CHANSONS DE NOÉ FAIGNIENT

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Introduction

Anvers est durant la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle le centre le plus important de l'édition musicale dans les anciens Pays-Bas, avec Laet, Waelrant, Phalèse, Bellère et Plantin. C'est dans ce contexte que Noé Faignient, dont nous savons encore peu de choses, publie en 1568, chez la veuve Laet, deux livres de *Chansons, Madrigales et Motetz*. D'autres œuvres de Faignient sont publiées dans des anthologies de Phalèse et autres recueils collectifs.

Des chansons et quelques madrigaux font l'objet de mises en tablature pour le luth. Certaines sont anonymes, d'autres signées de noms de luthistes. A quels luthistes s'adressent ces pièces ? Quel est leur degré de difficulté ? Sont-elles à but didactique ? C'est à ces diverses questions que nous allons tenter de répondre.

Éléments de biographie

Faignient, selon les ouvrages habituels de référence, serait né à Cambrai vers 1540. Cambrai, car un Noé Menestrier, *speelman*, originaire de cette ville est reçu bourgeois de la ville d'Anvers en 1561. La date de naissance de ca. 1540 est avancée en raison de la mention précédente et du fait que, dans son recueil de 1568, Faignient déclare que ce sont *les premiers fruitz de son jardin*.¹ D'autre part, un premier (?) enfant est baptisé à Anvers en 1561. En 1580, un document d'archives le signale comme *sangmeester* du duc Eric II de Brunswick. La date de sa mort se situerait entre 1595 et 1598 (d'après Boetticher qui se serait basé sur le fait que J.G. Walther parle d'un recueil de madrigaux de Faignient qui aurait encore paru à Anvers en 1595).²

Ces renseignements biographiques sont encore repris tels quels, avec un doute émis quant à la date de mort de Faignient, dans l'introduction au facsimile signée par E. Schreurs.³ Depuis, de nouveaux documents d'archives découverts par G. Spiessens nous permettent de clarifier certains points.⁴

¹ Dans sa dédicace *au noble et vertueux Seigneur Gonçalo Garçia*.

² J.G. WALTHER, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, Leipzig, 1732.

³ E. SCHREURS, *Introduction au facsimile du recueil de 1568*, Peer, 1986.

⁴ G. SPIESENS, *Nieuwe biografische gegevens over Noé Faignient*, in *Musica antiqua*, 9/1 (1992), pp. 15-17. Tous les renseignements suivants sont extraits de cet article contenant toutes les références relatives aux documents d'archives cités.

En ce qui concerne sa naissance, un document anversoïso daté du 17 février 1576, nous signale un *Noel Faeynient, sangmeester alhier, woonenede by de Nieuwe Borsse alhier, oudt omtrent XXXIX jaren*. Cela situerait sa date de naissance vers 1537. Spiessens déclare formellement que le "Noe Menestrier, speelman" n'est pas Faignient.⁵ En effet, les documents ne le citent jamais que comme *sangmeester* ou compositeur. La profession de menestrier ou *speelman* ne s'accorde pas avec le personnage. Son origine cambraisienne devient de ce fait douteuse. Spiessens avance même l'hypothèse qu'il pourrait être d'origine italienne, car une famille de marchands milanais, du nom de Faigniani, s'établit à Anvers de 1542 à 1570. Au sujet de sa mort, un autre document, daté du 20 décembre 1578 parle de la veuve de Noé Faignient. Faignient serait mort avant le 20 décembre 1578. Sa veuve déclare, en 1583, avoir loué pendant douze années consécutives, le magasin situé au "nr 53 onder het Antwerpse stadhuis". Si la famille a loué ce magasin sans discontinuité de 1571 à 1585, on peut penser que les Faignient vivaient à Anvers pendant cette période. Enfin, si Faignient meurt en 1578, le Faignient au service du duc de Brunswick doit assurément être une autre personne.

Son adresse, dans le quartier de la Nieuwe Beurs, pourrait, toujours selon l'excellent article de Spiessens, être la *Twaalfmaandenstraat* où Waelrant enseignait la musique.

Musique vocale imprimée

Faignient publie chez la veuve Laet en 1568 à Anvers, deux livres de *Chansons, Madrigales & Motetz*. Le premier recueil comporte des œuvres à quatre, cinq et six voix, le second, qui est perdu, des pièces à trois voix.⁶ Ce sont les seules publications consacrées exclusivement à des œuvres de Faignient. Le reste de sa production se retrouve de manière éparse dans diverses anthologies.

Le livre de 1568⁷

Le seul livre contenant uniquement des œuvres de Faignient, et qui nous soit parvenu, est donc *Chansons, Madrigales & Motetz*. Il paraît chez la veuve Laet en 1568.⁸ Le recueil comporte cinq volumes correspondant aux Superius,

⁵ G. SPIESSENS, *Anvers*, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Neue Reihe, Sachteil 1, Kassel, 1995, col. 662.

⁶ voir: F. NOSKE, *The Linköping Faignient-manuscript*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 36 (1964), pp. 152-165. Ce manuscrit contenant des œuvres à trois voix, et daté de 1568, serait une copie de l'édition perdue.

⁷ *RISM A/I/3, Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, Kassel, 1972, no. F61. Nous avons employé le facsimile édité par E. SCHREURS, Alamire, Peer, 1986.

⁸ Jean Laet s'établit à Anvers comme imprimeur en 1545. Il meurt en 1567 et sa femme reprend l'affaire.

Contratenor, Tenor, Bassus et Quinta pars. Le contenu est représentatif de l'œuvre de Faignient. En effet, Lavern J. Wagner dit que l'œuvre de Faignient comporte 44 pièces dont cinq chansons flamandes (4 v.), sept motets (de 4 à 6 v.), onze madrigaux italiens (5 v.) et vingt et une chansons françaises (de 4 à 5 v.).⁹ Il passe cependant sous silence les pièces à trois voix. Dans le recueil de 1568, nous trouvons seize chansons françaises, quatre chansons flamandes, onze madrigaux et cinq motets, soit une représentation fidèle des différents genres que Faignient a pratiqués.

Les anthologies

Ces anthologies se répartissent sur près de cent ans, de 1569 à 1661. Phalèse et ses héritiers sont les imprimeurs les plus représentés dans ces recueils collectifs et couvrent toute la période citée, puisque les premier et dernier recueils sont publiés par leurs soins. En 1569 (*RISM* 1569¹¹) paraît le *Recueil des fleurs produictes ... Tiers livre*, la seule publication louvaniste, contenant cinq pièces de Faignient.¹⁰ En 1572 (1572¹¹), *Een duytsch Musyck Boeck* est publié conjointement à Louvain et Anvers, par Phalèse et Bellère. L'anthologie contenant le plus d'œuvres de Faignient est publiée par les mêmes imprimeurs, à présent uniquement avec la mention d'Anvers. Il s'agit de la *Fleur des chansons à trois parties* (1574³) qui comporte, cette fois, douze Faignient. Les autres anthologies comptent généralement de une à quatre pièces de notre compositeur. En suivant l'ordre chronologique des parutions, la première mention de Faignient dans une publication étrangère apparaît en 1572 (1572²⁻³), date à laquelle sortent les *Premier et Second livre du meslange des pseumes et cantiques...* où se retrouvent les noms de Lassus, Castro et Faignient. Les autres anthologies étrangères nous mènent à Nuremberg (1585¹, 1589⁸ et 1590²⁷), Londres, avec le célèbre *Musica transalpina* (1588²⁹), Heidelberg (1597⁶), Leiden (1605⁹), Munich (1609¹⁵), Douai (1617⁶) et Amsterdam (1640⁶, 1644³). Nous reviendrons plus loin sur les deux dernières villes mentionnées.

Rejoignons Phalèse, que nous avons momentanément quitté pour faire le tour des éditions étrangères. Phalèse et Bellère publient en 1583 (1583¹⁴) *Harmonia celeste* ainsi que *Musica divina* (1583¹⁵).¹¹ Enfin, en 1597¹⁰, paraît *Le rossignol musical des chansons*.

Nous abordons à présent les versions du célèbre *Livre septiesme* contenant des œuvres de Faignient. Ce livre paraît pour la première fois en 1560, à Louvain,

⁹ L.J. WAGNER, *Faignient*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove*, vol. 6, London, 1980, p. 363.

¹⁰ Chaque date sera pourvue de sa mention dans le *RISM* B/1, liste chronologique des recueils imprimés XVIe-XVIIe siècles, ouvrage publié sous la direction de F. LESURE, München, 1960.

¹¹ Ces deux publications font l'objet de nombreuses rééditions: *Harmonia celeste* (1589⁹, 1593⁴, 1605⁸, 1614¹², 1628¹⁴, avec quelques changements en 1593 qui ne concernent pas les pièces de Faignient) et *Musica divina* (1588¹⁶, 1591¹¹, 1595⁴, 1606⁷, 1614¹³, 1623⁷, 1634⁶).

chez Phalèse et pour la dernière fois, toujours chez les héritiers Phalèse en 1561 (ou 1563).¹² Une trentaine de recueils, dont certains, suite au succès de celui de Phalèse, sont publiés, soit à Douai chez les frères Bogart, soit à Amsterdam où quatre imprimeurs en donnent des versions. Ce sont pratiquement des contre-façons des recueils phalésiens.

Cinq chansons de Faiggnient émaillent les diverses éditions du *Livre septiesme*. Deux chansons françaises et trois chansons flamandes. Quatre de ces chansons se trouvaient déjà dans l'édition de 1568, consacrée exclusivement aux œuvres de Faiggnient.

1. *Ik sal den Heer mijn Godt* (cf. 1568, p. 21)
2. *Le seul espoir de mieux avoir m'amie*
3. *Musica, aldersoeste const, te recht wordt ghy* (il s'agit en fait de la chanson *L'homme qui nest point amoureux* (cf. 1568, p. 5), sur laquelle Faiggnient a mis un texte flamand. Cette version sera plus célèbre que la version française. Elle paraît onze fois, de 1617 à 1661.)
4. *Overvloedighem rijkdom noch armoede* (cf. 1568, p. 22)
5. *Soions plaisans, tous gallans, en délaissant mélancolie* (cf. 1568, p. 9)

Voici un tableau des éditions du *Livre septiesme*, elles ne contiennent jamais plus de trois chansons de Faiggnient.

Le premier chiffre indique le numéro d'ordre des diverses éditions.¹³ La deuxième colonne donne la date, avec la mention du *RISM*, quand elle existe. Vient ensuite l'imprimeur, indiqué seulement quand il ne s'agit pas de Phalèse. Enfin, dans la dernière colonne, les pièces de Faiggnient (numéros voir supra) avec le renvoi à la première version du recueil qui les présentent.

no. 15	1613 ⁷		2.
no. 16	1617 ^{6a}		3; 4; 5.
no. 17	1617 ⁶	J. Bogart, Douai	id. no. 16
no. 18	1622		id. no. 16
no. 19	1632 ⁵	J. Jansonius, Amsterdam	id. no. 16
no. 20	1633 ²	P. Bogart, Douai	id. no. 15
(no. 21)	1636		1; 3; 5. (id. no. 16 moins le 4, plus le 1)
no. 22	1640 ⁶	Broer Jansz, Amsterdam	id. no. 16
no. 23	1641		(id. (no. 21))
no. 24	1644 ³	P. Matthysz, Amsterdam	3; 5. (id. no. 16 moins le 4)
no. 25	s.d.	P. Matthysz, Amsterdam	(id. no. 24)
no. 26	s.d.	P. Matthysz, Amsterdam	(id. no. 24)
no. 27	1661		(id. (no. 21))

Mises en tablature pour luth

Brown mentionne Faiggnient uniquement en 1584 et 1592, soit dans les *Pratum* et *Novum Pratum* d'Adriaenssen.¹⁴ En revanche, Vanhulst signale une série de pièces de Faiggnient dans le *Thesaurus Musicus* de Phalèse.¹⁵ Celles-ci ont échappé à Brown ; il est vrai que ces chansons sont anonymes dans l'anthologie de Phalèse.¹⁶ Après 1599, nous trouvons des pièces de Faiggnient dans le *Pratum II* d'Adriaenssen et le *Flores musicae* de Rude, tous deux en 1600 ; dans le *Florida sive cantiones* de Vanden Hove, en 1601 ainsi que dans le Ms. Thysius. Signalons encore, dans le domaine instrumental, mais pour orgue cette fois, le *Nova Musices organicae tabulatura* de Johann Woltzen publié à Basel, chez J.J. Genath (*RISM B/I*, 1: 1617²⁴).

Détaillons ces sources pour luth et leur contenu, dans l'ordre chronologique.

Thesaurus Musicus¹⁷

Cette anthologie de Phalèse et Bellère (Louvain-Anvers) est sur le modèle tri-partite habituel: fantaisies, musique vocale et danses. La partie vocale est la plus importante. Sur les 39 pièces profanes, sept sont de Faiggnient. Elles proviennent toutes du recueil vocal de 1568. Le répertoire vocal mis en tablature dans cette anthologie propose peu de musique récente. Un seul compositeur est repris autant de fois que Faiggnient, c'est Sandrin, dont les œuvres ne sont pas vraiment neuves.¹⁸ En revanche, l'importance que Phalèse attache à Faiggnient est bien une nouveauté - six ans seulement séparent les deux publications anversoises - mais ces pièces ne feront pas l'objet de réédition.

Du recueil de 1568, seules des chansons françaises sont mises en tablature dans le *Thesaurus*, cinq à quatre voix (no. 36, 41, 42, 44, 47), deux à cinq voix (no. 50, 51).

no. 36 *L'homme qui nest point amoureux* (1568, p. 5), fol. 46r

¹² Pour plus de renseignements, voir: H. VANHULST, *Un succès de l'édition musicale: le Septiesme livre des chansons à quatre parties (1560-1661/3)*, in *Revue belge de Musicologie*, XXXII-XXXIII (1978-1979), Bruxelles, pp. 97-120. Mais, la dernière publication, d'après R. Rasch, comporterait une erreur dans l'impression de la date: il s'agirait de 1541 ou 1543.

¹³ Liste numérotée dans: H. VANHULST, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ H.M. BROWN, *Instrumental Music printed before 1600. A Bibliography*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.) & London, 1965. Indiqué ultérieurement par le sigle BrownI.

¹⁵ H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions de musique publiées par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils. 1545-1578*, Académie royale de Belgique, Bruxelles - Palais des Académies, 1984. Indiqué ultérieurement par le sigle VanhulstI.

¹⁶ Ces incipit, dans BrownI, ne se trouvent dans aucune autre édition.

¹⁷ BrownI no. 1574⁷, VanhulstI no. 174.

¹⁸ Il s'agit, à une exception près, de rééditions. Une chanson est extraite de la première anthologie de Phalèse en 1545 et les cinq autres proviennent de recueils de de Rippe (1552 et 1562); équivalences d'après BrownI.

- no. 41 *Soyons plaisans a 4* (1568, p. 9), fol. 50v
 no. 42 *C'est de vous, o ma Valentine* (1568, p. 15), fol. 51r
 no. 44 *Tout doucement* (1568, p. 6), fol. 52v
 no. 47 *Sus, prens ton lut* (1568, p. 10), fol. 54v
 no. 50 *Adieu Anvers* (1568, p. 32), fol. 57r
 no. 51 *Adieu celle* (1568, p. 30), fol. 58r

Ces sept chansons, comme beaucoup d'œuvres de Faignient sont sur un texte anonyme.¹⁹ Mise à part *Adieu celle*, Faignient est le seul à avoir mis ces textes en musique.²⁰ S'agit-il d'un poète local, ou peut-être de Faignient lui-même? La chanson *Adieu Anvers* serait-elle une allusion à une absence de Faignient d'Anvers? La question reste posée.

Les éditions du *Pratum* d'Adriaenssen²¹

Adriaenssen a mis quatre madrigaux de Faignient en tablature:

<i>Primum potum</i>	(à 5 v, sur texte latin), 1584, p. 26
<i>Chi per voi non sospira</i>	(à 4 v, pour deux luths), 1584, p. 40
<i>Non al suo amante</i>	(à 4 v), 1592, p. 15
<i>Basciami vita mea</i>	(à 4 v), 1600, p. 10

Il manque les sources vocales de deux de ces madrigaux: *Primum potum* et *Non al suo amante*.²² Les sources de *Chi per voi* et de *Basciami* sont, elles, anversoises:

Chi per voi provient de *Musica divina di XIX Autori...* (Phalèse et Bellère, RISM B/1 1583¹⁵, fol. 10r).

Basciami est extrait de *Harmonia celeste de diversi...* (Phalèse et Bellère, RISM B/1 1583¹⁴, fols. 5v-6r).

D'après Spiessens, ces deux madrigaux se retrouvent encore dans les *Madrigalia* de Johannes Stalpaert vander Wielen, comme timbres musicaux, toujours à Anvers, en 1635.²³

¹⁹ H. DASCHNER, *Die gedruckten mehrstimmigen Chansons von 1500-1600. Literarische Quellen und Bibliographie*, Bonn, 1962.

²⁰ Les autres versions sont de Manchicourt, Barbion, Gerard, Jo. de Hollande et Cornet.

²¹ *Pratum musicum* (BrownI 1584⁶), *Novum pratum musicum* (BrownI 1592⁶) et *Pratum musicum longe...* (RISM B/I, 1 1600¹⁸).

²² *Non al suo amante*, sur un texte de Pétrarque, a été mis de nombreuses fois en musique (Nola, Balbi, Boyleau, del Mel, Giovannelli, Macque, Marenzio, Rosetto...) cf. E. VOGEL, A. EINSTEIN, F. LESURE et C. SARTORI, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana*, Staderni, Pomezia, 1977. La version de Faignient ne se trouve pas dans H.B. LINCOLN, *The Italian Madrigal and Related Repertories*, New Haven and London, 1988.

²³ G. SPIESSENS, *Leven en werk van de antwerpse luitcomponist Emanuel Adriaenssen*, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Brussel, 1974, p. 166.

Aux quatre madrigaux sont ajoutés les Superius et Bassus en notation usuelle. La version pour deux luths demande deux instruments accordés *ad secundam*.

Le *Flores musicae* de Johannes Rude (Heidelberg, RISM B/1 1600^{5a-6})

Rude, compositeur et luthiste, est le fils d'un Stadtpfeifer de Leipzig. Il compile les deux volumes de son *Flores musicae* comme complément au *Noctes musicae* de M. Reymann. Les deux hommes sont luthistes et juristes à Leipzig. Reymann publie des préludes et des danses. Rude complète le répertoire en proposant une majorité de transcriptions d'œuvres vocales. Lobaugh dit que les pièces sont en général des transcriptions assez exactes, "introduisant ça et là des changements harmoniques ou mélodiques intéressants".²⁴ D'après Dorfmueller, Rude ne montre pas l'originalité de Reymann.²⁵

Une version du madrigal *Chi per voi* se trouve dans le *Flores musicae*, mais nous n'avons pas eu l'occasion de consulter cette source.

Le *Florida sive cantiones* de Joachim Vanden Hove (Utrecht, RISM B/1 1601¹⁸)

Le premier recueil que publie Vanden Hove comporte deux madrigaux de Faignient extraits de la même anthologie de Phalèse et Bellère, déjà mentionnée plus haut: *Harmonia celeste di divina...* de 1583: *Basciami vita mea* qu'Adriaenssen avait proposé dans son *Pratum*, un an plus tôt et *Questi qu'inditio*, un nouveau venu dans les mises en tablature. Les deux madrigaux sont présentés, comme chez Adriaenssen, avec leurs Canto et Basso en notation usuelle, sur la page en regard de la tablature. Notons cependant que le début du Canto de *Basciami*, en fin de fol. 12v manque.

1. *Basciami vita mia*, fols. 13r-13v pour la tablature et 12v et 14 pour la notation des deux voix (original, RISM B/1 1583¹⁴, fols. 5v-6r).
2. *Questi ch'inditio*, fol. 22r pour la tablature et fol. 23r pour les voix (RISM B/1 1583¹⁴, fol. 8v).

Le manuscrit de Thysius²⁶

Ce manuscrit, en tablature française, de 521 folios, date de ca. 1595 à 1620. Des ajouts pourraient même avoir été faits plus tardivement. Quatre mains diffé-

²⁴ H.B. LOBAUGH, *Rude*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 16, p. 312.

²⁵ K. DORFMÜLLER, *Rude*, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 11, col. 1057-1058.

²⁶ RISM B/VII, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten und Gitarren Tabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. W. BOETTICHER, Henle, München, 1978: Leiden, Rijksuniversiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. Thysius 1666.

rentes au moins ont pris part à la rédaction du manuscrit. Les genres sont séparés en sections distinctes. A la fin de la section consacrée aux motets (fols. 209r-226r), se trouvent trois pièces de Faignient sur des extraits du Cantique des cantiques, rimés en flamand. Ces extraits ne suivent pas toujours l'ordre original des versets. Ils sont mis en musique à quatre voix.²⁷

1. 4: 16, 5: 1, fol. 224v
2. 5: 9, 6: 1, fol. 225v
3. 5: 10-16, 6: 1-2, fol. 226r²⁸

Conclusion

Les sources de mises en tablature de Faignient nous proposent trois genres différents. La chanson française, le madrigal et la mise en musique d'extraits du *Cantique des cantiques* y sont représentés. Aucune source ne mélange les genres. La source la plus ancienne, et la plus importante, avec ses sept titres, est l'anthologie de Phalèse. Elle ne propose que des chansons françaises. Les sources imprimées plus tardives présentent moins de titres différents, appartenant tous au genre "madrigal". La seule source manuscrite apporte une nouveauté avec les versets du *Cantique des cantiques*.

Les chansons françaises sont mises en tablature en 1574, soit six ans après la parution de leur version vocale. Le groupe des madrigaux, dont les originaux paraissent en 1583, sont mis en tablature dès 1584 et jusqu'en 1601. La datation des pièces contenues dans le Thysius reste plus problématique.

Voyons les provenances de ces sources instrumentales: origine anversoise pour le *Thesaurus* de Phalèse; Adriaenssen, luthiste anversois, publie ses versions du *Pratum* à Anvers; Vanden Hove est d'origine anversoise mais vivait à Leiden. Leiden nous permet de faire le lien avec le Ms. Thysius. En effet, il a été en possession de Joriszoon Smout (né ca. 1578, mort en 1646), ce dernier ayant été lecteur en logique à l'université de Leiden à partir de 1601. Ministre d'état calviniste, il serait la main la plus tardive du manuscrit à laquelle on doit les cantiques de Faignient.²⁹

Nous remarquons donc la prédominance anversoise dans les premières sources qui sont, du reste, les plus importantes et les plus intéressantes. Seul Rude, de Leipzig, fait réelle figure d'étranger avec son recueil édité à Heidelberg.

²⁷ J.P. LAND, *Het luitboek van Thysius, beschreven en toegelicht*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis*, deel 1 (1885), pp. 129-195, *passim*; et deel 2 (1887), pp. 38-41.

²⁸ J.P. Land, *op. cit.*, donne une autre numérotation. Il cite les versets 5: 17-18. Ceux-ci correspondent aux 6: 1-2, dans *Les Saintes Ecritures*, New World Translation, French, ed. Watchtower Bible of New York, New York, 1974, pp. 760-761.

²⁹ voir les notes 24 et 25.

Types de mise en tablature

Quelques considérations générales sur le style de Faignient

Faignient serait donc né à peu près cinq ans après Lassus. J.G. Walther déclare, en 1732, que Faignient écrit sur le modèle de Lassus avec lequel il aurait pu étudier à Anvers.³⁰ Il ajoute qu'il était *presque l'égal de son maître dans la douceur de son harmonie*. Cette influence va même plus loin puisque certaines pièces de Lassus ont servi de modèle aux compositeurs de la nouvelle génération, tels que Castro, Faignient et Turnhout, dans leurs compositions de *tricinia* publiés par Phalèse. Prenons pour exemple, la version de Lassus de la chanson *Las voulez vous qu'une personne chante* (1555) et celle à trois voix de Faignient (1569). Elles ont un lien évident entre elles.³¹

Mais Faignient comme Castro et Turnhout, ont, eux aussi, eu leur influence. En effet, l'éditeur Simon Goulart, dans la publication de ses livres de psaumes, emprunte de la musique de Faignient et de ses deux contemporains.³²

Analyse des mises en tablatures

Le *Thesaurus* de Phalèse

Les pièces de Faignient mises en tablature dans l'anthologie de Phalèse restent très proches des originaux vocaux. Ces chansons, souvent homorythmiques, présentent quelques éléments de polyphonie. L'ornementation y est très mince. Limitée quasi aux seuls passages cadentiels, elle est particulièrement stéréotypée. Ces pièces ont pu avoir un but didactique. Bien sûr la conduite en permanence des quatre ou cinq voix n'est pas simple pour le luthiste, mais le manque de travail ornemental en fait des versions qui pourraient avoir servi de soutien aux voix de chanteurs. En effet, la simplicité de la mise en tablature ne nécessite aucun ralentissement.

Prenons la chanson: *L'homme qui n'est point amoureux*. Ce huitain anonyme ressort du style de la chanson parisienne. Syllabique, avec le rythme dactylique au début des vers impairs, cette chanson n'est pas sans rapport avec celle de Lassus: *Quand mon mary vient de dehors*. Faignient la compose en mode dorien transposé en Sol. L'écriture en est très simple. Les vers sont groupés par deux et une cadence délimite clairement ces groupes.

³⁰ cf. note 2.

³¹ F. DOBBINS, *Lassus - Borrower or Lender: The Chansons*, in *Revue belge de Musicologie*, XXXIX-XL (1985-1986), Bruxelles, pp. 101-157.

³² C.S. ADAMS, *Simon Goulart (1543-1628), editor of music, scholar and moralist*, in *Studies in Musicology in Honor of Otto E. Albrecht*, Kassel, 1997.

vers 1 et 2	V - I en Sol	
vers 3 et 4	V - I en Sol	
vers 5 et 6	V - I en Ré	(répétition des deux vers précédents en intervertissant les voix)
vers 7 et 8	V - I en Sol	(répétition vers 1 et 2)
vers 7 et 8	V - I en Sol	(répétition vers 3 et 2)
vers 8	IV - I en Sol	

La tablature, considérant un luth en Sol, est transposée en Fa. Elle est parfaitement fidèle, excepté un accord de sixte que le metteur en tablature a transformé en accord parfait (t.7, 14, 26). Cet accord intervient avant une cadence parfaite terminant un vers. Dans l'original, Faignient propose un mouvement I - V - I à la basse. Sur ce premier I se trouve l'accord de sixte, comprenant du reste le triton Sib - Mi qu'il aurait fallu traiter en *musica ficta*, et qui est, dans Phalèse, remplacé par l'accord de tonique.

Aucune différence d'altération ne se présente dans la pièce. Quant à l'ornementation, aux cadences des deuxième et huitième vers, une simple broderie orne la sensible; les cadences des troisième et quatrième vers ont une ornementation cadentielle un peu plus rapide.

Dans d'autres chansons, le goût du metteur en tablature pour la fidélité à l'original entraîne même des impossibilités techniques. Dans *Adieu Anvers* et *Adieu celle*, toutes deux à cinq voix, le luthiste se trouve devant le problème de n'avoir que quatre doigts pour faire un accord à cinq sons dont aucune note ne peut être prise à vide ou en barré. Ceci est-il une preuve que notre metteur en tablature anonyme n'était pas vraiment luthiste? Toujours est-il que ces chansons, si elles n'ajoutent rien sur le plan instrumental, permettent à l'auditeur de reconnaître parfaitement la chanson, mais en perdant la couleur des voix.

Adriaenssen et Vanden Hove

Les deux compositeurs ont des points en commun. Avant tout, ce sont des luthistes reconnus pour leurs qualités instrumentales. Ils présentent aussi le même répertoire de madrigaux. A leurs tablatures sont ajoutés les Canto et Basso en notation usuelle. L'ajout de ces parties vocales ne demande pas de manière formelle de chanter les deux voix en même temps que le luth. Ce dernier offre, du reste, une version complète et autonome des madrigaux.

La comparaison entre original et tablature est difficile dans les deux madrigaux dont on n'a pas les originaux vocaux, mais il est cependant manifeste qu'Adriaenssen y développe une ornementation assez stéréotypée. Le madrigal *Chi per voi* est présenté en duo; les duos sont traités sous forme de dialogue.³³

³³ G. SPIESSENS, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181 et 300.

Le madrigal auquel nous allons nous attacher plus spécialement est *Basciami vita mia*. Il offre, comme le sujet nous le laisse présumer, toute la douceur que Walther attribue aux œuvres de Faignient et a, en outre, l'avantage d'avoir été mis en tablature par les deux luthistes. Cela nous permet de préciser leurs manières respectives de traiter une même œuvre.

Basciami vita mia

Les deux mises en tablature sont ornementées. Adriaenssen donne une version plus simple que Vanden Hove. L'ornementation d'Adriaenssen est encore assez stéréotypée, elle se cantonne principalement dans l'aigu ou le medium et permet un tempo compatible avec le chant. La version de Vanden Hove, par contre, a un caractère beaucoup plus virtuose. Les traits, qui affectent ici tout le registre, sont rapides et plus longs que chez Adriaenssen. Maintenir un tempo chantable semble cette fois utopique. Peut-être faut-il penser comme le propose Kloeckner, que la tablature était jouée en alternance avec les voix chantées.³⁴ Mais deux voix n'en remplacent pas quatre, même s'il s'agit des voix extrêmes. Adriaenssen n'agrémente pas les redites d'une ornementation radicalement différente. En revanche, dans Vanden Hove, la répétition est prétexte à un nouveau développement ornemental structuré. Le passage commençant sur *dolce mio ben...* est traité pratiquement de la même façon les deux fois par Adriaenssen. Un simple ornement cadentiel est ajouté à la reprise, faisant du reste entendre trois fois la sensible au chant en même temps que l'attaque de sa broderie supérieure au luth. Maladresse, audace ou preuve que le luth et le chant n'étaient pas simultanés? Dans le même passage, Vanden Hove reste proche de l'original la première fois et élabore ensuite un jeu rythmico-mélodique intéressant.

Ce passage amène la fin de la pièce qui présente une légère accélération chez Adriaenssen et un trait de virtuose chez Vanden Hove: une suite ininterrompue de valeurs courtes dans le grave, puis dans le medium et l'aigu. Adriaenssen termine par un accord de cinq sons, ajoutant une basse à l'octave inférieure, sur un cœur grave (Mi¹). Vanden Hove, après son trait rapide, se contente de l'accord avec sa basse dans la tessiture du chant (Mi²).

Un dernier élément à souligner dans cette trop brève analyse, est l'emploi des altérations chez Vanden Hove. Sa mise en tablature aurait hérisé Galilei car elle est truffée de fausses relations, du reste assez piquantes, entre les notes réelles de la version vocale et l'ajout ornemental.

En conclusion, deux versions de luthistes, et cette fois de vrais arrangements instrumentaux: l'un confortable et bien pensé pour l'instrument, l'autre très séduisant, mais demandant de la part du luthiste une virtuosité certaine.

³⁴ D. KLOECKNER, *Das Florilegium des Adrians Denss (Köln 1594)*, Cologne, 1970, pp. 30-38.

Le manuscrit Thysius

La tablature comporte cette fois sept lignes. Les cantiques sont mis en tablature avec le texte en dessous. Ce texte n'est pas continu et semble correspondre ici à la voix supérieure, contrairement à ce que pense Land.³⁵ Ce procédé de notation du texte rappelle, entre autres, le manuscrit Cavalcanti. Nous n'avons pas les originaux vocaux de ces pièces, mais nous allons tenter, par le biais de la tablature d'analyser une partie du cantique 5: 9 et 17. Il commence au fol. 225v et se termine par une dernière ligne de musique au bas du folio suivant, deux mains se pointant l'une l'autre expliquent au luthiste où se trouve la fin du cantique.

La pièce propose deux tercets rimés dont le vers central est le même. La musique de ces deux tercets est identique. La voix supérieure seule entame le cantique. Au deuxième tactus, les autres voix entrent en homorythmie et terminent l'exposition du premier vers. Ensuite, les voix se répondent, souvent groupées par deux en tierce. Quand le texte s'arrête, les cellules rythmiques en imitation permettent d'imaginer le texte manquant des autres voix. Le premier vers est répété avec de légers changements aux cadences. La tablature semble rester très proche de l'original, excepté les petits ornements cadentiels et l'ajout de deux tactus amplifiant le dernier accord de tonique, après la fin du texte.

Conclusion

Le succès instrumental des œuvres de Faignient semble être localisé principalement à Anvers ou avoir des rapports avec cette ville. Quelles que soient les éditions, les tablatures d'œuvres de Faignient sont toujours françaises. Elles montrent cependant une évolution en rapport avec l'instrument: tablature à cinq lignes chez Phalèse, six chez les suivants et sept dans le Ms. Thysius.

Les arrangements imprimés pour luth se groupent dans les années 1574 à 1601. Aucune chanson française ne sera mise en tablature après le succès, non réédité, de l'anthologie de Phalèse en 1574. Ces arrangements ne donnent, au point de vue texte, que l'incipit. Les mises en tablature de madrigaux apparaissent plutôt vers la fin du siècle et sont le fait de luthistes chevronnés. Le type de mise en tablature est évocateur à ce sujet. Ces tablatures présentent généralement les deux voix extrêmes en notation usuelle. Quant au Ms. Thysius, il note les paroles du Superius sous la tablature et offre une version simple. L'origine, la datation et le luthiste responsable de cette source, peut-être J. Smout, méritent une investigation plus poussée.

³⁵ J.P. LAND, *op. cit.*, deel 1.

Waelrant and BOCEDIZATION

Reflections on Solmization Reform¹

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In his *New Grove* article, Robert L. Weaver accurately and succinctly summarized the aspects of Waelrant's career associated with music education:

Early in his career Waelrant was active as a singer and teacher. The records of Antwerp Cathedral indicate that in 1544-45 he received payments as a tenor soloist, and rent contracts show that from 1553 to 1556 he taught music in a school managed by his landlord, Gregorius de Coninck. He has traditionally been credited with the extension of the hexachord to an octave system by the addition of the two syllables *si* and *ut*, and with the invention of a new seven-syllable solmization system called bocedization (or *voces belgicae*).²

The few surviving documents tell us little about how Waelrant taught singing. We can learn something about his methods, however, from innovations in solmization attributed to him.³ The evidence – much of it first discussed more than a century ago by Lange – has been ably reviewed in recent publications by Weaver and Godelieve Spiessens, and need not be rehearsed here. My purpose is to delve somewhat more deeply into several of the theoretical texts in order to address two topics: first, responsibility for the invention of bocedization and second, the nature of the reforms attributed to Waelrant.

¹ I am indebted to Robert Kendrick and to Peter Jeffery for reading a draft of this article, and to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for improving the translations and for other helpful suggestions.

² R. WEAVER, *Waelrant*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980, vol. 20, pp. 97-99.

³ On solmization, see especially G. LANGE, *Zur Geschichte der Solmisation*, in *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 1 (1899-1900), pp. 535-622; E. PREUSSNER, *Solmisationmethoden im Schulunterricht des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, in H. HOFFMANN and F. KÜHLMANN (eds.), *Festschrift Fritz Stein*, Braunschweig, 1939; and R.V. HENDERSON, *Solmization Syllables in Music Theory, 1100 to 1600*, Ph.D diss., Columbia University, 1970. Two recent studies offer useful reviews of the evidence concerning Waelrant and solmization; like the present article, they are based to a large extent on the sources first discussed by Lange: G. SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk op componist Hubert Waelrant*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 12 (1995), pp. 59-65, and R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet: Music Publishers in Antwerp's Golden Age*, Michigan, 1995, pp. 52-54.

The Invention of Bodedization

The main evidence concerning Waelrant's methods of solmization comes from Franciscus Sweertius, who included an entry about him in his dictionary of famous Netherlanders:

HVBERTUS WAE LRANS, Antuerpiensis, Musicam in patria multos annos professus est. Is primò commentus est facilem canendi methodum, ut nimirum supra ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, duae aliae, nimirum si, ut, superadderentur, quem cantandi modum non pauci probavere, & ego in ea arte illo aliquando magistro sum usus. Idem quoque novorum appetens, quam hic vides canendi formam adinvenit, ut loco, ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, reponerentur ba, ni, ma, lo, ga, di, se, bo, Ut hac ratione tyronum more, non notulas identidem reiterare & ingeminare, sed verba ipsa insonare videaris. Ne ride, Lector, sed experire primò & placebit inventum.

Hubert Waelrant, from Antwerp, taught music in his native land for many years. He first invented an easy method of singing, namely above UT, RE, MI, FA, SOL, LA, to add two other [syllables], SI and UT, a manner of singing which many approved and I used when he was my teacher in this art. He also, hungry for innovation, discovered the form of singing which you see here, the replacement of UT, RE, MI, FA, SOL, LA with BA, NI, MA, LO, GA, DI, SE, BO, so that by this method you do not have to repeat and double the syllables in the manner of beginners but seem to sound out words themselves. Don't laugh, reader, but try it first, and the discovery will please you.⁴

We learn that Waelrant taught music for many years in his native land. He invented two methods for singing: adding two syllables, SI and UT, to the standard six, and changing the names of the syllables to BA, NI, MA, LO, GA, DI, SE, BO, a system now usually referred to as bodedization. This account was published more than three decades after Waelrant's death in 1595. It may nonetheless have some credibility given the fact that Sweertius claimed first-hand knowledge as his pupil.⁵

There is no other evidence that specifically associates bodedization or the addition of seventh and eighth syllables SI UT with Waelrant. One early account places both innovations in Antwerp, Waelrant's native city. Pierre Maillart, as part of his spirited defense of the traditional gamut, described two methods that he encountered when he was living in Antwerp in 1574:

⁴ *Athenae Belgicae*, Antwerp, 1628, p. 350. On Sweertius, see LANGE, *Zur Geschichte*, pp. 576-579; and WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, pp. 52-53.

⁵ On Sweertius' reliability, see WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 54.

Mais que dirons nous qu'aucuns de nostre temps ont changé & augmenté le nombre des nottes susdictes, les uns en forgeant huit nottes toutes neuues, les autres en adioustuant seulement deux nouvelles au six susdictes pour avoir viii. nottes, à sçavoir, ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, sy, o, respondantes à leurs viii. tons ... Car l'an 1574. lors que ie demeuroy en la ville d'Anvers, on ne parloit entre les musiciens, que des nouvelles nottes: tant est la nature de l'homme, convoiteuse de nouveautez, & curieuse de les recevoir.⁶

But what shall we say to the fact that some in our time have changed and increased the number of said syllables. One group created eight entirely new syllables, while the other only added two to the six aforementioned syllables to have eight syllables, namely, UT, RE, MI, FA, SOL, LA, SY, O, corresponding to their eight pitches ... Because in 1574 when I was staying in Antwerp, musicians talked of little but these new syllables, such is human nature - covetous of novelties and eager to receive them.

One method used eight syllables (*nottes*), all of them with new names; the other added two new syllables to the six traditional ones, SY and O. Maillart did not identify the new names with the syllables BO CE DI, etc., and his eighth syllable was O instead of UT. But in every other respect his discussion resembles Sweertius'.⁷

Two early witnesses place the innovation among the 'Belgians', that is, residents of the Low Countries, but without naming names. The German theorist Sethus Calvisius wrote:

Satis quidem convenientes sunt hae voces Musicales & faciles, si eas cum veterum tetrachordis compares, sed tamen quia integrum intervallum διαπσών non explent, propter frequentem mutationem, ut quaeque vox suae clavi, cui competit, recte applicetur, incipientibus non parum pariunt difficultatis. Cui etiam ut quidam mederentur, nuper in Belgio

⁶ P. MAILLART, *Les Tons, ou discours, sur les modes de musique, et les tons de l'église*, Tournai, 1610, reprint 1972, ch. X, p. 61. LANGE, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 576; SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk*, pp. 59-60; WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 53.

⁷ WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 53: "The unnamed inventor could have been Waelrant, since his life and activity fit Maillart's time reference." Weaver (p. 54) observes that Sweertius, who was born in 1567, could have been studying the systems at about the same time Maillart was in Antwerp. Maillart devoted but one page to these systems, and then the next four to advocating his own technique for simplifying mutation while retaining the traditional gamut. He then took eleven pages to refute the system introduced by Ericius Puteanus, which adds the seventh syllable BI to the traditional six. It is worth noting that Maillart made no specific connection between the two systems that he encountered in Antwerp in 1574 and that of Puteanus (cited in the version published as *Musathena* in 1602). He evidently thought of the Antwerp approaches as distinct from that of Puteanus.

novas voces Musicales excogitarunt, numero septem, quae quoniam integrum διαπασών explent, mutationi obnoxiae non sunt, sed quotiescunque opus est repetuntur, eademque & in ascendendo, & in descendendo permanent, & propter convenientem semivocalium & mutarum literarum in distributis syllabis consecutionem, ad promptam & expeditam pronunciationem haud difficulter se offerunt: Sunt autem hae septem octava repetita: Bo, ce, di, ga, lo, ma, ni, Bo.⁸

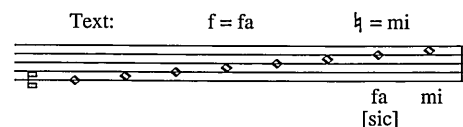
Indeed these musical syllables [UT RE MI etc.] are convenient and easy, if you compare them with the tetrachords of the ancients, but nevertheless because they do not fill the entire interval of the octave they create not a little difficulty for beginners because of frequent mutation needed so that each syllable may be applied correctly to the clef to which it corresponds. And in order to remedy the situation, they have recently devised new musical syllables in the Low Countries, seven in number, which because they fill the whole octave are not subject to mutation, but are repeated as many times as is necessary and remain the same in ascending and in descending, and because of felicitous sequence of continuants and stop consonants in the syllables as apportioned [in singing], they lend themselves without difficulty to ready and quick utterance. They are these seven with the octave repeated: BO CE DI GA LO MA NI BO.

Johannes Lippius wrote a few years later:

Syllabea seu Voces Musicales vulgatae sunt, 6. ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la. Quae quia, 7, illis literis neququam respondent, nec Octavam implent, Mutationem flagitant, quae vere Tortura est canere discentium, a plerisque cantoribus una cum scala molli, quae negotium musicum inutiliter reddit difficilior.

Interim notandi duo Canones:

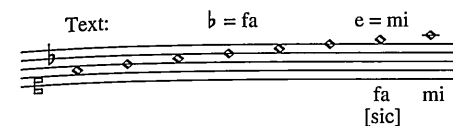
In cantu Duro [natural] habet mi, & f. fa.



Example 1a: J. Lippius, *Synopsis musicae novae*, Strasbourg, 1612, sig. D8r, placement of MI and FA in cantus durus

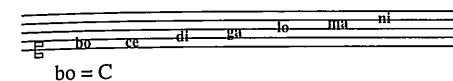
⁸ *Exercitationes musicae duae*, Leipzig, 1600, reprint 1973, p. 121. K. BENNDORF, *Sethus Calvisius als Musiktheoretiker*, in *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 10 (1894), pp. 420 ff.; LANGE, *Zur Geschichte*, pp. 609-610; HENDERSON, *Solmization Syllables*, pp. 299-300.

In Mollis b. habet Fa & e, Mi.

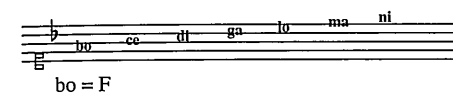


Example 1b: placement of MI and FA in cantus mollis

Verum quod commodius fieri potest per pauciora, male fit per plura. Arripiendum proinde erit Belgicum istud ενρησα signatorium compendiosissimum & aptissimum, bo, ce, di, ga, lo, ma, ni. Quod in Duri cantus, C. ponit bo: in Mollis, f. itidem.

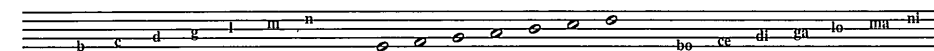


Example 2a: J. Lippius, *Synopsis musicae novae*, Strasbourg, 1612, sig. D8v, bocedization in cantus durus



Example 2b: bocedization in cantus mollis

Sic tantum etiam literae Musicae communes delebuntur servatis initialibus istarum Syllabarum, 7, b.c.d.g.l.m.n. in omni Cantu.⁹



Example 3: J. Lippius, *Synopsis musicae novae*, Strasbourg, 1612, sig. Er

The common syllables or musical voices are six: UT, RE, MI, FA, SOL, LA. Because they do not correspond at all to the seven letters nor do they fill the octave, they require mutation, which is a real torture for those learning to sing, and therefore many singers in the ordinary singing schools nowadays are absolutely right in continuing to press hard for their abolition, together with the mollis scale, which makes the task of singing more difficult to no purpose. In the meantime, two rules must be noted:

In cantus durus, [natural] is MI and f is FA. In cantus mollis, b is FA and e is MI. However, what can be done more conveniently with fewer

⁹ *Synopsis musicae novae*, Strasbourg, 1612, sig. D7v-Er. J. LIPPIUS, *Synopsis of New Music*, trans. B. RIVERA, Colorado Springs, 1977. On Lippius, see D. DAMSCHRODER and D.R. WILLIAMS, *Music Theory from Zarlino to Schenker*, Stuyvesant, 1990, pp. 161-162.

[things], is ill done by more. And so we should adopt the very concise and apt notation invented in the Low Countries BO, CE, DI, GA, LO, MA, NI, such that in cantus durus BO is placed on C, and in cantus mollis on F.

Thus also the common letters of music can be eliminated, using the first letter of these seven syllables instead in each system: B, C, D, G, L, M, N.

