

# **Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music**

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy at the University of Oxford

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D.Phil. Thesis in Music  
Michaelmas Term, 2017  
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# Abstract

In this thesis I investigate transformational practices in the secular music of mid-fifteenth-century German sources. At the heart of the research are case studies of the Lochamer Liederbuch with its two sections—a song and a keyboard collection—and of the newly discovered Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature. By analysing and comparing the different versions of pieces surviving in these and related sources I explore how they interacted and what the motivations and techniques behind their transformation were. The organist and lute player Conrad Paumann and his ‘School’ were central driving forces in this process, which led to numerous innovations, particularly in the development of instrumental music and its notation. I then investigate the question of the instrumental accompaniment of monophonic song and how the development of new instruments and techniques influenced and shaped the melody types in the late medieval sources. To do this, I consult the genre of Neidhart songs as an oeuvre of secular song that was cultivated and transmitted in sources from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The network of interdependencies between repertoires enables an analysis of transformational practices in the songs of Oswald von Wolkenstein, which are influenced by the Neidhart-genre. The analysis comes full circle with reworkings of his melodies in the Lochamer Liederbuch and related sources. The study shows that vocal music and instrumental intabulations influenced each other mutually to create new repertoires and styles. Amongst the most significant insights are the findings around the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature, which open up a field of hitherto unknown instrumental practices and playing techniques, particularly on the plectrum lute. The process of transferring intabulation techniques from the keyboard to other polyphonic instruments leads to the formulation of a coherent, ‘pan-instrumental’ style of solo intabulation in the fifteenth century.





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# Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my supervisor Reinhard Strohm, for his patient guidance over many years. Not only was he ever supporting of my practical activity as a musician and ensemble director, he also included me in his and Birgit Lodes's research project "Musical Life of the Late Middle Ages in the Austrian Region". This opened up new paths of research for me, brought me in touch with scholars from all over the world, and inspired many new ideas for my work. A number of these went into the dissertation, and others were published in several recent articles and on my blog sites.

I want to dearly thank all those who helped with proofreading my English, amongst them Paul Kieffer, and Catherine Motuz, and I would particularly like to single out Grace Newcombe and Jacob Mariani, who proofread large passages of chapters 2, 3, 5, and 6. Jacob, as a research student 'in situ', also greatly helped with practical issues in Oxford.

I am grateful to Richard Falkenstein, of the Lute Society of America, for his excellent peer review and revision of chapter 3; to my college supervisor Elizabeth Eva Leach for her wonderful support and encouraging talks; to Martin Kirnbauer, who pointed me to the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature and invited me to present my findings in a series of joint lectures; and to my former teacher and predecessor at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, Crawford Young, who inspired many of my research interests and whose influence on my interpretations and techniques on the plectrum lute are unmistakable.

In addition, I would like to thank my friends and colleagues Uri Smilansky and Baptiste Romain for their support, pressure, and helpful advice; and my friend Martin Uhlig, a web designer and instrument maker, for his help with the illustrations and his continuous assistance with all matters technical. I would also like to extend my thanks to the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) for their generous funding of my first

year at Oxford. Further thanks go to the Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv – Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel and the Universitätsbibliothek Kassel for their kind permissions for the reproduction of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature Fragments and the Kassel Collum Lutine in appendices 5 and 6, respectively. A very special gratitude goes out to Bärbel and Manfred Bubbert, for their trust in me and their substantial financial support of my studies in Oxford; to my mother, Christa Lewon, for being the guarantor necessary for admission to Oxford University; to Nicholas Hewlett, for generously providing a combination of accommodation and great company; and last but not least, to my wife Gabriele E. Lewon, who not only gave me her full support, but also her blind trust in all my endeavours.

## Source Abbreviations

BUX = Buxheimer Orgelbuch  
EGH = Eghenvelder Liedersammlung  
GLOG = Glogauer Liederbuch  
HOH = Hohenfurter Liederbuch  
LOCH = Lochamer Liederbuch  
MUEM 43 = St Emmeram Codex  
ROSTOCK = Rostocker Liederbuch  
SCHE = Schedelsches Liederbuch  
SPEC = Codex Specialník  
STRAS = Strasbourg Codex  
TR93 = Trent Codex 93  
WOLFT = Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature  
WOLKA = Wolkenstein Codex A  
WOLKB = Wolkenstein Codex B

# Introduction

This thesis is an investigation of transformations in the musical culture of fifteenth-century German-speaking lands. In using the words ‘German’ or ‘Germany’, I refer to the language and its associated dialects, the peoples that speak the language, and the area in which this language was spoken. I do not refer to a political entity or a nation that did not exist at the time. The thesis explores the different forms and shapes in which the secular music of this time was transmitted, how the pieces related to one another, and how they interacted. The findings also provide answers to the question how this music was performed then and how it may be performed today. For this purpose, the thesis focuses on the processes behind the reworking of pre-existing material transmitted in the sources. In order to generate new music, performers of the fifteenth century drew on common repertoires flexibly. They transformed vocal music into instrumental music, transferred existing music to new texts, borrowed and quoted musical material between different genres, and thus created an intertextual network through all categories of secular and sacred music. In this thesis I newly identify many cases of derivation from other forms and of interchange between media. I then investigate how one version flowed into another and by which forces this process was driven. I do this by moving from a mere description of pieces in sources and a comparison of their different versions to tracing and practically re-enacting the transformational processes that led to their different manifestations.

The motivations behind these transformation processes were manifold. They range from the collectors’ personal reasons to a demand for public functional music, from private dedications and ‘insider jokes’ to quotations directed at an audience. The transformational processes involve adapting melodies from earlier styles to allow for new treatment, such as accompanying songs on newly developed instruments or setting them polyphonically after the latest discantus fashion; they include methods of re-appropriating

song melodies by recruiting them from polyphonic settings, even from instrumental versions; they include techniques borrowed from keyboard practices to intabulate polyphony for the solo (plectrum) lute; and they involve textual borrowings and contrafacta. Often several of these processes apply simultaneously. A central scene of many of the transformational processes appears to have been what modern scholarship has tended to call the ‘Paumann School’. In adopting the term ‘Paumann School’ I do not refer to a place of learning in the traditional sense, nor to a school of thought, but to the assumed circle of students around Conrad Paumann (“Paumannschülerkreis”) in Nuremberg and Munich.<sup>1</sup> This is most evident in the *fundamenta organisandi*, which lie at the core of the largest keyboard tablature collections of the time, namely the *Lochamer Liederbuch* and the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch*. While the *fundamenta* are directly attributed to Paumann himself, the tablatures surrounding them may be the products of his ‘School’.

By ‘transformation’ I refer to all processes of re-shaping a musico-poetic ‘text’ for a new purpose. This includes ‘reworking’, a term that is used largely synonymously for the transformation process, but also more specifically for the adaptation of an individual piece. It also includes ‘arrangement’ as a personal appropriation of a piece, for instance, for a particular instrument, allowing for its individual idiomatic limitations and possibilities. By ‘cognate’ I refer to a version that has a close relationship to another piece without being a direct reworking. Such a version may quote musical and textual material or even be assembled from different passages.

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<sup>1</sup> This term was introduced by Ameln, Konrad (ed.): *Lochamer-Liederbuch und das Fundamentum organisandi von Conrad Paumann*, Berlin: Wölbing-Verlag, 1925, p. 14, and picked up by Salmen, Walter and Christoph Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch* (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern. Neue Folge. Sonderband 2), Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1972, pp. 40ff. Christoph Wolff in his 2001 New Grove article on Paumann speaks of two “Paumann Schools” in Nuremberg and Munich (Wolff, C. (2001). *Paumann, Conrad*. Oxford Music Online. Retrieved 27 May. 2018, from <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000021114>).

The thesis opens with three case studies of sources central to the task: The Lochamer Liederbuch is considered as two sources: as a song manuscript (chapter 1) and as a collection of keyboard tablatures (chapter 2). The third case study concerns a fragment of the earliest surviving source for the lute, the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature from ca. 1460 (chapter 3). It shares its repertoire with the Lochamer Liederbuch. Between them these three sources suggest the existence of a dense network of interdependent relationships and transformational practices that was comprised of monophonic and polyphonic songs, contrafacta, keyboard and lute intabulations. The evidence of these sources may also hint at a practice of instrumental ensemble music. The two remaining chapters are dedicated to general aspects which arose in the discussions of chapters 2–4. Chapter 4 deals with the instrumental accompaniment of German monophony. A particular version of an Oswald von Wolkenstein song in the Lochamer Liederbuch poses the question how song melodies might have been shaped by the idiomatic possibilities of the accompanying instruments of the time. This inspires a diachronic analysis of how the melodies of one genre, the genre of Neidhart songs, changed over time from the thirteenth century up to their fifteenth century transmissions in the vicinity of the Lochamer Liederbuch. Another synchronic analysis of different types of melodies transmitted in the fifteenth century leads to the identification of a new monophonic genre in the Lochamer Liederbuch, the ‘Tenor’. Chapter 5 picks up the repertoires of Oswald von Wolkenstein and Neidhart from chapter 4 and moves back to questions of borrowing and reworking, including the relationships between the literary texts. The discussion starts with the same Oswald song in the Lochamer Liederbuch and analyses its shifting modality throughout its concordant sources. It then continues to show how Oswald reworked own and foreign material, specifically how he quoted Neidhart songs and how Neidhart’s ‘reference rhythm’—also present in the Lochamer Liederbuch—influenced not only Oswald’s work, but German monophony in general. The last chapter comes full



circle with the analysis of a contrafactum by Oswald von Wolkenstein, which has a parallel version in the Lochamer Liederbuch. The discussions in the chapters are richly illustrated. Additional or particularly extensive illustrations and examples are placed in the appendices.

When I first looked at the Lochamer Liederbuch it was through the eyes of a performer in search of a performable edition. The available editions provided conflicting information. Some offered a seemingly coherent picture, even including instructions for the involvement of instruments;<sup>2</sup> others left interpretation open, suggesting that notation, texting, and musical rhythm were not as clear as they seemed.<sup>3</sup> I soon realised that the situation of German song in the mid-fifteenth century was quite different from that of its contemporary repertoires, such as Burgundian chanson—for which, despite some remaining performance questions such as instrumentation, a coherent polyphonic score is available and the musical text itself is at least clear. The necessity of a reliable edition drew me to the research of this source and its context, during which I stripped away layer after layer of its practices and uses, and tried to understand the reasons behind the shapes of its notations. The Lochamer Liederbuch is the most multifaceted among the surviving German songbooks from this time, combining a song collection with a collection of instrumental tablatures, presenting polyphonic notations alongside monophonic songs—many of which look like extracts from polyphony—and offering unique personal insights on the collector through his numerous and often humorous comments throughout the manuscript. Furthermore, the collection can be dated and geographically placed, and a name can be attributed to its main scribe and collector. His signature, “Frater Judocus de

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<sup>2</sup> E.g. Ameln, Konrad (ed.): *Das Locheimer Liederbuch. I. Teil: Die mehrstimmigen Sätze* (Deutsche Liedsätze des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts für Singstimmen und Melodieinstrumente 1), Augsburg: Bärenreiter, 1925 and chapter “Aus dem Lochamer Liederbuch (entstanden zwischen 1450–1480)”, in Moser, Hugo and Joseph Müller-Blattau: *Deutsche Lieder des Mittelalters von Walther von der Vogelweide bis zum Lochamer Liederbuch. Texte und Melodien*, Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1968.

<sup>3</sup> Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*.

Windsheim”, probably attests to his place of birth (Windsheim, some 50 km west of Nuremberg) and his (later) profession, possibly as a friar.<sup>4</sup> These combined data place the Lochamer Liederbuch in the musical life of a specific time and area, and a centre of musical innovation: the Paumann School in mid-fifteenth-century Nuremberg. The fact that the Lochamer Liederbuch was a personal collection for practical use, and—for the main scribe—remained work in progress, adds to the value of the source as a window into a musical practice, just as much as to its conservation.

Much has been thought and written about late medieval German musical sources. (This literature is discussed here in **Appendix 1: Literature Review**.) Interest in the literary and musical oeuvre of the late Minnesang traditions and fifteenth-century song collections grew in combination with a rising interest in national identity in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This explains the production of the first musical editions by the turn of the century, including that of the Lochamer Liederbuch and the music of singer-poets such as Neidhart and Oswald von Wolkenstein. Popular interest was so great—particularly in the wake of the “Wandervogelbewegung” (a youth “hikers” movement founded in 1899)—that by the early twentieth century, some of the songs were admitted to German folklore and found their way into modern song collections. Such collections were sometimes edited by the same people who were also responsible for the scholarly publications.<sup>5</sup> This blending of historical research with a popular and pointedly nationalistic reception led to a romanticised view of the repertoire that influenced its performance—to some extent until the present day.

After the rise and fall of the Third Reich, literary scholars applied a new and explicitly sober approach to the research of medieval German texts, and musicologists

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. LVI–LX. Petzsch assumes that by 1455 Judocus had become a member of a religious order.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Breuer, Hans: *Der Zupfgeigenhansl*, Darmstadt: Heinrich Hohmann, 1909 and Quellmalz, Alfred: *Bruder Singer. Lieder unseres Volkes*, ed. by Hermann Peter Gericke and Hugo Moser, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1951.

followed suit. However, mainstream performance practice, with the exception of the “Studio der frühen Musik”, continued to be guided by a nostalgic and folkloristic view of the repertoire. Since performances and recordings are the public face of the sources and their music, the Lochamer Liederbuch (and its related repertoires, especially the songs by Oswald von Wolkenstein and Neidhart), was seen as a rustic or—more favourable, but equally idealised—‘uncorrupted’ witness of the past.

Confronted with the dichotomy between sophisticated research and a large range of recordings, both having been available since the 1960s, I felt that an interdisciplinary approach of musicological research and the practical application of acquired knowledge was necessary to find new answers to the questions of aesthetic concepts, functions, and performance practices of German music in the fifteenth century. By testing the consequences of musicological findings in their practical application, and by feeding the results back into research, new solutions can be found: concerning the combination of voices and instruments, the understanding of often unclear rhythmic notations of monophonic songs and the relationship between vocal models and instrumental reworkings—a relationship which, as it turns out, goes in both directions.

### **Chapters 1 (The Lochamer Liederbuch: A Multi-Faceted Music Collection) and 2 (The Lochamer and Buxheim Tablatures: A Window to the Paumann School):**

I believe that the Lochamer Liederbuch is the ideal point of departure for this endeavour, as it represents a microcosm of urban German music culture in the late Middle Ages at an intersection between vocal and instrumental music by the hands of a studied scholar, (probably) non-professional singer, and (possibly) professional keyboard player. The notation of the songs in the Liederbuch suggests a variety of origins and uses, ranging from the cultivation of a courtly heritage, via the re-appropriation of monophonic tenors extracted from instrumental reworkings, to the use of its song section as a tenor partbook.

Many of the surviving tablatures in the second section of the Lochamer Liederbuch and related keyboard sources (especially the Buxheimer Orgelbuch) are the result of a fluent musical and lyrical text, and so demonstrate the transformational process at the heart of musical life in the mid-fifteenth century. This approach may not lead to a specific edition for each piece, but may instead present a range of possibilities; and, rather than trimming seemingly loose ends in the transmissions, it may open them up to a multitude of valid performance options. The arguments of chapter 2 are accompanied by an empirical survey of annotations in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch in appendix 2 (Evidence for Arrangements in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch). Appendix 3 (A Synoptic Edition of “Con lagrime bagnandome”) provides additional material for the associated case study in chapter 2 on the admission of a Trecento song to an independent tradition of instrumental reworkings. Appendix 4 (Keyboard Ranges in the Treatise of Arnold de Zwolle) illustrates how instrumental restrictions influence the intabulations in the Lochamer Liederbuch and the Buxheimer Orgelbuch.

My research on instrumental involvement in the musical culture around the Lochamer Liederbuch concentrated on keyboard arrangements, which survive abundantly in this and related manuscripts. Lacking musical sources for instruments other than the keyboard, particularly for those capable of solo polyphony (i.e. the harp, the lute, and possibly the cetra, vielle, and lira da braccio), initial research had to rely solely on iconographic evidence and reports of their existence and use. The same applied to instrumental ensemble music, which could only be surmised from the existence of textless chansonniers. In their latest joint publication, Victor Coelho and Keith Polk stated that in the Renaissance, “musicians did not view vocal and instrumental repertoires as separate and distinct, but as a single, central body of work in which vocal music could be arranged

and translated for a range of abilities, uses, and contexts.”<sup>6</sup> It is well documented that players of the lute—my own instrument—routinely reworked vocal music in the fifteenth century, whether as soloists or in consort. However, no musical source known so far documented this practice unequivocally before the century had passed.

### **Chapter 3: The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature: The Earliest Source for the Lute**

In 2011, hitherto unknown tablature fragments from ca. 1460 were made public, which seemed to be for the lute.<sup>7</sup> After transcribing, analysing, and testing the repertoire of these fragments on the instrument, I was able to confirm that this lute tablature provides a missing link in lute practice. The significance of this new source cannot be overstated. It testifies to the changeover from plectrum to finger technique at the beginning of a practice to intabulate vocal polyphony for solo lute. The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature is central to the present thesis. I show that lutenists were already playing vocal polyphony soloistically at a time when plectrum playing was still the norm. I also prove that, in doing so, they took their inspiration and intabulation processes from organ practice, and that the playing technique developed by Crawford Young to combine plectrum and fingers for solo polyphony on the lute existed in the mid-fifteenth century. Both findings were working hypotheses up to this point. I am confident that in the future, further leaves of this exceptional source will come to light in bindings, providing an even deeper insight into early lute practice. The appendices to this chapter provide new full colour facsimiles of the tablature fragments (appendix 5: The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature) and of the related lute neck (appendix 6: The Kassel Collum Lutine). My

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<sup>6</sup> Coelho, Victor and Keith Polk: *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture, 1420–1600. Players of Function and Fantasy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Staehelin, Martin: ‘Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik um 1460 in Wolfenbüttel’, in: Staehelin, Martin (ed.): *Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 in deutschem Sprachgebiet: Neue Quellen des Spätmittelalters aus Deutschland und der Schweiz*, (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Neue Folge 15), Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011, pp. 67-88 (text and edition), pp. 141-144 (facsimile).

practical work on the tablature fragments enabled me to reconstruct the missing parts by using parallel transmissions and by taking the surviving parts as a model to recreate the intabulation and ornamentation process. The resulting arrangements were tested in performance and teaching, and recorded on CD. They are printed in appendix 7 (A (Re-) Construction of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature-Fragments).

#### **Chapter 4 (From Drone to Discantus: Changing Strategies for Instrumental Accompaniment of Late Medieval Secular Monophony)**

Until well into the second half of the twentieth century, the combination of voices and instruments in the music of the Middle Ages was naturally assumed, and their interaction for the performance of music from the late Minnesang traditions and the German songbooks of the fifteenth century appeared self-evident. Most recordings of medieval music until the 1980s reflected this view, which only began to be called into question by the “a cappella hypothesis”, originating in England in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Since then, the combination of voices and instruments has been viewed with some suspicion, not only for polyphonic, but also monophonic repertoires—and probably rightly so. It is thanks to practical experiments, including those at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, that new playing techniques on reconstructions of instruments have since opened up possibilities to employ instruments in concordance with the surviving iconographical and archival evidence. Examples include techniques for voice accompaniment on fiddle and lyra da braccio with flat bridges, and a technique of playing soloistic polyphony on the plectrum lute by Crawford Young, which was further developed and expanded to the cetra by myself.

My research therefore also had practical consequences, at times going beyond the scope of the dissertation thesis. These include concert programmes, in which newly transcribed or reconstructed music was performed and put to test, as well as CD

recordings<sup>8</sup> and instrumental reconstructions. The results helped me to better understand the processes behind reworkings, and to make decisions on instrumental techniques and orchestration. Practical experimentation also inspired the reconstruction of lacunas, such as missing parts from the fragments of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature, as well as new instrumental reworkings based on this and other tablatures. Practical work also provided answers to the most elusive question of historically informed performance practice: that of the unwritten instrumental accompaniment of late medieval monophony. The results flowed back into my theoretical research.

The reconstruction of specific instruments connected to the research included a mid-fifteenth-century cetra and a mid-fifteenth-century five-course lute, which were used in subsequent programmes and recordings.



**Figure 1:** Monoxylic cetra reconstruction after fifteenth-century iconography, maker: Julian Behr, 2012.

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<sup>8</sup> Ensemble Dulce Melos, Marc Lewon (dir.) and Martin Hummel: *Das Lochamer Liederbuch (The Lochamer-Songbook): German Popular Songs from the 15th Century*, Naxos, 2008; Ensemble Dulce Melos et al.: *Das Glogauer Liederbuch (The Glogau Song Book): Songs, Comic Tales and Tails*, Naxos, 2012; Ensemble Leones et al.: *Neidhart. A Minnesinger and his 'Vale of Tears': Songs and Interludes*, Naxos, 2012; Ensemble Leones and Marc Lewon (dir.): *The Cosmopolitan – Songs by Oswald von Wolkenstein*, Christophorus, 2014; Ensemble Leones and Marc Lewon (dir.): *Argentum et Aurum – Musical Treasures from the Early Habsburg Renaissance*, Naxos, 2015; Ensemble Dragma et al.: *Kingdom of Heaven – Heinrich Laufenberg*, Ramée, 2014; Ensemble Leones and Marc Lewon (dir.): *Hör, kristenhait. Sacred Songs by the Last of the Minnesingers. Oswald von Wolkenstein, der Mönch von Salzburg et al.*, Christophorus, 2015; Lewon, Marc, Paul Kieffer and Grace Newcombe: *Two Lutes with Grace*, Naxos, 2019—recorded in February 2018, forthcoming.



**Figure 2a/b:** Five-course lute reconstruction after fifteenth-century iconography, maker: Julian Behr, 2017.

Chapter 4 explores how different types of melodies allow for certain practices of instrumental accompaniment, ranging from accompanying techniques involving drones and heterophonic ornamentation to techniques of polyphonic extemporisation. The latter include practices described by contemporaries as “übersingen” (inventing an upper line) and “quintieren” (organum), but also involve techniques taught in the discantus treatises of the time. The chapter also considers how the development of instruments may have interacted with a changing taste for melodic construction from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries and then discusses the suitability of certain melody types for an instrumental accompaniment.

## **Chapter 5 (Oswald and Neidhart: Reworking the Texts of the Classics)**

The Lochamer Liederbuch contains traces of the late Minnesang tradition. Apart from a number of anonymous songs, such traces include one song and an additional text by the Monk of Salzburg, and the aforementioned song by Oswald von Wolkenstein. The main scribe also quoted Neidhart’s famous farcical violet song. By following the traces of these songs to parallel collections from the fifteenth century—amongst them the Rostocker Liederbuch, the Oswald codices, the Eghenvelder Liedersammlung, and Neidhart MS c (like the Lochamer Liederbuch, from mid-fifteenth-century Nuremberg)—a network of reworkings comes to light, which shows how these seemingly distinct genres borrowed



from one another: melodies change their modality, Oswald quotes Neidhart, and the songbooks re-shape melodies into tenors, making them available for re-texting and polyphony. The chapter also has a focus on the rhythmic form of the melodies, picking up on the principle of the ‘reference rhythm’ that was expounded in chapter 1 and discussed more thoroughly in chapter 4. Chapter 5 ends with a contrafact by Oswald von Wolkenstein of a Binchois ballade, which was also contrafacted in the Lochamer Liederbuch, albeit with a Latin text. The discussion of this piece questions some long-held beliefs on Oswald’s process of transforming a foreign model into a German song. The resulting new editions are provided in appendix 8 (Den Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer), introducing a new solution and edition of an Oswald song to modern performance practice.

# 1 The Lochamer Liederbuch: A Multi-Faceted Music Collection

The manuscript collection of songs and keyboard tablatures, known as the Lochamer Liederbuch (LOCH), was apparently collected by a student named Judocus de Windsheim in Nuremberg in the 1450s. Petzsch assumes that the next owner of the manuscript was Hanns Ott, who entered his name on the inside of the back cover and who might be identical with the lute maker of the same name, documented in Nuremberg in 1463 and 1475 (see Figure 1a).<sup>9</sup> It would be tempting to see a connection between the later life of the Liederbuch, the lute maker in Nuremberg, and the Wartburg gittern, one of the few surviving instruments from this era, also made by a Hans Ott (see Figure 1b).



**Figure 1:** (a) LOCH, inside of the back cover with pen trials and signature of the (probably) second owner of the manuscript: Hanns Ott. (b) Maker's label in the Wartburg gittern: "Hans Ott, Nuremberg".

LOCH is counted today among the most important sources for German-language music in the fifteenth century and is, for that reason, also sometimes described as the first

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<sup>9</sup> Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, p. LXII.

German song book.<sup>10</sup> The manuscript corresponds in structure and content to the concept of later collections that are still commonly referred to as German song books, such as the Schedelsche Liederbuch, the Glogauer Liederbuch or the printed collections of the sixteenth century. LOCH precedes them as the earliest surviving source. Nevertheless, LOCH is different from these song books in one respect: its contents are mainly of monophonic songs, as opposed to the exclusively polyphonic material in the others. This makes it difficult to draw a dividing line between LOCH and earlier collections of mainly monophonic German songs or song texts, such as the Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift, the Eghenvelder Liedersammlung, the Oswald codices, or the mixed collections of poems that go back to the anthologies of the Minnesingers.

Foundational research on the manuscript and its contents has been conducted by Walter Salmen and Christoph Petzsch and was published in two monographs, a critical edition, and several articles.<sup>11</sup> The following summary of the manuscript's layout and contents relies mainly on their work. The manuscript is now in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (D-B 40613),<sup>12</sup> but several entries testify to its being written in Nuremberg in the 1450's, the earliest mentioning being 1452. Other entries of dates (1453, 1455) as well as changes

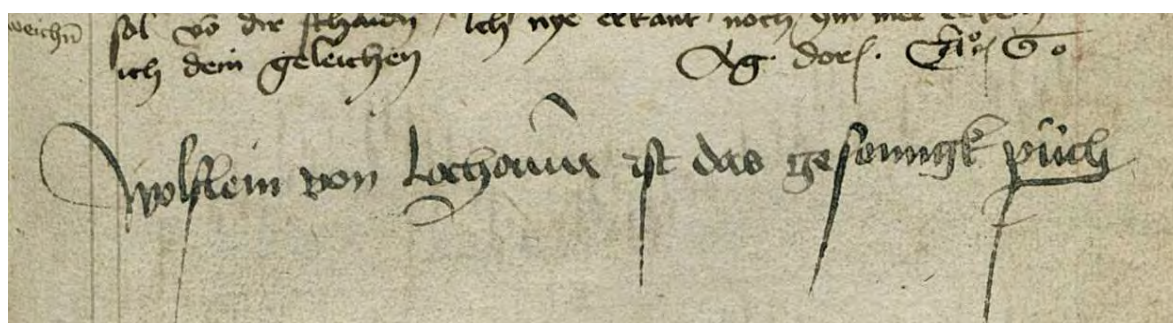
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<sup>10</sup> See for instance "German Song from 1440 to 1520", in Ward, Tom R. and Bonnie J. Blackburn: 'Polyphonic Music in Central Europe, c.1300–c.1520', in: Strohm, Reinhard (ed.): *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 191–243, p. 240.

<sup>11</sup> Salmen's short study opened up the source for further research (Salmen, Walter: *Das Lochamer Liederbuch. Eine musikgeschichtliche Studie* (Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Einzeldarstellungen 18), Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1951) and was followed some 16 years later by a much more comprehensive study by Petzsch (Petzsch, Christoph: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Studien* (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 19), München: C. H. Beck, 1967). Their joint publication of 1972 combines these studies, summarising their findings, and complements them with a critical edition of all the songs (but not the tablatures): Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*.

<sup>12</sup> The manuscript is accessible as a facsimile edition (Ameln, Konrad: *Lochamer-Liederbuch und das Fundamentum organisandi von Conrad Paumann*, 2nd ed. (Documenta Musicologica. Zweite Reihe: Handschriften-Faksimiles 3), Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972) and for a few years has been available as an online scan: <http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN645230707> (accessed 31.12.2017). For a new and commented anthology, see Lewon, Marc: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch in neuer Übertragung und mit ausführlichem Kommentar*, Brensbach/Deutschland: Verlag der Spielleute, 2007. For a new recording, see Ensemble Dulce Melos, Marc Lewon (dir.) and Martin Hummel: *Das Lochamer Liederbuch (The Lochamer-Songbook): German Popular Songs from the 15th Century*, Naxos, 2008, [https://www.naxos.com/catalogue/item.asp?item\\_code=8.557803](https://www.naxos.com/catalogue/item.asp?item_code=8.557803) (accessed 31.12.2017).

in the appearance of the main scribe's hand, Judocus de Windsheim, suggest that the collection developed in the course of nearly a decade. The latest date (1460) is found below the addendas on p. 37 and p. 41 and in both instances reads “*agathe dorothee anno 1460*” (i.e. 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> February 1460).<sup>13</sup> In 1867 Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold named the collection after a later owner, one Wolflein von Lochamer, resident of Nuremberg, who entered his ex libris in ca. 1500 on p. 37: “*Wolflein von Locham[e]r ist das gesennk púch*” (“This song book belongs to Wolflein from Lochamer”).<sup>14</sup>



**Figure 2:** Latest date in LOCH and ex libris of Wolflein von Lochamer (p. 37).

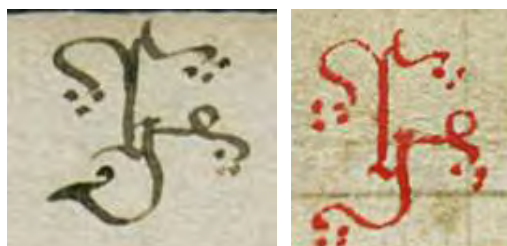
Only the two late entries on p. 37 and p. 41 could be directly connected to the hand of “Frater Judocus de Windsheim”, who added his name on p. 41. Salmen identified this as a separate hand, but Petzsch assumes that most of the hands in the source are actually by the same main scribe, and he renumbered this as hand Ib.<sup>15</sup> His cryptic monogram occurs multiple times throughout both sections of the manuscript and inspired numerous readings by scholars since the beginning of research on LOCH in the nineteenth

<sup>13</sup> For a transcription and interpretation of the dates, see Petzsch: *Lochamer-Liederbuch*, p. 43.

<sup>14</sup> Arnold, Friedrich Wilhelm: *Das Locheimer Liederbuch nebst der Ars Organisandi von Conrad Paumann, als Documente des Deutschen Liedes, sowie des frühesten geregelten Contrapunktes und der ältesten Instrumentalmusik aus den Urschriften kritisch bearbeitet* (Jahrbuch für Musikalische Wissenschaften 2), Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1867. See also the two debt notes on p. 31: “Item der wolf lochamer ist mir schuldig XXXV d” (“Ditto Wolf Lochamer owes me XXXV d”).

<sup>15</sup> Earlier attempts at identifying scribal hands were by *ibid.*, pp. 10–14, Ursprung, Otto: ‘Vier Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Liedes: I. “Mein traut Gesell, mein liebster Hort”, ein Neujahrslied aus ca. 1300’, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 4/4 (1922), pp. 413–419, and Salmen: *Das Lochamer Liederbuch*, pp. 16–22 and the table pp. 27–31. Several of these were later attributed to the same main scribe, Judocus de Windsheim, by Petzsch: *Lochamer-Liederbuch*, pp. 32–49, especially p. 46, and finally codified by Petzsch in: Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, pp. XLV–LXI, where he summarised and conflated the earlier assessments, indentifying several hitherto separate hands as the main scribe and first owner of the source, Judocus de Windsheim.

century. A likely resolution of the monogram could be “Jg”, which might either point to the organist Johannes Götz (also in BUX), but could also refer to the unknown last name of Judocus. Petzsch deciphers it as “bg” but cannot provide a name to which these initials could belong. Whatever the resolution might be, the monogram appears to be connected to the main scribe Judocus.<sup>16</sup>



**Figure 3:** monogram (a) in the song section, p. 12, and (b) in the tablature section, p. 81.

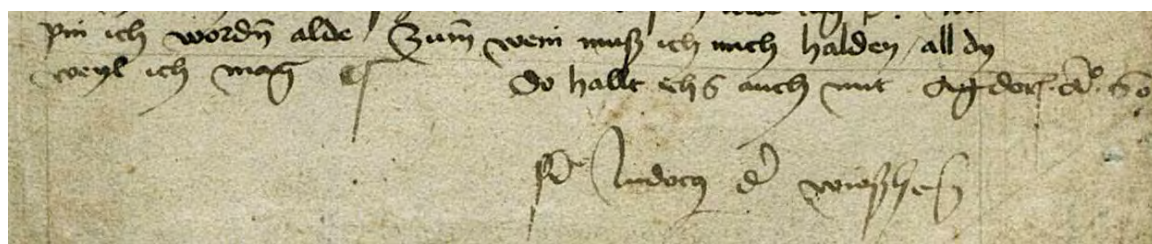
Judocus de Windsheim has to be considered the main scribe and collector of LOCH. If the bulk of the collection were written during his student times, it would make sense that only the last entries entitle him as “frater” once he had joined a monastic order or was admitted to the clergy in 1459.<sup>17</sup> The pen-trials on the last page (p. 93) confirm a connection of the manuscript to the clergy, as they include a doodle of a chicken wearing a mitre and a line from the sixth responsory of the Office of the Apostles “[...] modo coronantur et accipiunt palmam”. That one of the last entries on p. 41 also includes one of the many humorous comments found throughout the manuscript supports Petzsch’s assessment and attests to Judocus’s cheerful disposition. Following the song “Ich spring an disem ringe”, which ends with the words “Zumm wein muß ich mich halden / all dy

<sup>16</sup> For an in-depth discussion of the monogram, see Petzsch, Christoph: “Das Monogramm”, in Petzsch: *Lochamer-Liederbuch*, pp. 50–60, and Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, pp. LI–LII. He implies that “bg” could stand for “Barbara gemachel” (“Barbara, my wife”), taken from the commentary at the bottom of p. 15 in Hebrew letters, but ultimately believes the monogram should stand for the initials of the scribe rather than a dedication.

<sup>17</sup> See, Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, pp. LVI–LXI.



weyl ich mag” (“I have to keep to the wine as long as I can”), he added the comment “Do hallt ichs auch mit” (“And I do the same”).<sup>18</sup>



**Figure 4:** LOCH, p. 41 with final words of the song LOCH 42 “Ich spring an disem ringe”, added comment, date (“agathe dorothee anno 1460”), and signature (“frater Judocus de winßheim”).

The manuscript contains 50 anonymous melodies and 32 instrumental arrangements in keyboard tablature notation.<sup>19</sup> Apart from three Latin contrafacta, practically all the songs have German texts, nine are notated polyphonically. Authors can be ascribed to only three of the songs through surviving concordant sources: one is a poem by the Monk of Salzburg, one a tenor by Oswald von Wolkenstein and one is a contrafact of a tenor by Gilles Binchois. The manuscript is divided into two sections, which were originally collated separately but bound together soon after the main work was finished. The first section, which gave the manuscript its designation “Liederbuch”, is a collection of German songs. The second section contains the keyboard tablatures, starting with a set of examples for instrumental extemporisation, entitled “Fundamentum organisandi Magistri Conradi paumannus Ceci de Nürenberga Anno etc ‘52” (pp. 46–47). The manuscript consists of four gatherings of paper, the first with five double folios, the other three with six double folios each. The song collection uses the first two gatherings, the tablature collection the last two.<sup>20</sup> Both sections contain a bulk of pieces by the main scribe (Judocus de Windsheim) and additions by later hands. Two songs (LOCH 44 & 45)

<sup>18</sup> On the often humorous comments to individual songs by the main scribe, see principally: Petzsch, Christoph: “Die Beischriften”, in Petzsch: *Lochamer-Liederbuch*, pp. 69–111.

<sup>19</sup> The exact number of the songs can vary in the secondary literature, since two of the songs are doubled and written out with slight variations and two melodies are only rudimentary and included without title or text.

<sup>20</sup> Ameln: *Lochamer-Liederbuch. Faksimile*, p. 3.

were squeezed onto free space in the tablature section, and the three Latin contrafacta (see below) were added in the opening between the two sections.

LOCH is not only one of the earliest German song books but is in line with a tradition of musical student collections, starting with the Eghenvelder Liedersammlung (EGH) by Liebhard Eghenvelder, who studied in Vienna in the late 1420s.<sup>21</sup> This tradition is continued by the Schedelsche Liederbuch (SCHE), compiled by the famous Hartmann Schedel from Nuremberg during his studies in Leipzig in 1459–1461,<sup>22</sup> by the Rostocker Liederbuch (ROSTOCK), collected by an anonymous student of Rostock university between 1465 and 1487, by the sixteenth century Liederbuch of Johannes Heer von Glarus, written during his final student years in Paris ca. 1510, by the Liederbuch of Ambrosius Kettenacker, of which only the bassus part book survives, and by the collections of Bonifacius Amerbach, both from Basel shortly after 1500. In the sixteenth century, however, the contents of these student collections changed significantly with the fashions of the time. Eghenvelder was looking back on a bygone era in which the song culture was shaped by the nobility and lacked foreign influences: he collected only monophonic songs from the genres of Minnesang (especially local Neidhart songs) and Spruchsang. Schedel's song book, by contrast, has only polyphony, mostly in three voices, including non-German music. The collections by Heer von Glarus, Kettenacker, and Amerbach go a step further in transmitting a substantial international repertoire, often for four voices; in the case of Amerbach they include keyboard and lute tablatures, if in separate manuscripts.

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<sup>21</sup> For an in-depth analysis of the source, see Lewon, Marc: 'Die Liedersammlung des Liebhard Eghenvelder: im Ganzen mehr als die Summe ihrer Teile', in: Rausch, Alexander and Björn Tammen R. (eds.): *Musikalische Repertoires in Zentraleuropa (1420–1450). Prozesse & Praktiken. Bericht über die Internationale Konferenz Wien, 22.–24. November 2010* (Wiener Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge 24), Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2014, pp. 299–343.

<sup>22</sup> See the exhaustive study by Kirnbauer, Martin: *Hartmann Schedel und sein 'Liederbuch'. Studien zu einer spätmittelalterlichen Musikhandschrift (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cgm 810) und ihrem Kontext* (Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, II/42), Bern: Peter Lang, 2001.

LOCH sits at a crossroads between the monophonic aristocratic song collections and the urban student song books, both of the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. The source provides an ideal case study and starting point from which to draw connections to a diversity of reworking practices in fifteenth-century German-speaking lands. The following study concentrates on the first section of the manuscript—the song part—which is comprised of a number of different melody-types appearing in various rhythmic organisations and musico-poetic styles, of separate origins and different possible uses for reworkings.

## 1.1 Genuine Monophonic Songs and ‘Reference Rhythm’

The majority of the songs in LOCH are monophonic, and for some of these songs the notation attests to their monophonic conception. Monophonic music of the Middle Ages did not require mensural notation, and many songs, especially in German sources, were written down in chant notation until well into the fifteenth century, when mensural notation in secular sources had become the norm. Monophonic songs were often notated without a musical rhythm even in manuscripts that employ mensural note symbols. In such cases, semibreves were customarily used instead of the puncta of chant notation. Many examples of this type of unmeasured use of mensural note symbols can be found in the Oswald codices, in the transmission of the Monk of Salzburg (particularly in the Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift), and in the Sterzing Miscellany Manuscript, to name but a few.<sup>23</sup> This notational practice is often paired with a functional (but non-mensural) use of mensural note signs: while semibreves are used for the bulk of the melody, minims

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<sup>23</sup> This includes most of the monophonic song notations in the Oswald Codices, starting with the opening song in both sources: “Ain anefangk” in both WOLKA, fol. 1r (A-Wn Cod. 2777, Vienna? ca. 1425) and WOLKB, fol. 3r (A-Iu s.s., Basel? ca. 1432), practically the entire notation of the Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift with the works of the Monk of Salzburg (A-Wn Cod. 2856, ca. 1455–70), and a number of notations in the Sterzing Miscellany Manuscript (Sterzing/Vipiteno, Stadtarchiv, s.s., ca. 1410 Neustift/Brixen), such as “Iam entrena plena” (fols. 35v–36r), or the Neidhart songs “Vyol—Urlaub hab der winter” (fol. 47v) and “Die pild—Uns ist komen ein liebe zeit” (fol. 48r).



are used to signify upbeats, breves and longs are employed as cadential notes, and semiminims as custodes. Examples of this more differentiated use of mensural note signs can again be observed in the Oswald Codices and the Sterzing manuscript, the Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift, and in several Neidhart songs in EGH.<sup>24</sup>

Another use of mensural notation for monophony includes its semi-mensural application. This is often found to denote slower or faster passages in relation to surrounding notes—in the first case by using breves, often in the shape of bistrophas, in the second case by using minims, often retrospectively obtained from semibreves by the addition of stems. Examples can be found in most fifteenth-century German manuscripts containing monophony, and again especially in the sources quoted above. An extreme form of such semi-mensural notations is the ‘reference rhythm’, a term I have coined to designate a rhythmic principle connected in particular to German monophonic songs that are set syllabically to texts with an alternating metrical structure. In these songs, the metrics of the texts are transferred to the musical notation by a regular alternation of long and short note values, most typically as semibreve and minim. The resulting, simple pattern is often described as a “dance-like triple-metre” in modern scholarship, but I was able to show that the same alternation, although not as clear, can, firstly, also be found in songs with a duple metre and, secondly, is not to be equated to dance music.<sup>25</sup> Instead, the rhythm is the generic depiction of a metrical principle and especially suitable for narrative songs.

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<sup>24</sup> See chapters 5 and 6 for several examples in this kind of notation from the Oswald and Neidhart transmissions and p. 203 with FN 244 for a comprehensive definition.

<sup>25</sup> For a comprehensive summary, see Lewon, Marc: ‘Vom Tanz im Lied zum Tanzlied? Zur Frage nach dem musikalischen Rhythmus in den Liedern Neidharts’, in: Klein, Dorothea, Brigitte Burrichter and Andreas Haug (eds.): *Das mittelalterliche Tanzlied (1100–1300). Lieder zum Tanz – Tanz im Lied* (Würzburger Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie 37), Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2012, pp. 137–179, here pp. 169–173. For a discussion with practical examples from the Neidhart oeuvre, see also the subsections “Rhythm” and “Reference Rhythm and Dance” in chapter 4.1.2 of this thesis.

For all three types—the non-rhythmical use of mensural notation, the semi-mensural application, and the special case of the reference rhythm—the range of note values is moderate, for the most part consisting of semibreves and minims. LOCH has a number of such monophonic notations with little variation in note values, most of which would, therefore, point to a genuine monophonic conception. They were composed as monophonic melodies and sung as monophonic songs. Most of them may have never existed in a polyphonic version, although a later (polyphonic) instrumental reworking or the use as a cantus firmus in instrumental ensemble music occasionally occurred. Notations in LOCH that indicate a purely monophonic use (in that the mensural notes are used structurally rather than rhythmically) are LOCH 7 “Mein frewd möcht sich wol meren”, reworked as a monophonic contrafact in Bohemian sources and as tablatures in BUX,<sup>26</sup> LOCH 25 “Mein hercz hat lange zeyt gewellt”, reworked once in BUX 85, LOCH 28 “Mir ist mein pferd vernagellt gar”, with a parallel monophonic transmission in ROSTOCK 38, LOCH 29 “Ein gut seligs jar gelück und alles heyl”, with a monophonic parallel in a French source,<sup>27</sup> LOCH 31 “Mit ganzem willen wünsch ich dir”,<sup>28</sup> LOCH 33 “Solt mich nit pilleich wunder han”, and LOCH 34 “Benedicite Almechtiger got”, one of two songs in LOCH by the Monk of Salzburg with many monophonic concordances.

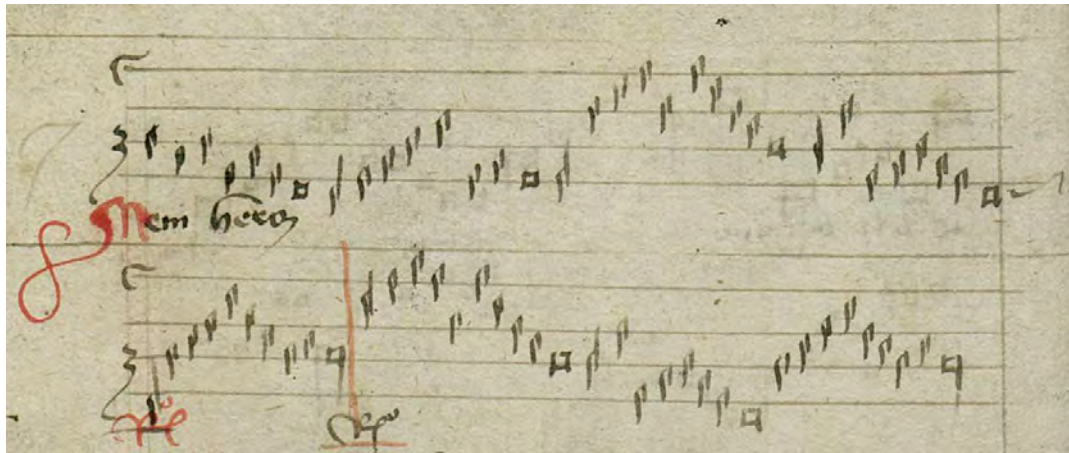
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<sup>26</sup> For a full list of parallel transmissions, see Fallows, David: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 462. Fallows concedes that the similarities in the three versions in BUX (BUX 42, 129, 130) suggest the existence of a three-voice song version, though none survives.

<sup>27</sup> This parallel transmission in the Namur town records was already discovered by Eileen Southern (Southern, Eileen: ‘Foreign Music in German Manuscripts of the Fifteenth Century’, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968), pp. 258–285, pp. 265–266) and is listed in Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, pp. 432–433.