Two other writers describe these innovations as 'Belgian' were probably drawing on earlier accounts. Johannes Kepler, who corresponded with Calvisius, refers to 'that Netherlander' (*Belga ille*) who for six syllables made seven - BO CE DI GA LO MA NI.¹⁰ Mersenne cited Maillart about the 'Belgian' system using SY O and Kepler about the 'Belgian' bocedization.¹¹

Lange challenged Sweertius' account naming Waelrant as the inventor of the new syllables and argued instead that the composer David Mostart was responsible.¹² Lange relied on work by J.C. Boers, J.I. Doedes, and J.P.N. Land published in the *Bouwsteenen*, the earliest yearbooks of the Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Musiekgeschiedenis.¹³ Boers, following J.B. de la Borde's citation of a treatise by Le Maire, identified a treatise by Mostart that presents the syllables as *Korte onderwijsinge van de Musik-Konste*, a treatise known to have been published in 1598 but that no longer survives.¹⁴

The main evidence connecting Mostart with bocedization derives from Johann Henricus Alsted, who cited him in two passages, given here in a 1664 translation:

¹⁰ *Harmonices mundi*, Linz, 1619, lib. III, cap. X, p. 57: *Itaque videat Belga ille, qui pro sex septem fecit, Bo, ce, di, ga, lo, ma, ni, quod ex hoc augmento lucrum habeat; Nam si chesuit, voces usurpandas aequali numero cum chordis unius octavae, una minus; ut octava propter identitatem repraesentaretur a prima syllaba BO quid quaeso desiderat in literis a. b. c. d. e. f. g. iam dudum in hunc usum receptis?* [And so let that Netherlander who for six syllables made seven, BO CE DI GA LO MA NI, see what profit he has from this increase; for if he thought that as many syllables should have been used as there are notes in an octave less one, so that the octave because it is the same again might be represented by the first syllable BO, what fault, pray, does he find with the letters a b c d e f g so long accepted for this use?]. On the correspondence with Kepler, see DAMSCHRODER and WILLIAMS, *Music Theory*, p. 47.

¹¹ *Quaestiones celeberrimae*, Paris, 1623, col. 1679-1680: *Refert etiam Keplerus; harmon.ca.10. Belgam quemdam has 7 notas invenisse bo, ce, di, ga, lo, ma, ni, pro 7 praedictis.* [Kepler also reports that a certain Netherlander found these seven syllables - BO CE DI GA LO MA NI - for the seven aforementioned (UT RE MI FA SOL LA BI)]. Several scholars (among them, LANGE, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 576) have noted Mersenne's transposition of Maillart's 1574 into 1547.

¹² LANGE, *Zur Geschichte*, pp. 580-583. The evidence for Mostart has been summarized by WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 54 and discussed at greater length by SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk*, pp. 60-61. R.A. RASCH, *Mostart*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980.

¹³ *Bouwsteenen. Jaarboek der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Musiekgeschiedenis*, 1 (1869-1872), pp. 25-26; 2 (1872-1874), pp. 111-118; 3 (1874-1881), pp. 60-61. [There is a copy of this rare serial in the Brandeis University Library.]

¹⁴ Concerning Le Maire, see G.H. ANDERSON, *La gamme du si, A chapter in the History of Solmization*, in *Indiana Theory Review*, 3 (1979), pp. 40-47; and SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk*, p. 61.

5. Besides b. molle, as they call it, there is need of Cancells #. and cis, dis, fis, gis: which are called fict Letters by instrumental Musicians. But David Mostart so accomodateth the Musical Keyes to seven new Voices. Four Keyes in the whole are here to be held. The first is C. in which he will always have bo sung. The second is G. five Tones below an d four above G, he always singeth bo. The third is F. and four above, and five Tones below F. bo. is alwayes sung. Also five Notes above B. molle, and four under B. molle, bo. is alwayes to be sung. (pp. 34-35)

Hithero Puteanus, with whom worketh David Mostart in his Introduction of Musick, as indeed he proveth the Septenary of Voices. But he doth substitute other Voices in this manner, bo, ce, di, ga, lo, ma, ni. But so that in C of a sharp song bo is sung. Also in F. of a flat, bo. e. gr. [e.g.]. [Alsted gives the same example that Lippius had used, given as Example 2a-b above.]

But let Mostart himself be heard. Who saith thus, It is worth our labour seriously to invent such Musical Voices as exhibite unto us a perfect Octave, so that it be the consequence of eight Tones or Notes: by which Connexion and Series the perfection of any Melody may be performed, without any Mutation: which indeed is the torture of tender wits. And the Series is this, bo, ce, di, ga, lo, ma, ni, bo Which Abridgement if it should be admitted, those old vulgar Keyes should be abolished, the Letters of those seven Syllables being only retained in every Song, viz. b, c, d, g, l, m, n.

For Example sake.

[Alsted again gives the same example that Lippius had used, given as Example 3 above.]

Therefore Mostart rejecteth the six Voices of the Ancients [defined earlier as UT RE MI FA SOL LA]; because they complete not an Octave, and for that Cause require Mutation, which is the torture of the Ingenious: and also the seven Voices of latter Musicians [for example, Puteanus, UT RE MI FA SOL LA BI], because they do not respond to the seven Letters or Keyes (pp. 41-43).¹⁵

Alsted first published this material as early as 1630 and possibly even earlier.¹⁶ We can believe his account and conclude that he drew some of his remarks from Mostart's lost treatise, but there is reason to distrust his claim that Mostart invented the syllables. Alsted seems to have borrowed a substantial

¹⁵ *Templum musicum: or the musical synopsis, of the learned and famous Johannes-Henricus-Alstedius, being a compendium of the rudiments both of the mathematical and practical part of musick: of which subject not any book is extant in our English tongue*, trans. JOHN BIRCHEN-SHA, London, 1664, reprint 1967.

¹⁶ His earliest publication dates from 1610. See DAMSCHRODER and WILLIAMS, *Music Theory*, p. 10.

portion of the discussion, including the three music examples, from the work of Johannes Lippius, first published between 1609 and 1611, and most widely disseminated in the 1612 version cited above.¹⁷ The fact that neither Lippius, nor, for that matter, Calvisius, made claims about the identity of the inventor of the *voces Belgicae* suggests to me that Alsted's attribution to Mostart is questionable.¹⁸

Further research is needed to trace the origins, dissemination, and use of bocedization. Land found the syllables in the margins of a Netherlandish lute manuscript, the Thysius Lutebook, and imagined that compositions in the manuscript by a certain 'Mr. David' were by Mostart.¹⁹ But this claim can be laid to rest, thanks to Frits Noske, who identified that composer as David Janszoon Padbrue.²⁰ Folios 317v-318v contain several heavily revised versions of a brief (8-measure) phrase by an unknown composer. They have the appearance of being the work of a student or amateur composer, who perhaps sketched sonorities by means of the syllables in the margins.²¹

Another avenue worth exploring is the promulgation of bocedization by German theorists. When Calvisius published his *Compendium musicae pro incipientibus* in 1594, he was still advocating the traditional Guidonian syllables.²² When he published a revised edition in 1612, he had switched to bocedization and even bragged about using a seven-syllable method on the title page: *Musicae artis praecepta nova et facilima per septem voces musicales*.²³ He had published an abbreviated version of the relevant passages from the 1612 treatise a year earlier in his *Exercitatio musica tertia*.²⁴ He had already encoun-

¹⁷ For example, Lippius: ...*usus est cancellorum # & cis, dis, fis, gis apud Musicos Instrumentales literae istae ita Fictae vocantur* [sig. D7v]. Alsted: ...*there is need of Cancells # and cis, dis, fis, gis: which are called fict Letters by instrumental Musicians* [p. 34]. On the indebtedness, see, among others, DAMSCHRODER and WILLIAMS, *Music Theory*, p. 10.

¹⁸ A conclusion reached also by SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk*, p. 60. Calvisius, in his *Exercitationes musicae duae* of 1600, cited in note 7, and in *Exercitatio musica tertia*, Leipzig, 1611, p. 147, simply places the invention in the Low Countries.

¹⁹ Leiden, Rijksuniversiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. Thysius 1666, f. 317v and 318v; description in W. BOETTICHER, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen*, München, 1978. See also H. RADKE, *Thysius, Johan*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980, where the manuscript is described as having been compiled by Adrian Joriszoon Smout while he was a student in Leiden (1595-1601). LAND, *Het luitboek van Thysius*, in *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis*, 2 (1987), pp. 173-174.

²⁰ F. NOSKE, *David Janszoon Padbrue*, in J. ROBIJNS (ed.), *Renaissance-Muziek 1400-1600: Donum natalicium René Bernard Lenaerts*, Leuven, 1969, pp. 179-186.

²¹ These folios, which I have been able to examine only on microfilm, certainly merit further study.

²² The first edition no longer survives. Thanks to the assistance of Herbert Kellman, I was able to consult a microfilm of the 1602 edition.

²³ While E. APFEL, *Geschichte der Kompositionslehre von den Anfängen bis gegen 1700*, Saarbrücken, 1989, bd. 4, p. 1168 describes *Musicae artis praecepta* as the third edition of *Compendium musicae*, BENNDORF, *Sethus Calvisius*, p. 428, characterizes it more accurately as "eine Vereinfachung und Modernisierung des *Compendium musicae* vom Jahre 1594".

²⁴ Leipzig, 1611, pp. 150-157.

tered the 'Belgian' syllables by 1600 at the latest because he described the system and explained its advantages in his *Exercitationes musicae duae*. The challenge is to discover how Calvisius learned about the syllables.

Solmization Reform

Widespread dissatisfaction with the Guidonian system of three overlapping hexachords and the difficulties of mutation eventually led to reform. The changes could be in the number of syllables (four, seven, eight, or even more instead of the traditional six), the names of the syllables, and the relationships between syllables and pitches (for example, a one-to-one relationship between syllable and pitch class, in effect dispensing with the need for mutating between hexachords and even with hexachords themselves).²⁵ Waelrant's innovations, as described by Sweertius, reveal two different approaches to teaching singing. They share the goal of simplifying the learning process in part by eliminating mutation.

The first involves adding two syllables to the hexachord, SI and UT, a seventh degree and an eighth degree with the same name as the first. In adding syllables, Waelrant was but one of a great number of experimenters who tried to expand the traditional gamut during the last part of the 16th and the first part of the 17th centuries. An apparently modest change, it actually had major ramifications. It is noteworthy, first of all, that Sweertius did not simply write that Waelrant had added a seventh syllable, but that he added two syllables, SI and UT. He thereby created an octave:

UT	RE	MI	FA	SOL	LA	SI	UT
C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C

Other consequences followed, not explained by Sweertius. There was now octave equivalence in the naming of pitches (something not true of the Guidonian gamut) as well as a fixed relationship between syllable and pitch class: all Cs in this context were UT and only C is UT. These properties were true of other systems with added syllables, for example, that of Erycius Puteanus, with its seventh syllable BI²⁶:

²⁵ LANGE, *Zur Geschichte*, pp. 573-591; HENDERSON, *Solmization Syllables*, Ch. X, "Non-mutating Solmization Systems." For an excellent discussion of the methods of solmizing practiced during the second half of the 16th century, see G. STOQUERUS, *De musica verballi libri duo*, trans. A.C. ROTOLA, s.j., Lincoln, 1988, esp. pp. 26-40.

²⁶ E. PUTEANUS, *Modulata pallas*, Milano, 1599; condensed versions, second edition, 1600-1602. I am grateful to Dr. Anne MacNeil, who presented the preliminary results of her research on Puteanus during the NEH Summer Seminar that I directed in 1994; she is preparing the material for publication. See also LANGE, *Zur Geschichte*, pp. 583-586; HENDERSON, *Solmization Syllables*, p. 301.

	UT	RE	MI	FA	SOL	LA	BI	[UT]
durus:	C	D	E	F	G	A	B	[C]
mollis:	F	G	A	Bb	C	D	E	[F]

Furthermore, there was no need for mutation or for changing syllables depending on whether the line was ascending or descending. Although not explicit in Sweertius, Waelrant's method probably shifted the syllables according to system. That is the case with most fixed seven-syllable systems, including, for example, that of Puteanus given above (UT is C in cantus durus and F in cantus mollis).

One exception is the seven-syllable system proposed by the Italian theorist Adriano Banchieri. His scheme has two new seventh syllables, BA and BI, which, as he explains, *correspond well with the hand, with the first pronounced B FA and then next B MI*.²⁷ In this case, the solmization does not change when the signature changes: C is UT in either mollis or durus.



Example 4a: A. Banchieri, *Cartella musicale*, Venezia, 1614, p. 22, two-voice counterpoint with solmization syllables



Example 4b: syllables derived from Ex. 4a arrayed as a scale

Furthermore, as Example 4 shows, there is no alteration of syllable for the diesis (sharp on F and C in mollis and on F, C, and G in durus) except when applied to BA, which then becomes BI. The addition of a flat changes B from BI to BA, and E MI to E FA, but does not bring about mutation.

Most of the schemes employed two forms of the seventh degree.²⁸ Waelrant's, however, appears to have only one form, SI. While it is not specified, it is like-

²⁷ A. BANCHIERI, *Cartella musicale*, Venezia, 1614, p. 21: *benissimo corrisponde ordinatamente con la mano venendo in quella prima pronuntiato il b. fa & poi successivamente il B. mi*. He derives the syllables from *labii reatum* of the hymn *Ut queant laxis*.

ly to be the raised seventh, with SI analogous to MI, both a half-step below their neighbors.²⁹ Other schemes have only the lowered form of the seventh. For example, the English theorist Charles Butler had a seventh degree that he called FA but spelled PHA to distinguish it from the fourth degree³⁰:

For the 7 Notes, there are but six several Names: [Ut, re, MI, fa, sol, la]. The seventh Note, because it is but a half-tone above la, as the fourth is above MI, (whereas the rest are all whole tones) is fitly called by the same Name: the which being added, the next Note will be an Eight or Diapason to the first; and consequently placed in the same Letter or Clief, and called by the same Name (p. 12).

Yet some, because the seventh Note has a distinct sound from all the rest, thought good likewise to give it a distinct name, and call it Sy [margin: Mersennus]. Ericius Puteanus [margin: In sua Musathena], admitting also Guido's 6 Names, calleth the seventh Bi. And a certain Dutchman [Margin: Keplerus Harmon. l. 3, c. 10] took upon him not only to give a distinct Name to the seventh Note, as they; but also to new-name all the rest, thus: Bo, Ce, Di, Ga, Lo, Ma, Ni. All these agree, to call the seven severall Notes by 7 severall Names: [margins: Mersennus] as some say the Greeks did by their seven vowels [αεηοων]. But because (as is above said) the seventh Note is but a semitonium from his inferior La, as the fourth is from his inferior MI, questionless it is best, and most easy for the Learners, to call them both (as the manner now is) by the Name although the second half-note may, for difference from the first, be written pha: which is the first syllable of Pharos, the name of the big tower, and of an upper garment; as this second Hemitonium is the uppermost and highest of all the seven Notes (p. 15)

²⁸ For example, Burmeister first published a solmization in 1599 (according to LANGE, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 607, in *Tractatus de hypomnematis*) using SI and SE; I thank Anne MacNeil for this reference. See J. BURMEISTER, *Musical Poetics*, trans. B. RIVERA, New Haven, 1993, p. xxiii. Concerning solmization in Germany, see LANGE, *Zur Geschichte*, pp. 607-619; K.W. NIEMÖLLER, *Von der Ars musica zur "Singenkunst"*, in *Festschrift Martin Ruhnke zum 65. Geburtstag*, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1986; J. BUTT, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 58-59.

²⁹ Puteanus also had only a raised seventh, BI. He presented an elaborate theory, with heavy documentation from classical literature, to justify adding a seventh syllable; his need to focus on the special characteristics of "7" left him no way to represent a second, flat seventh.

³⁰ C. BUTLER, *The Principles of Musick in Singing and Setting*, London, 1636. The brackets in this passage are Butler's, the braces editorial. HENDERSON, *Solmization Syllables*, pp. 287-290. I discuss English systems of solmization in a forthcoming article, *Concepts of Pitch in English Music Theory, ca. 1560-1640*, in C. JUDD (ed.), *Tonal Structures in Early Music, (Criticism and Analysis of Early Music, 1)*, New York, 1997.

	UT	RE	MI	FA	SOL	LA	PHA
dural (-)	G	A	B	C	D	E	F
natural (b)	C	D	E	F	G	A	Bb
mollar (2b)	F	G	A	Bb	C	D	Eb

Waelrant's second method involved the creation of a new set of syllables. Sweertius does not explain Waelrant's dissatisfaction with the simple addition of syllables to the traditional gamut, but the very fact that he - or someone - devised a scheme with new syllables suggests that he was dissatisfied. Sweertius's account is sketchy, so for details about how this system functioned, we need to consider the description that Calvisius provided in his music primer³¹:

Quot sunt voces musicales?

Septem: Bo, ce, di, ga, lo, ma, ni.

Quarum prima systemati musico praescribitur per literam b, quae tamen in acutis sonis, in Discanto duplex est: in mediis minuscula: in gravibus in Basso majuscula. hoc modo: [sig. A3r-A3v]

How many musical syllables are there?

Seven: BO, CE, DI, GA, LO, MA, NI.

Of which the first is written in front of the staff with the letter b, which, however, in the upper sounds, i.e., in the discantus, is double, in the middle lower case, and in the bass, capital, in this way:

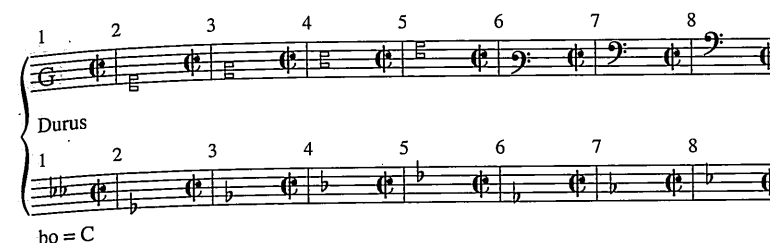


Example 5: S. Calvisius, *Musicae artis*, Jena, 1612, sig. A3v, BO signs

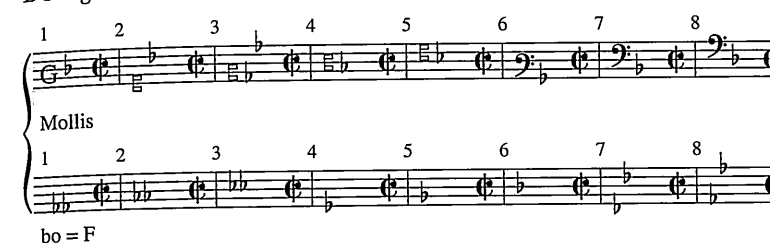
The letters show where the first syllable, BO, can fall. Calvisius dispenses with traditional clefs altogether and uses bb/b/B to indicate BO at three different places in the gamut - high, middle, and low. Example 5 might be difficult to interpret - the symbols, after all, are indistinguishable from the flat, traditionally considered a clef. Fortunately Nikolaus Gengenbach, in his *Musica Nova: Neue Singekunst* of 1626, quoted a version of this example, which he explained by adding clefs and key signature (cantus durus or cantus mollis).³²

³¹ CALVISIUS, *Musicae artis*.

³² A. SCOTT, Nikolaus Gengenbach's *Musica Nova: Neue Singekunst*, A Commentary, Critical Edition and Translation, (*Musical Theorists in Translation*, 14), Ottawa, 1996, pp. 12-19, 84-91.

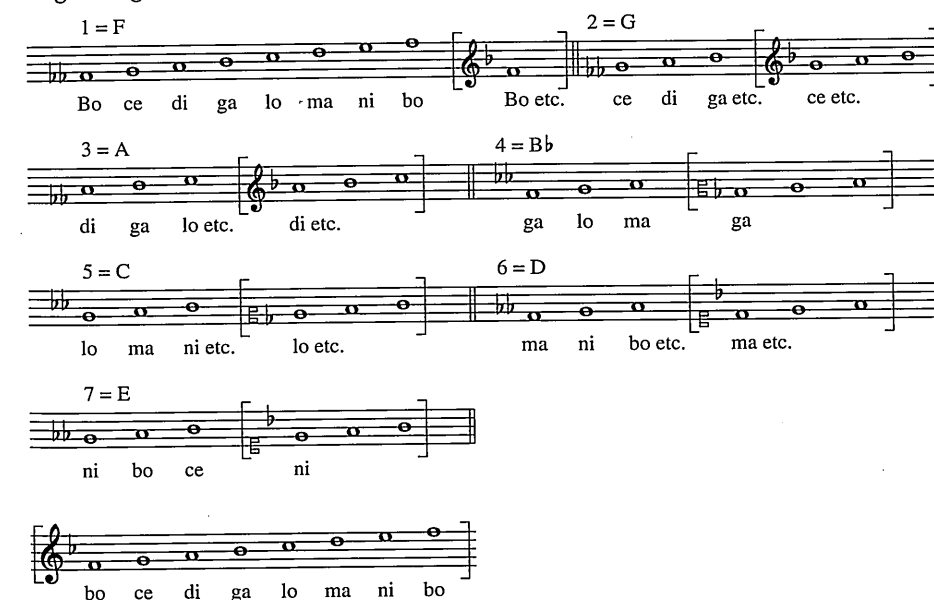


Example 6: N. Gengenbach, *Musica Nova: Neue Singekunst*, Leipzig, 1626, p. 20, clefs and BO signs in cantus durus



Example 7: N. Gengenbach, *Musica Nova: Neue Singekunst*, Leipzig, 1626, p. 21, clefs and BO signs in cantus mollis

The BO signs that Calvisius provides in Example 5 most closely resemble the eight possible clefs in cantus mollis, Gengenbach's Example 7, where BO is F. Following this elliptical explanation of BO signs, Calvisius then gives seven octave scales, which he calls *exempla deductionis vocum musicalium*, each beginning on one of the seven syllables, BO, CE, DI, etc.



Example 8: S. Calvisius, *Musicae artis*, Jena, 1612, sig. A4r-v, seven octave scales

The scales are all written using one of the three placements of the double bb indicating the BO, which I have translated into ordinary notation by adding clefs and the flat for cantus mollis, F, G, A, etc.

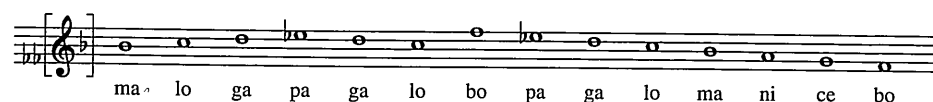
The discussion concludes with two extensions of the solmization system to accommodate sharps and flats.

Notandum, si in medio cantilenae b rotundum in voce musicali NI occurat, quod ibi sonus per smitonium deprimendus sit & PA pro NI assumendum, ut: [Example 9].

Si vero # cancellatum occurat, tum vox aliquantum elevanda est, sed [natural] quadratum scribitur tantum in voce ga, quando quintam pro fundamento subjectam habet, & pro, ga, gis, canendum, ita, ut cantilena tota in Chromaticum genus degeneret: sed hoc rarius occurrit.

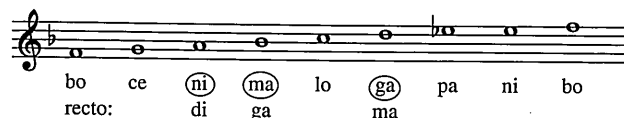
Haec de vocibus musicalibus. Cantori autem in hac nova forma Musices tantum laboris sumendum, ut discipulis suis ad Clavem signatam Bo, cantilenas describat, quod facillime fieri potest, si pro C regularis systematis, aut f transpositi, sive sigatae sint, sive non, b praescribat, {donec ipsi melopoei suas cantilenas hoc modo scribant} (sig. A6r-A7r).

It should be noted that if the round B (i.e., the B flat) occurs in the middle of a song on the syllable NI, the sound on that note must be lowered by a semitone, PA taken instead of NI, for example:



Example 9a³³: S. Calvisius, *Musicae artis*, Jena, 1612, sig. A6r, example of bocedization

syllables in example
errors circled



Example 9b: pitches derived from example 9a as a scale (errors circled)

If however the sharp occurs, then the voice must be raised somewhat; but the square B [natural] is written before the syllable GA, when it has a fifth underneath it as the foundation, and for GA GIS must be sung, and thus the

³³ Unfortunately, the example given in Calvisius (Example 9a) contains errors in the syllables; Example 9b shows the pitches derived from Example 9a arrayed as a scale, with both the incorrect and correct syllables.

entire song may pass into the chromatic genus, but this happens very rarely. Thus concerning musical syllables. And the singer [i.e., the teacher], moreover, must take no more trouble with this new form of music than to copy songs for his pupils at the pitch designated BO, which can be done very easily if he writes a "b" [=BO sign] on C in the regular [durus] system or on F in the transposed [mollis] system, whether or not it is indicated, {until composers themselves write their songs in this way}.³⁴

The scheme works like many of the systems described above. Its properties include: octave equivalence, a fixed relationship between pitch class and syllable, and no need to change syllables either for mutation or for changes in direction.³⁵ The system or key signature determines the placement of the syllables. In cantus durus (or the 'regular system'), with no flat in the signature, C is BO; in cantus mollis (or the 'transposed system'), with one flat, F is BO. The syllables thus show the position of half-steps in both systems: between DI and GA (that is, E-F in durus and A-Bb in mollis) and NI and BO (B-C in durus and E-F in mollis). The final feature in this presentation is the alteration for sharps and flats. Calvisius introduces a second seventh degree, PA, when a flat not in the signature is added in the middle of the song. He seems to have two kinds of 'sharp' in mind: one is # *cancellatum*, which does not alter the syllable, and may be comparable to a leading tone, as in F#-G; the other is [natural] *quadratum*, a kind of MI required to make a perfect fifth between F# and B that requires alteration of GA to G#.

Sweertius' account of Waelrant's method says nothing about system or clefs. He merely explains that Waelrant introduced new syllables, and he lists them, presumably in descending order:

BA	NI	MA	LO	GA	DI	SE	BO
?	B	A	G	F	E	D	C

Sweertius is the only one to present this system in just this way: in reverse order, with SE instead of the usual CE, and with BA, a total of eight syllables. The BA could possibly be a typographical error for BO. Weaver in fact silently emends BA to BO in his translation but in the text he explains that BO and BA mark "the octave tones at the scale's beginning and end".³⁶ I think that it is more likely a flatted form of the seventh degree, with the A of BA meant to

³⁴ Calvisius included the passage in brackets in the 1611 version but omitted it from the 1612 version which is my main source. See PREUSSNER, *Solmisationsmethoden*, pp. 123-124.

³⁵ See also SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk*, p. 59.

³⁶ WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, pp. 52-53. SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk*, p. 59. G. PERSOONS, *De genealogie van de antwerpse toonkundige Hubertus Waelrant*, in *De Gulden Passer*, 57 (1979), pp. 156-158, speculates that the syllables in this order may be interpreted as a kind of *soggetto cavato*.

resemble GA, as half-step from DI. BA is similar to Calvisius' PA; in fact, in German orthography at this time, B and P are not distinguished. Whoever invented bocedization left no explanation for his choice of syllables. The close connection to the Byzantine solmization that became standard during the reform of Bishop Chrysanthos in the early 19th century is too striking to be coincidental.³⁷ In this system, the syllables are in the order of the first seven letters of the Greek alphabet:

πα	βου	γα	δι	κε	ζω	νη	
D	E	F	G	A	B	C	
UT	RE	MI	FA	SOL	LA	FA	MI
BO	CE	DI	GA	LO	MA	PA	NI
βου	κε	δι	γα	ζω		πα	νη

The 'Belgian' syllables, all but one similar to the Greek syllables, are in alphabetical order according to the first letter BO CE DI, etc. Another feature – is it a coincidence? – is the nearly complete congruence with the vowel sounds of the traditional hexachord.

Both innovations – the added syllables and bocedization – are similar in many respects. Both had ramifications for the conception of music. The octave became far more important, both because each letter always had the same name and because the naming system filled out the octave. The symmetry of half-steps between 3-4 and 7-8 became clear, and indeed, it became meaningful to think in terms of 7 and 8. But there were losses as well. The new systems gave each pitch (*littera*) only one syllable, stripping from it the potential it had in the gamut of serving different functions (C as UT, as FA, or as SOL). It downplayed other kinds of symmetries, such as those between UT and FA, RE and SOL, MI and LA, or between UT RE and SOL LA. Nowhere were the species of fourths and fifths visible. As Maillart put it (in describing Puteanus):

The path is attractive and just wide enough just for learning how to sing the notes of music, but if one wants to go beyond that and to arrive at an understanding of the modes, one can't continue on this path, but must return and pass through the difficulties and understand the mutations and the repetition of syllables and practice them according to the intention of him who invented them.³⁸

³⁷ A point first made by BENNDORF, *Sethus Calvisius*, p. 434, who imagined that Waelrant could have learned the syllables from Greek scholars living in Venice; SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe kijk*, p. 63. See ΧΡΥΣΑΝΘΟΣ, *θεωρητικόν μέγα τῆς μουσικῆς*, 1821, reprint 1977; L. TARDO, *L'Antica melurgia bizantina*, Grottaferrata, 1938, pp. 98 and 263-264.

³⁸ MAILLART, *Les tons*, p. 68.

That raises the question of what could be gained by trying to introduce the new syllables, which Sweertius feared would cause the reader to laugh. Perhaps the point was the shock value of these strange syllables. Adding the seventh and eighth syllables – SI and UT – with all of the consequences that stemmed therefrom (solmization determined by 'key signature', octave duplication, no mutation, etc.) was truly revolutionary. The UT in this system was fundamentally different from the Guidonian UT in its function, and for that reason perhaps needed a new name.

Whether or not Waelrant turns out in the end to be responsible for SI UT or for bocedization, Sweertius' account, in bringing two kinds of innovations together, is an interesting footnote in the history of solmization.

MUSICA TRANSALPINA

The Transmission of Netherlandish and Venetian Music
Publications in the mid-16th Century

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Tufts University

In recent years scholars of print culture have begun to look at the dissemination and reception of music books throughout Renaissance Europe.¹ While focusing on specific printers and their output, they have tended not to pay much attention to the interaction between Northern and Southern European markets. The purpose of this article is to investigate how widespread the circulation of Venetian music publications was in the North and, conversely, the distribution of music repertoires from Antwerp and Leuven in the South. This study will first consider the evidence of ownership of Venetian and Netherlandish music editions according to geographical location. It will stress the distribution of Italian and Netherlandish music books to places lacking a major music press. It will then briefly examine archival evidence concerning relationships among Italian and Netherlandish bookmen. Finally, it will touch on specific music editions and repertoires that gained a foothold on both sides of the Alps.

Music printers primarily catered to local audiences. The Italian peninsula provided Venetian publishers with their most valuable market. Book inventories and extant collections that belonged to the ruling families, academies, and ecclesiastical institutions of various Italian city-states contained an overwhelming number of Venetian publications.² Similarly, wealthy patricians, merchants, and churches in the Low Countries and neighboring French provinces constituted the main clientele for the music presses of Antwerp and Leuven.

¹ Studies on mid-16th century Netherlandish and Venetian music printers include H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545-1578*, Brussels, 1984; R. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet, Music Publishers in Antwerp's Golden Age*, (*Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music*, 15), Warren, Michigan, 1995; U. MEISSNER, *Der Antwerpener Notendrucker Tylman Susato*, Berlin, 1967; K.K. FORNEY, *Tielman Susato, Sixteenth-Century Music Printer: An Archival and Typographical Investigation*, Ph. D. Diss., University of Kentucky, 1978; M. S. LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569*, 1, New York, 1988; and J.A. BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice, The Scotto Press (1539-1572)*, Oxford-New York, in press.

² On 16th-century Italian collectors see J. A. BERNSTEIN, *Buyers and Collectors of Music Publications: Two 16th-Century Music Libraries Recovered*, in J.A. OWENS and A. CUMMINGS (eds.), *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, Warren, Michigan, 1997, pp. 21-34.

Surviving Netherlandish editions and archival records, particularly from the renown Plantin press, document regional ownership.³

In contrast to local consumers, buyers from other geographical areas, such as the Iberian peninsula, England, German-speaking territories, and the member cities of the Hanseatic league, were more cosmopolitan in their tastes. Since these centers were not served by a major music press, collectors and composers, alike, had to look abroad to Italy and to the Low Countries for their printing needs. In Spain, the Royal Collections of Philip II contained a considerable number of Netherlandish and Italian music books. Part, if not all, of the music library at the cathedral in Valladolid was presumably purchased when the Imperial court resided there in the 16th century.⁴ The collection reflects the strong and enduring ties maintained between Spanish and Italian bookmen. Most of the music prints at Valladolid are Venetian in origin. Other editions, such as Severin Cornet's three books of motets, madrigals, and chansons brought out by Plantin in 1581, reveal the lively trade Netherlandish printers conducted with Spain.⁵ Christophe Plantin was named archtypographer of King Philip II, and between 1571-1576 he provided all the missals and other service books for Philip's dominion.⁶ Even before Plantin, the firm of Tielman Susato had an interest in the Spanish market as revealed by a binder's volume containing a Spanish title page introducing several Susato publications.⁷

Across the channel in England, music printing did not begin in earnest until the end of the century. Tudor aristocrats and gentlemen, particularly recusant Catholics during the reign of Elizabeth I, had to obtain their music books from Continental sources. Henry Fitzalan, the Duke of Arundel, who bequeathed his library to his son-in-law John, Lord Lumley, acquired an impressive number of printed music books.⁸ He presumably bought several

³ H. VANHULST, *La diffusion des éditions de musique polyphonique dans les anciens Pays-Bas à la fin du XVI^e et au début du XVII^e siècle*, in H. VANHULST and M. HAINE (eds.), *Musique et société, Homages à Robert Wangermée*, Brussels, 1988, pp. 27-51.

⁴ H. ANGLÉS, *El Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Valladolid*, in *Anuario Musical*, 3 (1948), pp. 60-61.

⁵ Perhaps the books arrived at Valladolid by way of Salamanca, where the bookseller Juan or Jan Pulman, son of Plantin's scholarly collaborator Theodoor, received in 1582 and 1586 multiple copies of Cornet's motets from Plantin. L. VOET, *Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2, Amsterdam, 1969-1972, p. 119.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 401.

⁷ K.K. FORNEY, Orlando di Lasso's 'Opus 1': *The Making and Marketing of a Renaissance Music Book*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 39-40 (1985-1986), p. 51.

⁸ J. MILSOM, *The Nonsuch Music Library*, in C. BANKS, A. SEARLE and M. TURNER (eds.), *Sundry sorts of music books, Essays on The British Library Collections presented to O. W. Neighbour on his 70th birthday*, London, 1993, pp. 146-182. A detailed survey of the music manuscripts in the Arundel-Lumley library appears in J.A. BERNSTEIN, *The Chanson in England 1530-1640: A Study of Sources and Styles*, Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1974, pp. 81-162. On the library in general see S. JAYNE and F.R. JOHNSON (eds.), *The Lumley Library, the Catalogue of 1609*, London, 1956.

Italian music publications while on a trip to Padua in 1566-1567. Other editions in the library, including volumes from Susato's two motet series (*Liber Sacrarum Cantionem* and *Ecclesiasticarum Cantionum*) and first chansonnier series, were brought from the Low Countries. The Anglo-Netherlandish connection was so strong that, as John Milsom has discovered, some of the Italian prints in the Arundel/Lumley library were purchased indirectly through the Low Countries, since their bindings are of Flemish origin.⁹

Besides the Arundel-Lumley library, Tudor and Jacobean music manuscripts rich in chansons, madrigals, and motets, document access to, if not possession of, Continental music editions by the English aristocracy. The best known Elizabethan manuscript with connections to the Low Countries is the Winchester Partbooks. Kristine Forney has theorized that Eric XIV, King of Sweden, commissioned the *manuscript deluxe* as a gift for Queen Elizabeth I.¹⁰ Produced in Antwerp, it is particularly rich in *villanesche* by the native printer and composer, Hubert Waelrant.

Other extant Elizabethan and Jacobean music manuscripts containing a large number of pieces of Continental origin belonged to such 16th-century Englishmen as Edward Paston of Norfolk, John Petre of Essex, Thomas Hamond and William Firmage of Suffolk, and the Filmers of Kent.¹¹ One well-known English "papist," Francis Tregian the Younger, spent time during his confinement at Fleet Prison copying out Italian and Netherlandish pieces primarily from Netherlandish music publications.¹²

German-speaking centers were also important outlets for both Netherlandish and Italian music books. As Robert Weaver has noted, the Germans formed the largest national group from whom the Antwerp printer, Hubert Waelrant, chose his patrons.¹³ In Venice, the members of the *Fondaco dei Tedesco* took an active interest in musical affairs in the city.¹⁴ Several collectors from the

⁹ MILSOM, *Nonsuch Music Library*, p. 172.

¹⁰ *Antwerp's Role in the Reception and Dissemination of the Madrigal in the North*, in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia Bologna, 27 agosto-1 settembre 1987*, A. POMPILIO, L. BIANCONI, D. RESTANI, F.A. GALLO (eds.), Turin, 1990, 1, pp. 243-246.

¹¹ For a survey of the music manuscripts owned by these collectors see BERNSTEIN, *The Chanson in England*; P. BRETT, *Edward Paston: A Norfolk Gentleman and his Musical Collections*, in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4 (1964), pp. 51-69; M. CRUM, *A Seventeenth-Century Collection of Music belonging to Thomas Hamond, a Suffolk Landowner*, in *The Bodleian Library Record*, 6 (1957), pp. 373-386; B. SHEPHERD, JR., *A Repertory of 17th-Century English House Music*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 9 (1956), p. 61, and F.G. EMMISON, *The Household Accounts of Sir William Petre and Sir John Petre 1548-90*, in *Galpin Society Journal*, 13 (1961).

¹² B. SCHOFIELD and T. DART, *Tregian's Anthology*, in *Music and Letters*, 32 (1951), pp. 205-216 and E. COLE, *In search of Francis Tregian*, in *Music and Letters*, 33 (1952), pp. 28-32.

¹³ *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 270.

¹⁴ Hieronimo Uttinger, the dedicatee of three music editions dating from 1544-1549, was the son of the consul of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. M.S. LEWIS, *Antonio Gardane's Early Connections with the Willaert Circle*, in I. FENLON (ed.), *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, Cambridge, 1981, pp. 221-223.

German nobility and mercantile class sought out music editions for their libraries. In Munich, Duke Albrecht V and his son, Wilhelm II of Bavaria, patrons of Orlando di Lasso, owned a great collection. Wilhelm, Landgrave of Hessen possessed some thirteen editions of motets and chansons issued by Pierre Phalèse,¹⁵ and the Dukes of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and Lüneburg owned a collection of Venetian publications printed by Girolamo Scotto.¹⁶

Augsburg, an important German commercial center, had not one but four patrician collectors of music. Johann Georg von Werdenstein, whose library was purchased by Duke Wilhelm II in 1597, owned several Phalèse publications and Venetian music editions. Marcus Welser, the dedicatee of Waelrant's Third Book of Motets, had musical interests in both the Netherlandish and Italian repertory.¹⁷ Hans Heinrich Herwart, a member of another prosperous commercial family had the largest of these music collections, containing over 450 editions issued by all the major music presses on the Continent.¹⁸

The best known merchant family from Augsburg, the Fuggers, were also avid music collectors. The Susato collection of *chansonniers* and an astounding number of Venetian music publications now in the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna once belonged to the brothers, Raimund (1528-1569) and Georg Fugger (1518-1569), and Georg's son, Philipp Eduard (1546-1618).¹⁹

Evidence of ownership of Netherlandish and Italian music books in Augsburg extends beyond the patrician class to musicians and ecclesiastical establishments. The composer Gregor Aichinger owned twelve Venetian publications, which he may have purchased while studying with Giovanni Gabrieli in Venice.²⁰ The Monastery of Saints Ulrich and Afra must have had impressive music collections.²¹ A set of partbooks originally belonging to the monastery now in the Augsburg *Staats-und Stadtbibliothek*, contains the Phalèse folio edition of Guerrero's *Magnificats* of 1563, Gardano's edition of Kerle's *Sex Misse* of 1562, and a manuscript containing four Masses by Lassus.²²

¹⁵ The collection is now in Kassel, *Murhardsche und Landesbibliothek*; see VANHULST, *La diffusion*, p. 38.

¹⁶ BERNSTEIN, *Buyers and Collectors*, pp. 23-24 and Appendix 1.

¹⁷ As seen in a binder's volume containing nine music publications issued by the Venetian firm of Antonio Gardano now located in Augsburg, *Staats-und Stadtbibliothek*. ⁴⁰ Tonkunst Schletterer 406-410. A description appears in LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano*, 1, p. 128.

¹⁸ Herwart's library was acquired after his death by the Bavarian duke, and now forms the core of the early music collection at the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* in Munich. A catalogue of the collection appears in H.C. SLIM, *The Music Library of Hans Heinrich Herwart*, in *Annales musicologiques*, 7 (1964-1977), pp. 67-79.

¹⁹ R. SCHAAL, *Die Musikbibliothek von Raimund Fugger d.J.*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 29 (1957), pp. 126-137.

²⁰ The set of partbooks, Augsburg, *Staats-und Stadtbibliothek*, ⁴⁰ Tonkunst Schletterer 411-415, once belonged to Gregory Aichinger; for a description see LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano*, 1, pp. 128-129.

²¹ C. GOTTWALD, *Die Musikhandschriften der Staats-und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg einschl. a Liturgica mit Notation. Handschriftenkataloge der Staats-und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, 1, Wiesbaden, 1974.

By far the most extensive music collection of any Augsburger institution belonged to the famous choirschool of St Anna.²³ Throughout the 16th century, St Anna maintained high standards in the quality of its music education. One of the leading Lutheran composers of the period, Adam Gumpelzhaimer, was its music director from 1581 to 1625. He made a detailed catalogue of the music library in 1620.²⁴ Only the catalogue and a handful of music manuscripts from the enormous collection were known. Recently, I have identified nearly fifty extant sacred music editions containing the supralibros SAÑA on their title pages as belonging to the St Anna library. A complete set of Susato's *Liber missarum* and *Liber sacrarum cantionum* as well as several Gardano and Scotto music prints number among the newly discovered publications.²⁵

Libraries rich in Netherlandish and Italian music publications can also be documented for the German towns of Jena and Zwickau. Jena had an outstanding musical center at the university. Founded by Johann Friedrich der Großmütige, Elector of Saxony, the university maintained its own church and library. The library began in 1548 with the donation of the Elector's books for use by the university choir. The large music collection at Jena includes an impressive number of music books printed by Dorico, Formschneider, Petreius, Rhau, Attaignant, Scotto, and Phalèse.²⁶ Several music publications printed by Scotto and Phalèse preserved in the Zwickau *Ratschulbibliothek* once belonged to Peter Poach, the medical officer for the town. He presumably acquired the Venetian books while a student at the University of Padua.²⁷

Music collections in the cities that once made up the Hanseatic League also attest to the vibrant trade connections held by these towns with Venice and the Low Countries. Gdansk (Danzig) had at least two 16th-century collectors. A wool merchant named Georg Knoff owned over 250 musical publications dating from 1569 until 1601. The Knoff collection consisted primarily of Venetian prints, but also included a few Antwerp publications such as the

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164, as reported by LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano*, 1, p. 127.

²³ L. E. CUYLER, *Musical Activity in Augsburg and its Annakirche, ca. 1470-1630*, in J. RIEDEL (ed.), *Cantors at the Crossroads: Essays in Church Music in honor of Walter E. Buszin*, St Louis, 1967, pp. 33-43.

²⁴ R. SCHAAL, *Das Inventar der Kantorei St. Anna in Augsburg. Ein Beitrag zur protestantischen Musikpflege im 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert*, Kassel, 1965.

²⁵ BERNSTEIN, *Buyers and Collectors*, pp. 27-29 and Appendix 2. Three further Gardano editions dated 1555: Corvo, *Motetorum quinque vocum* (RISM C4179), Phinot, *Liber secundus mutetarum a 5* (RISM P2021), and Porta, *Motetorum ... liber primus a 5* (RISM P5171) now in Cracow, *Biblioteka Jagiellonska* should be added to Appendix 2.

²⁶ The Venetian publications consist of fifteen Scotto editions of masses, motets, and madrigals dating from 1539-1543. BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice*, nos. 5, 6, 9, 11, 17, 17A, 18-23, 25-30, and 36. In comparison, the set of seven editions produced in Leuven, contain only mass settings by Clemens non Papa and date from 1556-1559. VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions Phalèse*, nos. 34, 38-40, 50, 56, and 57.

²⁷ E. HERZOG, *Chronik der kreisstadt Zwickau*, 2, Zwickau, 1839, p. 371.

Plantin edition of LeJeune's *Meslanges de chansons* of 1585.²⁸ The second collection belonged to Elisabeth Brandes, who donated her music books to the city library in 1610. Eight motet editions and four chansonnières issued by Phalèse from 1554 to 1560 are still extant.²⁹ In Hamburg, the early 17th-century composer Thomas Selle possessed a collection of Venetian music editions dating from the 1540s.³⁰ The Church of Sankt-Petri in Lübeck once owned a binder's volume containing a set of eight Phalèse motet editions.³¹

Archival documents pertaining to printers, though few in number, do identify business relationships between Italian bookmen and their transalpine counterparts. Very little information has been unearthed from Italian archives linking Venetian music printers with their northern counterparts. What is known can be gleaned from descriptions of trade routes, book fairs, and the meticulous account books preserved at the Plantin Museum.

From the mid-16th century on, Italian books reached the Northern centers by way of expensive overland routes across the Alps. Independent book carriers made the long journeys to Lyons, Geneva, Strasbourg, Basel, Zurich, as well as to the German towns of Munich, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Erfurt, and Cologne, where they would buy and sell books for several publishers at one time. The semi-annual book fairs held in Frankfurt became a trading mecca for bookmen from all over Western Europe.³² Gasparo Bindoni, Pietro Valgrisi, and Pietro Longo represented the Venetian printing industry at the 1566 fairs.³³ All were carriers who transported books to and from the fairs for other publishers as well as for private clients.³⁴ Several Netherlandish publishers made the Frankfurt fair a major outlet for their books. Christophe Plantin considered it one of the cornerstones of his business, along with the firm's main office in Antwerp and a subsidiary shop in Paris.³⁵

Distribution of Italian music books in the Low Countries also occurred at the Antwerp shop of the *Officina Plantiniana*. Even before Plantin began printing polyphonic music books in 1578, he bought and sold music editions issued by other local and foreign presses. As Henri Vanhulst has shown, the *Journaux*

²⁸ M. MORELL, *Georg Knoff: Bibliophile and Devotee of Italian Music in Late Sixteenth-century Danzig*, in J. KMETZ (ed.), *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles and Contexts*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 103-126.

²⁹ VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions Phalèse*, nos. 17-22, 29, 30, 37, 73, 76, and 77.

³⁰ LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano*, 1, pp. 133-134.

³¹ VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions Phalèse*, nos. 60, 62, 78, 81, and 84-87.

³² See the contemporary account of the fair by H. ESTIENNE, *The Frankfurt Book Fair*, J.W. THOMPSON (transl.), Chicago, 1911.

³³ KAPP, *Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels*, 1, pp. 772-774.

³⁴ BERNSTEIN, *Girolamo Scotto and the Venetian Music Trade*, p. 301. P.F. GRENDLER, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605*, Princeton, 1977, p. 186 has noted that the German fairs were also an important center for the clandestine trade of books on the Index. Pietro Longo turned out to be a smuggler of banned books and was put to death by the Inquisition.

³⁵ VOET, *The Golden Compasses*, 2, p. 396.

and *Grands livres*, the extant account books of the Plantin firm, offer a unique source by providing precise information on the suppliers and clients of books.³⁶ A few of the entries list Netherlandish music books the Antwerp press sold to Italian booksellers and *mercanti*.³⁷ Even more significant, the account books also record Venetian music editions sold by Plantin.³⁸ Since no Italian suppliers of music books are named in the account books, it can be presumed that the Antwerp publisher obtained the Italian music books indirectly through bookdealers from a different city. A thriving book trade existed between Venice and Lyon throughout the 16th century, and it appears that bookmen from Lyon acted as intermediaries in the distribution of Venetian books further north. Indeed, an entry in the Plantin account books lists four copies of a madrigal edition by Pietro Taglia purchased by Plantin from the Lyonnais bookman, Jehan Mareschal.³⁹

Musical repertoires that gained a foothold both north and south offer further evidence of the connection between transalpine printers. While the secular genres of chanson and madrigal were intended for local buyers, editions of sacred and instrumental music did move back and forth across the Alps during the mid-16th century. The earliest Italian repertory to appear in Netherlandish publications were lute intabulations brought out in Leuven by Phalèse.⁴⁰ Taken from contemporary publications by Scotto and Gardano, Phalèse's lute books were intended for an amateur audience that included students at the local university in Leuven.

The first appearance of the Italian madrigal as a vocal genre in Netherlandish printed sources occurred in 1555 with Susato's edition of Lasso's so-called "Opus 1." A collection of madrigals, chansons, *canzoni villanesche alla napoletana*, and motets, Lasso's inaugural publication appeared in two separate issues as *Le quatoirsiesme livre de chansons à quatre parties* in Susato's chanson anthology series, and as *D'Orlando di Lassus il primo libro*.⁴¹ In light of Italo-Netherlandish connections, Lasso's "Opus 1" was an important milestone for several reasons. Firstly and most obviously, it introduced the madrigal and the lighter Neapolitan part-song to a Northern audience. Secondly, its formula of presenting different genres in one edition, copied from German music publica-

³⁶ *Suppliers and Clients of Christopher Plantin, Distributor of Polyphonic Music in Antwerp (1566-1578)*, in B. HAGGH, F. DAELEMANS and A. VANRIE (eds.), *Musicology and Archival Research*, Brussels, 1994, pp. 558-604.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 593, no. 138; p. 601, no. 181.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 576, no. 1; p. 584, no. 74; p. 585, no. 76; and p. 596, no. 155.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 578, no. 11.

⁴⁰ See Henri Vanhulst's remarks in Round-table discussion of *Produzione e distribuzione di musica nella società europea del XVI e XVII secolo*, in A. POMPILIO, L. BIANCONI, D. RESTANI and F.A. GALLO (eds.), *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia Bologna, 27 agosto-1 settembre 1987*, Turin, 1990, 1, pp. 331-332.

⁴¹ FORNEY, *Orlando di Lasso's 'Opus 1'*.

tions, and later emulated by the English, prophesied Lasso's success as an international composer. Thirdly, Orlando di Lasso, more than any other composer, broke the barrier between North and South by composing in all musical genres and having his works printed by all the major music publishers of Europe. As Forney has shown, the Lasso publication and the importation of Venetian music publications led to an interest by mid-century Antwerp musicians to compose Italian madrigals and *villanesche*. It was their publications and taste for certain Italian madrigals that, in turn, directly influenced the Elizabethan madrigal.⁴²

While the sources clearly document the influence the Italian madrigal had upon the Northern music market, evidence concerning the importation and circulation of Netherlandish musical repertoires into 16th-century Italy remains much more elusive. For one thing, the French chanson, which dominated Italian manuscripts and Venetian music publications up through the early years of the 16th century, rapidly declined in popularity. Indeed, after 1550 French chansons in their original vocal form became a rarity in Venetian publications. In tracking Northern repertoires in Italian editions, we must look towards musical genres with more international appeal than French-texted works.

The most cosmopolitan of all genres was solo lute music. Both North and South, lute editions contained a wide array of works including fantasias, ricercars, dances, and arrangements of vocal pieces. Two series of lute intabulations brought out by Gardano and Scotto in 1546-1549 and later in the 1560s display this predilection. Besides madrigals and motets, intabulations of French chansons appeared in Venetian editions. Transcriptions of popular Parisian chansons by Claudin de Sermisy and Janequin appeared alongside those by Willaert, Gombert, and Crecquillon. The inclusion of chanson intabulations promoted a sense of commonality, offering tunes familiar to amateur musicians. As Phalèse had done in Leuven, the Venetian printers targeted their lute books towards university students, many of whom were foreigners, in Padua and other Italian cities.

The other international genre was the motet. Latin as the *lingua franca* for all of Europe made sacred music more exportable than vernacular genres, accounting for the impressive number of sacred music editions particularly among the early publications of Gardano and Scotto. Motets by Netherlandish composers, in particular Nicolas Gombert and later Orlando di Lasso, were featured in mid-century Venetian publications.

One of the most striking series of Venetian motet editions to contain Netherlandish repertory was the *Motetti del Laberinto* issued by the Scotto firm in 1554. Brought out as Books Two, Three, and Four, the labyrinth anthologies included a significant collection of motets by Crecquillon,

⁴² *Antwerp's Role*, p. 249, and J. KERMAN, *The Elizabethan Madrigal*, New York, 1962, pp. 48-56.

Clemens, Manchicourt, and Canis - all associated with the Antwerp music presses. Many of the pieces appeared in editions printed from 1546 to 1553 by Susato and in Augsburg by Ulhard. A comparison of readings reveals significant variants between the *laberinto* editions and the earlier transalpine publications, suggesting that Scotto's publications emerged from a divergent source tradition.

Though none of the three books in the *Motetti del laberinto* contain a formal dedicatory letter, they all have embedded in their titles a statement of dedication by Paulus Caligopoeus addressed to Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo. As Bishop of Trent and Bressanone, he was also a Prince (Tirol) of the Holy Roman Empire and acted as a procurator for Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria. He played an important role in the Council of Trent during its second session in 1545-1547. Madruzzo maintained a close relationship with Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, the co-regent of Mantua, who may have been instrumental in the publishing of the books. Mantuan influence emerges in the last book of the *Motetti del laberinto* with the inclusion of three motets by Jacquet of Mantua. Two of them are celebratory works: *Hesperiae ultimae* commemorates the visit of Philip II to Mantua in January 1549,⁴³ while *Dum vastos Adriae fluctus* pays homage to Josquin as well as to the city of Mantua.⁴⁴ The dedication to Madruzzo, who was closely linked with the Gonzagas, as well as motets by Netherlanders indicate the strong connections this series had with Trent, Mantua, and the Imperial court.

An even closer relationship to the Antwerp repertory occurs with the Venetian edition of Hubert Waelrant's *Le canzon napolitane a quattro voce* (RISM W2). Printed by Scotto in 1565, it contains thirty pieces by the Antwerp printer and composer.⁴⁵ Using this edition as primary documentation, a progression of scholars have stated that Waelrant must have spent some time in Italy, perhaps even studying with Adrian Willaert.⁴⁶ In jumping to this conclusion, they have assumed that since the Venetian print is the only surviving edition, it must also be the first and only edition of Waelrant's *Le canzon napolitane a quattro voce*. Indeed, the phrase, *novo stampate*, on the title page, has reinforced that belief. But several other features strongly indicate that this was neither the first nor

⁴³ A. DUNNING, *Die Staatsmotette, 1480-1555*, Utrecht, 1970, pp. 265-267.

⁴⁴ A. DUNNING, *Josquini antiquos, Musae, memoremus amores*, in *Acta musicologica*, 41 (1969), pp. 108-116.

⁴⁵ A bibliographical description of the Scotto edition appears as no. 264 in BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice*, and as no. 48 in R.L. WEAVER, *A Descriptive Bibliographical Catalog of the music Printed by Hubert Waelrant and Jan de Laet*, Warren, Michigan, 1994. The edition survives incomplete. In addition to the alto partbook in Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, reported by Weaver, a basso partbook of the edition is located in the Devonshire Collections at Chatsworth, shelfmark Oct. Tab. H.

⁴⁶ WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, pp. 45-55 reviews the secondary literature concerning Waelrant's Italian connection.

only edition of Waelrant's *Canzon*. For one thing, the words "newly printed" did not necessarily mean that the book was the very first edition. Venetian music printers routinely claimed a publication first issued in another city as "newly printed." What they meant by this phrase was that their publication was the first edition to be printed in Venice.

The lack of a dedication, the crowded layout, and succinct title page argue in favor of a reprint. Commissioned first editions (as this one most certainly would have been) customarily included a dedicatory letter. The title page would have been more grandiose, and the edition would have contained a spacious layout of one piece per page. Since dedications do appear in the two editions of Waelrant's music issued by the composer, the absence of one in the Venetian print makes the Antwerp musician's involvement in this edition highly suspect. As for the condensed layout, it was common practice at the Scotto press, when reprinting editions, to squeeze three pieces onto a single opening rather than spread them out one to a page.

External evidence further intimates that the Scotto edition was copied from a lost Netherlandish print. In light of the fact that Waelrant had already printed an edition containing his five-voice madrigals and chansons, it seems highly unlikely that he would not have issued his own four-voice *canzone napolitane*. Finally, the Winchester Partbooks, which were copied in Antwerp and contain pieces concordant with the Scotto edition, further imply that the Waelrant edition was first printed in Antwerp by Waelrant and Laet.

With the Waelrant edition we have come full circle in our study of the transmission of Italian and Netherlandish publications in the mid-16th century. We have observed how book inventories and extant music collections dramatically illustrate the widespread dissemination of Italian and Netherlandish music books throughout Western Europe. We have also seen something of the connections between transalpine bookmen as revealed through trade routes, book fairs, and the account books of the Plantin press. Lastly, we have noted that the Italian madrigal, lute intabulation, and Netherlandish motet were the primary musical genres to cross the Alps. By focusing on 16th-century collections, archival sources, and musical repertoires, this study has sought to demonstrate musical ties between Italy and the Low Countries. In so doing, we hope to have broadened the context of the field as well as stimulate further inquiry into the international nature of 16th-century music printing.

THE MUSIC PUBLISHER'S VIEW OF HIS PUBLIC'S ABILITIES AND TASTE

Venice and Antwerp

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Publishers of music can be, indeed must be for this paper, divided into several specific types: and 16th-century music publishers in Antwerp and the surrounding areas happened to fit the patterns rather precisely.

First among them were those who specialised in what we first think of as Renaissance music - polyphony and multi-voiced music, lute and keyboard tabulatures, and so on. Pre-eminent in the Low Countries, of course, were the Phalèse family, who over a period of a century published more than 500 titles, almost all of sophisticated repertoires. But one would also include here Susato, and the Waelrant part of Laet's operations.¹

My second group comprises those publishers who were primarily working in other fields, but who also published these ranges of music, though as a small part of their total output. Again the most important representative, Christophe Plantin, worked in Antwerp. His grandson, Balthasar Moretus, seems an even more obvious case, with a mere three polyphonic titles in 25 years, beginning in 1621. Another would be Laet, and a fourth Willem van Vissenaeken with his one volume of motets, and announcement of a second, in 1542.²

It is notable that, apart from Antwerp and Louvain, no centers were able to sup-

¹ Each of these printers has been the subject of extended study: catalogues exist for all three: H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545-1578*, (*Mémoires de la Classe des Beaux-Arts de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, Collection in-8°, 2me Série, xvi/2), Bruxelles, 1990; U. MEISSNER, *Der Antwerpener Notendrucker Tylman Susato: eine bibliographische Studie zur niederländischen Chansonpublikationen in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, (*Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, xi), Berlin, 1967; K. FORNEY, *Tielman Susato, sixteenth-century music printer: an archival and typographical investigation*, Ph. D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1978; R.L. WEAVER, *A Descriptive bibliographical catalog of the music printed by Hubert Waelrant and Jan de Laet*, (*Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography*, lxxiii), Warren, 1994.

² For the Plantin music books, see J.A. STELLFELD, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales Plantiniennes*, (*Mémoires de la Classe des Beaux-arts, de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, Collection in-8o, v/3), Bruxelles, 1949. The central study of the Plantin house is L. VOET, *The Golden Compasses: a history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, Amsterdam, 1969-1972. The edition by van Vissenaeken is listed in *RISM* as 1542⁷.

port music publishers of either of these sorts before the end of the century.³

A third group is more curious, and more valuable from my point of view, for it comprises those many publishers who appear for one or two books of music, and then are lost to the bibliographical musicologist. One of the most obvious cases concerns De Opitiis' famous choirbook of 1515, cut in woodblock and published by Jan de Gheet; but there are others: Henry Loys and Jehan de Buys' edition of Appenzeller chansons in 1542; Nicolas Soolmans' edition, in 1582, of Desmasurier's four-voiced *Tragédies saintes*; and, again, several in the 17th century.⁴

But, if there are only a few such cases during the 16th century, there are many more who publish one or two psalters or devotional books with music, often with the melody alone. These have to be considered a separate, fourth, group, coupled with those who published similar books of very simple secular music; and they are important for my argument.⁵

A central tenet of most reformed churches, after all, was that the congregants should be involved in the music, both during the liturgy and at home. In particular, the singing of hymns and psalms was a means of including congregants in the service, and, perhaps more importantly, of using music at home for spiritual ends. The many surviving editions are the natural result of this approach: often very simple music, sometimes by known composers, with few note values and no rhythmic complications, usually tonally or modally simple, and in these ways paralleling the music that would otherwise have been sung at home. For the printers, too, the books were sometimes easy: they almost all used a very limited range of music type and required minimal musical knowledge. Further, they were normally printed in the format of small 'pocket'

³ Perhaps the first, who printed very little music, was Cornelis Claesz., who printed in Amsterdam at the very end of the century: he would be followed by members of the Elsevier family, who (alongside their editions of treatises) did print a few books of polyphony. A small output of music, almost entirely the output of van den Hove, was printed by Salomon de Roy in Utrecht at the turn of the century. The first significant publishers of music outside these centres also worked in Amsterdam: these were Jan Janssens or Janssz (working between 1618 and 1653); Broer Jansz. (active from 1634 to at least 1646); Paul Matthysz., who printed or published at least 30 musical volumes between 1641 and 1684; and, of course, Estienne Roger. Late in the century, important music printers were again working in Antwerp: they were Lucas de Potter who, with his widow, produced some fifteen books of polyphony between 1676 and 1684; and Hendrick Aertssens [III], who from 1688 produced at least 21 books cited in *RISM*.

⁴ These books are listed in *RISM* as O96 (1515), A1291 (1542) and D1779 (1582). Among later examples I would mention Jan vanden Kerchove, who published two volumes of two-voiced music by de Harduijn (*RISM* H2019 and H2020) in Ghent in 1620, and two members of the Streele family, working in Liège: these produced two editions of music by Hodemont (*RISM* H5670 and H5671) in 1630 and 1631, and, later (in 1668), an edition of Pietkin's motets (*RISM* P2343).

⁵ We are fortunate to know as much about these editions as we do. Such repertoires have been more consistently catalogued for northern and protestant countries than they have for Catholic ones. For the Low Countries, and for much of the data that follow, I have relied on the invaluable work in C.A. HÖWELER and F.H. MATTER, *Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae impressi 1539-1700: de melodieën van het Nederlandstalig Geestelijk Lied 1539-1700*, (*Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica*, xviii), Nieuwkoop, 1985.

books, rather than that of polyphonic part-books.

It is not surprising that in the Low Countries these books were printed more extensively than any other music before 1700, or that many printers exploring music at all offered them exclusively. Examples would include major printers of the time, such as Guillaume Sylvius in 1564-1565, Gilles van der Rade in 1575 and 1580, Rutgerus Velpius the younger in 1591, Hendrick Aertssens (from 1619), or Ian Cnobbaert (from 1631).⁶ Other lesser printers seem only to have printed one or two music books, and they usually also kept to the reformed psalter: Claes van den Wouwere in 1564, Arnout s'Coninx in 1570-1583, Jaspas Troyens in 1578. The same holds true for other centres: Gisleyen Manilius in Ghent printed two music books in 1565 and 1574, both of *Liedekens*.

Even a printer of the musical stature of Jean de Laet relied on these books: once he had decided to prepare books without the name of Waelrant, he seems to have published only six musical books: : while two were by the sure seller, Lassus, and one by the local musician Séverin Cornet, three were of Souterliedekens. For all the power of Waelrant's influence, musical knowledge and marketing skills, Laet does not seem to have been comfortable exploring the polyphonic or intabulated repertoires. These books were apparently seen as relatively safe investments for the publisher. The standard bibliography by Höweler and Matter⁷ lists nearly 150 editions between 1539 and 1600, from more than thirty publishers or printers. It is notable that few publishers put out more than one or two editions - in contrast to the pattern in the next century. It is also significant that the publishers were scattered all over present-day Belgium and the Netherlands. (Antwerp was, of course, the only important of southern centre, a reflection of its strong trading position.) I assume, therefore, that print-runs were fairly large, and that circulation was fairly local for many of these books, and not only those that were dedicated to the rite of a specific town.

For us, the books are particularly important because they define the musical abilities of a large part of the Protestant population - or at least the level of musical ability that the publisher could assume. This has considerable bearing on my central issue, that of the musical ability and taste presumed by the published polyphonic books.

There are direct parallels between the pattern I have drawn and that of Venetian music publishing, although these lie only in the way we can divide up publishers into four similar groupings. There are real differences in the actual repertoires and in what they represent.

The first of my categories is similarly comprised of specialist music publishers.

⁶ All of these but one worked in Antwerp: Velpius signed his books from Bruxelles. If the *Souterliedeken* repertoire be included in this group generically, then the important name of Symon Cock could be added to the list.

⁷ See the work cited in note 5.

From 1538 to the 1670s, there were always at least two working at the same time in Venice. They had evidently the resources and the outlets to continue side by side, and they were astonishingly prolific. While the Phalèse family seems to have put out over 500 titles in a little over a century, the Gardano/Magni family alone published at least twice as many: Vincenti and Amadino (together and separately), put out about 1500 editions in thirty years, or about one a week. The figures are staggering: and they imply what we know from other evidence, that each of these printers was known throughout Europe, and his editions sought out everywhere. The Venetian specialists, therefore, were able to publish music in all the forms, and in many (though not all) of the styles, current in any given year. The repertoire they printed should be wider ranging than that found in the work of Antwerp publishers - and to that we shall return.

My second category is of general publishers who also published a little music: the best parallel to Plantin is probably Rampazetto, an important publisher of humanistic and literary texts, who with his heirs published about forty musical books. Some seven other houses printed a little music.⁸

To them should be added the few others, publishers of a little music, and not known for much of anything else. The most important of these was the composer Merulo, with over thirty titles. In any city north of the Alps, he would have been a major figure: here, he belongs, as we will see, with one or two other minor names.⁹

Finally, there should be the Italian equivalent of my fourth group, the publishers of simple, devotional or secular music, usually homophonic or monophonic in character. Here, of course, is a second significant difference between the output of Venice and that of Antwerp. The liturgical requirements of the Catholic church were so different, and what we understand of the interests of musical amateurs also so different, that there is little common ground between the two. The church's chant, unlike the music of the Protestant churches, required special performers - clerics and professional singers: further, the church actively discouraged singing even the psalter in the vernacular. Finally, the chant required a specific notation, a specific fount of type, and two-colour printing. For all these reasons, and particularly the last, there was little encouragement for music publishers to

⁸ In chronological order, these would be Francesco Marcolini, Plinio Pietrasanta, the heirs of Melchiorre Sessa, Giorgio Angelieri, Giovanni Bariletto, Francesco Ziletti and Andrea Muschio. A brief study of Rampazetto is in C.I. NIELSEN, *Francesco Rampazetto, Venetian printer: and a catalogue of his music editions*, M.A. thesis, Tufts University, 1987.

⁹ The significant members of this group are Gioseffo Guglielmo, Scipione Riccio and the Cenobio Santo Spirito, as well as the printer of the 1540 *Musica Nova*. For the last, see J.A. OWENS and R. AGEE, *La stampa della 'Musica nova' di Willaert*, in *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, xxiv (1989), 219-305.

Merulo's career as musician and printer has recently been studied in detail: see R. EDWARDS, *Claudio Merulo: servant of the State and musical entrepreneur in later sixteenth-century Venice*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1990.

interest themselves in chant. Most of the books were commissioned; the outlets (specific dioceses or religious orders) were known and closer to those for theological and other books; and the techniques, after 1538 and the adoption of a single-impression process, alien to music publishers and printers. It is no wonder, then, that few music printers prepared much chant: among the exceptions was Angelo Gardano, a successor to the founder of the family business.¹⁰

The secular popular repertoire seems similarly to hold a place unlike that in the north, though for different reasons. Popular texted repertoires seem to have circulated in one of two ways: either in text-books, usually without music (though sometimes with the name of a melody), or in versions dressed up by a composer and treated like other light polyphonic genres. This is not to say that the repertoires did not exist as musical phenomena. Nino Pirrotta and James Haar have demonstrated convincingly that there was a large "underworld" of light entertaining music, often monophonic or with simple homophonic accompaniments.¹¹ However, it did not regularly reach print (or, often, manuscript). Frottole survive in many text sources, and, 'dressed up', in a number of editions and manuscripts, in simple 3- or 4-part guise.¹² This is even more true for the villanella and related genres. The inventories prepared by Galanti show the extent to which manuscripts carried large numbers of these texts without music, and to which the musical sources contain artificial compositions.¹³ Even such a source as the so-called *Cancionero de Uppsala* with its Spanish elements, contains ensemble settings.¹⁴

This is even true for the one popular sacred repertoire from Italy that we know well.¹⁵ Despite its manuscript tradition, the lauda again survives in a few edi-

¹⁰ I am grateful to Richard Agee for pointing out the extent to which Angelo Gardano printed liturgical books.

¹¹ See, for example, the studies reprinted in N. PIRROTTA, *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque*, (*Studies in the History of Music*, i), Cambridge (MA), 1984, and J. HAAR, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350-1600*, Berkeley, 1986. See also F. LUISI, *Del cantar a libro ... o sulla viola: La musica vocale nel Rinascimento*, Torino, 1977.

¹² The standard catalogue of frottola sources remains the three volumes of K. JEPPESEN, *La Frottola*, in *Acta Jutlandica*, xli/2, xli/1 and xlii/1, Copenhagen, 1968-1970. Since then, the principle studies have been conducted by William Prizer and Francesco Luisi.

¹³ B.M. GALANTI, *Le villanelle alla napoletana*, (*Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum*", ser.1, xxxix), Florence, 1954, which lists a number of printed editions and manuscripts of villanella texts, with their contents. Her data on editions with music seem to be drawn largely from earlier sources.

¹⁴ *RISM* 1556³⁰. A facsimile of this edition from Scotto's house has been published (Peer, 1984).

¹⁵ By using the word 'popular', I am not trying to suggest that laude were domestic music, or only sung by laymen. They often also remained the province of professionals and clerics, but were evidently aimed at a more popular audience, sung both for the members of *laudesi* groups, and for listeners to religious and moral plays, among other occasions. Studies of this repertoire in Italy have recently taken an upward turn, both in quantity and quality: see, for example, J. GLIXON, *Music at the Venetian Scuole Grandi, 1440-1540*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1979; B. WILSON, *Music and merchants: the laudesi companies of republican Florence*, Oxford, 1992; and F. LUISI, *Laudario Giustiniano: edizione comparate con note critiche del ritrovato laudario Ms.40*, (*Edizioni Fondazione Levi*, IV.B.1), Venice, 1983.

tions as three- or four-part simple settings.¹⁶ The principal exception is Razzi's book of *Laudi spirituali* of 1563, which contains both monophonic and very simple 2-part settings, alongside the more typical pieces.¹⁷

As a result, in Italy, the few publications of simple polyphonic versions are usually seen as the province of the music printer and publisher, rather than of the general publisher. As in the north, they are printed with normal music type: unlike in the north, they are presented in the same formats as music books, rather than in a different pocket format.

Thus, the picture is different from that found in the Low Countries, both in the numbers of volumes (and their presumed audience), and in the ranges of publishers responsible for them.

In this brief and superficial outline of the patterns in the two areas, I have attempted to highlight some obvious parallels, and some equally important differences. Implicit in all that I have said so far is the point that Venetian music publishers, unlike those in nearby Verona or Milan, were necessarily looking to an international market. By contrast, Antwerp music publishers, while certainly sending books to the Frankfurt book fairs, and selling via agents in France, England and northern Germany, did not have the same international scope, for their music books at least.¹⁸

But we can not dismiss the differences between Antwerp and Venice so easily: they were not merely a function of scale of production and diversity of outlets. Rather, they were a product of different views of how to take advantage of the available markets: and it is here that one can more easily compare the two.

The evidence lies in the pattern of choosing to publish local, regional, or internationally famous composers, or of covering or neglecting specific parts of the repertoire, or of styles of presentation. With that in hand, Venetian parallels to

¹⁶ There were two editions (one attributed to Innocentius Dammonis) put out by Petrucci in 1508, and three collections of Animuccia's settings, all published in Rome (in 1563, 1570 and 1577). In Rome there were a number of other later editions. On Dammonis' edition, see J. GLIXON, *The Polyphonic Laude of Innocentius Dammonis*, in *The Journal of Musicology*, viii (1990), 19-53.

¹⁷ *RISM* 1563⁶. The title-page of this volume states that it contains the music that was sung in Florence, in church after Vespers or Compline. Razzi's other collections tend to contain anthologies of texts to which some music has been added. It is significant that the majority of these volumes survive only in manuscript. Apart from the 1563 edition, only one (*RISM* 1609⁸) was certainly printed.

¹⁸ It is important to stress that I am here only referring to books of polyphonic music. The trade that Plantin carried on with Spain is well known, and M. ROOSER, *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur anversoïis*, Antwerp, 1882, pp. 168-176, discusses the extent of Plantin's trade in liturgical books with Spain, and his despatch of copies of a Hebrew Bible to an agent on the Barbary Coast. Both of these are also discussed in J. RAVEN, *Selling books across Europe, c.1450-1800: an overview*, in *Publishing History*, xxxiv (1993), p. 8. In addition, it is worth repeating that while Antwerp music publishers certainly sent music to the German Book Fairs and elsewhere, the repertoires that they printed suggest that their prime concern was in satisfying the local market of the Low Countries.

and contrasts with the output of the Antwerp and regional publishers come into focus.¹⁹

Market

The starting point for this lies in my discussion of the monophonic and simple repertoires. If, in Italy, music publishers largely left monophony and simple monophonic, two-part and chordal settings alone - unless there was a high literary content involved or the book was plausibly commissioned - then they were choosing to define their market as being almost exclusively the musically competent.

The implication, to me, is that music publishers in Venice (and even more those in other Italian centres) saw their markets as essentially 'cultured', in the sense in which we think the Italian renaissance would understand the concept.²⁰ I have pointed out before that sets of part-books were not accessible to the casual book-shop browser, in the manner that books of verbal texts, or, for that matter, psalm-books were: by opening the *Superius* part-book, potential purchasers could form only a limited idea of unknown compositions in a new book of music.²¹ The result is that Venetian printers made very explicit what was in a music book, and who had composed it. They knew that they were printing for purchasers of two basic types (whatever their professional situations): those who were adventurous and willing to try anything new; and those who were inclined to play safe. Both of these types might include professionals and their patrons, or amateurs. I suspect, however, that the *laudesi* and the amateur singers of villanellas tended to the conservative approach, and there is some slight reason for that. In those books, the text is highlighted: the nature of the text is evident from the titles, and its form and structure (with all the repeated verses, in Marenzio's case) are stressed. The simplicity of the music and of the text-setting is immediately apparent from the layout on the page. Finally, some of these books were printed in a smaller, pocket size, thereby announcing to everyone that they were suitable for *ad hoc* performance. In

¹⁹ Those books, relatively few in number, which Venetians prepared specifically to contain music for Bavarian or other foreign patrons need not concern us here. They were the product of special commissions, or of agreements with composers trying to curry favour with a patron. While they do confirm how extensive was the reputation and the grasp of Venetian music publishers, they tell us nothing about how those publishers went about making their own decisions.

²⁰ Here, I would draw attention to the picture of Gardano's circle of acquaintance, drawn in M. LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian music printer 1538-1569: a descriptive bibliography and historical study*, vol. i, pp. 25-27; and also M. FELDMAN, *City Culture and the madrigal at Venice*, Berkeley, 1995.

²¹ S. BOORMAN, *Early music printing: working for a specialized market*, in G. TYSON and S. WAGONHEIM (ed.), *Print and culture in the Renaissance*, Newark, 1986, pp. 221-244.

other words, the music printers went out of their way to say something about the content of these books, something stronger than merely putting a suitable comment on the title-page. That 'something' was intended to attract amateurs, musicians of limited ability, or those with little taste for complex polyphony. This is the nearest we can get, in Italy, to books paralleling the northern psalm-books.

As I have remarked, in Antwerp and centres further north, there was one printer of polyphony who also published psalm books and similar volumes, that is, Laet. But the many others who published psalters and monophonic repertoire but no polyphony were saying something equally strong about their perception of the market. They were usually known, not for music of any sort, but for their books on other subjects, and many were actually book-sellers rather than printers or even regular publishers. The implication here is that the music books were sold through the same outlets as other texts, religious of course, but on other subjects as well. In fact, we can not accord to the publishers of these books the title of 'music publisher': rather they were dealers in general books who chose to include noted psalters in their stock. For them, the purchasers of music in this simple form were the same as the purchasers of current poetry, history or treatises on law, medicine and astronomy. The purchasers were not necessarily musicians at all: they need only to have been capable of singing the psalms and popular tunes, and *perhaps* of reading the simplified notation.²²

Until we know more about the sizes of many editions for these books, it will be difficult to say how large this non-specialized market was. I don't think, though, that there is any great problem here. The evidence marshalled for the printing of the Calvinist psalter, or that of the myriad German settings of Luther's translations of the psalms, probably refers to situations very analogous to the Flemish one.²³ In other words, the market was extensive, and this is confirmed by the number of booksellers who were willing to exploit it.

At this level, at least, then, we can show, merely from the bibliographical

²² By using the word 'perhaps', I am drawing attention to the manner in which church congregations can hold and appear to use hymn-books with musical notation, without actually being able to read music. The tunes used by most congregations form a limited repertoire, and one that is easily memorised. In many instances, this even applies to simple chordal settings, with tenors and altos creating and memorising their own counterpoints to the hymn tune. This end of the spectrum of users of notated books is not relevant for other parts of my argument, except insofar as it might bear on the size of printed editions of psalm- and hymn-books.

²³ For the former, see O. DOUEN, *Clément Marot et le psautier huguenot*, Paris, 1878, and the researches of Pierre Pidoux. For the latter, see the inventories of editions in the two volumes of *RISM B/VIII, Das Deutsche Kirchenlied*, edited K. AMELN, M. JENNY and W. LIPPHARDT, which also includes editions of versions of the psalms by Lobwasser and others. These were among versions set in editions printed in the Low Countries. Apart from Höweler and Matter's bibliography, cited above, see also H. SLENK, *The Huguenot Psalter in the Low Countries*, Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1965.

record, that there was in the north a much larger cross-section of society involved in purchasing music. The existence of this market, and of the books, in such numbers and with many reprints of the more popular anthologies, must have affected Susato's or Phalèse's view of his potential market: the publisher knew that there were many people out there who would purchase simple settings of music, not always monophonic, but essentially homophonic and syllabic. He knew further that a number of these potential purchasers were gathering together in Collegia Musica, to perform secular music, and therefore had some interest in purchasing new material.²⁴ But both Susato and Phalèse will also have been aware that the majority of purchasers of psalters was not interested in complex polyphony. The two markets were distinct enough to be kept separate in almost all respects.

In this context, it is interesting that Claessen in Amsterdam had already printed two editions of Dath's psalm translations before he ventured on his edition of the famous *Livre Septieme* in 1608. It is perhaps equally important that Jan Janssen, also of Amsterdam, withdrew slowly from printing polyphony, and turned to the psalter: after a false start in 1619, with three volumes of Vallet's intabulations, he began again in 1632 with another edition of the *Livre Septieme*: over the next twenty years he produced eight editions of psalm settings (including two of the Lobwasser German version) and only one further edition of music, by Vallet.²⁵ Clearly, while Claessen was attempting to expand the repertoire for a market that he had already exploited, Janssen found out that the market was not as much larger as he had hoped, and returned to psalm-books. The same may be true for Broer Jansson, working in the same city at the same time.²⁶

We do not have similar patterns of evidence for Italy: even while the Accade-

²⁴ R. RASCH, *The Balletti of Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi and the musical history of the Netherlands*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, xxiv (1974), pp. 112-145.

²⁵ The editions by Claessen are listed in HÖWELER and MATTER on pp. 54, 59 and 62. The last is also cited at *RISM* 1608¹¹. The four editions of Vallet's music by Janssen are found in the alphabetical series of *RISM*, and the edition of the *Livre Septieme* as 1632⁵. Six editions of psalters with music are listed in HÖWELER and MATTER, and two editions of Lobwasser's German texts are to be found in *RISM B/VIII, Das deutsche Kirchenlied*. In addition, Höweler and Matter list three editions, assigned to van Ravesteijn, and one assigned to Paul Matthysz., in which Claessen appears as a publisher or printer. One of these editions is dated 1625, though all the others come from 1632 or later.

²⁶ The musical output of Broer Jansz. seems to fall into three distinct sections. In 1634 he is named on one musical volume (*RISM* S4712). In 1640 he began a three-year spell of music books, with an edition of the *Livre Septieme* (*RISM* 1640⁶): this was followed by five books of music by Padbrué, virtually the whole of his output (and including a re-edition of a 1631 volume, printed in Haarlem). There follows a three-year hiatus, itself followed by the last edition of music by Padbrué, and two editions of settings of de Leeuw. Given the central role of Padbrué in this record, it seems plausible that he was responsible for the printing of polyphony - perhaps of any music at all - and that the two later editions represent a turning away from polyphonic music, while still employing the typographical material.

mie were thriving, they evidently had a different musical focus, as well as involving a more limited cross-section of society. And, once we step outside the circles that behaved like Accademie, or the large and small courts, or the major religious institutions, we have no evidence for the mass purchase of music that is represented by German or Flemish psalm-books.²⁷

From this, if not also from the scale of his output, it is obvious that a major Italian music publisher could not have been so prolific without an international network of distribution, and a reputation that encouraged Gdansk or Copenhagen or London to look to Venice for music: it seems probable that, without that international network, the Italian counterpart to Phalèse could not have published much more than did he.

The Venetian, therefore, was looking for several types of outlet: the artistic and cultural centres of northern Italy, the patrons and friends of a lesser composer, and a general diffuse international audience. He lacked that one specific outlet available to a Flemish publisher, that of the general bourgeoisie.

Having tried to define how I think they saw the shape, the demography, of the market, I want to discuss two other issues, which I see as being definers of the publishers' views. I shall start with the repertoire - the choice of music to publish - and the publicity given on the title-pages to the contents of music books, especially anthologies. I shall also touch on the question of the publisher's view of the competence of their purchasers.

Repertoire

As I have hinted, it is difficult to find repertorial patterns in the thinking of any of the Venetian music publishers, such as the Gardano or Scotto families, simply because they were so prolific and catered to so many centres of taste. There are certain obvious conclusions, but most of those are reflections of

²⁷ I should add at this point that I have grave doubts about extrapolating, from the few music collectors about whom we know, to an argument in favour of many cultivated amateurs as collectors of manuscripts and editions. The evidence of the Fuggers, the Knopfs, or the other collectors cited, for example, in Jane Bernstein's paper here, can not be extended to many other people. Nor do I think it should be. To cite only two examples of 'suitable' candidates: Johan van Hogelande, was Dean and Treasurer of S. Mary's, Utrecht, until his death in 1578. His collection of books, which included texts in French and Italian, seems to have contained no music at all, not even liturgical books. Even some-one interested in music, such as Luca Gaurico, formerly Bishop of Civitate (1545-1550), had very few music books: in his gift to his presumed birthplace, Gauro, near Giffoni to the northeast of Salerno, made in 1557, we read only of *Musica vulgaris nova* and *Musices libelli plurique*: whereas there are copies of treatises by Gafori, Fogliano and de Podio. See J. BURGERS, *The library of Johan van Hogelande*, in *Quaerendo*, xix (1989), pp. 48-82, and D. RHODES, *An unknown library in Southern Italy in 1557*, in his *Studies in Early European Printing*, London, 1983, pp. 221-231. After years of searching similar inventories for traces of music books, especially any printed by Petrucci, I am convinced that this is more nearly the normal situation.

general chronological change: the emergence of keyboard volumes, or the gradual appearance of collections of music for Vespers, for Compline, even for Tierce.²⁸ Each of these is a reflection, as far as we can tell, of a general shift in performing occasions or resources. The speed with which each was adopted, paralleled by the speed with which *basso seguente* or *basso continuo* parts appeared from diverse publishers,²⁹ is an indication of the diversified market, and the sure sense on the part of the leading music publishers in Venice that *someone* was bound to be interested. Certainly, we know that some of these and similar ventures were specially promoted. *Musica nova* is a special case, and I assume that Razzi's *Laude* were sent from Florence because there was no Florentine music printer at the time. But publishers could afford to follow new trends quite quickly. The adventurousness of printing Viadana's vast collection of *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* in 1602 is a sign, like these other volumes, of the flexibility and omnipresent activity of Venetian music printing.

For comparison with much printing elsewhere, therefore, it is more useful to look at the second tier of Venetian printers, or at those who worked in Mantua, Verona or Ferrara. Perhaps the best example for our purposes lies in the career of Vincenzo Baldini in Ferrara. He succeeded the heirs of Francesco de' Rossi, who himself had printed two music books in 1571, a collection of Contino's Magnificats and one of Luzzaschi's madrigals. The whereabouts of the former is not known in the early 1570s, although he had been in the area for many years: but Luzzaschi, of course, was a leading composer at the court Ferrara, the town where Rossi was printing.³⁰ Rossi was an active printer out-

²⁸ The earliest printed setting of music for Compline known to me is attached to Willaert's 1555 setting of psalms (which went through two later Venetian editions). However, editions dedicated to Compline, often including a Litany, began to appear at the end of the century, beginning with Asola in 1573 (reprinted in 1576, 1583 and 1585), Asola (a different set), and Colombani in 1585 (printed in Brescia by Bozzola, another example of a printer in that city following the Milanese pattern), a third set by Asola printed in Milan (by the Tini) in 1586, Amadino's edition of Gastoldi in 1589, Vincenti's edition of Croce's setting in 1591, and following with Adorno (in Milan) and Colombani in 1593, Baccusi and Marino in 1596, Gastoldi and Viadana in 1597, Asola in 1598, de Lorenzi in 1599, Graziani in 1601. A set, by Montella, was published in Naples (by Sottile) in 1605. Printed settings of Terce were rarer, beginning again with Croce, in 1596. Early 17th-century editions include one by Lappi in 1607, and one by Bianco in 1621. One set was printed outside Venice, that composed by Levi (*RISM* L2306), which came from the press of Rolla, in Milan.

²⁹ The earliest history of *basso continuo*, and of the documentation of its parallel practice, *basso seguente*, has been discussed often. Here, I merely wish to point out that, whatever composers felt about the idea, printers and publishers quickly decided that it was a viable method of producing music, and that the returns were worth the extra labour involved. After Marescotti, the Florentine publisher, produced Peri's and Caccini's works in 1600, Amadino immediately printed an edition by Fattorini (*RISM* F129), and his by-then-rival Vincenti followed suit the following year. Also in 1600, G.A. de Franceschi of Palermo, printed an edition of Raval (*RISM* R441) that required an organ book. By 1603, bass books were being published in Milan (by the Tini), in Parma (by Viotti) and in Rome (by Luigi Zannetti), and in 1605 the first such book appeared in Naples.

³⁰ For the biographies of Contino and Luzzaschi, see the *New Grove*. The basic work on music at the court of Ferrara during these decades is A. NEWCOMBE, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579-1597*, (*The Princeton Studies in Music*, vii), Princeton, 1980.

side music, mainly of local documents and poetry,³¹ but died sometime between 1572 and 1576: his heirs continued the business, with but one musical book, by another court musician, Agostini. Baldini took over in the same year, 1582, and had published eighteen music books by the end of 1587. (This puts him in the same league as Waelrant and Laet.) He started with five books that betray a specifically local interest: *Il Lauro secco*, *Il Lauro verde*, and madrigals by Agostini, Girolamo Belli and Cortellini (the last active in Bologna, where there was as yet no music publisher). Baldini continued in this pattern, publishing almost entirely music by local composers, or by those favoured at the Este court. He concentrated on madrigals, with at least twenty-four titles and four more of canzonettes, to only eight of latin music and one of laude. He was clearly catering to the market that he knew, and he continued to be faithful to that market throughout seventeen years.³²

The picture for publishers in Milan is very clear: in the 1550s and 1560s, the Moschenio brothers still produced a light secular repertoire, seven books of madrigals, two of canzonettas and one of capricci, to only one of motets, and that by a local composer.³³ But, after the impact of the counter-Reformation, the interest was all in the local sacred repertoire. Antonio Antoniano produced only two music books: one of masses for Milan, by Ruffo, and one of Magnificats by the Novara composer Varotto: in the 1570s Paolo Pontio produced principally sacred works, attributable to single composers.³⁴ The Tini, publishing well into the 17th century, continued to emphasise local and sacred repertoires.³⁵ Of course, with the peculiar demands of the Milanese Ambrosian liturgy, it is logical that they would do so: but it remains significant that they saw virtually the whole of their business as wrapped up in this market.

In Brescia, Vincenzo Sabbio did the same at first, only beginning to publish a

³¹ For bibliographical and biographical details, see F. ASCARELLI and M. MENATO, *La tipografia del '500 in Italia*, (*Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana*, cxvi), Florence, 1989.

³² A. CAVICCHI makes the point that Baldini's editions "show a deeply cultivated and élitist tendency" (in D.W. KRUMMEL and S. SADIE (ed.), *Music Printing and Publishing*, London, 1990, p. 159), thereby confirming the view that he was catering almost exclusively to a local, largely courtly, market.

³³ The book of sacred music was by Werrecore (*RISM* M1407). The madrigal volumes included some that will have involved little commercial risk, books by Arcadelt, Caimo and Ruffo. The most useful guide to Milanese music publishing remains M. DONÀ, *La stampa musicale a Milano fino all'anno 1700*, (*Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana*), Florence, 1961.

³⁴ The two volumes printed by Antoniano appeared ten years apart. The music by Ruffo (published in 1570, *RISM* R3054) is designated as specifically for Milan. Varotto's Magnificats (*RISM* V988) were published in 1580. Six books signed by Paolo Gottardo Pontio appeared in the years 1570-1575: of these, two contained madrigals: none are anthologies.

³⁵ The Tini family, with their various connections to other printers and publishers, formed the mainstay of Milanese printing from 1572. With over 100 titles of liturgical or sacred music, the Tini printed about a third as many of madrigals, canzonettas and instrumental pieces. One catalogue of available editions survives from the Tini company, and can be dated late in the 16th century. See O. MISCHIATI, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798*, Florence, 1984.

selection of secular music in 1583.³⁶ Similarly, in Verona, the various members of the dalle Donne family, all active as publishers outside music, published one anthology of madrigals in 1579 and one of motets in 1585.³⁷ Neither can have sold well, for the family abandoned music until the mid-1590s. Then there followed a small run of music books: Francesco dalle Donne published three sacred volumes in 1594-1595, and with Vargnano a popular treatise of Scaletta and three secular books. Every one of the composers was a Veronese musician.³⁸ Outside Venice, therefore, music publishers saw their opportunities almost exclusively in terms of local markets. They published music by local composers, or music that (as in Milan) filled local and specific needs.

Even in Venice, this seems to have happened. Giovanni Bariletto, an active publisher, put out three music books in 1574: one was by an Ancona musician, Sitibundus, and dedicated to the local bishop; one was by an Aquileia musician, Mainerio, and dedicated to his bishop; and one was of *Canzoni napoletane*, by Primavera, who was probably living in Venice at the time. Each of these was apparently an extension of contacts the publisher had already made in his non-musical printing: and the first two, were likely to have been subsidised by the composer or the dedicatee.³⁹

Other similar publishers must surely have intended to start out in music by playing fairly safely: perhaps they published, very early on, a sure-fire seller: Arcadelt's first book of madrigals, or Lupacchino and Tasso's duos, for example. In Mantua, the otherwise active publisher Francesco Osanna, put out one music book towards the end of his career – a volume of Gastoldi's three-voiced canzonets. In the north, the books were again of Gastoldi, or the *Livre Sep-*

³⁶ Of the roughly 16 editions with his name on them (three of which were prepared for the Tini firm in Milan), one is of canzonie da sonare, two of madrigals (including the famous edition, *L'Amorosa Ero*, *RISM* 1588¹⁷, available in a modern edition by H. LINCOLN [Albany, 1968]), and one is of madrigali spirituali. The rest contain liturgical settings, and one local setting of the *Turba* texts for a Passion.