<sup>28</sup> The instrumental arrangements of this song in the BUX and the LOCH tablatures, which appears more like the diminution of a cantus than the product of a ‘Spielvorgang’ (“playing-process”, a term coined by Zöbele—see chapter 2.2—to describe the extemporised creation of an instrumental counterpoint on a given tenor), and the proximity of both settings suggest that there was a polyphonic version for this song, though none survives. The song must have been popular because apart from four keyboard versions listed in Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, pp. 469–470, there are three parallel transmissions of the text, whereas the version in LOCH is corrupted in both text and music. For an attempt at a reconstruction of the monophonic song and its three-strophe text, see Lewon, Marc: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch in neuer Übertragung und mit ausführlichem Kommentar*, Brensbach/Deutschland: Verlag der Spielleute, 2007 (1), pp. 14–15 (edition) and pp. 32–33.

However, the boundaries between these notations and the notations of monophonic ‘Tenors’ are flowing, so that some will re-occur in the respective section below.



**Figure 5:** LOCH 25 “Mein hercz hat lange zeyt gewellt” with non-rhythmical use of mensural notes: semibreves = puncta, minims = upbeats, breves and longs = cadential notes.

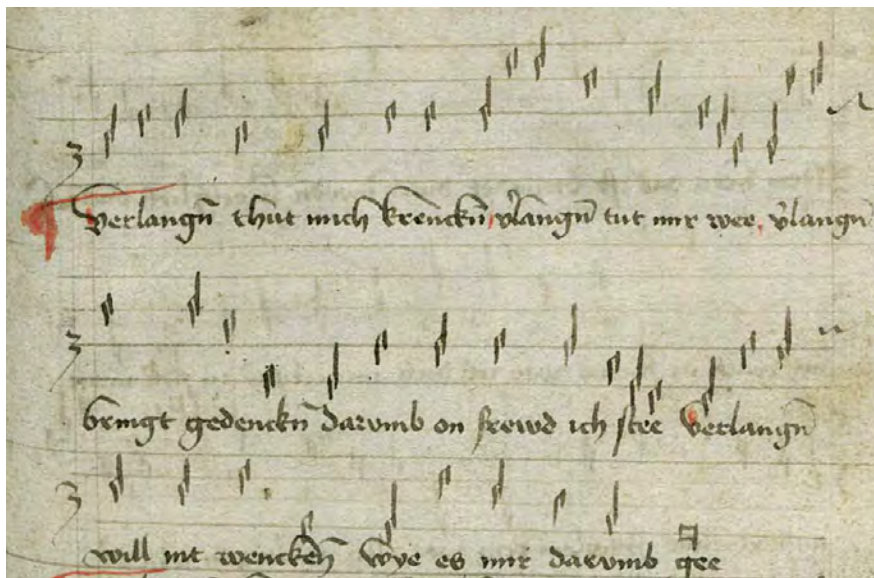
This group of pieces is complemented by those that are notated in reference rhythm, likewise indicating a monophonic genre. The reference rhythm occurs mainly in triple metre. Examples are LOCH 8 “Ich far dohin wann es muß sein”, which inspired several contrafacta and for which a new, contemporary reworking as a lute tablature has been identified in WOLFT (see chapter 3.2.4), LOCH 11 “Mein hercz das ist bekümmert sere”,<sup>29</sup> LOCH 35 “Verlangen thut mich krencken”, LOCH 42 “Ich spring an disem ringe”, and LOCH 44 “Zart lip wie süß dein anfanck ist”, which is the only song from this list that survives as a tenor line in a polyphonic setting in SCHE 27, albeit with a new rhythmic organisation. There are also a few songs in what could be described as a duple reference rhythm. This manifestation of the reference rhythm does not visually differentiate between stressed and unstressed notes as its more common form in triple metre does. Instead it prescribes a chain of minims for each line of text. Combined with a syllabic underlay of a metrically alternating text, the stress pattern typical of the reference rhythm is clearly recognisable. Songs in a duple reference rhythm are LOCH 39 “All mein

<sup>29</sup> I could identify one lute tablature version of this song in the collection of Jakob Thurner (A-Wn Cod 9704, fol. 12r-v).

gedencken dy ich hab”, and possibly LOCH 45 “Es fur ein paur gen holcz”.<sup>30</sup> The latter was added by a later hand on a free system at the bottom of p. 91, in a notational shorthand, leaving the intended rhythm for the A-section unclear. The tablature version BUX 87 “Es für ein buer ins holtze” features a heavily adapted tenor line so that it cannot assist in the reconstruction of LOCH 45. Although a number of these monophonic songs were used for intabulations, only few of them have concordances or contrafacta in other sources (such as LOCH 7, 8, 28, 31, and 34). For one of them, however, I could identify a cognate version in the Hohenfurter Liederbuch (LOCH 35 and HOH 46), which will be discussed in the following section.

## 1.2 A Cognate to “Verlangen thut mich krencken”<sup>31</sup>

The notation in LOCH, p. 33, is the only surviving transmission of the music of “Verlangen thut mich krencken” and it is notated in reference rhythm.



**Figure 5:** LOCH 35 “Verlangen thut mich krencken” notated in reference rhythm with alternating semibreves and minims.

<sup>30</sup> For another clear example, see chapter 5.4, Figure 25c, below.

<sup>31</sup> The findings of this subsection were republished for peer review on my blog site: Lewon, Marc: “A Cognate to “Verlangen thut mich krencken” (LOCH 35)”, <https://mlewon.wordpress.com/2014/06/27/cognate-to-loch-35/> (accessed 30.12.2017).

The song “Wol auf, wir wellens wecken”, taking up the opening of fols. 74v–75r in the contemporaneous Hohenfurter Liederbuch (HOH 46),<sup>32</sup> appears to be a compressed and re-arranged version of “Verlangen thut mich krencken”. It seems as if material from the more extensive “Verlangen” was conflated into a shorter melody, suited to the shorter text of “Wol auf, wir wellens wecken”. Though the melodic building blocks have a generic quality, the similarities between the two melodies are striking enough to raise suspicions of a cognate relationship, meaning that the two melodies have an intertextual relationship with one borrowing material from the other. While in the case of a contrafact a new text would be written for a pre-existing melody, in this case it seems a melody was edited, cut and reassembled to fit an existing text.

### Verlangen tut mich krencken

Loch 35, p. 33

8 1. Ver - lan - gen tut mich kren-cken, ver - lan - gen tut mir wee,  
8 ver - lan - gen bringt ge - den-cken, da - rumb on freud ich stee.  
8 ver - lan - gen will nit wen-cken, wie es mir da-rumb gee.

Hie weckten die prediger den sündler.

### Wol auf, wir wellens wecken

Hoh 46, fol. 74v–75r

8 1. Wol auf, wir wel-lens we - -cken, es ist wol an der czeyt,  
8 den sün - der auf - er - schre - -cken, wo er in sün - den leyt.

**Figure 7:** Comparative edition of LOCH 35 “Verlangen thut mich krencken” and its cognate HOH 46 “Wol auf, wir wellens wecken” with their corresponding melodic parts colour-coded.

<sup>32</sup> CZ-VB 8b; Southern German, ca. 1450.

Melodic line **A** in “Wol auf” can be seen as a conflation of lines **A** and **A'** from “Verlangen”. Line **B** is almost identical in both songs. Line **D** only differs in its ornamentation; and the central line **C** in “Wol auf” is arguably a compressed version of the corresponding line in “Verlangen”. The different melodic sections appear in the same order in both melodies. The excess material in “Verlangen” consists merely of line **A'** and the middle part of line **C**. Furthermore, the texts of the two songs seem to be constructed along similar lines, with one key word or phrase commanding each strophe: In “Verlangen”, the first word of the song (“verlangen” – “desire”) appears multiple times in every strophe. “Wol auf”, on the other hand, contains “wir wellen” (“we want to” or “let us”) in the first line of each strophe, and makes ample use of alliteration with the initial letters of this motto: “wol auf”, “wir wellen”, “wol”, “wo”.<sup>33</sup>

While “Verlangen” is notated in reference rhythm, the notation of “Wol auf” is in duple metre and employs cadential ornamentation that hints at a polyphonic treatment. This observation well matches the fact, already noted by Bäumker,<sup>34</sup> the first editor of “Wol auf, wir wellens wecken”, that the melody is also found as the tenor line in a four-voice setting by Ludwig Senfl in Hans Ott’s songbook of 1534.<sup>35</sup> This interrelationship of a purely monophonic transmission (“Verlangen thut mich krencken” in LOCH) with a cognate monophonic rendering (“Wol auf, wir wellens wecken” in HOH) of a piece that

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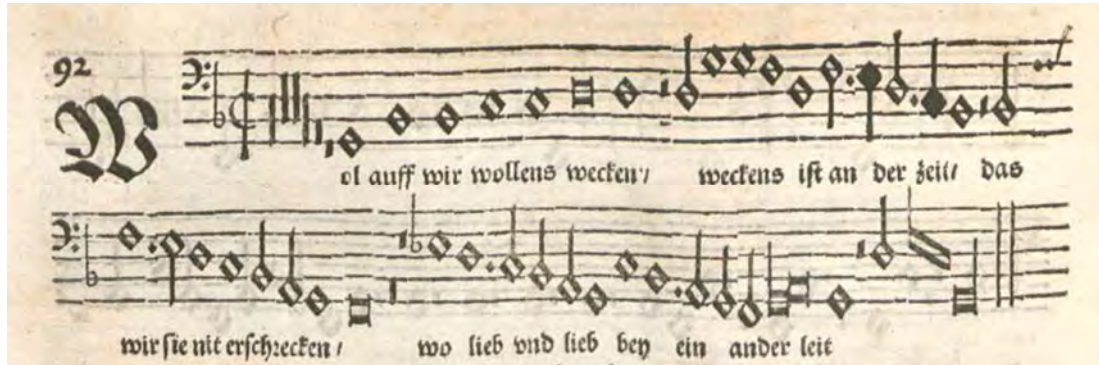
<sup>33</sup> For a comparison of the song texts of “Verlangen thut mich krencken” and “Wol auf, wir wellens wecken” presenting both texts with the keywords highlighted, see the PDF sublinked in the blog (FN 31) or directly via <https://mlewon.files.wordpress.com/2014/06/text-comparison-verlangen-wol-auf.pdf> (accessed 31.12.2017). An English translation of the complete song text of “Verlangen thut mich krencken” can be found online on the Naxos website to the recording Ensemble/Lewon (dir.)/Hummel: *Das Lochamer Liederbuch*, [https://www.naxos.com/catalogue/item.asp?item\\_code=8.557803](https://www.naxos.com/catalogue/item.asp?item_code=8.557803) (accessed 31.12.2017) under the link “libretto” (PDF-download, there track 4 on pp. 2–3).

<sup>34</sup> Bäumker, Wilhelm (ed.): *Ein deutsches geistliches Liederbuch mit Melodien aus dem XV. Jahrhundert nach einer Handschrift des Stiftes Hohenfurt*, Reprint Hildesheim 1970 ed., Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895. A new edition of this song is forthcoming in Lütolf, Max et al. (eds.): *Melodien und Texte handschriftlicher Überlieferung bis um 1530 Gesänge N–Z und Nachträge* (Geistliche Gesänge des deutschen Mittelalters. Gesamtausgabe der Melodien und Texte aus handschriftlicher Überlieferung 4), Kassel: Bärenreiter—in preparation, no. 738: “Wol auf, wir wellens wecken”. (The printer Hans Ott is not identical with the first owner of LOCH nor the Nuremberg instrument maker.)

<sup>35</sup> D-Mbs Mus.pr. 35, tenor part book, fol. 75v.



also appears with a practically identical melody in a polyphonic setting (Ludwig Senfl) demonstrates how these melodies, when rhythmically adapted, can migrate effortlessly between monophony and polyphony.



**Figure 8:** Ludwig Senfl’s “Wol auff wir wollens wecken” in the tenor partbook of Hans Ott’s *Liederbuch* from 1535, No. 92

### 1.3 Polyphonic Songs in the Lochamer Liederbuch

Despite the fact that LOCH is often associated with polyphonic German songs, only nine are actually notated polyphonically. Two of these are two-voice (LOCH 9 “Ich het mir auserkorn” and LOCH 21 “Kan ich nit über werden”), but their setting allows for the addition of a contratenor voice, if the possibility is entertained that the cantus of LOCH 21 has been notated one octave too low. An unsupported fourth in the middle of the piece confirms that the voices should start and end an octave apart, which would correct this fourth to a fifth.<sup>36</sup> The same situation occurs in LOCH 15 “Möcht ich dein wegeren”, in which the cantus is also an octave too low, supporting the argument for a wrong clef in both songs. Additionally, “Kan ich nit über werden” is the only song in LOCH texted in more than one voice: Both cantus and tenor are fully texted in the first strophe.

<sup>36</sup> David Fallows already suspected this (Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, p. 458). For a new and corrected edition including a generic contratenor in fauxbourdon style, see Lewon, Marc: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch in neuer Übertragung und mit ausführlichem Kommentar*, Brensbach/Deutschland: Verlag der Spielleute, 2010 (3), pp. 19 (edition) & pp. 46–47 (commentary).

Merely two other songs in LOCH indicate a cantus texting (LOCH 18 “Ein vrouleen edel von natüren” and LOCH 41 “Der Summer”); the remaining six are texted in the tenor only. Of these two, just LOCH 18 has a full cantus underlay. It is also the only song in LOCH in a language other than German or Latin. The (slightly germanicized) Dutch text is transmitted once in a parallel source (D-Mbs Cgm 9659, fols. 4v–5r), and the setting was intabulated three times in BUX (BUX 19, 20, 203). A comparison and synoptic edition of the different versions has been published and discussed by Martin Kirnbauer, who confirmed that this song was originally conceived as a rondeau, though not more than the refrain text survives in LOCH. It is, therefore, the only song in LOCH in a *forme fixe*, albeit an incomplete one.<sup>37</sup> The other song with an implied cantus texting is LOCH 41 “Der Summer”, which is the only song in LOCH without a text. This is, one of two cases in LOCH, in which the notation of a polyphonic piece might hint at an intended instrumental ensemble performance. The other one, LOCH 40 “Mein traut gesell mein höchster hort” on the preceding folio, has the same layout. Their proximity and their identical setup could hint at a shared usage, such as instrumental ensemble music. The incipit under the beginning of the cantus, however, suggests that this voice was intended to be texted. Its parallel transmission in the Trent Codex 93 also has the (slightly longer) incipit under the cantus line: “Der sumer gar liepleichen”.<sup>38</sup>

Two almost identical tablature reworkings in BUX 23 “Der sumer etc” and LOCH 70 strengthen the relationship between the tablature section of LOCH and the later collection of BUX, and their mutual connection to the Paumann School (see chapter 2). The title of LOCH 70 appears to be “Do mit ein gut jare” (“With this [I wish you] a good year”) and would thus be the only conflicting title in the transmission to this piece.

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<sup>37</sup> Kirnbauer: *Hartmann Schedel und sein ‘Liederbuch’*, pp. 194–197 (commentary) & pp. 346–350 (edition). For a new transcription, including a recovered additional A-section of the original rondeau form, reconstructed from the parallel transmission, can be found in Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch 1*, p. 19 (edition) & pp. 34–35 (commentary.)

<sup>38</sup> TRcap (TR93), fol. 369v.



However, as Petzsch had suggested, “do mit” could also refer to the previous piece in the manuscript; this would mean that the supposed incipit is actually a commentary by the main scribe, who left his monogram directly above it (see Figure 3b).<sup>39</sup> LOCH 70, therefore, has to be considered to be ‘without title’.

The notation of “Der Summer” by the main scribe (probably Judocus de Windsheim) is full of errors. Two of the remaining polyphonic song notations by this scribe are also problematic: LOCH 15, as mentioned above, has, like LOCH 9, the cantus an octave too low. The other problematic song is LOCH 6 “Der winter will hin weichen”. Its notational issues reflect the hierarchy of its voices: While the tenor is virtually flawless, the cantus requires minor corrections, and the contratenor is corrupted in many places; also, all voices lack clefs. As the combined evidence of LOCH 6, 9, and 15 indicates, the scribe appears to have had problems coordinating the relative ranges of voices. LOCH provides two full strophes and the beginning of a third, but a parallel transmission of the text with six strophes on a single-leaf print from ca. 1500 was identified and published by Christoph Petzsch in 1973.<sup>40</sup> Most editions, including the complete edition by Salmen and Petzsch of 1972, leave an unsolved problem at the beginning of the B-section: the first two notes (f<sup>7</sup>) in the cantus are a diminished fifth against the first two notes (b-natural) in the tenor. In his first complete edition, Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold tried to rectify this by introducing b-flats, which, however, requires further accidentals and ultimately changes the mode of the piece.<sup>41</sup> In 1925, Konrad Ameln published all nine polyphonic songs from LOCH in his edition series, and provided a convincing solution: the use of f-sharps in the cantus.<sup>42</sup> Though he did not comment on it, this must have been inspired by the four

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<sup>39</sup> See Petzsch: *Lochamer-Liederbuch*, p. 56.

<sup>40</sup> D-B, Yd 7804.14, edited and commented by Petzsch, Christoph: “Der winter will hin weichen”. Vollständigere Überlieferung von Lochamer-Liederbuch Nr. 6’, in: *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 18 (1973), pp. 87–92.

<sup>41</sup> Arnold: *Das Locheimer Liederbuch*, pp. 98–100.

<sup>42</sup> Ameln (ed.): *Die mehrstimmigen Sätze*, pp. 12–13.

surviving tablatures on the song, all of which feature this ficta in the cantus. The resulting harmonic progression is unique in the repertoire but must be what was originally intended.<sup>43</sup>

Hand II, as identified by Walter Salmen, was more accomplished in the notation of polyphony than the main scribe (see chapter 2.2.2 for a comprehensive discussion of hand II's notation of "Des klaffers neyden"), and seems to have been requested by the latter to notate all three voices of LOCH 14b "Des klaffers neyden" as well as the additional voices (cantus and contratenor) to LOCH 16 "Der wallt hat sich entlawbet".

The last piece of polyphony, notated by the main scribe, is LOCH 40 "Mein traut gesell mein höchster hort" with a text by the Monk of Salzburg in a new musical setting. The text seems to have been an afterthought in LOCH: While its concordances in other sources have three strophes, the text in LOCH consists of only the A-section. This renders LOCH 40, like LOCH 41 that immediately follows, virtually textless. The notation of LOCH 40 is surprisingly flawless. A comparison with the only tablature reworking of this song in BUX (BUX 21 "Min trutt geselle") adds to the conundrum. As David Fallows remarks on the tablature BUX 21, this is an "extremely close intabulation, in some places less florid than Loch".<sup>44</sup> The new discovery of a lute tablature of the same song (WOLFT 2 "Myn trud gheselle", see chapter 3.2.2) is even slightly more florid in the cantus line. However, all versions of the tenor—the song version and the two tablatures— show a similar degree of ornamentation. The similarities between the polyphonic notation of LOCH 40 and the tablature of BUX 21 are indeed so striking that I would like to propose the opposite: that LOCH 40 is in fact a keyboard tablature, written out in mensural notation

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<sup>43</sup> Salmen's and Petzsch's edition of this song (Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, pp. 18–20) was amended and complemented for a new playing edition with all six strophes from the parallel transmission in Lewon, Marc: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch in neuer Übertragung und mit ausführlichem Kommentar*, Brensbach/Deutschland: Verlag der Spielleute, 2008 (2), pp. 8–9 (edition) & 32–34 (commentary).

<sup>44</sup> Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, p. 467.

and choir book format. The degree of ornamentation is higher than in any other polyphonic song in LOCH, and the rhythmic organisation of the last four breve units of the song is reminiscent of many BUX arrangements. It appears that the main scribe, familiar with organ tablature, re-appropriated a tablature setting as a polyphonic song or for instrumental ensemble performance. This may be the only such case in LOCH for a polyphonic piece; but the following section will demonstrate how this procedure appears to have been applied more frequently to monophonic songs.

### **1.4 On the Re-appropriation of Song Tenors from Instrumental Reworkings: “Elend, du hast umbfangen mich”**

One of the most noticeable features of LOCH, and one of the greatest obstacles in its edition, is that so few of its songs have a complete text underlay of the first strophe. In the first gathering, only LOCH 11 “Mein hercz, das ist bekümmert sere” and LOCH 18 “Ein vrouleen edel von natüren”, by hand I (Judocus), have a complete text underlay. In the second gathering, a complete underlay of the first strophe can be found in five more songs by Judocus (hands I and Ib: LOCH 35 “Verlangen thut mich krencken”, LOCH 36 “Mein herz, das ist verwundet”, LOCH 39 “All mein gedencken dy ich hab”, LOCH 42 “Ich spring an disem ringe”, and possibly LOCH 45 “Es fur ein paur gen holcz” by hand VI, which Petzsch assumes could be also the main scribe), in two notations by hand III (LOCH 37 “Mein herz in freuden erquicket” and LOCH 38 “Unmut hat mir beladen”), and one notation by hand IV (LOCH 43 “Möcht gedencken bringen mich dohin”). In each case the remaining song text is given under the music, beginning with the second strophe. The three later additions of one-strophe sacred Latin contrafacta (LOCH 46–48, see below) in stroke notation by hand Ic also have complete underlays.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Petzsch and Salmen believe this to be the hand of Judocus de Windsheim, added after February 5, 1460, and argue that these sacred contrafacta could reflect Judocus’s later career as a “frater”. For a full

All other songs show either only an incipit at the beginning of the line, intended for texting, or individual words and phrases from the beginnings of verse lines placed roughly where they should be underlaid to the music. This pragmatic and space-saving technique can be encountered in numerous manuscripts from the fifteenth century, such as Neidhart MS c, in which all melodies are without text underlay; and in several cantus parts of Oswald's A-manuscript, in which individual words are used to guide the texting (for discussions and examples from both sources, see chapter 5).

When preparing the songs for performance or edition, questions on the correct placement of text quickly arise. As the edition by Salmen and Petzsch illustrates, many of the songs have either too many or too few notes for the associated text. Those with too few notes appear to employ a notational shorthand, in which longer note values may have to be split into shorter ones. These include LOCH 19 "Frau, hör und merk", LOCH 31 "Mit ganzem willen wünsch ich dir", LOCH 33 "Solt mich nit pilleich wunder han", and LOCH 45 "Es fur ein pair gen holcz"—all of them by Judocus and all requiring the splitting of notes to underlay the text.

Other song notations have too many notes. Usually, a surplus of notes simply implies that a melisma is intended; however, a number of melodies in LOCH additionally feature repeated notes that seem to ask for syllabic texting. If syllabically set, the result would be an unidiomatic text underlay for which, in many cases, the supplied text would not suffice.

The assessments of those melodies with either too few or too many notes for their texts point to the same hypothesis: They appear to be derived from polyphonic

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discussion, see: Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, pp. XLVIII–XLIX. The question remains, however, why Judocus would have chosen the radically different and simpler way of notating mensural music in black stroke notation, when he had used white mensural notation before. Petzsch's suggestion that this choice of a different notational system might be owed to the nature of the repertoire (sacred Latin contrafacta), which does not otherwise occur in the source, appears too weak to me.

arrangements, specifically from the tenor lines of (keyboard) tablatures.<sup>46</sup> Salmen and Petzsch hint at this interpretation in their commentaries on some melodies with an excess of repeated notes (see FN to the songs in question below). In some cases, the intention was according to them that an instrument would play along with the singer to provide the repeated notes. They do not say which instrument they suspect, and at no point do they indicate keyboard tablatures for this proposed practice. One possible interpretation of the shape of such melodies in LOCH is that they were intended to be sung as accompaniment to the associated keyboard tablatures. Similar assumptions relating to the practice of playing a keyboard intabulation alongside singers, or singing along with intabulations, have been made for the motet intabulations of the Robertsbridge codex and the BUX 159 arrangement of Walter Frye's "Ave regina celorum" (see chapter 2.2.5). However, since none of the concerned melodies in LOCH have a verbatim equivalent in the tablature section, I believe that they were conceived as reconstructions or re-appropriations of tenor lines from tablatures, which the scribe(s) were not able to obtain from vocal versions, but nonetheless wished to include in their collection.

The following melodies appear to be derived from the tenor parts of tablature arrangements (a number of them also feature the rubric "Tenor"; see FN to the following incipits), due to their particular excess of tone repetitions: LOCH 3 "Käm mir ein trost zu diser zeit",<sup>47</sup> LOCH 4 "Mein herz in hohen freuden ist",<sup>48</sup> LOCH 5 "Elend, du hast umbfangen mich",<sup>49</sup> LOCH 24 "Was ich beginne", LOCH 37 "Mein herz in freuden

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<sup>46</sup> There is, of course, also the possibility that there existed instrumental ensemble setting (although no notated examples survive from this time), from which the vocal notation may have been derived, perhaps by ear.

<sup>47</sup> Salmen believed this to be the instrumental paraphrase of a song melody (Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, p. 11). The notation features the rubric "Tenor".

<sup>48</sup> The notation features the rubric "Tenor".

<sup>49</sup> Salmen: "A piece arranged for instrumental performance" (Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, p. 16). The notation features the rubric "Tenor".

erquicket”,<sup>50</sup> LOCH 38 “Unmut hat mir beladen”,<sup>51</sup> and LOCH 43 “Möcht gedencken bringen mich dohin”.<sup>52</sup> LOCH 3, 4, 5, and 24 were notated by Judocus, LOCH 37 and 38 by hand III, and LOCH 43 by hand IV.

One of the most prominent candidates for a song melody derived from a tablature setting is LOCH 5 “Elend, du hast umbfangen mich”: Multiple tone repetitions complicate text underlay, sudden and large melodic leaps appear untypical for a song tenor, pre-cadential ornamentation figures are more typical of tablature arrangements, and two places in the third line appear to include the remnant of a contratenor voice. At the same time, this melody has the most concordances in tablature (LOCH 68, BUX 48, 49, 50, 94, 95, 96, and the newly found WOLFT 5),<sup>53</sup> all based on the same tenor line, although none are identical. The other (polyphonic) songs listed in Fallows’s catalogue under “B: new setting of similar T”<sup>54</sup> are actually on a different tenor that has little in common with LOCH 5, as Martin Kimbauer has convincingly argued.<sup>55</sup> The notation of the song in LOCH is lacking in clefs and accidentals, which must be transferred from concordances. It appears that a c4-clef and a b-accidental were intended. Like elsewhere in LOCH, only isolated text fragments indicate the beginnings of verse lines in the music. The notation also features the rubric “Tenor” under the initial melisma (see also below and chapter 4.2), and a faint and abbreviated “Discantus” above the notation, both hinting at a polyphonic context.

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<sup>50</sup> Salmen calls this melody a “verselbständigte Stimme” (a voice made independent) from a polyphonic setting, apparently to be played along on an instrument (Ibid., p. 104). The notation features the rubric “Tenor”.

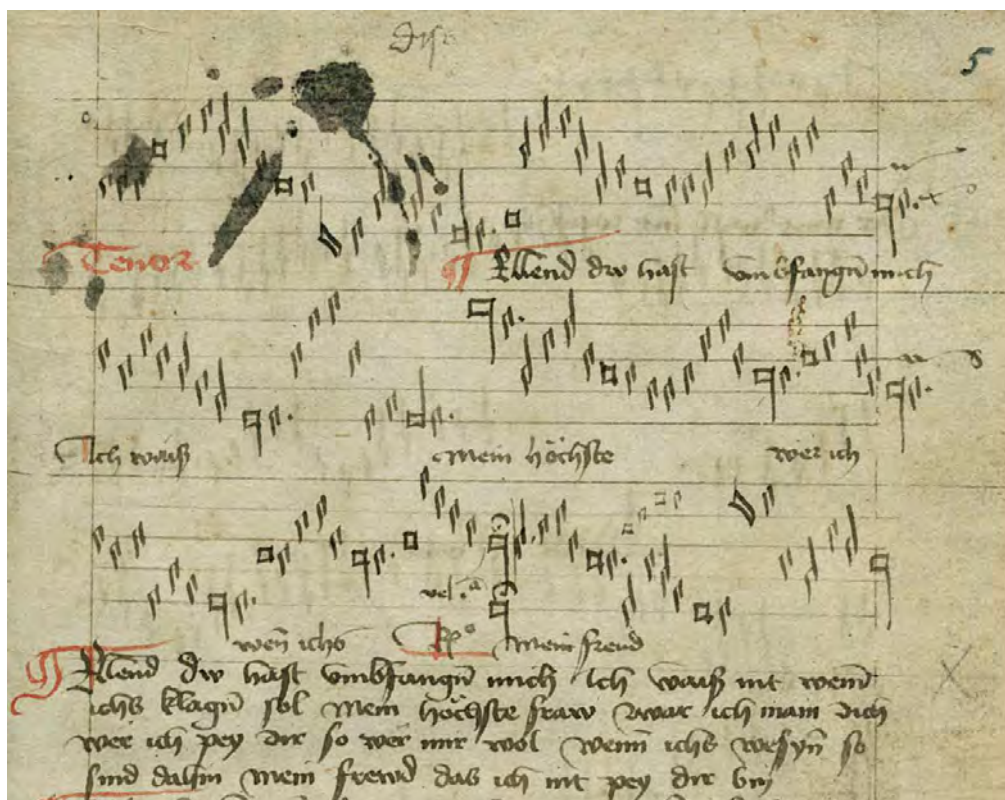
<sup>51</sup> Salmen calls this melody an “instrumental piece with text underlay” (Ibid., p. 106).

<sup>52</sup> Salmen: “Probably a tenor line taken from a polyphonic song setting” (Ibid., p. 122).

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of the intabulation ‘suites’ in BUX and their possible genesis and function, see chapter 2.2.6. For a discussion of WOLFT 5, see chapter 3.2.5.

<sup>54</sup> Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, p. 435.

<sup>55</sup> Kimbauer: *Hartmann Schedel und sein ‘Liederbuch’*, pp. 26–32 and especially pp. 199–210.



**Figure 9:** Notation and first strophe of LOCH 5 “Elend, du hast umbfangen mich”.

The remainder of a contratenor in the third line is the most telling clue to the origin of the melody: The two longas with fermata signs (d and a) one above the other have the rubric “vel a”, with lines to both notes (see Figure 10, bars 47–48). This could either mean “vel aliud”, indicating that either note is possible, or that the note ‘a’ is the alternative to ‘d’. In either case, the two possibilities supplemented by the rubric show that Judocus was unsure of which of the two notes belonged to the melody he meant to extract, i.e. the tenor line. This means that both were notated in such a way that the individual voice-leading was blurred; for instance, in the letter notation of keyboard tablature. Admittedly, the notations of tenor and contratenor usually each stay within their line, but even in the surviving sources they can sometimes switch, either in order to place the lowest notes in the lower line, or—the more common variant—because the intabulator lost track. In the case of this piece, hindsight allows for an easy solution, because the parallel transmissions in BUX confirm that the tenor note in this place is ‘a’. However, this ‘a’ is accompanied in each of the tablatures of LOCH and BUX by a contratenor note

‘d’, explaining the alternative provided by Judocus. The second ‘polyphonic’ place, in the last line (see Figure 10, bars 51–52), was added as an afterthought: The high notes (b-c’-d’-d’) alternating between breve and semibreve were notated after the lower line was already in place. This appears to be owed to the same insecurity about which line is the tenor. Again, Judocus’s second thoughts were well founded: the higher alternative is the actual tenor. The first notation of the lower notes, despite being found nowhere else in the surviving tablatures, must be remnants of a contratenor. This not only proves that the melody was extracted from a tablature, but also that none of the surviving arrangements is the exemplar.

Although Salmen had assumed that the melody was arranged for instrumental performance, his text underlay still fell into the traps of the transmission, which render his edition unsuitable for performance.<sup>56</sup> When giving in to the temptation of underlaying the tone repetitions syllabically, one ends up with too little text for the remaining phrases, even when accounting for long melismas. It may help to analyse the ‘prolatio’ of the songs in relation to the tablatures, i.e. the level of note values reserved for the delivery of the text. The text markers provided in the notation of LOCH 5 also assist in determining the actual ‘prolatio’ for the text. As it turns out, Salmen had repeatedly used note values well below the applicable threshold for carrying a syllable. In most comparable cases in LOCH, the text is attributed to breve and semibreve with no more than two syllables per tempus: e.g. LOCH 2 “Wach auf, mein hort” or LOCH 14a “Des klaffers neyden” (the transmissions in reference rhythm, which use semibreve and minim, do not apply here). In the case of LOCH 5 “Elend, du hast umbfangen mich” I suggest a higher level of only perfect breves for the text underlay of the original song, equating to one syllable per tempus.

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<sup>56</sup> Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, p. 16–17.



Figure 10 shows a line-by-line transcription of LOCH 5, "Elend, du hast umbfangen mich". The transcription consists of seven staves of music, each beginning with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature of 8. The lyrics are written below the notes. Line numbers 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45, and 50 are marked in boxes above the staves. The lyrics are: "Tenor", "Elend dw hast vmbfangen mich", "Ich waiß", "mein höchste", "wer ich", "wenn ichs", "Rep: mein freud", and "vil guter jar".

**Figure 10:** Line-by-line transcription of LOCH 5 “Elend, du hast umbfangen mich” with line incipits provided in the manuscript and commentary “vil guter jar” (“[wishing you] many a good year”).

This analysis supports the conclusion that although LOCH 5 appears as a texted melody in the song section of LOCH, no vocal version of this song actually survives. The melody is a tenor line from a tablature, which itself was based on a monophonic ‘Tenor’ now lost. By assembling all the information available from comparable songs, and by finding a common ground between the different tablature tenors, a song tenor may be reconstructed, but has to remain hypothetical (see Figure 11).<sup>57</sup> The presence of multiple melodies in mensural notation taken from tablature reworkings either attests to the scribes’ skill in transforming notation back and forth between these systems (which in the case of Judocus seems questionable, given his problematic polyphonic notations), or

<sup>57</sup> See also Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch 2*, pp. 23–26 (edition) & pp. 42–44 (commentary).

points to the existence of tablatures in mensural notation. The circles of the Paumann School apparently only used the German keyboard tablature as documented by the surviving sources LOCH, BUX, and numerous smaller collections and fragments.<sup>58</sup> However, the presence of a lute tablature employing mensural notation for all the voices (WOLFT, see chapter 3.2.5), as well as the Italian practice of also using mensural notes for the lower parts, may support the idea that the exemplars for both songs and tablatures—in the sphere of influence of the Paumann School and of LOCH—may have included tablatures in mensural notation. Such notations could also have been used for a variety of purposes, e.g. as a basis for intabulations other than the keyboard, such as lute and harp, and for instrumental ensemble practice.

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<sup>58</sup> See the edited sources in Apel, Willi (ed.): *Keyboard Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, 2nd ed. (Corpus of Early Keyboard Music 1), Rome: Hänssler Verlag, 1998 as well as the part of the list concerning fifteenth century German sources in Caldwell, John: 'Sources of Keyboard Music to 1660', in: Sadie, Stanley (ed.): *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001 (accessed 31.12.2017).

8 1. El,  
2. Mei'm,  
3. Was,

5

8 1. El - lend, du hast umb - fan - gen mich,  
2. Mei'm herzn ist wee, wenn es ge - denckt,  
3. Was ich ir sich, so ge - fellt mir nicht

10

8 ich waiß nit, wem ichs kla - gen sol.  
das es von dir ge - schai - den ist:  
für dein ge - stalt, das wiss frau, für - war;

15

8 mein höch-ste frau, zwar ich mein dich,  
vor un-mut es sich ni - der senckt.  
mein herz vor ja - mer schier zer - bricht.

20

8 wer ich bei dir, so wer mir wol  
ich bitt dich, frau, zu al - ler frist:  
läßt du dich icht ver - wei - sen, zwar:

25

8 wenn ichs be - sinn, so sind da - hin  
halt dich zu mir in ste - ter be - gir!  
es wirt dich ge - reu'n solchs falschs un - treu'n,

meine freud, das ich nit bei dir bin.  
des glei - chen will ich tun zu dir.  
des ich dir, frau, doch nit ge - trau.

vil guter jar

**Figure 11:** Hypothetical reconstruction of the monophonic song LOCH 5 with text underlay of all three strophes from the manuscript.

## 1.5 The Monophonic ‘Tenors’ and their Relationship with Polyphony

Finally, LOCH features a range of monophonic songs, which—like the melodies extracted from tablature—appear to have come from polyphonic settings. Several of these might also have been extracted from tablature, though their rhythmic arrangement does not betray them to be tablature reworkings in the same way as the melodies from the previous section did: their texts can be underlaid without much need for splitting notes or recombining tone repetitions into longer values. Yet, like the tenors from tablature, they display a great range of note values, some of them ranging from longas (even maximas) to semiminims (e.g. LOCH 22 “Ich sach ein pild”); they feature no regular rhythmical pattern (unlike the reference rhythm of the genuinely monophonic melodies) and all their major cadences are approached through descending stepwise motion (tenor clausulas). Also, two of them (LOCH 2 and LOCH 32) carry the rubric “Tenor”. Like the former category, they have an air of polyphony. Thus it appears that they were taken from polyphonic songs or tablature settings. This would mean that the collectors, first and foremost Judocus de Windsheim, either reconstructed monophonic songs from polyphonic settings for personal use, or that large portions of LOCH served as a tenor partbook for ensemble performances, the other partbooks of which now being lost.

Another reason for the form of these melodies could be that they were intended for multiple purposes (no matter whether re-appropriated from polyphonic settings or newly created): as melodies ready to serve as tenor parts in new polyphonic settings, as *cantus firmi* for tablature reworkings, or simply as melodies available for new texts. In this function, the melodies would belong to the genre of monophonic ‘Tenors’ (see chapter 4.2 for discussion and definition with further examples). The boundaries between these genres and their functions are obviously fluent, and some of the melodies described

in the previous sections fall into several categories. The following list, therefore, provides only those melodies which fulfil the definition of monophonic ‘Tenors’, but do not at the same time qualify either as ‘genuine monophony’ or ‘tablature tenor’ from the categories above:

- LOCH 1 “Mein mut ist mir betrübet gar”
- LOCH 2 “Wach auf, mein hort”
- LOCH 10 “Ach meiden, du vil senende pein”
- LOCH 11 “Mein herz, das ist bekümmert ser”
- LOCH 12 “Von meiden pin ich dick beraubt”
- LOCH 13 “Dein allain was ich ein zeit”
- LOCH 19 “Frau, hör und merk”<sup>59</sup>
- LOCH 20 “Ich pin bei ir”
- LOCH 22 “Ich sach ein pild”
- LOCH 23 “Minniglich, zartlich geziret”
- LOCH 25 “Mein herz hat lange zeit gewelt”
- LOCH 26 “Wolhin, wolhin, es muß geschaiden sein”
- LOCH 27 “Ach got, was meiden tut”
- LOCH 29 “Ain gut, seligs jar”<sup>60</sup>
- LOCH 32 “Laß, frau, mein laid erparmen dich”
- LOCH 33 “Sollt mich nit pillich wunder han”
- LOCH 36 “Mein herz, das ist verwundet”

## 1.6 The Monophonic Latin Contrafacta

One of the defining features of the Lochamer Liederbuch is its heterogenous makeup, and amongst its most noticeable entries in this respect are the three monophonic Latin unica on pp. 44–45 (LOCH 46–48). They are placed directly after the song collection, and overlap with the beginning of the tablature section. In fact, these songs must have been added after the two originally separated sections had been joined together, because they start on the last page of gathering 2—the final gathering of the song collection—and continue on the first page of gathering 3, the first gathering of the tablature part. Aside from being additions by a later hand, and written in stroke notation rather than mensural

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<sup>59</sup> LOCH 19 is also another case of notational shorthand.

<sup>60</sup> The edition by Salmen and Petzsch overlooks a repeat sign for the A-section of LOCH 29, leading to the unnecessary splitting of notes. This makes the song look like another case of notational shorthand in their edition, which it is not.

notation—a notational form that does not appear anywhere else in the source—all three monophonic songs are also Latin contrafacta of ‘Tenors’, and marked as such.

While the two German titles, “Mit willen fraw” (“Freely, lady”) for LOCH 47 “Vale cibus salutaris” and “Stüblein”<sup>61</sup> for LOCH 48 “Virginalis flos vernalis” refer to originals now unknown, the title of the first of the three pieces—“Geleymors” for LOCH 46 “Ave dulce tu frumentum”<sup>62</sup>—has been identified as the corrupted incipit of Binchois’s “Je loe amours”:

LOCH 46: “Ave dulce tu frumentum”. Title: “Geleymors”. Original text: “Je loe amours”.

LOCH 47: “Vale cibus salutaris”. Title: “Mit willen fraw”; Original text: unknown.

LOCH 48: “Virginalis flos vernalis”. Title “Stüblein”; Original text: unknown.

This three-voice ballade enjoyed a wide distribution in German sources, often with a misspelled (and misunderstood) incipit: it appears once more in LOCH as a crossed-out title to the intabulation of “Une fois avant que morir” on p. 70 (“Gelendemours”), six times in BUX as “Jeloemors” and again as “Geloymors”, and once in a peripheral source of Oswald von Wolkenstein as part of a *cantasi come* instruction: “Den Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer” (“The text on Wolkenstein’s Je loe amours”).<sup>63</sup> Such a corruption of French incipits is common in German manuscripts, and can be found in great abundance in BUX, the (now lost) Strasbourg Codex,<sup>64</sup> and related sources. Well-known examples are “Une foys avant que morir”, which became “Anavois” in LOCH (63), and “Annabasanna” or “Annavasanna” several times in BUX (89, 90, 91, 92), or “Ma doulce amour”, which turned out to read “Modocomo[r]” in BUX (79–90, 81–82).

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<sup>61</sup> On the title, see Petzsch, Christoph: ‘Bedeutung von “Stüblein” im Lochamer-Liederbuch’, in: *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 226 (1989), pp. 85–91. The melody is elsewhere known as the basse danse tenor „Je languis“, probably referring to a Rondeau incipit, and appears in two BUX settings with the same title „Stüblin“ (see Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, pp. 484–485).

<sup>62</sup> For the edition, see Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, p. 130–131 and Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch 3*, p. 29 & 51–53 (commentary and translation).

<sup>63</sup> The song, listed in the Oswald editions as Kl 131, has the incipit “Mir dringet zwinget” and is found without music only in D-Mbs Cgm 4871 (second half 15<sup>th</sup> century) on p. 135.

<sup>64</sup> F-Sm 222 C. 22 (mid-15th century).

Petzsch suggested that Frater Judocus de Windsheim might also have been responsible for these later additions, thus reflecting his admission to the clergy.<sup>65</sup> While it is plausible that the texts of these songs are by the same hand (hand Ib) that entered the name “Frater Judocus de Windsheim” on p. 41, the black stroke notation seems to come from an entirely different world. It seems counterintuitive that a scribe who was practiced in mensural notation should in later years resort to more primitive means. The rest of the song collection employs the standard white mensural notation of the time and, as stated above, Petzsch has argued that all the hands identified by Salmen belonged in fact to the same person, using different types of notation: the aforementioned main scribe of LOCH, Judocus.<sup>66</sup> This would mean that the wildly different notations in the manuscript—white mensural notation, black mensural notation (in the tablature section), black stroke notation, different clef-forms, layouts, etc.—would have to have been written by the same scribe, a scenario only explicable if the collection were written over a long period of time, using different exemplars and/or teachers. Since the manuscript appears to have been compiled only within a few years (ca. 1451–ca. 1460), this seems unlikely. If the owner and main scribe was indeed responsible for the entire manuscript he may, however, have had help from other people in its notation. In fact, the black stroke notation of the Latin *unica* on pp. 44–45 is much closer to the appearance of the black notation of the *tablatures* than to the other songs in the first half of the manuscript.

The group of Latin *contrafacta* is distinguished as a composed set by yet another parameter: All three Latin texts are adaptations of texts for the Feast of Corpus Christi.<sup>67</sup> The resulting reworkings are therefore *contrafacta* in two respects: pre-existing texts were adapted to adaptations of pre-existing melodies.

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<sup>65</sup> See FN 45.

<sup>66</sup> Petzsch: *Lochamer-Liederbuch*, p. 41.

<sup>67</sup> Arnold: *Das Locheimer Liederbuch*, pp. 154–157; Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, p. 128. All three original texts appear in a longer version in CZ-VB 42 (Hohenfurter Cationale, ca. 1410), fols. 72r–74v.

Of the three Latin contrafacta in LOCH, “Geleymors” is the longest and the most rhythmically complex. While “Mit willen fraw” seems to be the newly-texted tenor of an originally polyphonic song, the simple structure of “Stüblein” corresponds to its parallel transmissions as a basse danse tenor. In all three cases, the melodies appear to have been tenor lines taken from a polyphonic context. “Geleymors” stands out in yet another way: it is part of a network of reworkings of Binchois’s “Je loe amours” and as such draws a connection between the production and distribution of international art songs and local practices. The same “Je loe amours” that inspired German keyboard and lute players to their adaptations was re-texted in the tenor as a monophonic song—a practice also documented for Oswald von Wolkenstein.<sup>68</sup> Even though the source containing Oswald’s “geleymors” provides the text without its music, it seems likely that he had intended the tenor to be texted—either as a monophonic song, as in LOCH, and as he had done with Binchois’s “Tristre plaisir” (Kl 100: “O wunniklicher wolgezierter mai”), or as a Tenorlied with an untexted discantus, as seems to have been his *modus operandi* in the polyphonic contrafacta. This was also the position of Hans-Dieter Mück and Hans Ganzer in their attempt to re-unite text and music in their study of 1984 and that of Lorenz Welker in 1987.<sup>69</sup> For a full discussion of this Oswald contrafact, the problematic attempts at a text underlay by Mück/Ganser and Welker (a possible new text underlay that takes into account the transmission of “Ave dulce tu frumentum” in LOCH), and a new solution for Oswald’s text as a discantus contrafact, see chapter 5.5. The initial melisma

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<sup>68</sup> Oswald Böhm, Rainer: ‘Entdeckung einer französischen Melodievorlage zum Lied O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai (Kl. 100) von Oswald von Wolkenstein’, *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2001 (13), pp. 269–278

<sup>69</sup> Mück, Hans-Dieter and Hans Ganzer: ‘Den Techt vbr’ das geleyemors wolkenstain. Oswalds von Wolkenstein Liedtext Kl. 131 im Cgm 4871 und Gilles Binchois’ Chanson Je loe amours. Mit einem Anhang: Konkordanztabelle zu Oswalds Kontrafakturvorlagen’, in: Spechtler, Franz Viktor (ed.): *Lyrik des ausgehenden 14. und des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis 1), Amsterdam 1984, pp. 115–148. Welker, Lorenz: ‘New Light on Oswald von Wolkenstein: Central European Traditions and Burgundian Polyphony’, in: *Early Music History* 7 (1987), pp. 187–226, here pp. 203–207 & 225–226 (edition).



of “Ave dulce tu frumentum” is a feature common to both monophonic and polyphonic songs of this era, and there have been many discussions on whether or not these were intended to be instrumental, as they do not appear to carry text (see also chapter 2.2.3).<sup>70</sup> Such discussions have largely been biased, leaning on the lack of evidence in order to find a musicologically sound excuse for the use of instruments. In this song, the melisma is new to the reworking, as the original chanson “Je loe amours” does not have one, and its notation in LOCH is another piece of evidence pointing to a sung performance of the opening: The first syllable of the song is repeated at the beginning of the texted part—“A -, Ave”—suggesting that the melisma is intended to be sung on the first syllable then to be repeated with the beginning of the rest of the text.