³⁷ Sebastiano and Giovanni A. Donnini published a madrigal anthology (*RISM* 1579⁴), and Sebastian alone a collection of Bendinello's motets (*RISM* B1907) in 1585.

³⁸ Of course, as I recognise, these details depend on the books which happen to have survived: we know of a considerable number of titles that seem to have disappeared. Further, losses are more likely for the output from small and local presses than they are from the big international distributors. However, the pattern of survival is remarkably consistent across a wide range of music publishers, and this tends to suggest that it will not change much under the impact of new discoveries.

³⁹ The volumes are listed in *RISM* as S3550, M186 and P5453. The concept of the 'vanity press' does not seem to be a modern one. The very many *Libro primo* editions from relatively obscure or provincial composers can hardly have produced a profit for printers in any area other than their home cities: and even there it seems unlikely that many copies would have been bought of a set of five-voiced antiphons to the Magnificat (as published by Sitibundus). It seems very likely that printers such as Bariletto, scarcely active in music, will have demanded a subsidy, a guarantee of costs, perhaps the supply of paper (as happened in some surviving contracts), or even a straightforward fee, for publishing such a book. Indeed, Gardano or Scotto almost certainly did the same, for volumes of this type make up a significant percentage of their output in the second half of the century.

tieme, or a volume of Lassus (in the cases of Cornelius Phalèse and Pierre II Phalèse, starting up again in Louvain).⁴⁰ In centres selling to Protestant congregations, they may have started with one of the popular books of noted psalms, hymns, or the like.⁴¹ Rather than being prompted by the presence of a local composer or collector, they were looking for an extension of their existing non-musical market.

For Venice, it makes sense to look for similar evidence in the work of the smaller printers of music, or those literary printers who dabbled with music. Here, the importance of a book like Arcadelt's first of madrigals is highlighted. Giorgio Angelieri published it as the second of his eight titles early in the 1570s: Gioseffo Guglielmo included it in his five published in 1575-1576: and it had been one of Plinio Pietrasanta's four music titles of 1557.⁴² Pietrasanta was particularly cautious: his other three titles include the popular Verdelot anthology of Books 1 and 2, Rore's Book 3 (which had already had two other editions), and madrigals by the popular local composer Baldassare Donato.⁴³ Evidently, for Pietrasanta, these books were not commissions from wealthy patrons, but speculative ventures, of the safest kind. His view of the music-buying public was based entirely on what had worked well for other music publishers. While this case is extreme, others are similarly clear: Francesco Rampazetto's early editions, beginning in 1561, concentrate on Lassus and Morales: Claudio Merulo's, some five years later, include a heavy dose of Lassus and Palestrina, of Ruffo and Porta.

⁴⁰ The former printed RISM L872, listed in H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545-1578*, (*Mémoires de la Classe des Beaux-Arts de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, Collection in-8o, 2me Série, xvi/2), Bruxelles, 1990, as no.172; the latter printed books by Lassus in 1577 and 1578, nos. 185-189 in Vanhulst, idem: the three extant editions are RISM L901, L907 and L908.

⁴¹ Cornelis Claesz. of Amsterdam, already printing in 1582, attempted music for the first time in 1598: then and in 1606 he prepared editions of Dath's psalter, and only in 1608 did he print the *Livre Septieme*. A late example from Antwerp is in the output of Hendrick Aertssens II, who began printing music in 1688. The three books of that year include one of *Cantiones Natalitiae* (HÖWELER & MATTER, *op. cit.*, p. 276, RISM B1985), one of motets (RISM M194), and the first of a long series of Italian instrumental works - Corelli's Op. 1 (RISM C3670). On the *Cantiones Natalitiae*, see R. RASCH, *De Cantiones Natalitiae en het kerkelijke muziekleven in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden gedurende de zeventiende eeuw*, Utrecht, 1985 and *Spanish villancicos de Natividad and Flemish cantiones natalitiae*, in P. BECQUART and H. VANHULST (ed.), *Musique des Pays-Bas anciens: musique espagnole ancienne (1450-1650)*, Leuven, 1988, pp. 177-191.

⁴² Angelieri's edition was in 1572 (RISM A1334), following a single volume of music that had been edited by Claudio Merulo, the first of madrigals by Roccia. This was published in 1571, when Merulo had lost interest in his own publishing venture. R. EDWARDS, *Claudio Merulo: servant of the state and musical entrepreneur in later sixteenth-century Venice*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1990, pp. 199-207, marshalls the evidence for the relationship between Merulo and Angelieri. It is notable that Angelieri, with a long publishing career before him, abandoned music in 1575. Guglielmo's edition was in 1575 (RISM A1343 and 1575¹³): Pietrasanta's in 1557 (RISM A1329 and 1557²¹).

⁴³ RISM V1236 and 1557²⁶; R2491; and D3412.

What these printers were doing was to introduce themselves to an already existing market, which had been buying from elsewhere: they were announcing that they were willing to compete, and that their editions were as good (and as cheap) as anyone else's. They were not like the provincial printers of Ferrara or Verona. If they were successful, they would have a broader-based market, and the first volumes could be followed by less famous and ubiquitous material. Rampazetto later produced books of motets and madrigals by less well-known composers, always leavening them with a title by Morales or Willaert. He also found it lucrative to produce two editions of Arcadelt's perennial favourite.⁴⁴ For a few years, he was evidently successful: he was the printer sought out to print Razzi's Florentine collection of Laude. But he was surely that successful because he had built up a core market, that knew it could rely on his editions. This is not so different from what Baldini was doing in Ferrara fifteen years later.

A similar thing happened with Ricciardo Amadino when he separated from Giacomo Vincenti in 1586. Alongside the reliable sellers - reprints of Palestrina and Marenzio, Gastoldi and Lupacchino - he published a number of volumes of Asola's sacred works. Amadino was announcing to a public that had previously bought from the partnership, the monastic and religious cathedral communities, that he was intending to continue supplying them.

Beth Miller has shown that both partners, Vincenti and Amadino, were successful in seeking to make contacts with numbers of musicians outside the Veneto, in specific parts of the Italian peninsula. While publishing popular music, they were also trying to corner some of the local markets: buying the local talent and selling back to them a wider repertoire as well. This was, as she says, probably essential for printers who needed to break into a market dominated by the Gardano and Scotto families.⁴⁵ (The reverse side of this coin is described in the paper by Ciliberti, given at the present conference.)

These are the Venetians that can most successfully be compared with publishers in Antwerp. Not Gardano and Scotto with their international reputation and massive output: rather Vincenti and Amadino, trying to carve out their own space in the market; and Rampazetto, Bariletto, Guglielmi, Merulo and others, who explored the possibilities for music publishing. They all belong in the first two of the four groups I delineated at the start of this paper. The Antwerp publishers in the same leagues are obviously few: Susato, Laet and Waelrant, Phalèse, and Plantin and Moretus. To this list I would add the

⁴⁴ The Arcadelt editions appeared in 1566 and 1568 (RISM A1333 = 1566²⁵ and A1341 = 1568¹⁵). After a chant treatise in 1571, Rampazetto printed music until 1568: he included Lassus in 1562, Lassus and Morales in 1563, Morales in 1564, Willaert in 1565 (his only extant book for that year), and Lassus in 1566 (his last productive year as a music publisher).

⁴⁵ This will be discussed in detail in her forthcoming dissertation on the history of the Vincenti and Amadino partnership.

collection of motets put out by van Vissenaeken in 1542, for three reasons: one that he planned to publish another music book, alongside his few non-musical volumes⁴⁶; two, that his book immediately precedes the starting of Susato's firm (and has been associated with Susato)⁴⁷; and three, because the list of composers is the first northern indication of a publisher trying to assess his market. The pieces are all for four voices, they are not in the simplest styles – for there are no works in the prevailing chordal French style – and they seem to have been collected from local manuscript sources. There is no connection with Moderne's editions, and practically none with those from Attaignant. The composers themselves, when anything is known, are almost all local (like Barbe, working in Antwerp) or associated with the Empire (like Canis and perhaps Gallus) and therefore known to musical circles around the Regent, Mary of Hungary. The exceptions are Pieton (well-known throughout Europe) and Jacques du Pont, who also spent time in Italy. The latter's music, though, is more northern in style than Italianate, and it is interesting that his name has been struck through in the unique copy⁴⁸, to be replaced by that of Payen. It seems likely that this book was to some extent a commission, or at least tailored to the interests of the local religious and court clientele.

That it was not commercially successful has to be deduced from the pattern of the immediately following publications of Tylman Susato.⁴⁹ The *composers* were not the wrong ones – they were local celebrities, and seven of the eleven appear in Susato's first two years of chanson books. But, evidently the market for the motet was not quite large enough: or, perhaps, van Vissenaeken had not developed a satisfactory series of outlets for his books. The result is that Susato abandoned sacred music for a while: his first two years were devoted to seven books of chansons. Only in the third year do we see him begin to print sacred music, his first book of mass-settings, alongside another four of chansons. These secular volumes extend the list of composers published in the 1542 book, to include composers whom we now think of as the local leaders – Crecquillon, Gombert and Manchicourt among them – and to add a few imports: Sandrin's *Doulce memoire*, of course, and a few similar pieces, but also Willaert and Mouton, often hidden in the middle of the volumes. This implies that Susato had formed a market loyal to him and to his editions. But it also implies an adventurous mar-

⁴⁶ This is clearly stated in his letter to the readers, to *Divinae musices cultoribus*. He says that he plans to print more motets, *id genus alia, Quinque, Sex, Octo, plurimumve vocum, neque antea impressa*. For further discussion of this printer, see S. BAIN, *Music Printing in the Low Countries in the Sixteenth Century*, Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1974, or her article in *Music Printing and Publishing*, p. 461.

⁴⁷ See the dissertation by Kristin Forney, cited in note 1.

⁴⁸ This copy is housed at GB-Lbl, as K.4.g.3. The manuscript change is not found in every part-book: it appears above the music except in the Bassus book, and in addition is entered on the *Table* of the Tenor book.

⁴⁹ See MEISSNER, *op. cit.*

ket, one to which he could introduce a wider range of music, even while he felt the need to do it cautiously. The next step, and a confirmation of his judgment, comprised a few chanson volumes devoted to single composers: Josquin, Jannequin's battle-piece, Manchicourt, and of course Susato himself.

The extent to which this assessment of conservative adventurousness is accurate can be gauged in part by the continuation of Susato's output. When he tried to expand his range, to include books of masses and motets, during 1545-1547, he quickly learned that they were not selling as well as he had hoped. He had tried to interest his audience in them, by changing the presentation: unlike the majority of the chanson volumes, the mass books list the names of the composers on the covers, and the first carries an Imperial dedication. However, neither they nor the motet books, with a wider range of composers, seem to have been successful. In 1549, he returned to secular music for four more years.

The other evidence that Susato's secular books had been successful comes from the pattern of early publications by Phalèse⁵⁰: his concentration on tabulature volumes between 1546 and 1559 is matched by the emphasis in their contents on chansons. The composers are different, and this probably reflects both the publisher's contacts, and his desire to match Susato's success without merely copying his repertoire. The concentration on Parisian musicians – Févin and Mouton, Richafort, Sandrin and Sermisy – is quite distinctive. So, of course, is the balance of composers drawn on for the instrumental pieces – Pietro Paulo Borrono and Francesco da Milano from Italy, and Narváez from Spain, among others. For the Phalèse of these volumes, it is the local Flemings who are buried in the middles of volumes: Crequillon and Clemens non Papa make rare and discreet appearances before 1552.

Susato and Phalèse, therefore, seem to have come to the conclusion that the market for sacred polyphony was rather small, and better suited to manuscripts.⁵¹ They also determined, and evidently correctly, that there was a large enough market for two repertoires of secular music, one based on works of local composers, and one reflecting the Parisians.

However, there is another significant feature of the editions, both of Susato and of the early years of Phalèse: this is the extent to which they were anthologies, and in particular, anthologies without any specific advertisement of the contents. Susato published some 41 editions of anthologies, often stating on the cover no more than *Ecclesiasticarum cantionum* or *Fleur des chansons*, as opposed to only 21 which advertised the names of the composers on the title-page. Phalèse started in the same manner: the balance is weighted even more heavily in favour

⁵⁰ See VANHULST, *op. cit.*

⁵¹ This may not have been entirely a function of market size, but rather of a predilection on the part of a number of Imperial centres for keeping their church music to a small and restricted manuscript circulation. However, this does not affect the issue. Phalèse, in particular, could have printed parts of the already published Parisian latin repertoire if he had felt that there was a market for it.

of unspecific anthologies (in a practice which the firm continued until the 1630s when the great influx of Italian music caused a move towards many more one-composer volumes). Finally, Waelrant and Laet did the same.

This pattern is not found with Italian music publishers. Of the lesser publishers I have mentioned above, very few printed any anthologies, and *they* almost always added a phrase to the title, defining the style of the contents, or praising them as court music from somewhere. The obvious case is again Baldini: his two anthologies, in an output of nearly forty musical volumes, are the famous books, *Il Lauro secco* and *Il lauro verde*.⁵² In the terms in which I have been discussing northern printers, these hardly count as anthologies at all. The same figures apply to Merulo: here, one of his two anthologies had already been previously published in at least three editions, and was therefore well-known by its title, although the other does advertise itself in very neutral terms.⁵³ The family of Dalle Donne produce one anthology in total, and it, like the rest of their output, is of local Veronese music.⁵⁴

If one turns to the major Venetian printers, the pattern is similar. True, in the early years, both Gardano and Scotto put out several anthologies in which the title is expressive rather than indicative: *Mottetti del frutto*, and so on. But, once Antonio Gardano had died, the percentage of anthologies dropped radically, to below one in ten titles,⁵⁵ and many of those anthologies are special in one way or another: the most obvious cases being the collections of villotte and villanelle, or the books of *madrigali a notte negra*.⁵⁶ In these cases, the title

⁵² It should be mentioned here that many editions listed in *RISM* Series B volume 1 (*Recueils imprimés, XVIe-XVIIe siècles: liste chronologique*) would not have seemed to the 16th-century purchaser to have been an anthology. That catalogue includes, for example, Baldini's 1585 edition of Arcangelo Gherardini's *Primo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci*, which contains only one work by a different composer, who is not cited on the title-page.

⁵³ The well-known edition was of *Madrigali a tre voci de diversi eccellentissimi autori* (*RISM* 1569²³), which had previously appeared in 1551, 1555 and 1561, all from the press of Gardano, which also issued an edition the same year. The other edition (*RISM* 1569²) was of *Motectarum divinitatus liber primus*, and contained a largely old-fashioned repertoire of Courtois, Mr. Jan, Penet, Phinot, Richafort and so on.

⁵⁴ *RISM* 1579⁴, entitled *Giardino de madregali a quattro voci de diversi eccellentissimi musici*.

⁵⁵ The figures for the Scotto family are similarly instructive: Gerolamo printed about 55 anthology editions out of a total of nearly 400. His heirs, working from 1573 to 1613, published fewer than twenty editions of anthologies out of nearly 300 editions. It is true that Gerolamo published more anthologies in 1549, and again in the 1560s, but many of these fall into the categories about to be mentioned.

⁵⁶ This is clearly true for the later years of Scotto. The early anthologies are often given non-specific titles, especially if they contain motets. Of the seven sacred anthologies he published in 1549, only one mentions a composer, Verdelot. The eighth anthology of that year (*RISM* 1549³⁰) is of madrigals *a notte negra*. In the early 1560s, he again published a few books with generic titles, although the practice is very soon dropped. From 1567, of the 18 anthologies, only five do not have some distinctive characteristic listed on the title-page, ranging from *Corona della morte dell'illustre signore ... Anibal Caro* (*RISM* 1568¹⁶) or *Musica de' virtuosi della florida capella ... di baviera* (*RISM* 1569¹⁹) to *Il primo libro delle justiniane a tre voci* (*RISM* 1572⁶). For the heirs, the picture is equally clear, for they concentrated on editions of the *Spoglia amorosa* series, of of music advertised as by Roman composers.

carries so much a definition of style, that it acts much like the name of a composer. The purchaser could be as sure of what he was buying as he would be with a volume bearing Arcadelt's or Rore's name.

As I say, this cannot be argued for purchasers of Susato's or Phalèse's books, with their generally nondescript titles. Certainly, many purchasers had a keener sense of the styles involved than we can ever hope to have, and, as a result, a single part-book told them more than it would tell us. But, nonetheless, purchasing music by an unknown composer or in a miscellaneous anthology must have been more speculative in the Low Countries than it was for the average purchaser of Italian editions.

Thus, I see the purchaser of music from Susato or Phalèse as more adventurous than the equivalent purchaser from Gardano, Merulo, or Vincenti and Amadino. He was willing to do two things: to assume that the publisher exercised good taste in making his selections; and to be encouraged to perform a wider range of music and styles than he had met before. It is not surprising that the northern printers, like all others, buried some composers in the middles of books. It is surprising, and a measure of their purchasers, that these printers could do so in books that actually advertised no-one at all.

The publishers themselves therefore had this view of their purchasers: that they were willing to buy in specific genres, and that they preferred specific groups of composers, local or Parisian: but also that they were willing to buy without knowing in detail the contents of the books, to take a risk, and therefore to explore styles that were imported from elsewhere – if they were not too strange. I add that last clause partly in deference to the pattern of a relatively conservative selection of Italian madrigals in northern editions late in the century. This whole series of publications may represent a conservative view of Italian music, as Mrs. Tsugami has said here, but it also confirms the picture I have just drawn, of purchasers willing to try something new, thereby stretching their musical experience while at the same time not straying too far.

Competence

A much more difficult problem is to determine what the publishers thought of the musical skills of their purchasers, and how they took them into account.

One piece of evidence lies in the large numbers of books of three-part music, published all over Europe. Such anthologies were widespread, and seem usually to have had the function of expanding the market for the printer. They are frequently aimed at a taste for less complex music, or at groups with fewer resources. In Italy, there is not much real evidence that they were intended to make fewer demands on the musicians, that is, that they had a specifically didactic function.⁵⁷ The books tend to have specific titles, or to relate to lighter musical genres – canzone napoletani, villanelle and villotte, and also some can-

zone spirituale and laude⁵⁸ – for books of three-voiced motets are significantly absent before the last two decades of the century.⁵⁹ At the end of the 1580s, Asola seems to have undertaken an active role in composing simple, and particularly three-voiced, music for as much of the church's year as possible.⁶⁰ In Antwerp and Louvain, the pattern is a little different. Although the proportion of three-voiced music is probably about the same, there is a higher percentage of sacred music: of some twenty-seven different titles, six include a reference to motets on the title page, and another five include *Souterliederkens*.⁶¹ The secular works are remarkable for the two books put out by Susato in 1544 and intended to be usable either by two or by three singers.⁶² These draw attention to the later volumes, published in 1592, by Castro, who seems to have made a specialisation of writing for three voices. His activity, however, is quite distinct from that of Asola's: Castro ranges widely over the available genres, writing both for two and three parts. With his volumes containing a mixture of chansons, madrigals and motets, and declaring that they are arrangements of well-known works, he seems to be offering a range of music that will appeal to the 'upwardly-mobile' segments of his market.⁶³ The books seem to signal a need for music with a simpler scoring – not necessarily for

⁵⁷ While, it is evident that many books of duos were intended to be didactic, and many examples in treatises are duos, a similar argument can not be made for the vocal-trio texture.

⁵⁸ Apart from the many books devoted to a single composer, some 150 anthologies of three-voiced music were published in Italy during the 16th century, representing nearly 100 titles. There is a definite change around 1560 to publishing books containing these lighter genres, whereas earlier volumes had included madrigals by Arcadelt, Festa and Gardano, as well as three books of motets. In other respects, the Venetian output reflects the more general patterns I have mentioned above, with a decline in anthologies without specific titles (see *RISM* 1574⁵, referring to the musicians of Bari).

⁵⁹ Only 24 books with 3-voiced sacred music seem to have been published in Italy before 1601, and in four of those (by Nanino in 1586, by Peetrinus in 1588 (reprinted the next year), by Clinio in 1595 and by Raval in 1600, printed in Rome), these pieces precede works for more voices. Apart from the popular volume put out by Gardano in 1543 (*RISM* 1543⁶, reprinted in 1551, 1569 and 1589), and the two from Scotto's press in 1549, the first recorded edition is that of Lassus' three-voiced motets (printed by Gardano in 1579). This seems to have sparked an interest in the scoring: even so, many of the subsequent volumes imply special requirements – music for the Passions, for Lamentations, for a Requiem, or for Compline (by Falconio in 1580, and Asola and Clinio, both in 1595; by Asola in 1588 and Fonghetto in 1595; by Viadana in 1598; and by Asola in 1598). The Falconio edition is of the words of Christ for a Passion: in the same year, his setting of the Turba parts was published, for four voices.

⁶⁰ In 1588 he started an ambitious programme of publication, at the same time as he became almost a house-composer for Amadino. While he first appeared in print in the 1560s, from Rampazetto's press, and had been mildly active in editions printed by the Gardanos, his productivity really only took off after 1586.

⁶¹ These comprise the book by de Lattre published in 1554, and four books of works by Clemens, published in 1556 and 1557.

⁶² *RISM* S7238 and S7239. The first of these has been edited by Aimé Agnel (Paris, ca. 1970). Another book is presumably lost.

⁶³ I am grateful to Timothy McTaggart for his observations on this repertoire. The earliest of these books, *RISM* C1468 of 1569, is discussed on page 333 in the present volume, by Professor Bossuyt.

simpler music. I think the styles do argue for less-skilled performers: there are few long melismas, phrases continue to be largely syllabic, the points of imitation are often highly rhythmic (and therefore easy to correlate with each other) and pieces tend to stay modally secure. Taken with the announced associations to famous works by other composers, these features all suggest not only a specific musical taste and knowledge, but also a level of skill.

Given this apparent desire to encourage exploration and improved skills, it is strange that the publishers of the *Livre septieme* and other books kept inserting a single page of instruction in music. Certainly, the page did provide enough to allow any reader to cope with the notation in the following pieces, and the didactic argument seems to me to be the only possible solution – not least because the page is later translated into Dutch.⁶⁴

There are, as far as I know, no such pages in Italian publications. Indeed, there are almost no tutors of this elementary sort throughout the 16th-century. One or two broadsheets do survive, although it is hard to date them. Significantly, however, there are many editions of very simple chant manuals, not only in Italy, which are aimed specifically at those in religious orders, and which attempt to do exactly what the single-pages do in these northern publications. This serves to highlight again the distinction in domestic and religious music-making, between Protestant and Catholic regions of Europe.

The northern tutorial pages, therefore, whether in Dutch or in French, served a purpose in expanding the numbers of musicians willing to move from simple psalters to four-voiced chansons, and thence perhaps even further. They act in much the manner that the lute, guitar and cittern instruction pages did. These latter⁶⁵ are full-blown instructions in how to read the tabulatures, how to play the instruments, and how to interpret. This again is almost unknown in Italy. The most famous lute instructions in a polyphonic book are those found in several of Petrucci's publications. But they differ from the present ones in a very significant manner: they are written to teach some-one, who can already play, how to interpret the notation, and how to play chordal progressions. They are, in other words, aimed at improvising lutenists, to encourage them to read composed intabulations.

Once again, the distinction between the northern instructions and those from Venice is a distinction between amateurs wishing to explore music and performance, and performers wishing to play what they already know about.

The distinction argues for a larger number of less competent singers and players in the Low Countries, but also for them being more adventurous in ex-

⁶⁴ See the forthcoming dissertation on the *Livre Septieme*, and the discussion therein on its didactic function, by Anne Gross of New York University.

⁶⁵ For an edition and discussion of these prefaces, see H. VANHULST, *Edition comparative des instructions pour le luth, le cistre et la guitare publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse*, in *Revue belge de musicologie*, xxxiv-xxxv (1980-1981), pp. 81-105.

ploring not only different composers, but also different styles. This is one of the prime reasons, of course, for the emergence of Dutch translations of the texts in the *Livre Septieme* or of Gastoldi's canzonettas.

These translations were not provided for motets or complex madrigals, nor had there been a long tradition of Dutch or Flemish editions before this. (Susato's series seems, as Timothy McTaggart has remarked here, to have been another miscalculation.) While we can point to political reasons for the growth in Dutch texts for music, we also need to emphasise the repertorial limits. It appears to me that the translated pieces were intended for the less competent musicians: not less exploratory, or less enthusiastic, but merely less competent. There is a parallel in the rapid growth of settings of psalm-settings in Dutch.⁶⁶ In this connection, I have wondered about the reasons for arranging the contents of music books in modal order. For collections of Magnificats or other liturgical music, and for some other books, the reasons are clear.⁶⁷ But many books ordered modally are not liturgical or illustrative of theory in their intent, and indeed some contain exclusively secular music. It seems at least plausible that the purpose of such an arrangement is then not at all to do with modal orientation, but rather with the practice of solmisation. This would help to explain some of the anomalies of arrangement, while at the same time making the books more valuable for the less competent reader of music. By knowing that several pieces in succession were to be solmised in a similar manner, the singer would be able to work at them as a group, and thus strengthen sight-reading skills.

Finally, and in the same connection, I am intrigued by the contents of lute anthologies. Published lute books raise one very obvious question: whether they preserve the detailed music and the virtuosity of the performer/arranger, or whether they were adapted to the needs of a non-professional market. The contents of several northern anthologies seem to me to be very much of the latter type. The vocal models are often retrospective, they represent pieces also found in the contemporaneous vocal anthologies (although often from different printers), they are intabulated fairly simply, and they re-appear (in different arrangements) from book to book. At the same time, the instrumental forms in these books consist more of dances and short pieces than they do of the complex fantasias and ricercars being produced in Germany, Italy or Spain. While this is a dangerous generalisation, these anthologies do look as though they were being prepared for, and sent to, the same purchasers that were buying the chanson volumes, rather than to professional lutenists. Hence, also, the extensive tutorial pages.

⁶⁶ For a discussion of the Gastoldi settings, see R. RASCH, *The Balletti of Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi* (cited above).

⁶⁷ The literature on these books is fairly extensive: for the most recent contribution, see Isabelle His's study in the present volume.

I have argued for a publisher's view of the market in the Low Countries as being centered on three groups of musicians. One, by far the largest, contained those people who bought psalm-books and related volumes, and maybe went a little further. The second, and perhaps the most interesting, consisted of those amateurs who were willing to explore more widely – buying Susato's editions of the music of local masters, or Phalèse's of the French repertoire. They needed help, with instruction pages, with ordering of the pieces, and with additional assistance (as I believe) in careful underlay, additional indications of accidentals, and so on.⁶⁸ Finally, at the top stood the professional musicians and the sophisticated court amateurs. If I have hardly mentioned these musicians, it is because their needs were much the same all over Europe, and the manners in which publishers met those needs were similarly more consistent.

By contrast, the Venetian music publisher saw his musical market as having only two components – the full professional and sophisticated amateur, and the purchaser of villanelle and similar musics. Of course, the distinction between north and south, using these sets of categories, was not a rigid one. Musicians of more advanced skills certainly explored simpler repertoires, and lesser musicians probably also tried harder music. Similarly, Catholic musicians must have bought chant manuals and liturgical books in much the same manner, wherever they lived. Nor was the distinction valid for everything published in each area. On the one hand, as I have said, the Venetians were publishing for everybody. Yet it remains significant that they felt the need to label the contents of their books so precisely. On the other, Phalèse was certainly not restricted to the local market, as Henri Vanhulst has shown so clearly.⁶⁹ Nor was he limited to the adventurous amateurs that I have just been describing. For example, he can have had only one reason for publishing so much in choir-

⁶⁸ I have not taken the opportunity to discuss here the trend, found all over Europe, towards giving the performer less leeway in matters of underlay, *musica ficta*, or even details of ornamentation. I think that this stems in part from a move (early in the century) away from performing from memory, and towards performing while reading (even sight-reading). For this, see S. BOORMAN, *Two aspects of performance practice in the Sistine Chapel of the early sixteenth century*, in B. JANZ (ed.), *Collectanea II: Studien zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Kapelle: Tagungsbericht Heidelberg 1989*, (*Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta*, iv), Città del Vaticano, 1994, pp. 575-609. However, by this stage in the century, it has also become a reflection of the apparent problem of increasing numbers of amateurs performing music for which they have not necessarily had an adequate professional training. This must have led composers, editors and publishers to restrict the available options and to give the purchaser greater guidance. Whether it can really be taken, as has been asserted, to represent a narrower view, on the part of the composer, of what constituted acceptable detail, is far from evident. For an excellent discussion of the nature of the changes in presentation in the editions of Waelrant and Laet, see chapter 7, *House-Style and Editorial Concerns*, in R. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet: music publishers in Antwerp's Golden Age*, (*Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music*, xv), Warren (MI), 1995.

⁶⁹ H. VANHULST, *La diffusion des éditions de musique polyphonique dans les anciens Pays-Bas à la fin du XVIe et au début du XVIIe siècle*, in H. VANHULST and M. HAINE (ed.), *Musique et société: hommages à Robert Wangermée*, Bruxelles, 1988, pp. 27-51.

book format - the desire of professional choral institutions to purchase printed music. And Phalèse was not alone in this: his volumes, of music by Clemens non Papa, are paralleled by the early de Opitiis book and a number of titles from the Plantin/Moretus house, in the late 1570s and early 1580s (containing imperial repertoire), and again in the 17th century.⁷⁰ By contrast, there are almost no Venetian choirbooks - the Gardanos produced seven between 1562 and 1584 and the Cenobbio Santo Spirito put out three volumes of music by Lambardi in 1597-1601. From the rest of Italy, this format was used twice in Milan in 1600, and once in Bologna in 1587 (which is a special case).⁷¹ There were, however, 24 uses of the format in Rome before 1600, including famous titles such as Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum*, and the editions of Palestrina and Morales.⁷² These clearly carry implications of the most important Catholic chapels, including those in the Vatican. It seems reasonable to assume that Clemens and Phalèse were imitating them, rather than Venetian editions, and intending to make a similar statement about function and destination.⁷³ Finally, of course, the pattern certainly changed with time: while I have tried to draw a general picture covering nearly a century of music, I am well aware that the power of the Venetian printer declined steadily from the end of the 16th century, at just the same time that printers in Antwerp and other centres began to assume the international roles that Venetian printers were neglecting. However, I hope to have demonstrated that, in some very specific ways, the Antwerp and Louvain music publisher held a very different view of his market from that favoured by his counterpart in Venice or nearby cities. The Venetian publisher, a wide-ranging business man, catered to many sophisticated musi-

⁷⁰ Plantin printed several choirbooks: masses by La Hèle in 1578, du Gaucquier in 1581, Kerle in 1582, and de Monte in 1587; and a single mass by de Monte in 1579 (following the Phalèse model). Joannes Moretus produced a choirbook of Magnificats by Lobo in 1605; and Balthasar Moretus produced three such choirbooks: two of masses by Lobo (1621 and 1639), and one of Palestrina's hymns, in 1644.

⁷¹ The Gardano books comprise music by Corteccia (two related volumes), Guerrero, Kerle, Ortiz, Costanzo Porta, Victoria. The two printed in Milan came from the press of the heirs of Tini and Besozzi, and contain music by Orfeo Vecchi. The one composition in this format printed in Bologna is a work by Trombetti in a festival volume.

⁷² Domenico Basa seems only to have printed in this format: his seven volumes in the early 1580s comprise music by Guerrero and Victoria. The other comprise one book printed by Antico, one from the heirs of Blado, nine from the Doricos and their heirs, three from Francesco Coattino in the early 1590s, one from Alessandro Gardano in 1591, two from Muti (both of Palestrina, in 1599 and 1600).

⁷³ This carries important implications in two additional areas: one concerns performance practice, for it is hard to think that the institutional implications of using score rather than part-books were all social or concerned with status; the other concerns the thorny question of how institutional directors felt about the use of printed books rather than manuscripts, or even of printed books which imitated manuscripts. Much more research needs to be done in this area, but it is significant that the composers represented in printed choirbooks tend to be associated with institutions which themselves continued to use and commission manuscript choirbooks.

cians who needed to know exactly what they were buying: and, definitely as a secondary activity, to less experienced ones who bought by genre - villanella, lauda or dance music.

The northern music publisher apparently saw things differently: he saw, first of all, a vastly more varied market, reaching down to the many people able to read psalm-settings, and perhaps not much more. While at the top of the ladder of competence there were those highly professional musicians who were accustomed to singing from a choir-book, or lutenists who could play the complex works of Borrono, and while in the middle there were domestic singers of chansons and madrigals (in the original tongues), the printer also had to supply music for relative novices, singers and instrumentalists who did not even know the great names of music outside their own local circle. The northern publisher could continually stretch the repertoire a little, knowing that these purchasers were willing to explore what the publishers gave them. This could be in French, rarely in Dutch, and only gradually in Italian.

This is a picture that is much more exciting than the one we have to draw for the Venetian publisher, and its implications for musical practice much more interesting.

MECENATISMO MUSICALE E PRODUZIONE LIBRARIA NELLO STATO PONTIFICIO DURANTE IL CINQUECENTO¹

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Il 15 settembre 1587 Sisto V incaricò cinque alti prelati (scelti fra i propri chierici da camera) di visitare le cinque province in cui era ripartito lo Stato della Chiesa: ad Alessandro Glorieri spettò la parte meridionale dei possedimenti pontifici e i territori posti immediatamente a nord di Roma sino ad Orvieto (cioè il cosiddetto Patrimonio di S. Pietro); ad Innocenzo Malvasia toccò la parte centrale dello Stato ovvero le città di Norcia, Spoleto, Camerino quindi tutta l'Umbria sino a Città di Castello (esclusa Gubbio allora appartenente al Ducato d'Urbino che pur essendo autonomo rimaneva comunque sotto l'influenza pontificia); ad Annibale Grassi venne assegnata la Marca con Ascoli Piceno, Fermo, Loreto, Ancona e Fano; ad Alessandro Centurione spettò la Romagna (Forlì, Faenza e Ravenna); a Fabio della Corgna toccò Bologna.²

Tale ripartizione³ costituiva lo specchio di un mondo variegato da cui prendevano identità i diversi possedimenti ecclesiastici, troppo spesso considerati superficialmente come una struttura monolitica e ben salda: ogni provincia era infatti suddivisa in poli articolati, ciascuno a sua volta gravitante attorno ad una città i cui confini amministrativi risultavano spesso coincidenti con quelli della diocesi. Nello Stato esistevano, dunque, tre realtà molto distinte: i nuclei urbani più significativi, ognuno con tradizioni autonome e storie peculiari (Bologna si differenziava da Spoleto così come Orvieto da Perugia)⁴; la provincia, risultato politico delle complesse vicende che avevano condizionato nel corso dei secoli le singole aree d'influenza (si veggia, ad esempio, il ruolo sempre più egemone di Perugia su città



¹ Il presente lavoro è il primo risultato di una più ampia ricerca - *Censimento e repertorio delle fonti di musica sacra (manoscritti e stampe) in Umbria (XVI secolo)* - finanziata dal Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.

² L. LONDEI, *Lo Stato Pontificio nell'età moderna e la visita di Innocenzo Malvasia*, in G. GIUBBINI, L. LONDEI (ed.), *Ut bene regantur. La visita di mons. Innocenzo Malvasia alle comunità dell'Umbria (1587) - Perugia, Todi, Assisi -*, Perugia, Volumnia, 1994, pp. 9-43: 9.

³ Cfr. la carta n. 1 tratta da I. FENLON, *Musicisti e mecenati a Mantova nel Cinquecento*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1992, p. 9.

⁴ A. GROHMANN, *Le città nella storia d'Italia. Perugia*, Bari, Laterza, 1981.

di Trento o più in generale alla Controriforma unicamente per evidenziarne gli aspetti limitanti quanto impositivi. Dalla situazione testé descritta emerge quanto sia necessario, invece, rivedere l'unilateralità di alcuni giudizi. A partire dall'ultimo periodo del pontificato di Paolo III Farnese (quindi negli anni Quaranta del XVI secolo in coincidenza dell'aprirsi del Concilio di Trento) in alcune città dello Stato della Chiesa (quali quelle site in Umbria e nelle diocesi confinanti) si assistette non solo ad un capillare processo di promozione ed organizzazione dell'attività musicale (come la costituzione di cappelle in diverse cattedrali e collegiate ad imitazione di quelle romane) ma soprattutto ad un fenomeno culturale estremamente rilevante per l'Italia del tempo ed in controtendenza con una situazione precedente: la diffusione, o meglio, l'imposizione della tecnica polifonica contro una realtà ancora legata a pratiche arcaizzanti.

Non v'è dubbio che con la costituzione ufficiale di cappelle musicali nel territorio dello Stato Pontificio per tutto il corso del Cinquecento - attraverso brevi, bolle, diplomi emanati dallo stesso pontefice - si venne a creare "giuridicamente" un sistema codificato, una struttura capillare ben salda rispondente alle nuove necessità di un controllo sempre crescente da parte del centro sulla periferia, non solo sul piano dottrinale ma soprattutto su quello dell'organizzazione interna della Chiesa. Ma ciò non costituì necessariamente - come detto - un dato negativo. Ogni capitolo di cattedrale e collegiata, posti anche ai confini dell'*hinterland* del 'papato-regno', ebbero molta autonomia di scelta per l'assunzione di maestri di cappella, cantori ed organisti (eletti quasi sempre a scrutinio segreto e dopo articolate discussioni). E questo accadde anche in Umbria dove a partire dalla seconda metà del XVI secolo si assistette ad un fiorire di cappelle musicali, fenomeno che si accompagnò di pari passo anche ad un assetto organizzativo (soprattutto dal punto di vista contabile) di tutta l'amministrazione delle varie diocesi.

In tale quadro contestuale come si deve considerare il fenomeno dell'editoria musicale? Anzi, che cosa rappresentò la stampa in un'area dove le istituzioni ecclesiastiche e i suoi funzionari costituivano il principale se non unico riferimento mecenatistico e di committenza? Se si considera il problema dal punto di vista tradizionale, se si intende, cioè, la produzione libraria quale esclusivo risultato quantitativo scaturito dalla presenza di tipografi operanti nel territorio, non possiamo che confermare la "provincialità" dell'Umbria.¹² Nel Cinquecento, infatti, furono attivi solo due stampatori perugini con limitati interessi musicali quali Pietro Paolo Orlando - che nel 1589 diede alla luce il trattato di Prospero Lutio da Sulmona *Opera bellissima nella quale si contengono molte partite, et passeggi di gagliarda con la quale ciascuno in breve tempo potrà facilmente imparare di ballare*¹³, nonché Pietro Giacomo Petrucci del quale rimangono quattro pubbli-

¹² N. GUIDOBALDI, *Music Publishing in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Umbria*, in *Early Music History*, 1988, 8, pp. 1-35.

¹³ *Ivi*, p. 6

cazioni: nel 1577 licenziò *Il primo libro di napolitane spirituali a tre voci* di Giovanni Maria Benassai dedicate ad Angelo Oddi e *Il primo libro dei ricercari a quattro voci* di Cristofano Malvezzi dedicati a Giovanni Bardi di Vernio, nel 1582 *Il primo libro dei madrigali a cinque voci* di Democrito Vicomanni dedicate al vescovo di Camerino Girolamo Bovio e nel 1603 *Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* di Jacques Arcadelt.¹⁴

Circa l'editore Pietro Paolo Orlando nulla si conosce. Riguardo invece Pietro Giacomo Petrucci, o meglio, Petrus Iacobus Caroli Petrutii (così era infatti ricordato nei documenti) venne iscritto nella matricola dell'arte dei cartolari come abitante del rione perugino di Porta Sant'Angelo.¹⁵ Nel 1576 gli fu rifiutata la concessione della *cenciaria* pubblica.¹⁶ Tra il luglio e il settembre del 1580 diventò cartolaro-priore del comune di Perugia.¹⁷ Il 28 gennaio 1584 la corporazione dell'arte dei cartolari lo elesse nel proprio consiglio.¹⁸ Morì il 5 ottobre del 1603.¹⁹

Se invece consideriamo il caso dell'editoria musicale in senso qualitativo, cioè come risultato del rapporto tra produzione musicale e mecenatismo artistico, il quadro dell'Umbria risulta significativamente articolato. Non operando tipografie nella zona è chiaro che i compositori attivi nell'area geografica presa in considerazione pubblicarono le loro opere altrove (Roma e Venezia). Si trattò, dunque, di un vero e proprio fenomeno di induzione editoriale da ritenersi più complesso rispetto a quello della stampa musicale *tout-court*, non essendo legato semplicemente allo sviluppo artigianale dell'arte tipografica di un determinato centro ma alla produzione di libri di musica intesa quale evoluzione di conoscenza, di erudizione o di sapere. Ciò, naturalmente, costituì il risultato di una *concordia discors* tra il piano degli investimenti economici (quindi dell'espressione mecenatistica per eccellenza) e quello della creazione intellettuale, sebbene cir-

¹⁴ *Ivi*, pp. 31-32. Cfr. anche M. A. BALSANO, B. BRUMANA, M. PASCALE, *Bibliografia dei Musicisti Umbri del Cinque e Seicento*, in *Arte e Musica in Umbria tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, a cura di B. Brumana e F.F. Mancini, Atti del XII Convegno di Studi Umbri, Gubbio-Gualdo Tadino, 30 novembre-2 dicembre 1979, Perugia, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia, 1981, pp. 439-475.

¹⁵ R. STACCINI, *Le matricole e le iscrizioni*, in O. MARCACCI MARINELLI, A. MORI PACIULLO, P. SCARPELLINI, R. STACCINI (ed.), *Statuti dell'Arte dei Cartolari di Perugia (1338-1554)*, Perugia, Università degli Studi di Perugia, pp. 59-79: 67.

¹⁶ Perugia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Storico del Comune di Perugia, Indici delle riformanze, fol. 141r.

¹⁷ *Ivi*, Consigli e Riformanze, vol. 145, fol. 27r. Cfr. O. MARCACCI MARINELLI, *Cartolai priori del Comune*, in O. MARCACCI MARINELLI, A. MORI PACIULLO, P. SCARPELLINI, R. STACCINI, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁸ Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, manoscritto 3110, cc. 28v, 30v. Cfr. R. STACCINI, *Gli statuti dell'arte*, in O. MARCACCI MARINELLI, A. MORI PACIULLO, P. SCARPELLINI, R. STACCINI, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-58: 55, 58.

¹⁹ Perugia, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale di S. Lorenzo, Sectio D Monumenta, Libro dei morti n. 1 (1463-1643), c. 18r: *Il filo delli Petruccj posto tra quello del Seminario et quello dellj Florentij scontro a Santo Honofrio. Adj 5 de 8bre 1603 fu sepolto nel sopra detto pilo delli Petruccj messer Pietro Jacomo Petruccj. Adj 6 di 7bre 1607 fu sepolto nel sopradetto pilo Francesca consorte del sopra detto messer Pietro Jacomo Petruccj.*

coscritta ad un ben chiaro ed evidente contesto legato all' ambiente ecclesiastico. Così Jacobus de Kerle organista del duomo d' Orvieto poté pubblicare a Roma nel 1557 i *Motetti [...] a quattro et a cinque voci* presso l' editore Valerio Dorico grazie a Tiberio Capoferri potente prelato romano sostenitore dei Farnese (famiglia che possedeva stretti legami parentali con molte casate orvietane ed in particolare con i Monaldeschi di cui Agnese era stata madre di Paolo III), referendario del papa, canonico di S. Pietro, amministratore dei beni della Cappella Giulia negli anni 1562-1566 nonché patrocinatore dell' edizione del *Canticum B. Mariæ Virginis [...] ad omnes modos factum* di Giovanni Animuccia licenziato sempre dai fratelli Dorico a Roma nel 1568.²⁰ Sempre Kerle diede alle stampe da Antonio Gardano nel 1561 il *Liber psalmorum ad vespas cum quatuor vocibus* nonché i *Magnificat octo tonum cum quatuor vocibus* a Venezia grazie al mecenatismo di monsignor Monaldo Monaldeschi della Cervara, canonico di S. Pietro, camerlengo del duomo di Orvieto e patrocinatore a sua volta dei madrigali ariosi esemplati nel *Secondo Libro delle Muse a quattro voci* (Roma, Antonio Barré, 1558) preziosa silloge per i diversi *unica* in essa contenuti tra cui quelli di Palestrina, della prima edizione de *Il terzo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci* di Orlando di Lasso (Roma, Antonio Barré, 1563) e de *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque et a sei voci* di Marcello Tortora (Venezia, Girolamo Scotto, 1570).²¹

I casi testé ricordati di editoria musicale indotta, simbiosi preziosa tra la munificenza di due importanti prelati e la creatività del giovane Jacobus de Kerle, rispecchiarono quella sorta di "secondo rinascimento" che si andò ad affermare nello Stato Pontificio dopo il pontificato di Paolo III e come conseguenza della Controriforma, fenomeno che perdurò sino all' elezione sul soglio di Pietro di Urbano VIII Barberini. Nella seconda metà del Cinquecento la produzione musicale e la successiva diffusione editoriale che si ebbe, fu dovuta, dunque, ai rappresentanti più autorevoli di quelle famiglie nobili sopravvissute al fenomeno di riorganizzazione centralistica della Santa Sede che - ormai abbandonata ogni velleità autonomistico-signorile - si proposero quali intermediari politici tra centro e periferia non più nella posizione diarchica di *domini dominantium* come era avvenuto in passato, quanto fedeli esecutori di quella coesione interna dello Stato Pontificio. I già ricordati Monaldeschi di Orvieto ma anche i Vitelli di Città di Castello (si pensi al ruolo svolto dal cardinale Vitellozzo II nell' attuazione dei dettami Conciliari e i suoi stretti rapporti col Palestrina)²²,

²⁰ G. CILIBERTI, *La creazione di un importante centro musicale nella provincia pontificia: la cappella musicale del duomo di Orvieto dal 1550 al 1610*, in B. BRUMANA, G. CILIBERTI (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 41-98: 49-50.