The contrafact “Stüblein” on p. 45 has a similarly intertextual history: it appears to be a new texting of a German reworking of a basse danse. The title of this basse danse melody, “Je languis”, led David Fallows to assume that it, in turn, was based on the tenor line of a now lost chanson with the incipit “Languir en mille destresse”.<sup>71</sup> Although the stroke notation used here is already a simplified form of mensural notation, rendering the knowledge of rules of imperfection unnecessary, the scribe obviously struggled with the concept in the second half of the A-section: It seems that he got lost in the shifts between tempus imperfectum major and perfectum minor (which characterises the rhythmical structure of the melody), and instead of notating groups of three strokes, indicating perfect semibreves, he used groups of four strokes, thus changing the metre. One of the scribes became aware of this, but apparently could not fix the problem, and merely labelled it in the margin as “falsch mensura” (“wrong mensuration”).<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> The idea to view textless melismas as instrumental pre-, post-, and interludes goes back to Riemann, Hugo: *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, 2nd ed. (I: Die Musik des Mittelalters 2), Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1920, p. 307.

<sup>71</sup> Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, p. 485.

<sup>72</sup> For a critical edition of “Stüblein”, see Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch 3*, p. 32 & 53–54 (commentary).

The texting of these three contrafacta could be another indication that more than one scribe was involved in the process: while most of the songs have a rudimentary text underlay, often consisting only of isolated words from the text (which serve as ‘field markers’ to stake out where certain verses should start or certain rhymes should be placed), these pieces, as the two unambiguously notated by Judocus (p. 37, LOCH 39 “All mein gedencken dy ich hab” and p. 41, LOCH 42 “Ich spring an disem ringe”) have a complete underlay. Some notes still require splitting to accommodate the text, but since the subdivision of the longer notes is already visible in the stroke notation this does not pose real problems.

The appearance of the newly texted ‘Tenors’ from polyphonic chansons in LOCH using stroke notation may hold a clue to understanding the methods and exemplars used by Oswald von Wolkenstein in his own contrafacta. Researchers have often wondered how Oswald reworked a polyphonic chanson, where he decided to text the tenor instead of the cantus of his model, reduce its number of voices, and split up the many longer note values in order to accommodate his much denser texting. If, however, his direct exemplars had not been the original chansons but contrafacted tenor lines in stroke notation—such as these three Latin songs in LOCH (one of which is in fact a song that Oswald had contrafacted himself)—then most of the decisions would have already taken for him: the reduction of a polyphonic piece to a monophonic song, the re-texting of the tenor line instead of the cantus, and the visible subdivision of longer note values into the strokes of the stroke notation.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> See Lewon, Marc: ‘Oswald von Wolkenstein: Die mehrstimmigen Lieder’, in: Müller, Ulrich and Margarete Springeth (eds.): *Oswald von Wolkenstein. Leben – Werk – Rezeption*, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011, pp. 168–191, there p. 181.

## 2 The Lochamer and Buxheimer Tablatures: A Window to the Paumann School

### 2.1 Defining ‘Instrumental Arrangement’ and ‘Tablature’

A fundamental question concerning instrumental music is the definition of what can be viewed as an instrumental arrangement. A mere textless transmission of a chanson would generally not be considered an instrumental arrangement and especially if pieces in such sources still carry the flavour of their vocal origin. This is the case with the Schedelsche Liederbuch (SCHE), where most of the texts are provided in the back of the manuscript.<sup>74</sup> They are thus separated from their musical settings but they can be easily underlaid to their music, which, by keeping in line with the predominant custom of German polyphony of the time, would imply a texting of the tenor. Even considering a context suggesting an instrumental agenda behind a textless transmission of vocal pieces, there remains reasonable doubt as to the intended mode of performance. The texts, after all, might have been memorised, and thus would not have required more than a notation of the music. The textless transmission of such chansons, however, can also be far removed from their vocal conception. This is often the case with textless French chansons in Italian sources, where the knowledge of and interest in the original (French) text was apparently subordinate to the appreciation of the musical settings, e.g. the Panciatichi Codex.<sup>75</sup> Deprived of the subsequently useless texts, these chansons began new lives as pure musical, probably instrumental pieces of art music. The main question when dealing with such instrumental arrangements, therefore, is the degree to which the instrumental version is removed from that of the vocal model. There are numerous examples of collections, for

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<sup>74</sup> For a comprehensive study on the Schedelsche Liederbuch, see: Kirnbauer: *Hartmann Schedel und sein 'Liederbuch'*.

<sup>75</sup> I-Fn MS Panciatichiano 26 (early 15th century).

which an instrumental use has been suggested or which could have supplied untexted chansons for instrumental performance, e.g. the Casanatense Chansonnier.<sup>76</sup>

There are, however, other repertoires that are based on vocal models, transmitted in the same mensural notation as their texted counterparts and transmitted without a text but that can still be counted amongst the category of “instrumental arrangements”. They consist primarily of cantus firmus settings with untexted voices that were newly composed and added to an originally texted melody. A score of settings from the late fifteenth century falls in this category. Jon Banks has provided a range of tables in which he collects and groups these settings according to different degrees of proximity to or removal from their models.<sup>77</sup> He categorises them as follows:

1. “Textless Chansons”, which he also calls “songs without words”, borrowing the concept from Warwick Edwards.<sup>78</sup> These textless songs are generally found with their text in other sources and were originally conceived as vocal pieces. Banks considers these untexted transcriptions not as a kind of “unfinished” transmission but as a very conscious step towards a purely musical setting, prepared for instrumental performance.
2. “Res Facta” compositions,<sup>79</sup> which are based on the pre-existing melody of a polyphonic chanson set with a new, textless counterpoint.

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<sup>76</sup> I-Rc 2856 (Ferrara, ca. 1480). Lewis Lockwood first suggested that this chansonnier was the one described as “for the *pifari*” (“for the *alta capella*”) in the Ferrarese court records (see Lockwood, Lewis: *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505*, Cambridge/Massachusetts 1984, subsequently updated in Lockwood, Lewis (ed.): *A Ferrarese Chansonnier. Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 2856*, Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2002, pp. XVII–XXX. However, Reinhard Strohm (in personal correspondence) doubted that the chansonnier was used by *pifari* due to its illumination and recently Victor Coelho and Keith Polk have called Lockwood’s assessment into question, but agreed with him that “it includes at least a dozen pieces that appear suitable for instrumental and not vocal performance.” (Coelho/Polk: *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture*, p. 73.

<sup>77</sup> Banks, Jon: *The Instrumental Consort Repertory of the Late Fifteenth Century*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. The following summary is taken from: Lewon, Marc: ‘Agricola et ung bon joueur de luz – Agricola and the Lute’, in: *Quarterly of the Lute Society of America* 43/4 (2008), pp. 7–21, pp. 7–8. This article is an English translation of its first publication in German: Lewon, Marc: “‘Alexandre Agricola et ung bon joueur de luz’ – Agricola und die Laute”, in: *Alexander Agricola – Musik zwischen Vokalität und Instrumentalismus 6* (2006), pp. 141–170

<sup>78</sup> Edwards, Warwick: ‘Songs Without Words by Josquin and his Contemporaries’, in: Fenlon, Iain (ed.): *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 1981, pp. 79–92.

<sup>79</sup> Jon Banks uses an interpretation of this term from *ibid.*, p. 83, who in turn borrowed it from Tinctoris, Johannes: *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium*, Treviso 1494. The original meaning of the term in Tinctoris’s treatise, however, was “written counterpoint” as opposed to extemporised “contrapunto alla mente”. The different modern interpretations of this term are summarised and discussed by Bent, Margaret: ‘Res facta | Grove Music’, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023228> (accessed 04.01.2018).

3. Freely composed new pieces, which have no text incipit though they often provide a title or a motto (e.g. “Cecus non judicat de coloribus” by Agricola or “Nec mihi nec tibi” by Obrecht). Banks names them “Consort Ricerare” in the manner of the early *ricercare* repertoire for the solo lute. It is difficult to find an applicable genre term and although they stand out from the other genres they are difficult to combine into one category.

When the instrumental version of a vocal model is presented in tablature format, however, the instrumental usage is clear, and we do not have to imagine a possible variety of performance modes. These sources present non-vocal, soloistic, and textless pieces intended for performance on an instrument. In most cases the tablature itself narrows down the intended instrumentation, most commonly to a keyboard instrument, a harp or a lute. Within the scope of this thesis, the keyboard tablatures are the main surviving specimen of this kind of transmission, starting with the Robertsbridge Codex in the fourteenth century with the main bulk of surviving manuscripts and fragments in German manuscripts from the middle of the fifteenth century and culminating in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch (BUX), ca. 1470.<sup>80</sup> While not every tablature is based on a vocal model, this group of sources nonetheless presents a large variety of possible reworkings of vocal pieces. The arrangements can range from exact transcriptions from one system of notation (mensural) to another (tablature), to virtuosic arrangements which usually develop their own character with new motifs and material that lead away from the original model.<sup>81</sup> The former principle can be an almost mechanical process, which only 40 years later is

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<sup>80</sup> D-Mbs Mus. 3725 (ca. 1470). For a general introduction to BUX and fundamental insights into its make-up, see: Zöbeley, Hans Rudolf: *Die Musik des Buxheimer Orgelbuchs. Spielvorgang, Niederschrift, Herkunft, Faktur* (Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 10), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1964.

<sup>81</sup> Zöbeley distinguishes between intabulations of French chansons and German songs; the former tend to be ornamented to a much higher degree in BUX. (Ibid., pp. 126–127.) A possible reason for this phenomenon is that the French model songs were less familiar to the (German) organists than their German models and, therefore, sharing the fate of French songs in Italian manuscripts (see above) were appreciated more for their purely musical merit, while the German song texts were still present in the players’ minds during performance. On this ‘phantom presence’ of a song text in the instrumental performance of a song, see chapter 2.2.1.

described at length and elaborated in Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht*.<sup>82</sup> The fact that Virdung's explanations are directed at laymen and result in impractical or unworkable versions on the intended instruments only supports the idea that an intabulation was considered a largely technical process by his contemporaries. Despite the fact that Virdung might have been overly didactic, and that the professional organist Arnold Schlick had openly criticised him after the publication of *Musica getutscht* for the shortcomings of his intabulations, the process still appears to have been underestimated by non-professionals. It has to be assumed that Virdung was not a lute player himself.<sup>83</sup>

There are examples of working arrangements which basically consist of a literal transcription from mensural notation to tablature that can be found in abundance in compilations such as BUX (one example of many: BUX 199 (fols. 110v–111r) “Vierhundert Jar uff diser erde”). A similar procedure occasionally seems to shine through in the earliest printed publication of lute music by Francesco Spinacino.<sup>84</sup> Even though Spinacino's lute arrangements proffer an accomplished repertoire and are not mere transcriptions of vocal music (the plenitude of obvious and probable mistakes aside), the decisions for certain transpositions result in unnecessarily difficult positions on the lute. Some of the fingerings appear unusually eccentric and alternative decisions for

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<sup>82</sup> Virdung, Sebastian: *Musica getutscht vnd außgezogen*, Basel 1511. Later music tutors, such as publications by Martin Agricola and Hans Gerle go even further and are more pragmatic in their approach (Agricola, Martin: *Musica instrumentalis deudsch ynn welcher begriffen ist / wie man nach dem gesange auff mancherley Pfeiffen lernen sol / Auch wie auff die Orgel / Harffen / Lauten / Geigen / vnd allerley Instrument vnd Seytenspiel / nach der rechtgegründten Tabelthur sey abzusetzen*, Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1529, Gerle, Hans: *Musica Teusch / auf die Instrument der grossen vnnd kleinen Geygen / auch Lautten / welcher maßen die mit grundt vnd art jrer Compositcion auß dem gesang in die Tabulatur zu ordnen vnd zu setzen ist / sampt verborgener applicacion vnd kunst*, Nürnberg: Hieronymus Formschneyder, 1532). For an in-depth discussion of these three tutors and their didactic approach, see Lewon, Marc: “Auf die [...] grossen vnnd kleinen Geygen / auch Lautten”. Strategien zur Intavolierung von Vokalmusik in deutschen Lehrbüchern des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts’, *Basler Jahrbuch für Musikforschung*, Berlin: Lang-Verlag, 2018 (39 (2015))—forthcoming).

<sup>83</sup> For a summary of the Schlick-Virdung in-fight, see ‘Virdung [Grop], Sebastian | Grove Music’, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000029489> (accessed 18.12.2017).

<sup>84</sup> Spinacino, Francesco: *Intabulatura de lauto. Libro primo*, Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1507, RISM 15075, fols. 12r–25v, and [...] *Libro secondo* [...] RISM 15076, fol. 38v–41r, Reprint edited by François Lesure, Geneva 1978.

transpositions of the whole piece or for the placement of certain figures would have resulted in much more effective fingerings with the same sounding result. This applies not only to the solo pieces but also to the much more curious and much pondered-upon lute duets in the same collections, raising the doubt that these “editions may have been undertaken by someone who only knew how to transcribe one notation system into another—a mensurally notated original into a tablature—but who perhaps himself did not have much experience in lute playing.”<sup>85</sup>

Other tablatures tend to present versions in which not only the cantus line (as the voice traditionally prone to embellishment) is highly ornamented, but the tenor line is also embellished. In these cases, the tenor becomes part of a new, often rhythmical dialogue, and is fragmented and ornamented. Examples of this type are BUX 92 “Anna vasanna” and BUX 48 “Ellend du hast”. These adaptations are quite removed from the model chanson by disguising the structure of the original melody, as well as changing the contrapuntal structure of the model: voice parts are taken away, exchanged or added, note values are split, and the contrapuntal framework of structural consonances is made denser.

In the case of a transcription of a chanson into tablature notation, the resulting musical text does not differ significantly from a textless mensural transmission of the same song. Such a transcription leaves the structure of the vocal model principally unchanged, and simply translates the mensural notation into a language that renders the polyphonic chanson playable on a solo instrument. Therefore, why should the transmission of a song in tablature format be considered an instrumental version while a mere untexted transmission of a chanson should not? The option to perform an untexted piece instrumentally experiences a paradigmatic change when the piece is rendered in

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<sup>85</sup> See Lewon: ‘*Agricola and the Lute*’, p. 12 in the context of an assessment of Spinacino’s tablatures.

tablature, as this prescribes a certain mode of performance. We should ask whether we define an instrumental arrangement as a notational and technical adaptation (tablature) or as a musical (tablature or mensural) arrangement of a song for instrumental performance. To add another layer to this problem, there are also transmissions in mensural notation and in chanson layout which suggest that they were taken from a diminuted keyboard arrangement but “re-introduced” to the vocal realm (see the above example of LOCH 40 “Mein trawt geselle” which is even slightly more ornamented than the parallel transmission in the Buxheim Organ Book, BUX 21).

A sensible solution to the question of what defines an “instrumental arrangement” is to take both parameters—the degree of truly instrumental elaboration as well as the technical-notational aspect of the transmission—into account. While mensurally notated instrumental polyphony hints at ensemble performance, the transmission in tablature format suggests a soloistic performance. Furthermore, the surviving sources suggest that a practice of intabulation and subsequent elaboration of vocal music for soloistic performance was cultivated earlier than the practice to arrange pieces for an instrumental ensemble. The following observations will focus on these earlier instrumental repertoires in tablature format.

## **2.2 Transferring Form from Vocal Model to Instrumental Arrangement**

The second part of the Lochamer Liederbuch (gatherings 3 and 4, pp. 45–92) comprises a collection of keyboard tablatures by the main scribe of the Liederbuch’s song section, probably Frater Judocus de Windsheim (see chapter 1).<sup>86</sup> The collection reveals a close

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<sup>86</sup> Even though tablatures previously referred to as ‘organ tablatures’ were in recent decades more cautiously addressed as ‘keyboard tablatures’, a new study by Richard Robinson suggests that their primary use, especially in Italy, would indeed have been for the organ. See Robinson, Richard: ‘Syrena, Ciecòla,



relationship with the tablatures and intabulated repertoires of the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, and is closely associated with the student circle of the famous organist Conrad Paumann (ca. 1410–1473): the so-called ‘Paumann School’. This relationship is especially close for the only two three-voice tablatures added to LOCH by a later hand, “Wilhelmus Legrant” and “Paumgartner”. While the attributions to Paumann in BUX are more frequent than in LOCH, they often consist only of his initials, which are generally deciphered as “Magister Cecus Conrad Paumann” in varying word order: BUX 17 (“M.C C. b.”), BUX 38 (“M C. C.”), BUX 99 (“M C. p.”), BUX 189 (“M. C. P. C.”), fol. 105v (“M. C. P. C.”), BUX 236 (“magistri Conradi pauman Contrapuncti”).<sup>87</sup> LOCH, however, features a particularly elaborate attribution at the very beginning of the collection on pp. 46–47: “Fundamentum organisandi Magistri Conradi paumannus Ceci de Nürenberga Anno etc ‘52”. This name, place, and date are the strongest indications to situate LOCH in Nuremberg in the 1450s.

One of the most basic observations concerning keyboard tablatures, generally taken for granted, is that they are always polyphonic. This feature largely explains their existence, as monophonic lines would have been played from mensural notation. The main function of keyboard tablatures is the compilation of several lines of music in such a way that they can be more easily perceived by a soloist, ergo some sort of score format. This principle also applies to other instrumental tablatures capable of solo polyphony, such as those of lute or harp. The only exceptions in the lute repertoire are tablatures of lute duets, in which upper lines are monophonic, and the Königsteiner Liederbuch, in which monophonic songs were notated in German lute tablature instead of mensural notation. The majority of the tablatures in LOCH are two-voice, while the basis in BUX is a

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Monocordum and Clavicembalum: The Case for Stringed Keyboards in Late Trecento and Early Quattrocento Italy’, in: *Early Music* 45/4 (2017), pp. 511–525.

<sup>87</sup> This spelled-out attribution suggests that a final “C” could stand for “Contrapuncti”, instead of “Cecus”. The last three attributions are for the fundamenta organisandi collections, which are most intimately connected to Conrad Paumann. For a comprehensive list of all attributions in BUX, see appendix 2: “Evidence for Arrangements in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch”.

three-voice texture. The tablatures are either reworkings of polyphonic chansons or inventions over a monophonic melody. In the first case, they were created by the ornamentation and embellishment of the fundamental counterpoint of polyphonic songs (i.e. cantus and tenor), and are often supplied with a new contratenor. In the latter case, they employ a process which Zöbeley calls ‘Spielvorgang’ (i.e. “playing-process”),<sup>88</sup> in which upper lines are invented, tactus by tactus, according to the rules of the *fundamenta organisandi* found in the same sources. A third possibility is the free invention, either by using the beginning of an existing piece for free elaboration (e.g. BUX 168 “Inicium Jeloemors” & BUX 169 “Aliud Inicium Jeloemors”), or in the form of a “Praeambulum”, which normally alternates florid passages with contrasting unornamented blocks of breves, exploiting the harmonic qualities of the organ. A section of samples in the first *fundamentum organisandi* of BUX names such chordal passages “concordancie” (BUX, fol. 105v). This corresponds directly to the terminology of the Kassel *Collum Lutine*, which uses the same term for notes bound within chords on the lute (see chapter 3). The group of free inventions in BUX includes three short lines titled “Bonus tactus”. Eileen

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<sup>88</sup> For a definition of the principle of ‘Spielvorgang’ and its notation as a ‘Nachschrift’ (the transcript of a ‘Spielvorgang’ rather than part of the compositional process), particularly in connection with the arrangements for a keyboard instrument, see Zöbeley: *Die Musik des Buxheimer Orgelbuchs*, especially pp. 46–50. Theodor Göllner gives a concise definition of this phenomenon: “The instrumental arrangement of monophonic melodies could manage without a written notation. The player had to be familiar with the practice of transferring a known melody to the instrument and to re-present it. The art of playing was inseparable from the creation of musical pieces. Learning to play an instrument was at the same time an instruction on how to make new music. [...] This is not about composing, not about playing written pieces, and not about isolated technical exercises, but about making music on a keyboard instrument. This activity comprised many aspects that later were practised separately.” (“Die instrumentale Bearbeitung einstimmiger Melodien kam ohne notenschriftliche Fixierung aus. Der Spieler musste mit der Praxis vertraut sein, eine ihm bekannte Melodie auf das Instrument zu übertragen und mit instrumentalen Mitteln neu darzustellen. Die Kunst des Spielens war unlösbar mit dem Anfertigen von Musikstücken verbunden. Auch die spieltechnische Erlernung eines Instruments war zugleich eine Anleitung zum Hervorbringen von Musik. [...] Es geht nicht um die Komposition, nicht um das Spielen fertiger, schriftlich fixierter Stücke und auch nicht um isolierte technische Übungen, sondern um das Machen von Musik auf dem Tasteninstrument. Diese Betätigung umfasste Vieles von dem, was später getrennt betrieben wurde.” Göllner, Theodor: ‘Eine Spielanweisung für Tasteninstrumente aus dem 15. Jahrhundert’, *Essays in Musicology, a birthday offering for Willi Apel*, Ann Arbor 1968, pp. 69–81, here p. 79).

Southern suggested that their function was “to fill space in the manuscript for they always appear at the bottom of a page.”<sup>89</sup>

Most tablatures created via ‘Spielvorgang’ use either a German monophonic ‘Tenor’ or a Latin chant melody. However, there are a few cases in which the title betrays a French origin: The titles of BUX 79/80 “Modocomo Bystu die rechte” and BUX 81/82 “Modocomor” appear to be corruptions of “Ma douce amour”. In his *Catalogue*, David Fallows lists a number of French chansons with this incipit, but concludes that they do not form the basis of the BUX intabulations.<sup>90</sup> Instead, the intabulations appear to have been based on a basse danse tenor of the same title, found in the collections by Margaret of Austria and Michel Toulouze.<sup>91</sup>

The tablatures in LOCH and BUX have the appearance of professional, but private notations. Their manuscripts had a practical rather than an ornamental function and, particularly in the second part of BUX, in which stems are often omitted, they occasionally seem to be shorthand for the seasoned player. Despite their often cursory appearance, the tablatures were copied from exemplars, as copying errors attest. One telling example is LOCH 63 “Anavois” a two-voice reworking of the anonymous rondeau “Une fois avant que morir”.<sup>92</sup> The penultimate tactus in the fourth line ornaments a cadence note on E (a “pausa”), which is abandoned at the end of a downward run by the upward leap of a fifth starting the next musical line. This abrupt melodic change has subsequently been edited and published unaltered, and the piece has been recorded numerous times using this

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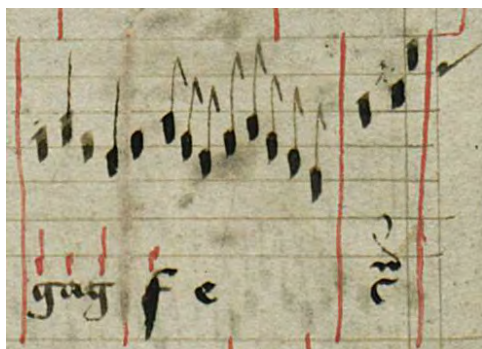
<sup>89</sup> Southern, Eileen: *The Buxheim Organ Book*, Brooklyn: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1963, p. 24.

<sup>90</sup> See Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, p. 267–268.

<sup>91</sup> B-Br 9085, fol. 20r; Michel Toulouze: *S’ensuit l’art et instruction de bien dancier*, Paris ca. 1496 fol. A6v.

<sup>92</sup> For the first complete reconstruction of the model rondeau, including its text and a corrected edition of the LOCH tablature, see Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch 3*, pp. 8–11 (edition) & pp. 36–39 (commentary and translation). The corrected tablature was first recorded by Ensemble Dulce Melos, Marc Lewon (dir.) and Martin Hummel: *Das Lochamer Liederbuch (The Lochamer-Songbook): German Popular Songs from the 15th Century*, Naxos, 2008.

edition.<sup>93</sup> The standardised movement of the cantus line preceding the leap,<sup>94</sup> however, is a clear indication that the diminuted voice was intended to move to the fifth above the cadence note (E) in the tenor, and rest there. A comparison of this tablature with the original chanson and its other reworkings in BUX confirms that the tenor note should have been held for one more measure. This was seemingly overlooked in the copying process, but would have been immediately apparent to a player at the time. A closer look at the notation in LOCH, p. 70, reveals why this might have happened: The tactus preceding the gap is twice the length of all others. This is owed to an erased tactus line, still faintly visible on the scan. The reason for the erasure was a misalignment or copying error that left one tenor note in the wrong tactus. This error was noticed and the line erased. The confusion over these two tactus may have led to the oversight in the following tactus, which probably consisted of only one note each in cantus and tenor, easy to be missed.



<sup>93</sup> See Apel (ed.): *Keyboard Music*, p. 41, the title there misinterpreted as “En avois”.

<sup>94</sup> This standardised movement, a “pausa”, is discussed below on p. 82.

**Figure 1:** (a) LOCH 63 (p. 70) missing “pausa”-tactus, (b) edition (see FN 93), (c) corrected edition with added measure (see FN 92).

### **2.2.1 On the Virtual Presence of a Vocal Model in its Instrumental Reworking**

Through looking at instrumental arrangements of vocal models in tablature sources such BUX and the instrumental section of LOCH, some questions arise, which are rarely addressed. They are, however, relevant for the understanding why intabulations of chansons were made, what their function was in the musical life of the time, and how the process of intabulation and elaboration worked. Did the model chansons function merely as a musical structure on which an instrumentalist could base a rhetorically sensible piece of instrumental music? In other words: did the model chansons simply supply a contrapuntal framework, which the instrumentalist could follow to facilitate the process of creating an instrumental piece? Or were such reworkings, no matter if simple transcriptions or complicated appropriations, conceived with the chanson form and text still in the mind of the intabulator? Were these arrangements also then performed with the model and its text still conceptually present for performer and audience, giving form and shape to the phrasing of its individual lines as well as the structure of repetitions? And if maintained by the original intabulator and player, was this concept transferred as the pieces were copied, distributed, and played by students and other performers down the line?

The answers to these questions are of immediate consequence in terms of performance practice—influencing how we think the original performers might have gone about their interpretations and how today we could sensibly arrive at a meaningful interpretation of these arrangements while lacking the musical background of a fifteenth-century performer or audience.

Prohibitions by authorities of the performance of secular, even vulgar songs on the organ during services suggest that such intabulations from surviving sources were actually played in church.<sup>95</sup> These complaints also suggest that, even if highly ornamented and elaborated, such instrumental versions of secular chansons were still recognisable to a congregation. At the same time, the original texts of these chansons would still need to ring in the ear of an audience as it listened to an instrumental rendition in order to arouse such complaints by the authorities. Such complaints would have been futile if an instrumental reworking of a pre-existing song was either considered neutral because it was deprived of its text or if the piece was so far removed from its model (by ornamentation and by the augmentation of its musical rhythm) that it could not be identified by ear as the reworking of a pre-existing, texted song. Unless, of course, the rhythmic and melodic style of the piece was being recognised as secular—but the music of the time did not make clear distinctions between sacred and secular styles. We therefore have to assume that an intabulation of a vocal model carried at least some of the meaning of its original lyrics and its lyrical form. It is not easy, however, to find proof for this in purely musical sources.

A basic indicator for the virtual presence of a poetic text, for instance a *forme fixe* in a purely instrumental arrangement, would be the specification of musical repetitions, which usually coincide with the text form. Most of the information for repetitions or the intended sequence of form parts in *forme fixe* chansons, however, is in the text rather than

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<sup>95</sup> A prohibition against such usage is documented from St Lorenzo Giustiniani, the first Venetian patriarch, in 1451 (Cattin, Giulio: ‘Church Patronage of Music in Fifteenth-Century Italy’, in: Fenlon, Iain (ed.): *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 21–36, here p. 31). For further evidence see Robinson, Richard: ‘The Faenza Codex. The Case for Solo Organ Revisited’, in: *The Journal of Musicology* 34/4 (2017), pp. 610–646 and Kirkman, Andrew: *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass: Medieval Context to Modern Revival*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, chapter 6 (‘The profane made sacred: outside texts and music in the Mass’, pp. 135–164) and appendix 2 (‘Texts concerning secular music in church’, pp. 233–46). Also consider the implications of BUX 182 ‘Es fuor ein buwer Ins holtze’ and the ominous rubric ‘Litigacio’, discussed below on p. 90.

its music.<sup>96</sup> In the musical notation normally only fermata signs and ouvert-/clos-endings hint at the intended *forme fixe*, or they show if a repetition of a certain part of the music was planned. It remains unclear whether a complete *forme fixe* was expected to be performed if the text is removed—as in an instrumental version. After all, the text supplies the reason for repeating parts of the stanza and the refrain. An important question for instrumental reworkings of songs, particularly of *forme fixe* chansons, is whether this change of identity from a vocal form to an instrumental arrangement also calls for a simplification of the form. A complicated *rondeau* or *virelai* form could routinely have been reduced to a simple AB-form, a three-strophe ballade might not have been expected to be repeated three times in an instrumental performance. The question of repetitive structures is not a trivial one, since rhetorical structures rely heavily on the element of repetition.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> There are plenty of examples for an either mistaken chanson form, maybe due to an unusual or less common form as well as cases in which it remains unclear what the intended form of a certain chanson actually was. For the latter see all the cases with question marks following the suggested form of a chanson in: Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*. For the former see the example of the case of “O rosa bella”, where it has long been discussed if Bedynghe had misunderstood the original ballata form of the poem or consciously changed it: Bukofzer, Manfred F.: *John Dunstable. Complete Works*, ed. by Margaret Bent, Ian Bent and Brian Trowell, 1970th ed. (Musica Britannica 8), London 1953, Fallows, David: ‘Dunstable, Bedynghe and O rosa bella’, in: *The Journal of Musicology (Aspects of Musical Language and Culture in the Renaissance. A Birthday Tribute to James Haar)* 12/3 (1994), pp. 287–305, and Pirota, Nino: ‘Ricerche e variazioni su “O rosa bella”’, in: *Studi Musicali* 1 (1972), pp. 59–77. This matter had been settled by Reinhard Strohm who also showed that the composition is by Bedynghe and not Dunstable: Strohm, Reinhard: *The Rise of European Music 1350–1500*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 392–393. A treatise with very simple explanations on how to identify *formes fixes* was published by: Staehelin, Martin: ‘Beschreibungen und Beispiele musikalischer Formen in einem unbeachteten Traktat des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts’, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 31 (1974), pp. 237–242.

<sup>97</sup> See for instance the simple example of the threefold repetition of the initial word “l’homme” in the famous cantus firmus “L’homme armé”. Reinhard Strohm plausibly explains this triple incipit as the texted watchman’s warning signal to the townspeople of an approaching army in: Strohm, Reinhard: *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 2nd ed., Oxford 2003, p. 130 and Strohm: *Rise*, pp. 465–466. The rhetorical structure of the monophonic “L’homme armé” text underlay goes even further than the triple repetition of the first word: The third repetition is actually extended by the next word of the text, and in this pairing, receives its own threefold repetition, until, in the third repetition, the text receives another addition. This way the rhetorical effect is drawn out in a very strict organisation, yet keeps the attention of the listener by gradually adding more information and interlocking the tri-partite build-up of the whole line: (L’homme, l’homme, [l’homme] armé, L’homme armé, [l’homme armé] doit on doubter}. The seemingly simple text and tune turns out to be an extremely well balanced and controlled rhetorical piece.

The ‘phantom presence’ of the vocal model’s song text in an instrumental reworking has much more elusive and subtle consequences than the organization of repeated form parts. An underlying text provides important information concerning the phrasing of a musical line, points of rest, and enjambments, all of which are occasionally supported by cadences and other musical means. The musical structure, however, mainly underlines metrical aspects of the text, which is often informed by semantic and syntactic structure. Rarely does such a musical structure highlight a place in a text that is not metrically privileged.<sup>98</sup> Usually, the appropriate phrasing is therefore left at the discretion of the performer, who uses the text as a guide. Deprived of its text, the musical line is missing this vital information. The looming questions posed above thus become more specific: Is the text of the model still “present” in a purely instrumental reworking, or does this change of priority show the piece in an altogether different light? Does the model ultimately only provide a rhetorical structure on which instrumentalists can base an instrumental piece, does it only provide a framework for the intabulators to have something to embellish, or do they still play the chanson in essence, only in a different way?

Extracting information on these questions is even more difficult than finding evidence for musical repetitions, since an invisible text, present only in the memory of performer and audience and disguised by a textless arrangement, is even harder to trace. Yet both these questions lie at the core of instrumental performance, which at that time was very much dependent on oral processes and memory. The consequences touch upon the question of repetitions or the grand shaping of the form of an instrumental piece, upon the phrasing of individual lines and the importance of cadential figures, and upon the

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<sup>98</sup> E.g. Gilles Binchois’ “Seule esgarée” as analysed by Gossen, Nicoletta: *Musik in Texten – Texte in Musik. Der poetische Text als Herausforderung an die Interpreten der Musik des Mittelalters* (Sonderband der Reihe Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis), Winterthur/Schweiz: Amadeus, 2006, pp. 186–192: Here Binchois places the cadence points in unusual places, i.e. in the middle of verse lines, thus underlying the secondary structure of the text, not the obvious metrical construction.



question of relative freedom versus strictness in the observation of a musical rhythm and tactus as well as questions concerning performance tempo.

### 2.2.2 Evidence of ‘Hearing the Text’<sup>99</sup>

The Lochamer Liederbuch features the song “Des klaffers neiden” three times: Once as a monophonic ‘Tenor’ with partial text underlay and three strophes (LOCH 14a, p. 14), once as a polyphonic but textless version in three parts (LOCH 14b, pp. 18–19), and once as a two-voice keyboard arrangement in tablature format (LOCH 67, pp. 74–75). The Buxheimer Orgelbuch contains another instrumental keyboard version of the piece with an ornamented cantus line and a set of performance instructions (BUX 146, fols. 78v–79v).

The tenor line of the song—the main, texted voice—is set in an E-mode, which, although rare in fifteenth-century polyphonic French chansons, is fairly popular in German monophonic song of the time. This tenor is repeated as part of a textless three-voice setting only a few pages after its monophonic transmission in LOCH. The text of the song evokes a situation typical for courtly love poetry since the time of early Minnesang: the secret lovers are haunted by backbiters, here called “klaffer” (literally “those who bark like dogs” or “barkers”, also translatable as “gossipers” or “slanderers”), the adversaries in classical Minnesang, who, due to their jealousy, spread word of the secret love affair. In doing so they intend to ruin the reputation of the protagonist, whose challenge in turn is to stay true in the face of adversity. These topoi of classic Minnesang were part of a long line of development dating back to the twelfth century, and had been undermined by the fifteenth century during their reception in urban centres. The topoi were adapted to suit the interests and personal circumstances of wealthy citizens, who

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<sup>99</sup> For preliminary research see also: Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch* 2008, vol. 2, no. VII: “Des klaffers neiden“, pp. 19–22 and especially the commentary pp. 39–42.

were seeking to appropriate courtly culture in striving towards the highest ranks of society. By using these classic topoi, the text of “Des klaffers” fits the late medieval courtly culture and could easily have come from the likes of Oswald von Wolkenstein or Hugo de Montfort, who belonged to the nobility and upheld this art as late as the early fifteenth century. Its unpretentious undertone, however, suits the bourgeois context in which it is transmitted here in LOCH, collected and written down in Nuremberg towards the middle of the century by Judocus de Windsheim.

The monophonic transmission of the tenor in LOCH, though notated by Judocus and lacking a clef, exactly matches the notation of the tenor line of the polyphonic version by a different hand a few pages later. The standard f4-clef can therefore be transferred from the polyphonic to the monophonic version. Though the polyphonic version features no text underlay, the incipit “Des klaffers”, which is written under the beginning of the tenor, indicates that the tenor was the intended texted voice. That both transmissions of the tenor melody employ the same pitches and note values is by itself remarkable, since most parallel transmissions of a composition display variants. Parallel versions within LOCH usually differ significantly: Tenor lines of instrumental arrangements in the second section of LOCH often deviate radically from their song counterparts in the first section. Therefore, it would seem that the instrumental and vocal repertoires in LOCH were not derived directly from one another, but were collated from other sources outside the manuscript. In LOCH such versions stand together in the same collection seemingly without concern for their sometimes contradictory nature.

The two tenor lines of “Des klaffers neiden” in LOCH, however, match exactly, despite the fact that their notation is in two different hands. Hand II only notated polyphonic settings.<sup>100</sup> Apart from the polyphonic version of “Des klaffers neiden”, this

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<sup>100</sup> Identified and labelled by Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, p. LIII.

hand was also responsible for the cantus and contratenor parts of “Der walt hat sich entlaubet” (LOCH 16, pp. 16–17). Both of these polyphonic notations are later additions to monophonic tenors, which were notated by hand I (the main scribe, identified by Petzsch as Judocus de Windsheim, see chapter 1) on consecutive pages. The polyphonic arrangement of “Der walt hat sich entlaubet” must have been notated either while the collection was assembled with the scribes working in turns, or after hand I, who anticipated the addition and left the appropriate space for its notation. The addition of the three-voice setting of “Des klaffers neiden”, however, seems to have been an afterthought. It is the only polyphonic version which is written separately from a monophonic version in LOCH, and the staff lines for this entry were apparently unplanned, drawn clumsily without the aid of the main scribe’s *rastrum*. Hand II may have used free space at the end of the first quire—as close as possible to the ‘Tenor’ and its song text to which it belongs. The gap between the monophonic, texted tenor and the polyphonic settings may also be the reason that the tenor line was copied out again along with the new voices (contratenor and cantus)—which in “Der walt hat sich entlaubet” were the only additions of hand II.

The polyphonic setting of “Des klaffers neiden” is notated correctly, strongly contrasting with the polyphonic settings of “Der winter will hin weichen” (LOCH 6, pp. 6–7) and “Der summer” (LOCH 41, p. 40), both by the main scribe (hand Ib), where especially the contratenors have many errors.<sup>101</sup> Admittedly, the polyphonic version of “Des klaffers neiden” shows minor corrections with false notes crossed out. This, however, indicates a careful revision of the notation. The main scribe, Judocus de

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<sup>101</sup> The only identifiable error in “Des klaffers neiden” concerns bar 9, where in the contratenor has a b-mi accidental that does not fit the counterpoint. The scribe could have mistaken this place for a cadential progression with the tenor line. The resulting false relation to the cantus, however, makes no sense.

Windsheim, therefore, may have consulted hand II as an experienced notator of polyphony in notating the additional voices of these two polyphonic settings.

The identical nature of the two separate hands of the two tenor notations of “Des klaffers neiden”, along with the absence of contrapuntal problems in fitting the tenor line to a polyphonic setting, has further implications for their interdependency. The monophonic as well as the polyphonic version of the song were apparently drawn from the same exemplar, and the monophonic tenor was extracted from the polyphonic setting.<sup>102</sup> The presence of the rubric ‘Tenor’ under the beginning of the monophonic notation of the song on p. 14 of LOCH supports this.<sup>103</sup> The case of “Des klaffers neiden”, where both versions are side by side, could be used to interpret other situations in LOCH where only the monophonic version survives, e.g. “Wach auf mein hort” (LOCH 2, p. 2). The notation of “Wach auf mein hort” features the same rubric ‘Tenor’—its rhythmical and notational organisation being similar to “Des klaffers neiden”. It also shares certain idiomatic phrases with “Des klaffers neiden”, such as unusually long melismas and standardised cadence formulas. Since long melismas and standardised cadence formulas indicate that the line was arranged for a polyphonic setting it appears that—as in “Des klaffers neiden”—the monophonic tenor “Wach auf mein hort” was extracted from a polyphonic version.

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<sup>102</sup> Salmen and Petzsch observed this already in their edition from 1972, without giving explanations, see Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, p. 40, FN.

<sup>103</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 30, and especially about his theory concerning German ‘Tenors’: Wachinger, Burghart: ‘Textgattungen und Musikgattungen beim Mönch von Salzburg und bei Oswald von Wolkenstein’, in: Demske, Ulrike et al. (eds.): *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (PBB)*, Walter de Gruyter, 2010 (132/3), pp. 385–406. For an elaboration of the monophonic ‘Tenor’ genre, see chapter 4.2.

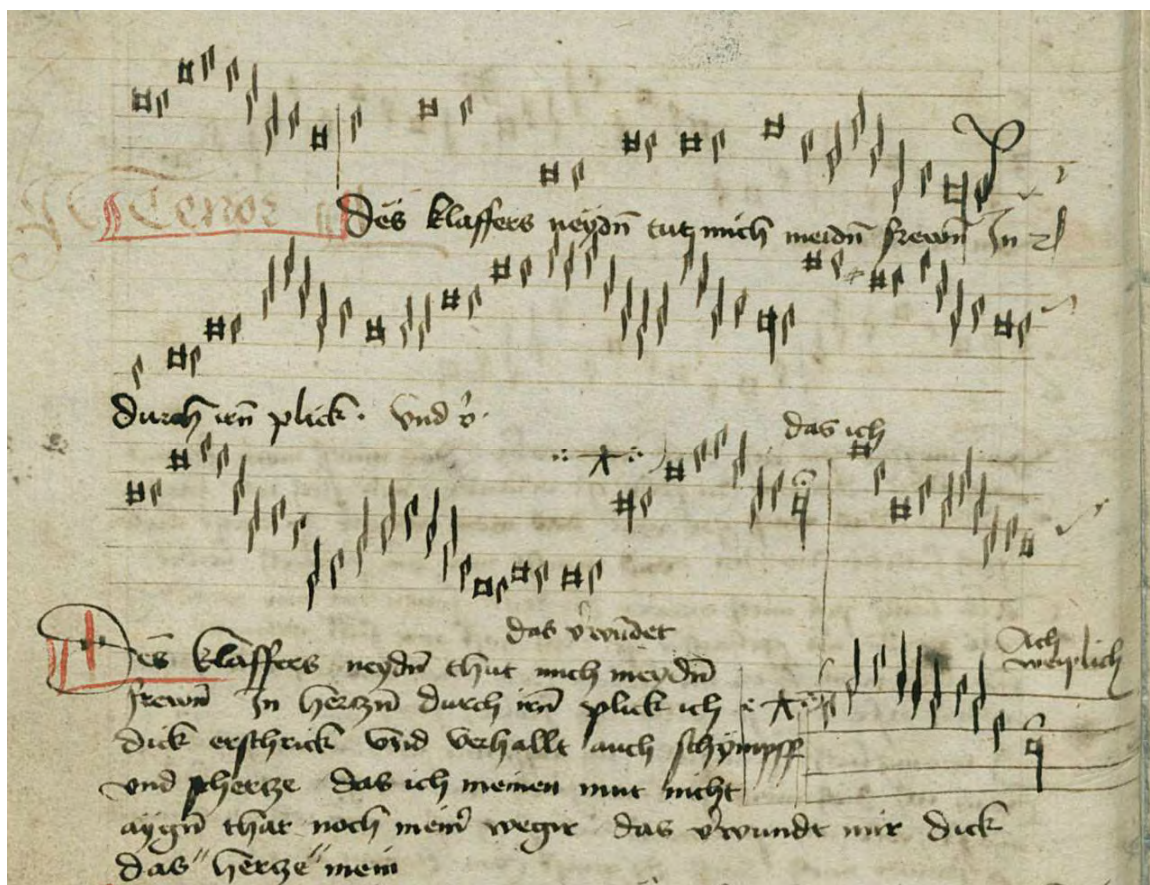
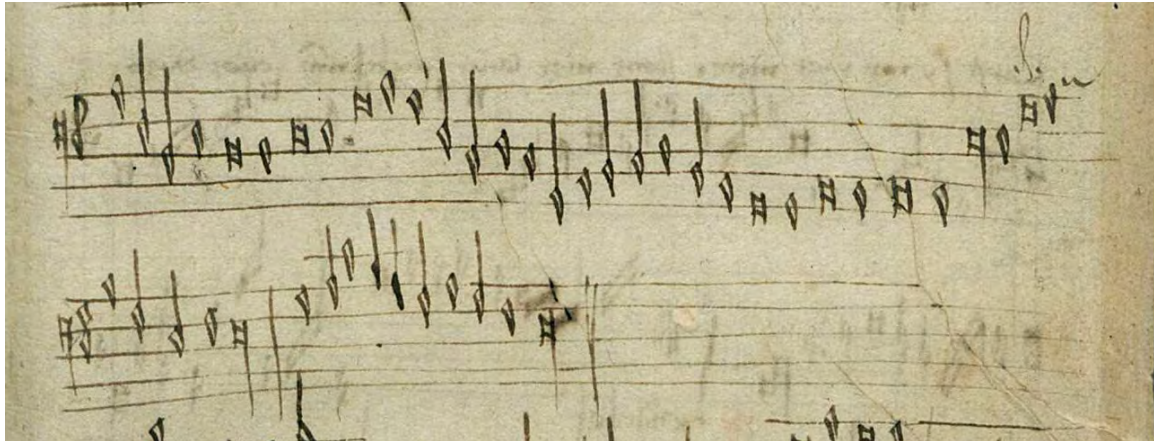


Figure 2: Monophonic version of “Des klaffers neiden” in LOCH (LOCH 14a), p. 14.