²¹ *Ivi*, pp. 51-54.

²² O. MISCHIATI, "Ut verba intellerentur": circostanze e connessioni a proposito della "Missa Papae Marcelli", in *Atti del Convegno di Studi Palestriniani*, a cura di F. Luisi, Palestrina, Fondazione «G. Pierluigi da Palestrina», 1977, pp. 417-426.

i Cesi di Todi²³ furono gli esempi più significativi di tale fenomeno rappresentando, attraverso i propri esponenti (vescovi od alti prelati), i membri di quella potente nobiltà locale sensibile alla nuova politica centralistica inaugurata con forza dai pontefici contro-riformatori.

Viceversa la nomina in periferia di prestigiosi personaggi esterni, quindi non legati alla tradizione nobiliare di tali terre ma diretta emanazione della curia romana, costituì parte rilevante di quell' *itinere* prezioso e necessario che molti alti prelati dovevano sostenere - dimostrando le proprie capacità in zone marginali - volto a raggiungere facilmente ulteriori scalate nella capitale dello Stato: Marcello Cervini, futuro papa Marcello II, resse la diocesi di Gubbio dal 1544 al 1555 (dotò la cattedrale degli *opera omnia* a stampa di Carpentras)²⁴ così come Maffeo Barberini, prima di diventare pontefice col nome di Urbano VIII, fu vescovo di Spoleto dal 1608 al 1617 e finanziò alcune stampe musicali. Dal punto di vista mecenatistico quella nitida e sicura dicotomia che si era venuta a creare nei periodi precedenti tra il ruolo delle istituzioni civili intese come specchio della promozione culturale in senso umanistico del patriziato emergente e quello delle istituzioni religiose con la loro specifica giurisdizionalità liturgico-spirituale, si incrinò confondendosi e a volte, addirittura, sovrapponendosi: la periodica ma riservata riunione di intellettuali in casa di un nobile (laico o religioso che fosse) nonché le accademie organizzate secondo precise leggi che tutti gli *adepti* dovevano rispettare, furono il contesto unificante presso cui far confluire quelle adeguate forme di esternazione tipiche dell' immagine di un potente e magnifico signore. Così poté essere sostenuto un patronato musicale dedito ad incentivare la produzione profana, volto a promuovere (privilegiando il genere 'da tavolino') pubblicazioni madrigalistiche delle quali, però, canonici, vescovi e cardinali divennero questa volta i principali committenti. Del caso di monsignor Monaldo Monaldeschi, dei suoi rapporti peculiari con Kerle e con l' editore romano Antonio Barré si è già parlato. Ad esso si aggiunga il rilevante esempio di due vescovi spoletini che si dimostrarono particolarmente munifici nel patrocinare alcune edizioni di musica non sacra: Pietro Orsini (a capo della diocesi dal 1580 al 1591) promosse a Venezia nel 1589 presso Ricciardo Amadino la stampa dell' antologia *Le Gioie. Madrigali a cinque voci della Compagnia di Roma [...]. Libro primo* curata da Felice Anerio che riuniva quel nucleo di prestigiosi compositori appartenenti alla famosa Congregazione ed Accademia di Santa Cecilia²⁵, Maffeo Barberini fece pubblicare nel 1609 *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* di Vincenzo Liberti da

²³ L. BIANCHI, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, Paris, Fayard, 1994, pp. 66, 109.

²⁴ M.C. CLEMENTI, *La cappella musicale del duomo di Gubbio nel '500 con il catalogo dei manoscritti coevi*, Perugia, Cattedra di Storia della Musica dell' Università di Perugia-Centro di Studi Musicali in Umbria, 1994, p. 37 (Quaderni di *Esercizi. Musica e Spettacolo*, 2).

²⁵ *Le Gioie* (1589), introduzione e trascrizione di G. Gialdroni, in *I musicisti di Roma e il madrigale*, a cura di N. Pirrotta, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1993, pp. XIX-XXV, 93-184.

Spoleto (uno dei primi esempi di mecenatismo di colui che sarà uno dei più sfarzosi pontefici della storia di Roma).²⁶ Si menzioni ancora il vescovo di Camerino (città delle Marche ma nel rinascimento sita nell' Umbria) monsignor Girolamo Bovio patrocinatore de *Il primo libro dei madrigali a cinque voci* del folignate Democrito Vicomanni (Perugia, Pietro Giacomo Petrucci, 1582)²⁷ o il vescovo di Fossombrone Ottavio Accoromboni (appartenente ad una delle più antiche e potenti famiglie eugubine) che finanziò *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* di Orazio Angelini da Gubbio (Venezia, eredi di Girolamo Scotto, 1583).²⁸ Ed ancora nel 1587 l' arciprete della cattedrale di Perugia Giovanni Battista della Corgna promosse la stampa de *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* di Vincenzo Cossa (Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1587), pubblicazione che gioverà al musicista il posto di maestro di cappella nel duomo di S. Lorenzo (maggio del 1591).²⁹ Ad Angelo Avveduti camerlengo della cattedrale di Orvieto l' organista Giovanni Piccioni dedicò *Il Pastor fido musicale [...] il sesto libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1602) dove alcuni componimenti furono, tra l' altro, tributati espressamente a monsignor Pietro Paolo Crescenzi (rilevante personaggio della controriforma ed amico di S. Filippo Neri) che divenne prima governatore poi vescovo della città.³⁰

Tale fenomeno investì anche gli stessi compositori - soprattutto quelli che vestivano l' abito religioso - i quali a *latere* della loro attività sacra poterono facilmente pubblicare madrigali come i preti Jacobus de Kerle, il basso francese Jhan Ghero attivo nel 1588 a Perugia³¹ ed Orvieto³² e soprattutto l' eruditissimo padre servita nonché prestigioso provinciale e generale dell' ordine Anselmo Setti perugino che in qualità di docente di dialettica e di teologia presso l' Università di Bologna inserì alcuni suoi componimenti profani in due raccolte coeve - 8 ne *Il primo libro di napolitane a tre voci di diversi eccellentissimi musici* (Venezia Girolamo Scotto, 1570) a cura di Bartolomeo da Ravenna e 4 ne *Il primo libro di napolitane a tre voci di Gioseff Policretto, et altri eccellentissimi musici, con una canzone alla ferrarese del medesimo à quattro* (Venezia, Girolamo Scotto, 1571) - confermando quanto la cultura umanistica

²⁶ M.A. BALSANO, *Vincenzo Liberti pseudomadrigalista spoletino*, in *Esercizi. Arte Musica e Spettacolo*, 5, 1982, pp. 67-97; F. HAMMOND, *Music & Spectacle in Baroque Rome. Barberini Patronage under Urbano VIII*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 1994, p. 64.

²⁷ N. GUIDOBALDI, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 31.

²⁸ P. MARIROSSI, *Aspetti della vita e dell' opera di Orazio Angelini, madrigalista eugubino del Cinquecento*, in *Esercizi. Arte Musica e Spettacolo*, 9, 1986, pp. 41-53.

²⁹ B. BRUMANA, *Dai maestri fiamminghi agli autori di madrigali: la cappella musicale del duomo di Perugia nel secolo della sua costituzione*, in B. BRUMANA, G. CILIBERTI (ed.), *Musica e musicisti nella cattedrale di S. Lorenzo a Perugia (XIV-XVIII secolo)*, Firenze, Olschki, 1991, pp. 41-160: 55-56.

³⁰ G. CILIBERTI, *La creazione di un importante centro musicale ... cit.*, pp. 69-70.

³¹ B. BRUMANA, G. CILIBERTI, *Musica e musicisti ... cit.*, pp. 50, 147.

³² B. BRUMANA, G. CILIBERTI, *Orvieto ... cit.*, p. 113.

e la figura del musicista colto fossero espressione di un' unico ambiente (l' accademia) nell' Italia centrale della seconda metà del Cinquecento.³³ E come tale, questo saldo contesto umanistico espressione degli ordini religiosi vecchi (francescani, serviti) e nuovi (gesuiti, filippini) rimarrà valido anche per la formazione di quei musicisti che - provenienti dall' Umbria - saranno esponenti di rilievo (perché uomini di profonda cultura) della Roma barberiniana: il perugino Giovanni Andrea Angelini Bontempi, il tifernate Antonio Maria Abbatini, lo spoletino Loreto Vittori e il folignate Antimo Liberati.

³³ O. GIUBBONI, *Sulle napolitane di Anselmo Setti perugino*, in *Musica e poesia, Celebrazioni in onore di Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)*, Atti dell' incontro di studio, Narni, 11-12 dicembre 1993, a cura di G. Ciliberti e B. Brumana, Perugia, Cattedra di Storia della Musica dell' Università di Perugia-Centro di Studi Musicali in Umbria, 1994, pp. 7-17 (*Quaderni di Esercizi. Musica e Spettacolo*, 5).

ANTHOLOGIES OF ITALIAN MADRIGALS PRINTED IN ANTWERP AND NUREMBERG

A Comparative Study

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With the development of music printing in the 16th century, a kind of information revolution took place, which fundamentally changed the form and range of dissemination of music. Its effect was not confined to each individual area but it went even beyond the boundaries of nations and promoted internationalization of certain musical forms and styles.

It was the Italian madrigal that was most involved in this movement. Indeed, the rise and fall of music printing in the 16th and 17th centuries ran parallel with those of the madrigal. The Italian madrigal of the 16th century was established as a genre around 1530, flourished in the 1580's and gave way to monody at the beginning of the 17th century. Music publication increased markedly in quantity in the 1530's and, after reaching its peak in the 1580's, it suffered a gradual, and then, in the 1630's, a serious decline. No less than two thirds of music prints bear the word 'madrigal' in their titles.¹

TABLE 1
Music Publication and Madrigal

Sum of all music publications [A] and sum of music publications whose title contains the word 'madrigal' [B]

YEARS	1501-1529	1530's	1540's	1550's	1560's	1570's	1580's	1590's	1600's	1610's
A	37	35	133	162	323	289	536	449	473	378
B	0	21	107	133	242	178	377	289	315	238
YEARS	1620's	1630's	1640's	1650's	1660's	1670's	1680's	1690's	unknown	Total
A	251	94	74	45	25	32	29	44	3	3412
B	128	38	27	10	8	8	4	0	1	2313

¹ These statistics have been compiled from the second (1962) and the third (1977) editions of the *Vogel* and the *Recuils imprimés, XVIe-XVIIe siècles* of *RISM*, by Hiroko Kishimoto in her article *The Madrigal in the History of Italian Secular Vocal Music*, in *Annals of Tokyo University of the Fine Arts and Music*, XI (1985), pp. 63-81 [in Japanese].

The publication of anthologies of Italian madrigals in northern Europe offers a key to an understanding of this situation, because it not only contributed to transplanting madrigals to the north of the Alps, but also it testifies to an enhanced interest in and needs for this genre there. Sydney Robinson Charles in the article *Anthology* in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* is right in pointing out the importance of this viewpoint, saying, "... the entire make-up of each one [i.e. anthology] reflects the judgment of a knowledgeable contemporary, its compiler, of the interests, tastes and needs of the musical public of that time and place".²

In this context, Antwerp and Nuremberg, two of the biggest centers of this movement, deserve special attention. These two cities, with a different cultural as well as social background, accepted Italian madrigals in a different though in part similar way. A comparison will therefore make clear both particularities and generalities of the spread of the Italian madrigal to the northern cities.

Dissemination of Italian Madrigals through Prints – A Survey

From the very early time of its history, Italian madrigals were included in the prints of the North, but only sporadically and small in number. For example, Attaignant included only a handful of Italian madrigals in his collections of 1533-1534 and the anthology published by Melchior Kriesstein in Augsburg in 1540 contains merely five. Transmission of madrigals was made mainly in the form of manuscript copy in the first half of the 16th century, but in the middle of this century prints took its place.³

It is true that Italian prints were circulated beyond the Alps. This is testified to by inventories of private libraries, such as Raimund Fugger's or Hans Heinrich Herwert's⁴, and by some contemporary paintings and engravings like a portrait of Johannes Münstermann by Herman Tom Ring (1547).⁵ This diffusion, however, seems to be limited to the enthusiastic few who were wealthy and informed enough to purchase Italian music prints.

Italian or Italianate composers active in northern Europe had at times their madrigals published in their cities. To cite only one example, Italian works by

² S.R. CHARLES, *Anthology*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. i, London, 1980, pp. 463-465.

³ I. FENLON and J. HAAR, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney, 1988, pp. 81f.

⁴ R. SCHAAL, *Die Musikbibliothek von Raimund Fugger d. J.*, in *Acta musicologica*, XXIX (1957), pp. 126-137. H. COLIN SLIM, *The Music Library of the Augsburg Patrician, Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520-1583)*, in *Annales musicologiques*, vii (1964-1977), pp. 67-109.

⁵ Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster, printed in FENLON and HAAR, *op. cit.*, plates 21 and 22.

Lasso came out of Susato's press in 1555.⁶

In the 1580's large scale anthologies devoted to Italian madrigals were compiled one after another in several northern cities. They contained a large number of works by composers who were active in Italy. This was a new stage in the diffusion of this Italian repertory to the North.

Antwerp was in the vanguard of this movement (see Table 2). Beginning with *Musica divina* and *Harmonia celeste* of 1583, twelve collections of madrigals in the original, that is, Italian language came out from the printing house of Pierre Phalèse. The second to come was Nuremberg, with three volumes of *Gemma musicalis* from 1588 onward, and two volumes of *Fiori del giardino* (1597, 1604). These five make up the first group of anthologies published in Germany, because they are in the original language. There are another three groups of anthologies in Germany, that is, anthologies in translation⁷, in contrafacta⁸, and in instrumental arrangements⁹, which are regarded to testify further popularization of madrigal. It is not the point in question here.

London was active as well. Here the famous *Musica transalpina* of 1588 was followed by other four anthologies, all in English translation, under the influence of the Antwerp publications.¹⁰ Not until 1605 and 1606 did Copenhagen have anthologies in the original language. Also in Holland an anthology was published in 1605.¹¹ Publication of this kind in France and Spain is not known. This brief survey shows that Antwerp and Nuremberg were by far the largest centers of the publication of madrigal anthologies in the original Italian language.

The Antwerp Anthologies

As mentioned above, twelve anthologies were published in Antwerp. The first four, namely *Musica divina* (1583), edited by Pierre Phalèse, *Harmonia celeste*

⁶ *RISM* 1555¹⁹: *Le quatoirsiesme livre a quatre parties contenant dixhuict chansons italiennes, six chansons françoises, & six motetz faictz (a la nouvelle composition d'aucuns d'Italie) par Rolando di Lassus nouvellement imprimé ...* It was reprinted in the same year with the Italian title *D'Orlando di Lassus il primo libro dovesi contengono madrigali, vilanesche, canzoni francesi e motetti a quattro voci, nuovamente impressi* (*RISM* 1555²⁹), and five years later with the original French title by Susato himself (*RISM* 1560⁴).

⁷ There are four anthologies of Italian madrigals (including canzonettas) in translation into German secular texts: namely *RISM* 1608²², 1612¹³, 1613¹³ and 1624¹⁶.

⁸ There are eight anthologies of Italian madrigals (including canzonettas) in translation into Latin, and occasionally German, religious texts: namely *RISM* 1587¹⁴, 1602 [not listed in the *RISM*: *Canticum gloriosae deiparae* published in Passau by M. Nenninger], 1606⁶, 1609¹⁴, 1609¹⁵, 1619¹⁶, 1622¹⁵ and 1627⁸.

⁹ There are at least four anthologies of Italian madrigals in instrumental arrangements for lute (*RISM* 1594¹⁹, 1600^{5a}, 1600⁶ and 1603¹⁵) and one for organ (*RISM* 1607²⁹).

¹⁰ J. KERMAN, *The Elizabethan Madrigal, A Comparative Study*, New York, 1962, pp. 48-69.

¹¹ *RISM* 1605⁹: *Nervi d'Orfeo*, printed in Leiden by H. L. de' Haestens. I owe this information to Susan Bain.

(1583) by Andreas Pevernage, *Symphonia angelica* of 1585, edited by Hubert Waelrant, and *Melodia olympica* of 1591 by Peter Philipps, were so celebrated as to be reprinted many times (six, six, five, and four times respectively). The remaining eight collections, by far less important, do not carry the editor's name, except for *Paradiso musicale* of 1596, which was compiled by Phalèse. Moreover, three of them, namely *Il vago alboreto* of 1597, *Canzonette alla romana* of 1607, and *Novi frutti musicali* of 1610, were mainly reprints of anthologies published earlier in Venice.¹²

The first four enormously successful anthologies, all published by Phalèse with Jean Bellère, have some common features. Each collection comprises six part books in oblong quarto. Each part book has 36 folios, except the quinto and sesto parts. The title pages of all the four anthologies look quite similar in the layout, the border, and even in the wording of the inscription, with minimum alterations such as the title itself or the editor's name.

Each collection is a very large set, containing an average of 67 madrigals by eighteen to thirty-one composers.¹³ It is divided into three roughly equal sections of compositions for four, five, and six voices. No madrigal anthology published in Italy contained so many pieces and it was even inconceivable in the 1580's in Italy to place four-part compositions together with five- and six-part ones, because four-part madrigals were already out of fashion.¹⁴

The selection of music is conspicuously conservative. Such long-favored pieces were included as four-part *Ancor che col partire* by Cipriano de Rore and *Io mi son giovinetta* by Domenico Ferrabosco, both from the 1540's, and Palestrina's *Vestiva i colli* of 1566.

There are as many as 24 compositions in total by Philippe de Monte, making him the most beloved composer in these four volumes. Nearly one half of them came from the 1560's. Moreover, as he himself recognized in the preface to his *Ottavo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* published in 1580, his style had become old-fashioned by that time.¹⁵ Although Marenzio's works add up to 21, most of them derive from his earliest period.¹⁶ Composers of canzonettas

¹² To be more precise, these three anthologies are enlarged editions of *Di XII. autori vaghi e dilettevoli madrigali* (Venezia, R. Amadino, 1595) [RISM 1595⁵], *Canzonette alla romana* (Venezia, A. Gardano, 1601) [RISM 1601⁸] and *Novi frutti musicali madrigali* (Venezia, G. Vincenti, 1590) [RISM 1590¹⁵], respectively.

¹³ *Musica divina* has sixty-seven pieces by eighteen composers (fifteen pieces for four, twenty-six for five, twenty-three for six, two for seven, and one for eight voices). *Harmonia celeste* has sixty-six pieces by twenty-nine composers (sixteen pieces for four, twenty-five for five, twenty-three for six, and two for seven voices). *Symphonia angelica* has sixty-six pieces by twenty-eight composers (sixteen pieces for four, twenty-four for five, and twenty-six for six voices). *Melodia olympica* has seventy pieces by thirty-one composers (sixteen pieces for four, twenty-six for five, twenty-seven for six, and one for eight voices). Here, a 'seconda parte' is counted as one separate piece.

¹⁴ KERMAN, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

¹⁵ A. EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, II, Princeton, New Jersey, 1971, p. 510.

like Giovanni Ferretti and those belonging to the conservative Roman school like Giovanni de Maque and Giovanni Maria Nanino are also favored.¹⁷ No innovative Italian madrigal is found.

To sum up, the scope of selection ranges over some thirty years, and approximately one third of the pieces were more than ten years old at the time of their compilation.

In these anthologies the pieces are disposed in according to the clef-combination and key as in their Italian models. As a result, works of each composer are scattered in many parts of the volume so that it is not readily found out who among the composers is emphasized.

Such neutrality, along with the above mentioned conservatism, seems to have been one of the causes of their enormous success. They satisfied either the public not so familiar with Italian music or music lovers with knowledge and their own taste. This may have been also responsible for their direct influence upon similar publications made in England and Germany.

The Nuremberg Anthologies

As we have seen, five anthologies in the original language appeared in Nuremberg. Three volumes of *Gemma musicalis* of 1588, 1589, and 1590 were edited by Friedrich Lindner, Cantor of the St Egidien Church in Nuremberg. The compilers of the two books of *Fiori del giardino* of 1597 and 1604 are unknown. However, the preface to the first volume written by the printer Paul Kauffmann suggests that Kauffmann himself may have compiled them, by implying that he conceived this volume as supplementary to *Gemma musicalis*.¹⁸

These Nuremberg anthologies have some characteristics in common with the Antwerp ones. Firstly, these are also very large sets, containing an average of 66 pieces by thirteen to 23 composers. The first and second volumes of *Gemma musicalis* are especially large with more than eighty pieces. Secondly, the main body consists of pieces for four, five, and six voices, though the num-

¹⁶ It is conspicuous that six of nine madrigals by Marenzio included in *Melodia olympica* of 1591 are from his earliest works namely I a 5 (1580), II a 5 (1581), and I a 6 (1581). As for the rest, one is from I a 4 (1585) and two from IV a 6 (1587).

¹⁷ These first four anthologies published in Antwerp contain seventeen pieces by Ferretti, fourteen by Macque and thirteen by Nanino.

¹⁸ *POSTEAQVAM SVPERIORIBVS annis tres Cantionum libros, GEMMAE MVSICALIS nomine proscriptos typis meis in publicum volgavi, et exinde etiam cotidiano velut flagitio multorum praestantium virorum ad labores ejuscemodi perseverandos instigatus sum ... horas meas subsecivas vix possum, quin in hac laudatissima arte Musica collorem, easque potissimum cantiones colligam* This preface is entitled as *Omibus Musices amatoribus Typographus S[alutem]. D[icit]*.

ber of voices is more varied, sometimes extending up to twelve.¹⁹ Thirdly, several pieces adopted in Antwerp are included again in the first volume of *Gemma musicalis*: Rore's *ancor che col partire*, Domenico Ferrabosco's *Io mi son giovinetta*, and Palestrina's *Fetiva i colli*. Hubert Waelrant's *Vorria morire* for four voices, which was first published in *Symphonia angelica* together with an another arrangement for six voices, appears as the last piece of this volume of *Gemma musicalis*. Preference for early works of Marenzio and for such lighter works as canzonettas is obvious, too.²⁰

Ludwig Finscher in his excellent article of 1990 characterized *Gemma musicalis* as "structured precisely like the early anthologies of Pierre Phalèse in Antwerp".²¹

However, I do not concur with him in this opinion. These two groups of anthologies show two striking differences.

The first point is the tendency in selecting the pieces, that is how old/new, how conservative/progressive, and whose works are selected. The Nuremberg anthologies prefer more recent works. Almost five sixth of the repertory are pieces within last ten years. The first and second volumes of *Gemma musicalis* begin with an overwhelming group of massive double chorus compositions of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli. These pieces, 28 in total, combined with a few others, had been just published in the previous year in Venice as *Concerti di Andrea, et Giovanni Gabrieli* (RISM 1587¹⁶), and dedicated to Jacob Fugger (1543-1598).

The second point of difference is the way of disposing the pieces, that is by what principle and in what order the numbers are placed in each volume. An outstanding feature of *Gemma musicalis* is that the pieces are placed in descending order of voice numbers. This was unprecedented and really exceptional as a madrigal collection.²² It does not appear accidental but intentional with the

¹⁹ *Gemma musicalis*, I has 82 pieces by twenty composers (one piece for twelve, two for ten, six for eight, three for seven, thirteen for six, forty for five, and seventeen for four voices). *Gemma musicalis*, II has 88 pieces by seventeen composers (two pieces for twelve, four for ten, four for eight, five for seven, 29 for six, 29 for five, and fifteen for four voices). *Gemma musicalis*, III has 36 pieces by thirteen composers (five pieces for eight, two for seven, thirteen for six, 36 for five, and seven for four voices). *Fiori del giardino* has 58 pieces by twenty-three composers (eight pieces for four, 22 for five, fifteen for six, three for seven, eight for eight, and two for nine voices). *Fiori del giardino*, II has 46 pieces by nineteen composers (seven pieces for four, 22 for five, seventeen for six voices).

²⁰ L. FINSCHER in his article *Lied and madrigal, 1580-1600*, in J. KMETZ (ed.), *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 187, has correctly identified three characteristics common to both, namely, "the books were edited by a professional musician, they were much bigger than a normal Italian madrigal book, and they bore fancy titles".

²¹ L. FINSCHER, *Das Madrigal in der Fremde: Rezeption in den europäischen Ländern*, in *Die Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, (Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft, Bd.3, 2), Laaber, Wiesbaden, 1990, p. 492.

²² Here Lindner might have followed the convention of the religious music books, in which pieces were usually placed in descending order of voice numbers. I owe this knowledge to Thomas Röder. In fact, before this publication Lindner had begun to edit six anthologies of Italian religious music: RISM 1585¹, 1588², 1590¹, 1590⁵, 1591¹ 1591²⁷.

purpose of honoring the Gabrielis by opening the volumes with their works. The Gabrielis were not only renowned in Venice, but they maintained a close connection with southern Germany, especially with the Fugger family in Augsburg and with the Munich court, where Orlando di Lasso was active.

Moreover, the pieces in the Nuremberg anthologies are not arranged according to the clef-combination and key like the Antwerp ones, but according to composers. Especially remarkable is the beginning of some sections where several works of a composer are assembled to make up a distinct group – a procedure which impresses upon users a special emphasis on some particular composers. By the way, the order of such works corresponds on some occasions to that of the preceding publications in Italy. Among such composers are, as mentioned before, Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli and also Marenzio at the beginning of the five voice sections in the first and second volumes of *Gemma musicalis*²³, and Giaches de Wert, Benedetto Pallavicino and other Mantuan musicians in the third volume.²⁴ The first volume of *Fiori del giardino* favors Monteverdi and Hans Leo Hassler, though it shows a similar taste to the first two volumes of *Gemma musicalis*.²⁵ On the other hand, the second volume of *Fiori del giardino* is a collection of miscellaneous works mostly by composers of minor importance.²⁶

Thus the Nuremberg anthologies distinctly favored such particular composers as those having strong contacts with southern Germany or those regarded as promising in Italy. This seems to be a result of the sensitivity of the southern Germans to Italian fashions. This part of Germany including Nuremberg²⁷ kept up such culturally as well as commercially firm links with Italy and above all with Venice that a wider range of public was well acquainted with new trends in Italian music. Thus, the Nuremberg anthologies quite clearly reflect the local characteristics and musical taste of southern Germany. This may be the reason for which their influence remained rather provincial.

²³ There is a group of 23 madrigals for five voices by Marenzio in the first volume, whereas the second volume contains a group of ten madrigals for six voices and another of ten madrigals for five voices.

²⁴ In this volume, Giaches de Wert (with nine pieces) is positioned in the same way as the Gabrielis in the first and second volumes, and Benedetto Pallavicino (with twenty pieces) as Marenzio. Giovanni G. Gastoldi (with eight pieces) and Annibale Coma (with two pieces) were also musicians active in Mantua.

²⁵ In the sections for six to nine voices, pieces of Marenzio and Giovanni Gabrieli are favored.

²⁶ Ruggier Trofeo, with his six pieces, comes first, then Stefano Felis with five. These five pieces by Felis are not listed in the article *Felis* in *The New Grove*.

²⁷ In this region, there were four courts "in which Italian influence and an unusually strong interest in music came together – the imperial court in Prague, the Bavarian court in Munich, the Saxon court in Dresden, the Hessian court in Cassel" [Finscher, *op.cit.*, 1994, p. 187, see note no. 20]. Nuremberg is located at the very center among these cities.

Conclusion

This analysis has thus far made clear the differences between two northern cities in their way of acceptance of the Italian madrigal. In the Antwerp anthologies, approximately one third of the pieces came from the period more than ten years preceding their compilation, while in the Nuremberg publications roughly one sixth did. The marked emphasis on certain particular composers, which characterizes the Nuremberg anthologies, is scarcely found in the Antwerp ones. Such conservatism and neutrality of the Antwerp collections met the universal demands of the time and this seems to be the cause of their repeated reprints and international influences. On the other hand, the

TABLE 2
Publication of Collections of Italian Secular Songs in Northern European Cities

ANTWERP	NUREMBERG
1583 ¹⁵ Musica divina [O] 1583 ¹⁴ Harmonia celeste [O] 1585 ¹⁹ Symphonia angelica [O]	1588 ²¹ Gemma musicalis I [O] 1589 ⁸ Gemma musicalis II [O] 1590 ²⁰ Gemma musicalis III [O]
1591 ¹⁰ Melodia olympica [O]	
1596 ⁸ Madrigali a otto voci [O] 1596 ¹⁰ Paradiso musicale [O] 1597 ¹⁵ Il vago alboreto [O]	1597 ¹³ Fiori del giardino [O]
1601 ⁵ Ghirlanda di madrigali [O]	1604 ¹² Fiori del giardino II [O]
1607 ¹⁴ Canzonette alla romana [O]	
1610 ¹⁴ Novi frutti musicali [O]	
1613 ¹⁰ Il parnasso [O] 1616 ¹⁰ Il helicone [O]	1612 ¹³ Musikalische Streitkränzlein [T] 1613 ¹³ Rest musikalisches Streitkränzlein [T]
	1624 ¹⁶ Liebliche, welsche Madrigalien I [T]

Nuremberg anthologies appear to reflect more vividly the interest of the musical public of the place, so that their influences appear to have remained rather provincial.

It is important to remember that the vigorous publication of Italian madrigals in the North indicates that demands for this genre of music among the public of the place were larger than Italian prints supply could meet. Only those compilers who perceived in these public demands a certain potential taste were successful. In this way anthologies are effective indicators of the public taste of the region.

Thus, music printing promoted the international dissemination of the Italian madrigal. Yet it revealed, rather than dissolved, characteristics of each region.

OTHER CITIES	REMARKS
[London] 1588 ²⁹ Musica transalpina [T] 1590 ²⁹ Italian Madrigals Englished [T]	1593 Reprint of Collected Works by an individual composer (Antwerp and Nuremberg)
1597 ²⁴ Musica transalpina II [T] 1597 ²³ Selected Canzonets [T] 1598 ¹⁵ Selected Madrigals [T]	
[Leiden] 1605 ⁹ Nervi d'Orfeo [O] [Copenhagen] 1605 ⁷ Giardino novo bellissimo [O] 1606 ⁵ Giardino novo bellissimo [O]	1606 Translated Edition of Collected Works by an individual composer (Nuremberg)
[Frankfurt am Main] 1608 ²² Neue teutsche Canzonetten [T]	
[Leipzig] 1619 ¹⁶ Triumph de Dorothea [T]	Abbreviations [O]: in the original (italian) language [T]: in translation

WHO IS KATHERINE?

The women of the Berg & Neuber - Gerlach - Kaufmann printing dynasty

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The 16th-century Nuremberg printing firm of Berg and Neuber - also known as Montanus and Neuber - was one of the most important, influential, and prolific in German music printing of the period. While both the music prints and the other products of the firm are quite well known, until now the actual history of the firm and the biographies of its owners have been something of a mystery.

As it turns out, the firm - which many have thought of as three, or even four separate firms - is even more interesting and complex than one would suspect. Much of the confusion has been because of names: the firm operated under four separate names because it was owned, for much of its existence, by a woman, a woman who remarried and then later bequeathed the firm to her daughters. As was the custom in 16th-century Nuremberg, the firm was called not by her name, but by that of the male member of the family, whether or not he technically owned it.

In the course of research for a dissertation on the firm of Berg and Neuber and their music prints, I came across much archival information about the firm and its owners. The more information I found, the clearer it became that although Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber founded the firm, its continuation, dynastic power, and probably its financial success, should be credited to Berg's wife, Katherina vom Berg, and her daughters, Katherine 'junior' (as I'll call her to avoid confusion) and Veronica.

Let us begin then with a brief summary of the history of the firm: Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber both became citizens of Nuremberg in the early part of 1541.¹ Precisely how long Berg had been in Nuremberg before this is unknown, but Neuber had been in the city for at least two years; he was married

¹ *Reichstadt Nürnberg, Amts- und Standbücher* Nr. 308 (Rep. 52b, Nr. 308) *Nürnberg Neubürgerverzeichnis 1534-1631*, fol. 24. The official year in 16th-century Nuremberg began in March, not January; and although at first glance it appears that both men became citizens in February of 1540, it was, according to the modern calendar, in 1541. Much of Germany, particularly the Protestant cities, did not change to the Gregorian calendar until after the Thirty Years' War, in some cases as late as 1700. I have indicated the modern year in all cases, but the days and months cited from documents are according to the Nuremberg calendar, which was ten days 'behind' the modern Gregorian calendar.

there in 1539.² Both Berg and Neuber are listed as printers - Neuber always immediately below Berg - in the city's lists of trades people, the *Ämterbüchlein*, from 1542 continuously through Berg's death in 1563.³

The first positively datable prints of the Berg and Neuber firm are from 1542, the same year as the first appearance of both printers' names in the *Ämterbüchlein*. Thus it is safe to assume that 1542 marked both the beginning of their partnership as printers and the first products of their press.

I have found a total of at least 117 books printed by Berg and Neuber containing music or theoretical treatises on music.⁴ Of these 117 prints, 45 are either new editions or reprints. This leaves seventy-three separate and distinct publications: 47 volumes of polyphony (with both Latin and German texts), seventeen volumes of various types of *Kirchenlieder*, and nine theoretical treatises. In addition, Berg and Neuber published well over 150 non-musical items on a wide range of subjects: theological works such as the Luther Bible, the writings of Luther, Melanchthon, and Hus, the complete works of Veit Dietrich, and most of the writings of Johannes Mathesius and Andreas Osiander; mathematical and scientific works, including those by Regiomontanus and Johannes Schoner; classics such as Cato and 'modern classics' such as Poliziano; medical books; books of practical knowledge, such as volumes on trade fairs, currency exchange, and distance between major trading centers of Europe; and even newspaper-type publications containing the latest news of the war against the Turks.

Thanks to the various *RISM* volumes and the work of other scholars, I am reasonably confident of having located all the extant Berg and Neuber music

² *Sebalder Ehebuch* entry #4714: *Ulrich Neuber buchdrucker Margareta Rüplin 29. Julii 1539*. Note that Neuber is referred to as a printer in this document from 1539, although he is not listed in the *Ämterbüchlein* until 1542. Copies of the *Sebalder* and *Lorenzer Ehebücher* are held at the Landeskirchliches Archiv, Nuremberg.

³ The members of various occupations were obliged to register themselves once a year with the City Council and to take an oath agreeing to abide by the standards and rules set for their trade. The occupations are listed (more or less) alphabetically in the *Ämterbüchlein der Reichsstadt Nürnberg*. The listings for the book trades - printers, bookbinders, typesetters, scribes, and, later in the century, booksellers - have been excerpted in L. SPORHAN-KREMPEL and I. STAHL, *Nürnberger Buchgewerbe vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert (1513-1806) nach dem Ämterbüchlein der Reichsstadt Nürnberg (Verzeichnis der vom Rat vereidigten Ämter und Gewerbe) im Staatsarchiv Nürnberg (Rep. 62)*. This typescript, available in the library of the Staatsarchiv Nürnberg (4^o 2948), has neither introductory material nor any text what so ever. It contains a number of inaccuracies. (My initial research was done from the typescript, and then checked against the original documents.) The specific entries for the firm of Berg and Neuber are discussed in detail in my dissertation *Berg and Neuber: Music Printers in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg*, Dissertation, The City University of New York, 1997.

⁴ Berg and Neuber used the colophon *Johann vom Berg und Ulrich Neuber* on books printed in German, whereas they signed themselves *Ioannes Montanus & Ulricus Neuber[us]* on Latin volumes. A complete catalogue *raisonnée* of the music-related works printed by the Berg and Neuber firm 1542-1563 may be found in *Berg and Neuber: Music Printers in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg*, Dissertation, The City University of New York, 1997.

prints (although not every copy of each print). On the other hand, the situation with the non-music prints is more problematical: while I have located almost 200 volumes, the number grows every time I set foot in a major library.⁵

Let us return to the history of the firm: After Berg's death in 1563, Neuber continued the firm as 'Ulrich Neuber and Berg's Heirs' (Ulrich Neuber und die Bergsche Erben). In 1565 Berg's widow, Katherina, married the firm's employee, the printer Dietrich Gerlach, who was also known as both Dietrich Gerlach and Theodoricus Gerlatzen, and the firm continued briefly as 'Gerlach and Neuber'. Neuber soon left the partnership to found his own firm, and after 1566 the Gerlachs continued printing as 'Gerlach and Berg's heirs'.⁶ After Dietrich Gerlach's death in 1575, Katherina Gerlach continued the firm, using the colophon 'Katherina Gerlach and Berg's heirs'. And though management of the firm was apparently turned over to her grandson, Paul Kauffmann, possibly sometime in the 1580's, the firm continued under Katherina's name until after her death in 1592.⁷ The firm formally became Paul Kauffmann's only in 1601. After his death, in 1632, the firm passed to David Kauffmann, one of Paul's younger brothers, though he apparently worked only as a publisher and bookseller, not as a printer. David Kauffmann's family continued to own at least some of the firm's property through 1650.⁸ And finally, record of the firm unfortunately vanishes in the turmoil surrounding the Thirty Years' War, which had disastrous effects on the economy of Nuremberg.⁹

Let us turn to Johann vom Berg: His biography is much better documented than those of the women, and the main points of it, at least, are relatively easy to trace.¹⁰ Modern sketches of Berg's life are based upon the one 16th-century account concerning him exclusively, his *Epitaphia*, printed in Nuremberg, after his death, probably by his own press.¹¹ In addition to the *Epitaphia*, documentary evidence concerning both him and the printing firm can be found in

⁵ A checklist of all Berg and Neuber prints located to date may be found in my dissertation, cited above.

⁶ Exactly when Neuber left the firm to found his own is not clear: while the Gerlach colophon no longer includes him after 1566, he is first listed as an independent printer in city documents from 1568.

⁷ According to R. WAGNER, *Nachträge zur Geschichte der Nürnberger Musikdrucker im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, in *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, Nuremberg, 1931. I have not, to date, not seen any archival evidence that substantiates precisely when Paul was made manager of the firm.

⁸ David Kauffmann's ownership of the property is mentioned in the following documents: *Nürnberg Stadtarchiv Libri Litterari* vol. 161, fol. 131; vol. 162, fols. 110, 113; vol. 163, fol. 152.

⁹ There is a wealth of archival material concerning the firm, particularly during the Gerlach years, in the Nuremberg Staatsarchiv and Stadtarchiv, and many prints, chiefly non-musical, in the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek. While the scope of this article does not allow closer investigation into the history of the firm under Katherina's management, that material will be dealt with in a forthcoming study.

¹⁰ Berg's previous biographers have not had access to all the archival information that I have had access to, so some of the following biographical information is presented here for the first time.

various Nuremberg archives and libraries. There are also a number of rather flattering 16th-century references to him which show him to have been highly regarded by his contemporaries. Taken together, this material allows us to piece together at least a general impression of Berg's life, if not an absolutely complete biography.¹²

The *Epitaphia* contains three homages to Berg by four authors. The first, longest, and most informative of these is by Johannes Mathesius, a noted theologian and preacher, and a student of Luther and Melanchthon; many of Mathesius' works were published by the firm. He was probably chosen to write the *Epitaphia* proper because he was the most distinguished living member among Berg's colleagues (most of Berg's other distinguished professional and personal associates, including Veit Dietrich, Melanchthon, and Luther, having died by 1563). The information we can garner from the *Epitaphia* is this:

Berg was born in Ghent (I speculate c. 1500-1515); he was apparently sent to the University of Paris, where he *worked very hard, learned and won honor and praise*.¹³ In his study of Pierre Attaignant, Daniel Heartz hints that Berg may have known Attaignant in Paris. It is conceivable that Berg could have learned music printing from Attaignant, though no concrete evidence for this speculation has yet been found.¹⁴

In Paris, Berg came into contact with *Doctor Luther's teachings* and converted

11 *Epitaphia* | Oder: | Grabschriften, | Des Ersamen unnd | Namhafften Johan[n] vom Berg, | Burger und Buchdrucker Herrn zu Nürnberg, der inn der Herrn Christi warer erkenntnuß und an=kröpfung seliglich eingeschlaf=ten ist, am VII. Augu=lsti, im Jar M.D. | LXIII. This four-page document is in the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek, signature: Will.3.888.4⁰ and is transcribed in WAGNER, *Nachträge*, 128-29. All future references are to the first of the three epitaphs contained herein, that written by Johannes Mathesius, on fols. 1-2, unless otherwise specified.

The type of the *Epitaphia* seems to match that usually used by the house; the copy of the document held in the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek seems at one time to have been bound into a book of other such eulogies, possibly all by Johannes Mathesius, noted theologian and preacher, many of whose works were printed by the firm of Berg and Neuber.

12 P. COHEN, *Musikdruck und -Drucker zu Nürnberg im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Nuremberg, 1927 (the author's dissertation from the Friedrich-Albert Universität, Erlangen, 1927), does not make use of the *Epitaphia*; he draws his biographical information exclusively from secondary sources and sometimes garbles the biography by trying to incorporate irreconcilable differences between the sources. Wagner, in his *Nachträge*, corrects many of these discrepancies by referring to primary sources and contemporary accounts. He was, however, occupying himself with all Nuremberg printers of the 16th century, and chose not to examine certain documents and accounts concerning Berg, Neuber, their families, and the firm. At the end of his article, he includes a list of the documents, found by him, that refer to the various printers. He chose not to include the contents of some of these documents in his article - perhaps some of the items were inaccessible to him - and in some cases interpreted them differently than I have done.

13 The text of the *Epitaphia* at this point reads: *Hernach da man in studirn ließ, | Sein Vatter schickt in gen Parieß. | Da er drey Jar mit grossem fleyß | Lernt vnd erwarb gunst, ehr vnd preyß*. Wagner interprets this sentence to mean that Berg studied in Paris for three years (in modern German, *studieren* almost invariably refers to University study). This certainly seems to be the most likely case. It is, however, possible that he was first sent to an unspecified University and then on to Paris, where he *learned and worked very hard, learned, and won ... honor and praise*.

to Lutheranism. When Berg's father became aware of his son's religious beliefs, Berg *fell into disfavor and danger*. Johann vom Berg then left his father's house and inheritance and emigrated to Nuremberg with only ten *Kron* (gulden) in his pocket. He settled in Nuremberg, and began printing.¹⁵ Still according to the *Epitaphia*, he married in 1541, and started to produce small books in that year (In fact, the firm only began to produce volumes in 1542).¹⁶ Veit Dietrich, the Nuremberg theologian, assisted the *faithful man* and Berg printed virtually all of Dietrich's copious writings in return.

The *Epitaphia* continues with praise for the integrity of Berg's work, especially the books of Protestant music, and then tells us that in 1563 Berg contracted a fever, and died on August 7th, after a two-week-long illness. The date of Berg's death is further confirmed by city and church documents.¹⁷ He died shortly before the marriage of his daughter Veronica to Johannes Kauffmann, who was to become one of the foremost preachers of the day. Two sets of epitaphs were published to honor Berg, and at least one motet was composed in his honor, Meiland's six-voice *Pierides moesto suffundite*.¹⁸

The earliest reference to Johann vom Berg in official Nuremberg city documents is in 1541 by the modern calendar.¹⁹ In that year he married Katherina Schmid and became a citizen of Nuremberg. Berg and Katherina were married on February 1st, and Berg took his oath of citizenship - for which privilege he paid 4 gulden - on the 23rd of February.²⁰ In 1542 he was listed, for the first time - as a *Buchdrucker* - in the *Ämterbüchlein* of the City of Nuremberg

14 D. HEARTZ, *Pierre Attaignant Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue*, Berkeley, 1969, states that Berg was born in Antwerp and speculates that he may have known Attaignant in Paris.

15 The original German, *Fecht an die Trückerey zu treybn* is ambiguous; it could mean that he began printing or that he began to learn printing.

16 The wording of the original text *Wie man nun ein vnd viertzig zelt, | Sein eheweyb er jm do erwelt* ... leads one to postulate that the *forty-one* may not only refer to the year, which is supported by other documents, but may also refer to Berg's age.

17 St. Sebald *Totengeläutbuch* 1517-1572, fol. 187v, 7th entry [modern edition line 7693]. No specific date is given for the date of death, just the section entry, which is on fol. 187 and reads *Von trinitatis bis crucis* [June 2-September 15, 1563]: *Johann vom Berg, buchtrucker bein Cartheusern*; and St. Lorenz *Bestattungsbücher* card file at the Landeskirchliches Archiv, Nuremberg: *Vom Berg, Johann Buchtrucker | Auf dem Stiegl* (Lor. 7.8.1563).

18 *Pierides moesto suffundite* was published as the final piece in the third volume of Berg and Neuber's *Thesaurus Musicus* (RISM 1564¹⁻⁵). It is likely that this collection of motets was printed, at least partly, as a memorial volume to Berg.

19 See note 1 concerning the Nuremberg calendar.

20 *Reichstadt Nürnberg, Amts- und Standbücher* Nr. 308 (Rep. 52b, Nr. 308) *Nürnberger Neubürgerverzeichnis* 1534-1631, fol. 24.

The citizenship law (Bürgerrecht) for Nuremberg was quite complicated. A summary of the law and its many exceptions and changes, from ca. 1300-1500, taken from actual documents, can be found in Günther Döll, *Das Bürgerrecht der freien Reichsstadt Nürnberg vom Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts bis Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts*, typescript dissertation, Friedrich-Albert Universität, Erlangen, 1954. A copy of this work is in the library of the Bayerisches Staatsarchiv in Nuremberg, signature 1270/4⁰.

(annual listings of all sworn members of each trade in the city), and he continued to be listed as such until 1563, the year of his death.

In October 1545 Johann and Katherina's daughter, Veronica, was born.²¹ The couple apparently had no other children, since at Katherina's death (she outlived her husband by many years), Veronica and Katherina junior, a daughter from her first marriage (about whom more below), were the sole heirs of the entire estate.

Thanks to the colophons of Berg and Neuber's prints and the Nuremberg City Council's records of real estate transactions, we have a reasonably clear picture of where Berg and Katherina lived. The colophons of many of Berg and Neuber's publications give the location of the printing house, and these correspond with the listings in the city's documents. From 1542 until 1549, the location of the printing house is given in the colophons (with various permutations) as *auf dem Neuen Bau, bey der Kalckhütten*. After 1549, it was usually *auf dem zwölf brüder platz* or *auf dem zwölf Brüder Platz, bey dem Cartäuser Closter*.

The Nuremberg City Council (*Stadtrat*) was notoriously thorough in its bureaucratic duties. Every real estate transaction of any kind was painstakingly recorded in the *Libri Litterari* (real estate records, *Grundverbriefungsbücher*) of the city; the large folio volumes are almost completely intact and legible, and a modern index volume makes their contents accessible.²² Although there are no records of Berg ever purchasing or selling any property, his shop is frequently mentioned in the documents as a reference point. 16th-Century Nuremberg did not have street names or house numbers; instead, public houses (*Gasthäuser, Gaststätten*), city buildings, churches, and well-known businesses were used as reference points for identifying other houses and lots of real estate. As a printing house, Berg's shops must have been good reference points, for they are frequently mentioned.

The first reference to Berg's property in the *Libri Litterari* occurs on January

²¹ The card file of the Landeskirchliches Archiv, Nuremberg, containing entries from the *Taufbuch* of the parish of St. Lorenz has the following entry: St. Lorenz 1, 205: *vom Perg Fronical V[ater]: Hansl M[utter]: Katherinel 4./10.10.1545* (see also WAGNER, *Nachträge*, p. 137).

A note about spellings: German of the early 16th century was not standardized, and names, in particular, suffered from an almost incredible variety of spellings. In Franken (the province to which Nuremberg belongs), there is to this day a tradition of hard and soft Bs and Ds, and in the 16th century B and P, and D and T, were very freely interchanged. There is no doubt that Hanns or Hans (a common diminutive of Johann) vom Perg is Johann vom Berg. In certain cases, one can even find that the genitive of the first name has been used in the case of Berg's possessions: ... *Hannsen von Perg's* Katherina Schmid's name is also spelled in a variety of ways. Unless quoting a document, I use this spelling for her name, as I have encountered it more frequently than any other variant. However, even she spelled her name in different ways; she signed herself both Katherina and Catherina on certain receipts. The feminine "-in" ending, as in Schmidin and Gerlachin, is found on almost all women's last names in 16th-century Nuremberg, with the occasional exception of a woman's maiden name.

²² Nuremberg Stadtarchiv, Rep. B14/I, *Libri Litterari*.

30, 1545, where *Johann vom Perg* is mentioned as a neighbor to a party involved in a real estate transaction ... *auff dem Neuenpau gegen der Kalckhütten über* ...²³ which corresponds to the address given in the colophon just mentioned.²⁴ Sometime in 1549 Berg (or the firm, it is not clear which) acquired a second piece of property, while continuing to maintain the first. The new 'address', mentioned in the colophons of two music prints in 1549-1550, was *auff dem zwölf Brüder Platz, bey dem Cartäuser Closter*.²⁵ The location of the new property was in the southwestern part of the city, by the Carthusian monastery on the *Zwölffbrüderplatz*²⁶, across from the city's new *Zeughaus* (armory)²⁷, and *Kornhaus* (grain storage facility), on the street known as the *Steig* or *am Graben*.²⁸

Although the buildings owned by Berg are frequently mentioned in transactions involving his neighbors' property, and though all real estate transactions that went through the *Rathaus* (City Hall) were dutifully recorded in the *Libri Litterari*, there is no record of Berg having purchased either of these two properties, properties that were, at least in the latter part of Berg's life, easily recognizable and well known buildings. From whom then, and how, did Berg

²³ Nuremberg Stadtarchiv, Rep. B14/I *Libri Litterari*: vol. 59, fols. 43v-44 [Fri., Jan. 30, 1545]. This is the only one of the *Libri Litterari* documents cited by Wagner in his *Nachträge*. To the best of my knowledge, none of the other *Libri Litterari* (henceforth *LL*) documents pertaining to Berg and Neuber have been examined until now.

²⁴ This address - in its complete form: *Im Sanndt Lorenzer Pfarr, auff dem Neuen Bau, bei dem Kalckhütten* (in the parish of St. Lorenz, on the new area, by the lime-kiln) - was on the far western side of town, just south of the Pegnitz river, on today's *Mittlere Crenzgasse*. Nuremberg was, and still is, divided into two parishes, St. Sebald (north of the Pegnitz river) and St. Lorenz (south of the Pegnitz). Berg had connections with both parishes, but seems to have lived exclusively in the parish of St. Lorenz. In the late 1560's, the City of Nuremberg commissioned a very large-scale map of the city with every building drawn in. This map, the *Braunsche Prospekt*, shows the area in question in great detail, but, unfortunately, Berg's printing house cannot be specifically identified, although the *Kalkhütte* (the city's lime-kiln, which later became the charcoal-kiln) can clearly be seen.

²⁵ RISM 1549³⁵ (G. Forster's *Ein außbund schöner Teutscher Liedlein* ...) and RISM O263 (C. Othmayer's *Reutterische und jegerische Liedlein*, 1549-1550).

²⁶ The Carthäuser Kloster was later incorporated into the Germanisches National Museum; portions of it are still extant. After the advent of the Reformation in Nuremberg in 1525, the monasteries and cloisters were prohibited from initiating novices, but not all were disbanded, and the Carthusian monastery remained intact. The *Zwölffbrüder Platz* (Twelve brothers or Apostles) was named for the *Zwölffbrüderstiftung* next to the monastery.

²⁷ The facade of this building is still extant, it is now the downtown police station.

²⁸ Formerly part of the second set of city walls; the extant city walls are the third set, built in the late 15th and 16th centuries. This location corresponds approximately to the modern *Jacobstrabe*, probably near the point where it intersects with the *Kornmarkt*, across from the *Germanisches National Museum*. COHEN, *Musikdruck*, misidentifies the locations of the Berg and Neuber printing shops, and the error is perpetuated in WAGNER, *Nachträge*. Cohen concludes that there were three separate locations, rather than two, by misidentifying the "zwölff Brüder platz" as a separate location from the "Cartäuser Kloster". There was, in fact, a second "zwölff Brüder Stiftung" in Nuremberg, in the northeast section of town, but the Berg and Neuber shop was very clearly on the "zwölff Brüder platz, bey den Cartäuser". Again, the area is depicted in great detail in the *Braunsche Prospekt*, but, again, unfortunately, the precise building can not be identified.

acquire the buildings? It is this question that helps us to trace Katherine's biography before her marriage to Berg.

It is time to turn to Katherine: Until Rudolph Wagner's publication of 1931²⁹, it was not recognized that after the death of Johann vom Berg (her second husband), Katherine married the printer Dietrich Gerlach, or that the Katherine Gerlach, widow of Dietrich Gerlach, who printed under her own name in the 1570's and 1580's, was the former Katherine vom Berg. On the basis of Katherine Gerlach's will, which mentions two daughters - one each from her first and second marriages - Wagner postulated (correctly, as we shall see) that she must have been married (and widowed) once even before she married Berg, and that her elder daughter, also named Katherine, must have been born of her first marriage.³⁰ Wagner does not, however, attempt to trace Katherine's first husband or her maiden name; given both the number of Schmidts in 16th-century Nuremberg and the patrilineal method of record-keeping, this is hardly surprising. So this is the first time that Katherine's biography before her marriage to Berg has been traced. The marriage record of Johann vom Berg and Katherine Schmidin does not mention whether Katherine was a spinster or a widow, or what her maiden name had been. It states only: *Hanns vom Perg Catherina Schmidin prima Februarii 1541*.³¹

In attempting to trace Johann vom Berg's purchase of the property *auff dem Newen Bau, bei der Kalkhütten* - the original site of the Berg and Neuber printing firm - one finds that, in 1539, a Nicolas Schmid and his wife Katherine purchased a house in the parish of St. Lorenz *bei der Kalckhütte*, for 220 gulden.³² Knowing that Katherine Schmid had probably been widowed when she and Johann vom Berg married, and being unable to trace Berg's own purchase of the property *bei der Kalkhütten*, it seems reasonable to suspect that Katherine vom Berg and Katherine Schmid, wife of Nicolas Schmid, may have been the same person, and thus to postulate that the property that became the printing house of Berg and Neuber was actually Katherine's from her first marriage (Berg would not have been the only Nuremberg printer of his generation to marry a widow of property. In 1552 Valentin Neuber, Ulrich Neuber's brother³³, took over the printing house of Hans Wachter after having married Wachter's widow, Kungund Wachterin, in 1549).³⁴

²⁹ WAGNER, *Nachträge*, pp. 132 ff., 135 ff.

³⁰ WAGNER, *Nachträge*, p. 137.

³¹ *Sebalder Ehebuch* (1524-43), fol. 119v, line 2861. In this case - as the document in question is from the church, not the city - the date of 1541 corresponds to the modern year.

³² *LL*: vol. 49, fol. 200. On the same folio is another entry that mentions a Niklas Schmid and Katherine, who own a house in the *Schmidgasse*, as neighbors to a party in a real estate transaction. This is in all likelihood the house owned by the Schmidts before they moved to the house "bei der Kalckhütte".

Looking further, one finds a marriage record from May 17, 1536, for *Niclas Schmidt Katharina Pischhoffynn*.³⁵ Although there were several Nicolas Schmidts in Nuremberg in this period, only one of them had a wife named Katherine. Therefore, it seems safe to assume that Katherine vom Berg's maiden name was Bischoff and that this Nicolas Schmidt and Katherine Bischoffin are the same couple who later buy the property *bei der Kalckhütten*.

There is still further evidence that Katherine, wife of Nicolas Schmidt, was indeed Katherine vom Berg: from her will, we learn that Katherine Schmid-vom Berg-Gerlach (to list the full succession of her married names) had two daughters, the elder of whom was named Katherine (it was a common practice of the time to name the first daughter for the mother and the first son for the father), and who was the "legitimate daughter of her first marriage" (*in erster ... Ehe erzeugte eheleibliche Tochter*).³⁶ The final confirmation, then, of the identities of Katherine and Nicolas Schmid is found in the younger Katherine's baptismal record from the parish of St. Sebald in Nuremberg: *Schmid Catherina, V[ater] Nicolaus, 8 Mai 1539*.³⁷

The only thing left to show, then, is that this Katherine Schmid, mother of Katherine, wife of Nicolas, and purchaser of the property *bei der Kalkhütten*, was widowed, and free to marry Johann vom Berg in 1541.

The *Sebalder Totengeläutbuch*, the list of those deceased for whom the bells of the church of St. Sebald were rung, lists a *Niclas Schmid furknecht in der Wag* as having died in 1540, in the quarter of the year between September 15 and December 12 (*Von crucis im herbst bis Lucie*). The bells of both St. Sebald and St. Lorenz were rung for him; the fee for this was two gulden, one gulden for each church.³⁸ Although both the name and the date of death seem to indicate the correct Nicolas Schmid - he had to have died before Katherine married

³³ Valentin and Ulrich Neuber were certainly brothers, for why else would a letter from the Nuremberg City Council refer to *our citizens Johann vom Berg, Ulrich and Valentin the Neubers ...*? [Bayerisches Staatsarchiv, Nuremberg: Rep. 61 a/b, Reichsstadt Nürnberg *Briefbücher*: 164, fol. 81v]. Further, in a document from 1590, Georg Neuber is referred to as the "brother's-son" (Bruders-sohn) of Valentin Neuber. [WAGNER, *Nachträge*, p. 134.] There is no reason to doubt that this Georg Neuber is the son of Ulrich who is identified, along with his siblings, in the *Libri Litterari* document of 1583, the attestation to the sale of the Neuber family house *am Ponersberg* by Margaretha, widow of Ulrich. This, then, is the final proof that Valentin and Ulrich Neuber were indeed brothers.

³⁴ *Ämterbüchlein*, 1552, no. 72; see also WAGNER, *Nachträge*, p. 126.

³⁵ *Lorenzer Ehebuch* (1524-42), entry no. 2994 (fol. 182).

³⁶ WAGNER, *Nachträge*, p. 137.

³⁷ From the *Sebalder Taufbuch* card catalogue at the Landeskirchliches Archiv, Nuremberg, fol. 200. Unfortunately, the baptismal records of St. Sebald for this period frequently do not include the name of the mother of the child!

³⁸ There is no register of deaths for St. Lorenz before 1547, and the register from St. Sebald does not give precise dates. It is arranged by quarters of the church year, and lists name and (sometimes) occupation and address, as well as indicating whether the bells of only St. Sebald or the bells of both churches were rung for the deceased.

Johann vom Berg in February 1541 – the occupation and address seem almost irreconcilable with the little that we know of Schmid. It seems unlikely that Katherina's Nicolas was either a *furknecht* (wagon driver or wagon handler) or lived *in der Wag*, since we know they had a house *bei der Kalckhütten*. The occupation of *furknecht* – wagon hand – does not fit in with the image of a man wealthy enough to purchase his own house, and the address at which he is listed in the *Sebalder Totengeläutbuch* is not that of his house.

It is possible, of course, that at one time he had been a *furknecht*, living at the address given, and that that out-of-date information had been entered into the book in error; or, it is just as possible that the entry is simply a scribal error. Perhaps he had been mistaken for a different Nicolas Schmid, or perhaps the entry does, in fact, refer to a different Nicolas Schmid entirely. The likelihood of the entry being an error, rather than referring to a different Nicolas Schmidt, is increased when one takes into account that the only deaths recorded in the *Sebalder Totengeläutbuch* were those for whom the bells of the church were rung, and in this case, the bells of both churches were rung. It seems unlikely that a *furknecht's* widow, or his estate, would have had the two gulden necessary to pay for the ringing of the bells at both churches; many families paid only for the ringing of bells at one of the churches. The price of two gulden was a rather hefty sum; the house purchased by Nicolas and Katherina in 1539 cost 220 gulden.

Perhaps the error lies in the reference to Nicolas's occupation, or at least in the precise description of it. Although a wagon *driver's* widow might not have had the requisite gulden, the widow of a *furman* – wagon owner – would have been able to afford this sum. The wagons in question were those used to transport merchandise, which was the life-blood of Nuremberg's economy in the 16th century. Moreover, it is much more likely that a *furman* would have been able to afford a house, to leave the gulden necessary to have the church bells rung, and to leave a widow of the social standing appropriate to meeting and marrying a music printer, particularly a music printer educated at a university. It seems likely, then, that the identification of Schmid as a *furknecht* is an error, and that the reference should read *furman*. Finally, the designation *in der Wag* may refer not to his home, but possibly to his place of business.

A last possibility – and to my mind a very plausible one – is that the entry is correct in referring to Schmidt as a *furknecht*, and that the address given is that of his place of business; perhaps the money necessary for the purchase of the house and the ringing of the bells was Katherina's all along.

In any event, it seems entirely possible that the entry does indeed refer to the correct Nicolas Schmid, and that Katherina lost her first husband in the last quarter of 1540. While these identifications of Katherina and Nicolas Schmid are by no means positive, they are both plausible and likely. There seems to be little likelihood, in a city as small as Nuremberg in the 16th century, of there having been two Katherina Schmidts who shared so many similarities!

In summary, then, Katherina was almost certainly born Katherina Bischoff, and on May 17, 1536, she married Nicolas Schmid. They had one child, a girl named Kathèrina (after her mother) in 1539, and purchased a house *bei der Kalkhütte* in the same year. Nicolas died in the last quarter of 1540, leaving the widowed Katherina with the property. She, as a widow with a young daughter, and owning a house *bei der Kalkhütte*, married Johann vom Berg in February of 1541, shortly before he took his oath of citizenship.

Katherina and Johann vom Berg had one daughter, Veronica, who was baptised between the 4th and 10th of October, 1545, in the parish of St. Lorenz. Berg died on August 7, 1563, and shortly thereafter, on October 13, 1563, Veronica, aged eighteen, married Magister Johannes Kauffmann, already a noted preacher.³⁹ The Kauffmanns had ten children, two of whom would inherit the firm.

In 1564, the year following Berg's death, the entry for the firm in the city's lists of trades people, the *Ämterbüchlein*, lists *Katherina, Johann vom Bergs Witib* (widow), both as the printer and the owner of the firm. Her name is followed by those of three of the firm's typesetters – Martin Frantz, Marx Vischer, Daniel Lochner (a fourth typesetter's name is crossed out) – and that of Ulrich Neuber.

Katherina vom Berg 'senior' married again in 1565. Her third husband was Dietrich Gerlach von Aerdingen, one of her own employees.⁴⁰ After Katherina's marriage to Gerlach, the firm continued for a short time as Gerlach and Neuber until Ulrich Neuber finally left the firm, as already mentioned, to found his own in 1568. Two of the firm's typesetters, Martin Frantz and Marx Vischer, left with Neuber. (Marx Vischer then set up on his own briefly, but went back to the (now-Gerlach) firm as a typesetter in 1569, along with one of Valentin Neuber's long-time employees, Martin de Froy, who had also been on his own the previous year).⁴¹

Dietrich Gerlach died on August 17, 1575.⁴² Katherina 'senior' carried on the firm very successfully for seventeen more years, using the colophon: *Katherina Gerlach(in) and Johann vom Berg's heirs*. In Katherina's capable hands, the firm became one of the two official printers for the Nuremberg City Council. The number of music works published by the firm continued to increase, to include many works by such composers as Lassus, Lechner, and Hassler. One of the Nuremberg archives has a large number of autograph receipts to and from the City Council from Katherina Gerlach for various types of official publications. Another collection contains letters to the Nuremberg City

³⁹ WAGNER, *Nachträge*, p. 137.

⁴⁰ WAGNER, *Nachträge*, p. 132.

⁴¹ *Ämterbüchlein* entries for 1568–59.

⁴² From the card catalogue of the *Landeskirchliches Archiv*, Nuremberg: Gerlach, Dietrich| Buchtrucker auf dem Steig| 17.8.1575| Lor[enz] 467.

Council from Lasso's sons, upholding the right of Katherina Gerlach to publish certain of their father's works.

Until Rudolph Wagner's *Nachträge* of 1930, the identities of the mother and her daughter Katherina, particularly after Berg's death, had been confused by scholars. The date when Katherina Schmid 'the younger' first married is not recorded. Her first marriage was to Hanns P(B)raun, her second, to Lamprecht de Neden, a bookseller, and her third, on January 30, 1586, to Alexander Dietrich von Lohr, a type- or font-maker who worked in the [by-then-Gerlach] firm.⁴³ Katherina 'junior' and Alexander Dietrich then went into business for themselves as printers and booksellers.

In contemporary documents the daughter is referred to as Katherina Dietrichin or Katherina Alexander Dietrichin (being the wife of Alexander Dietrich - it was quite common to identify women by their husband's last or first and last names), while the mother is sometimes referred to as Katherina Dietrich Gerlachin (after Dietrich Gerlach); so the source of confusion is obvious and was further compounded because both women were married to printers, and each was a printer in her own right. Katherina vom Berg, Katherina Gerlach, and Katherina Dietrich were neither one person, nor three, as has sometimes been supposed, but two women, mother and daughter.

Katherina ('senior') died in August of 1592. The precise date of her death is not known, but she was buried on August 12, 1592, at least 71 years old.⁴⁴ We know from her will, which was contested by Katherina Dietrich, her elder daughter, that the firm proper was bequeathed to Veronica Kauffmann, while some of the property along with the bookseller's stalls in Frankfurt and Leipzig were bequeathed to Katherina 'junior'.

The firm, although now owned by Veronica, was managed by Paul Kauffmann, one of the ten children of Veronica and Johannes Kauffmann (and therefore Katherina's grandson), who had been working with and for his grandmother for many years. The firm continued printing under Katherina's name until well after her death and, as previously mentioned, only formally became Paul Kauffmann's in 1601. It seems that Katherina, then, brought her own property to the firm of Berg and Neuber, ran the firm on her own for about thirty years, and then bequeathed it in turn to her daughters and grandsons.

She must have been a powerful force indeed in one of the major 16th-century music printing centers. The details of her management of the firm, the business dealings of the printing house, and the relationships of the printers with many important composers and authors - subjects that can not be covered in the scope of this essay - as well as her role in the firm's repertorial choices and her

⁴³ WAGNER, *Nachträge*, p. 138.

⁴⁴ It is most unlikely that she was younger than fifteen when she first married.

influence in shaping the taste of the buying public remain to be studied, as do the complete biographies of her two daughters. They each promise to be very interesting studies indeed.

INNOVATION AND MISFORTUNE

Augsburg music printing in the first half of the 16th century

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In the second half of the 15th century, the Reichsstadt Augsburg became one of the most important centres of book printing in the German speaking countries. The city was well prepared for such a development: there were paper mills, wood-cutters, craftsmen for metallurgical work and book illustrators. Furthermore, the Augsburgian clergy had a strong interest in making opulent liturgical books. In addition, they involved themselves in the new technology of printing. In 1474 the monks of Ulrich and Afra ran a press, but it was soon evident that this business would be more effective if it was done by laymen.¹ Consequently, a few years later, in order to secure good liturgical printings, the bishop Johann von Werdenberg asked Erhart Ratdolt to move from Venice to Augsburg; Ratdolt, born in Augsburg, was already well known for calendar prints and also for his high quality black-red prints of liturgical books.²

However, it was not only Ratdolt who made this town famous in the history of German music printing. In 1502, Erhard Öglin moved to Augsburg, together with Johann Otmar. Öglin was a learned printer (he had studied in Tübingen); he was, for instance, one of the first to use Hebrew letters.³ Two important people behind the scenes forced Öglin to produce the first print of mensural music on the northern side of the Alps. First there was Conrad Celtis, the famous humanist, living at the time in Vienna and second, Johannes Rynmann, an important bookseller and publisher. Rynmann had his firm in Augsburg and operated internationally; he commissioned prints in Hagenau, Strasbourg, Basle, Nuremberg and Venice but very scarcely in Augsburg.⁴ In 1507, Rynmann was at the peak of his activities; from the same year dates an

¹ J. BELLOT, *Augsburg. Portrait einer Druckerstadt*, in *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, 17, 1970, p. 249. It seems that several Augsburgian printers were engaged in this clerical enterprise (as Schüssler, Bämle, and Sorg). With the death of the abbot Melchior von Stammheim in 1474 the interest in such an activities faded. Cf. F. GELDNER, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker*, vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1968, pp. 138.

² Cf. K. SCHOTTENLOHER, *Die liturgischen Druckwerke Erhard Ratdolts aus Augsburg 1485-1522*, (*Sonderveröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft*, Bd. 1), Mainz, 1922; T. WOHNHAAS, *Zu Erhard Ratdolts liturgischen Drucken*, in *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte*, 21, 1987, pp. 112-116. General information on Ratdolt provides P. GEISSLER, *Erhard Ratdolt, in Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben*, vol. 9, 1966, pp. 97-153.

³ J. BENZING, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, (*Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen*, 12), Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 14.

epigram written by Conrad Celtis which emphasizes the bookseller's merits in supporting the humanistic studies in the German countries.⁵ A few years before, Conrad Celtis cooperated with the humanist and teacher Peter Treibenreif alias Tritonius; at the University of Ingolstadt, Tritonius wrote his chordal settings of classical metres.⁶

The *Melopoiae*, which Öglin printed in 1507, contain 22 odes by Horatius and Celtis, set to music by Tritonius.⁷ Öglin used double imprint with movable types, but we cannot decide whether he had ever seen a music print by Petrucci or had heard of it. Nevertheless, the technological basics had already been established by the work of the printers of liturgical books. Rightly, Celtis celebrates Öglin in an epigram to be *the first among us Germans who pressed shimmering notes in metal*.⁸ In one aspect the publication of the *Melopoiae* had rather modern features: composer, publisher, and printer were named explicitly in its colophon.⁹

Celtis' involvement with this print points out the connection with Augsburg, not only with regard to book trading businesses, such as Rynmann's, but also to the humanistic circles around the emperor Maximilian, who had his official printer Schönsperger there. Up to his death in 1519, Augsburg was Maximilian's favourite city. This is easily seen by the frequency of his stays in the Reichsstadt. For a long time it has been known that the *Liederbuch* which left Öglin's press in 1512 reflects the repertoire of Maximilian's Hofkapelle. Regarding the process of book making, one point attracts special attention. The title colophon of the *Liederbuch* shows the stages of producing a print and reads as follows: *In a special artful way and with the highest labour, these books of songs are corrected with tenor, discant, alto and bass in the Imperial and Holy Empire's City of Augsburg, pressed and completed by Erhart Öglin on July 19th, 1512*.¹⁰ The printer appears here as 'completer' while the act of

⁴ H. GRIMM, *Die Buchführer des deutschen Kulturbereichs und ihre Niederlassungsorte in der Zeitspanne 1490 bis um 1550*, Separatum from: *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*. Bd. VII, Lieferung 5/6, Frankfurt/M., 1966, cols. 1280-1286, especially col. 1283.

⁵ GRIMM (fn. 4), col. 1285.

⁶ P. BERGQUIST, *Tritonius*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980, vol. 19, p. 155 f. According to Bergquist, Tritonius applied in 1509, after Celtis's death, without success for a position in Augsburg.

⁷ *Melopoiae sive harmoniae tetracenticae super XXII genera carminum Heroicorum Elegiacorum Lyricorum & ecclesiasticorum hymnorum per Petrum Tritonium et alios doctos sodalitatis Litterariae nostrae musicos secundum naturas & tempora syllabarum et pedum compositae et regulatae ductu chunradi Celtis foeliciter impresse ...*

⁸ *Ad Erhardum Oglin impressorem: Inter germanos nostros fuit Oglin Erhardus / Qui primus intidas pressit in aeris notas / Primus et hic lyricas expressit carmine musas / Quatuor et docuit vocibus aere cani.* (Colophon of the *Melopoiae*). Instead of *intidas ... aeris* is to be read *nitidas ... aere*. Cf. Rochus von LILENCRON, *Die horazischen Metren in deutschen Kompositionen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, in *Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 3, 1887, (pp. 26-91), p. 27.

⁹ The publisher is mentioned with the formula "*expensis Ioannis Riman*".

correcting is emphasized. Obviously the 49 secular and sacred songs were proof sung and it seems to have been Öglin's aim to present an optimal text. It is rather likely that the emendation of the source copies was done by members of the Hofkapelle who were very often with Maximilian in Augsburg.¹¹

In the realm of music printing, the Maximilian era closed with a significant work which also shows some features not seen before in the northern parts of Europê. The famous *Liber selectarum cantionum* is the first printed anthology of motets in Germany and the first largesize choirbook printed with movable types. Most probably it was edited by Ludwig Senfl, who stayed in Augsburg for three years, after the Imperial Chapel had been disbanded in 1519.¹² The bulk of the 24 motets was composed by Isaac, Josquin and Senfl. It is obvious that, like the Öglin *Liederbuch* of 1512, this print depends on connections to the Hofkapelle. Senfl was a member of this institution for many years and Isaac's successor *Hofkomponist* for Maximilian. The *Liber selectarum cantionum* is dedicated to Cardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenberg, archbishop of Salzburg and a former close counsellor of Maximilian. Although Lang was born in Augsburg and a cousin to Marx Wirsung, one of the printers, the motivation for this sumptuous volume still remains unclear.¹³ Obviously, the proofs were being corrected while they were produced (with the effect that the fourteen extant copies show a rich spectrum of variants).¹⁴ Whether Senfl himself was the corrector, is not known, and there is also no concrete indication that he stipulated this print. Senfl could have done so, perhaps in order to get new employment at Cardinal Lang's court. If this edition was originally planned as a memorial for Maximilian, then an explicit epitaph motet is missing. We know that Lang led the negotiations for the Imperial succession and perhaps it was a last sign from the dissolved Hofkapelle to the future emperor,

¹⁰ *Aus sonderer kunstlicher art, vnd mit höchstem fleiss seind diß gesangbüecher, mit Tenor Discant Bass und Alt Corgiert worden, in der Kayserlichen vnnnd dess hailigen reichs Stat Augspurg, vnd durch Erhart Öglin getruckt vnd volendt, am [19. jul. 1512] - A modern edition (intituled: Erhart Oeglin's Liederbuch zu vier Stimmen. Augsburg 1512) was made by R. EITNER and J.J. MAIER, *Publikation älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke*, vol. 9, 1880. This edition contains facsimilia of the title woodcuts, of the colophon, and of some pages of music.*

¹¹ In the context of completing Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus* the act of "übersingen", in the meaning of "proof singing", is reported. Cf. M. SCHULER, *Zur Überlieferung des "Choralis Constantinus" von Heinrich Isaac*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 36, 1979, p. 68. As far as the above mentioned edition shows, the text Öglin edited is obviously well corrected.

¹² *Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo Mutetas appellant sex quinque et quatuor vocum.* - Dedication and epilogue in: M.BENTE, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls*, Wiesbaden, 1968, pp. 295-301. - Cf. A. DUNNING, *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555*, Utrecht, 1970, pp. 45-56. - Transcription of content in K.C. ROBERTS jr., *The Music of Ludwig Senfl. A Critical Appraisal*, Ph. Diss., Univ. of Michigan, 1965, vol. ii. - M. PICKER, "Liber selectarum cantionum" (Augsburg, Grimm & Wirsung, 1520), *A Neglected Monument of Renaissance Music and Music Printing*, in *Die Entstehung einer musikalischen Quelle im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Symposium Wolfenbüttel, 1992 (in print).

¹³ For the relationship of Marx Wirsung to Cardinal Lang cf. GRIMM, col. 1291.

¹⁴ Cf. PICKER (fn. 12).

given in hope that there would be a new formation.¹⁵ To speculate further: this print was perhaps the beginning of a project of sacred music with forthcoming sequels, connected with the Hofkapelle repertoire. With regard to the casting of special types just for this one print, it seems otherwise rather uneconomic to make only one book out of it.¹⁶

Nevertheless, we must still accept that behind this work lies a hidden reason. The printing house, Grimm & Wirsung, reputed to be an ambitious firm, didn't match its aims. Markus (Marx) Wirsung died in 1521/22, Sigmund Grimm, originally a well-to-do physician, went bankrupt; he had to sell his well-equipped shop including casting tools, types, machines and wood engravings fully worked out; he died soon after, in 1527.¹⁷

Until 1522, the European output of anthologies of mensural music reached about 70 titles, more than 60 were Italian (about 38 from the Petrucci press).¹⁸ The rest, nine extant prints (to be precise), originated from German countries, and Augsburg prints reached a total of five, more than the other German printing localities (Mainz and Cologne) put together. However, in comparison to the total output of books, the music printing in Augsburg was, like elsewhere, in terms of quantity almost negligible. Without any doubt, the Augsburg printers Öglin and later Grimm & Wirsung, had at this point in time the chance to be leading music printers, but local circumstances were not favourable. A few points should be highlighted.¹⁹

In contrast opposite to printers elsewhere, the Augsburg firms had not much available capital. None of them became rich, like their Basle, Strasbourg or Venice colleagues; mostly they went bankrupt or died in poverty.

The Augsburg printers tended to resort to books in German; many of them, especially those born locally, did not know much Latin. Learned printers came from outside, but they had even more problems in gaining capital than the local resident

¹⁵ H. WAGNER, *Kardinal Matthäus Lang*, in *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben*, vol. V, Munich, 1956, pp. 45-69, 57 f.

¹⁶ A print made with moveable types of metal which obviously were cast for just one occasion was made 1560 by Hofhalter in Vienna. In this case, the extraordinary status of the product is emphasized by the technique of music printing. Cf. M. STEINHARDT, *A Musical Offering to Emperor Maximilian II: a Political and Religious Document of the Renaissance*, in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 28, 1977, pp. 19-27.

¹⁷ K. SCHOTTENLOHER, *Der Augsburger Verleger Sigmund Grimm und sein Geschäftszusammenbruch im Oktober 1527*, in *Der Sammler*, 11, 1921, pp. 344 f. - The Augsburgian printer Heinrich Steiner took over the woodblocks of the famous Petrarca edition which Grimm & Wirsung planned.

¹⁸ The figures are on the base of *RISM*, Series B I, 1.

¹⁹ A thorough study of the history of book printing in Augsburg up to 1550 was recently elaborated by H.-J. KÜNAST, *"Getruckt zu Augspurg". Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555*, (*Studia Augustana*, 8), Tübingen, 1997. I thank Dr. Künast for his help and friendly assistance.

firms. What made Augsburg famous was the German vernacular illustrated book. The few Augsburg printings of mensural music reveal a close connection to the emperor Maximilian, be it the humanistic circle around him or the Hofkapelle. It is obvious that with the death of Maximilian much of the inspiration and encouragement for mensural music disappeared.

The tumultuous times to come were foreshadowed by the first confrontation between Martin Luther and Cardinal Cajetan on the fringe of the 1518 Reichstag in Augsburg. During the reformation, the music printing activities there showed a typical mix of song pamphlets, small Lutheran hymn books and theoretical treatises for school.²⁰

When in 1532, Egenolff in Frankfurt and Rhau in Wittenberg began to edit their important musical anthologies, they created a continuity which was maintained by Formschneider (1537) and Petreius (1538), both in Nürnberg. Such a continuity was never achieved in Augsburg.

With the edition of two compilations of mensural music, an enigmatic person entered the field of music publishing in the Reichsstadt: the town musician and teacher Sigmund Salminger (ca. 1500-after 1562).²¹ Salminger was a Franciscan monk born in Munich. He came to Augsburg in around 1526 and was soon a leading figure in the anabaptist movement, an activity for which he was sentenced to three years imprisonment in 1528. He withdrew officially, got a civil post as Stadtpfeifer about 1537 and brought out the first complete German song psalter (during 1537 and 1538; only the lyrics were printed). Nevertheless, Salminger's mystical and fundamentalist thoughts still remained principally the same as before, as it is seen in some theological publications. Yet he was not unworldly: for his plans in music-publishing he secured an Imperial privilege in 1539; its term of copyright lasted for 5 years. This privilege in music publishing was the third in the history of law of the German Empire; before Salminger, only the organist Arnolt Schlick (1511) and the lutenist Hans Newsidler (1535) had had an Imperial privilege.²² At the time the Reichsstadt Augsburg was governed by an utterly protestant regime, more inclined to the rigorous doctrines of Zwingli than to Luther's.²³ The bishop, a structural counterpart to the secular powers since the middle ages, made his exodus in

²⁰ See the complete list of the extant Augsburgian music prints up to 1550 in the appendix.

²¹ I. BACKUS, *Sigmund Salminger*, in *Bibliotheca Dissidentium: Répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles*, vol. 6., Baden-Baden, 1985 (*Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana*, C), pp. 109-142. - Still worth reading is the sensitive contribution of H.M. SCHLETERER in *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 21, 1889, pp. 177-186 and the informative paragraphs in B.A. WALLNER, *Musikalische Denkmäler der Steinätzkunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts nebst Beiträgen zur Musikpflege dieser Zeit*, Munich, 1912, pp. 28-34.

²² H. POHLMANN, *Die Frühgeschichte des musikalischen Urheberrechts (ca. 1440-1800)*, Kassel etc., 1962 (*Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten*, vol. 20), pp. 183, 199; the privilege: p. 265.

²³ H. IMMENKOTTER, *Kirche zwischen Reformation und Parität*, in Gunther GOTTLIEB et. al. (ed.), *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, Stuttgart, 1984, pp. 398-400.

1537 to Dillingen, a small town in the west.²⁴ The patriciate was divided into catholic and protestant families; the Fugger and Welser families confirmed their affiliation to the Habsburgians and the old belief.

In this relatively balanced and consolidated situation Salminger edited a book of figural music for the newly installed protestant liturgy in Prussia. This collection was ordered by the first trumpet player of Duke Albrecht, Hans Kugelmann, a born Augsburgian and former member of the Maximilian chapel. The *Concentus novi* of 1540 represent a somewhat stylistically outdated collection of 'cantus firmus' settings.²⁵ The preface is from the pen of the city official Georg Frölich (ca. 1500-1559).²⁶ Only at the first glance does it appear as an eulogy on music. Behind the conventional surface Frölich comes to an aggressive formulation of his desire for peace:

In the large countries and cities nothing is more lacking than the right musica and tune: the discantist wants to sing bass, the bass alto, and everybody likes to sing what his nature forbids him. Therefore the world sounds like a beetle in a farmer's boot: it would be no wonder if the right lutinist, God in Heaven, incensed, smashed the discordant, rotten and clotted strings and beat the lute against the ground.²⁷

After all, the political engagement of Frölich meant to encourage the Reichstadt to join the *Schmalkaldischer Bund*, a union of certain protestant cities and territories. This engagement finally involved the city in a war with Charles V, who succeeded in 1547 and ended the protestant government of the guilds in Augsburg in favour of an oligarchy of noblemen and patricians. Frölich was then accused and had to leave the city - Frölich's preface and his later fate points to the fragile peace within the township of the Augsburg at that time. In this context Salminger's musical enterprises notwithstanding seem to be politi-

²⁴ F. ZOEPFL, *Das Bistum Augsburg und seine Bischöfe im Reformationsjahrhundert*, München, Augsburg, 1969, pp. 116 f.

²⁵ *Concentus novi, trium vocum, ecclesiarum usui in Prussia praecipue accomodati. Joanne Kugelmanno, tubicinae symphoniarum authore. News Gesanng, mit dreyen Stimmen, den Kirchen und Schulen zu nutz, newlich in Preußen durch Joannem Kugelmann gesetzt. Item etliche Stuck, mit acht, sechs, fünf und vier Stymmen hinzu gethan.* - Modern edition (Hans Engel) in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, Sonderreihe, vol. 2, Kassel, 1955.

²⁶ M. RADLKOFER, *Leben und Schriften des Georg Fröhlich, Stadtschreibers zu Augsburg*, in *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins Schwaben* 27, 1900, pp. 46-132.

²⁷ *Bevor aber in großen Landen und Städten, da nichts anders mangelte dann rechte Musica und Zusammenstimmens: Der Discantist will den Baß, der Bassist den Alt, und ein jeder singen, darzu er von Natur und übung unbestimmt ist: Darum lautet es auch jetzt in der Welt, eben wie ein Käfer oder Roßwibel in eim Baurenstiefel: Wäre nit Wunder, daß der recht Lutinist, Gott im Himmel erzürmet, und die mißhellenden, faulen, erstockten Saiten zertrümmert, und die Lauten wider den Boden schlägt.* - The preface is published completely in P. WACKERNAGEL, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt/M. 1855 (reprint Hildesheim 1961), pp. 569-571.

cal, insofar as they could mean for him a possible way to act publicly without the risk of being involved in religious controversies.

In March 1540, Salminger and his printer Kriegstein (Kriesstein) brought out their first part book edition: the *Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones* are famous for containing first publications of Josquin's, Willaert's and others' motets, chansons and Lieder. In its mix of compositions based on sacred and secular, Latin, French, German, Italian and Flemish texts, the neatly composed anthology of 106 items is in its spectrum of variety an atypical product in the context of the time. Frequently interspersed are 'fugae', i. e. canonic pieces (the last pages of the books contain exclusively fugae), and it seems, as if the main purpose of this edition was its use for tyrones, for more or less advanced pupils, or amateurs.

This is clearly expressed in the dedication *ad musices studiosos*, and by no means part of the protestant attitude to music. *Musica donum dei*, this the title of the last piece, a six part canon, was the first ever published composition of Tilman Susato. Comparison with contemporary Nuremberg production soon reveals that there was indeed more than a loose connection between Augsburg and the Low Countries; for instance, names like Benedictus [Appenzeller] or Courtois are not often found in Nuremberg collections.

It took Salminger five years - incidentally the time span of the privilege's validity - to come to the public again with two collections. The dedications of these collections mirror the two main spheres of power in the city: the *Concentus* are dedicated to the town council; the *Cantiones* are the very first dedication of a musical edition to a member of the Fugger family, Hans Jacob.²⁸ These two collections point out to Salminger's two consecutive employers; he was, at first, 'Stadtpfeifer' in the service of the city; later he was to become an employee of the Fugger family, most probably of Hans Jacob.

Both prints contain motets throughout. Like with most collections of the time it is not easy to determine whether they are more inclined to the protestant or to the catholic side. A significant difference is to be stated with regard to the provenance of the composers; in the council-dedicated print, the German composers hold 25 %, in the other only 6 %; the latter displays a good imperial 'Nederlandish' selection. It is interesting to see and deserves more investigation, that Salminger brought the sequence of pieces in the *Concentus* not only into an order by the decreasing number of voices but also in thematic coherences. The first half has a trinitary-christological tendency; the 16th motet is in honour of S Cecilia. The second half contains lamentations, three *Nenien* (funeral compositions or epitaphs), followed by motets around resurrection.²⁹

²⁸ *Concentus octo, sex, quinque & quatuor vocum, omnium iucundissimi, nuspiam ante sic aediti [...]* (Ulhart 1545); *Cantiones septem, sex et quinque vocum. Longa gravissimae, iuxta ac amoenissimae, in Germania maxime hactenus typis non excusae* (Kriegstein 1545; 2. ed. 1546).

The 36th piece is placed as a conclusion. It is a *Deo gratias* for twelve voices by the English/Dutch Philip de Wildre; its cantus firmus is the *Ite missa est* from the 11th mass (*Missa Orbis factor*).³⁰

These prints should be the last enterprises in the field of Augsburg music publishing of which the arrangement seems to be a result of good connections to the north and south. Moreover, the content of the books shows that despite the rigid protestant regime from 1537, the common ground between the old and new belief was still observed, even by a formerly more radical religious dissident such as Salminger. It is also obvious that there was a second power in the city, the rich families of Fugger and others, which had to be taken into account.

Although two more anthologies of *Cantiones selectissimae* left the Augsburg presses, a closer look at these prints leads to the suggestion that they were by-products of the Reichstag 1547-1548, when Charles V helped the catholics to restore their liturgy and worldly power in Augsburg. The collection of 1548 displayed explicitly and exclusively compositions of the four leading musicians of the imperial chapel (Canis, Crecquillon, Payen, Lestainnier), who surely were in Augsburg during this year.³¹ The other one is a large *Albumblatt* for the Archduke Maximilian, written in canonic form by the Viennese Kapellmeister Petrus Massenus on Maximilian's departure to Spain in late 1547 (but dedicated to Maria of Hungary). In order to make a collection out of this 'Gelegenheitswerk' Salminger added 11 motets by Clemens non papa; this points once again to the good connections between the Augsburgian Stadtpfeifer and the northern Habsburgian countries.³²

Some broadsheet prints appear almost as political good will addresses, especially those for the Fuggers and for Charles's V. sister Marie of Hungary. Ulrich Brätel's canon *Ecce quam bonum* [et quam incundum habitare fratres in

²⁹ Two 'Nenien' were for Anna Ehem (d. 1535; Senfl: *Quid vitam sinete*) respectively her husband Christoph Ehem (d. 1537; Zinsmaister, *Tantum igitur potuit*), a merchant of the Augsburgian weaver's guild and parents of Christoph Ehem (1528-1592). Cf. F. EKKEHART, *Ehem*, in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 4, 1959, cols. 342b-343b. The third was for Isabella, the wife of Charles V. (d. 1537; Payen, *Carole, cur defles*).

³⁰ P. VAN WILDER, *Collected Works I: Sacred Works*, in J.A. BERNSTEIN (ed.), *Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance*, 4, New York, 1991. *Deo Gratias*, pp. 27-32.

³¹ *Cantiones selectissimae. Quatuor vocum. Ab eximiis et praestantibus Caesareae Maiestatis Capellae musicis. M. Cornelio Cane. Thoma Crecquillone. Nicolao Payen & Johanne Lestainnier organista, compositae et in comitiis augustanis studio et impensis Sigismundi Salmingeri in lucem aeditae.* (1st book: Ulhart 1548).

³² *Cantiones selectissimae. Quatuor vocum.* (2nd book: Ulhart 1549), Facsimiles in Pieter Maessens. *Um 1505-1562. Sämtliche Werke.* Veröffentlicht von O. WESSELY und M. EYBL, Graz, 1995 (*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 149), pp. XIV f. - For the Massenus canons cf. L. YOUENS, *Forgotten Puzzles: Canons by Pieter Maessens*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 46, 1992, pp. 81-144. Like the later, 1560 'Albumblatt' for Maximilian, this print could have some religious-political implications; both, Mary of Hungary and Maximilian, had a friendly attitude towards the new belief.

unum], is dedicated to five brothers of the Fugger family.³³ This text seems not only to appeal to the spirit of brotherliness but also to that of the coexistence of protestants and catholics. In addition, this could be an allusion to the psalm verse to the followers of Savonarola in the early 16th century Florence.³⁴ The Marian text *Sancta Maria succurre nobis* can also be read as a plea from the severely punished Reichsstadt to Marie of Hungary.³⁵ May these interpretations be speculation - it is remarkable how the form of the broadsheet print was transformed from a popular propaganda medium into a musically artistic one addressed to political leaders. In one undated print, Salminger used the broadsheet also as medium for a short instruction into music. He was responsible for the *Dispositio* and gave us herewith an idea of his pedagogical attitude.³⁶

Another broadsheet, the canon *Laudate Dominum* by Sixt Dietrich, also exists as an etching in stone.³⁷ It is probably the oldest known musical example made in this technique; for the last time, it throws light on the innovative craftsmanship available in Augsburg at the time.

In 1561, we lose all trace of Sigmund Salminger; he was then in the service of the Fuggers. In 1551-1552, he helped to transfer the Schedel library from Nuremberg to the library of Hans Jakob Fugger, but he never published again.³⁸ Until the end of the century the Augsburgian music print activities had been fallen back to a most provincial state, and the question has to be posed: What constellation made the competing Reichsstadt in South Germany, Nuremberg, such an important place for music printing?