The two notations of “Des klaffers neiden” contain several clues for performance practice. One particularity is the notation of an alternative ending for the piece, which is indicated with a *signum congruentiae* in the monophonic version LOCH 14a and notated just below the melody, apparently as an addendum. This bit of music is not written within the rastrum intended for the music, but on freehand-drawn staves in a part of the space that was originally intended for the text. Since the text was entered around this additional bit of notation, it would appear that the alternative ending was notated before the text had been filled in. The added music is, therefore, not an afterthought, but an integral part of the piece. The notation of “Des klaffers neiden” also shows that the main scribe notated both music and text, and that he notated the music first. The alternative ending, a sort of “seconda volta bracket” for the final three measures (breve units) of the melody, is simply a more ornamented version of the tenor’s final cadence, and does not appear to add substantial new information. This ornamented ending does not seem to be a structurally

important element, but could have been intended or reserved for the final cadence of the last strophe to mark the end of the song as a whole. The polyphonic version of the song features the same two alternative endings, also marked with a *signum congruentiae*, and supplies them with a slightly different counterpoint in both the cantus and the contratenor voices.



**Figure 3:** The two alternative endings in the tenor line of the polyphonic version of “Des klaffers neiden” in LOCH (LOCH 14b), p. 19: the *signum congruentiae* marks the beginning of the standard ending, the vertical line marks the beginning of the alternative ending.

The notation of “Des klaffers neiden” contains another hint to the intended form, which carries more implications for the performance practice of such songs. While the alternative final cadence in LOCH 14a was added below the notation as an addendum, there is also surplus music at the end of the song in the main part of the notation. The final longa is marked with a fermata sign, indicating the end of the melody to the first strophe, but it is followed by four *brevis* units of musical notation. This additional bit of music appears to be the connection of the first strophe to the second, indicated by a small text fragment squeezed at the end of the musical fragment, reading “Ach weiplich”. This text is the incipit to the second strophe, and the custos following the phrase matches the pitch at which the text underlay of the first strophe sets in. It appears that this cauda is intended to be the initial melisma to the second strophe, substituting the melisma found at the beginning of the melody. This interpretation of the notation found in LOCH 14a is strengthened by the fact that the original initial melisma is separated from the rest of the

melody by a vertical line, and that the rubric “Tenor” written directly under it correlates with the length of the melisma. Neither layout feature can be found elsewhere in LOCH, not even in comparable monophonic songs that have textless initial melismas. The polyphonic transmission LOCH 14b does not have the alternative beginning of the piece, but its contratenor line appears to anticipate the new melisma. It is possible that the alternative beginning implied switching the two voices of contratenor and tenor for the first few notes. The tablature setting of the same song in LOCH (LOCH 67, pp. 74–75) does not add any new information. It uses only the first melisma and the alternative final cadence of the song.

Fortunately, another transmission of the piece can shed new light on the questions above: BUX 146 (“Des klaffers nýd tút mich mýden etc”) is a keyboard arrangement of the polyphonic setting of “Des klaffers neiden” in tablature format and also in three parts. Although BUX 146 does not supply an alternative ending to the piece like the two vocal versions in LOCH, it does feature the alternative initial melisma with a set of performance instructions, at the end of the notation on fol. 79v:<sup>104</sup>

<p>Heb vornan an wider an dem vierden tact iuxta tale signum ://: vnd machs uß biß uff die andern pause so ist es uß · wiltu es drymal machen so heb vornen an · et di mitte tres vltimos tactus –</p>	<p>Translation: Start again from the beginning with the fourth tactus from this sign ://: and play to the end until the second pausa, then it [the piece] is finished. If you want to play it three times then start from the beginning and omit the last three tactus<sup>105</sup></p>
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<sup>104</sup> This canon was first noticed and pointed out by Göllner, Theodor: “Eine Spielanweisung für Tasteninstrumente aus dem 15. Jahrhundert”, *Essays in Musicology, a birthday offering for Willi Apel*, Ann Arbor 1968, pp. 69–81, see there pp. 72 and 80, FN 25. Kirnbauer quotes and translates Göllner’s transcription (Kirnbauer, Martin: “The Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature: The Kassel ‘Lautenkragen’ (D-Kl, 2° Ms. Math. 31), the ‘Königstein Songbook’ (D-Bsb, Ms. germ. qu. 719) and the Regensburg Drawing (D-Rp, Ms. Th. 98 4°)”, in: Young, Crawford and Martin Kirnbauer (eds.): *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early Lute Tablatures in Facsimile* (Pratica Musicale 6), Winterthur (Amadeus Verlag) 2003, pp. 171–204, p. 181, FN 22). Both, however, are only concerned with the function of the word “tactus” and the explanation of the repetition sign in this canon and do not address the implications for musical form or performance practice.

<sup>105</sup> Göllner noted that the tactus-lines do not always coincide with measures, since they sometimes include longer units (Göllner: ‘*Spielanweisung*’, p. 72). He calls them “Spieleinheiten” (performing units), each one constituting a complete process of a ‘Spielvorgang’ as indicated by the fundamenta examples with starting point, elaboration, and arrival point.





**Figure 4:** canon instructions at the end of the notation of BUX 146 (“Des klaffers nýd tút mich mýden etc”), fol. 79v.

These instructions leave two possible ways of performing the tablature to the discretion of the keyboard player: one version with two repetitions (i.e. “strophes”), another one with three. In each case the beginning of the second “strophe” features a different introduction to the pieces with a length of four *brevis* units. These introductions coincide with the textless melismas of the vocal model. In the case of the version with three strophes, the instructions indicate that the first—the original melisma—is to be employed again for the last strophe, leaving out the alternative one.<sup>106</sup>

The tablature also sheds new light on the alternative initial melisma, which in LOCH only survives in the monophonic version. In LOCH 14a the new melisma melody combines elements from both the tenor and the contratenor voices, leaving open the question of how this new melisma was supposed to be performed polyphonically. In BUX 146 this was apparently solved by the contratenor and cantus voices pausing in the beginning, leaving the tenor voice alone for the duration of the first *brevis* unit. Only then do cantus and contratenor enter with the contratenor imitating the tenor line.

<sup>106</sup> With only the evidence from LOCH and without consulting the canon to BUX 146 Salmen and Petzsch had concluded that the new melisma was intended for both the strophes 2 and 3 (Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, p. 40).



**Des klaffers neiden** Loch 14a, p. 14

initial melisma

1. Des, des

alternative initial melisma

2. Ach weiplich

**Des klaffers neiden** Loch 14b, pp. 18–19

initial melisma

1. Des, des

**Des Klaffers nýd tüt mich myden etc.** Bux 146, fol. 78v–79v

initial melisma

alternative initial melisma

**Figure 5:** Synoptic edition of the initial and alternative melisma of LOCH 14a, the initial melisma of LOCH 14b, and the initial and alternative melisma of BUX 146.

Though the contratenor of the initial melisma in BUX 146 differs from the polyphonic song version of LOCH 14b, the combined evidence of the three versions suggests that the polyphonic song setting was originally designed to deceive the listener into believing that tenor and contratenor switched voices for the second strophe. Only

with the entrance of the contratenor does it become clear that the tenor used a new initial melisma, which merely quotes the contratenor voice of the first strophe. When looking for a reason for this elaborate and unique arrangement of a polyphonic German song, the underlying text can provide an explanation: deceiving the listener's expectation by exchanging the initial melisma (and by providing alternative final cadences) could be seen as an illustration of the "klafter", the deceiving slanderers, from the song text—a musical game which only a generation later would be excessively played on the same subject by Heinrich Isaac in his "Der hund".<sup>107</sup> Similar examples of "Textausdeutung" (text interpretation) were presented by Nicoletta Gossen for French and Italian chansons of the same period.<sup>108</sup>

### 2.2.3 A Song with an Exceptional Form: "Des klaffers neiden"

The versions LOCH 14a & 14b, and BUX 146 contain the combined information necessary to reconstruct the intended form of the song "Des klaffers neiden", while at the same time conveying evidence regarding the relationship between vocal model and instrumental reworking. The evidence suggests that this song was conceived as a three-part setting and that the monophonic version LOCH 14a was excerpted from the polyphonic version.

(1) The tenor line of LOCH 14a is identical to that of the polyphonic LOCH 14b, which is designed to support the full contrapuntal structure of a three-voice setting, which in turn is confirmed by the three-voice tablature version of BUX 146. (2) The range and use of note values in the monophonic LOCH 14a suggests a polyphonic usage and is not typical for monophonic songs, which tend to make use of either reference rhythm or of a non-

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<sup>107</sup> "Der hund" ("The dog") is an extensive three-part instrumental composition based on an anonymous song with the same incipit in Egenolff, Christian (ed.): *Gassenhawerlin und Reutterliedlin*, Frankfurt/Main 1535, vol. II: *Reutterliedlin*, no. XXI, fols. D1v–D2r (tenor). The dog mentioned in the title of Isaac's composition and in the text of the song is another name for the "klafter", the "backbiter" or "barker", which follows and "shadows" the secret lovers and tries to thwart their affair. The music in turn illustrates this by the imitation of sequenced material, with one voice constantly following or shadowing the other.

<sup>108</sup> See Gossen: *Musik in Texten – Texte in Musik*.

rhythmical notation. Genuine monophonic songs usually also do not feature the cadence ornamentation displayed in this version, which in turn is typical for polyphonic treatments of tenor voices in German song books. (3) The arrangement of the song form that is indicated for LOCH 14a is confirmed and elaborated by the transmissions of the polyphonic versions, both vocal (LOCH 14b) and instrumental (BUX 146). (4) The deception of the listener's expectation by the alternative initial melisma and alternative final cadence only lives up to its full potential when performed polyphonically. This assessment implies consequences for other monophonic transmissions of German songs, especially for comparable transmissions in LOCH. It seems that most if not all of the monophonic songs, which feature a similar range and use of note values, an ornamentation of the melody and especially its cadences, and a "Tenor" rubric could be candidates for tenor lines taken from a polyphonic context, excerpted from a part-book, a score (possibly even a tablature), or a polyphonic songbook.<sup>109</sup>

The observations on the textless initial melisma to "Des klaffers neiden" demonstrate that the melisma is an essential part of the song's identity and even subject to change for subsequent strophes.<sup>110</sup> The sources highlight this detail of the melody as well as its treatment as a pivotal point of the form. The form of the vocal version apparently takes into account the threefold repetition of the melody to accommodate the three strophes of the text. The intended form is therefore designed to suit a text with exactly three strophes, with no option of cutting or adding (except for the version with only two strophes, allowed in the canon of BUX 146). Therefore, the song's three-strophe form was not only strong enough to dominate its vocal performance, but to pass it on to the instrumental arrangement as well.

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<sup>109</sup> For further thoughts on the genre of monophonic 'Tenors', see chapter 4.2.

<sup>110</sup> Another piece of evidence that the initial melisma is intended to be repeated with every strophe is the first song in the Rostocker Liederbuch (ROSTOCK) "Scheyden du vil sendighe not", which has the same melisma notated after the first strophe with the rubric "alius versus sequitur" ("the second verse follows").

Furthermore, the observation that the initial melisma is an integral part of the melody would contradict the notion of understanding it as a “prelude” or even an “instrumental prelude” to the song—a view which is often encountered in older secondary literature.<sup>111</sup> Since the initial melisma was intended to be performed with every repetition of the melody, it can not be considered a “prelude” in the sense that it only appears once in the very beginning to precede the actual song. The idea that such (textless) melismas could be intended for instrumental performance can clearly be denied, albeit not by evidence from the song at hand. For evidence, we have to turn to other transmissions of secular songs in LOCH, as well as contemporary sources such as the Oswald-Codices, the Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift, the Rostocker Liederbuch, which feature numerous examples of untexted initial melismas. In many cases the layout of the first strophe presents the initial letter of the song text together with the melisma, and has the rest of the first word aligned with the music to which the actual text is supposed to be applied. This could be considered a layout convention of little consequence. It does, however, supply a textual element where the music starts, if only the first letter. The entire first word of the song text is placed under the melisma in a number of transmissions, but this normally happens when the word is monosyllabic. Some of these transmissions repeat the first word with the beginning of the actual text underlay, such as the notation of ROSTOCK 38 “Mir ist myn phert vornegheld ghar”, where the initial melisma is underlaid with the first word “mir”, which is then repeated with the beginning of the actual text underlay.<sup>112</sup> The evidence points to an established practice of singing the first syllable or—in the case of a monosyllabic first word—the first word of the song text to the initial melisma. It seems to

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<sup>111</sup> This notion started with Hugo Riemann (Riemann, Hugo: *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, 2nd ed. (2, I: Die Musik des Mittelalters), Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1920, p. 307) but left its influence still on Salmen and Petzsch, who interpreted all initial melismas as textless “preludes” (Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*).

<sup>112</sup> Another example from a non-German repertoire is the initial “O” of Ciconia’s “O rosa bella”, where the “O” is first sung to the melisma and then participates in syllabic declamation.

be the custom that this syllable or word was then repeated with the beginning of the text underlay. Thus, the function of the melisma becomes rhetorical, with the first syllable or word of the text receiving a composed “corona” or “Positionslänge”, much in the way that musical pieces tend to start with such an elongated note to mark the beginning, or in the way of a musical counterpart to the ornamented initial of the song text. The repetition of this first word can also be seen as an affirmative gesture as has been shown above with the case of the “L’homme armé” setting (see FN 97). Whatever one might decide regarding an instrumental involvement in the performance of such songs as “Des klaffers neiden” (for instance to play the untexted voices of cantus and contratenor), it is clear that these initial melismas of the otherwise sung line were not meant to be interpreted instrumentally in the sense that an instrument was used to replace the voice for the melisma.

Untexted melismas are not restricted to monophonic transmissions of fifteenth-century German songs. They are a regular feature of monophonic and polyphonic songs since the twelfth century and can be found in conductus and Burgundian chansons alike. Examples for strophic songs that open with a textless melisma abound in the conductus repertoire of the Notre-Dame era. More than half of the pieces in Gordon A. Anderson’s edition of the two-voice Notre-Dame conductus, for instance, have often elaborate initial melismas. In particular, the larger forms tend to have such a melisma on the first (and often also on the final) syllable of the text, e.g. “O quotiens volui”, “A deserto veniens”, “Aduva nos deus”, “Renovatur veterum oracular”, “Nobilis animi”, “Quot vite successibus”, “Virtutum thronus frangitur”, “Eterno serviet”, “In novas fert animus”, to name but a few from the beginning of the edition.<sup>113</sup> Conductus with this feature, therefore, seem to be common, and instrumental performance of these melismas has never

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<sup>113</sup> Anderson, Gordon A. (ed.): *2pt Conductus, Unica in the Four Central Sources*, vol. 5: Notre-Dame and Related Conductus (Collected Works, X), Henryville: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979.

seriously been considered. Examples from the fourteenth century include the chansons by Guillaume de Machaut, which have a comparable number of initial melismas: Roughly half of his ballades and rondeaux begin with a melisma, although often less elaborate than those of the Notre-Dame conductus repertoire. Only his shorter and simpler monophonic virelais do not have initial melismas. The contemporary secular Trecento song repertoire relies heavily on melismas, both initial and final. Initial melismas also occur regularly in the Burgundian chanson repertoires. About a quarter of Binchois's and Dufay's chansons start with a melisma.

With the evidence at hand one can safely conclude that: (1) initial melismas were an integral part of the melody, (2) were not “preludes” and therefore (3) repeated with every repetition of the melody, (4) they were part of the texted voice and therefore sung, and (5) not intended for instrumental performance.

## **2.2.4 The Instrumental Arrangement “Des klaffers nýd tút mich myden”**

The information extracted from the three transmissions of “Des klaffers neiden” in LOCH and BUX shows that the character of the vocal arrangement was present when the piece was entered as an instrumental reworking in BUX. As a keyboard tablature it was still considered to be a song with three strophes, of which the second strophe features a different initial melisma. This exceptional musical form, however, is not apparent from its lyrical text. The text is in the most standard of German song forms, the bar form (“Kanzonenstrophe”), consisting of a repeated A-section and a new B-section (AAB-form). In most cases this form is emulated by the music, which usually follows it with internal repetitions. In “Des klaffers neiden”, however, the composer chose to set the text to new music with every section, thus obscuring the metrical form—a fact to which

Wachinger alluded as he postulated the genre of German ‘Tenors’.<sup>114</sup> Another specialty of this song seems to be an alternate final cadence, possibly reserved for the end of the last verse, although its function ultimately remains obscure. The forming principle that governs “Des klaffers neiden” only becomes apparent when interpreting the whole song as a three-strophe structure.

Not only was the arranger of the tablature in BUX aware of these particularities, but they seemed to have been important enough to him that he transferred them to his keyboard version, creating an instrumental arrangement with either two or three “strophes”, i.e. repetitions of the melody. The intabulator left the decision for either form to discretion of the player. At the same time, he prescribed at least one repetition of the melody and implemented the alternative initial melisma for the second strophe, as in the song form. The arranger allowed for a certain degree of freedom from the vocal form, but also showed that the vocal form was still present as a guiding force for the instrumental performance. It has long been an unanswered question whether diminished intabulations of vocal pieces were intended to be played in the form of the model chanson. Such a mode of performance would imply repeating the written-out diminutions and ornamentations, which would in turn counteract the aura of extemporisation that surrounds these reworkings. One could argue against this view that a written-out version is already removed from genuine extemporisation and can be subject to literal repetition. There is evidence from both musical sources and written accounts of actual performances that the practice of the time included the repetition of instrumental arrangements. A report by Hans Gerle in 1533 in his *Tabulatur auff die Laudten* about the famous lutenist Adolf Blindhamer (ca. 1475–ca. 1520/1532) states that he used to play the intabulation of a

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<sup>114</sup> Wachinger: ‘*Textgattungen und Musikgattungen*’ and below, chapter 4.2.

chanson three times with increasing degrees of complexity, including (apparently) improvised ornamentation, diminution, and proportions.<sup>115</sup>

While the notation of BUX 146 has the appearance of a fixed arrangement with no room for improvisation or flexibility, there is a clue towards performative freedom also included with the canon (cited above). The word “pausa” implies not a “rest” as in the modern sense of the word, but a place of melodic and contrapuntal stagnation after a cadence, where the framework of the model composition comes to a rest, but not the hand of the performer. Such “pause” (plural of “pausa”) are frequently marked in the tablatures of BUX but even more so in those of LOCH. Despite the canon instruction indicating “pause” in BUX 146, the arrangement does not feature any such rubric. Here, the tablature of the same piece in LOCH comes to our aid: LOCH 67 (“Tenor. Des klaffers neyden”, pp. 74–75) has the rubric “pausa” in the middle of the piece, on the final cadence note of the first part of the melody. This rubric corresponds to a certain section within the *fundamenta organisandi*, which can also be found in the tablature part of LOCH and in BUX. The *fundamenta organisandi* as a set of sample movements for extemporised cantus lines over given tenor progressions include a section entitled “pause”, providing examples for embellishments of points of arrival after a cadence. They consist of short ornamental flourishes “upon one note” comparable to the (much longer and more elaborated) “redeuntes”, which can also be found in the “*fundamentum organisandi*”, and are used to “burn off excess energy” after reaching a cadence.<sup>116</sup> These little formulas have a long history of use, and can still be found in the lute tablatures of Hans Newsidler almost a century after LOCH. Though they are not marked in BUX 146, they can be identified as the

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<sup>115</sup> For a citation and interpretation of this source, see Kirnbauer, Martin: “Blindhamer’s Lute Tablature” – German Lute Tablature of c. 1525 (A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 41950), in: Young, Crawford, Martin Kirnbauer and Thomas Drescher (eds.): *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early Lute Tablatures in Facsimile* (Pratica Musicale 6), Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 2003, pp. 205–260, here pp. 249–250. The text of this passage is quoted below on p. 92.

<sup>116</sup> This apt if colloquial description was coined by Markus Jans in private communication.



two main cadence notes at the end of the first as well as the end of the second part of the melody. In LOCH 67, only the middle cadence is marked with the rubric, but the canon in BUX clearly refers to the second cadence place (“die andern pause” / “the second pausa”) as the end of the piece, thus clarifying the matter. The “pause” do not only serve as landmarks within a setting, as the canon to BUX 146 implies—they also constitute an element of extemporisation, as they indicate undecorated cadential rests in BUX 146, which can be filled with ornamentation. The same manuscript suggests a number of possible solutions in the sample collections of the *fundamenta organisandi*.

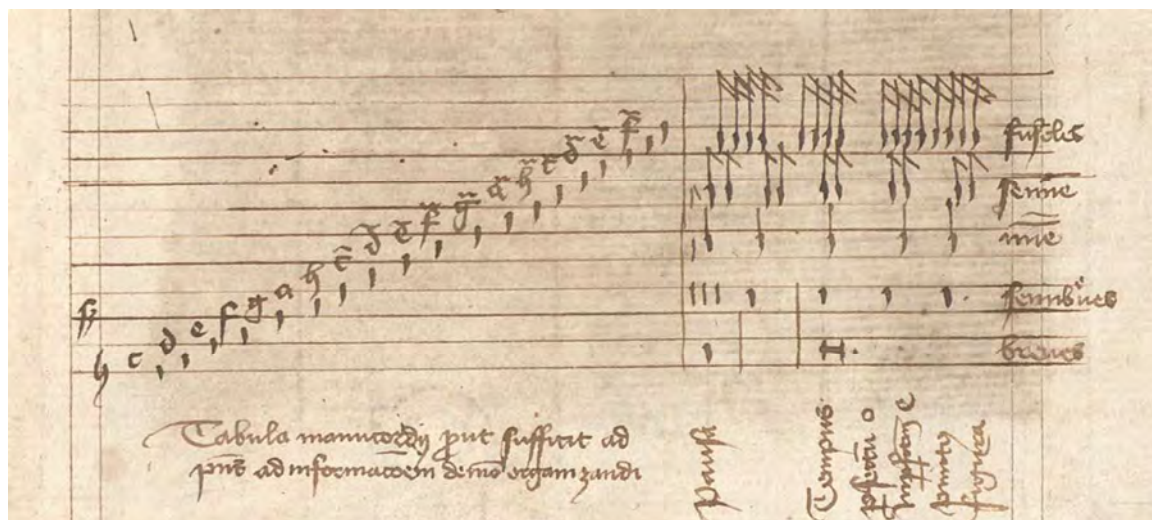
Both tablatures of “Des klaffers neiden” (LOCH 67 & BUX 146) are transposed up a fourth from the vocal version. LOCH 14a & b are both notated in an E-mode, while the tablatures are notated in A (taking into account that the clef had to be transferred from 14b to 14a).<sup>117</sup> This transposition allows us to assume a general key signature with a b-flat for the tablatures, which is only very occasionally signified in the sources.<sup>118</sup> But what is more, the low range of the chanson and its subsequent transposition for the keyboard instruments suggests that it was adjusted to the range of the instruments. Only very few tablatures in LOCH and BUX ever venture below low C, and those that do only touch B-natural as a passing note. This lower limit of a tessitura corresponds to a table in the very

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<sup>117</sup> Concerning the transposition of chansons, see Boeke, Kees: ‘Agricola and the “Basevi Codex”. Some considerations about the performance of chansons’, in: *Alexander Agricola – Musik zwischen Vokalität und Instrumentalismus 6* (2006), pp. 171–183, especially pp. 181–183.

<sup>118</sup> This observation requires a side note on chromatics in tablatures: Tablature notations tend to convey a false sense of precision with respect to chromatic alterations. While we don’t expect all necessary accidentals to be marked in mensural notation, the tablature systems seem to require that all of them are. Those tablature systems that use exact positions on the instrument, such as the later lute tablatures (e.g. German, French, and Italian tablature), do seem to prescribe all inflections. However, the organ tablatures with their use of mensural notation in the cantus line (right hand) and letter notation for tenor and contratenor (left hand and pedal) are prone to the same uncertainties that surround mensural notations. They, too, require added or corrected accidentals in all voice parts. The same applies to the notational system of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature (see chapter 3). See also “Zur Chromatik in Tabulaturen”, in Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch 2*, p. 6. Robert Toft, in his dissertation on Josquin lute intabulations confirms that even sixteenth-century lute intabulations often indicate the non-inflected pitches—possibly because even then the inflections were meant to be left at the discretion of the performer (Toft, Robert: ‘Pitch Content and Modal Procedure in Selected Motets of Josquin Desprez: A Comparative Study of the Printed Intabulations with the Vocal Sources’, Ph.D. diss., London: King’s College, 1983). A new study, however, appears to contradict this: Geay, Gérard: *Pratique de la musica ficta au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les tablatures de luth*, Sampzon: Delatour France, 2018.

back of BUX on fol. 169r, which shows a scale starting with B-natural captioned: “Tabula manucordij prout sufficit ad presens ad informacionem de modo organizandi” (“Table of the monochord as it presently suffices to inform about the method of setting to the organ.”)



**Figure 6:** “Tabula manucordij” in the back of BUX, fol. 169r.

In the context of the largest collection of keyboard music of the fifteenth century, the location of this table in combination with its caption suggests that BUX presents the range of the instrument for which the intabulations are intended. This range, especially the low end of the tessitura on B-natural, matches that of all keyboard instruments described in the treatise of Arnaud de Zwolle, namely the organettos, the organ, the clavicymbalum, the clavichord, and the dulcemelos.<sup>119</sup> Zöbeley supports this standard range for keyboard instruments with observations on instruments from the mid-fifteenth-century, some of which were played by Conrad Paumann himself—the *spiritus rector* behind the intabulations in LOCH and BUX.<sup>120</sup> The question of keyboard tessitura will be discussed in more detail below in the section on the ‘Quartkadenz’ (chapter 2.3), or pre-cadential sonority with an unsupported fourth.

<sup>119</sup> See below and appendix 4: “Keyboard Ranges in the Treatise of Arnold de Zwolle”.

<sup>120</sup> Zöbeley: *Die Musik des Buxheimer Orgelbuchs*, pp. 82–83.

The example of “Des klaffers neiden” has shown that the instrumental arrangement of a vocal piece is not limited to using the structural framework of the pre-existing composition to embellish it with runs and ornaments. The instrumental reworkings at hand were created with the sung version of the song, with its vocal form, and possibly its text (at least of the first strophe) in mind. The players similarly “heard” the song in their heads while playing the instrumental version with diminutions, embellishments, and ornaments. That this piece of evidence survives uniquely amongst the transmissions of keyboard tablatures does not necessarily limit the application of these conclusions to keyboard music. The form of an underlying song might have been so exceptional that it required specifications in the notation of the vocal version in LOCH as well as the notation and the canon in BUX. An empirical analysis of all canons and signs in BUX (see below and appendix 2: “Evidence for Arrangements in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch”) shows that this applies to a number of German song intabulations in BUX, as well as to some Latin liturgical pieces and some particularly popular French and Italian chansons—namely the reworkings of “Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso” (Johannes Ciconia), “O rosa bella” (Johannes Bedynghe), “Je loe amours” (Binchois), “Dueil angoisseux” (Binchois), “Une foys avant que morir” (anonymous), and “Ave regina celorum” (Walter Frye). Apart from these famous French and Italian songs, it would appear that most of the foreign forms were lost in the BUX reworkings. The strong presence of a vocal form in an instrumental reworking is concentrated in the German and Latin repertoires.

### **2.2.5 Other Supporting Evidence for the Presence of Vocal Forms in Instrumental Versions**

Evidence for the virtual presence of a model is also transmitted with the earliest surviving intabulations: the Robertsbridge Codex from the fourteenth century features three

intabulations of vocal pieces, the most prominent of which are the two arrangements of Philippe de Vitry's motets "Tribum quem" and "Adesto". All three pieces in the codex display a text written within the instrumental tablature. In the two motets this text is that of the original triplum voice, the highest and fastest moving voice in a motet which at the same time normally carries the most text. Even if—due to these qualities—the triplum might be the most memorable voice, it is not the most important one. The main counterpoint to the textless tenor line would be the motetus. This begs the question of why the triplum text was supplied in these instrumental arrangements. Was someone intended to sing along with the intabulation? Did the keyboard player play an ornamented version of the motet colla parte with a vocal ensemble, therefore needing to read the text in order to coordinate with the singers?

The practice of writing the text of the most memorable voice of a vocal composition into the instrumental arrangement might have allowed the keyboard player to keep track of his place in the piece. There are three clues which support this interpretation: (1) The form of a motet is highly unpredictable as compared to *forme fixe* chansons because it does not feature text repetitions, and offers little in the way of hearing expectations. Thus, it would make sense to supply a textless rendering of such a form with visual and mnemonic landmarks. (2) The Robertsbridge versions only give the text of the voice that stands apart from the rest and has the most words (i.e. the triplum), as opposed to giving the structurally most important voice and text (i.e. the motetus). It appears that the most memorable point of reference was sought. (3) In the tablature "Adesto" the texting of this tablature actually starts with the motetus, as the triplum only enters two perfect longa units into the composition. The texting switches to that of the triplum line as soon as this voice sets in. The text marks in this tablature therefore follow the outline of the highest voice, even abandoning the motetus text without finishing the first word, in order to be ready for the entrance of the triplum voice. This means that the

text of the original piece provides definite structural information for the actual performance. The text would thus be virtually present in the mind of the performer, shaping phrasing and otherwise helping the instrumental performance.

The next substantial collection of intabulations, the Faenza Codex, contains a number of hints at repetitions within intabulations of *forme fixe* chanson with notated ouvert- and clos endings. In the Faenza Codex, the repetitions of the original vocal pieces are not always respected or coherent, but enough evidence survives to show that the song forms were present in instrumental reworkings, as in pieces such as “De tout flors” and “Indescort”.

Further evidence of vocal forms and modes of performance in instrumental reworkings can be found in the canons and signs of BUX (see appendix 2 for a comprehensive list). It reveals a number of indications that song forms were observed in tablature reworkings designated by a repeat sign for the A-section. As stated above, this applies to a handful of intabulations of German songs in bar form (“Kanzonenstrophe”), which—like the ballade—has a repeated A-section. A few of these repeat signs are also found in songs or tablatures in LOCH and in the case of “Mein freud möcht sich wol meren” (BUX 42, 129, 130) the repetition is provided with a new counterpoint.<sup>121</sup> In most cases in BUX the intabulations of French ballades, which have a similar form, do not have repeat signs. It must be assumed that the vocal form and text for the majority of French and Italian chansons was not present at the moment of arrangement or performance. Further evidence lies in the corrupted titles of some of the intabulations based on French models, such as the above mentioned BUX 81/82 “Modocomor” (probably from “Ma

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<sup>121</sup> Tablatures with repeated A-sections for German song intabulations in BUX (bold = also in LOCH): BUX 5, 7, 9, **21, 42, 129, 130**, 174, 175.

doulce amour”) and BUX 90 “Annavasanna” (derived from “Une fois avant”).<sup>122</sup> In such cases the transmission was probably deprived of its original text, much like the textless French chansons that are found in Italian sources.<sup>123</sup> Yet most of the tablatures in BUX carry German titles, and even for some of the French models there seems to have existed a German texted version. When a version of “Une fois avant” carries the incipit “Vil lieber zit uff diser erde” (BUX 37) or another version of “Modocomor” informs us of the alternative incipit “Bystu die rechte” (BUX 79 & 80), we can assume that the German organist knew these songs with contrafact texts.

The above-listed exceptions to this are amongst the most interesting cases of observed forms in BUX: All three BUX versions of Bedyngnam’s “O rosa bella” (BUX 39, 103, 104) have the B-section marked with the appropriate, if corrupted, incipit “Allassamire” indicating that the intabulator or scribe knew the text of the model song. This song’s presence in central European sources, such as the Trent Codices (TR89, TR90, TR93), the Strahov Codex, and the Glogauer Liederbuch (GLOG, three quodlibet settings) as well as in Latin contrafacta attests to its popularity in German speaking lands.<sup>124</sup> The ballade form of Binchois’s “Dueil angoisseux”, in BUX corrupted to “Dulongesür”, was painstakingly recreated in the version of BUX 59 including the repetition of the return line (“Rücklauf”, marked with “sicut prius”) for the refrain, but the intabulator apparently had problems in marking the appropriate places correctly. The final cadence of the A-section of “Dueil angoisseux” was meant to be marked with “ibi terminatur”, however the scribe first placed it on the wrong cadence, and noticing his error, crossed it out and placed it even further from the correct position. That several bars of music from the model are missing before the return line and that the reworking does not closely follow the model

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<sup>122</sup> For the first complete reconstruction of the model rondeau, including its text, see Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch* 3, pp. 8–11 (edition) & pp. 36–39 (commentary and translation).

<sup>123</sup> E.g. the French pieces in Codex Panciatichi (I-Fn Panciatichiano 26).

<sup>124</sup> For a full list, see Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, pp. 545–550 and Fallows: ‘Dunstable, Bedyngnam and O rosa bella’.

are further indications that the original chanson was not immediately present to the intabulator.

Walter Frye's "Ave regina celorum" is among the most widely copied pieces of the fifteenth century, not only in French, but also in German sources, such as GLOG, SCHE, and the Trent Codices. It is also intabulated four times in BUX, one version of which (BUX 159) provides an elaborate performance arrangement, recreating the ABCB form of Frye's composition. In BUX 159 the C-section is marked as "Secunda pars sequitur Funde preces", supplying the incipit to this section and thus attesting to the intabulator's knowledge of the text. After this section the scribe placed a repeat sign at the end with the instruction "ut prius", indicating that the player should jump to the end of the A-section—where the first repeat sign is located—in order to play the return line (here the B-section) until the end of the clos. More striking than these instructions, however, is that the arrangement is further structured by different textures for every form part: the A-section is in three voices, the B-section (and thus also the return line) in four voices (one of the rare cases of a four-voice setting in BUX), and the C-section in only two. This changing density in the setting corresponds to a responsorial form with the versus sung soloistically, answered by a choir. Either the intabulator intended to stage an instrumental version of a liturgical practice, or he adapted his arrangement to accompany different combinations of singers with the solo part accompanied by fewer voices than the choir part.

The evidence collected from the canons in BUX testifies to the intabulator's knowledge, particularly of German vocal models, as well as to his ignorance of foreign forms and that he took pains in recreating some of the more famous French chansons. At the same time, some of the Latin intabulations, which were maybe used in church or in domestic sacred performances, betray signs of staging or arrangement for a performance including singers. These include BUX 178 "Ad primum morsum" with Latin incipits in the

musical text possibly as an orientation for an organist playing *colla parte* with a schola, as well as Walter Frye's "Ave regina celorum". Another case, however, could be interpreted as a humorous reference to the common complaints against the performance of secular songs in church: BUX 182 "Es fuor ein buwer Ins holtze" contains a *tactus* with six rests amounting to 18 breves, labelled "Litigacio" (i.e. "lawsuit"/"quarrel"). This could be an arranged staging of an anticipated quarrel with the priest in the middle of the piece, after the priest had recognised the song with its bawdy lyrics, thus allowing for a lengthy complaint before finishing the piece. Whatever the reason for this unique canon might be, it seems to indicate that the intabulator was well aware of the model song and its contents.

It was shown above that the instructions added to the tablatures not only testify to the knowledge of model forms, but also indicate that diminutions were sometimes repeated for repeated sections. Other annotations, however, were applied to indicate the opposite, a moment of diversity or extemporisation. These include the rubrics "vel sic", used frequently in BUX to indicate alternative diminutions for a preceding *tactus*, and "pausa", which occurs only in very few instances in BUX, but abundantly in the Lochamer Tablatures.<sup>125</sup>

### **2.2.6 "Elend": On the Alienation of a Tablature from its Vocal Model**

While reworkings of polyphonic chansons might have retained aspects of their original form and text in the reworkings of LOCH and BUX, the tablatures of monophonic songs and *cantus firmi* reveal a greater distance and independence from their model melodies. This is owed in part to the necessity of creating a new counterpoint as opposed to ornamenting a pre-existing one. This independence is most obvious in keyboard settings

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<sup>125</sup> These *ossia* passages were edited in-line by Wallner and often not recognised as alternatives to previous *tactus* units. This observation calls for particular attention when working with the edition as there are several recordings that reproduce these and other mistakes from the edition. (Wallner, Bertha Antonia: *Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch* (Das Erbe deutscher Musik 37–39), Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959.)



of cantus firmi but is also a feature of secular monophonic song reworkings. Prominent amongst these are the long melodies from the genre of monophonic ‘Tenors’ (see chapter 4.2), which in their keyboard reworkings present cantus firmus treatments that tend to shake off original forms and level differentiated rhythms to simpler ones. The melodies appear to be processed *tactus by tactus*, applying the rules of the *fundamenta organisandi* in a way that Zöbele described as ‘*Spielvorgang*’ (see above, p. 60). The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature (WOLFT, see chapter 3) features two such reworkings of monophonic melodies that are also in LOCH: “Ich far dohin, wann es muß sein” and “Elend, du hast umbfangen mich”, the latter as a monophonic song and a two-voice tablature. BUX features another six arrangements of the “Elend” tenor with varying degrees of ornamentation along with variation and fragmentation of the tenor line. Together they constitute textbook examples of gradually increasing levels of embellishment: through version to version the tablatures move further away from the original melody, while slowing down the performance tempo by introducing increasingly complex diminutions. As is the case with numerous other intabulations (several versions in BUX, such as “Benedicite” by the Monk of Salzburg or the arrangements of the anonymous “Une fois avant que morir”), the six arrangements of “Elend” stand together in groups: BUX 48, 49, 50 and BUX 94, 95, 96, with BUX 94 being the simplest and BUX 48 the most complex of the arrangements. LOCH 68, though only two-voice, ranges somewhere in the middle of complexity. The lute arrangement WOLFT 5 survives only as a fragment, but the piece appears to have been much simpler, with less active diminutions, as it was adapted for the limited possibilities (compared to the keyboard) of the plectrum lute. No two of the tablatures have an identical counterpoint, which suggests that the arrangements were made on the tenor alone. Despite the highly contrasting and diverse arrangements of “Elend” in BUX, the question arises of why so many versions were created for the same tenor. The demand for different versions of the same piece is common to the act of

repeating a composition with an increasing degree of new diminutions, as was quoted above for the performances of Adolf Blindhamer (see FN 115):

“Also, when he performed a set piece, he played it first as it stood in the score, ornamented only with few coloraturas, secondly with well-formed runs, and thirdly he played and executed it with proportions [...]”<sup>126</sup>

The sets of similar pieces in BUX could have been assembled with the practical purpose in mind of providing enough material for multiple repetitions of the piece with varying embellishments. The occasion for the performance of the pieces in BUX and LOCH would have been private and public performances as well as the accompaniment of ceremonial and even liturgical actions, which require a flexible amount of music.<sup>127</sup>

Another possible reason for multiple versions upon the same tenor could be pure creative output as a result of the intabulator’s increasing familiarity with his model, which would exhibit his virtuosity by a tracking of the original song structure while gradually moving away from it. The different versions could then be considered evidence for a process of learning and creative appropriation, and could be compared to the production of multiple clausulas upon the same chant melody in the Notre dame repertoire. For example, there appears to be no immediate need for nine “tanquam”-clausulas,<sup>128</sup> because the related chant (“Descendit de celis. V Tanquam sponsus”) was only used once a year. The composed repertoire could, therefore, have covered nine years of liturgical practice, and thus would seem to exceed the demand.<sup>129</sup> The reason for its production might have

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<sup>126</sup> “so er zu einem gesatzten stücklein gegriffen / hat er das erstlich / wie es in noten gestanden / mit wenig Coloraturen / zum andern mit wolgestellten leufflein geziert / vnd zum dritten durch die Proportion geschlagen vnd volführt”, translation and original text quoted after Kirnbauer: *‘Blindhamer’s Lute Tablature’*, pp. 249–250.

<sup>127</sup> The ample evidence for the use of secular songs by church organists in northern Italy was collated by Richard Robinson and put into the context of the Codex Faenza (Robinson: *‘The Faenza Codex’*, especially pp. 611–621). His argument is mainly based on Andrew Kirkman, who collected evidence for the liturgical use of secular music not only in Italy, but also north of the Alps; see Kirkman: *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass: Medieval Context to Modern Revival*, chapter 6 (“The profane made sacred: outside texts and music in the Mass”, pp. 135–164) and appendix 2 (“Texts concerning secular music in church”, pp. 233–46). See also above, FN 95.

<sup>128</sup> Transmitted in I-FI Pluteus 29.1, fol. 147v–148v.

<sup>129</sup> I would like to thank Karin Paulsmeier for this idea from private correspondence. Her forthcoming publication “Notationskunde 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts” includes a reference to this phenomenon: “Twenty-

been artistic: The composers might have tried their skill at producing different versions upon the same model.

By extension, the exhibition of artistry or virtuosity also points to didactic purposes, which fits neatly with the idea that both the clausula repertoire and the BUX intabulations were each connected to a “school”, in terms of a teaching tradition. In the case of BUX, the Paumann School might have provided the institutional and intellectual framework for creating and collecting successful versions of student exercises and teacher examples. The groups or ‘suites’ of reworkings upon the same model in BUX could have fulfilled several purposes simultaneously. The groups might have been products of a teacher-student relationship, serving as a sample collection, teaching aid, and as material for performances that required varied repetitions as part of a presentation or to fulfil a liturgical function. In doing so the keyboard players around Paumann would have honed their skills on well-known songs and tenors and thus produce a rich repertoire, associated with their school.

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two discantus settings are transmitted on the melisma on *regnat*. This means that, theoretically, a new composition for the 15th of August was available for a period of 22 years. It seems far-fetched to assume such an agenda for the collection of clausula. The challenge here was apparently to rework the same tenor melisma over and over with regard to compositional possibilities, and with little regard to the liturgical context. This is particularly apparent in settings which could be seen as less successful. [FN: Regnat 9 could be viewed as such.] A self-sufficient, purely musical interest can also be observed in the often-missing copulas. [FN: None of the regnat clausulas in facsimile 2 has a copula. In facsimile 2.10 (Regnat 16) even the final syllable “-nat” is missing.] (“Für das Melisma über *regnat* sind 22 Diskantsätze überliefert. Dies bedeutet, dass theoretisch über 22 Jahre hinweg jeweils für den 15. August eine neue Komposition zur Verfügung stehen könnte. Einen solchen Plan hinter der Clausel-Sammlung zu vermuten, scheint jedoch abwegig. Vielmehr lag die Herausforderung offensichtlich darin, das gleiche Tenor-Melisma in Hinblick auf die satztechnischen Möglichkeiten immer wieder neu zu bearbeiten, ohne dabei unbedingt den liturgischen Zusammenhang im Auge zu behalten. Dies wird gerade auch an solchen Sätzen deutlich, die man als nicht sehr gelungen betrachten könnte. [FN: Regnat 9 könnte man dazu anführen.] Das sich verselbständigte, rein musikalische Interesse zeigt sich auch an der dann meistens fehlenden Copula. [FN: So hat keine der Regnat-Clauseln von FAKS. 2 eine Copula. In FAKS. 2.10 (Regnat 16) fehlt sogar die Silbe –nat am Ende.]”). The phenomenon of redundant clausulas is also mentioned by Hoppin: “In some cases, however, more clausulae were composed on the same tenor melisma than could possibly have been needed and some may have been intended for use as independent pieces.” (Hoppin, Richard H.: *Medieval Music* (The Norton Introduction to Music History 1), New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978, p. 232.

### 2.2.7 “c.l.”: A Visitor from the Late Trecento in the Lochamer Liederbuch

One of the most puzzling cases of a foreign song enjoying popularity in German instrumental sources is that of Johannes Ciconia’s “Con lagrime bagnandome”. One possible reason for its success will be investigated further in chapter 3.2.1, in which the lute arrangement from the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature (WOLFT) is discussed. The contrapuntal structure of this two-voice ballata is not particularly inviting for an instrumental reworking, as it relies strongly on vocal and textual effects typical for the Trecento style. It is also entirely unlike any other model chanson reworked in LOCH and BUX, most of which are from the Burgundian and German repertoires, and does not allow for the standard addition of a third, a contratenor voice. Yet most of the surviving instrumental versions, four in BUX (BUX 38, 137, 138, 139) and one in WOLFT (WOLFT 1), supply a three-voice texture. The version in LOCH (LOCH 73) is unique in being genuinely two-voice, even though its diminutions are virtually identical to the three-voice BUX 139. The version in LOCH is the last entry by the main scribe, Judocus de Windsheim, and was dated to “Anno 1455 Remigii confectum” (i.e. Oct 1<sup>st</sup>) on p. 87 to mark the end of his work in the manuscript.<sup>130</sup> Instead of a title it has the rubric “c.l.” in the margin, which was probably added as an afterthought. The intabulator had to take greater pains to adapt this ballata to the instrument and to the aesthetics of his time than most of his other models, which were composed at least a generation after “Con lagrime”. Where greater than normal odds must be overcome, we are granted a unique look into the thinking and methods of the intabulator. His notation was pragmatic, using idiomatic aspects of his instrument: where cantus and tenor are in unison—which happens frequently in Trecento music—he provided the note only in the tenor, leaving it out in the

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<sup>130</sup> For a new and critical edition of Ciconia’s ballata (including a translation) and of LOCH 73 “c.l.”, see Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch* 3, p. 16 (edition) & 42–45 (commentary).

cantus. This is the case for the first notes of measures 5, 7, 61, and 67 (see appendix 3: “A Synoptic Edition of ‘Con lagrime bagnandome’”). This indicates that he had a single-manual instrument at his disposal, where only one key for any given note was available. In contrast to the tablatures in BUX, in which pedal signs can be found throughout the manuscript, LOCH’s tablatures do not indicate that a pedal was available. The pedal prescriptions in BUX are mainly used to differentiate between the lower voices of three-voice settings. The lack of pedal signs in LOCH could thus also be owed to the two-voice basis of its reworkings. However, in turning the argument on its head, all observations point in the same direction, indicating that the intabulator of LOCH had a smaller instrument than the intabulators of BUX, with only one manual and no pedal. The restrictions of his instrument would explain the two-voice basis of the arrangements, the lack of pedal signs in the notation, and the use of only one note for unisons. It appears that the intabulator was disturbed by the high register and close ranges of cantus and tenor in the beginning of the piece, as he added low contratenor notes for the first few measures (1, 2, and 5). Ciconia used hoquetus passages in his ballata; a device most effective in ensemble performance, and most impressive when sung. The hoquetus also reduces the contrapuntal structure of the passages concerned to a monophonic line. The first occurrence of this is in measure 5, where the intabulator feels a need to thicken the texture. Apparently, the monophonic alternation of motifs in the two voices was too undifferentiated and unidiomatic for solo performance on a single-manual instrument, and required the player to add a low contratenor. Later hoquetus passages, however, were left untouched. With his additions to measure 5, the arranger of LOCH 73 had envisaged a solution for these passages that was exploited by the arrangers of BUX to its full potential: through the addition of a third voice they provided counterpoint for all hoquet passages, and thus avoided monophonic phrases in their tablatures. Even though the notation of LOCH is dated about twenty years earlier than that of BUX, one might argue that the

influence could have gone the other way, assuming that some of the arrangements in BUX are much older than the transmitting source. In that case, the scribe of LOCH might have abandoned the three-voice texture of his exemplar—a texture which survives in BUX 139—leaving only a trace of it in the very beginning of his copy. However, since the contratenor additions in LOCH 73 were added later, sometimes above and sometimes below the notation of the tenor in smaller letters, it could also be that the scribe and player of LOCH, Judocus, was the innovator.

**Figure 7: (a)** Later addition of contratenor notes below and **(b)** above the tenor of LOCH 73.

The image displays a sequence of six panels showing the manuscript page 1r from the Lindisfarne Gospels, illustrating the process of creating the 'Liber' initial. The panels are arranged horizontally, showing the progression from the original text to the final decorated version.

- Panel 1:** Shows the original text 'Liber' in a simple, early medieval script.
- Panel 2:** Shows the text 'Liber' with the initial 'L' decorated with simple, vertical, parallel lines.
- Panel 3:** Shows the text 'Liber' with the initial 'L' decorated with a more complex, interlaced knotwork pattern.
- Panel 4:** Shows the text 'Liber' with the initial 'L' decorated with a highly complex, interlaced knotwork pattern, featuring a large, stylized 'L' shape.
- Panel 5:** Shows the text 'Liber' with the initial 'L' decorated with a highly complex, interlaced knotwork pattern, featuring a large, stylized 'L' shape.
- Panel 6:** Shows the final, fully decorated version of the page, with the initial 'L' and the text 'Liber' in a highly stylized, interlaced knotwork pattern.

**Figure 8:** (a) B-flat and (b & c) b-naturals, changed from b-flats in LOCH 73, as well as (d & e) corrections and (f) the case of two semibreves connected to a *brevis* with subsequent addition of the rubric “*pausam*”.

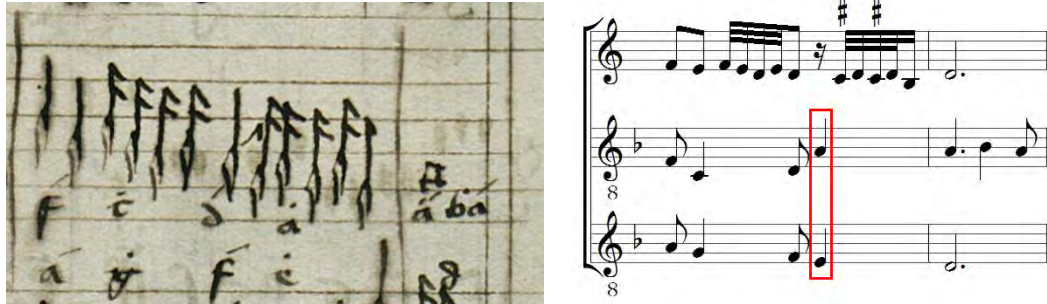
reproduce a chanson form for “Con lagrime bagnandome”, but all of them fail to mark the correct places for a ballata. It appears that the intabulators attempted to recreate a French ballade form as they no longer knew the original song. The instrumental reworking of Ciconia’s ballata had created its own, separate tradition north of the Alps.

## 2.3 The Curious Case of the ‘Quartkadenz’

The tablatures in LOCH are in essence two-voice. Only occasionally does a third voice, a contratenor, enter into the texture to provide ‘colour’ for a few tactus units, or a cadence. Some of the versions are purely two-voice, such as LOCH 63 “Anavois”, LOCH 68 “Elend, du hast umbfangen mich”, or LOCH 70 “Do mit ein gut jare” (actually: ‘without title’, see p. 35), while others use a contratenor for certain sections to thicken the texture, as in LOCH 65 “Mit ganzem willen wünsch ich dir” and LOCH 71 “Mein hercz in hohen freuden ist”. Only two tablatures in LOCH are truly three-voice settings, and both were added by the later hand VI (possibly also Judocus) on free space at the end of the manuscript: LOCH 74 “Wilhelmus Legrant” and LOCH 76 “Paumgartner”, both apparently named for composers or arrangers, are virtually identical in BUX.<sup>131</sup> Both also employ ample amounts of the fastest note values available (fusulae) and the arrangements are closer to BUX than to the other tablatures in LOCH. One of these, “Wilhelmus Legrant”, has at first glance a seemingly unremarkable feature, namely an unsupported fourth between contratenor and tenor just before a cadence on D in measure 7.

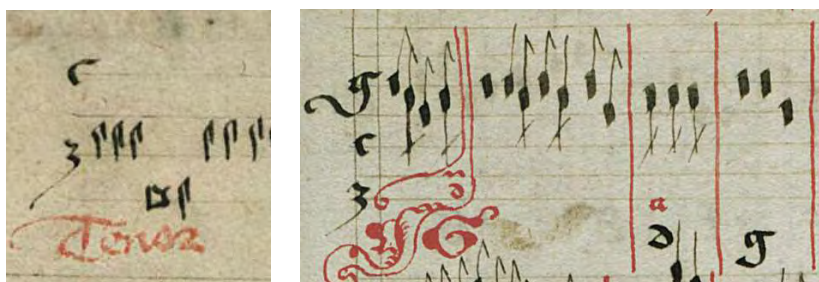
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<sup>131</sup> Despite that there is a known composer Guillaume Legrant, David Fallows assumes that the title refers to the slightly later Johannes Legrant (Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, p. 704). Paumgartner was the name of a patrician family in Nuremberg and the maternal family of Wolflein von Lochamer (Ibid., p. 713). On the Paumgartner family, see Petzsch: *Lochamer-Liederbuch*, pp. 285–289.



**Figure 9:** Bars 7–8 of “Wilhelmus Ligrant” (LOCH 74, pp. 88–89), (a) facsimile and (b) transcription.

A similar case occurs only once more in LOCH (“Anavois”, LOCH 63, p. 70, measure 16) and both could be dismissed as a mistake or a lapse in contrapuntal judgement on behalf of the intabulator or student. After all, the tablatures occasionally show little regard for contrapuntal conventions, for instance in the opening measures of the intabulation LOCH 64 “Wach auff mein hort der leucht dorthier”, which have open parallel fifths between tenor and contratenor (g-d' => d-a). The progression might have seemed acceptable because it could be assumed that the contratenor simply leaps down an octave, which in an ensemble interpretation would present a progression free of parallels. However, the notations of LOCH 64 as well as of the melody of the song version LOCH 2 both reveal that a parallel was intended. The tenor moves from g to d and the contratenor follows in fifths.



**Figure 10:** (a) The tenor melody of LOCH 2 and (b) Parallel fifths between tenor and contratenor (upper red line in the letter notation) in LOCH 64.

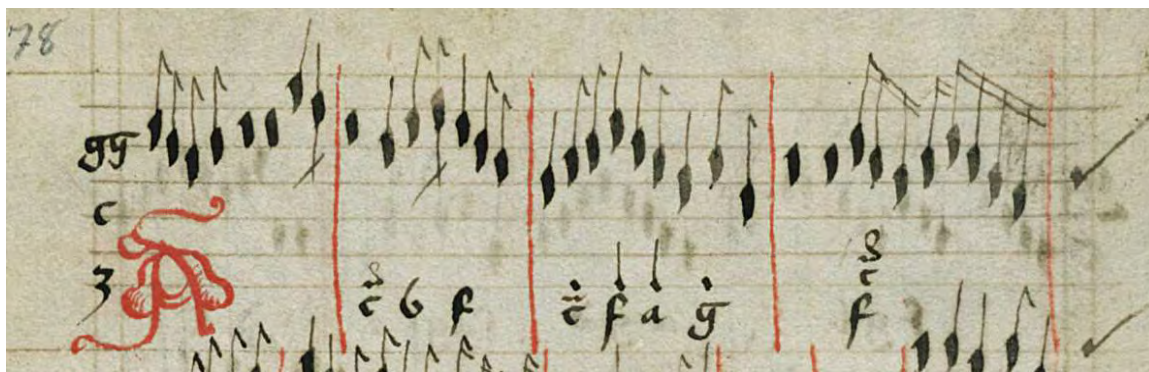
The BUX tablatures, however, feature the pre-cadential and unsupported fourth too frequently to ignore. In fact, it seems that the contratenor notes were meant to evoke the same sonority that a Burgundian octave leap creates for a three-voice cadence, only that



instead of leaping from a bassus register up an octave into the fifth above the tenor, it simply repeats the note in the unison. This happens almost exclusively for cadences on C and D. Nearly all other contratenor cadences in LOCH and BUX are resolved by the standard octave leap if they do not use the older double leading-note. These findings leave two possibilities: Either the octave leap was also intended for the ‘Quartkadenz’ though not specified by the letter notation of the contratenor voice, or the intended instrument was lacking the necessary notes. An empirical analysis confirmed that both assumptions apply. The system of letter notation for the lower voices in both LOCH and BUX does not distinguish any notes below low C, neither on the table provided in the back of BUX (fol. 169r, see p. 84) nor in the tablatures themselves. Any note below C in the table or the tablature receives the same letter as the octave above.<sup>132</sup> The many instances of a low B-natural, therefore, have to be distinguished from context alone and are usually clear, since they are reached by stepwise motion. The scribes of both LOCH and BUX would have had capital letters at their disposal, had they wished to designate lower notes. The scribes used them, however, only in marking the first tenor note of an intabulation in place of an initial, since tablatures do not have text underlays to provide the initial letters. In LOCH, some of these first tenor notes are even rubricated to further imitate the effect of a replacement initial. In the case of LOCH 68 “Benedicite Almechtiger got”, where the title is on the bottom of the preceding page, the tablature occupying the entire opening starts with no other text than the rubricated and capitalised first tenor note “A”. It is no coincidence that this is the only beginning of a tenor line in LOCH, where that first note letter is also ornamented like an initial, invoking the incipit “Almechtiger got” from its title and its song version LOCH 34.

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<sup>132</sup> Zöbeley briefly remarked on this in his study, see Zöbeley: *Die Musik des Buxheimer Orgelbuchs*, p. 87 & 95.



**Figure 11:** Opening line of LOCH 34 “Almechtiger got” with rubricated and ornamented initial tenor letter ‘A’.

The intended note in this case, however, is the small a. Since any note of the great octave is not distinguishable from those of the small octave, the notation for cadences requiring contratenor notes lower than C would have looked exactly as it does in the surviving tablatures. The information from the tablatures simply does not suffice to distinguish between an octave leap for cadences on C or D—requiring a low G or A from the contratenor—and a unison by the contratenor (g–g or a–a), resulting in the ‘Quartkadenz’. Nevertheless, editions have ignored this problem, and have always edited the ‘Quartkadenz’.<sup>133</sup> Numerous recordings that rely on these editions now affect the modern listener’s expectation for cadence sonorities in such keyboard arrangements.<sup>134</sup>

As mentioned above, Zöbeley was able to demonstrate that organs of the early to mid-fifteenth-century, some of which were played by Conrad Paumann himself, customarily started their range on B-natural below low C (see above and FN 120). Not only does the “Tabula manucordij” on fol. 169r in the back of BUX start with B-natural, but all the keyboard instruments in Arnold de Zwolle’s manuscript<sup>135</sup> have the B-natural as their lowest note (see appendix 4: “Keyboard Ranges in the Treatise of Arnold de Zwolle”).

<sup>133</sup> Namely, Wallner: *Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch* and Apel (ed.): *Keyboard Music*, pp. 32–51.

<sup>134</sup> E.g. Payne, Joseph: *Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch (The Buxheim Organ Book) – Fifteenth-Century Organ Transcriptions*, Naxos, 1995.

<sup>135</sup> F-Pn lat. 7295 (ca. 1450), fol. 127r–135r.

It appears that a range starting with B-natural below low C was the standard of the time, and arrangements that were made before the mid-century did not have lower notes at their disposal. Should this prove true, the question remains as to why the intabulator did not utilize double leading-note cadences instead of the ‘Quartkadenz’, as he did in so many other cases. A review of the BUX tablatures has shown that the ‘Quartkadenz’ is used mainly for final cadences and only rarely in the middle of an arrangement. This suggests that the sonority of an octave leap was considered more conclusive than a double leading tone, which by the mid-fifteenth century would have been considered old-fashioned. It appears that the intabulator therefore preferred the octave leap-sonority even in its imperfect realisation as a ‘Quartkadenz’ over a double leading tone, at least in final positions. It could also be that the “Blockwerk”-organs until the mid-fifteenth century provided such a mix of over- and undertones that a pre-cadential sonority missing its bassus note was hardly recognisable. In any case, the absence of a clear symbol for any note below low C in the notation corresponds to an organ landscape that did not know a bassus range. Only with the increased use of contratenor bassus voices from the mid-fifteenth century onward were organs expanded to include lower notes. Since the ‘Quartkadenz’ was a compromise solution—no matter if it was only a graphic or an actual sounding phenomenon—it would have been immediately abandoned once the missing notes became available on the instruments.

The ‘Quartkadenz’ could have a practical application also for polyphonic arrangements on the five-course lute, for which the range of the contratenor would go below the range of the instrument (e.g. for cadences on D, assuming an instrument in nominal A tuning) and for which, at the same time, a double-leading tone cadence is not desirable. Even though such cases do not occur in the fragments of the one surviving tablature for five-course lute, the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature (see the following chapter 3), my own practical tests have confirmed its suitability for polyphonic solo

arrangements on the instrument. The Wolfenbüttel Tablature, however, also presents a pragmatic solution for a similar case, where a tenor note falls below the range of the five-course lute (see chapter 3.2.2).

# 3 The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature: The Earliest Source for the Lute<sup>136</sup>

## 3.1 Introduction, Description, and Discussion

### 3.1.1 Introduction

In 2011 Martin Staehelin presented previously unknown fragments with musical notation that seemed to constitute an instrumental tablature in a hitherto seemingly unknown notational style.<sup>137</sup> These unique fragments originated from the collegiate church of St Cyriacus in Braunschweig (Brunswick) and survived as pastedowns in the binding of its host codex, which is now in the Wolfenbüttel Staatsarchiv (D-Wa cod. VII B Hs Nr. 264). The new discovery consists of two paper folios containing five intabulations of polyphonic secular songs, three of which are incomplete. In his article Staehelin provides a description of the host codex, a first interpretation of the tablature, a black-and-white facsimile of the fragments, and a preliminary transcription of the pieces. He convincingly

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<sup>136</sup> The central research findings in this chapter were published for peer review in February 2014 as a series of posts on my blog site (<http://mlewon.wordpress.com>) and can be accessed directly at Lewon, Marc: “Wolfenbüttel”, <http://mlewon.wordpress.com/category/wolfenbuttel/> (accessed 6.11.2016). An article version of this chapter was published by the request of the Lute Society of America and in coordination with my college supervisor, Elizabeth E. Leach (Lewon, Marc: ‘The Earliest Source for the Lute: The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature’, in: *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 46 (2013) (2017), pp. 1–70 & Plates 1–6). After having reconstructed the missing parts of the three fragmented tablatures, I put all of the arrangements discussed in the present chapter to a practical test by performing them in concerts in the past years. I also introduced them as teaching material and models to my students in the lute intabulation classes at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis in 2015. For the reconstruction and revised playing edition in French tablature notation favouring plectrum technique and including a synoptic transcription, see appendix 7: “A (Re-)Construction of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature-Fragments”, pre-published for peer review in Lewon, Marc: ‘A (Re-)Construction of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature-Fragments’, in: *Quarterly of the Lute Society of America* 51/1 (2016), pp. 12–25. In the course of my practical work with the fragments I undertook a première recording of the arrangements on the plectrum lute, which can be found on the CD Ensemble Dragma et al.: *Kingdom of Heaven – Heinrich Laufenberg*: tracks 2 (“Myn trud gheselle”), 6 (“Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe”), 9 (“Cum lacrimis”), 13 (“Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich”), and 15 (“Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn”).

<sup>137</sup> Staehelin, Martin: ‘Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik um 1460 in Wolfenbüttel’, in: Staehelin, Martin (ed.): *Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 in deutschem Sprachgebiet: Neue Quellen des Spätmittelalters aus Deutschland und der Schweiz* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Neue Folge 15, vol. IX), Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011, pp. 67–88 (text and edition), p. 141–144 (facsimile). I would like to particularly thank Martin Kirnbauer and Crawford Young, who made me aware of this article.

argues that the tablature was intended for the lute by drawing a connection between the notation of the fragments and the so-called Kassel Collum Lutine (or Kasseler Lautenkragen, i.e., “lute neck from Kassel”), which describes the tablature notation for a five-course lute but provides no intabulated piece of music as example. Until Staehelin’s discovery no other notated example of this tablature system had been known.

The Kassel Collum Lutine (D-Kl, 2° Ms. Math. 31, fols. I, II, 1r–v) was first discussed by Christian Meyer in an article of 1994.<sup>138</sup> In 2002 Martin Kirnbauer presented a new reading of this source and in 2003 included his interpretation in a joint publication with Crawford Young, complete with a detailed description, comprehensive analysis, and reduced colour facsimile reproduction.<sup>139</sup> With the emergence of the Wolfenbüttel fragments, the related Kassel Collum Lutine was brought again to attention to help describe a system of intabulation for the lute that predates all known lute tablatures.

Staehelin’s assessment of the Wolfenbüttel fragments, which in passing he calls “Braunschweiger Fragmente” (i.e., “Brunswick Fragments”), leaves plentiful material for further research, corrections, and additional observations, which he actively encourages.<sup>140</sup> His preliminary transcriptions also allow for refinement and elaboration, so that under close inspection one will find the tablatures to be idiomatic solo arrangements of a popular vocal repertoire that had a wide distribution (monophonic and polyphonic secular songs from German sources) for a specific instrument (the five-course lute) and playing technique (plectrum technique). Analysis and performance have shown that the intabulations contain few mistakes and that the arrangements are not only fully

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<sup>138</sup> Meyer, Christian: ‘Eine Lauten-Unterweisung aus dem späten 15. Jahrhundert’, in: *Musik in Bayern* 49 (1994), pp. 25–33.

<sup>139</sup> Kirnbauer, Martin: “‘Possi stampar canto figurado ne intaboladure dorgano et de liuto’ – Zur Problematik früher Instrumentaltabulaturen”, *Ottaviano Petrucci. 1501-2001*, Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 2002 (Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis, 25 (2001)), pp. 159–175. The joint publication is Kirnbauer: ‘*Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature*’.

<sup>140</sup> Staehelin: ‘*Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik*’, p. 71. “[...] der Leser sei freundlich aufgefordert, die Vergleichsrecherchen selbständig zu unternehmen.” (“The reader is encouraged to conduct their own comparative research.”), *Ibid.*, p. 79.

playable on the instrument but also feature signs of an idiomatic and developed style. The settings consist of two voices (in essence: cantus and tenor) but include the occasional chords with three or more notes as well as a contratenor voice that comes and goes—much as in organ tablatures of the time, with which the fragments have more than a fleeting connection.<sup>141</sup> Furthermore, the arrangements provide new and maybe surprising insights into well-known contemporary songs.

The following chapter will provide a detailed discussion of the fragments, their notation, their relationship to the Kassel Collum Lutine, a transcription, and an analysis of the music, including its implications for lute practice, intabulation style, and playing technique.

### **3.1.2 Physical Description of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments<sup>142</sup>**

The fragments (D-Wa cod. VII B Hs Nr. 264, fols. A & B) consist of two partly clipped paper leaves without watermarks of a larger source that was cut up for reuse as binding material. The size of the two folios is approximately 22 x 15.5 cm, and both are stained on the sides as a result of being glued as pastedowns to the inside of the boards of their host codex (i.e., fol. Ar and fol. Bv in modern foliation by Staehelin). They have since been removed from the binding and added as separate pages to the same codex. The fragments do not feature an original foliation, possibly due to the clipping of their top edges. Because their contents do not suggest that they are adjacent folios, their order in their original context cannot be reconstructed. Thus, Staehelin assigned them the more neutral foliation of A and B, rather than numbers.

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<sup>141</sup> It should be self-evident that the term “organ tablature” applies to any music for contemporaneous keyboard instruments.

<sup>142</sup> For a full reproduction of the source, see appendix 5: “The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature”. The information for the description of the fragments is taken from Staehelin: *‘Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik’*, pp. 67–69, where additional information on the host codex can be found.

The host codex—containing the *Statuta Ecclesiae ad Montem Sancti Cyriaci 1483* (the collegiate church’ statutes)—came from the collegiate church of St Cyriacus in Braunschweig and is preserved in the Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv-Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel under the call number VII B Hs. 264. The main body of the codex was written in the collegiate church itself and, according to the decoration of the leather covers, was bound in Braunschweig ca. 1485. The fragments of the lute tablature must have been taken from a more substantial collection because, as stated above, the contents do not suggest they are adjacent folios and the lacunae between them can be estimated to have comprised at least several more pages. Furthermore, they show signs of experienced and professional copying,<sup>143</sup> and the organisation of the tablatures is dense and coherent, which is suggestive of a comprehensive compilation rather than casual jottings. That being said, the ruling of the staves was prepared rather carelessly and without the use a rastrum. The ruling is rough and uneven, but follows a pattern. The stave lines are irregular, overshoot the bounding lines often extending into the margins, and, because they often cave in to one side, were either drawn without a ruler but with a steady hand, or with a flexible material as a ruler. The fragments could have belonged to a source from the collegiate church itself, since a second group of binding material in a sister codex from the same bookbinding workshop features pages from another of the collegiate church’s codices. In any case, they would have come from approximately the same region because the spelling of the incipits that serve as titles to the tablatures is Low German. It is possible that more fragments from this source will come to light in the future, probably as pastedowns in other codices.

Staehelin dates the tablature to ca. 1460 due to the fact that most of the concordances to the pieces can be found in manuscripts between 1450 and 1465, and that

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., p. 84.



they must have been considered outdated by the time the collection was scrapped for binding material in 1485. The Wolfenbüttel fragments would therefore represent the earliest source of music explicitly for the lute in existence and would date from a time when the majority of lute iconography shows the use of a plectrum rather than the fingers to pluck the strings.

### 3.1.3 The Kassel Collum Lutine<sup>144</sup>

The Wolfenbüttel fragments (D-Kl, 2° Ms. Math. 31, fols. Ir–v & 1r–v) comprise the only known example of a notational system described in the Kassel Collum Lutine. The Kassel Collum Lutine in turn “clearly is a technical key to help in writing and deciphering the musical signs of a notation that was intended for the lute”.<sup>145</sup> The original function of the Kassel Collum Lutine was not always this clear. Before the discovery of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, Christian Meyer had no choice but to lament that a practical example of the tablature system outlined in the Kassel Collum Lutine was sadly missing, while Martin Kirnbauer suggested an alternative interpretation that it might have served as a key for lutenists to read contemporaneous German organ tablature.<sup>146</sup>

The Kassel Collum Lutine is a drawing on a single folio-sized paper leaf with the dimensions of 28 x 41 cm that was “originally intended as an independent item which

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<sup>144</sup> For a full reproduction of the source, see appendix 6: “The Kassel Collum Lutine”. The information for the description of the fragments is taken from Kirnbauer: ‘*Frühe Instrumentaltabulaturen*’, and especially Kirnbauer: ‘*Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature*’. See there also for additional information concerning the *Kassel Collum Lutine*.

<sup>145</sup> “[...] das Kasseler Lautenkragen-Blatt ist seiner Funktion nach offenbar ein technischer Schlüssel, der helfen soll, musikalische Zeichen in der hier intendierten lautenmusikalischen Notation zu schreiben oder zu lesen [...]”, (Staehelin: ‘*Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik*’, p. 72.). As Kirnbauer points out, similar representations of lute necks with essential “information for tuning and basic music terms are often seen in manuscripts and prints from the sixteenth century, and they were apparently an important part of lessons on instruments.” Such diagrams were also sold separately, sometimes to surprisingly high prices (Kirnbauer: ‘*Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature*’, p. 188). A recently discovered German lute tablature for the six course lute from the sixteenth century has a very similar lute neck drawing: Wirth, Sigrid and Gerhard Aumüller: ‘Eine Lautenhandschrift des 16. Jahrhunderts im Hessischen Staatsarchiv Marburg’, in: *Die Laute. Jahrbuch der Deutschen Lautengesellschaft* 12 (2017), pp. 1–38, comparison of the two necks on p. 5.

<sup>146</sup> Meyer: ‘*Lauten-Unterweisung*’, p. 33. Kirnbauer: ‘*Frühe Instrumentaltabulaturen*’, pp. 169, 171, and 184; and Kirnbauer: ‘*Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature*’, pp. 179, 186, and 189.

only by chance was later incorporated into the codex”.<sup>147</sup> It contains on one side the inscription “COLLV[M] LVTINE” confined to quarto format, thus confirming that it was kept as a twice-folded single leaf. On the other side it features the partial drawing of a five-course lute with half the body and a complete neck surrounded by notational signs and explanations. At some point, “half of the page was glued onto the front inside cover of the codex and served as a preliminary page. It was removed during the recent restauration [*sic*] of the manuscript and then rejoined, now with the folio-numeration Ir-v & 1r-v.”<sup>148</sup> The paper features an incomplete “ox head” watermark, which, however, cannot be dated or placed any more precisely than to the fifteenth century and the area of Piedmont / Vosges / Upper Rhine, partly because it is now bound to the front of the host codex, and the fold hides some of the details. The codex came to the Kassel library from the nearby Chorherrenstift St Peter in Fritzlar when it was secularised in 1804. It contains a quadrivium compendium with mathematical, astronomical writings and a musical treatise on plainchant. The provenance of Fritzlar is backed by a number of clues, such as a known scribal hand from the town and local names mentioned in the codex. Due to the paper, the handwriting, and the fact that five-course lutes were in use until the beginning of the sixteenth century (although outdated by then), Kirnbauer dates the Kassel Collum Lutine to the second half of the fifteenth century with a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 1500.<sup>149</sup> A colour reproduction of the opening showing the Kassel Collum Lutine (fols. Iv-1r) is given in Kirnbauer’s publication in reduced format. The back half of the leaf, which carries the title “COLLV[M] LUTINE” (fol. 1v) is reproduced in black and white.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Kirnbauer: ‘*Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature*’, p. 175.

<sup>148</sup> According to Kirnbauer the foliation is : “I, II, 1r + v,” Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>149</sup> All of the information pertaining to the *Kassel Collum Lutine* and its host codex are taken from Ibid., pp. 171–204.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., p. 172 and 177.

In the top left column of fol. Iv the Kassel Collum Lutine features a list of signs that are named and provided with written-out examples. These are *singna* [sic] *equ[iv]alencia* (signs for marking alternative fret positions), *suspiria* (semiminim rests that can also function as ties for dotted rhythms), *semitongis* [sic] (signs for chromatic alteration), *cardinalia* (fermata or “pausa” signs), *singna* [sic] *sursum traxionis* (indicating an upstroke pluck), *reincepciones* (repeat signs), *mordante* (ornamented notes), and *concordancie* (two or more notes tied together in chords; for the use of this word in BUX, see p. 60).<sup>151</sup> Some of the multiple examples provided for every symbol demonstrate different manifestations of the same sign (*semitonis*, *mordante*, *concordancie*), while others are clearly repeated to follow a layout pattern (*signa equivalencia*, *suspiria*, *signa sursum traxionis*), in some cases featuring alternative shapes without apparent difference in meaning (*cardinalia*, *reincepciones*), but always with three examples.<sup>152</sup>

The column on the top right of fol. Iv gives a list of mensural notes, starting with the longa and—added later—rests of different values with their corresponding signs. The list omits a sign for the breve. This might be because it would normally appear only in final positions and therefore usually in chords; ergo, these breves would be bound in *concordancie*, which in this system are always connected by stems making breves indistinguishable from longs. The sign for the semibreve is furthermore erroneously named “brevis”, which is probably a scribal error due to the gap in the system: *longa*, [semi-]*brevis*, *minima*, *semiminima*, *tripla*, *fusela*.<sup>153</sup> The rests are provided without





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<sup>151</sup> “The singular spelling of “singna” (instead of “signa”) and “semitongis” (instead of “semitonis”) could be an indication as to the origin and context of the scribe.” (Ibid., p. 178, FN 11). Kirnbauer does not entertain any further thoughts concerning this observation. Assuming scribal error, the ordinary spellings “signa” and “semitonis” will be used henceforth.

<sup>152</sup> A full description, explanation, and contextualisation of the signs can be found in ibid., pp. 179–182.

<sup>153</sup> Kirnbauer suggests that this inconsistency is a special variant of certain tablature notations: “At first glance this could be interpreted as a simple error, but the same “error” occurs in another source, the south German organ source mentioned above (D-Mbs Clm 7755). In that manuscript semiminim, minim, longa

names, but are given with the signs and values of a perfect breve (3 semibreves), a long (6 semibreves), a semibreve, and a minim. The semiminim rests are represented by the above mentioned *suspiria* from the left column.<sup>154</sup> An addition to this column explains the principle of using a clear hierarchy of stems and flags for the short note values in tablature notation as opposed to the custom of using empty and filled note heads in mensural notation:

“Semiminima  in cantu  talis est / In cantu taliß  In lutiß est taliß .

The space below the lute neck is taken up by a tree chart demonstrating the division of tempus perfectum as it is commonly found in treatises on mensural notation. Just as in the column of note values, the level of the breve is omitted with the longa taking its place. Next to the tree chart on the right is another column of *carent semitonis* (a list of chromatic alterations that are seemingly missing on the lute neck) and *claves* (names of clefs, but without the corresponding signs for Gamut, c, f, c', g'). Most of these signs point to classical mensural notation (*cardinalia*, *reincepciones*, note and rest names, the tree chart, and most of the clefs), while others seem to additionally point to the practice of notating top lines in German organ tablature (*suspiria*, *semitonis*, *mordante*). Yet, a few do not only draw a connection to later lute technique and practice (*signa equivalencia*, *signa sursum traxionis*, the label “in lutiß”, and indeed *suspiria* again) but seem to have no parallel in other sources (*concordancie* and the clef on Cfaut).<sup>155</sup> These last two items

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and duplex long are labelled as “Figure organistarum”—missing are semibrevis and brevis—and the corresponding signs for the so-called long and duplex long are in fact the semibrevis and brevis signs.” (Ibid., p. 182).

<sup>154</sup> See ibid., pp. 182-184 for a thorough description.

<sup>155</sup> The term “concordancie” is used in BUX to designate chords (fol. 105v, see also above, p. 60), but the notational signs are unique to the *Kassel Collum Lutine* and the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*. Some similar examples *concordancie*, notes tied by a common stem to represent chords, can be found in the *Wrocław Tablature* (PL-WRu I F 687), the *Tablature of Wolfgang de Novo Domo* (D-Hs ND IV 3225, fol. 13r), and

were the only specific characteristics in the Kassel Collum Lutine of a tablature system that significantly differs from any known specimen until the discovery of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments.

The depiction of the lute itself shows a five-course instrument with nine strings, arranged in four double courses and a single top string. Kirnbauer notes, “The two lowest courses each feature a thicker string on the bass side, thus demonstrating the practice of using octave strings on low [courses].”<sup>156</sup> This arrangement of octavated strings for the lowest courses with the bourdon on the bass side, as well as a single chanterelle—all typical features of the later Renaissance lute—can already be observed in other depictions from the same era, such as a lute on the Portrait of Margaret of York (Louvre, see Figure 0). “It shows very clearly that the course was arranged so that the thumb struck the lower course of the pair first, thus resolving for lutes, and perhaps other fifteenth century instruments, an issue that has long been a matter of some dispute.”<sup>157</sup>

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the *Erlangen Tablature* (D-ERu 554, fol. 127r), but they are employed sparsely and always only refer to notes of the upper and middle voices, never including the tenor, which is always provided in letter notation. Kirnbauer acknowledges that “[...] a clef for Cfaute (c) is also indicated which [...] is not found in any other source” (Ibid., p. 184). Expecting mensural notation to only feature in the monophonic cantus lines of organ tablatures, he attests that the *concordancie* “refer to an element of polyphony” (Ibid., p. 182). Gerle acknowledges the need for alternative fret positions (“equivalencie”). Although he does not provide a name for this phenomenon he does provide a table for what he calls a “letter that provides the same note” (“buchstaben [...] der dy selben stym hat”), see: Gerle, Hans: *Musica vnd Tabulatur / auff die Instrument der kleinen vnd grossen Geygen / auch Lautten*, Nürnberg: Hieronymus Formschneyder, 1546, fol. c2r.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p. 178. Other depictions from the same time confirm the practice of octave strings on the lowest two courses of five-course lutes, e.g.: *Madonna and Child Enthroned* by Giovanni di Piermatteo Boccati, ca. 1455 in the Galleria Nazionale dell’Umbria, Perugia. Even for the later six-course lute of the early sixteenth century octaves were still the rule, as can be seen on numerous depictions, e.g. the intarsia in “Le Château de la Bastie d’Urfé” by Fra Damiano da Bergamo, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (for a discussion and depiction of this intarsia, see Lewon, Marc: “A bundle, a knot, and a bout of strings”, <https://mlewon.wordpress.com/2012/11/01/strings/> (accessed 30.12.2017)) and the famous painting by Hans Holbein the Younger “The Ambassadors”, 1533, now in the National Gallery, London, (for a high-resolution picture, see Google Arts & Culture, <https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/beta/asset/-/bQEWbLB26MG1LA?hl=eng> (accessed 30.12.2017)).

<sup>157</sup> Christopher Page in private correspondence. This dispute, however, receives further fuel with an Italian intarsia lute depiction from the mid-sixteenth century, which clearly shows the octave strings on the bass side of the courses: Lewon, Marc: ‘Some Observations on the 16th-Century Lute: The Intarsia from the Chapel of Le Château de la Bastie d’Urfé’, in: *Quarterly of the Lute Society of America* 52/2/3 (2017), pp. 9–12.



**Figure 0:** Portrait of Margaret of York (Louvre, R.F. 1938-17), after 1477.

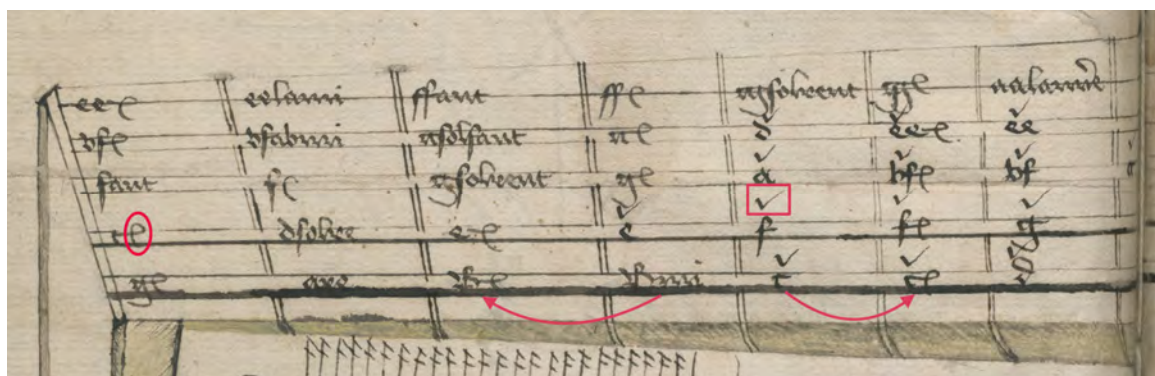
The Kassel Collum Lutine has seven visible frets—an arrangement consistent with the fretting of the lute neck given by Virdung in 1511—but Kirnbauer reports that an 8<sup>th</sup> fret position for the middle course is marked in the fold and a new high-resolution photographic scan of the source I have consulted confirms this.<sup>158</sup>

The lute neck features markings on all fret positions, much like later diagrams of German lute tablature (Figure 1). However, instead of indicating the positions with letters or ciphers they are marked with corresponding pitch names from the Guidonian hand, starting with *Gamut* for the lowest open course (the pitches of the unfretted strings are marked on the instrument's rosette on the far right) and going up through almost the entire hand to *aalamire* on the 7<sup>th</sup> fret of the top string, the first note of the *superacuta*. The inflected pitches are marked with the Latin abbreviation for “-is” in the form of a loop—the diesis sign as it is also used in German organ tablature, where the lower voices are given in letter notation. The only exceptions to this are the already mentioned *signa equivalencia*, which are given as simple note names (f, f-diesis, g, etc.) under an equivalence sign, and the *caerent semitonis*, the positions below the natural mi-fa-places:

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<sup>158</sup> Virdung: *Musica getutscht*, fol. M1v. Virdung also marks an eighth fret position at least for the top string. See appendix 6 for a depiction of the Kassel Collum Lutine with its eighth fret on the middle course. Paulus Paulirinus (1413–after 1471) writes of the lute that it “has five double courses of strings and nine frets on the neck” (Howell, Standley: ‘Paulus Paulirinus of Prague on Musical Instruments’, in: *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 4–6 (1979), pp. 9–36, here p. 16).

b-flat and e-flat. On the Kassel Collum Lutine these positions are unconventionally marked with a diesis sign on the next higher note, implying an alteration downwards rather than upwards. In the letter notation of the lower voices German organ tablature allows for this distinction of an alteration upwards or downwards only for the natural diatonic positions of b-fa (notated as b-rotundum: b) and b-mi (notated as b-quadratum: h). In order to mark the position of e-flat, it uses the pragmatic approach and gives it as d-diesis (d-sharp). The seemingly pedantic approach in the Kassel Collum Lutine, however, has a very practical application when confronted with the examples of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments in mensural notation: since the designation of *musica ficta* relies on only one sign in this tablature system (the downward stem of the *semitonis*), it could be unclear whether a certain note should be raised or lowered.<sup>159</sup> The names on the lute neck solve this problem by marking the positions to which a pitch should be altered when confronted with such a *semitongus*—another point in case that the Kassel Collum Lutine indeed describes the notational system of the Wolfenbüttel fragments and not a special case of German organ tablature. (Ironically, the very first piece in the fragments, “Cum lacrimis”, actually features a rare d-sharp, which therefore had to be written as e-flat in the notation.)



<sup>159</sup> In practice this does not pose a real problem, however, since an altered B or E could not have been raised to B-sharp or E-sharp at the time. The upper voices of the German organ tablatures are confronted with the same problem, albeit only for a single line and not the whole polyphonic setting, as is the case in this lute tablature notation.

**Figure 1:** Kassel Collum Lutine, fol. Iv. Lute neck with pitch names, including diesis signs (circled), *signa equivalencia* (enclosed in the box), and direction of alteration (indicated by arrows).

Because the Kassel Collum Lutine features both a letter notation on the lute neck and explanations for signs of mensural notation akin to the usage in German organ tablature, Kirnbauer concluded that the “information which it gives allows reading music written in both mensural notation and in so-called old German organ tablature on the lute. The page’s terminology and signs refer to reading a mensurally notated upper voice, while the symbols on the fingerboard allow for reading the lower voices in this “organ notation”.<sup>160</sup> On the evidence of the pitches provided for the open strings in the Kassel Collum Lutine, Kirnbauer suggests that “it seems that the instrument on the Kassel page is a large five-course Tenor- or Bass-lute, which would be useful for accompanying a sung or played top part and/or to perform the lower parts (tenor and contratenor) of a piece[. T]he use of pitch names rather than tablature symbols allows the possibility of reading said lower parts in the same manner as in German organ tablature.”<sup>161</sup> He thus connects the concept of the Kassel Collum Lutine with the idea of the fifteenth-century lute duet and the very plausible idea that the intabulations in keyboard sources such as the Buxheimer Orgelbuch (hereafter BUX) and the Lochamer Liederbuch (hereafter LOCH) could have also been performed by a lute duet and may have even been intended for this double usage.<sup>162</sup>

Although these notions are justified and German organ tablatures could indeed be read by lutenists employing a system similar to what was laid out by Kirnbauer in his

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<sup>160</sup> Kirnbauer: ‘*Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature*’, p. 189.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., p. 186.

<sup>162</sup> D-Mbs Cim. 352b (*Buxheimer Orgelbuch*, Munich? ca. 1470); D-B Mus. ms. 40613 (*Lochamer Liederbuch*, Nuremberg ca. 1450). One case in point, which the secondary literature keeps citing as an indication toward alternative performance options for these tablatures, is the annotation for BUX 17, “Jelayamors” (fols. 7r–8r)—“In Cytaris vel etiam In Organis”—that can be interpreted as “suitable to be performed on lutes (possible a lute duet) and on organs.” For further bibliography on the subject, see also: Ibid., p. 189, especially FN 61; and Kirnbauer: ‘*Frühe Instrumentaltablaturen*’, p. 169, especially FN 36.



interpretation of the Kassel Collum Lutine—soloistic or otherwise—the discovery of the Wolfenbüttel fragments has shown that the Kassel Collum Lutine in fact describes a hitherto unknown tablature notation intended for polyphonic solo arrangements on the lute. It clearly borrows elements from German organ tablature but also employs elements unique to later lute tablature notations.

According to Staehelin the scribe of the Wolfenbüttel fragments was clumsy, yet his hand was practised and the notation contains few errors. Therefore, he concludes that this notational system was by no means experimental or individual but that the two sources at hand actually represent the sole surviving testimonies of a notational system for the lute that was more widely spread prior to the advent of German lute tablature. Once established around the beginning of the second half of the fifteenth century (propagated and possibly invented by Conrad Paumann (ca. 1410–1473)) the system of German lute tablature seems to have dominated the transmission of lute music in German-speaking countries.<sup>163</sup> The fact that both sources can be so closely connected, combined with Staehelin’s assessment and the observation that the five-course lute standard belongs firmly in the fifteenth century, puts pressure on the dating of the Kassel Collum Lutine, pushing it back more towards the middle of the century.<sup>164</sup>

Staehelin also notes that a comparable repertoire from northern German lands is missing from this time, since the repertoire of the Wolfenbüttel fragments can only be connected to southern German sources.<sup>165</sup> However, the connection to the Schedelsche Liederbuch (SCHE) via one concordance and an anecdote (see below the sections on “Myn trud gheselle” and “Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe”) that was begun in Leipzig provides a starting point, as do the few organ tablaturs that contain a similar repertoire

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<sup>163</sup> Staehelin: ‘*Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik*’, pp. 77 and 83–84.

<sup>164</sup> Johannes Tinctoris was the first to mention a six-course lute ca. 1480 in his treatise *De inventione et usu musicae* (see Kirnbauer: ‘*Frühe Instrumentaltabulturen*’, pp. 168–169, FN 33).

<sup>165</sup> Staehelin: ‘*Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik*’, pp. 75–76.

from the Low German regions, such as the Winsen Fragment from 1431 (D-B theol.q.290, fols. 56v–58r) and the Tablature of Adam Ileborgh of Stendal from 1448 (Paris, private collection).<sup>166</sup>

### 3.1.4 Arguments for a Lute Tablature

The Wolfenbüttel fragments do not provide any direct indication regarding which instrument they were intended for. At first glance their similarity to organ tablatures seems striking, and Staehelin has pointed out that both systems share a notational language and concept. Both Meyer and Kirnbauer have also helped working towards opening the boundaries between the seemingly independent instrumental worlds of organ and lute, convincingly showing that they share common elements in their notational systems as well as in their stylistic features.<sup>167</sup> Not only do the intabulations in the Wolfenbüttel fragments have a number of shared notational signs in common with organ tablatures, they also present numerous features in the instrumental treatment of preexisting material, which can be linked to typical organ arrangements from the same time, namely, those of BUX and LOCH. Surviving Italian organ tablatures from the fifteenth century even share the concept of purely mensural tablatures—such as the Codex Faenza (I-FZc 117) and the Perugia Fragments (I-PEc MS 3410, 1-2-3-4-5-6). Unlike the latter, however, the notation of the Wolfenbüttel fragments combines all voices into one system, and unlike all of the above it does not depict voice leading and does not feature tactus lines at regular intervals (usually breve or tempus units).

A comparison with the diagrams of the Kassel Collum Lutine answers the most pressing questions surrounding the notation of the Wolfenbüttel fragments: The distinction made in the Kassel Collum Lutine between individual notes and chords

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<sup>166</sup> D-Mbs cgm 810 (Schedelsches Liederbuch, Leipzig/Augsburg/Nuremberg ca. 1460–1470).

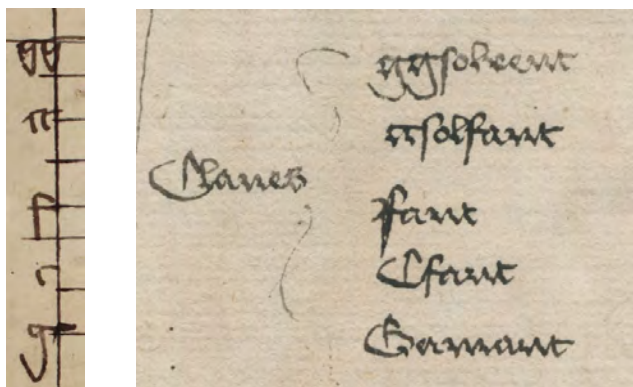
<sup>167</sup> Staehelin: ‘*Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik*’, especially p. 73.

(*concordancie*) makes it clear that the Wolfenbüttel fragments present a notation that neither differentiates between individual voices nor shows voice leading, which is left to the discretion of the players who would discern it by ear from the musical context. Instead it presents—like all later lute tablatures—a notation that only shows the placement of the next note or chord in relation to the preceding one or, in other words, the initial impacts of notes and chords, a notation that I refer to as ‘strike notation’.<sup>168</sup> At first sight the notation appears overwhelmingly confusing and decisions about whether notes are meant to be played together or separately seem difficult. But once it is realised that notes not bound in *concordancie* (i.e., individual notes) are always intended to be played one after another and that chords are always combined with a stem to form *concordancie*, the musical text becomes decipherable.