³³ Ulrich Brätel, *Ecce quam bonum*, canon 8vv (Ulhart, 1548), dedicated to Anton, Georg, Hans Jakob, Christoph, and Raymond Fugger.

³⁴ Cf. E.E. LOWINSKY, *A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome*, in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. [...] by Bonnie J. Blackburn, Chicago & London, 1989, vol. II, pp. 440-445; M. FROMSON, *Themes of Exile in Willaert's Musica nova*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47, 1994, pp. 442-488.

³⁵ *Sancta Maria succurre miseris*, two-part canonic motet by Benedictus [Appenzeller] (Ulhart?, 1548).

³⁶ *Gradatio, sive Scala principiorum artis musicae* [...] *Ain Gesanglätter, darmit die anfänger der Music leichtlich mögen in die Kunst geführt werden* (Ulhart, n.d.).

³⁷ Augsburg, Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Inv.-Nr. 3440. - The stone plate of square format (225 mm; 10 mm thickness) is not a cast of the original print; besides two slight differences in the musical text (2 dots are missing) and a different initiale, the broadsheet is dated 1547, the etching shows 1550. Perhaps the broadsheet print form was newly composed in order to be cast. - WALLNER (fn. 21), pp. 19-37; A. HAEMMERLE, *Die Lithographie in Augsburg*, in *Das Schwäbische Museum* 3, 1927, pp. 184 f.

³⁸ P. LEHMANN, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*, 2 vols. Tübingen 1956-1960. vol. 1, pp. 54-56.

APPENDIX

Augsburg music prints 1500-1550

Th: treatise; M: mensural music; H: hymn(s); B: broadsheet; W: woodcut;

T: printed with music types (s single, d double);

last column: bold number = print mentioned

1498	Keinspeck: <i>Lelium</i> [1 st ed. Basle 1496]
1507	Tritonius (Treibenreif): <i>Melopoiae</i>
1507	Tritonius: <i>Harmonie</i>
1508	Bild : <i>Stella musices</i>
1511	Virdung, Sebastian: <i>Musica getutscht</i> [1 st ed. Basle 1511]
1512	[Liederbuch]
1513	[68 Lieder]
1515	Boemus, Johannes: <i>Liber heroicus</i>
1515	Foeniseca: <i>Musica</i>
1516	Aventinus: <i>Musicae rudimenta</i>
1520	Senfl (ed.?): <i>Liber selectarum cantionum</i>
1523	<i>O Herr und Gott</i>
1523	Rhegius: <i>Fastenhymnus deutsch</i>
1524	Hegenwalt: <i>Miserere mei</i>
1524	Luther: <i>Nun freut euch liebe Christen gmein</i>
1524	<i>Etlich Lobgesang</i>
1524	<i>J. Hus gebessert</i>
1524	<i>Ein Lobgesang auf Ostern</i>
1525	<i>Lobsang auf Weihnacht</i>
1526	<i>Etliche geistliche Lieder</i>
1526	<i>Deutsche Messe</i>
1526	Vogther: <i>Ein neues evangelisch Lied</i>
1530	<i>Ein schöns neues christlichs Lied</i>
1535	Listenius: <i>Rudimenta</i>
1536	Listenius: <i>Rudimenta</i>
1537	Stomius: <i>Instructio</i>
1537	<i>Der 91. Psalm</i>
1537	Listenius: <i>Musica</i>
1537	Listenius: <i>Rudimenta</i>
1538	Listenius: <i>Musica</i>
1538	Listenius: <i>Rudimenta</i>
1540	Listenius: <i>Rudimenta</i>
1540	Kugelman; Salminger (ed.): <i>Concentus novi</i>

Froschauer	Th	W		1
Öglin; Rynmann	M	Td		2
Öglin	M	Td		3
Öglin/Nadler	Th	W		4
Öglin	Th	W		5
Öglin	M	Td		6
Öglin	M	Td		7
Miller	Th	W		8
Miller	Th	W		9
Miller	Th	W		10
Grimm & Wirsung	M	Td	to Cardinal Lang	11
Otmar, Silvan	HB	W		12
Ulhart d. Ä.	HB	W		13
Ramminger	HB	W		14
Ulhart	B	W		15
Ramminger	H	W		16
Steiner	HB	W		17
Steiner	HB	W		18
Steiner	HB	W		19
Steiner	H	W		20
Steiner	H	W		21
Kornmann	HB	W		22
Weißenhorn	HB	W		23
Steiner	Th	W		24
Steiner	Th	W		25
Ulhart	Th	W		26
NN	HB	W		27
Steiner	Th	W		28
Steiner	Th	W		29
Steiner	Th	W		30
Steiner	Th	W		31
Steiner	Th	W		32
Kriegstein	M	Ts	to Albrecht of Prussia	33

1540	Salminger (ed.): <i>Selectissimae cantiones</i>
1540	Luther: <i>Vater unser</i>
1542	Spangenberg: <i>Prosodia</i>
1542	Vogelsang: <i>Rudimenta</i>
1542	<i>Vier neue klägliche Gesang</i>
1542	<i>Zwei andächtige Bittgesänge</i>
1543	Listenius: <i>Musica</i>
1545	Salminger (ed.): <i>Concentus octo</i>
1545	Salminger (ed.): <i>Cantiones septem</i>
1546	Huberinus: <i>Vom Christlichen Ritter</i>
1546	Salminger (ed.): <i>Cantiones septem</i> [2. ed.]
[1546?]	Frosch / Salminger (ed.): <i>Dic io Pean</i> [canon]
1547	Dietrich: <i>Laudate Dominum</i> [canon]
1548	Brätel: <i>Ecce quam bonum</i> [canon]
1548	Salminger (ed.): <i>Cantiones selectissimae</i> I
1548	Mouton, Massenus: <i>En venant de Lyon</i> [canon]
1548	Appenzeller, <i>Sancta Maria succurre miseris</i> [canon]
[1548?]	Pathie, Clemens non papa / Salminger (ed.) [3 canons]
1549	Dankers: <i>Ave maris stella</i> [canon]
1549	Salminger (ed.): <i>Cantiones selectissimae</i> II
[154?]	Salminger, <i>Gradatio sive scala</i>
1553	Cretz: <i>Introductio</i>
1554	Stirpianus: <i>Rudimenta</i>
1557	Lang: <i>Ein schöner christlicher Unterricht</i>
1557	<i>Gesangbuch / Psalter</i>
1557	Meckhart: <i>Catechismus</i>
1558	Meckhart: <i>Catechismus</i>
1559	de Cleve: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> I
1559	de Cleve: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> II
1560	Barbarinus Lupus: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i>

Kriegstein	M	Ts	ad musices studiosos	34
Kriegstein	H			35
Steiner	Th	W		36
Otmar, Valentin	Th	W		37
Steiner	H	W		38
Steiner	H	W		39
Steiner	Th	W		40
Ulhart	M	Ts	to the Augsburg council	41
Kriegstein	M	Ts	to Hans Jacob Fugger	42
Ulhart	H	Ts		43
Kriegstein	M	Ts		44
Kriegstein	MB	Ts		45
Ulhart	MB	Ts		46
Ulhart	MB	W	to the Fugger brothers	47
Ulhart	M	Ts	to the Fugger brothers	48
Kriegstein	MB	Ts		49
Ulhart	MB	Ts	to Marie of Hungary	50
Ulhart	MB	Ts	to Marie of Hungary	51
Kriegstein	MB	(W)		52
Ulhart	M	Ts	to Marie of Hungary	53
Ulhart	ThB	Ts		54
Ulhart	Th	Ts		55
Ulhart	Th	Ts		56
Ulhart			not examined	57
Ulhart	H	Ts		58
Ulhart	H	Ts		59
Ulhart	H	Ts		60
Ulhart	M	Ts	to Ferdinand I	61
Ulhart	M	Ts		62
Ulhart	M	Ts	to H. J. and G. Fugger	63

MUSICAL CANONS ON ARTISTIC PRINTS FROM THE 16TH TO THE 18TH CENTURIES

Michael H. Lamla

With the beginning of the Renaissance artists integrated musical notes as attributes into their drawings, paintings, frescoes, and tarsias so distinctly that the musical pieces which they form can often be read by the beholders. Unfortunately, this interesting subject has lacked a comprehensive and well-grounded investigation until the present day. A first serious attempt was undertaken by Volker Scherliess in 1972, who in his dissertation examined 28 works of art of the Italian Renaissance dating from 1476 to 1620.¹ 14 of these works include a musical canon, eleven a piece of music in the manner of a homophonic lauda. Due to their brevity, canons and laudae suit for this purpose better than other musical pieces. The great number of musical canons would justify an investigation dedicated exclusively to their history in this specific context.

Pieter Fischer published his study on *Music in Paintings of the Low Countries in the 16th and 17th Centuries* in the same year. His earliest example with musical notes dates from 1473. He mentions two paintings by Jan Brueghel the Elder and three engravings by Johan Sadelar with musical canons, furthermore a canon by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck in an album amicorum.²

David W. Cunningham examined Netherlandish painting with respect to music again in 1978. He discovered a musical canon on the portrait of Lady Helen Leslie by Willem Key.³

In the time of the Renaissance musical canons were not only put on various works of art but also on artistic prints.⁴ This essay tries to point out some aspects of a very interesting field which has also been neglected. Only few of these prints have been studied by single scholars. A general survey is still missing. In 1919 Max Seiffert published eleven copper-plate engravings containing works of music, three of them being canons. Like the dissertation of Scherliess, his essay helps to reveal the numerical relations between canonical and non-canonical works on artistic prints.

Seiffert's earliest example is an engraving with a composition by Cornelis Verdonck which appeared in Antwerp in 1585. He suggests that this seems to

¹ V. SCHERLIESS, *Musikalische Noten auf Kunstwerken der italienischen Renaissance*, (*Hamburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 8), diss., Hamburg, 1972.

² P. FISCHER, *Music in Paintings of the Low Countries in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (= *Sonorum Speculum* 50/51), Amsterdam, 1972.

³ D.W. CUNNINGHAM Jr., *Music Notation in Netherlandish Painting of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1978, pp. 148-152.

⁴ The first artistic print with readable musical notes on it is probably a wood-cut in G. REISCH, *Margarita philosophica*, Freiburg, 1503, sig. n. 7 verso.

be the first copper-plate engraving of musical notes. In his eyes the engraving designates the beginning of printing musical notes in a new way. But seven years before the engraved frontpage of a musical work by Fernando de Las Infantas which integrates a canon had appeared in Venice.⁵

It is obvious that the interdisciplinary character of the subject demands various researches to cover all of its aspects. Canons on artistic prints must be studied from many different points of view. They are important documents for the history of this specific musical technique, for the history of music printing, the history of art, the history of religion, the history of literature, and for history in general.

A list of examples can serve best as an appropriate basis of any investigation [see below]. It can at least give a survey.

This list marks four phases in which musical canons on artistic prints were edited. These can help to find out the different 'golden ages' of the musical canon after the invention of music printing.

The first phase is the time from 1514 to 1520, the second one from 1535 to 1560, the third one from 1578 to 1711, and the fourth one from 1734 to 1790. The most productive phase from 1578 to 1706 is divided into three parts that date from 1578 to 1640, from 1643 to 1691, and from 1700 to 1711. This important phase began exactly with the invention of printing by copper-plate engraving. The last part of the third phase is dominated by the examples of Evil Merodac Milanta who worked quite isolated in the province of Bologna.

The cities in which at least three artistic prints with canons were edited are:

Antwerp:	1585, 1621, 1639.
Augsburg:	1520, 1540, 1545, 1546 [?], 1547, 1548, 1549, 1593, 1604, 1611, 1618, 1619, 1625, 1632.
Bologna:	1614, 1615, 1622, 1628, 1669, 1671, 1674, 1687, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1734, 1757, 1770, 1781.
Florence:	1630, 1631, 1635.
London:	1597, 1663, 1747, 1749/51, 1765, 1766/68, 1776.
Naples:	1535, 1538, 1549, 1601, 1613.
Nuremberg:	1549, 1552, 1619, 1630, 1643, 1655, 1675, 1700.
Rome:	1517, 1586, 1590, 1609, 1611, 1621, 1629, 1631, 1645, 1650, 1652, 1655, 1685, 1789/90.
Venice:	1578, 1579, 1588, 1595, 1597, 1599, 1605, 1610, 1611, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1622, 1625, 1626, 1677.
Wolfenbüttel:	1609 (twice), 1610.

⁵ M. SEIFFERT, *Bildzeugnisse des 16. Jahrhunderts für die instrumentale Begleitung des Gesanges und den Ursprung des Musikkupferstiches*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (1918-1919), pp. 49-67, esp. 52.

Only few cities were able to publish several canons on artistic prints. Augsburg and Naples were early centers, Bologna is the latest one. Antwerp, Florence and Wolfenbüttel are only secondary centers in this specific art. All of these cities are known for their vivid cultural life during the Renaissance and the Baroque periods. The above list reveals a concentration of printing centers in Italy and in Southern Germany.

Musical canons are connected with or integrated into various artistic prints, but often they are themselves the objects of artistic arrangement.

The earlier and more common trend is that the staves in which the melody of the canon is written are arranged in geometrical figures like circles, triangles, rectangles, or crosses.

Writing the melody of a canon in a circle became quite popular. The old expressions for the musical canon like *rota*, *round*, or *radel* imply its graphical figuration as a circle.

Probably the first example of a canon written in circles is the circular canonic ballad *En la maison dedalus*. It is at the end of an anonymous medieval treatise (bought by the University Library in Berkeley in 1965). The composer is not known. The treatise was described by Richard L. Crocker and is dated 1375.⁶ The example shows two concentric circles. The piece comprises three voices, the upper one is free, the two lower ones form a canon. The melody of the upper voice is written in the outer circle and in the upper half of the inner circle. On the lower half of the inner circle the melody of a two-voice canon is written. It has no text. The example is typical for the refined culture of the 'ars subtilior'.

Another early example of a canon written in two concentric circles is the three-voice rondeau *Tout par compas suy composés* by Baude Cordier in the Codex F-CH sign. 564 (olim 1047), fol. 12r, dated ca. 1400. The melody of the two-in-one canon is written in the outer circle. The inner circle contains the third voice which is free and textless. The composer signed the free voice with a b-flat, while the melody of the canon is without a signature. This is an example of the important fact that canons were used for harmonic experiments in that time.

Both examples of canons in circles leave the center of the circles free, while later this space became the favoured spot for some illustration.

An early attempt to fill the center of a musical figure is *La harpe de melodie* by Jacob de Senleches, dated 1390-1395. In one of the two transmitted versions the notes of the piece are written on staves which form the strings of a harp. The three-voice piece consists of two canonic voices and of a free voice. There is a similarity to the example by Cordier. The voices are signed differently: The free voice is signed with one b-flat, while the canonic voices are signed with two b-flats.

⁶ R.L. CROCKER, *A New Source for Medieval Music Theory*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 39 (1967), pp. 161-171.

The progress from an illustration in the middle of a musical figure toward an illustration which integrates a musical figure as a symbol into its message was self-evident.

A manuscript preserved in I-Fn contains the figuration of a canon in a circle by Bartolomeo Ramis de Pareia. The symbolical meaning of the circle, representing simultaneously the world and music, becomes evident from the motto *Mundus et musica et totus concentus* and from its integration into a blue background with allegories of the four winds. This background symbolizes the cosmos. Thus, cosmos, world and music and their intense interconnection is the subject of this page. The allegories of the four winds signal the entrances of the four voices, beginning with the voice in the 'north'. The deliberate connection between the blowing wind and the chanting singers is obvious. The winds only blow when they like, they are capricious, and the inscription at the bottom of the page stresses that singers follow the same custom.⁷ Here, the center of the circle is not empty, but filled with an inscription consisting of some instructions for the correct solution of the canon which say that the melody has to be performed with four voices, and that the piece can be sung without a signature or with the signature of a b-flat. Again the musical canon is used as a harmonic experiment.

Soon after the development of musical printing and after its spreading printers tried to imitate the artists. The title page of the edition of *Canzoni sonetti strambotti et frottole libro quarto* (Rome, 1517; *RISM* 15172) by Andrea Antico shows a two-in-one canon in a circle. The title of the publication is written in a second circle around the canon melody. In the center of the circles is the head of Apoll, the ancient god of music. Many examples imitated Antico's proto-type during the next three centuries.

To print staves in a circle was made possible by wood-cut, or later, by copperplate engraving. Printing with types renders possible only lines or geometrical figures formed by lines like rectangles and crosses. Canons printed with types in triangles are quite rare. Obviously, it was easier to arrange the staves into rectangles or crosses than into triangles.

An early example of staves forming a rectangle is on a one-page print with a composition by Johannes Frosch. The print is not dated but was probably published during the lifetime of Frosch.

Another early example is on the frontpage of the treatise *Della prattica musica vocale, et strumentale* (Naples, 1601; reprint Bologna, 1969), by Scipione Cerreto. Printing canons in rectangles has the advantage that four voices of a musical piece can be reproduced, whereas a circle, on the other hand, generally contains only one single melody. The composition of Cerreto is a riddle but

⁷ *Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus inter amicos ut nuq. inducant animu. cantare rogati ini.ussi, nunq. desistant.*

not a musical canon in the modern meaning of the definition because it lacks the counterpointal imitation. It is a canon in the ancient meaning of the word, when a *canon* meant a rule how to perform a riddle composition. The text beneath the staves indicates the direction in which the melodies must be read. The rectangle symbolizes the four elements fire, air, water, and earth.

There is another advantage: canons printed in rectangles can be performed by the singers immediately without problems; if the staves are on the margins of the sheet of music, the singers put it in their middle and group themselves around it.

The practice of performing canons printed in circles has yet to be studied. It is hard to imagine that they were sung from the sheet of music immediately. The easiest way would have been to copy the melody into normal staves.

Often the center of canons in a rectangle is filled with some illustration, similar to the canons in circles, as for instance the four canons in a rectangle at the beginning of the *Liber Magnificarum* (Salamanca, 1607) or the twenty-voice canon by Pietro Cerone at the beginning of his treatise *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613; reprint Bologna, 1969).

Besides printing canons with types in rectangles, it was also possible and popular to print them in crosses. An early example is the six-voice motet in a cross *Ecce lignum crucis* (Naples, before 1538), by Ghiselin Danckerts. It was reproduced by Pietro Cerone in 1613, dated 1549 by himself. Like the triangle, the cross has an obvious religious meaning, while circle and rectangle are more neutral in their messages and perhaps therefore more often used.

An isolated example is the riddle canon printed with types in a sort of staircase by Giovanni Paolo Cima, published in Milan in 1606.

A very early example of integrating legible notes as a detail into an artistic illustration - which was the habit in the other arts - is the frontispiece of the section on music of the *Margarita Philosophica*, Freiburg 1503, by Gregorius Reich. This was made possible by the development of printing musical notes by woodblock in the 1480s.

But there are few examples of musical canons that form only a detail of a printed artistic illustration in the 16th century. An example is the canon *Salve sancta parens* by Ludwig Senfl in the *Liber selectarum cantionum* (Augsburg, 1520; *RISM* 15204). Another example is the riddle canon *Ave Maris Stella* in a chess-board by Ghiselin Danckerts which appeared in 1535 and was reproduced by Pietro Cerone in 1613.

Only the development of music engraving and its spreading favoured the printing of artistic illustrations with musical canons as details.

The first canon engraved on copper-plate in an artistic illustration is the two-in-one canon *Veni creator spiritus* by Fernando de Las Infantas, printed in Venice in 1578. It marks the beginning of a series of similar examples throughout the 17th century. This special art seems to have flourished above all in the milieu of the Counter-Reformation. Art and music combined with symbolism

should help to stabilize and to propagate the faith. The Augsburg prints of the 1540s, on the other hand, indicate that this special purpose was known to Protestant circles, too.

On the title page of Las Infantas's motets from 1578 the canon is engraved on an oval. But it was not an obligation at all to compose a canon in a geometrical shape for an artistic illustration. It was easier and therefore more widely spread to write a canon-melody in normal staves. Not to integrate the canon into the illustration, but to put it above or below it was even easier, because melody and illustration could thus be composed separately.

An early example, for instance, is the portrait of Adrianus Petit Coclico which is at the beginning of his treatise *Compendium Musices* (Nuremberg, 1552; reprint Kassel, Basel, 1954). The melody of the two-in-one canon *Desperando spero* is placed next to his forehead. It is a separate part of the picture, used as a symbol for the connection between music and human spirit. The portrait of Coclico is an early example of a number of similar pictures. There, the canons characterize the profession and the skill of the composer at the same time. As it seems, this custom was cultivated, above all in Protestant circles, with their strong emphasis on formation and individuality. It has a counterpart in portrait-painting, for instance, in the collections of the Oxford School of Music and of Padre Martini in Bologna.

Composing the illustration and the canon separately enabled the printers to produce the entire picture by different techniques: the illustration, for instance, by wood-cut and the canon-melody by type-print. This is shown in the example by Ludwig Senfl of 1520.

Other examples are contained in the treatise *L'organo suonarino* (Venice, 1605; reprint Bologna, 1969), and in the treatise *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614; reprint Bologna, 1968), both written by Adriano Banchieri.

Printed portraits of composers combined with a musical canon are very rare in Catholic circles. A speciality is the academical coat of arms of Adriano Banchieri that contains two canons which must be performed together.

In Catholic circles many prints show a saint, the text of the canon referring to the saint, often in the manner of a litany. As one-page prints they apparently were distributed and used for processions in honour of the saint. In treatises they helped to train the musical abilities of clergymen.

Another way to visualize musical canons in an artistical way is to transform the elements of the canon like the notes, the staves, the signatures etc. into symbolic signs or to present the canon in signs from a different field. The canon becomes a riddle which has to be solved by the scholar with the help of the symbols. An early example for this is the canon in a chess-board by Ghiselin Danckerts. Even earlier is the Missa *Di dadi Supra naxagie* by Josquin Desprez in which the riddle must be solved by the help of dice. Another beautiful example is by Lodovico Zacconi, preserved in manuscript, but intended for printing. It shows a canon in which the notes are replaced by

black and white sheep, the key and the signature by the shepherd and his water-bottle, the mensuration-sign by the hat etc. But even here, it was much easier to separate symbols and notes and to print them in different techniques, as can be seen, for instance, in the example by Iacobo Vaet.

As to the function of the prints, it is evident that they were often used as front-pages, sometimes as the last pages, or sometimes as parts of chapters which refer to the elaborate counterpoint in theoretical treatises and musical editions. They draw the attention to the theoretical skills needed to invent musical compositions and the learning of their composers. They should attract the interest of the public.

Another large group consists of single-page prints, with canons as riddles or as details of artistic treatment. Single-page prints must always be examined together with the history of leaflets. Generally they should help to propagate some ideas, often religious ideas. But they also served as musical offerings like the examples of Maessens and of Vaet. It seems that from the 1540s to the 1560s this art of printing canons flourished especially under the patronage of the imperial family.

List of examples

Prints

Anerio, Giovanni Francesco (*b. Rome, ca. 1567 - d. Graz, 1630*)

* On the frontpage of his *Motectorum singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, senisq. vocibus, liber II*, Rome, 1611, is the melody of the four-in-one canon *Ora pro nobis beate Ignati* with the coat of arms of the Jesuits.

For a reproduction see K. HÖFER, *Cornelius Burgh (um 1590 - um 1638). Italienische Monodie und Geistliches Konzert im Rheinland, (Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte, 151)*, 2 vols., Kassel, 1993, vol. I, p. 307.

For a description and a solution of the canon see P. LUDWIG, *Studien zum Motettenschaffen der Schüler Palestrinas, (Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, 143)*, Diss. Köln, Ratisbon, 1986, pp. 221-222.

Anonymous

* In lib. 22, No. 44 of his treatise *Il melopeo y maestro*, Naples, 1613; reprint Bologna, 1969, Pietro Cerone refers to a twelve-voice canon in a cross with an additional fundamental voice. This composition appeared in the anonymous treatise *Finalis iudicij terroris, & extremorum temporum confusionis lamentabilis harmonia*, Rome, 1590. In the eyes of Cerone its author must be a Capuchin friar.

* Several canons with four and five voices are on a beautiful one-page copper-plate engraving, showing in the lower part the place of St. Mark's in Venice, in

the upper part St. Roche on the clouds. In the upper part on the left is engraved: *OPERA XXXXVI*. At the bottom is engraved: *Fra Gabriele Rdde [?] Inventor Iacobo Petreli Pitor / Stefano Sculari forma in Venetia*. I-Bc sign. X 204.

Antico, Andrea (ed.) (b. Montona, Istria, ca. 1480 - d. after 1539)

* A canon in a circle is on the frontpage of the *Canzoni sonetti strambotti et frottole libro quarto*, Rome, 1517; *RISM* 1517². In the middle of the circle is the head of Apoll.

For a modern edition see A. EINSTEIN, *Smith College Music Archives*, Northampton, Mass., 1941, vol. 4.

For reproductions of the canon see F. LUISI, *La musica vocale nel rinascimento. Studi sulla musica vocale profana in Italia nei secoli XV e XVI*, Turin, 1977, between p. 208 and p. 209; F. TRINCHIERI CAMIZ, *Due quadri "musicali" del Dosso*, in *Frescobaldi e il suo tempo nel quarto centenario della nascita*, Ferrara, Palazzo dei Diamanti, Pinacoteca Nazionale, 13 settembre - 31 ottobre 1983, Venice, 1983, p. 89.

Asola, Giovanni Matteo (b. Verona, ?1532 - d. Venice, 1609)

* The canon (?) *Laudate Deum* is on the frontpage of his *Liber II missas tres, duasq. sacras cantiones continens*, Venice, 1588.

For a reproduction of the frontpage of the part-book of the *Cantus primi chori* see G.M. ASOLA, *Missa Regina Coeli a otto voci in due cori*, in S. CISILINO (ed.), (*Collana di musiche veneziane inedite o rare*, 2), Venice, Rome, 1963, n. p. [XV].

The frontpage with the exception of the inscription is identical with the frontpage of the *Missae, motecta, cantica B. Mariae Vir., liber II*, Venice, 1595 by Antonio Mortaro (fl. 1587 - 1610).

For a reproduction see O. MISCHIATI, *Bibliografia delle opere dei musicisti bresciani pubblicate a stampa dal 1497 al 1790*, M. SALA and E. MELI (eds.), 2 vols., Florence, 1992, vol. II, p. 667.

The ornaments on these frontpages including the little melody are almost identical with those on the frontpage of the *Beatissimae Virginis integerrimae laudes*, Venice, 1597 by Giuliano Cartari (Bologna, 1536/39 - Bologna, 1613).

For a reproduction of the frontpage of the part-book of the *Cantus* see A. VALENTINI, *La musica a Cento tra XVI e XVII secolo e l'iconografia musicale del Guercino. Con due appendici musicali a cura di Stefano Melloni*, (*Quaderni Centesi*, 7), Bologna, 1991, p. 87.

Appenzeller, Benedictus (b. ca. 1480-88 - d. after 1558)

* The two parts of the canonic motet *Sancta Maria* are on a one-page print (Augsburg, 1548). The parts of the *Superius* and the *Bassus* are printed inversely. Lit.: A. DUNNIG, *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555*, Utrecht, 1970, p. 214; T. RÖDER, *Innovation and Misfortune: Augsburg Music Printing in the First*

Half of the 16th Century. Lecture delivered at the symposium *The Antwerp Music Printers in the 16th Century*, Antwerp 23-25 Augustus 1995.

Banchieri, Adriano (b. Bologna, 1568 - d. Bologna, 1634)

* The engraved frontpage of Banchieri's pseudoscientific essay *La nobiltà dell'asino*, Venice, 1599, shows a dog, a lion, a monkey, a horse, and an elephant in front of a throne on which a donkey sits with the regalia of a king. Each of the six animals holds a sheet with a short melody on it. Together the melodies form a musical canon.

For a reproduction see O. MISCHIATI, *Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634). Profilo biografico e bibliografia delle opere*, in O. MISCHIATI (ed.), *Annuario 1965-1970. Conservatorio "G. B. Martini" Bologna*, Bologna, 1971, pp. 37-201, table XI.

For an explanation and the solution of the canon see A. WERNLI, *Studien zum literarischen und musikalischen Werk Adriano Banchieris (1568-1634)*, (*Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, Serie II*, vol. 31), Diss. Zurich 1975, Bern, Stuttgart, 1981, pp. 26 and 310.

* A printer's mark with the three-in-one canon *In cordis et organo laudemus Deum* beneath is on the last page in BANCHIERI, *L'organo suonarino*, op. 13, Venice, 1605; reprint Bologna, 1969.

The same canon without its text is on the last page of the second edition (Venice, 1611).

* A picture of the Madonna of Loreto with a *Canon in tre voci al conseguente* and a *Canon con cinque voci* beneath it is in BANCHIERI, *Cartella musicale nel canto figurato fermo, & contrapunto*, Venice, 1614; reprint Bologna, 1968, n. p. [II].

* A picture of the Madonna of Loreto with a *Canon tres in unum* beneath it is in BANCHIERI, *Cartella musicale*, p. 162.

* Picture of St. Mary with the child Jesus: the child holds in his right hand the arms of the Olivetan order, St. Mary holds a book in her left hand. Beneath the picture is the melody of a canon. The page is at the end of an appendix to BANCHIERI, *Prima parte del primo libro al direttorio monastico di canto fermo*, Bologna, 1615, p. 200.

* A picture of St. Ambrosius with a *Canon a tre voci* beneath it is in BANCHIERI, *Cantorino utile a novizzi, e chierici secolari, e regolari, principianti del canto fermo alla Romana*, Bologna, 1622, p. 64.

* A picture of the Madonna of Loreto with a *Canon a cinque voci* beneath it is in BANCHIERI, *Cantorino utile*, p. 93.

The melody is identical with the canon in BANCHIERI, *Prima parte del primo libro al direttorio monastico di canto fermo*, p. 406, but there without the picture of the Madonna.

* A picture of St. Benedict with a *Canon a quattro voci* beneath it is in BANCHIERI, *Cantorino utile*, p. 98.

* A four-in-one canon is on the frontpage of BANCHIERI, *Il principiante*

fanciullo, op. 46, Venice, 1625.

* The academical coat of arms of Banchieri which contains two musical canons, both to be sung together, is on the frontpage of BANCHIERI, *Dialoghi concerti sinfonie e canzoni da cantarsi con due voci in variati modi nell'organo*, op. 48, Venice, 1625.

The same coat of arms is also on the frontpage of BANCHIERI, *Il virtuoso ritrovo accademico del dissonante*, op. 49, Venice, 1626 and in BANCHIERI, *Lettere armoniche*, Bologna, 1628; reprint Bologna, 1968, p. 131.

For a reproduction of the frontpage of the *Dialoghi* see *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, F. BLUME (ed.), 17 vols., Kassel-Basel, 1949-1986, vol. III, col. 392.

For a reproduction of the coat of arms in the *Lettere armoniche* see MISCHIATI, *Adriano Banchieri*, table III.

For the solution of the two canons on the coat of arms see WERNLI, *Studien zum literarischen und musikalischen Werk Adriano Banchieris*, p. 314.

The academical coat of arms of Banchieri was used by other composers, too. It is twice in G. FRESCOBALDI, *Primo libro d'arie musicali*, Florence, 1630, pp. 5 and 43.

For a reproduction of p. 5 of this print see E. SALERNI BURACCHIO, *Presenza di Girolamo Frescobaldi a Colle Val d'Elsa*, in S. DURANTE and D. FABRIS (eds.), *Girolamo Frescobaldi nel IV centenario della nascita. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Ferrara, 9 - 14 settembre 1983)*, (*Quaderni della Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 10), Florence, 1986, pp. 47-62, fig. 1.

There is a painted portrait of Frescobaldi at the castle of Ambras near Innsbruck on which the composer holds a leaf of paper with the same coat of arms in his left hand.

For a reproduction of this painting see the frontpage of the account of the congress on *Girolamo Frescobaldi nel IV centenario della nascita*.

The coat of arms was also printed in D. ANGLES, *Libro primo d'arie musicali per cantarsi nel gravicimbalo, e tiorba, a voce sola*, Florence, 1635, p. 19.

For a reproduction of this page see E. SALERNI BURACCHIO, *Presenza di Girolamo Frescobaldi a Colle Val d'Elsa*, fig. 3.

Berardi, Angelo (b. S. Agata, ca. 1636 - d. Rome, 1694)

* A canon thirty-two-in-one in a circle is in his treatise *Documenti armonici*, Bologna, 1687; reprint Bologna, 1970, p. 112.

For a solution see *ibidem*, pp. 113-114.

Billings, William (b. Boston, 1746 - d. Boston, 1800)

* A six-in-one canon in a circle is on the frontispiece of his publication *The New England Psalm-Singer*, Boston, n. d. [1770]. In the middle of the circle is a scene showing a room with a round table and seven men sitting at it reading something from several single sheets of paper. This scene was engraved by Paul Revere.

A modern edition is by K. KROEGER, *The Complete Works of William Billings*, vol. 1, Charlottesville, 1981.

For a reproduction of the canon see S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove*, vol. III, p. 692.

Bononcini, Giovanni Maria (b. Montecorone, 1642 - d. Modena, 1678)

* A canon-melody is on the frontpage of the part-book for the first violin of his *Varii fiori del giardino musicale*, op. 3, Bologna, 1669.

For a reproduction of the canon-melody with Bononcini's explanation see W. KLENZ, *Giovanni Maria Bononcini of Modena. A Chapter in Baroque Instrumental Music*, Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1958, Durham, N.C., 1962, supplement, p. 312.

* A four-part canon is on the frontpage of his *Arie, correnti, sarabande, gighe, & allemande*, op. 4, Bologna, 1671, ²1674.

Braetel, Huldreich (b. ca. 1495 - d. Stuttgart, 1544/5)

* Fuga octo vocum *Ecce quam bonum* in a circle. The melody is almost identical with Braetel's manuscript fuga *In Gottes namen fahren wir* in a circle. The circle with the melody of the fuga is in the middle of two other concentric circles. These contain additional parts. The one-page print was edited by Sigmund Salming (Augsburg, 1548).

I am very grateful to Dr. Thomas Röder (University of Nuremberg-Erlangen) who kindly brought these canons to my attention.

Lit.: RÖDER, *Innovation and Misfortune: Augsburg Music Printing in the First Half of the 16th Century*.

Caldara, Antonio (b. Venice, ca. 1670 - d. Vienna, 1736)

* The three-in-one canon *Questi son canoni* in an oval is on the frontispiece of the *One Hundred Cantici in Italian after the manner of English Canons & Catches collected by Sigr Borosini*, London, n. d. [1747]; London, n. d. [between 1749 and 1751]; London, n. d. [between 1766 and 1768]]. In the middle of the oval is a vase with flowers.

For a reproduction see G. WARD, *Caldara, Borosini and the One Hundred Cantici, or some Viennese Canons abroad*, in B.W. PRITCHARD (ed.), *Antonio Caldara. Essays on his Life and Times*, Aldershot, 1987, p. 315, plate 1.

Capricornus (Bockshorn), Samuel Friedrich (b. Schertitz, 1628 - d. Stuttgart, 1665)

Portrait with the canon *Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth*, engraved by Philipp Kilian in 1659 after a painting by Georg Nikolaus List. The portrait is published in his *Anderer Theil geistlicher Harmonien mit 2 und 3 Stimmen wie auch 2 Violinen*, Stuttgart, 1660.

For reproductions of the page see S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove*, vol. III, p.

759; G. KINSKY (ed.), *Album musical*, Paris, 1930, p. 173, pl. 3; G. and W. SALMEN, *Musiker im Porträt*, 5 vols., Munich, 1982-1984, vol. II, p. 93.

For a reproduction of the canon see *MGG*, vol. VII, col. 531.

For a solution of the canon see H.J. MOSER, *Die Symbolbeigaben des Musikerbildes*, in H. BESSELER (ed.), *Musik und Bild. Festschrift Max Seiffert zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Kassel, 1938, p. 47.

(?) Carissimi, Giacomo (b. Marino nr. Rome, 1605 - d. Rome, 1674)

* *Cyclopisches Hammer-Tricinium* for 3 voices (TTB). Instead of musical notes, the melody of the canon is written with various smith's tools representing the notes in the staff. The page is in the *Musikalischer Zeitvertreiber*, ed. (?) E. KINDERMANN, Nuremberg, 1643, ²1655; *RISM* 1655⁴.

The piece was attributed to Giacomo Carissimi by H.J. MOSER, *Corydon, das ist: Geschichte des mehrstimmigen Generalbaßliedes und des Quodlibets im deutschen Barock*, Braunschweig, 1933, vol. 1, p. 39.

In his book Moser cites and presents further examples for the replacing of musical notes by different symbols.

For a reproduction and a solution of the *Hammer-Tricinium* see MOSER, *Corydon*, n. p. [II]

For another reproduction see *MGG*, vol. VII, cols. 533-534.

For a transcription of the melody see ibdem., musical example No. 8.

Cerone, Pietro (b. Bergamo, 1566 - d. Naples, 1625)

* Canon *Ave Maria, gratia plena* with twenty voices. The staves are arranged in two concentric rectangles. In the middle is a picture of St. Mary and the child Jesus together with two angels. The page is in his treatise *El melopeo y maestro*, n. p. [V].

* *Libro veyntidoseno. En el qual si ponen unos enigmas musicales, para sutillizar el ingenio de los estudiosos*, ibdem. pp. 1073-1143.

The enigmas No. 14 (anon.), 17 (anon.), 22 (anon.), 25 (Iacobo Vaet), 28 (Pietro Cerone?), 34 (Pietro Cerone), 38 (anon.), 40 (anon.), 41 (anon.), 42 (Pietro Cerone) and 44 (anon.) are combined with various illustrations which shall help to solve them. These illustrations often integrate some musical symbols like staves, keys, notes, or pauses.

In the enigmas No. 20 (cross; anon.), 21 (anon.), 42 bis (chess-board; Ghiselin Danckerts), 43 (cross; Adam Gumpelzhaimer), 44 (anon.), 45 (cross; Ghiselin Danckerts, dated 1549) the musical notes form a part of a geometrical figure.

For a reproduction of the anonymous canon in a cross (No. 20) see J. SUBIRA, *Historia de la música española e hispano-americana*, Barcelona, Madrid, 1953, p. 407.

Cerreto, Scipione (b. Naples, ca. 1551 - d. Naples, ca. 1633)

* Instead of the printer's mark there is a four-voice canon in a rectangle on the

frontpage of his treatise *Della prattica musica vocale, et strumentale*, Naples, 1601; reprint Bologna, 1969.

For a reproduction and a solution of the canon see L. ZACCONI, *Canoni musicali proprii e di diversi autori*, Ms., Pesaro, ca. 1621, lib. 3, cap. 5.

Clemens non Papa, Jacobus (b. between ca. 1510 and ca. 1515 - d. 1555 or 1556)

* The canonic motet *Domine nonne* was edited by Sigmund Salminger on a one-page print (Augsburg, n. d. [in 1548?]). On the same page are two other canons, one is by Rogier Pathie (*Recordare Domine*), the other one is without an author's name (*Sicut lilium*).

Lit.: RÖDER, *Innovation and Misfortune: Augsburg Music Printing in the First Half of the 16th Century*.

Cima, Giovanni Paolo (b. ca. 1570; fl. until 1622)

* A textless canon is on the frontpage of his *Partito de ricercari, & canzoni alla francese*, Milan, 1606.

* *Enigma musicale*. The staves form a sort of stairs. The piece is at the end of his *Partito de ricercari, & canzoni alla francese*, n. p. [96-97].

Coclico, Adrianus Petit (b. Flanders, 1499/1500 - d. Copenhagen, after Sept 1562)

* His portrait with the two-in-one canon *Desperando spero* is at the beginning of his treatise *Compendium Musices*, Nuremberg, 1552; reprint Kassel, Basel, 1954, n. p. [VI].

For a solution of the canon see MOSER, *Symbolbeigaben*, p. 44.

Danckerts, Ghiselin (b. Tholen, ca. 1510 - d. after August 1565)

* Canon *Ave Maris Stella* in a chess-board (Naples, 1535; ²Augsburg, 1549).

In his essay *Trattato di Ghisilino Danckerts musico e cantore cappellano della cappella del PP. sopra una differentia musicale sententiata nella detta cappella contro il perdente venerabile don Nicola Vicentino*, Ms., Rome, after 1551, Danckerts mentions that his canon in a chess-board can be solved in 20 different ways. See A. DE LA FAGE, *Essais de diphthéographie musicale ou notices, descriptions, analyses, extraits et reproductions de manuscrits relatifs à la pratique, à la théorie et à l'histoire de la musique*, Paris, 1864, p. 227.

For a reproduction of the canon see CERONE, *Il melopeo y maestro*, lib. 22, No. 42 bis.

For a reproduction and a solution of the canon see H. WESTGEEST, *Ghiselin Danckerts' Ave Maris Stella: The Riddle Canon solved*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis*, 36 (1986), pp. 66-79.

* Westgeest refers, on p. 66, to the canon *Tua est potentia*, Naples, 1538, which is also reproduced in *Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones*, S. SAL-

MINGER (ed.), Augsburg, 1540; *RISM* 1540⁷ and in *Concentus octo, sex, quinque & quatuor vocum*, S. SALMINGER (ed.), Augsburg, 1545; *RISM* 1545².

Five voices are printed in their entirety, while the six notes which together form the tenor can be found in the lilies of the accompanying illustration, the coat of arms of Pope Paul III.

See also LA FAGE, *Essais de diphthéographie musicale*, pp. 227 and 239.

* *Ecce lignum crucis*, Naples, before 1538: six-voice motet in a cross.

For a reproduction see CERONE, *Il melopeo y maestro*, lib. 22, No. 45, dated 1549. For a varied version of the canon and its picture see ZACCONI, *Canoni musicali proprii e di diversi autori*, lib. 3, cap. 9.

Dietrich, Sixt (b. Augsburg, ca. 1493 - d. St.Gallen, 1548)

* Canon in a circle. In the middle of the circle is a hunting scene. The canon is reproduced in *Diphona amoena et florida*, selectore Erasmo Rotenbuchero, boiario, Nuremberg, 1549; *RISM* 1549¹⁶.

For a reproduction see MGG, vol. VII, col. 527.

Dr. Thomas Röder (University of Nuremberg-Erlangen) showed me a reproduction of this canon, which is in one of the several editions of the treatise *Compendium musicae latino-germanicum* by Adam Gumpelzhaimer. The canon is dated 1540 and is signed with S. D. The hunting scene in the middle of the circle differs only little from that in the *Diphona amoena et florida*. According to Dr. Röder's conviction, the two letters S. D. designate most likely the composer Sixt Dietrich.

* Sixt's canonic motet *Laudate dominum omnes gentes* appeared on a one-page print edited by Sigmund Salminger (Augsburg, 1547).

Lit.: RÖDER, *Innovation and Misfortune: Augsburg Music Printing in the First Half of the 16th Century*.

Eberlin, Daniel (b. Nuremberg, 1647 - d. ?Kassel, between 1713 and 1715)

* His portrait with a *Canone a 10*, by Stephan Strauch (drawing) and Johann Azelt (engraving) is in his *Trium mirifice variantium fidium concordiae*, Nuremberg, 1675.

For reproductions see MGG, vol. III, col. 1056; *Album musical*, p. 253, pl. 1, erroneously attributed to Telemann; SALMEN, *Musiker im Porträt*, vol. II, p. 119.

Erculeo, D. Marzio (b. Otricoli, 1623 - d. Modena, 1706)

Engraving, representing St. Geminianus and the city of Modena. The saint is the patron of the city. Beneath, there is a *Canon quatuor vocibus* with the text *Sancte Geminiane ora pro nobis*. The engraving is in his *Lumi primi del canto fermo, ecclesiastico, gregoriano, corale, ò piano, cioè stabile, et uniforme a tutti gli ecclesiastici*, Modena, 1686, n. p. [71].

Finetti, Giacobbe (Ancona, fl. 1605 - 1631)

* A canon (?) in a crown is on the frontpage of his *Corona Mariae quatuor concinenda*, Venice, 1622.

For a reproduction see HÖFER, *Cornelius Burgh*, vol. II, p. 116.

Frosch(ius), Johannes (b. Bamberg, ca. 1480 - d. Nuremberg, 1533)

* *Dic io Pean*, four-voice canon, integrated in a six-voice composition. The first part of the composition with the canon is in the middle of a one-page print edited by Sigmund Salminger (Augsburg, n. d. [1546?]). The staves of the second part are arranged in a rectangle around the staves of the first part in its center.

Lit.: RÖDER, *Innovation and Misfortune: Augsburg Music Printing in the First Half of the 16th Century*.

Görlitz, Johann Friedrich von (b. ? - d. ?)

* A five-in-one canon *Iustificamur Fide Gratis* is on the frontpage of his *Fugarum libellus*, Frankfurt/O., 1601.

For a reproduction see T. BÜRGER, *Deutsche Drucke des Barock 1600-1720. Katalog der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Begründet von Martin Bircher. Section D: Sonderbestände. Vol. 2: Musiksammlung*, Munich, 1994, pp. 56-57.

Gumpelzhaimer, Adam (b. Trostberg, 1559 - d. Augsburg, 1625)

* Portrait of Adam Gumpelzhaimer at the age of 34. In his left hand he holds a sheet of music with a six-voice canon. It is an engraving by Dominicus Custos from 1593. Otto Mayr mentions three copies of this portrait in 1909. They are in the manuscript album of his brother Martin Gumpelzhaimer, preserved in D-As, in the part-book of the altus of his *Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum*, Augsburg, 1595, and among some documents concerning the family preserved in the town hall of Wasserburg, dated 1605. The copy in the album of Martin Gumpelzhaimer has the autograph dedication *Haec Martino Gumpelzaimero, fratri suo germano Adamus Gumpelzh: Trospergius scripsit, Augustae Vindel. 26. Augusti 1593.*⁸

* Portrait of Adam Gumpelzhaimer at the age of 63. In his left hand he holds a sheet of music with the four-voice piece *Pax huic domui*. It is not a canon. The engraving is by Lucas Kilian. This page is in Adam Gumpelzhaimer's treatise *Compendium musicae latino-germanicum*, Augsburg, 1625.