Another striking feature—the eight-line system—indeed occurs similarly (often with seven lines) in a number of German organ tablatures but usually with only three clefs (f, c’, g’) and never intended for the notation of the tenor, which is always given in the standard letter notation. The only comparable system for organ tablature that combines all voices in a nine-line system, albeit with different colours for different voices and with clear voice leading, can be found in the anonymous composition treatise *Natura delectabilissimum* from ca. 1476 (D-Rp Th. 98, p. 342). It comprises just one line of music and features four clefs (c, f, c’, f’) including the rare case of another Cfaut-clef. When all of the *claves* from the Kassel Collum Lutine are applied—with the lowest resting on the bottom line and the highest on the top line—the result is an eight-line system, which is exactly how the Wolfenbüttel fragments present it (Figures 2 and 3):

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<sup>168</sup> Not to be confused with “stroke notation”, a simplified form of mensural notation working with the concept of adding the basic units of the notation in order to form longer note values, thus enabling musicians not learned in the intricacies of mensural notation to read certain types of it by merely counting its units. See also above, chapter 1.6 on the Latin contrafacta in LOCH.



**Figure 2:** Wolfenbüttel fragments, fol. Av. Clefs from bottom to top: g (= Γ), c, f, cc, gg, and **Figure 3:** Kassel Collum Lutine, fol. Iv. *Claves* from bottom to top: Gamaut, Cfaut, faut, ccsolfaut, ggsolreut

As shown in Figures 2 and 3, the Wolfenbüttel fragments feature an array of five clefs at the beginning of each system (g, c, f, cc, gg), corresponding to the *claves* in the Kassel Collum Lutine (*Gamaut*, *Cfaut*, *faut*, *ccsolfaut*, *ggsolreut*). The clef for the lowest line is slightly misleading in that it is a lowercase ‘g’ instead of a capital ‘G’, or better even, a ‘Γ’ (Gamut). The context, however, clarifies that the ‘g’ stands in lieu of a Gamut, since the next higher octave is represented by lowercase letters, where the same sign (a lowercase ‘g’) would have appeared again. The Wolfenbüttel fragments do not stand alone in this: BUX has a very similar notion for notes below ‘c’ in the letter notation of the lower voices. They are not specifically marked but receive the same letters as in the octave above and must be distinguished by the musical context. Both the position of the unusual Cfaut-clef in a space rather than on a line and the lowercase ‘g’ to represent Gamut add to the confusion of the notation in the Wolfenbüttel fragments and led to a number of misreadings in the first transcription of the tablature by Staehelin.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>169</sup> Staehelin: ‘*Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik*’, pp. 85–88. All the tablatures are transcribed one octave too high, leading Staehelin to observe that the intabulations seem to have been transposed up as compared to the vocal models, possibly in order to stay within the range of the lute (Ibid., pp. 73–74). With the correct reading of the clefs, however, it turns out that, on the contrary, the pitch level of the intabulations appears to be transposed down for reasons that will become apparent later. Furthermore, numerous cases of *Sekundverschreibung* (slips of the pen by the interval of a second) in Staehelin’s transcriptions can be attributed to an editorial misreading the position of the Cfaut clef to an adjacent line rather than the intended space.

One of the most unsettling features of the notation is that it does not seem to provide a specific setting on the fingerboard of the instrument, as is the case with every other known lute tablature system. Instead it gives the impression of pure mensural notation, a “Klangschrift” (sound notation) rather than a “Griffschrift” (notation of fret positions), as Staehelin puts it.<sup>170</sup> Lute tablatures usually work like coordinate systems, where the courses are represented by a range of parallel, horizontal lines while the intended fret positions are indicated on said lines by letters or numbers. German lute tablature has a very different appearance but employs the same system, in essence, combining both the information for the horizontal (which string) and vertical position (which fret) into one symbol that represents both and therefore does not require horizontal lines. These systems do not tell us which finger should be put where, but they convey information on where on the fingerboard the intabulator intended a certain note to be fretted, which is crucial as there often is more than one possibility. However, as Kirnbauer observes, the “principle that the Kassel page shows is in fact not unlike that of German lute tablature: in both systems one sign shows one fret position, whereas in Italian and French tablatures two sign elements are required.”<sup>171</sup> Even more so, since the Kassel Collum Lutine applies unambiguous names rather than signs to the different fret positions, including alternative fret positions for the same note (marked as *signa equivalencia*), the mensural notes of the Wolfenbüttel fragments can be linked to exact positions on the fingerboard. Thus, although the notation appears to be a “Klangschrift”, the key to reading it—by the use of “strike notation” and clearly named fret positions—renders it virtually a “Griffschrift”.

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<sup>170</sup> Staehelin: ‘*Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik*’, p. 71.

<sup>171</sup> Kirnbauer: ‘*Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature*’, p. 188. The appearance of the *Kassel Collum Lutine* alone is another case in point, which seems to fulfil the exact same function as the numerous depictions of lute necks with marked fret positions in the German lute tutors by Virdung, Agricola, Gerle, Newsidler and others.

As will be shown in the transcriptions below, alternative fret positions are needed in a minimum of five places throughout the surviving notation to render settings in the Wolfenbüttel fragments playable. Even though the system appears to allow for their designation using the *signa equivalencia*, the alternative positions are not marked in the surviving notation. This may be because they are rarely necessary and usually fairly obvious in the surviving arrangements. Also, it is hard to imagine how the *signa* could have been applied to the notation, especially for individual notes within chords. It may be that these signs were merely reserved for didactic purposes such as the marking of written-out note names on the lute neck in the lute tutors and not intended for the actual notation. Nevertheless, the application of *equivalencia* in the Kassel Collum Lutine clearly indicates awareness on behalf of the inventor or the scribe that certain notes need to be portrayed in different ‘equivalent’ ways on the lute.

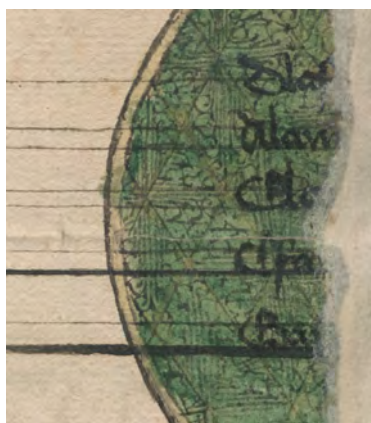
Another aspect strengthens this interpretation: Kirnbauer has noted on several occasions that the “given tuning—Gam(maut), Cfa(ut), Ela(mi), alam(ire), dla(solre)—can be interpreted in two ways: either as the relative interval sequence from low strings to high as fourth, third, fourth and fourth, in other words, the five upper courses of a six-course lute. Alternatively, the tuning gives the sounding pitches G-c-e-a-d1 as the lower five courses of a six-course G-lute.”<sup>172</sup> (See Figure 4 below.) The problem with the second interpretation is the position of the third, which disagrees with the surviving evidence on early lute tunings. Kirnbauer notes, “The noticeable difference with the third course, e instead of f, is difficult to explain for the tuning G-c-f-a-d’ is already given in 1482 by Bartholomé Ramos de Pareja for a five-course lute (“lyra”) in his *De Musica Tractatus sive Musica practica*.”<sup>173</sup> This conundrum can be solved when the low tuning

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid., p. 186, but see also Kirnbauer: ‘*Frühe Instrumentaltabulaturen*’, p. 168. In Kirnbauer d1 = d’.

<sup>173</sup> Kirnbauer: ‘*Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature*’, p. 186. For surviving evidence of lute tunings in the fifteenth century, see also Page, Christopher: ‘The Fifteenth-Century Lute: New and Neglected

with ‘e’ instead of ‘f’ is viewed as the normal set-up for the upper five courses of a bass lute in D: (D)-G-c-e-a-d1. Furthermore, taken literally as sounding pitches, the tuning would result in a very low-pitched instrument, fit for playing the lower parts of a composition in a middle register, as Kirnbauer has also suggested, but entirely uncharacteristic of solo arrangements as they are presented in the Wolfenbüttel fragments.



**Figure 4:** Kassel Collum Lutine, fol. Iv.  
Tuning of the open strings from bottom to top: Gam[aut], Cfa[ut], Ela[mi], alam[ire], dlas[olre].

It appears that Kirnbauer’s first assumption was correct: the note names of the open strings in the Kassel Collum Lutine must refer to the relative intervals of the courses, while the lowest possible note on the instrument was simply named ‘Gamaut’ regardless of the actual pitch level of the instrument. The same interpretation may apply for the Ramos-tuning and such a practice can also be traced back to the three *vielle* tunings given by Hieronymus de Moravia in his *Tractatus de Musica* (F-Pn lat. 16663, fols. 93v–94r; early 14<sup>th</sup> century), where the string tuned to the lowest pitch is always labeled as ‘T’ (Gamut), despite the fact that no string on a *vielle* played in the customary *da braccio* style of his time could have sounded anywhere near a pitch level that for a singer would have been associated with a Gamut—even when assuming a wide and

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Sources’, in: *Early Music* 9 (1981), pp. 11–21, Young, Crawford: ‘Lute, gittern, & citole’, in: Duffin, Ross W. (ed.): *A Performer’s Guide to Medieval Music*, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000, pp. 355–375, p. 359–361, and Young, Crawford: ‘Tablature before 1400? Reflections on Lute-specific Notation and Boethian Roots’, in: *Quarterly of the Lute Society of America* 52/1 (2017), pp. 6–12.

flexible range of pitch standards at the time. Despite the vague idea of pitch levels in an era without standardisation, Gamut would have been associated with one of the lowest singable notes.

The resulting tuning fits the evidence neatly: the later system of German lute tablature clearly supports the idea that the lowest course—the sixth—was added last and without which would leave us with a five-course lute that was standard for much of the fifteenth century. The five-course instrument would have had its lowest string at a pitch around c or d, thus sounding a fourth or fifth higher than notated. The notation of the Wolfenbüttel fragments thus turns out to be transposed with regard to the sounding pitch of the instrument.<sup>174</sup> This does not necessarily mean that players themselves were expected to transpose when reading the tablature but rather would have learned the note names on their instrument, starting with Gamut on the lowest string, and then played the already transposed tablatures. Since the tablatures appear to be transposed down in relation to the notation of the intabulated songs in the parallel sources (see FN 169), these transpositions would cancel each other out, resulting in the tablatures sounding at the original pitch of the songs in performance. The synoptic editions of the tablatures below will exemplify this process more clearly.

It is possible that the use of the lowest note, Gamut, for the open fifth course in the tablature system of the Kassel Collum Lutine and the Wolfenbüttel fragments could have been instrumental in its ultimate demise: the system was not open for changes in the setup of the lute—such as an added sixth course—without the necessity of redesigning the whole system. A new lowest course would have resulted in at least a nine-line system and a transposition of all other courses to accommodate the new Gamut. As a result,

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<sup>174</sup> This is not restricted to the lute. Lorenz Welker showed that the *alta capella* customarily transposed up by a fifth with respect to mensurally notated polyphonic music, see Welker, Lorenz: “‘Alta capella’. Zur Ensemblepraxis der Blasinstrumente im 15. Jahrhundert”, in: *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 7 (1983), pp. 119–165, here pp. 129 and 142. For a similar argument involving *bassa* instruments, see Boeke: ‘*Agricola and the “Basevi Codex”*’.



everybody who had learned to read this system would have to relearn it, and all lute neck drawings would have been rendered null and void.

Since the note names on the lute neck in the Kassel Collum Lutine likely do not represent sounding pitch, they move another step closer to the concept of fret positions and away from a “Klangschrift”, confirming that this notation indeed is a lute tablature. It is probably needless to say that at no point is there a note placed below the pitch of Gamut in the Wolfenbüttel fragments, a fact that would have seriously compromised the argument in favour of a pure lute tablature system and render that note unplayable without a scordatura tuning. On the contrary, when played on a five-course lute with the third placed between the second and third course (e.g., the upper five courses of a lute in G: c-f-a-d'-g' or, probably more common in the fifteenth century, in A: d-g-b-d'-a') it turns out that every note and chord of the tablature is playable without much effort as will be shown by the transcriptions below into French lute tablature, a system that assigns clear fret positions. This is another strong point in favour of attributing the tablature to the lute, since not every imaginable chord that uses notes from the tessitura of the instrument can actually be played on it. This contrasts with the lute tablature by Sebastian Virdung, which presents the player with a multiplicity of impossible fingerings where multiple notes are meant to be played simultaneously on the same string and which therefore is not practical for performance—though it may be argued that Virdung merely tried to show the first steps in an intabulation process, leaving out the subsequent steps of conflating the rhythms and employing alternative fret positions for impossible fingerings.<sup>175</sup>

Two more signs from the Kassel Collum Lutine can be found in the Wolfenbüttel fragments, establishing the relationship between the two sources even further: one case of

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<sup>175</sup> Virdung: *Musica getutscht*, fols. M3v–M4r. Even if Virdung is allowed some indulgence, one can still understand Schlick's criticism of his failed attempt: see: Lenneberg, Hans H.: 'The critic criticized: Sebastian Virdung and his controversy with Arnold Schlick', in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 10 (1957), pp. 1–6. See also above, p. 56, and FN 83.

a *cardinalis* (fol. Bv) and two instances of *reincepciones* (fols. Ar and Br), which are very similar in shape to their equivalents in the Kassel Collum Lutine.

Putting aside the evidence of the Kassel Collum Lutine, one could make the argument that the Wolfenbüttel fragments could have been meant to be played at pitch using a standard six-course lute in G—after all, it starts with a low G and was the standard lute from the beginning of the sixteenth century. However, as has been shown above, this would result in a slightly different internal setup of the lute strings, and although most of the surviving notation in the Wolfenbüttel fragments would be rendered performable, three chords in the intabulation of “Cum lacrimis” (A, c-sharp, e, a [original]—e, g-sharp, b, e’ [transposed]—in bars 55, 56, and 60 of the transcription below) would be unplayable. Additionally, the top string would be almost unnecessary because hardly any of the intabulations would touch it. This would be very unidiomatic because the “quintsait” (“fifth string”, as the highest string was named in later German lute tutors: more evidence for the notion of an early five-course standard) had the brightest sound and was amply used in lute arrangements.<sup>176</sup>

The presented evidence shows that the Wolfenbüttel fragments constitute the unique examples in a notational system that is laid out in the Kassel Collum Lutine and thus were clearly meant for the lute rather than another instrument (which does not mean that they cannot be played on other instruments such as keyboard instruments or the harp). It also shows more specifically that the intended instrument was a five-course lute set up like the upper five courses of the (later) six-course lute with the highest course probably tuned to the pitch a’. The piece-by-piece transcription and analysis below will seek to answer questions concerning tuning and transposition, and furthermore show that

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<sup>176</sup> “The open strings are designated by the numbers 1 to 5 from the lowest to the highest, the highest sounding course significantly referred to as the “quintsait” even after more strings had been added to the instrument.” (Minamino, Hiroyuki: ‘Conrad Paumann and the evolution of solo lute practice in the fifteenth century’, in: *Journal of Musicological Research* 6 (1986), pp. 291–310, here pp. 299–300.)

the intabulations are not only idiomatic for this instrument but that they also concur with a playing style that was still the standard in the mid-fifteenth century, which suggests that this source could have been intended for performance using a plectrum.

It should not be surprising to find that not all of the signs laid out in the Kassel Collum Lutine are also found in the Wolfenbüttel fragments. Some of these signs (*suspiria*, *mordante*, the note value of the *tripla*, and all the rests) may simply not have been needed for the intabulations at hand; others (*signa equivalencia*, *signa sursum traxionis*), however, are particularly idiomatic for the lute, and one can only muse about why they were not used (see above p. 120). Furthermore, some of the signs found in both sources (*cardinalia*, *reincepciones*, *semitonis*) have slightly differing though recognisable shapes, and it may be worth noting that, just like in German organ tablatures, not all of the necessary chromatic alterations are actually marked (as will be shown in the transcriptions below), especially in extensive fusela-runs of the cantus line. The application of cadence ficta was expected as part of the ‘Spielvorgang’ (the inherently unwritten practice of a “playing-process”, see below FN 88 of this study) and therefore as part of the performance and might not have been required to be explicitly notated in every case.<sup>177</sup>

On the other hand, all of the signs in the Wolfenbüttel fragments are also explained in the Kassel Collum Lutine—with one exception: the Kassel Collum Lutine is missing one vital symbol that is featured in the fragments, namely, a way to mark chromatic alteration for notes bound in chords. It may have been forgotten and thus excluded from the lists. The way to mark musica ficta for single lines was taken over from German organ tablature, and in the Kassel Collum Lutine it consists of a downward

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<sup>177</sup> An organ treatise from the fifteenth century (D-Mbs Cgm 811) tells us “that a semitone needs to always be touched before a pausa on d or g.” (“3a regula, quod semper semitonus est tangendus ante pausam d vel g.” Göllner: ‘*Spielanweisung*’, here p. 75.) See also the discussion on notated musica ficta in organ tablatures above, p. 83, and FN 118.

stem from the note in question (the Wolfenbüttel fragments feature an additional slightly tilted dash crossing the downward stem, thus visually amplifying the sign). This principle cannot be applied to *concordancie*, since a (crossed) downward stem would be too unspecific, either suggesting that all of the notes in the chord should be altered or leaving the matter undecided as to which notes are meant. The solution in the Wolfenbüttel fragments is elegant and simple: since the note heads in the *concordancie* consist merely of short parallel lines to the left of the combining stem, the scribe used the empty space to the right of the stem to add identical lines (I refer to these as “double note heads” below) to those notes that needed to be altered (Figure 5).



**Figure 5:** Wolfenbüttel fragments, fol. Ar. Chromatic alterations in *concordancie* (second note heads to the right of the shared stem)

As has been shown, the identification of the Wolfenbüttel fragments as a five-course lute tablature does not solely rely on confirmation from the Kassel Collum Lutine either. The use of “strike notation” (which cannot be found in any of the organ tablatures, but which is the standard in all systems of lute tablature), the fact that all voices of the arrangement are condensed into one system (which is extremely rare in organ tablatures but again to be found in every other lute tablature), the idiomatic lutenistic character of the arrangements and fingerings (laid out below), and the observation that every note in the source lies within the tessitura of the five-course lute and every chord is playable on

the instrument, complete the picture to prove without reasonable doubt that the Wolfenbüttel fragments indeed are lute tablatures.

The minor differences between the Kassel Collum Lutine and the Wolfenbüttel fragments (which therefore likely were not directly connected) only support Staehelin's notion that this tablature system was a mature and widespread tool, susceptible to change and adaptation, rather than an individual, experimental, and isolated case of a transcription for an instrument.<sup>178</sup> Or to put it in other words, the diversity of this notational system between different sources is proof of a living practice and directly indicates that it might have been more common in the fifteenth century than the scarce sources imply. The evidently more widespread German organ tablature in its coherent corpus of parallel sources displays a comparable range of variations in layout and use of signs in such as sources as BUX, LOCH, the Ileborgh Tablature, the Windsheim Fragment, and many more.<sup>179</sup>

### 3.1.5 The Wolfenbüttel Fragments and Organ Tablature: Sharing a Musical Language

Meyer, Kirnbauer, and Staehelin have repeatedly emphasised that a majority of the signs employed in this tablature system are similar or identical to the signs of German organ

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<sup>178</sup> Staehelin furthermore points out that even though the provenance of both sources is the Nether German region, Braunschweig and Fritzlar are geographically far enough apart (about 180 km) to assume that they were written independently from one another: see Staehelin: '*Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik*', pp. 83–84. "Diese Einsicht schwächt jeden Gedanken etwa der Art, daß in den Braunschweiger Fragmenten eine bloß individuell-experimentelle und einzelfall-bedingte Umschrift vorgelegen haben könnte [...]" (Ibid., p. 83); see also FN 163 of the present study.

<sup>179</sup> For a comprehensive list, see Caldwell: '*Sources of Keyboard Music to 1660*'; as well as Apel, Willi (ed.): *Keyboard Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, 1998 (Corpus of Early Keyboard Music 1), Rome: Hänssler Verlag, 1963 for an edition of the majority of these sources. Updated lists with new tablature finds, totalling to approximately 30 sources by now, are in Staehelin, Martin: 'Die Orgeltablatur des Ludolf Bödeker. Eine unbekannte Quelle zur Orgelmusik des mittleren 15. Jahrhunderts', in: *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 5 (1996), pp. 17–18, Göllner, Theodor: 'Die Tactuslehre in den deutschen Orgelquellen des 15. Jahrhunderts', in: Göllner, Theodor and Werner Braun (eds.): *Deutsche Musiktheorie des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts. Erster Teil: Von Paumann bis Calvisius* (Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie 8), Darmstadt 2003, pp. 1–68 and Aringer, Klaus: 'Ein unbekanntes Orgeltablatur-Fragment des 15. Jahrhunderts in der Erzabtei St. Peter (Salzburg)', in: *Die Musikforschung* 59/4 (2006), pp. 357–363.

tablature. It is obvious that this well-established notation for keyboard instruments provided symbols that were adapted to accommodate the necessities of this lute tablature notation. Therefore, both share a common ground. This observation adds to the mounting evidence towards a shared instrumental language in the fifteenth century for instruments on which solo polyphonic performance was possible, namely the organ (as a pars pro toto for keyboard instruments), the harp, and the lute. Conrad Paumann himself must have been proficient on all three as his tombstone in the Church of Our Lady in Munich bears witness as well as his alleged invention of German lute tablature, which apparently was to supersede the earlier lute tablature of the Kassel Collum Lutine and the Wolfenbüttel fragments.<sup>180</sup> It is only logical to assume that also the musical and notational styles were shared—of course always allowing for the necessary adjustments to the possibilities, idiomatic aspects, and constraints of the respective instruments.

When the lute first made an appearance as an instrument for polyphonic solo arrangements in mid-fifteenth-century central Europe, the organ could already look back on well more than a century of polyphonic extemporisation and a documented practice of instrumental arrangement of vocal music. It therefore seems plausible for the early solo lute repertoire to have been oriented on the example of organ intabulations, especially since the first prominent arrangers of solo lute pieces themselves were also organists. The exchange between solo lute and organ practice must have been particularly fruitful, the

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<sup>180</sup> The first source crediting Pauman with the invention of the German lute tablature is Sebastian Virdung in his *Musica getutscht* (fol. K4v). For a summary on Conrad Paumann, see ‘Paumann, Conrad | Grove Music’, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000021114> (accessed 30.12.2017). For a more in-depth discussion, see also: Lewon: ‘*Auf die [...] grossen unnd kleinen Geygen / auch Lautten*’. On his tombstone Conrad Paumann is depicted in the tradition of Lady Music, playing the organetto and surrounded by a plethora of musical instruments, a tradition that can be traced from the famous depiction of “Musica instrumentalis” in the Florentine Notre Dame manuscript (I-FI Pluteus 29.1, fol. 1v) via the Frauenlob miniature in Codex Manesse (D-HEu cpg 848, fol. 399r)—both still with the fiddle as the “queen of instruments”—right up to the portraits of Francesco Landini and Giovanni Mazzuoli in the Squarcialupi Codex (I-FI Med. Pal. 87, fol. 121v and fol. 195v). For an analysis and depiction of this tradition, see the blog entry Lewon, Marc: “Here’s looking at miniatures: Master Frauenlob and Lady Music”, <https://mlewon.wordpress.com/2012/11/05/frauenlob-miniature/> (accessed 30.12.2017).

former usually taking from the latter, and can be traced well into the sixteenth century, when Hans Newsidler states in the first part of his 1536 lute tutor “for the beginning student” (“für die anfähenden Schuler”) that his arrangements were “set in the manner of the lute and the organ”, which is to say “decorated with short runs and figures”.<sup>181</sup> And his comment to the second part bears more than a hint pointing to the leading role of organ practice even in this time: “Fancies, preludes, psalms, and motets, which were held in highest esteem by the most illustrious and best of organists, are here transformed with particular diligence in the organistic manner and ornamented for the proficient and experienced in this art and presented for the lute.”<sup>182</sup>

The earliest extant examples of lute music in the Wolfenbüttel fragments were consequently approached in much the same way as the organ intabulations from the same time: the largely two-voice structure of the intabulations, which is only expanded to a fuller texture when idiomatically suitable, the opening pickup gestures, the cadential ornamentation of the cantus line, the rhythmic play between cantus and tenor, and the occasional bursts of *fuselae* all bear a semblance to arrangements in BUX and LOCH. However, the influence between organ practice and notation and that of the lute, particularly the notational system of the Wolfenbüttel fragments, might not have moved in one direction only: it has long been surmised that the early keyboard tablatures were also suitable for performance on other instruments with the lute taking the lead. The oft-quoted colophon to BUX 17 “In Cytaris vel etiam In Organis”, might hint at the possibility

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<sup>181</sup> “[...] nach Lutanistischer vnd auch Organistischer art [...] gesetzt,” and “mit leufflein vnd Coloraturen gezyret” (Newsidler, Hans: *Ein Newgeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch / In zwen theyl getheylt. Der erst für die anfähenden Schuler / die aus rechter kunst und grundt nach der Tabulatur / sich one einichen Meyster darin zuißen haben*, Nürnberg: Johann Petreius, 1536, fol. aiii<sup>r</sup>). Noteworthy is the obvious orientation of the art of lute ornamentation to that practiced by organists.

<sup>182</sup> “Fantaseyen / Preambeln / Psalmen vnd Muteten / die von den Hochberümbten vnd besten Organisten / als einen schatz gehalten / die sein mit sonderm fleyß auff die Organistisch art gemacht vnd coloriert / für die geübten vnnd erfarnen dieser kunst / auff die Lauten dargeben.” (Newsidler, Hans: *Ein newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch. Der ander theil des Lautenbuchs*, Nürnberg: Johann Petreius, 1536, fol. A1r.) For the transfer from organ to lute technique, possibly initiated by Conrad Paumann, see also Minamino: ‘*Paumann and solo lute practice*’, p. 297.

that a performance of this arrangement (and others like it) was intended for the lute just as much as it was for the organ.<sup>183</sup>

Since both the newly found Wolfenbüttel fragments and the tablature system itself—which is explained in the Kassel Collum Lutine—do not yet have official names, I propose the following terminology: the tablature fragments D-Wa cod. VII B Hs Nr. 264, fols. A & B are to be summarised under the name Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature (English) / Wolfenbütteler Lautentabulatur (German) and abbreviated as WOLFT. The notation of the tablature system receives a name combining the two currently known sources with this notation: “Kassel-Wolfenbüttel Tablature System” (English) / “Kassel-Wolfenbütteler Tabulatursystem” (German).

### 3.1.6 The Contents of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature

The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature (WOLFT) features five polyphonic intabulations of secular songs, three of them incomplete due to the fragmented nature of the source. All of them can be found in concordant sources of the time as monophonic or polyphonic songs or in arrangements for keyboard instruments. The concordances are comprehensively listed in Fallows’s *Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*.<sup>184</sup> I have kept Staehelin’s foliation for the fragments (fols. A & B), but for convenience’s sake I introduced a continuous numbering for the pieces (WOLFT 1–5), aware of the fact that the order of folios A and B

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<sup>183</sup> See especially: Young, Robert Crawford and Martin Kirnbauer: *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early lute tablatures in facsimile*, ed. by Thomas Drescher (Pratica Musicale 6), Winterthur/Schweiz: Amadeus, 2003, p. 12, FN 10 as well as for Kirnbauer’s suggestion of performance with a lute duet: see FN 162 of the present study. “Another interpretation could see the subtitle as a reference to Genesis 4:21 – “et nomen fratris eius Iubal ipse fuit pater canentium cithara et organo,” “and his brother’s name was Jubal, he was the father of all who play on strings and wind instruments” (i.e., of all musicians) – by way of praising Binchois [the composer of the model of BUX 17, “Je loe amours”] as the greatest master of music.” (Young, Crawford: ‘The King of Spain “una bassadanza troppo forte”’, in: *Lute Society of America Quarterly XLVIII/No. 1&2* (2013), pp. 40–61, p. 47.) This interpretation would also fit the depiction that shows the two most famous composers of their time facing each other and holding one of the possible translations of “cytara” in the fifteenth century—a harp—(Binchois) and the other one with an organ (Dufay): see F-Pn fr.12476, Martin le Franc’s *Le champion des dames*, fol. 98r.

<sup>184</sup> Fallows, David: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.



could have been reversed in the original source and that there will probably have been a significant gap between WOLFT 2 and WOLFT 3:

1. **Cum lacrimis** (WOLFT 1, fol. Ar–Av): End of the *secunda pars* and the entire *tertia pars* (marked “3a pars Cum lacrimis”) of an intabulation of Johannes Ciconia’s ballata “Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso”, which cannot only be found several times in song collections but also in reworked tablature settings, four times in BUX and once in LOCH (Fallows, p. 509).
2. **Myn trud gheselle** (WOLFT 2, fol. Av): *Prima pars* of the German song “Mein traut geselle”, which can be found in LOCH and BUX in almost identical three-voice settings but differing from WOLFT (Fallows, pp. 467–468).
3. **Gruß sene[n] Ich im hertzen traghe** (WOLFT 3, fol. Bv): Complete tablature of “Groß senen”, which survives as a three-part song in SCHE (Fallows, p. 444).
4. **Ich fare do hyn we[n] eß muß syn** (WOLFT 4, fol. Bv): Complete tablature of “Ich far dahin”, which is otherwise only transmitted as a monophonic song in LOCH and as a quotation in two quodlibets from the Glogauer Liederbuch [hereafter GLOG] (Fallows, p. 449).<sup>185</sup>
5. **Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich** (WOLFT 5, fol. Bv): Beginning measures of “Elend du hast umfangen mich”, which only survives in a monophonic version in LOCH and has a number of organ intabulations: one in LOCH and six in BUX (Fallows, p. 434; the “new setting of similar T” on p. 435 concerns a different melody and has no connection to the arrangement at hand).

These five tablatures will be presented over the next five sections in diplomatic transcriptions, polyphonic and synoptic editions and will be converted to French tablature notation with additional new information that feeds back into our understanding of the process of intabulation as well as of the model songs. The facsimile reproductions are in appendix 5. The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to additional findings on the early lute idiom and the notation of the fragments. The analyses will frequently refer to and contextualise details found in the Kassel Collum Lutine.

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<sup>185</sup> PL-Kj Mus. 40098 (*Glogauer Liederbuch*, monastery of Sagan in Silesia ca. 1480).

The first step in the editorial process is a partial diplomatic transcription in which the eight-line system, the clefs, the absence of tactus lines, the layout of the notes on the system, and the arrangement of the musical lines are retained, whereas the notational symbols and musica ficta signs are transcribed to modern equivalents with halved values (long/breve = whole note, [semi]breve = half note, minim = quarter note, semiminim = eighth note, fusela = sixteenth note). This is to monitor and verify the reading of the original text. All apparent mistakes in the notation are marked with an asterisk (\*) and annotated.

The next step is a polyphonic transcription of the musical text into modern notation, separating the individual voices and reconstructing the voice leading. Simultaneously, the score is transposed up by a fifth in order to raise it to sounding pitch when assuming a five-course lute in nominal A tuning. The surprising result is that three out of the five tablatures end up at the same pitch as their concordances (WOLFT 2: “Myn trud gheselle”, WOLFT 3: “Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe”, WOLFT 5: “Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich”), while the concordances to “Cum lacrimis” (WOLFT 1) are higher by a third; the pitch level of the concordance of “Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn” (WOLFT 4) in LOCH remains unclear due to the lack of a clef, but appears to have been intended a fourth lower. It seems that in the cases of these last two tablatures the arrangements were simply placed in a more comfortable range on the instrument.

The transposition of the Wolfenbüttel notation to a proposed sounding pitch results in requiring an f-sharp accidental for all systems where there is none in the original. This can look paradoxical when the tablature uses flat signs to cancel out the prescribed accidental. The resulting natural sign, however, stands in place of a b-flat in the untransposed tablature, and one should keep in mind that WOLFT is essentially a “Griffsschrift”, showing positions on an instrument that are not necessarily tuned to the

pitches the notation seems to indicate, even if it has the appearance of a notation providing absolute pitches.

In the final step of the editorial process the polyphonic transcription is combined with a transcription of the respective song from a concordant source into a synoptic edition in order to facilitate the comparison of the model and its reworking. Of the two songs that are transmitted at a different pitch level, one is transposed to the reconstructed sounding pitch of the tablature (WOLFT 1), while the tablature for the other (WOLFT 4) is transposed down a fourth. The tenor line, the most stable voice part in these reworkings, is presented in black notes on the lower staves with note stems pointed down throughout, again facilitating comparison; the contratenors are presented on the same staves in grey with note stems up.

Most of the necessary chromatic alterations in WOLFT are marked in the manuscript. A number of necessary and other likely alterations of individual notes, however, were not notated and in the following transcriptions are written above the corresponding notes, thus marking them as suggestions by the editor.

In order to visualise how the tablatures of WOLFT sit on a five-course lute and in order to put them to the practical test, I chose to transfer them to a tablature notation that makes the fingerings graphically visible (in this case the already mentioned French tablature). To facilitate the identification of voice leading, I also added lines to indicate the duration of sustained notes. In most cases the transfer was straightforward using the standard fingering positions. Very rarely, however, *equivalencia* need to be applied to render a certain chord playable. These instances are easy to spot in the tablature for the trained eye, but I also point them out in the accompanying text. Occasionally, the use of *equivalencia* might be advisable in order to make a fingering more comfortable or to support voice leading. The chords generally tend to fall on adjacent courses, thus making it easy to play them not only by plucking with the fingers but also by strumming them

with a finger, thumb, or plectrum. In a few cases, the natural fret positions would result in ‘split chords’, meaning that the player would have to bridge an intermediate string that is not part of the chord. This is of course easy enough when plucking the strings with fingers. However, when using a plectrum or a technique employing something between finger and plectrum playing, as is suggested by the overwhelming presence of idiomatic left-hand fingerings in the tablatures, these chords can usually be realised by either muting the intermediate string, by fretting it (adding a note that is not in the tablature), or by using an equivalent position.<sup>186</sup>

## 3.2 The Transcriptions

### 3.2.1 WOLFT 1: Cum lacrimis

On fols. Ar–Av WOLFT contains the second half of a lute arrangement of Johannes Ciconia’s two-voice ballata “Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso”, “the most widely transmitted of Ciconia’s secular works”, with a text by Leonardo Giustinian.<sup>187</sup> It is a lament on the death of Francesco Carrara, who died in 1393 while a prisoner of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in Pavia and who was buried in Padua.

Since the beginning of the arrangement in WOLFT is missing, having once stood on the now lost verso page of an original opening, it is by sheer luck that the Latinised incipit to this arrangement has survived: it was repeated with the caption to its third part as “3a pars Cum lacrimis”. The numerous concordances, according to Fallows’s *Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, also include four intabulations in BUX (BUX. 38, 137,

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<sup>186</sup> I have made use of all these possibilities in the première recording of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature (see FN 136 above). But since this is a matter of personal arrangement and technique, I did not give these alternative fingerings in the transcriptions.

<sup>187</sup> Bent, Margaret and Anne Hallmark (eds.): *The Works of Johannes Ciconia* (Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 24), Monaco: Éditions de L’oiseau-lyre, 1985, p. 120.

138, 139) and one in LOCH (LOCH 73).<sup>188</sup> Apparently, this Italian composition was popular in German-speaking lands, particularly as an instrumental arrangement. This is surprising, because the contrapuntal effects of the song, which draw heavily on aesthetics from the bygone Trecento era, appear to be particularly idiomatic for a vocal interpretation and do not seem to lend themselves easily to performance on a solo instrument. The slow hocket passages where the voices take turns singing short phrases against one another, while not particularly idiomatic to keyboard practice (see above, chapter 2.2.7), do work well on the lute, where dynamics and alternate fret positions enable a distinction between the voices. These hockets must have had a certain appeal, especially when performed as a question-and-answer game, resulting in a kind of “alternating monophony”—a technique that, again, suits the plectrum lute.

There might yet have been a non-musical reason responsible for the popularity of “Con lagrime” as a keyboard intabulation in German sources:<sup>189</sup> Hermann Poll, a medical doctor from Vienna who had “completed his wide-ranging studies in Pavia in the 1390s—the place and time of Gian Galeazzo Visconti’s musical patronage—and in 1400 became the physician of the new German king, Ruprecht of the Palatine” in Heidelberg, was credited in 1397 with the invention of the *clavicembalum*. “At this time, not only the political tensions, but also the cultural connections between the Carrara dynasty of Padua and the Visconti of Lombardy focused precisely on the alliance with or against the German king, who was preparing to campaign in northern Italy.” A campaign eventually took place in 1401 in which, incidentally, the young Oswald von Wolkenstein was also to be involved. After having been convicted of attempting to poison the king, Poll “was executed in Nuremberg in 1401, leaving behind the memory of ‘an outstanding physician,

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<sup>188</sup> Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, p. 509. See also above, chapter 2.2.7.

<sup>189</sup> For the citations in the following paragraph, see Strohm: *Rise*, p. 92–93, who is also to be credited for pointing out this possible connection (private communication).

handsome, well-mannered, 31-year-old master of arts, very literate and a doctor of medicine, an excellent musician on the organ and other musical instruments’.”

The keyboard player and inventor Hermann Poll was in the right place at the right time and with the right instrument at his disposal to take on the keyboard arrangement of a highly topical composition. His subsequent travels to Heidelberg and Nuremberg, despite his short-lived career and tragic end, might have been the main cause for a piece in a slightly outdated style to be so firmly implanted in the German instrumental repertoire of the fifteenth century.

Most of the tablatures for this song add a third voice to the two-part texture, thus changing the sound of the setting significantly in an attempt to adapt it to the aesthetics of fifteenth-century counterpoint, which includes the principle of *horror vacui*: a fear of gaps and emptiness in an arrangement that is filled with additional sonorities, flourishes, ornaments and runs.<sup>190</sup> The version in WOLFT covers a middle ground between the original and the versions extant in German organ tablatures by mainly keeping the two-voice structure while occasionally adding full chords—probably partly to enrich the fabric of the setting and partly due to technical reasons, namely to bridge over intermediate courses in order to enable the strumming of chords with one stroke of thumb or plectrum. It is interesting to note that the arrangement in WOLFT is divided into three formal units while the original chanson has only two. Most of the organ intabulations agree with this tripartite form created by subdividing the first formal unit of the model after the 18<sup>th</sup> breve (or tempus). Even though only the latter half of the piece survives here, one can safely assume that the version in WOLFT did the same for the division of *prima* and *secunda pars*. It is unique, however, in having a repetition sign after the *secunda pars*. The question of whether only the *secunda pars* was meant to be repeated or the *prima*

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<sup>190</sup> For the principle of *horror vacui* particularly at work in keyboard arrangements, see *ibid.*, p. 124.

*pars* as well (the only part that is repeated in some of the other organ tablatures (BUX 137 and 138)) must remain unresolved. The ballata form asks for a repetition of the B section and subsequent twofold repetition of the A section (i.e., *prima* and *secunda pars* in WOLFT). Since the B section does not feature a repetition sign in any of the tablatures (including WOLFT), it seems fairly certain that the original form was abandoned for the instrumental arrangement—a characteristic that can be regularly observed in reworkings of *forme fixe* chansons, be it instrumental (e.g., the organ tablatures such as in Codex Faenza, BUX, and LOCH) or as songs (e.g., the *contrafacta* by Oswald von Wolkenstein).<sup>191</sup>

Despite the presence of glue stains, the surviving notation is clearly decipherable in the colour scan (see appendix 5). A partially diplomatic transcription (Figure 6a) in which the manuscript's spacing of the notes is enhanced reveals the nature of the strike notation typical for lute tablatures (see above p. 116). This piece is the one in WOLFT that features the most mistakes and scribal corrections, all of which are marked in the diplomatic transcription below: in the middle of the second line of fol. Ar, a *concordancia* with four notes has an erroneous ficta sign, indicating that a b-natural should be altered to b-flat although the b-natural would have been correct. At the end of the same line, two chromatic alterations appear to have been crossed out, although the first one is probably correct. The third and fourth lines feature three more notes that have a wrong note value. Towards the end of the third line, one note and a ficta sign in a *concordancia* appear to have been scratched out, even though the deleted note would have created a feasible harmony. Apparently, the scribe accidentally started to write this *concordancia* a line too low (a typical case of 'Terzverschreibung'—slip of the pen by one line or space and

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<sup>191</sup> For an overview of Oswald's *contrafacta*, see Lewon, Marc: "Oswald von Wolkenstein: Die mehrstimmigen Lieder," in: Müller, Ulrich und Margarete Springeth (eds.): *Oswald von Wolkenstein. Leben – Werk – Rezeption*, Berlin/New York (Walter de Gruyter) 2011, pp. 168–191, especially pp. 177–182.

therefore by the interval of a third), then realised his mistake and replaced the note heads one line higher. A little farther along the same line, another note set a third too high was crossed out and replaced. In the first line of fol. Av, a ficta sign in a *concordancia* was misplaced by a third, and finally in the second line of the same folio, just before the final cadence, a note within a *concordancia* was moved up by a step. In the latter case, the intabulator himself might have been confused by the fact that the Cfaut clef designates a space rather than a line. The reasons for the scribe's insecurity, mistakes, and corrections might be that this arrangement is the longest and most complicated in WOLFT, not least because of the position on the instrument for which this chanson was transposed in order to suit the range of the lute (assuming a lute in A, the transposition is down a minor third from an F mode to the pitch level of D), resulting in some unconventional uses of *musica ficta* and fret positions.



== fol. Ar ==

[Cum lacrimis]

d# written as e  
b wrongly as b

alterations appear crossed out

3a pars Cum lacrimis

lowest note B and ficta on d appear scratched out

crossed out note b

must be semiminim

must be semiminim

must be minim

== fol. Av ==

d# marked instead of f#

d wrongly corrected to e

**Figure 6a:** WOLFT 1, fol. Ar-Av. Diplomatic transcription of “Cum lacrimis”.

The polyphonic transcription (Figure 6b) shows how the polyphonic texture, with its complete cantus and tenor line, is embedded in the tablature. The voice leading is now entirely clear. The long hocket passages towards the cadences of each section, with their characteristic change of texture, are highly reminiscent of the intabulation techniques used in a number of pieces from BUX, where the contratenor voice rests while cantus and tenor are engaged in a battle of rhythmic wit. Also the slow hocket passage (bars 64–69), which is not visually apparent in the original notation, becomes quite apparent in the transcription.



**Figure 6b:** WOLFT 1, fols. Ar-Av. Polyphonic transcription of “Cum lacrimis”.

A comparison of WOLFT 1 with the original ballata by Ciconia reveals how closely the intabulation is modelled on the ballata (Figure 6c). For this purpose, the ballata is here transposed down a minor third to match the pitch of the intabulation, resulting in the need to add several accidentals:

Johannes Ciconia 40

Wolfenbüttel Lute 40\* Tablature 45

[Cum lacrimis]

"overshooting" embellishment  
of cadence run in tablature

45 50

2. O me do - len - - - - -  
3. Ay cru - da mor - - - - -

2. O me do - len - - - - -  
3. Ay cru - da mor - - - - -

50

8 3a pars Cum lacrimis

\* bar numbers of prima & secunda pars assumed  
to be equal to the original for better comparison

55

- te, o du - ra di - spar - ti - ta  
 - te, o de - spia - ta - ta vi - ta,

8

- te, o du - ra di - spar - ti - ta  
 - te, o de - spia - ta - ta vi - ta,

55

left out in WolfT

60

Che mai non fa ri - tor - no in que - sto  
 Co - me par - ti - sti el mio a - mar gio -

8

Che mai non fa ri - tor - no in que - sto mon - -  
 Co - me par - ti - sti el mio a - mar gio con - -

60

65

mon-  
 con-

70

65

8



**Figure 6c:** Synoptic edition of passage from Johannes Ciconia, “Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso”, F-Pn 568, fols. 52v–53r (top two staves); and WOLFT 1, fol. Ar–Av, “Cum lacrimis” (bottom two staves).

Admittedly, the intabulator took some liberties: for example, in bar 49 (bar 48 of the ballata) the cantus motif is transposed down by a fourth, resulting in parallel thirds rather than the original parallel sixths. This could be due to a desire to avoid split chords (in this case dyads) on the lute and to place simultaneous notes on adjacent courses. This preference could suggest a playing technique that favours strumming over plucking for chords. The tablature also omits or adds the occasional breve (see bar 44 of the tablature and bars 53–54 and 74 of the ballata), but the overarching structure that is common to the original and the arrangement can be traced well throughout the surviving parts.

The most striking harmonic progression of this arrangement is probably the end of bar 54 of the tablature, where the contratenor appears to leap from c'-sharp to d, giving the impression to prepare a cadence to g using both a double leading tone and a Burgundian octave leap. The cadence is then avoided in bar 55 and the progression moves on to cadence on e at the beginning of bar 56. When played fluently the contratenor leaps in bar 54, however, tend to overlap and produce dissonances as if two contratenor were attempting simultaneously to cadence with double leading tone (c'-sharp–d') and octave leap (d–d') against the tenor (a–g) and cantus clauses (f'-sharp–g'). This type of four-

voice cadence occurs in compositions from the early fifteenth century, namely the four-voice pieces by Johannes de Lymburgia (fl. 1431), especially his “Magnificat” (10 cadences with both progressions simultaneously, 7 of them with octave leap, 3 with a bassus clause), his “Puer natus in Bethlehem”, and his “Tota pulchra es” (each only once due to the choice of mode and contratenor range). Its casual use in WOLFT could indicate that this rare phenomenon might have been more common in performance practice than in written music and to describe it I would like to introduce the term “Lymburgia Cadence”.<sup>192</sup>

The conversion of WOLFT 1 into French tablature notation (Figure 6d) demonstrates that this arrangement fits the lute particularly well. The setting is arranged in such a way that nearly all simultaneous notes naturally fall on neighbouring courses, enabling the player to strum them with a finger or plectrum. Only in two places does a split chord occur (bars 47 and 59). The first of these (bar 47), however, can easily be circumvented by muting the intermediate second course with the same (the little) finger that frets the lowest string, which would happen almost automatically anyway. Alternatively, one could use a version of the chord with *equivalencia* that would place it entirely on adjacent courses. The second split chord (bar 59) can be resolved by merely fretting the intermediate string and thus adding a note. Three more places would benefit from an alternative fretting, in each case to assist voice leading. In bar 61, the lower note of the first chord (the tenor note of the dyad) could be fretted instead of played on the open course, thus allowing it to be held until the end of the bar rather than being interrupted by the entry of the contratenor note in the middle of the bar. This additional *equivalencium* would, however, result in a new split chord. The second and fourth notes of bar 64, if fretted as *equivalencia*, would support the impression that the first note is the

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<sup>192</sup> I would like to thank Baptiste Romain for this information, who also coined the term in private correspondence.

arrival point of the cantus, whereas the following notes belong to the tenor. In bar 68, the two notes on the open third course (b in the transcription) could instead be fretted on the fourth in order to place all notes of this bar on courses that feature octave strings. Therefore, the line would sound more coherent and at the same time include the range of the cantus, which would otherwise be resting inexplicably. The only place in this piece where an alternative fret position is absolutely necessary is the lowest note of the chord in bar 57.

A striking feature of this arrangement is the use of full chords that often employ thirds even in cadence positions. One reason for this could be to create fuller sonorities, but it seems as if the intabulator mainly aimed to fill the intermediate strings between the tenor and the cantus note of a dyad in order to avoid split chords so that they can be strummed. Another interesting feature hints at a very specific example of the potential idiomatic usage of the lute, namely, the use of the instrument's octave strings of the lower courses for melodic purposes. The cantus diminution in bar 67 breaks off abruptly with the entrance of the tenor in bar 68. With the octave string resounding on the first tenor note, this "fissure" in the arrangement is filled in and disguised to a certain degree (even though this does not supply the actual missing cantus note). In bar 68, the tablature has an ornamented tenor line passage that should lead into the cantus on the first beat of the next measure. The entry of the cantus, however, is postponed and comes in a minim late. With the octave strings the tenor note on the first beat of bar 69 already includes the cantus note, even though it is not notated in the tablature.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> I would like to thank Ricardo Leitão Pedro for input on this feature during the "Intabulation Class" I held on the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis in the summer semester of 2015.

[Cum lacrimis]

3a pars Cum lacrimis

**Figure 6d:** Conversion of WOLFT 1, fol. Ar, “Cum lacrimis” to French tablature.

### 3.2.2 WOLFT 2: Myn trud gheselle

A note from Johannes Schedel—brother of the famous Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514), whose personal songbook transmits the concordance for WOLFT 3 (“Gruß senen Ich im



hertzen traghe”) and who later in his life authored a widely distributed and comprehensive “Weltchronik” (first published in print in 1493)—informs us that he had learned to play the song “Mein traut geselle” on the harp on 18 November 1463.<sup>194</sup> This fact places the existence of an arrangement of the work for an instrument other than the organ in exactly the same period that Staehelin dates WOLFT, which contains a version of it on fol. Av. Unfortunately, the lute version is not complete here. Though only a fragment, it still holds important information concerning intabulation techniques and the instrumental realisation of a song form because it includes not only the entire *prima pars* but also the bridge to the *secunda pars*.

The diplomatic transcription (Figure 7a) provides an overview of the extant parts of “Myn trud gheselle”. It is notated without any apparent mistakes, and it appears that all necessary chromatic alterations were marked. The notation of this piece also highlights a problem with this tablature system: there seems to be no sign designated to represent the *punctus additionis*. The Kassel Collum Lutine does not mention this feature and is therefore of no help. It would have been natural to use the standard sign of the dot from mensural notation, but that could perhaps have been confused with the “double note-head”, which is reserved for musica ficta within chords (*concordancie*). One could also have employed rests or *suspiria* to represent dotted rhythms, as is occasionally done in BUX, but WOLFT contains no rests at all, even though the Kassel Collum Lutine clearly describes rests (if only as a later addition). Perhaps the intabulator meant to occasionally represent dotted rhythms by the combination of a note with its next lower value, much as in the case of minor color in mensural notation. However, these places are not indicated in

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<sup>194</sup> The note is found in D-Mbs cgm 409, fol. 1r and reads “Item der alt holczel ist verstorben / acht tag an sant / kathrein tag / oder acht tag noch sant merten / tag 1463 / Vnn an dem selbigen tag / lernt ich auff der harpffen / zum aller ersten mein traut / geselle.” Quoted from Kirnbauer, Martin: *Hartmann Schedel und sein ‘Liederbuch’*. Studien zu einer spätmittelalterlichen Musikhandschrift (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cgm 810) und ihrem Kontext (Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft II/42), Bern: Peter Lang, 2001, p. 79.

the tablature by coloration or other means and would have to be inferred from musical context alone. This situation occurs only with the combination of semibreve and minim. All other dotted rhythms in the music are expressed by a clever distribution of the rhythms of the individual voices as revealed in the polyphonic transcription (Figure 7b). A particularly tricky section of such counter rhythms can be found just before the final cadence of the A section (bar 8).



**Figure 7a:** WOLFT 2, fol. Av. Diplomatic transcription of “Myn trud gheselle”.



**Figure 7b:** WOLFT 2, fol. Av. Polyphonic transcription of “Myn trud gheselle”.

The text of “Mein traut geselle” was written by the Monk of Salzburg (fl. late 14<sup>th</sup> century), who had set it monophonically to a different melody. The later polyphonic arrangement at hand, however, is musically independent from the version by the Monk and is elsewhere transmitted only anonymously in LOCH (LOCH 40; pp. 38–39) and BUX

(BUX 21; fol. 9v) in almost identical three-voice settings, though it is also cited several times in other works.<sup>195</sup> The WOLFT-version of this piece is based on the same cantus-tenor framework. It occasionally includes additional notes or chords, which are idiomatic for the lute and help to thicken the texture but do not draw on the original contratenor, as can be seen in the synoptic edition (Figure 7c):

The figure displays a synoptic musical score comparing two versions of a medieval song. The top section, labeled 'Lochamer-Liederbuch', contains three staves for the song 'Mein trawt geselle'. The first staff is the cantus (treble clef, 3/4 time), the second is the Contratenor (treble clef, 3/4 time), and the third is the Tenor (treble clef, 3/4 time). The bottom section, labeled 'Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature', contains four staves for the song 'Myn trud gheselle'. The first staff is the cantus (treble clef, 3/4 time), the second is the Contratenor (treble clef, 3/4 time), the third is the Tenor (treble clef, 3/4 time), and the fourth is the lute tablature (bass clef, 3/4 time). The score shows the relationship between the two versions, with the lute tablature providing additional notes and chords not found in the original contratenor part. The score is divided into two systems, with the first system ending at measure 5 and the second system starting at measure 10.

**Figure 7c:** Synoptic edition of a passage from LOCH 40, pp. 38–39, “Mein trawt geselle” (top three staves); and WOLFT 2, fol. Av, “Myn trud gheselle”.

<sup>195</sup> See Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, pp. 467–468.

Most curiously, the song version in LOCH and the tablature in BUX both explicitly call for a repetition of the *prima pars*—a fact which is, however, not substantiated by the poetic form of the song text, which is also not underlaid in the source<sup>196</sup>—while the WOLFT arrangement continues directly into the *secunda pars*, even ignoring the musical metre (there is an incomplete metrical unit/measure in the tablature).<sup>197</sup> This is surprising, since the Kassel-Wolfenbüttel Tablature System does possess a repetition sign. The intabulator is aware of this possibility and uses it to observe musical form in the case of “Cum lacrimis” and “Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe”.

As in “Cum lacrimis”, the present setting of WOLFT 2 can easily be transferred to a specific fingering using only basic fret positions with no need for *equivalencia*: all chords fall on neighbouring courses, avoiding split chords (Figure 7d).

**Figure 7d:** Conversion of WOLFT 2, fol. Av, “Myn trud gheselle” to French tablature.

A new problem, however, occurs when one attempts to reconstruct the missing *secunda pars* using the versions of LOCH and BUX as a basis and model: a few places in the second half of the tenor line would then require a note below Gamut, which by

<sup>196</sup> A first incomplete strophe is written separately under the notation of the song in LOCH. In order to accommodate a complete strophe, the repetition would be necessary despite the fact that the rhyme scheme does not suggest a repeated musical form (and the original melody by the Monk of Salzburg also features not repeats).

<sup>197</sup> Even the cadential *concordancia* (bar 9) is too short and should have been notated as a breve or long instead of a semibreve. This could have been a mistake by the scribe. However, the shortened bar lends a certain attraction to the changeover into the *secunda pars* and could have been intended, especially since the complicated counter rhythms towards that cadence lend this section an almost stumbling quality.

definition does not exist on the instrument since Gamut represents the lowest open string. Admittedly, most of these occurrences consist merely of ornamental notes, which can be omitted or realised differently. One of them, though, concerns a cadence point and therefore cannot be avoided. A scordatura for the lowest string seems unlikely as it would render certain chords of the surviving bits unplayable and result in false fret positions for all the notes on the course, thus undermining the tablature system. In bar 12 of “Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe”, the intabulator gracefully solved a similar problem by simply transposing the unplayable note up a third (see the following chapter 3.2.3 for further details and musical example). The same pragmatism can be seen in BUX: when the bass note of a penultimate chord would end up below the range of the instrument, it is transposed up by an octave, creating the contrapuntally wrong interval of a fourth against the tenor. The resulting chordal progression, however, must have been sufficiently recognisable to allow for this lapse in voice leading and counterpoint.<sup>198</sup> Likewise, the solution in WOLFT might have been to substitute a chord that satisfies the aural expectation but at the same time avoids the impossible note.<sup>199</sup> I have applied this approach in my own reconstruction of the piece; it would have been most interesting to see how the original arranger had dealt with the situation.

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<sup>198</sup> For a discussion of the implications of the “fourth-cadence” in BUX, see Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch 2*, p. 5.

<sup>199</sup> See my reconstruction in appendix 7.

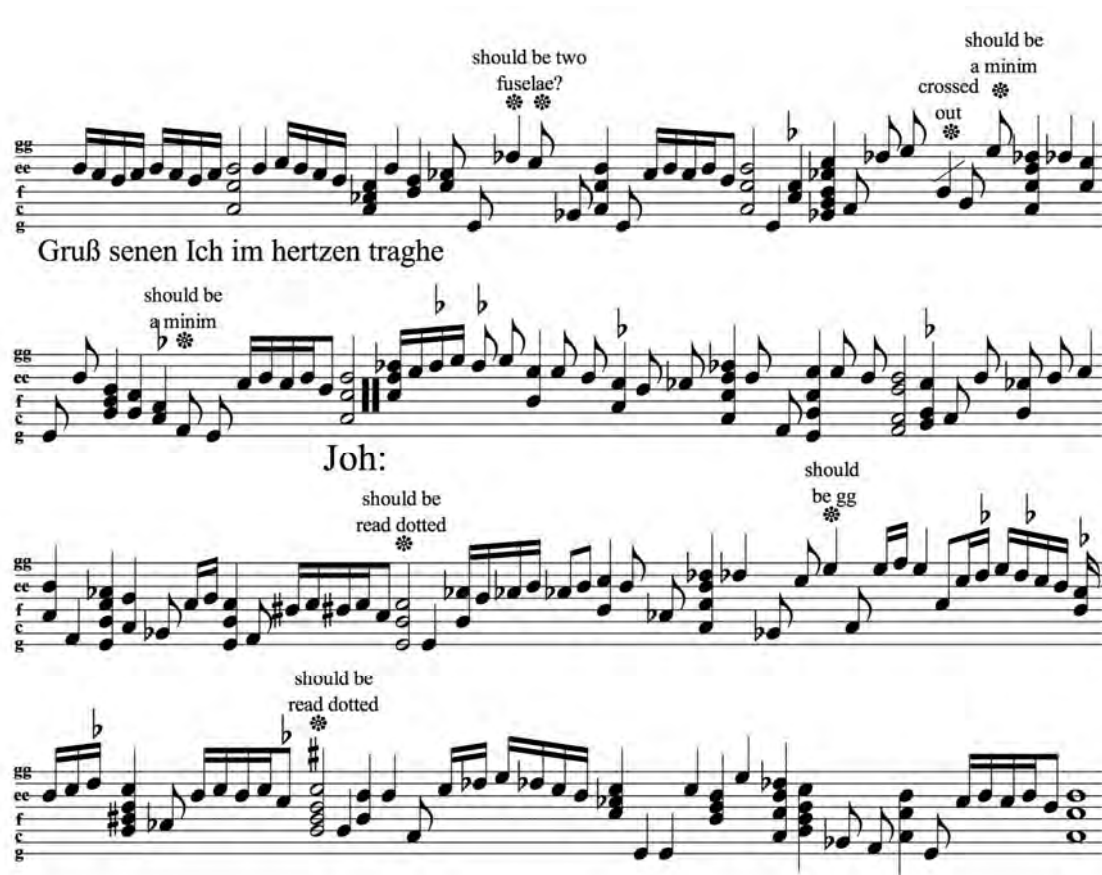
### 3.2.3 WOLFT 3: Groß senen Ich im hertzen traghe

One of the only two complete pieces in WOLFT fills the entire recto side of fol. B. Its incipit reads “Groß sene[n] Ich im hertzen traghe”, and the notation confirms that it is an arrangement of a song that survives anonymously in SCHE (fols. 57v–58r) under the same incipit (“Groß senen ich im hercz[e]n trag”). Apart from this concordance, only two other citations of the song are listed in Fallows’s *Catalogue*.<sup>200</sup> Folio Br also features the only rubric in the fragment, obviously added into the free space between two systems after the music notation was completed: it reads “Joh.”; Staehelin suggests that this could be the signature of either Johannes Schorkop or Johannes Mysner, both of whom were canons at St Cyriacus at the time. It is also noteworthy that the incipit was added after the music was notated, as evinced by the space left between the words “im” and “hertzen” to allow for protruding note stems from the system below. It is fairly easy to detect that the text incipits to all the other pieces in the source were also added as a second layer, sometimes overlapping with the musical symbols that were written down before.

The diplomatic transcription (Figure 8a) confirms previous observations: the notation contains relatively few mistakes (one of which was corrected by the scribe and appears to have been another case of ‘Terzverschreibung’—the only other cases of corrected notation can be found in WOLFT 1, “Cum lacrimis”) and they again lack the *punctus additionis* (which was missing already in WOLFT 2, “Myn trud gheselle”) to mark a dotted rhythm. Apart from this, the notation poses no problems for transcription.

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<sup>200</sup> Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, p. 444.



**Figure 8a:** WOLFT 3, fol. Br. Diplomatic transcription of “Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe”.

The polyphonic transcription (Figure 8b) presents a fully functioning arrangement with a complete structural core of cantus and tenor, with occasional contratenor notes wherever desired or considered idiomatic by the intabulator. Something, nevertheless, is amiss in bar 3: either the first two notes (b'-flat and a') should both be read as fuselae in order to fit into the bar (which, however, would render that place startlingly active, even hectic), or the note b'-flat is actually meant to be crossed out rather than altered and thus should be viewed as a mistake. A third option would be that the intabulator meant to expand this measure to a length of five instead of four minims, which is not unthinkable (and possibly another expression of a ‘Spielvorgang’) but unusual at least in written music of the time (Figure 8c).

**Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe**

5

10 15

20 25

**Figure 8b:** WOLFT 3, fol. Br. Polyphonic transcription of “Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe”.





**Figure 8c:** WOLFT 3, fol. Br. Version with expanded bar in the first line of “Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe”.

As shown in the synoptic edition below (Figure 8d), the original song features a flat neighbour note at this approximate position, which would in any case speak for a version including the note. Furthermore, there is a problem with the rhythm in the second half of bar 5 just after the crossed-out minim. I opted for a version that minimises the amount of dissonance while only using existing material, but other solutions are possible. The major third in the chord of bar 20 is not in the source. It could be assumed, though, that the intabulator felt the alteration from the same chord in bar 19 still to be in effect (even though the notation seems to require for each chromatic alteration to be marked individually). Curiously, the intabulation features a number of unsupported fourths (bars 7, 9, and 19) that could have been avoided by choosing a different contratenor note.<sup>201</sup> They might, however, be explained by the instrumental idiom: if the arrangement was to be played with a plectrum, then it would have been desirable for simultaneous notes to fall on adjacent courses, resulting in comfortable fingerings on the lute that can be strummed with little effort. In the first chord of the *secunda pars* (bar 9), only the bassus note g is missing, although it was played just before as part of the last chord of the

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<sup>201</sup> An organ treatise from the fifteenth century tells us “that at least once in a tactus a proper consonance should be touched. Proper or perfect consonances are fifths, octaves, and twelveths; thirds and fourths are imperfect consonances, also sixths.” (“5a regula, quod ad minus semel debita concordantia in uno tactu tangatur. Debitae autem et perfectae concordantiae sunt quintae et octavae et duodecimae; sed tertiae et quartae sunt concordantiae imperfectae et sextae.” Göllner: *‘Spielanweisung’*, here p. 76.)

*prima pars*. The intabulator might have intended this note to be sustained until the beginning of bar 9, thus complementing the seemingly unsupported fourth.<sup>202</sup>

The argument for a plectrum lute idiom slightly contradicts the fact that of all of the tablature arrangements in WOLFT, this one contains the most split chords (nine) when only using the basic fret positions and avoiding *equivalencia*. These appear in bars 6, 9, 10, 11, 12 (twice), 13, and 16 (twice). At the same time this arrangement is the one where the most *equivalencia* need to be applied to render the setting playable. These still amount to only a total of four: the first chord of bar 2, the third one of bar 7, the final chord of bar 11, and the first chord of bar 23. The *equivalencium* in bar 11 could even be avoided by substituting the missing note with the octave string on the lowest course: when struck, the low d would have its octave automatically resonating, thus making the alternative fretting of the high d superfluous in practice. Since the intabulator obviously used *equivalencia*, it stands to reason that he also intended them to be used to circumvent splits chords if he desired so. Five of the nine split chords could thus easily be avoided using alternative frettings (bars 6, 9, 11, 13, and the second one in bar 16). In two cases (bars 11 and the first chord in bar 12), the notes responsible for split chords are supplied in practice by the octave strings of the respective fourth and fifth courses and might not even have to be fretted or struck separately. Other solutions for the remaining three chords include already mentioned methods, such as muting the intermediate string(s)—a seemingly unnecessary effort—or filling the split chord with fitting notes, thus changing the arrangement in those places, however. It seems that the intabulator also employed the octave strings of the lower two courses for melodic purposes (for the credit see FN 202; see also the section on “Cum lacrimis” above): at the beginning of bar 3 there is a little figure (b'-flat, a') on the top string immediately followed by an f on the fifth course.

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<sup>202</sup> I would like to thank Lukas Henning for this personal suggestion, which is also posted in the comment section of my blog for this piece (<https://mlewon.wordpress.com/2014/02/27/gruss-senen/>).

Since we have to assume an octave string on this course (see the section above on the Kassel Collum Lutine, p. 107), the result, though not notated, would be the melodic figure of b'-flat, a', **f'**, g', f'-sharp, g' (instead of b'-flat, a', g', f'-sharp, g') in the top line. A little further on, in the second half of bar 7, it appears as if the cantus line was abandoned, and the expected suspension on g' is therefore missing while the arrangement focuses on the descending tenor line. However, with the octave string on the fourth course, the missing note is automatically supplied in the middle of the bar when the tenor note g is struck. Again, the stringing of the instrument seems to have been used idiomatically to fill in missing notes without having to create unnecessary split chords.

It is surprising that all of the penultimate tenor notes for the most important cadences are missing in this intabulation (note a in bars 3, 8, and 24), even though they would have easily been playable with idiomatic fingering and even on neighbouring courses. A reason for this might be that the intabulator tried to facilitate the busy pre-cadential positions for the player. Since the lone bassus note d in these places is always supplied with a simultaneous sounding octave, the sonority would still be fairly—maybe even sufficiently—rich to fulfil aural expectations.

8

8

8

Groß se - nen ich im her - czen trag; das  
Ge - denk ich wol des gu - ten tags, das

Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature

8

8

**Groß senen Ich im hertzen traghe**

5

8

8

8

schaft das sie mich mei - den thut. Nu beiss ich nicht, wer  
sie mein red nam wol vor gut.

10 15

8 8

ich do bin, das be- tru - bet ser das her-cze mein. Ich

20

8 8

fürcht sie hab eyn frem - den sin: nu



**Figure 8d:** Synoptic edition of SCHE, fols. 57v–58r, “Groß senen ich im herczen trag” (top three staves); and WOLFT 3, fol. Br, “Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe” (bottom two staves).

The synoptic edition shows that this lute arrangement is modelled extremely closely on the polyphonic song, even though the version in SCHE is unlikely to have been directly consulted for the tablature. The tenor seems to be taken almost verbatim from the song, while the cantus is merely an ornamented version of the original top line. Both the occasional segments of a contratenor and the idiomatically ‘beefed-up’ chords are expected elements of this setting. The repetition of the *prima pars*, an aspect inherent to the song form, is clearly marked in the tablature.

On the second beat of bar 11 we encounter a problem of the instrument’s range: according to the song model transmitted in SCHE, one would expect the tone below the Gamut of the instrument (c in the transcription), which is avoided here by an upward step. This solution could be the clue for sorting out the passage in the missing *secunda pars* of WOLFT 2 (“Myn trud gheselle”), where the intabulator had to solve a similar problem. Both the vertically oriented structure and the ornaments of this tablature—the double

pickup ornament and the little bursts of fuselae—give this arrangement a strong resemblance to arrangements in BUX.

Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe

**Figure 8e:** WOLFT 3, fol. Br. Conversion to French tablature of “Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe”.

### 3.2.4 WOLFT 4: Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn

The only other piece of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature to have survived in its entirety is the simple setting of the anonymous secular song “Ich far dohin wann eß muß sein”, here with the incipit “Ich fare do hyn we[n] eß muß syn” on fol. Bv. This short melody must have been widely known since it is quoted several times in different sources and inspired

a number of contrafacta.<sup>203</sup> Surprisingly, there is only one other complete musical transmission of this piece: it is in LOCH (LOCH 8, p. 9), where it is monophonic and presents a number of questions concerning its rhythm and—more significantly—its modality. The new concordance in WOLFT helps answer those questions. The tablature notation requires only the first two systems of fol. Bv.

The diplomatic transcription (Figure 9a) reveals the passages where one would expect dotted rhythms that again are not notated due to the tablature system lacking the sign. One could assume that for this piece a tempus perfectum in minor prolation was intended, bringing rules of perfection into effect, in which case a dot would not have been necessary.

Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn

should be dotted (or perfected)

should be dotted (or perfected)

should be semibreve

**Figure 9a:** WOLFT, fol. Bv. Diplomatic transcription of “Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn”.

The polyphonic transcription (Figure 9b) suggests that the cantus line resembles a cliché improvisation upon a preexisting tenor using the familiar BUX pickup motif as well as a single standardised cadence figure, and hardly any ornaments. The arrangement consists primarily of two voices, with additional notes added only for initial and cadential sonorities. The whole arrangement in all its aspects appears extremely formulaic.

<sup>203</sup> Concordances and citations are listed in Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, p. 449. See also “Zwei frühe Kontrafakturen (zu Nr. 8 und Nr. 16), in Petzsch: *Lochamer-Liederbuch*, pp. 209–210.





**Figure 9b:** WOLFT 4, fol. Bv. Polyphonic transcription of “Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn”.

One curious item is the function of the fermata sign in bar 14: as shown in the synoptic transcription below (Figure 9c), this fermata marks the internal caesura in the middle of a line. Perhaps the intabulator wanted to mark a rhetorical climax in the song as a point of arrival, but this place does not seem predisposed for such a treatment. However, the song features a refrain, and maybe this sign was supposed to mark the end of the strophe as a *signum congruentiae* and thus the beginning of the refrain. If so, it was placed three bars too soon, for the final note of the strophe is in bar 17.

The tablature sits very high on the instrument but is fully playable. For the synoptic edition, however, I found it helpful to transpose the lute arrangement down a fourth in order to match the pitch level of the song. The transmission of the song in LOCH lacks a clef. Adding a c4-clef, the most common for tenor voices at the time, results in exactly the same modality that is presented in the tablature and does not require the use of any musica ficta.

Lochamer-Liederbuch 5

8 1. Ich far do - hin, wann es muß sein. ich schaid mich von der lieb - sten

Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature

8 Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn

10 15

8 mein, zu letz laß ich ir das her - ze mein: die weil ich leb, so sol es

20

8 sein. R. Ich far, ich far do - hin.

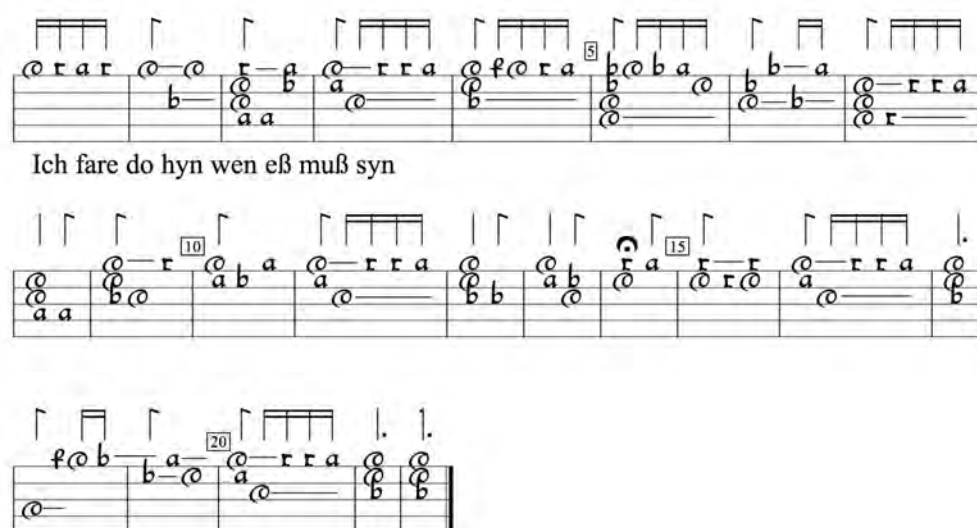
**Figure 9c:** Synoptic edition of LOCH 8, p. 9, “Ich far dohin wann es muß sein” (top staff); and WOLFT 4, fol. Bv, “Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn” (bottom two staves).

Because of the missing clef in LOCH, the modality of this melody was never quite clear from the vocal sources: it was occasionally assumed to have been meant as a G Hypodorian mode but missing a B-flat or as a G Lydian mode but missing an F-sharp.<sup>204</sup> The tablature solves this question: it is intended as a G Mixolydian mode with

<sup>204</sup> The assumption of a G Hypodorian mode was the most common interpretation for this song, seemingly supported by the quotation of the incipit and refrain in two quodlibets of GLOG. (For a new insight into the

the typical plagal minor third in the lower register of the mode and the characteristic major third in the upper. The impressive but unusual melodic leap of a minor seventh in the first line of LOCH has also been called into question, especially since the quotation of that line in the quodlibet “O rosa bella / In feuers hitz” (GLOG 119) turns that leap into an octave jump. The arrangement in WOLFT now affirms the version of the song in LOCH: the leap of a minor seventh is indeed intended.

The following transcription into French tablature (Figure 9d) demonstrates that this setting is a prime example of a piece fitting the instrument perfectly for performance employing plectrum technique. It also does not require any *equivalencia* nor features any split chords. Also, the octave string on the second lowest course helps in creating a more elegant line on the first beat of bar 18 (resulting in the movement of g', f', a', g', f' in bars 17–18 in the transposition of the synoptic edition), which otherwise would have sounded fairly empty and angular. It is by far the simplest and shortest of the extant lute arrangements in WOLFT, completely avoiding the use of fuselae.



**Figure 9d:** WOLFT 4, fol. Bv. Conversion to French tablature of “Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn”.

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GLOG quodlibets, see the author’s blog at <https://mlewon.wordpress.com/2012/11/03/quodlibets/>. However, in view of the new evidence at hand, the editions of the quodlibets GLOG 118 and GLOG 119 should be reviewed: they traditionally introduce B-flats in the tenor lines—even though the original does not have them—which at least for the “Ich far dohin” quotations should be omitted.

Transposing the tablature down to the apparent original range of the song also results in a fully playable version on the five-course lute (Figure 9e), and all dyads and chords still fall on neighbouring courses—with the added bonus that another slightly awkward place in the piece receives a more elegant line because of a resonating octave string in bar 13 (g', a', f'-sharp in the transposed version). In this case, however, that consequence seems not to have been intended by the intabulator.

**Figure 9e:** WOLFT 4, fol. Bv. Transposition down by a fourth of the French tablature of “Gruß senen Ich im herten traghe”.

The generic and formulaic character of the polyphony of this lute arrangement, coupled with the observation that no other polyphonic version of the song survives, makes it likely that “Ich fare do hyn” circulated as a monody and was only arranged polyphonically for this lute tablature. The arranger appears to have taken a somewhat similar approach to the last piece of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature (WOLF 5: “Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich”).

### 3.2.5 WOLFT 5: Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich

Alongside the complete version of “Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn”, fol. Bv also contains the beginning of another arrangement: “Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich”. The title of this piece is well-known, and the *Catalogue* by David Fallows lists a fair number of concordances, most of which are instrumental arrangements in BUX (BUX 48, 49, 50, 94, 95, and 96) and in the instrumental part of LOCH (LOCH 68).<sup>205</sup> It seems, however, that no polyphonic song version has survived and that the only transmission of the piece as a song is found in the monophonic version in LOCH (LOCH 5; p. 5), which itself appears to have been extracted from a tablature.<sup>206</sup> A comparison of the concordances shows that all seven instrumental arrangements in BUX and LOCH refer to the same tenor line even though the polyphonic realisations and their counterpoints are all unique. This indicates that they were not modelled on a polyphonic song, but newly created upon the tenor alone. Our version in WOLFT falls into that same category. Its treatment is related to that of “Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn”, which precedes it.

The diplomatic transcription below (Figure 10a) reveals two specific features or intabulation strategies: fragmentation of the cantus and tenor lines that dominate the first line and relentless runs of semiminims that occupy the second half of the second line, reminiscent of arrangements in BUX. After these two lines the piece breaks off. Comparison with the concordances shows that little more than a sixth of the original piece survives in the fragment.

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<sup>205</sup> Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, pp. 434–435. The “new setting of similar T” on p. 435 concerns a different melody and has no connection to the arrangement at hand.

<sup>206</sup> For a deeper analysis of this tenor line and for a full edition of the LOCH versions, see: Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch 2*, pp. 23–26 and 42–44.



**Figure 10a:** WOLFT 5, fol. Bv. Diplomatic transcription of “Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich”.

The polyphonic transcription (Figure 10b) illustrates the voice leading obscured by the fragmentation of cantus and tenor. Apart from a typical instrumental effect, this is a very idiomatic way of portraying two-voice counterpoint on the plectrum lute when the voices cannot be placed on neighbouring courses: rather than using full chords that can be strummed to bridge the intermediate strings, this arranging style involves two voices propelled individually by striking the strings separately in a hoquetus-like passage, creating a transparent texture. The next section explores a different method, using chords or dyads for every new tenor note with interlacing semiminim runs. Both of these techniques point to a more freely conceived cantus line upon a preexisting tenor and not an ornamentation of a fixed polyphonic setting. This approach differs radically from such settings as encountered with “Myn trud gheselle” (WOLF 2) and “Gruß senen Ich im herten traghe” (WOLF 3).



**Figure 10b:** WOLFT 5, fol. Bv. Polyphonic transcription of “Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich”.

The synoptic edition (Figure 10c) shows that the intabulator used a version of the tenor melody that is very close to the parallel sources. Only at the end of the fragment, in bars 9–10, does the tablature deviate from the song version transmitted in LOCH. The tenors of all other extant intabulations of “Ellend”, however, are much closer to the version in WOLFT, so that the song melody in LOCH, already suspect because of the difficulty of underlaying its text and for other musical reasons, appears to be the one that deviates from the original, rather than the other way around.

Lochamer-Liederbuch

Tenor

Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature

8 Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich

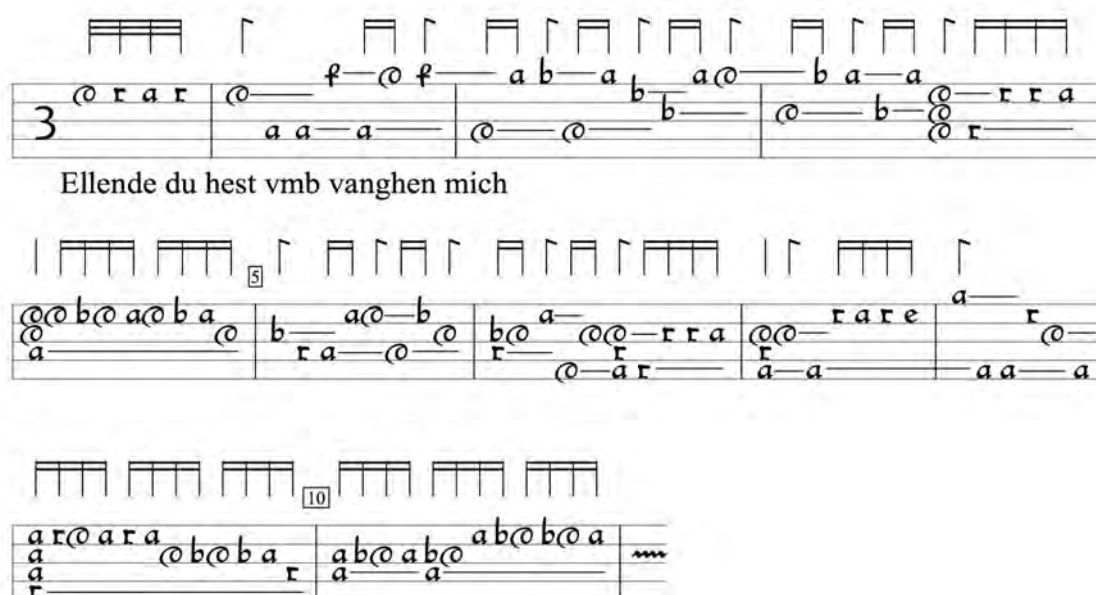
5 Ellend dw hast vmbfangen mich

10

**Figure 10c:** Synoptic edition of passage from LOCH 5, p. 5, “Ellend du hast umbfangen mich” (top staff); and WOLFT 5, fol. Bv, “Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich” (bottom two staves).

As in most of the WOLFT contents, when this piece is transcribed into French tablature (Figure 10d), the resulting fingering is perfectly apt for the five-course lute and easily playable using plectrum technique: there are no split chords and no *equivalencia* are needed.



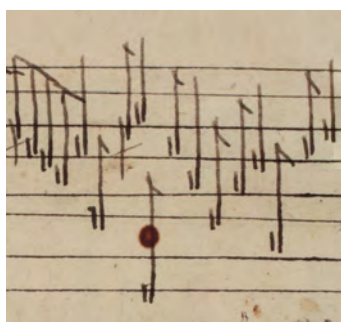


**Figure 10d:** WOLFT 5, fol. Bv. Conversion to French tablature of “Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich”.

### 3.3 Notational Style, Idiomatic Aspects, and Summary

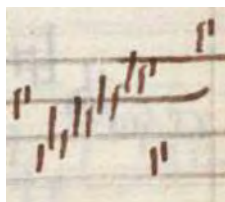
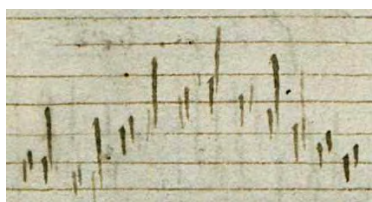
#### 3.3.1 Open Note Heads and ‘Semitonis’

One particularly eye-catching feature of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature is the shape of the note heads, which appears in a very similar fashion in the Kassel Collum Lutine. The note heads consist of two almost parallel lines—one of which also constitutes the stem when applicable—thus leaving the top and bottom of the head open (Figure 11). Some of the heads have a slightly tilted left line, especially when they are additionally marked for *musica ficta*, which is achieved by lengthening this line to form a protruding downward tail:



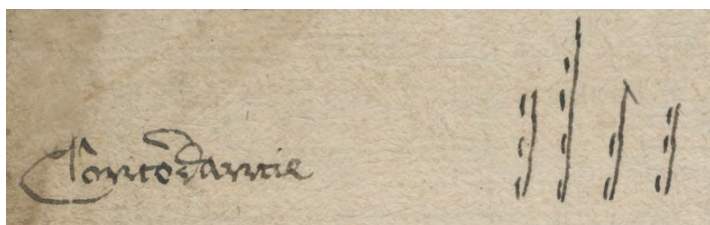
**Figure 11:** WOLFT, fol. Av. Individual notes, not tied in *concordancie*.

Many sources of the fifteenth century (especially songbooks and chansonniers) seem to prefer a simplified form of the originally rhomboid shape of all notes below the value of the breve. This almost triangular shape appears to have been the basis for the notes in the Kassel-Wolfenbüttel system. Both the triangular and the ‘open head’ form may have developed because they were quick to write. The latter is also reminiscent of some note shapes in sources that have the most concordances with WOLFT: SCHE and LOCH—and not in the tablature section of LOCH, but in its song section (Figures 12 and 13).

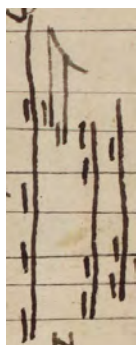


**Figure 12:** LOCH, p. 89. Partly open note heads  
**Figure 13:** SCHE, fol. 82r. Open note heads.

A reason for the simplified shape of the note heads may have been the *concordancie*: it might have been considered too time-consuming to lead the stem from tip to tip of a string of note heads, which would have required multiple strokes of the quill. By simply drawing a vertical line of the desired length with short strokes on its left side to represent the note heads, however, the Kassel-Wolfenbüttel Tablature System reduces the number of strokes to an absolute minimum (Figures 14 and 15).

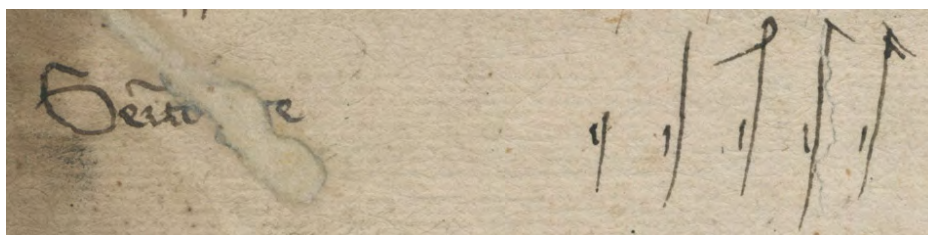


**Figure 14:** Kassel Collum Lutine, fol. Iv. (Ficta-less) *concordancie* (overlapping signs in the source erased for clarity).



**Figure 15:** WOLFT,  
fol. Br. *Concordancie*.

It has been mentioned above that the *semitonis* for individual notes (those that are not bound in *concordancie*) in WOLFT and the Kassel Collum Lutine are not entirely identical. Both ways of notating *musica ficta* can also be found in German organ tablatures of the time. In the Kassel Collum Lutine it consists of an added downward tail to the note head, just like in BUX (Figures 16 and 17):

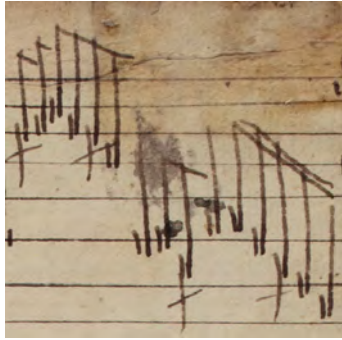


**Figure 16:** Kassel Collum Lutine, fol. Iv. *Semitonis*.



**Figure 17:** BUX, fol. 21r. *Musica ficta* (overlapping signs in the source erased for clarity).

WOLFT adopts this sign and further distinguishes the simple, elongated downward stem with a crossing stroke such as that used in the tablatures in LOCH (Figures 18 and 19).

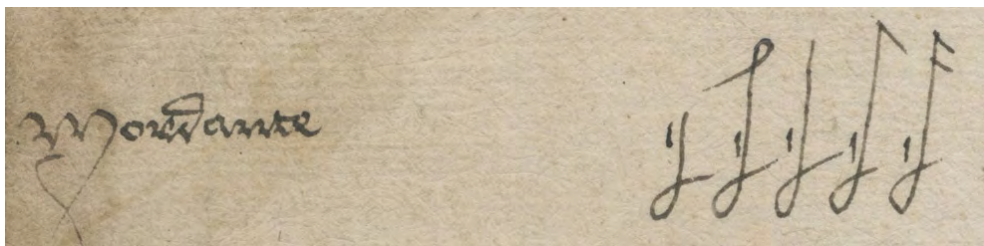


**Figure 18:** WOLFT, fol. Av. *Semitonis*.

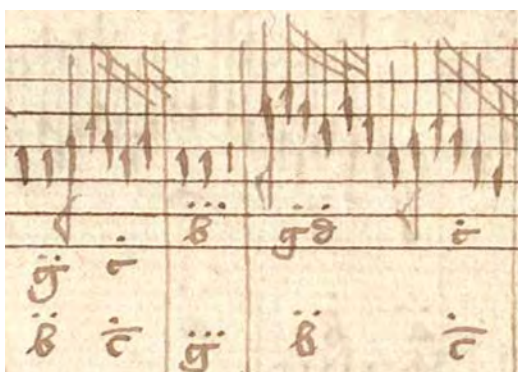


**Figure 19:** LOCH, p. 60. *Musica ficta*.

According to the Kassel Collum Lutine a similar sign is reserved for ornaments: a downward stem ending in a loop that crosses the stem (Figure 20). This symbol cannot be found in the surviving notation of WOLFT but is common to German organ tablatures such as BUX (Figure 21).



**Figure 20:** Kassel Collum Lutine, fol. Iv. *Mordante* (overlapping signs in the source erased for clarity).



**Figure 21:** BUX, fol. 21v. *Ornaments*.

The execution of such a *mordante* in German organ tablatures is explained by Hans Buchner ca. 1520 in his *Fundamentum*.<sup>207</sup>

In this example, you see some notes on the staff, which have lines led downwards, of which some have a curved tail like this: [image of stem with loop], and others have a line across it: [image of crossed stem]. You will remember therefore that those notes that have curved lines are called mordents, where one must always observe that two [notes] must be touched at the same time. The one which is marked by the curved line [should be touched] with the middle finger, and the next one below it with the index finger, which, shaking, is however to be removed soon. That note which has a cross-line in this manner: [image of crossed stem], indicates a semitone.<sup>208</sup>

Though this description dates from some 50 years after BUX was written, the consistent use of the same sign might imply that the ornament was executed in a very similar way in BUX. Adapted to the lute, which usually cannot have neighbouring notes sounding simultaneously, this might translate in WOLFT to a trill from the main note to the next lower note using a rapid succession of “pull-offs” (performed by pulling a left hand finger off the string, causing a note to sound) and “hammer-ons” (performed by sharply bringing a left hand finger down behind a fret, causing a note to sound).

### 3.3.2 Dotted Rhythms and All the Rests

Even though the organ tablatures of the late fifteenth century customarily feature dotted rhythms on all mensural levels, the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature does not seem to use them. On a closer look, however, dotted rhythms do occur. On the level of semibreve-minim these are clearly intended even if not marked. In the case of WOLF 4, which is in triple metre, one could argue for perfection rules to be in effect, although tablatures do not

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<sup>207</sup> Hans Buchner: “Fundamentum,” CH-Bu F I 8<sup>a</sup> (ca. 1524–1538) and CH-Zz 284a & b (ca. 1515?). For a description of the sources see Buchner, Hans: *Sämtliche Orgelwerke. Zweiter Teil: Fundamentum und Kompositionen der Handschrift Zürich S 284 sowie Stücke aus verschiedenen anderen Quellen*, ed. by Jost Harro Schmidt (Das Erbe deutscher Musik 6/55), Frankfurt a. M.: Henry Litolf’s Verlag, 1974, p. 90.

<sup>208</sup> “In hoc exemplo vides quasdam notas inter lineas, quae habent lineas deorsum ductas, quarum aliae habent curvatum caudam in hunc modum [*stem with loop*], aliae lineam transversam hoc pacto [*crossed stem*]. Memineris igitur eas notas quae curvatas habent lineas vocari mordentes, ubi observandum semper duas esse simul tangendas, ea videlicet quae per lineam curvatam signatur medio digito, proxima vero inferiorque indice digito, qui tamen tremebundus mox est subducendus. Ea vero nota quae lineam habet transversam hoc modo [*crossed stem*], significat semitonium.” (CH-Bu F I 8<sup>a</sup>, pp. 10–11). English translation by Frauke Jürgensen (private communication). See also Kirnbauer: ‘*Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature*’, p. 181 and Denis, Jean: *Treatise on Harpsichord Tuning*, ed. by Vincent J. Panetta (Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs), 1987, p. 98, FN 84 for slightly differing translations.

tend to apply these refined rules of mensural notation. In all other cases I presume that the scribe was either working under the tacit assumption of a sort of minor color (in certain places when a minim is followed by a single semiminim, as was laid out above, see p. 147) or that the context was sufficient to imply a dotted rhythm. Aringer points out that while dotted rhythms seem to have been taken almost for granted by Conrad Paumann and in BUX they apparently were not firmly established in the early organ treatises and their notation is unclear or even obscured in sources as late as LOCH.<sup>209</sup> This problem with notating a dotted rhythm in instrumental tablatures concurs with a quotation from Newsidler regarding the difficulty to count a dotted rhythm, in that the added note value “is half as short as the previously mentioned rest / this is difficult to describe or measure / as when one takes a breath / in order to suck in a spoonful of soup.”<sup>210</sup> Newsidler addresses not the professional musician, but the aspiring amateur when he adds this colourful description to his definition: he calls these added values “*suspiria*” which fits the description (i.e., “deep breath / sigh”). The same term appears in the Kassel Collum Lutine next to the associated symbol of a little hook, resembling a semiminim rest (Figure 22). It appears that rests are sometimes used in BUX and LOCH instead of the *punctus additionis*: the example of a practical application of *suspiria* in “Wilhelmus Legrant” (LOCH, pp. 88–89, BUX, fol. 61v: Figures 23 and 24) adduced by Kirnbauer

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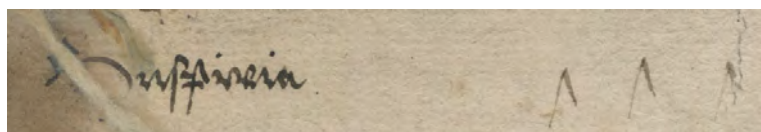
<sup>209</sup> “Während der punktierte Rhythmus für Conrad Paumann und die im Buxheimer Orgelburch vertretene Orgelkunst eine beinahe selbstverständliche Angelegenheit gewesen zu sein scheint, nahmen diesbezügliche Übungen in der älteren organistischen Elementarlehre ganz offensichtlich keinen festen Platz ein. Erst nach geraumer Zeit dürften sich viele Organisten diese Rhythmik angeeignet haben und waren in der Lage, sie in Schrift umzusetzen. [...] Abgesehen von vereinzelt explizit notierten Punktierungen, wie sie in Klauselbeispielen der Breslauer Handschrift I F 687 vorliegen, verschleiert die frühe deutsche Tabulaturenschrift öfter das rhythmische Phänomen, wie Paumanns *Fundamentum organisandi* von 1452 zeigt.” (Aringer: ‘*Orgeltablatur-Fragment*’, p. 360. See also Aringer, Klaus: ‘Die Überlieferung der Musik für Tasteninstrumente (1400–1520)’, in: *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich* (2016), <http://www.musical-life.net/essays/die-ueberlieferung-der-musik-fuer-tasteninstrumente-1400-1520>: “Aufmerksamkeit verdient das Salzburger Fragment vor allem, weil es mit dem punktierten Rhythmus, der in der organistischen Handwerkslehre vor Paumann offenkundig keinen festen Platz einnahm und manchmal in verschleierte Notierung erscheint, relativ früh ein spezifisches Merkmal vokaler Notenschrift in der Aneignung durch die Tastenmusik thematisiert. Diese Aneignung verlief, wie die Quelle zeigt, nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten.”