For a reproduction of the portrait see MGG, vol. V, cols. 1113-1114. For a solution of the piece see MOSER, *Symbolbeigaben*, p. 44.

* Golgotha-scene with a six-voice retrograde canon *Ecce lignum crucis* in a cross and an eight-voice retrograde canon *Domine memento mei* in four circles.

There are two different versions of this picture. The existence of two versions

⁸ *Ausgewählte Werke von Adam Gumpelzhaimer (1559-1625)*, in O. MAYR (ed.) *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*, Jg. 10, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1909, pp. XXIX and XXXV.

of the same picture caused some confusion. Both are based upon an engraving by Dominicus Custos from 1593, showing Christ at the Mount of Olives.

The earlier version is a wood-cut by Alexander Mair, dated 1604. This page, for instance, is in two editions of Adam Gumpelzhaimer's treatise *Compendium musicae latino-germanicum*, Augsburg, 1618 and 1632.

For a reproduction of this picture and a solution of its two canons see W. DEKKER, *Ein Karfreitagsrätselkanon aus Adam Gumpelzhaimers Compendium musicae* (1632), in *Die Musikforschung*, 27 (1974), pp. 323-332.

The second version of the picture is a one-page engraving by Wolfgang Kilian (Augsburg, 1611). This page is also in the *Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum*, Augsburg, 1625.

For reproductions of this version see MGG, vol. V, table 47; *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*, 18, Jg. 10, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1909, p. VIII; R. HAAS, *Die Musik des Barock, Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, Potsdam, 1934, p. 115.

For solutions of the two canons see DTB 18, Jg. X, vol. 2, pp. 4-6. The canon *Ecce lignum crucis* in the cross is also reproduced in CERONE, *Il melopeo y maestro*, lib. 22, No. 43. But the name of the author is missing. Probably Cerone had only got a copy of the page. The second canon *Domine memento mei* is also missing. Probably it was impossible to print its circles with types, because the canon in the cross is printed with types in Cerone's treatise.

* Two six-voice fugues are on the frontpage of Gumpelzhaimer's *Lustgärtlins teutsch und lateinischer geistlicher Lieder I. Theil*, Augsburg, 1619.

For a reproduction see MGG, vol. V, col. 1117.

Herbst, Johann Andreas (b. Nuremberg, 1588 - d. Frankfurt/M., 1666)

* Portrait with the canon *Musica bleibet ewig*, engraved by Sebastian Furck, 1635. The page is in his *Musica poetica*, Nuremberg, 1643.

For reproductions see MGG, vol. VI, table 12; *The New Grove*, vol. VIII, p. 502; *Album musical*, p. 167, pl. 2.

For a solution of the canon see MOSER, *Symbolbeigaben*, p. 46.

Jeep, Johannes (b. Dransfeld, 1581/2 - d. Hanau, 1644)

* Four-in-one canon in a circle. The circle is divided into two halves. In each half the melody of a two-voice retrograde canon is written with the text *Dies ist mein lieber Sohn*. In the middle of the circle is a picture of the city of Frankfurt/M. In the foreground is a scene of the baptism of Jesus Christ in the Main river. The copper-plate engraving is by Sebastian Furck.

A copy of the print is at the Historisches Museum, Frankfurt/M., sign. C 41.726.

Josquin Desprez (b. ca. 1440 - d. Condé-sur-l'Escaut, 1521)

* *Missa Di dadi Supra naxagie*, in *Missarum Josquin Liber III*, Fossombrone, 1514. The tenor has to be solved with the help of dice which are printed at the beginning of the melody.

For reproductions of the tenor of the *Kyrie* and of the *Crucifixus* see W. APEL, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600*, (*The Mediaeval Academy of America Publication*, 38), Cambridge, Mass., 1953, pp. 184 and 186.

Keyrleber, Johann Georg (b. Nürtingen, 1639 - d. ?Stuttgart, ?after 1691)

* Two canons in two circles, one with four voices, the other one with eight voices, are on the one-page print *Dem Drey-Einigen wahren Gott* (n. p., n. d. [1691]).

For a reproduction see P. WILLERT, *Ein Kanonblatt des 17. Jahrhunderts und sein Verfasser Johann Georg Keyrleber*, in *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Leipzig, 1961, table 27.

For the solution of one of the two canons (*Da Adam hackt*) see ibidem. p. 320.

Las Infantas, Fernando de (b. Córdoba, 1534 - d. ca. 1610)

* Canon *Veni creator spiritus* in an oval. In the middle of the oval is the dove of the Holy Ghost. The canon is part of a magnificent frontpage which appears in his *Sacrarum varii styli cantionum tituli Spiritus Sancti liber I*, Venice, 1578, his *Sacrarum varii styli cantionum tituli Spiritus Sancti liber II*, Venice, 1578, his *Sacrarum varii styli cantionum tituli Spiritus sancti liber III*, Venice, 1579 and in his *Plura modulationum genera quae vulgo contrapuncta appellantur*, Venice, 1579.

For reproductions of the frontpage of the part-book of the *quintus* of the *Sacrarum varii stylij cantionum tituli Spiritus Sancti liber II* see MGG, vol. VIII, table 9; SUBIRA, *Historia de la música española e hispano-americana*, p. 269.

Lobo, Alonso (b. Osuna, ca. 1555 - d. Seville, 1617)

* On the frontpage of his *Liber I missarum*, Madrid, 1602 are three canons. At the top is a *fuga a 3*. At the bottom is a portrait of Lobo holding a canon in his right hand. The portrait is integrated into another *fuga a 3*.

For a reproduction of the small portrait of Lobo on the frontpage see SUBIRA, *Historia de la música española e hispano-americana*, p. 433.

For solutions of the three canons on the frontpage see Ms. D-Bds sign. L 200, fols. 18r-19r.

Lobo, Duarte (b. Açovas, ?1565 - d. Lisbon, 1646)

* Each of the *Agnus Dei III* of the *Missa De Beata Virgine*, the *Missa Sancta Maria*, the *Missa Valde honorandus est* and the *Missa Vox clamantis* integrate a two-in-one riddle-canon. The mottoes of the canons are printed in artistic vignettes. The last-mentioned composition appeared in his *Liber II Missarum*, Antwerp, 1639, the three others appeared in his *Liber Missarum*, Antwerp, 1621. For reproductions of the vignettes and explanations of the riddles see A. BORGES, *Duarte Lobo (156?-1646). Studien zum Leben und Schaffen des portugiesischen Komponisten*, (*Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung*, 132), Diss. Köln, Ratisbon, 1986, pp. 220-223.

Löhner, Johann (b. Nuremberg, 1645 - d. Nuremberg, 1705)

* Various canons in a triangle, a rectangle, a circle, a cross, and on curved staves are in his *Suavissimae canonum delitiae*, J.A. MERKEL (ed.), Nuremberg, 1700.

Maessens, Pieter (b. Ghent, ca. 1505 - d. Vienna, 1563)

* On a one-page print (Augsburg, 1548) is the four-voice fugue *En venant de Lyon* by Jean Mouton, to which Pieter Maessens adds 12 supplementary voices. For a transcription see L. YOUENS, *Forgotten Puzzles: Canons by Pieter Maessens*, in *Revue belge de musicologie*, 46 (1992), pp. 81-144, esp. 85-86 and 115-130, (= appendix II).

* On a one-page print (n. p., n. d.) is the nine-voice canon *Per signum crucis* in a cross.

For a reproduction of the print, an explanation and a solution of the canon see YOUENS, *Forgotten Puzzles: Canons by Pieter Maessens*, pp. 87-98, 139-144, (= appendix IV).

Martini, Giovanni Battista (b. Bologna, 1706 - d. Bologna, 1784)

* On the frontpage of his *Litaniae atque antiphonae finales B. Virginis Mariae*, op. 1, Bologna, 1734, is the four-in-one canon *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis*.

* Many canons as components of artistic vignettes are in his *Storia della Musica*, 3 vols., Bologna, 1757, 1770, 1781; reprint Graz, 1967.

Megerle, Abraham (Wasserburg am Inn, 1607 - d. Altötting, 1680)

* A *Canon in unisono* on a copper-plate engraving showing some symbols of vanity is in his *Speculum musico-mortale. Das ist: musicalischer Todtenspiegel*, Altötting, ca. 1670, pl. 6.

For a reproduction and an explanation see P. TENHAEF, *Abraham Megerles Kanonkünste und andere Arcana Musica*, in *Musicologica Austriaca*, 9 (1989), pp. 15-44, esp. 18-19.

* One-page copper-plate engraving showing the stigmatization of St. Francis. Into the picture is integrated a four-voice canon. The engraving is by Johann Christoph Straseneck.

For an explanation and a solution see TENHAEF, *Abraham Megerles Kanonkünste und andere Arcana Musica*, pp. 37-41.

Metallo, Grammatico (b. Bisaccia, 1539/40 - d. ? Venice, after 1615)

* Portrait of Metallo. Beneath the portrait is the melody of a canon. The page appears at the beginning of his *Motetti per tutte le solennità dell'anno, seconda parte*, op. 20, Venice, 1610, of his *Epistola, introiti, offertorii, passii, improprij, & messa a 4 per la Settimana Santa*, op. 24, Venice, 1613, of his *Motetti Magnificat et madrigali spirituali a tre voci*, op. 25, Venice, 1613 and of his *Ricercari a due voci per suonare et cantare*, Venice, 1614. Each time the canon

beneath the portrait is different.

* A Golgotha-scene with two musical canons is in his *Motetti per tutte le solennità dell'anno, seconda parte*, op. 20, p. 13.

* The canon *Io spesso dico* is on the frontpage of his *Ricercari a due voci per suonare et cantare* (1614).

The last edition of this work appeared in Rome in 1685. This time two different canons are on the frontpages of the two part-books; the canon *A linguis malignantium* is on the frontpage of the *Cantus*, the canon *Fiat Dominus* on the frontpage of the *Tenore*.

* An illustration, consisting of several concentric circles, explaining the solmi-sation-system, is in his *Ricercari a due voci per suonare et cantare* (1614), part-book of the canto, p. 30; part-book of the tenor, p. 47. Beneath the illustration is a canon which is different in the two part-books.

* Two-in-one canon *Iustitia et pax osculatae sunt* in a circle. In the middle of the canon is the melody of another four-voice retrograde canon which must be combined with the other canon. The canon is in Metallo's *Ricercari a due voci per suonare et cantare* (1614), part-book of the canto, p. 45.

For a reproduction and a solution see R. MICHELI, *Musica vaga et artificiosa*, Venice, 1615, pp. 19-21.

* In his Ms. *Canoni musicali proprii e di diversi autori, lib. 1, cap. 54*, Lodovico Zacconi mentions a one-page print with four canons by Metallo. It appeared at Gardano in Venice in 1614.

Micheli, Romano (b. Rome, ca. 1575 - d. Rome, after 1659)

* The coat of arms of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi is combined with two canons, one above with 16 voices, the second one below with 20 voices. The page is in his *Madrigale a sei voci in canone*, Rome, 1621, n. p. [IV].

* *Dialogus annuntiationis B. M. Virginis*, 1625. It is a one-page engraving showing the Annunciation. Into the scene is integrated a sextuple canon with 20 voices.

For a reproduction and a solution see H.E. SMITHER, *Romano Micheli's "Dialogus Annuntiationis" (1625): A Twenty-Voice Canon with Thirty "Obblighi"*, in *Analecta Musicologica*, 5 (1968), pp. 34-91.

* In 1636 and again in 1645 Romano Micheli announces the edition of a magnificent engraving with the title *La Potestà Pontifica*, which was to include several canons. But apparently it has never been printed.

* *Canone musicale a quattro voci ad honore della concettione della Beatissima Vergine Maria*, Rome, 1650. It is a one-page print with several canons. In the middle of the page is an engraving showing the Madonna of Loreto.

* A 36-voice canon by Micheli is on a magnificent engraving at the beginning of the treatise by A. KIRCHER, *Musurgia universalis*, Rome, 1650; reprint Hildesheim, New York, 1970.

For a solution see ibidem. pp. 583-584.

Micheli published this famous canon twice in his *Specimina musices magis reconditae*, Rome, 1633, pp. [3]-4, each time with another text.

The same canon but with the German text *Heilig, heilig* is on the engraved front page of T. SELLE, *Sabbatistische Seelenlust*, J. RIST (ed.), Lüneburg, 1651. The frontpage of Rist is only a slightly varied version of the engraving at the beginning of the *Musurgia universalis*. The connections between the two publications have still to be researched.

For a reproduction of Rist's frontpage see Haas, *Die Musik des Barocks*, p. 164.

In 1818 Giuseppe Baini proposed to integrate Romano Micheli's 36-voice canon with the new text *Cantantibus organis etc.* into a one-page print showing St. Cecilia with a sheet of music in her hand.

See LA FAGE, *Essais de diphthérogaphie musicale*, p. 487.

* Two canons are on the frontpage of Micheli's publication *Avviso alli famosi et peritissimi signori musici compositori d'Italia*, Rome, 1652.

In the text he discusses the project of a picture showing the allegory of fame; the two wings of the allegory are to be enriched with six canons.

* A canon is on the frontpage of Micheli's publication *Hic finis: (non) plus ultra. Hic Deum adora selecta artificia musicalia*, Rome, 1655.

Milanta, Evil Merodac (b. Cento - d. Bologna, 1712)

* Milanta published several one-page prints with canons between 1703 and 1711 at the firm of the *Peri* at Bologna.

Morley, Thomas (b. Norwich, 1557/8 - d. London, 1602)

* A canon in a cross is in his treatise *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practical Musicke*, London, 1597; reprint Amsterdam, New York, 1969, p. 174.

Nanino, Giovanni Maria (b. Tivoli, 1543/4 - d. Rome, 1607)

* In lib. 22, No. 43 of his treatise *Il melopeo y maestro* Cerone refers to a composition in a cross containing several canons by Giovanni Maria Nanino. In his writings Romano Micheli gives further information about this work. It was a twenty-voice composition consisting of six canons. Four of the canons had the text *Ave Crux sancta*, the two others the text *Hoc signum Crucis erit in Caelo, cum Dominus ad iudicandum venerit alleluia*. The composition dates from 1592 and was dedicated to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese.

Pasino / Pasini, Stefano (b. Brescia - d. ?Lonato, after 1679)

* The four-voice retrograde canon in a cross *Iesu mi sopra la Croce à 4* is in his work *Guida, e consequenti dell'opra composta in canoni*, op. 8, Venice, 1677, p. 6. Beneath the cross is the melody of another two-in-one canon in a curved staff. At the beginning of this melody is the figure of St. Faustinus, at the end that of St. Jovita. The whole composition is dedicated to the two saints.

For a reproduction see MISCHIATI, *Bibliografia delle opere dei musicisti*

bresciani pubblicate, vol. II, p. 732.

* On p. 8 is the three-in-one canon *In tribulationibus nostris exaudis* in an oval. In the middle of the oval is a picture of the Madonna di Lonato.

The solutions to the canons on both pictures are explained in the preface *Alli Signori Musici* which is also reproduced by MISCHIATI, *Bibliografia delle opere dei musicisti bresciani pubblicate*, vol. II, pp. 730, 733.

Pevernage, Andreas (b. Harelbeke, 1543 - d. Antwerp, 1591)

* A two-voice canon integrated in the five-voice motet *Osculetur me* is into an engraving by Maarten de Vos (invention) and Johan Sadelar (engraving), n. p., 1590. The motto of the canon is *Duo in carne una*.

For a reproduction see M. SEIFFERT, *Bildzeugnisse des 16. Jahrhunderts für die instrumentale Begleitung des Gesanges und den Ursprung des Musikkupferstiches*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (1918-1919), p. 58.

* A two-voice canon integrated into the five-voice motet *Lauda pia Dominum* is on an engraving by Jodocus van Winghe (drawing) and Johan Sadelar (engraving), Frankfurt/M., n. d. The motto of the canon is *Duo in carne una*.

For a reproduction see SEIFFERT, *Bildzeugnisse des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 59.

* Pieter Fischer mentions another engraving by Johan Sadelar with an enigmatic canon by Andreas Pevernage after a painting by Jodocus van Winghe which is in the Episcopal Museum at Haarlem.⁹

Playford, John (b. Norwich, 1623 - d. London, 1686)

* His portrait with two canons engraved by Richard Gaywood in 1663 is in his treatise *A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, London, 1667.

For a reproduction see *The New Grove*, vol. XV, p. 2; Salmen, *Musiker im Porträt*, vol. II, p. 99.

Praetorius, Michael (b. Creuzburg an der Werra, ca. 1571 - d. Wolfenbüttel, 1621)

* A wood-cut portrait with two canons is at the beginning of his *Musae Sioniae*, part 1, Ratisbon, 1605; reprint *Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke*, vol. 1, Wolfenbüttel, Berlin, 1928.

* A solution of the canon is in MOSER, *Symbolbeigaben*, p. 45.

A four-voice canon is on the frontpage of the *Musae Sioniae*, part 3, Helmstedt, 1607; reprint *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 3, Wolfenbüttel, n. d. The same frontpage appears in the *Musae Sioniae*, part 6, Wolfenbüttel, 1609; reprint *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 6, Wolfenbüttel, n.d., part 7, Wolfenbüttel, 1609; reprint *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 7, Wolfenbüttel, n.d. and part 8, Wolfenbüttel, 1610; reprint *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 8, Wolfenbüttel, n. d.

⁹ FISCHER, *Music in Paintings of the Low Countries*, 25.

Preusegger, Wolf (between 1572 and 1612 official of the city of Nuremberg)

* On a one-page engraving is the imperial eagle on which and beneath which is written a riddle canon. The print dates from 1598.

For a reproduction and a solution see H. BLUMENBERG, *Ein musikalisches Bildrätsel*, in *Die Musikforschung*, 45 (1992), pp. 163-165.

Puliti, Gabriello (b. Montepulciano, ca. 1575 - d. Istria, between 1641 and 1644)

* In the part-book of the *Quintus* of his *Sacrae modulationes, quae vulgo motecta nuncupantur*, Parma, 1600, is a riddle composition on p. [22]. Its melody is written in three staves which are not horizontal, but vertical.

Ramirez, Alonso (b. ? - d. ?)

* Ramirez published a canon on a one-page print: *Canon recte et retro for 48 voices composed by Don Alonso Ramirez de Arellana*, London, 1765. It was engraved by Caulfield. The text of Ramirez's canon is *Sanctus, Sanctus*. This shows the influence of the 36-voice canon with the same text by Romano Micheli, published by Athanasius Kircher in 1650.

Riedel, Georg (b. Sensburg, 1676 - d. Königsberg, 1738)

* *Hochzeitsscarmen für Bernhard Helm*, 1706. A four-voice retrograde-canon in a circle is printed with types (!) on a one-page print. The free bass-melody must be deduced from several series of numbers which form the spokes of the circle.

For a reproduction see H. GÜTTLER, *Königsberger Musikkultur im 18. Jahrhundert*, Kassel, 1925, between pp. 32 and 33. For another reproduction and a solution of the canon see W. BRAUN, *Deutsche Musiktheorie des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts. Zweiter Teil von Calvisius bis Mattheson*, (*Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, 8/2), Darmstadt, 1994, pp. 64-66.

Sabbatini, Luigi Antonio (b. Albano Laziale, ?1732 - d. Padua, 1089)

* A canon is on the frontpage of his treatise *Elementi teorici della musica colla pratica dei medesimi*, in *duetti e terzetti a canone accompagnati dal basso*, 3 vols., Rome, 1789-90.

Scheidt, Samuel (b. Halle, 1587 - d. Halle, 1654)

* His portrait with the canon *In te Domine speravi* is at the beginning of his *Tabulatura Nova*, Hamburg, 1624; reprint C. MAHRENHOLZ (ed.), *Samuel Scheidts Werke*, vol. 6, Hamburg, Leipzig, 1953.

For a solution of the canon see *ibidem*. 118, No. 10a.

Selle, Thomas (b. Zörbig, 1599 - d. Hamburg, 1663)

* A portrait with a canon, engraved by D. Dirksen, dates from Hamburg 1653.

For reproductions see *MGG*, vol. XII, col. 483; *The New Grove*, vol. XVII, p. 118; *Album musical*, p. 170 pl. 1.

For a solution of the canon see MOSER, *Symbolbeigaben*, p. 45.

* A canon is also on the frontpage of Selle's *Concertuum Latino-sacrorum*, Rostock, 1646.

Senfl, Ludwig (b. ?Basel, ca. 1486 - d. Munich, between Dec 1542 and Aug 1543)

* A riddle canon is on a magnificent page in the *Liber selectarum cantionum*, Augsburg, 1520; *RISM* 1520⁴.

For a reproduction see *MGG*, vol. XII, cols. 511-512.

For a reproduction and a solution see *Salzburg zur Zeit des Paracelsus. Musiker, Gelehrte, Kirchenfürsten. Katalog zur 2. Sonderausstellung der Johann-Michael-Haydn-Gesellschaft in Zusammenarbeit mit der Erzabtei St. Peter*, E. HINTERMAIER (ed.), Salzburg, 1993, pp. 118-123.

* Four-part canon in a cross *Crux fidelis*, n. d., one-page print.

For a list of other 16th-century publications of this composition see L. YOU-ENS, *Forgotten Puzzles: Canons by Pieter Maessens*, in *Revue belge de musicologie*, 46 (1992), pp. 81-144, esp. pp. 85-87.

Siefert, Paul (b. Danzig, 1586 - d. Danzig, 1666)

* Portrait with four-part canon *per arsin et thesin Vivat Rex Joannes Casimirus*, wood-cut by W. H., 1649. Siefert integrated the portrait into his work *Psalmorum Davidicorum, pars secunda*, Danzig, 1651. It is in the part-book of the *Cantus*. He dedicated his *Psalmorum Davidicorum, pars secunda* to the Polish King John II Casimir. But Paul Siefert had published the same canon just some years earlier in his polemical treatise *Anticribratio musica ad avenam Schachianam*, Danzig, 1645, p. 24. Here the canon is without text. Siefert had dedicated this treatise to King Ladislaus IV who was succeeded by King John II Casimir in 1648.

For reproductions of the portrait see *MGG*, vol. XII, col. 675; M. SEIFFERT, *Paul Siefert (1586-1666). Biographische Skizze*, in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 7 (1891), pp. 397-428, esp. p. 399.

For a transcription of the canon see *ibidem*. p. 425.

Soriano, Francesco (b. Viterbo, 1548/9 - d. Rome, 1621)

* On the beautifully engraved frontpage of his *Missarum liber I*, Rome, 1609, Francesco Soriano is presenting his first mass-book to Pope Paul V. This little book on the engraving is open, showing the pages XIIIv-XIVr with a *Benedictus*-canon. It is the *Benedictus* of Soriano's *Missa ad canones*. At the bottom of the frontpage is the remark that the drafting of this picture is by Augustinus Ciampellius Florentinus and that the engraving is by Philippus Thomassinus Trecensis (= Philippe Thomassin).

For reproductions of the frontpage see S.P. KNISELEY, *The Masses of Francesco Soriano. A Style-Critical Study*, Gainesville, 1967, pl. 1.; *Die Musik*

des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, (*Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, 3/1), L. FINSCHER (ed.), Laaber, 1989, p. 251.

Soriano's frontpage is influenced by similarly styled pages in G.P. DA PALESTRINA, *Missarum liber I*, Rome, 1554, in C. DE MORALES, *Missarum liber II*, Rome, 1544 and in the *Liber quindecim missarum*, A. ANTICO (ed.), Rome, 1516; *RISM* 1516¹.

For reproductions see *Die Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 249-251. For a reproduction of the frontpage of the *Liber quindecim missarum* see *The New Grove*, vol. I, p. 468.

Staden, Johann (b. Nuremberg, 1581 - d. Nuremberg, 1634)

* A canon in a cross is on the beautiful frontpage of his *Hertzen-trosts-Musica*, Nuremberg, 1630.

For a reproduction see *MGG*, vol. XII, col. 1114.

* Portrait by Johann Pfann, 1640. In his left hand Staden holds an open music-book with the retrograde canon *O Mensch, bedenck den Anfang, und wer du bist im Ausgang*.

For reproductions see: *DTB*, 12, Jg. VII, Leipzig, 1906, p. I; *The New Grove*, vol. XVIII, p. 42; *Album musical*, p. 165, pl. 3; SALMEN, *Musiker im Porträt*, vol. II, p. 43.

Vaet, Iacobo (b. Kortrijk or Harelbeke ca. 1529 - d. Vienna 1567)

* One-page print on parchment showing the six-voice motet *Qui operatus est Petro*, Vienna, 1560. Two voices form a retrograde-canon. The canon must be solved by the help of a motto and two symbols, the key of St. Peter and the sword of St. Paul.

Vaet himself published this motet with the solved canon another time in his *Modulationes quinque et sex vocum, liber II*, Venice, 1562.

For a reproduction of the canon-melody and its two-voice solution together with the bass-melody see CERONE, *Il melopeo y maestro*, lib. 22, No. 25.

For reproductions of the one-page print see R. HAAS, *Aufführungspraxis der Musik*, p. 129; *MGG*, vol. XIII, cols. 1207-1208.

For a reproduction of the print and an explanation of the composition see M. STEINHARDT, *A Musical Offering to Emperor Maximilian II: A Political and Religious Document of the Renaissance*, in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 28 (1977), pp. 19-27. In his essay Milton Steinhardt points to the similarities between the one-page print of Iacobo Vaet and the one-page print of Pieter Maessens. The Viennese court records show that Vaet and Maessens submitted a petition for metal intended for a new musical printing-press. On October 11, 1560 together they got a grant of lead, tin and copper.

Valesi, Fulgenzio (b. Parma, ?ca. 1565 - d. ?after 1614)

* Two canons are on the frontpage of his publication *Canoni di più sorti fatti sopra*

doi canti fermi del primo tuono, Milan, 1611. The upper canon is without text, the text of the lower canon is *Dominus Gabriel Massarolus vivat in aeternum*.

Valentini, Pier Francesco (b. Rome, 1586 - d. Rome, 1654)

* A canon beneath a picture of St. Mary is on the frontpage of his publication *Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte. Canone [...] con le sue solutioni in più di duemilia modi*, Rome, 1629; ²Rome, 1655, [as op. 14].

In his famous treatise *Musurgia universalis*, pp. 402-403, Kircher presents the melody of this canon with its three variations, but without the illustration. There are several other references to this canon in later times.

* A canon in a knot is on the last page of the publication *Illos tuos misericordes oculos*. The canon in a knot and its two solutions either with 96 voices and or with 512 voices appeared in Rome in 1631.

Kircher presents the two solutions together with some theological reflections in his treatise *Musurgia universalis*, pp. 403-414, but without the illustration of the knot.

* The twenty-voice canon *Gaude Virgo* is on pages II-III of a sheet of paper which is divided into four pages. The staves are arranged in a rectangle, in the middle of the rectangle is a picture of the Assumption. The print appeared in Rome in 1645.

On the other side, on page I, is the twenty-voice canon *Cantabimus canticum novum*. Originally, this is the first canon in the series. Its staves are also arranged in a rectangle. In the middle of the rectangle is a picture showing the turn of a sinner toward heaven with the help of an angel. In heaven St Mary sits on a cloud with her little child Jesus.

On page IV there are two canons connected with two pictures. The canon *Quasi Aurora* is written beneath a picture showing the coronation of St. Mary. The second canon *Ego mors* is written beside a picture showing a skull and two crossed bones.

Veneri, Gregorio (b. Rome, 1602 or 1603 - d. after 1631)

* The canon *Negate mi pur* appeared on a one-page print (Florence, 1631).

Verdonck, Cornelis (b. Turnhout, 1563 - d. Antwerp, 1625)

* A two-voice canon integrated in a five-voice Magnificat is on an engraving by Maarten de Vos (drawing) and Johan Sadeler (engraving), Antwerp 1585. For a reproduction see SEIFFERT, *Bildzeugnisse des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 55.

Verovio, Simone (ed.) (b. s'Hertogenbosch; fl. Rome, 1575-1608)

* The canon *Laudate Dominum* is on the frontpage of his *Diletto spirituale. Canzonette a tre et a quattro voci composte da diversi ecc.mi Musici. Raccolte da Simone Verovio. Intagliate et stampate dal medesimo. Con l'intavolatura del cimballo Et liuto*, Rome, 1586; *RISM* 1586).

For a reproduction of the frontpage see A. EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*,

vol. 2, Princeton, NJ, 1949, between pp. 708 and 709.

Vitali, Giovanni Battista (b. Bologna, 1632 - d. Bologna, 1692)

* The second example in his publication *Artificii musicali ne quali si contengono canoni in diverse maniere, contrapunti dopii, inventioni curiosi, capriti, e sonate, op. 13*, Modena, 1689, is a canon in a circle.

For a modern edition see L. ROOD and G.P. SMITH, *Smith College Music Archives*, Northampton, Mass., 1959, vol. 14.

Vivanco, Sebastián de (b. Avila, ca. 1551 - d. Salamanca, 1622)

* At the beginning of his *Liber Magnificarum*, Salamanca, 1607, is an engraving by Pierre Perret, showing Vivanco. Four canons in a rectangle frame the picture in the center.

For a reproduction of the engraving see M. CANTOR, *The Liber Magnificarum of Sebastián de Vivanco*, Ph.D. diss., New York, 1967, frontispiece.

For solutions of the four canons see ibidem., vol. II, pp. 251-254.

Vulpus [b. ? - d. ?]

* Giovanni Battista Rossi reports in his treatise *Organo de cantori*, Venice, 1618, p. 13:

[...]: come hà fatto un certo, Vulpus Napolitano autore vecchio, nel mottetto della croce, à sette voci, il quale in una parte pone una croce senza note, con certi motti è punti, & il motto principale dice, Vaglia l'intelletto dell'huomq; [...]. Ond'io hò mostrato questa parte à molti esperti & bellissimi ingegni che mi sono imaginato trovare, anzi à huomini vecchi già stati suoi amici è condiscepoli, ne hanno saputo trovare la resolutione, ò come si cavi quella che l'istesso autore hà cavato da detti punti è croce: Dove che fece bene à far la detta resolutione perche quello mottetto non saria mai stato cantato.

Widmann, Erasmus (b. Schwäbisch Hall, 1572 - d. Rothenburg ob der Tauber, 1634)

* A portrait from 1617, engraved by Hans Meichsner, is in his *Neue Geistliche teutsche und lateinische Motetten*, Nuremberg, 1619. Above the portrait is the melody of the canon *Musica, nymppha, merum, triscia corda levant*.

For reproductions see *Album musical*, p. 165, pl. 1; SALMEN, *Musiker im Porträt*, vol. II, p. 37.

Manuscripts

Anonymous

* Circular canonic ballad *En la maison dedalus*, in: Ms. Berkely, dated 1375, p. 62. For a reproduction see R.L. CROCKER, *A New Source for Medieval Music*

Theory, in *Acta Musicologica*, 39 (1967), pp. 161-171, pl. 2. For a solution see ibidem. pp. 169-170.

* Canon in a circle; in the middle of the circle is the coat of arms of the first owner of the Ms., in Ms. *Cantiones sacrae divers. auctor.* I-Bc sign. Q 21. The illustration is at the beginning of the four part-books, but each with a different canon.

For a solution of the canon in the part-book of the tenor by Giambattista Martini see Ms. misc. I-Bc sign. Cod. 117 (= Q 12), fols. 40v-41r.

Lit.: O. MISCHIATI, *La prassi musicale presso i canonici regolari del Ss. Salvatore nei secoli XVI e XVII e i manoscritti polifonici della Biblioteca Musicale G. B. Martini di Bologna*, Rome, 1985, pp. 82-85.

Braetel, Huldrich (b. ca. 1495 - d. Stuttgart, 1544/5)

* Fuga octo vocum *In Gottes namen fahren wir* in a circle. The piece dates from 19.05.1542.

Bull, John (b. ?Old Radnor, ?1562/3 - d. Antwerp 1628)

* Several canons in circles, in triangles or in curved staves are in the Ms. GB-Lbm sign. R.M. 24.f.25.

For a reproduction of two canons in triangles see J. HAWKINS, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2 vols., London, 1776, ²London 1875, R. Graz, 1969, vol. I, pp. 299-301.¹⁰ For a reproduction of the canon *Sphera mundi a 4* in two concentric circles see *The New Grove*, vol. III, p. 443.

* A textless riddle canon written in two concentric circles is in a handwritten organ-tablature by John Bull in A-Wn. This piece is identical with the canon *Sphera mundi a 6* in the Ms. GB-Lbm sign. R.M. 24.f.25.

For a reproduction see HAAS, *Die Musik des Barocks*, p. 120.

Clemens non Papa, Jacobus (b. between ca. 1510 and ca. 1515 - d. 1555 or 1556)

* A five-in-one *Canon à ronde* in a circle is in the Ms. GB-Lbm sign. R.M. 24.f.25.

For a reproduction see *Jacobus Clemens non Papa. Opera omnia*, vol. XI *Chansons*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 4), K.P. BERNET KEMPERS (ed.), Rome, 1964, p. VI.

For the solution of the canon see ibidem. p. 114.

For an earlier reproduction and a solution see HAWKINS, *A General History*,

¹⁰ Hawkins also gives a short description of the manuscript (vol. I, p. 302): *The several examples of canon by Dr. Bull and Bird, above given, are not in print, and it may therefore be expected that their authenticity should be ascertained: with respect to the former, they are taken from a very curious Ms. formerly in the library of Dr. Pepusch, in an outer leaf whereof is written Ex Dono Willi Theed; this Mr. Theed was many years a member of the academy of ancient music; and very well skilled in the science. The book contains, among many other compositions of the like nature, the above canons of Dr. Bull, and also that of Clemens Non Papa, with the several resolutions thereof in the form above inserted.*

vol. I, p. 297.

Another reproduction is on the cover of the volumes VIII and IX of *Storia della musica*, Milan, 1991, (transl. of *The New Oxford History of Music*).

Originally the canon is without text. Its melody with the new text *Sanctus, sanctus* appeared in F. JÖDE, *Der Kanon. Ein Singbuch für alle*, Wolfenbüttel, 1929. With the new text *Dona nobis pacem* it appeared in J. HOLZMEISTER, *Fidel-Almanach für das Jahr 1953*, Stuttgart-Sillenbuch, 1952, n. p. [29].

Cordier, Baude (b. Rheims, fl. early 15th century)

* His three-voice rondeau *Tout par compas suy composés* in two concentric circles, ca. 1400, is in the Cod. F-CH sign. 564 (olim 1047), fol. 12r. Two voices form a canon.

For reproductions see MGG, vol. II, table 35; *The New Grove*, vol. XVI, p. 169; with the beginning of a solution H. BESSELER and P. GÜLKE, *Schriftbild der mehrstimmigen Musik, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, vol. III Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Lfg. 5*, Leipzig, 1973, p. 124; *Album musical*, p. 53, pl. 3.

For problems concerning the correct solution of the piece see J. BERGSAGEL, *Cordier's Circular Canon*, in *The Musical Times*, 113 (1972), pp. 1175-1177.

Jacob de Senleches (fl. 1378 - 1395)

* His three-voice *La harpe de melodie* (c.1390/95) consists of a two-voice canon and of a free voice. It is transmitted in two versions in US-Cn sign. 54.1, fol. 1r, and in F-CH sign. 546 (olim 1047), fol. 43v.

In the treatise Us-Cn sign. 54.1 the piece is written into a harp, the staves form the strings of the harp.

For reproductions of this version see W. APEL, *La harpe de melodie*, in *Scritti in onore di Luigi Ronga*, Milan, Naples, 1973, pp. 27-32, pl. 2; T. SEEBASS, *The Visualisation of Music Through Pictorial Imagery and Notation in Late Mediaeval France*, in S. BOORMAN (ed.), *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 19-33, pl. 5.

The correct solution of the piece is still in dispute.

Leo, Leonardo (b. S. Vito degli Schiavi, 1694 - d. Naples, 1744)

* Four canons in circles are in his treatise *Modo per ben imparare il Contrapunto*, Ms. D-Dlb sign. MB 4° 49, lib. 2, cap. 10.

Mancini, Curzio (b. ?Rome, 1550/3 - d. ?Rome, after 1608)

* His Ms. *Missa Papa Clemens VIII cum sex vocibus* is in the choirbook Rvat sign. capp. sist. 93 (dated 1598). At the beginning of the Kyrie is a miniature with the headline: *Canon, seu Modus canendi dictam Missam super sex STELLAS*. The solution is not known but it seems that it has something to do with the coat of arms of the pope which appears several times in the codex.

Perhaps there are some connections with the motet *Gaude felix Flórentia* (1513) by Andreas de Silva, with the canzona *Palle, palle* by Heinrich Isaac and with the motet *Tua est potentia* (Naples 1538) by Ghiselin Danckerts.

Lit.: R. SHERR, *The Medici Coat of Arms in a Motet for Leo X*, in *Early Music*, 15 (1987), pp. 31-35.

Messaes, Guillaume (b. Antwerp, 1589 - d. Antwerp, 1640)

* Three canons in circles are in the Ms. GB-Lbm sign. R.M. 24.f.25.

Milanta, Evil Merodac (b. Cento - d. Bologna, 1712)

* In the collection I-Bc sign. AA 319 are several sketches with canons in figures, forming, for instance, two coats of arms or a vase.

Nanino, Giovanni Maria (b. Tivoli, 1543/4 - d. Rome, 1607)

* His canon *Floret in caelo* beneath the coat of arms of Pope Leo XI is in the diary of the Papal Chapel for 1605 (Rvat sign. capp. sist. diario 6, p. 71), written by Orazio Griffi.

The canon with its solution is also transmitted by Giuseppe Baini in his collection I-Rc sign. Ms. 2298, fol. 108v.

For a reproduction and a solution of the canon see J. LIONNET, *Another Musical Medici Coat of Arms*, in *Early Music*, 15 (1987), pp. 520-521.

For a solution of the canon see A. CAMETTI, *Due "canoni" commemorativi di Giovanni M. Nanino*, in *Rivista musicale italiana*, 35 (1928), pp. 583-587.

Originally the canon appeared with another text in two different versions in NANINO, *Motecta, ut vulgo appellantur [!], varie & nova inventione elaborata, quae ternis & quinis vocibus concinuntur*, Venice, 1586. The diary of the Papal Chapel contains only the first version from 1586.

For transcriptions of both versions see R.J. SCHULER, *The Life and Liturgical Works of Giovanni Maria Nanino (1545-1607)*, Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1963, vol. II, p. 296.

The first version with its solution is also transmitted by CERONE, *Il melopeo y maestro*, lib. 22, Nr. 8, by ZACCONI, *Canoni musicali proprii e di diversi autori*, lib. 2, cap. 29, and by the anonymous manuscript I-Cod AA-6, fol. 38. In modern times it was transmitted by E.E. LOWINSKY, *Music in Titian's Bacchanal of the Andrians: Origin and History of the Canon per tonos*, 1976, publ. 1982, in E.E. LOWINSKY, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, B.J. BLACKBURN (ed.), vol. 1, Chicago, London, 1989, pp. 317-319.

Poglietti, Alessandro (b. ? - d. Vienna, 1683)

* A canon in a circle is on the frontpage of his *Rossignolo* (1677; A-Wn sign. Mus. Ms. 19248). Another canon in a circle is on the dedication page.

For reproductions see: *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, vol. 27, Jg.

XIII/2, Vienna, 1906; reprint Graz, 1956; HAAS, *Die Musik des Barocks*, p. 188.

Porta, Costanzo (b. Cremona, 1528/9 - d. Padua, 1601)

* A canon in a circle combined with a triangle is in the *Trattato di Contrapunto, o sia Istruzioni di Contrap.*^o date dal P. Costanzo Porta al P. Tommaso Gratiano da Bagnacavallo (before 1587; I-Bc sign. B 140), fols. 19v-20r.

For a solution see ibidem., fol. 45r.

For a reproduction and the solution of the canon see ZACCONI, *Canoni musicali proprii e di diversi autori*, lib. 3, cap. 6.

For another reproduction of the canon see A. DELLA CORTE and G. PANNAIN, *Storia della musica*, vol. 1 *Dal Medioevo al Seicento*, Turin, 1964, p. 652.

For a description of the treatise see E.E. LOWINSKY, *Early Scores in Manuscript*, 1960, in E.E. Lowinsky, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, vol. 2, 1989, pp. 803-840, esp. 823-825.

The treatise was attributed by O. MISCHIATI, *Un'antologia manoscritta in partitura del secolo XVI. Il Ms. Bourdeney della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi*, in *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 10 (1975), pp. 265-328, esp. 271, and by P. FABBRI, *Vita musicale nel Cinquecento ravennate*, in *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 13 (1978), p. 44, n. 70 to Innocenzo da Ravenna. The canon, however, is in any case by Costanzo Porta, because beneath it is written *Cost. Porta Min. Con.^e Inuentor*. The heading of the solution is *Regula del Triangulo, et Circolo di Cost. Porta*.

I am very grateful to professor Jessie Ann Owens for pointing out this literature to me.

Ramos de Pareia, Bartolomeo (b. Baeza, ca. 1440 - d. in or after 1491)

* Four-in-one canon in a circle. The illumination is by Gherardo and Monte da Giovanni del Fora, in I-Fn sign. Ms. Banco Rari 229 (Magl. XIX, 59), C.III.b.

For a reproduction see *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, vol. III/5, p. 125.

Schacht, Matthias Henriksen (b. Visby, 1660 - d. Kerteminde, 1700)

* *A fuga perpetua eller rota musicalis semper currens*, written in a circle, is at the beginning of his treatise *Musicus Danicus eller Danske Sangmester*, Ms. (1687; ed. by Godtfred Skjerne, Copenhagen, 1928). In the middle of the circle are the title and an explanation of the canon.

Senfl, Ludwig (b. ?Basel, ca. 1486 - Munich, between Dec 1542 and Aug 1543)

* Two-in-one canon in a circle. The tenor and the bass of the four-voice Lied *Was ist die Welt?* form a musical canon. In the part-book of the tenor of the Ms. D-Rp sign. AR 940-942 the melody of the canon is written in a circle.

For a reproduction see *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 4: *Deutsche Lieder zu vier bis sieben Stimmen*, part 2, *Lieder aus Johannes Otts Liederbuch von 1534*, (Das

Erbe deutscher Musik, 15), A. GEERING and W. ALTWEGG (ed.), Wolfenbüttel, Zürich, 1962.

For a solution see ibidem., p. 61.

Theile, Johann (b. Naumburg, 1646 - d. Naumburg, 1724)

* *Harmonischer Baum in Canone a 10*: the staves are arranged in the form of a tree, in D-Bds sign. Mus. Ms. theor. 913/1 (1691) and in D-Bds sign. Am. B. 452, fol. 1.

For a reproduction and an explanation see E. SCHENK, *Johann Theiles 'Harmonischer Baum'*, in *Musik und Bild. Festschrift Max Seiffert zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag*, pp. 95-100.

For other reproductions see MGG, vol. VII, cols. 539-540; SALMEN, *Musiker im Porträt*, vol. II, p. 141.

Tonelli, Antonio (b. Carpi, 1686 - d. Carpi, 1765)

* In the fourth article entitled *De canoni* in the second part, chapter 4, of his treatise *Teorica musicale ordinata alla moderna pratica divisa in due parti* (I-Bc sign. L 54), Antonio Tonelli explains the method of composing a canon in a score. On fol. 66r he presents a two-voice example which is written on a column whose name (written on the pedestal) is *Columna Toneliana*. Above the canon are two crossed wind-instruments. On the following fol. 66v Tonelli presents the canon in a regular score. This copy of the treatise with some changes is by Giambattista Martini. The original Ms. with the title *Trattato di musica in due parti divisi* (before 1760), is in Carpi, Archivio storico, lascito Guaitoli, nos. 111-114.

Vado, Juan del (b. Madrid, ca. 1625 - d. 1691)

* Six canons, written into beautifully styled illustrations, are in the choirbook Ms. E-Mn M. 1323, compiled between January 1677 and April 1679. The six canons are also in the Ms. E-Mn M. 1325 which, after the index, contains three other canons by Juan del Vado. The solutions of the canons are also in the two manuscripts. The illustrations are influenced by the engravings which the Flemish artist Maria Eugenia de Beer published in Madrid between 1640 and 1646.

For reproductions and explanations see L. ROBLEDO, *The Enigmatic Canons of Juan del Vado (c.1625-1691)*, in *Early Music*, 15 (1987), pp. 514-519. For another reproduction of the sixth canon in M. 1323 see SUBIRA, *Historia de la música española e hispano-americana*, p. 393.

Valentini, Pier Francesco (b. Rome, 1586 - d. Rome, 1654)

* The Ms. *Canoni di diversi studi* (Rvat sign. Barb. lat. 4428) contains a great number of canons connected with various engraved pictures.

Zacconi, Lodovico (*b.* Pesaro, 1555 - *d.* Pesaro, 1627)

* The third book of his four-book collection *Canoni musicali proprij e di diversi autori* (Pesaro, ca. 1621; I-PESo sign. Ms. 559) presents and describes, in the chapters 2-9, nine riddle canons which are connected with various illustrations. In chap. 5 Zacconi presents the canon in a rectangle by Cerreto, in chap. 6 the canon in a circle and a triangle by Porta, in chap. 9 the canon in a cross by Danckerts. The anonymous canon in a circle in chap. 4 resembles the canon by Ramis de Pareia. Two canons are by Zacconi himself.

For a short description of the whole manuscript see F. VATIELLI, *I 'Canoni musicali' di Ludovico Zacconi*, Pesaro, 1905; reprint Bologna, 1968.

For a transcription of the manuscript see F. CERFEDA, *Il Ms. Canoni musicali proprij e di diversi autori di Lodovico Zacconi*, 2 vols. (*Tesi di laurea, Università degli studi di Pavia, Scuola di Paleografia e Filologia Musicale di Cremona, anno accademico 1989-90*).

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