<sup>210</sup> Cited from Kirnbauer: ‘*Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature*’, p. 179.

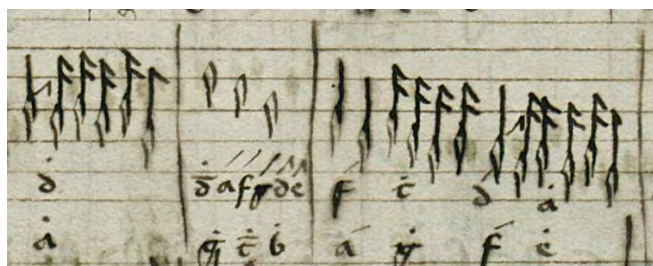


points to a function similar to that of a *punctus additionis*.<sup>211</sup> Kirnbauer also quotes Hans Buchner, who singles out the *suspiria*, which are grouped with the rests, and mentions that dots of addition are often erroneously called *suspiria*. By implication it also might be possible that the *suspiria* sign was sometimes used in lieu of a dot:

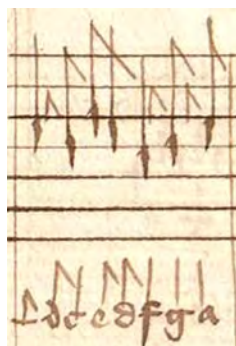
It is not enough to know how long one should remain on any one touched key, since sometimes there should be silence (which silence they call rests), and sometimes indeed *suspiria* should be performed. [...] Mistakenly, they call *suspiria* dots which are placed between two notes of one or two *tactus*. Concerning these, this general rule [applies]: the dot is always worth as much as the following note, or half the preceding note.<sup>212</sup>



**Figure 22:** Kassel Collum Lutine, fol. Iv. *Suspiria*.



**Figure 23:** LOCH, p. 88. Applied *suspiria*.

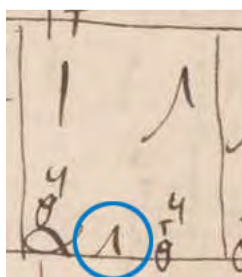


**Figure 24:** BUX, fol. 23v. *Suspiria* or rests?

An abundance of *suspiria* (and in a lute source, no less), is given in the early sixteenth-century tablature book of Stephan Craus (A-Wn 18688; Ebenfurt/Austria) (Figure 25):

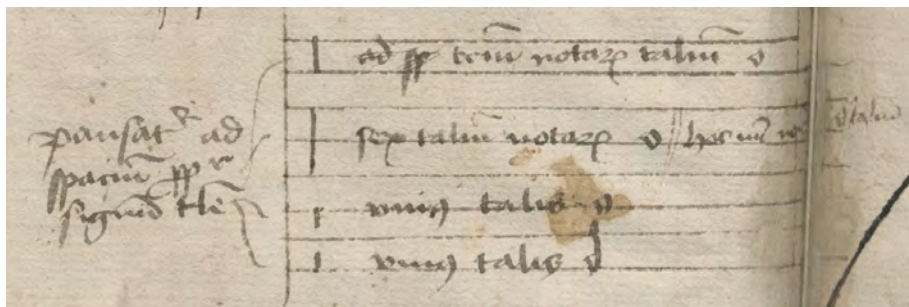
<sup>211</sup> Ibid., pp. 179-180.

<sup>212</sup> “Non satis est novisse quamdiu alicui clavi tactae sit inhaerendum, verum cum interdum sileatur (quod silentium pausas vocant) interdum vero *suspiria* ducantur: [...] *Suspiria* abusive sumpta, vocantur puncta inter duas notas unius vel duorum *tactus* interposita: de quibus haec sit regula communis. Punctus perpetuo valet tantum, quantum sequens nota, aut dimidium praecedentis.” (CH-Bu F I 8<sup>a</sup>, pp. 8–9). English translation by Frauke Jürgensen (private communication).



**Figure 25:** Stephan Craus Lute  
Tablature (A-Wn 18688, fol 62v (6v)).  
Applied *suspirium* (circled).

Despite the fact that the tablature system appears to allow for *suspiria*, WOLFT—at least in its surviving parts—does not make use of them. Instead, the necessity of the sign is avoided by a clever placement of hocketing counter-rhythms in the individual voices, thus giving the effect of a dotted rhythm without having to notate it. As the Kassel Collum Lutine demonstrates, the standard rests of mensural notation are also part of the tablature system (Figure 26), but—curiously enough—they do not feature at all in the surviving parts of WOLFT:



**Figure 26:** Kassel Collum Lutine, fol. Iv. Rests added by later hand.

The question remains whether the intabulator chose to express dotted rhythms by a clever placement of the voices because he did not have the option to notate them otherwise or because the arrangements did not make dotting necessary. This only applies to the semiminim-fusela level, where the intabulator could even have used *suspiria* to express dots, whereas on the level of semibreve-minim, as has been shown above, there is need of a sign for a dotted rhythm, and lacking that only context tells us where a dot has to be assumed. This concerns WOLFT 2, WOLFT 3, and WOLFT 4 (unless prolatio major applies here).



### 3.3.3 Idiomatic Aspects

Even with only five mostly fragmented pieces on merely two folios, the variety of arrangements in the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature is intriguing: each intabulation features a distinct style, while sharing certain generic aspects. Thus, the repertoire appears both coherent and varied at the same time. While WOLFT 3 (“Gruß senen Ich im herten traghe”) is more closely related to the arrangements in BUX, including the pick-up motif, bursts of fuselae and quick runs, WOLFT 4 (“Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn”) appears almost mechanically simple and as if it was arranged as a general-purpose student example over a preexisting tenor line. The latter always employs the same cadence formulae, makes no use of fuselae, and only has contratenor notes at the beginning and end of a melodic line in order to include intermediate strings between the cantus and the tenor notes. In some respects it resembles the more elaborate WOLFT 5 (“Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich”), which likewise appears to have been created only upon a given tenor and which in its surviving part also does not employ note values beyond the semiminim. WOLFT 5 seems to prefer long and fairly slow runs, which is reminiscent of BUX arrangements on the same tenor melody. As vocal works both WOLFT 4 and WOLFT 5 only survive as monophonic songs in parallel sources. All polyphonic settings of “Ellend” in LOCH and BUX were made for keyboard instruments and with every arrangement present a new counterpoint. It is therefore not surprising that unlike the other three arrangements in WOLFT, which clearly are intabulations of polyphonic songs and all of which are based on a preexisting cantus-tenor setting, WOLF 4 and 5 seem to be new, purely instrumentally conceived polyphonic elaborations of the tenor only. WOLFT 2 (“Myn trud gheselle”) is a mostly chordal setting, at least in its surviving sections. WOLFT 1 (“Cum lacrimis”) might be the most unusual of all: it has strange harmonic turns—possibly triggered by a desire to fill in split dyads with fitting notes, which then

result in full chords including thirds (even in cadential sonorities)—as well as surprising uses of *musica ficta*; it also has contrasting chordal and monophonic passages. Despite its limited scope, the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature thus provides us with more than just a glimpse of early intabulation and playing techniques for the solo lute of the fifteenth century.

This study has shown that, on the one hand, WOLFT shares a number of characteristics with organ tablatures of the time, namely, the use of similar signs in its notation as well as some elements of intabulation and diminution style. On the other hand, it has also been demonstrated that it features techniques that are idiomatic to a five-course lute as it is depicted in the Kassel Collum Lutine, which at the same time is the key to the notation of WOLFT. The arrangements of WOLFT hint at a consistent methodology of idiomatic pragmatism for handling problems of instrumental limitation by the intabulator. In particular, the fact that the lowest two courses show octave strings in the Kassel Collum Lutine, has certain implications as practical experiments have confirmed: The octave strings apparently were sometimes used by the intabulator to complete otherwise incomplete melodies in the cantus line (see the individual sections above on WOLFT 1 and WOLFT 3). Another example is the idiomatic filling out of *concordancie* to combine dyads consisting of widely spaced cantus and tenor (sometimes even contratenor bassus) notes with appropriate notes on intermediate strings: this results in chords that lie on adjacent courses on the lute, thus enabling strumming (this characteristic can be observed throughout the arrangements of the fragments, but especially in WOLFT 1, 2, and 4).<sup>213</sup>

Yet another feature from the intabulations that speaks for the lute as the intended instrument is the arranging solution for notes that would fall below the Gamut (see

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<sup>213</sup> For similar cases of idiomatic pragmatism concerning keyboard arrangements, see above p. 120 and FN 198, for wind bands and the limitations on natural brass instruments, see Strohm: *Rise*, pp. 108-111 on “Tuba gallicalis”.

especially WOLFT 3) if the vocal model was strictly followed, which is a clear indication that Gamut represents the lowest possible pitch on the instrument—just as it is suggested in the Kassel Collum Lutine—rather than merely the note G, which is not the lowest possible note in the mensural notation of the time.

Other aspects also lend themselves to an early lute idiom, perhaps involving a plectrum, such as rhythmical interplay between cantus and tenor, the technique of propelling both voices by striking cantus and tenor notes alternately, the way in which dotted rhythms are represented without the use of dots by a clever arrangement of the two voices, and full chords followed by longer, monophonic runs in the cantus over a single tenor note. However, these aspects can be found almost identically, if with slightly more ambitious diminutions, in the German organ tablatures from the same time (particularly in BUX and LOCH).<sup>214</sup> They are therefore not restricted to the lute, but are instead part of a pan-instrumental style in the fifteenth century for instruments on which solo performance of polyphonic compositions was possible—and that just happens to also idiomatically suit the lute.

### **3.3.4 Playing Technique: Finger versus Plectrum**

The transcriptions into French tablature notation have revealed the number of split chords in the arrangements—a characteristic that is directly connected to certain playing styles, suggesting some, precluding others. When only using standard fret positions the source features a total of eleven splits chords, all of them single splits (meaning that the chord is only split once rather than twice), all of them with no more than one intermediate string, and all of them occurring in only two pieces: WOLFT 1 (two occurrences) and WOLFT 3

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<sup>214</sup> “Cortese implies that the number of ornaments applied to the superius in solo lute style is generally fewer than these of the monophonic style. Perhaps the inclusion of extravagant ornamentation caused technical difficulty for the solo lutenist. The keyboard compositions of the Buxheim Organ Book stylistically conform to Cortese’s description of solo lute style.” (Minamino: *‘Paumann and solo lute practice’*, p. 298).

(nine occurrences), whereas the rest of the arrangements, at least in their surviving parts, feature not split chords. It appears that the chords in those arrangements were deliberately arranged to avoid. Since *equivalencia* are not marked in WOLFT—the scribe regrettably ignoring the *signa equivalencia* described in the Kassel Collum Lutine—one can only assume where they might have been applied when not strictly essential to the arrangement. The tablature features no more than five places where an *equivalencium* needs to be applied in order to render the musical text playable on the five-course lute. Again, all of them only appear in the same two pieces: WOLFT 1 (one occurrence) and WOLFT 3 (four occurrences). Seven of the eleven split chords in those pieces could be avoided by the use of additional *equivalencia* or the idiomatic use of the octaves on the lower courses, leaving only four split chords and raising the amount of *equivalencia* to a total of eleven. While *equivalencia* are a natural part of lute technique and pose a problem neither for the player nor for the interpretation of WOLFT as a lute source (save for the fact that they are not marked in the source), the remaining four split chords (three of them in WOLFT 3) have stronger implications: they are the only impediment to an outright definition of WOLFT as a plectrum source.

A few early sources of lute music have already been suspected to reflect arrangements for the plectrum lute.<sup>215</sup> The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature, however, appears to me the most convincing candidate by far. The supporting evidence boils down to a number of characteristic tendencies: (1) a reduction in the number of voices of the

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<sup>215</sup> Earlier suggestions for plectrum lute sources focused on the *Fribourg-Tablature*, CH-Fcu Cap. Rés. 527 (personal research and practical test) and particularly on the Pesaro-manuscript I-PESo MS 1144. On the latter source, see Ivanoff, Vladimir: *Das Pesaro-Manuskript: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Lautentabulatur* (Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 45), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988, pp. 147-162; and Ivanoff, Vladimir: ‘An Invitation to the Fifteenth-Century Plectrum Lute: The Pesaro Manuscript’, in: Coelho, Victor Anand (ed.): *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela. Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation* (Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 6), Cambridge 1997, pp. 1–15. However, doubts on the latter as a plectrum-source are cast by Young/Kirnbauer: *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early lute tablatures in facsimile* on pp. 138–139. My assessment of WOLFT as a plectrum lute source has since been accepted by Coelho/Polk: *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture*, pp. 237–238, FN 22.

original songs from a three-voice texture to a contrapuntal core of cantus and tenor in the arrangements (and only to include contratenor passages whenever idiomatically suitable); (2) propelling the counterpoint either by full chords, which are arranged so that they can be strummed with one stroke across neighbouring courses and then (3) following with intermediate, monophonic runs; or (4) splitting up the two lines of cantus and tenor in such a fashion that the voices are driven along alternately; last but not least (5) the *signa sursum traxionis* from the Kassel Collum Lutine (indicating an upstroke pluck) could be another indicator for the use of the plectrum. These features, taken together, describe a playing technique that lives up to its sixteenth-century name “Lautenschlagen” (“striking the lute”) and that lends itself to plectrum technique. Staehelin’s early dating of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature and his suggestion that the system might predate the invention of the German lute tablature also places the arrangements at a time when plectrum playing would have been the norm.

The fact that only two sources for this tablature system survive could indicate that they are the earliest witnesses of a change in lute technique that was just starting at that time: the paradigm shifting from memorised monophonic playing with a plectrum to written polyphonic arrangements played with the fingers. Hans Judenkünig’s remark of 1523 seems to suggest that the technique of plucking the lute strings with fingers came in conjunction with the invention of the system of (German) lute tablature and that the latter might thus be equivalent with the concept of portraying polyphonic arrangements as solos on the lute: “Everyone knows that in recent years, within a man’s memory, tablature was invented for lute and [finger] picking, and the old players played everything with a feather, which is not [as] artful.”<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Cited from Kirnbauer: ‘*Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature*’, p. 187.

However, Judenkünig might not have been familiar with solo lute techniques almost a hundred years before his time, which might have included polyphonic arrangements for the plectrum lute. Even though we have no clear evidence for it, it is technically possible, as has been demonstrated by the première recording of the works in WOLFT, a convincing candidate for a source that was suitable for both plectrum and finger technique—albeit a finger technique that was only one step away from and still ‘within earshot’ of the plectrum.<sup>217</sup>

In his article of 1986, Hiroyuki Minamino pointed out that

The most important technical change leading to solo lute practice was the use of bare fingers for plucking the strings. This made possible the simultaneous playing of various polyphonic voices on non-adjacent courses. [...] Paulus Paulirinus in his *Liber viginti artium*, written in Pilsen between 1459 and 1463, reports the common use of plectrum among lutenists. Tinctoris is the first to mention finger technique. Iconographical sources also imply that the change to the new technique must have occurred during the third quarter of the fifteenth century and that the finger technique seems at first to have been employed as a substitute for the plectrum. [...] Within limits, polyphony on the lute can be played using either a plectrum or a finger.<sup>218</sup>

Minamino’s assessment neatly lines up with the evidence of WOLFT: it was written exactly at the time when Paulirinus attributes plectrum playing to lute technique and a generation before finger technique was first mentioned by Tinctoris, who was also the first to mention the sixth course as well as solo intabulations for the lute—attributes that make up the bedrock of the later, sixteenth-century lute practice. Since WOLFT and the Kassel Collum Lutine are for the earlier five-course lute, but WOLFT at the same time contains solo arrangements, these tablatures must belong to the intermediate stage of lute technique in the 1450s–1470s. This mix of attributes hints at a similarly intermediate stage of right-hand technique. Minamino found several depictions that could refer to early finger playing, and one looks as if the player had only just laid down the plectrum (Figure 27):

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<sup>217</sup> Ensemble Digma et al.: *Kingdom of Heaven – Heinrich Laufenberg*; see FN 136 of the present study.

<sup>218</sup> Minamino: ‘*Paumann and solo lute practice*’, p. 295. Minamino may have been too strict in his reading of Tinctoris when equating plectrum technique with monophonic playing and finger technique with polyphonic playing and in placing the two practices in opposition to one another. A middle ground in which finger and plectrum technique are combined is a conceivable third option.

A miniature in Valerius Maximus's *De dictis et factis romanorum* of ca. 1470 depicts a bath scene in which a lutenist provides entertainment [...] The placing of the lutenist's right thumb and index finger on the strings shows that he can perform two-voice polyphony on his lute by plucking two separate courses simultaneously.<sup>219</sup>



**Figure 27:** Lute player using an early finger technique in Valerius Maximus's *De dictis et factis romanorum* (ca. 1470), D-B Depot Breslau 2. Ms. Rehd. 2, fol. 244r.

With a thumb-plus-index finger technique (with the other three fingers possibly resting on the top), which indeed would be only one step away from pure plectrum playing, one can easily bridge the few single split chords in WOLFT by striking the bottom note(s) with the thumb and the top note(s) with the index finger, while chords on adjacent courses can simply be strummed with the thumb. Runs can be played with the classic sixteenth-century thumb-under technique that was first described by Petrucci and that still carries the signature hand and finger positions of the plectrum player.

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<sup>219</sup> Ibid., p. 296. The picture Minamino refers to is in the manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Depot Breslau 2. Ms. Rehdigeranus 2, fol. 244r. It is reproduced in Bowles, Edmund A.: *Musikleben im 15. Jahrhundert* (Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Band III: Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Lfg. 8), Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1977, p. 151.

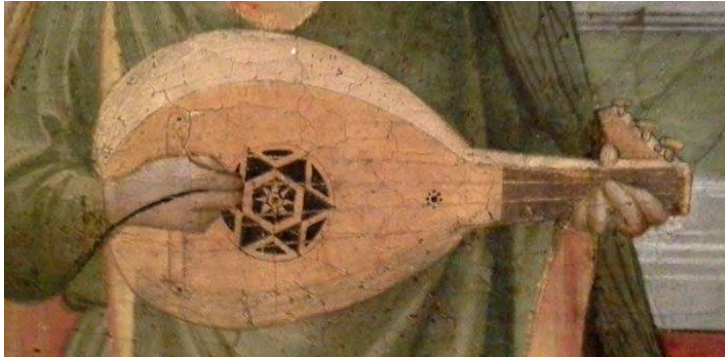
Most of the tablatures in WOLFT can be performed with the plectrum alone. However, the arrangement of WOLFT 3 with its several split chords could imply that the intabulator might also have used the early thumb and index finger technique. Another possibility would be a mixed plectrum plus finger technique where a finger is only added to the plectrum when split chords are unavoidable, much like the versions in WOLFT.<sup>220</sup> Such a hypothetical technique, only necessary for very few notes or chords in WOLFT 3 (less than 5% of the notes would require the additional use of one finger), can easily be applied when the playing position of the right hand is splayed rather than clasped. While depictions of lutes from the fourteenth and early fifteenth century tend to show the plectrum held in a clasped position (see Figure 28), pictures from the mid-fifteenth century onwards increasingly feature a splayed hand position, often with one or more fingers resting on the top, while one or two fingers either hover over or touch the higher courses (Figures 29–32). Even if these depictions were not intended to show a combined plectrum-plus-finger technique, the hand position shown here would not only facilitate such a technique, but could be considered a likely prerequisite. These depictions could thus represent a missing link between plectrum and finger playing at around the same time that the shift took place.<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> For modern lute practice, Crawford Young has developed such a technique that he teaches to his students and that was also employed in the recording *Kingdom of Heaven* (see FN 136 of the present study).

<sup>221</sup> Further depictions showing a such a splayed right-hand position are: Ugolino da Orvieto, *Declaratio musicae disciplinae*, Ferrara 1453, Bibl. Apost. Vat., MS Rossi 455, fol. 1r: Cupid playing a lute with plectrum held between thumb and index finger, while the middle finger appears to pluck a higher string; and on the Sint Ursulaschrijn from 1489 by Hans Memling (ca. 1433/1440–1494), Brügge, Hostpitaalmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal: Lute-playing angel holding a plectrum while seemingly touching another course with the ring finger.





**Figure 28:** Lute-playing angel with plectrum held in a clasped position. Agnolo Gaddi, ca. 1370, *Incoronazione della Vergine*, National Gallery of Art, Washington.



**Figure 29:** Lute-playing angel with plectrum held between thumb and index finger, while middle and ring finger seemingly touch higher strings. *Virgin and Child with angels*, not before 1425 by Giovanni dal Ponte (1385–1437), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



**Figure 30:** Lute-playing angel holding a plectrum while seemingly touching another course with the ring finger. *Madonna and Child with Angel; Saint Catherine and Saint Barbara*, ca. 1510–1520, Pittsburgh, Frick Art & Historical Center 1970.42.



**Figure 31:** Lute-playing angel holding a plectrum while appearing to pluck two strings with the fingers simultaneously. Colmar, Musée Unterlinden.



**Figure 32:** Lute-playing angel holding a plectrum while appearing to pluck strings with the fingers. Master of the St. Bartholomew Altar, Baptism of Christ, late 15<sup>th</sup> century.

With or without plectrum, with or without the use of fingers, the arrangements of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature indicate a stage of right-hand technique that is in transition from a monophonic playing style to contrapuntal playing on the lute and thus cannot be overemphasised as a missing link for the paradigm shift just after the mid-fifteenth century, when solo lute practice incorporated polyphony.

## 4 From Drone to Discantus: Changing Strategies for Instrumental Accompaniment of Late Medieval Secular Monophony<sup>222</sup>

Since the re-discovery of Medieval Music in the modern era, it has been a wish of performers to find binding rules for an historically informed accompaniment of medieval secular monophony. The following chapter will also not be able to fulfil this, even though the title may imply it. The lack of reliable guidelines for performers of medieval music is not a ‘phantom pain’, but a very real problem since literary and iconographic evidence attests to the fact that secular monophony was at least occasionally accompanied by instruments.<sup>223</sup> The musical sources are not of great help, since they do not give clear directions for any of the crucial parameters. We do not know for certain what kind of accompaniment was customary when, where, for which repertoires, and on which instruments. Historically, unaccompanied performance was most probably always an option, maybe even more often than accompanied, and—particularly for certain genres or occasions—the rule rather than the exception.

In the following chapter I adopt the perspective of the performer and turn the argumentation around: Rather than beginning at the source, I will put questions of modern performance practice to the test retrospectively in terms of surviving evidence. In doing so I will analyse the feasibility of certain modern *desiderata* and try to propose historically adequate solutions.

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<sup>222</sup> The contents of this chapter were pre-published for peer review in German: Lewon, Marc: ‘Zwischen Bordun, Fauxbourdon und Discantus – Zum Dilemma instrumentaler Begleitungsstrategien für mittelalterliche Einstimmigkeit’, *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 35/36 (2011/2012), Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 2018, pp. 87–118 & 320 (Abstract).

<sup>223</sup> This particularly applies to repertoires that exhibit proximity to dance genres. See: Page, Christopher: *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages. Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100–1300*, London 1987, here especially the summary found in the chapter “Conclusions” pp. 134–138.

It appears that in German speaking lands the art of secular monophonic song was cultivated long after polyphony had become the standard for secular songs in the Western and central European musical sources. The transmission of German monophony appears to have gone a separate path from these, since no such repertoire is known to have survived from any of the surrounding language areas. By the fifteenth century, this separate path had become an anachronism (in the best sense of the word), which raises a number of questions regarding performance practice. The presence of polyphonic models put pressure on the melodic shape of monophonic compositions to adapt to the necessities of counterpoint, so that a monophonic line could more easily cross over into the realm of polyphony. This environment must have had an impact on the character of an accompaniment, as well as consequences for the accompanying instruments, which around this time were also subject to fundamental changes.

In the following chapter I would like to address a twofold paradigm shift in German monophony of the late Middle Ages that must have had repercussions for an instrumental accompaniment. First, I will focus on the diachronic development and change in musical taste between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century, taking the musical oeuvre attributed to Neidhart as an example. Unlike the vast majority of Minnesang music, the music for Neidhart's songs is particularly well documented. Neidhart's songs were alive as a genre for well over 250 years, and were transmitted in musical manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century (with an isolated source for one song even from the end of the seventeenth century). My aim in this section will be to explore the changing shape of Neidhart's songs through the ages, and the possible reaction of an instrumental accompaniment to this phenomenon.

Secondly, I will look at the synchronic transmission of monophony in the fifteenth century (whether newly composed or adapted versions of old songs) to discern different types of melodies that seem to require different approaches for an instrumental

accompaniment. The opposing ends of the spectrum are occupied by two types of melodic construction, which I propose to name ‘Tenor’ and ‘Spruchsang’, respectively. The former lends itself effortlessly to extemporised counterpoint as taught in the discantus treatises—a technique also named “übersingen” in contemporary sources (i.e. “to sing (or play) a line above a (pre-given) melody”)—or is suitable to an accompaniment based on fauxbourdon practices. The latter, however, seems to yield only reluctantly to such polyphonic treatments. Therefore, the key words in this chapter’s title (“drone” and “discantus”) are not supposed to suggest a time frame or a development, but merely a spectrum and sound-scope of possible strategies for an instrumental accompaniment.

## 4.1 nîthart vs. Neidhart

The original Neidhart (the first minnesinger of this name) was active at the beginning of the thirteenth century, mainly in the Bavarian and Austrian regions. His dates of birth and death are unknown, but are generally estimated to be ca. 1190–ca. 1240. His innovative anti-Minnesang proved so successful that it inspired whole generations of imitators, and led to a transmission of his works until well into the era of printing.<sup>224</sup> Consequently, his songs developed a life of their own, and by the fifteenth century formed the distinct genre

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<sup>224</sup> As an overview and introduction to Neidhart, to the transmission of his songs, their forms and contents, as well as to their impact on song composition in the late Middle Ages, including a bibliography focussing mainly on German scholarship, see: Schweikle, Günther: *Neidhart* (Sammlung Metzler 253), Stuttgart: Metzler, 1990. Research regarding the transmission of his melodies, his music, and the question of performance, however, are only rudimentarily touched in this publication. The latest and most comprehensive edition of Neidhart’s works—the “Salzburger Neidhart-Edition”—presents all of his songs in a parallel edition of all the different versions from the individual manuscripts and including the surviving melodies: Müller, Ulrich, Ingrid Bennewitz and Franz Viktor Spechtler (eds.): *Neidhart-Lieder. Texte und Melodien sämtlicher Handschriften und Drucke*, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007. A new and much more extensive handbook on Neidhart, which also addresses the transmission of his melodies, was recently published: Lewon, Marc: ‘Die Melodienüberlieferung zu Neidhart’, in: Springeth, Margarete and Franz-Viktor Spechtler (eds.): *Neidhart und die Neidhart-Lieder. Ein Handbuch*, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2018, pp. 169–240. A summary of what can be summarised as the “Neidhart phenomenon” describing the impact of the Neidhart genre on the late medieval musical life of the Austrian region with Vienna at its epicentre was published on the website of the Vienna research project “Musical Life of the Late Middle Ages in the Austrian Region”: Lewon, Marc: ‘Das Phänomen “Neidhart”’, in: *Musical Life of the Late Middle Ages in the Austrian Region (ca. 1340–ca. 1520)* (2017), <http://www.musical-life.net/essays/b3-das-phaenomen-neidhart> (accessed 23.7.2017).

of the “Neidharts”.<sup>225</sup> Since this genre never went out of fashion in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, it always maintained a connection to real performance and, therefore, never shared the fate of the repertoires of numerous contemporary minnesingers. Even though they were still venerated as old masters in the fifteenth century, the works of Neidhart’s contemporaries had by this time fossilized into a classical canon, and were largely withdrawn from actual practice. That Neidhart’s music did not share that fate may be owed to the fact that new songs in similar style were added to the genre under Neidhart’s name, and that existing songs were expanded or adapted to contemporary taste. Furthermore, singers who adopted Neidhart’s name entered the stage and impersonated the legendary character, merging the name of the minnesinger inseparably with the content of his songs. Most notable amongst these was one Neidhart Fuchs, active at the Viennese court in the early fourteenth century.<sup>226</sup> Ceremonial and dance halls of the aristocracy as well as of urban citizens from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were decorated with scenes from Neidhart songs, testifying to the ongoing popularity of the genre.<sup>227</sup> By the late fourteenth century the genre of Neidhart plays was added to the phenomenon, which continued well into the sixteenth century, and was still known even

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<sup>225</sup> “Die Lieder selber erhalten als gattungstechnischen Terminus die Bezeichnung *ain nithart*: Der Name des Dichters wird als Gattungsbezeichnung verwendet [...],” (“The songs themselves receive the genre label „ain nithart“: The name of the poet is used as a generic name [...]”) Margetts, John (ed.): *Neidhartspiele* (Wiener Neudrucke. Neuausgaben und Erstdrucke deutscher literarischer Texte 7), Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1982, p. 262.

<sup>226</sup> See Schweikle: *Neidhart*, pp. 65–67 and Perger, Richard: ‘Neidhart in Wien’, *Neidhartrezeption in Wort und Bild* (Medium Aevum Quotidianum, Sonderband X), Krems 2000, pp. 112–122. “Neidhart Fuchs” was the name of the earliest Neidhart prints, which are said to be based on an entertainer at the Viennese court in the fourteenth century. Neidhart Fuchs’ existence is challenged by Fritz Peter Knapp (Knapp, Fritz Peter: *Die Literatur des Spätmittelalters in den Ländern Österreich, Steiermark, Kärnten, Salzburg und Tirol von 1273 bis 1439*, ed. by Herbert Zeman (Geschichte der Literatur in Österreich von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 2/1), Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1999, p. 470f. and Knapp, Fritz Peter: *Die Literatur des Spätmittelalters in den Ländern Österreich, Steiermark, Kärnten, Salzburg und Tirol von 1273 bis 1439*, ed. by Herbert Zeman (Geschichte der Literatur in Österreich von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 2/2), Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2004, pp. 337–351). See also the section on Neidhart Fuchs in Lewon: ‘*Das Phänomen “Neidhart”*’. Most current scholars, however, agree that he existed. For a summary on the arguments, see: Jöst, Erhard: ‘Das Schwankbuch Neithart Fuchs’, in: Springeth, Margarete and Franz-Viktor Spechtler (eds.): *Neidhart und die Neidhart-Lieder. Ein Handbuch*, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2018.

<sup>227</sup> See Blaschitz, Gertrud and Gerhard Jaritz (eds.): *Neidhartrezeption in Wort und Bild* (Medium Aevum Quotidianum, Sonderband X), Krems 2000.

to Emperor Maximilian I.<sup>228</sup> Last but not least the influence of the Neidhart songs on poet-composers from the fifteenth century is abundantly clear—particularly so in the oeuvre of Oswald von Wolkenstein, who drew heavily on that genre, both textually and musically.<sup>229</sup> The comparatively rich transmission of Neidhart melodies, which reaches its peak only ca. 1460 with the late Berlin Manuscript (Neidhart MS c), is evidence for the proximity of the Neidhart-genre to performance throughout the late Middle Ages.<sup>230</sup>

The chronologically broad distribution of melody sources starts, strictly speaking, around 1225 in the Codex Buranus, where there are extant neumes to one contrafact of a Neidhart song.<sup>231</sup> The distribution therefore stretches from Middle High German times (represented here by the contemporary spelling of his name as “nîthart”) to the Early New High German era (represented by the modern spelling “Neidhart”). The contemporary taste that is connected with a particular era is therefore reflected not only in the changing shape of the melodies over the ages, but also in the language of the song texts, which in turn influence melody, rhythm, performance, and—last but not least—an instrumental accompaniment.

The paradigm shift that can be observed between the early transmission of Neidhart songs in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and the late sources of the

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<sup>228</sup> This is apparent from a letter by the Emperor dating from 8<sup>th</sup> March 1495, in which he compares the suppression of a peasant revolt cynically with a “Neidhart dance” (“Neidhart-Tanz”)—a synonymous term to designate a “Neidhart play.” In the course of these were portrayed scenes with peasant dances but also and inevitably serious fights between the peasants and the protagonist—“Neidhart”—who sometimes was joined by his (noble) comrades-in-arms brutally punishing the peasants. (The letter was first printed by Kraus, Victor von (ed.): *Maximilians I. vertraulicher Briefwechsel mit Sigmund Prüschenk Freiherrn zu Stettenberg, Nebst einer Anzahl zeitgenössischer das Leben am Hofe beleuchtender Briefe*, Innsbruck: Wagner’schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1875, pp. 101–103 (with the passage in question on p. 103) and again by Simon, Eckehard: *Die Anfänge des weltlichen deutschen Schauspiels. 1370–1530. Untersuchung und Dokumentation* (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 124), Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2003, p. 392, Nr. 154. References for the performance of Neidhart plays can be found as late as 1519 (see: Margetts (ed.): *Neidhartspiele*, pp. 272–124).

<sup>229</sup> For the documentation of a newly found musical Neidhart-quotation in an Oswald-song, see chapter 5 and: „Oswald quoting Neidhart: “Ir alten weib” (Kl 21) & “Der sawer kübell” (w1): <https://mlewon.wordpress.com/2014/06/30/oswald-quoting-neidhart/> (accessed 23.7.2017).

<sup>230</sup> D-B Mgf 779 (paper manuscript, Nuremberg ca. 1460, 45 melodies).

<sup>231</sup> D-Mbs Clm 4660/4660a (Bavarian-Austrian region, ca. 1225–1230, with addenda until the 14<sup>th</sup> century). The manuscript contains adiastematic neumes to a number of songs. Amongst these is the Latin contrafact “Anno novali mea” to the Neidhart song “Nu gruoet aver diu heide” on fols. 67v–68r.

fifteenth century will be examined in three key aspects regarding implications for performance practice and a possible instrumental accompaniment: melodic construction, musical rhythm, and the available instruments.

#### **4.1.1 Melodic Construction**

The Frankfurt Neidhart Fragment (Neidhart MS O)<sup>232</sup> serves as a basis for the task at hand: not only does this source provide five almost complete melodies that can be dated back to the late thirteenth century, but three of these melodies also have parallel transmissions in sources from the fifteenth century, and can therefore be used for a direct stylistic comparison. One of these songs shall serve as a case study to exemplify a shifting trend in the prevailing preferences for melodic construction from thirteenth to the fifteenth century: “Sinc eyn gulden hoen” (O5, fol. 3r–v), one of Neidhart’s “Winterlieder”.<sup>233</sup> A second version of this song with musical notation can be found in the previously quoted Berlin Manuscript (see FN 230, c104, fols. 234r–235r) under the heading “Das guldein hún” (“The golden hen”). The title is taken from a striking metaphor in the first line of the song text where the lyrical subject—this singer himself—is referred to as “a golden hen” who is promised by the addressee of the song—the lady—to be fed with grains of wheat as a reward for his efforts. This opening dialog, therefore, clearly quotes and distorts classic and established conventions of courtly love, where service on the part of the noble man is hoped to be rewarded by the lady. The fact that the notation of this manuscript is missing clefs as well as a text underlay, while having form

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<sup>232</sup> D-F germ. oct. 18 (fragment of a parchment manuscript, Low German ca. 1300, 5 melodies).

<sup>233</sup> In modern scholarship Neidhart’s songs have traditionally been divided into summer songs (“Sommerlieder”) and winter songs (“Winterlieder”) following a system that was already partly employed in the late Neidhart MS c (see FN 230). This is Winterlied 4.



parts only occasionally marked, complicates a clear reading. An empirical analysis of the 45 melodies in this manuscript, however, shows that:<sup>234</sup>

- 1) the scribe apparently assumed a generic c4-clef for the entire source, which would result in plausible tonalities for all the songs, and on the whole would also be supported by the parallel transmission (including but not limited to MS O);
- 2) the prevailing principle of a syllabic setting allows for a fairly unambiguous text underlay;
- 3) the irregular marking of structural units coupled with the observation of coherent musical phrases allow for a convincing reconstruction of form parts and repetitions.

A comparison of the two transmissions—the early version from MS O and the late one from MS c —shows on the one hand that they can be traced back to a common melodic core, while on the other hand shows that they clearly deviate in detail. The synoptic transcription emphasizes the similarities of the two versions, whereas the melodic and modal differences become particularly apparent when comparing the facsimile reproductions:

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<sup>234</sup> For an overview and a detailed analysis of the musical transmissions of all Neidhart songs, see especially: Lewon: *‘Die Melodienüberlieferung zu Neidhart’*.

O5 (D-F germ. oet. 18, fol. 3r-v)

8 Sinc eyn gul-den hoen ich ghe-ue dir wey- - ze  
al - sus vroyt den to - ren gut ghe-ley - - se  
sci - re do wart id vro  
durch daz iar wirt iz war

Das guldein hún

c104 (D-B germ. fol. 779, fol. 234r-235r)

8 [Sing ein gul-dein hun ich gib dir wai - cze schier do wurd ich fro  
al - so freut den to - ren gut ver-hai - ssen durch das Jar wurd es war

8 sprach id nach den wil-len ich di sin - - ghe  
so ne wart ne man-nes mot so rin - - ghe

8 sprach sie nach den hul-den ich da sin - ge  
so ge-stund nye man-nes mut so rin - ge

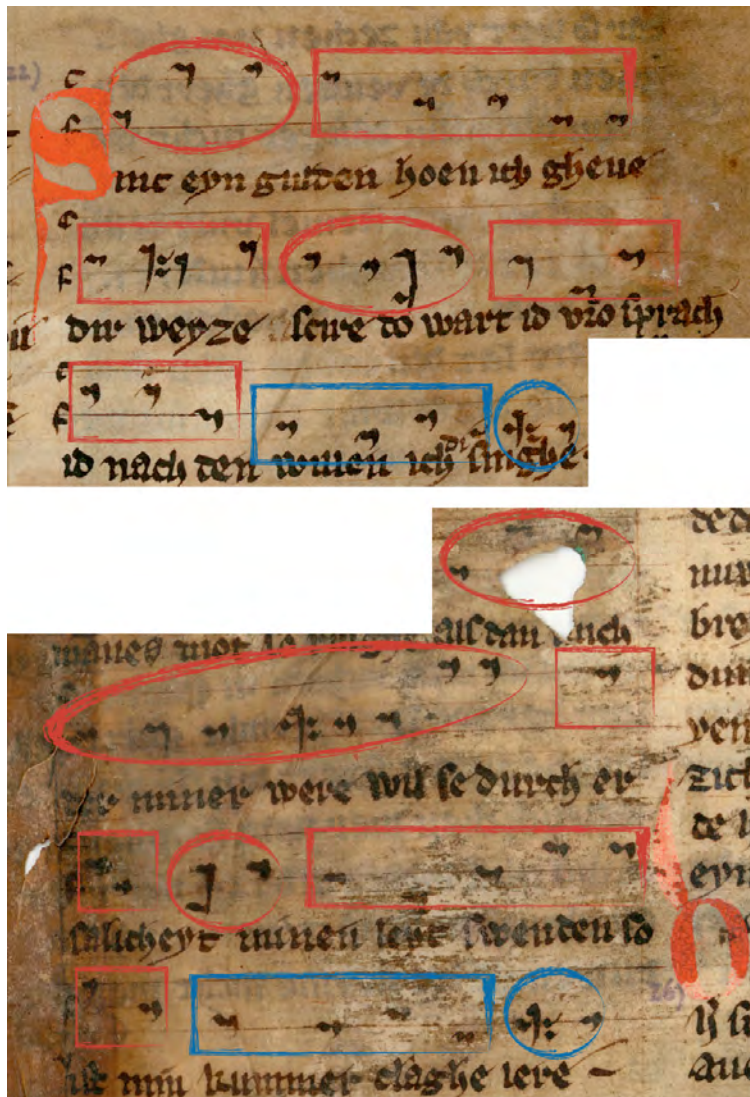
8 als - dan mich der mi-ner we- - re wil se durch er sa - li-cheyt mi-nen leyt

8 als nun hew - er auch der mynn we - re wolt sie durch Jr se-lig-kait mein laidt

8 swen-den so ist min kum-mer cla-ghe le - - re.

8 wen-den ia ist da mein kum-mer kla-ge - pe - - r(e)]

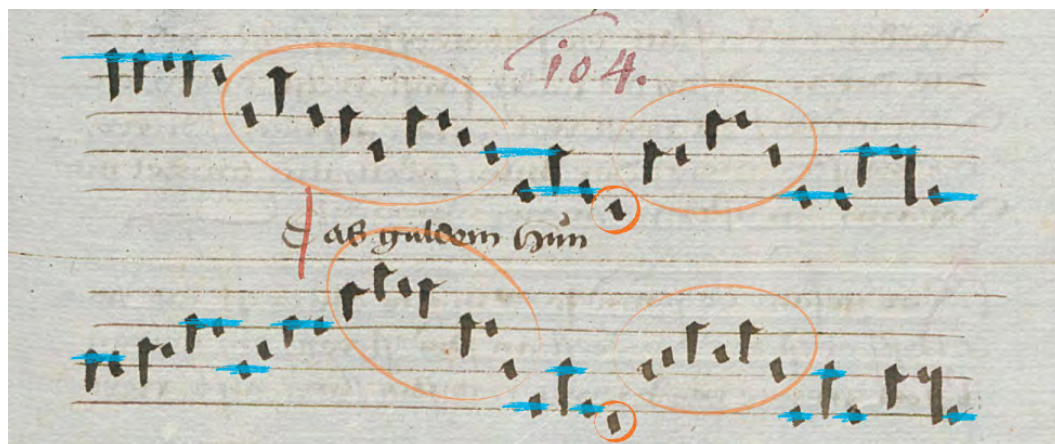
**Figure 1:** Synoptic transcription of “Sinc eyn gulden hoen” (Neidhart, O5, fol. 3r–v) and “Das guldein hún” (Neidhart, c104, fols. 234r–235r). While the repeated sections in MS c are neither marked nor written out the repetition of the “Stollen” (the A section) is written out in MS O (the only difference in this case is the one note that is marked with brackets here). The “bar lines” in this transcription merely separate poetic lines, the downward stem designates the virga in MS c.



**Figure 2:** “Sinc eyn gulden hoen” (Neidhart, O5, fol. 3r–v) without the written-out repetition of the A section. The melody oscillates between different modal centres or “fields”: circles represent the “Hauptklänge” (main sonorities) of the “G-field” (G below D / G above D = red circles) and the “D-field” (D Finalis = blue circles), rectangles mark the associated “Gegenklänge” (contrasting sonorities) of the “F-field” (F below A / F above C = red boxes) and the “C-field” (C below E = blue boxes).<sup>235</sup> The depiction

<sup>235</sup> In the analytic part of his Neidhart edition Ernst Rohloff showed already in 1962 that the melodies of MS O are governed by more complex structures than mere “church modes”: Rohloff, Ernst: *Neidharts Sangweisen* (Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse, 52/3 & 4), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962. However, he employed a methodology and terminology that addresses certain phenomena in a comparatively laborious way, which were described much more concise and to the point in a recent publication by Markus Jans, where he proposes a concept to understand and analyse medieval monophony in “modal fields” and “tonal colours”, which would correspond to the concept of “focal pitch” sometimes quoted in English literature: Jans, Markus: ‘Modus und Modalität wahrnehmen und vermitteln. Über die Arbeit mit Tonfeldern. Ein Erfahrungsbericht’, in: Brieger, Jochen (ed.): *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien 2013 (29), pp. 41–54. He uses a chant melody to demonstrate (more comprehensively than is possible in this chapter) how such a melody can sometimes not be attributed to a single mode, but blossoms in a “modal variety” that accounts for the “true elixir of life” in medieval monophony. The melody discussed there might be highly irregular for the chant repertoire but its “mechanisms” appear to apply for the Neidhart melodies in MS O. For a more comprehensive approach to modality in medieval chant, on which Jans’ interpretation is based, see especially: Schmidt, Christopher: *Harmonia Modorum. Eine gregorianische Melodielehre* (Sonderband der Reihe Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis), Winterthur/Schweiz: Amadeus Verlag, 2004, which includes the concepts of

thus illustrates a “shifting modality” from a “G”- to a “D-field” once for each form part. This analysis is a subjective interpretation based on practical experience with the performance of modal monophony. Other interpretations are of course possible.



**Figure 3:** “Das guldein hün” (Neidhart, c104, fol. 234r). The notation contains no clefs, no text underlay, and no demarcation of form parts or repetitions. With a principally syllabic texting and assuming a c4-clef it is plausible to identify the first line as the “Aufgesang” (A section), which needs to be repeated for a full bar-form, and the second line as the “Abgesang” (B section) of the song. The melody is more vertically oriented than the melody in MS O and stands in a clear church mode based on a “D-Hauptklang” (main sonority = blue lines), consisting of the pitch levels **d-f-a-d**. This is complemented by two “Gegenklänge” (contrasting sonorities): a weaker “F”-sonority comprising of c’-a-f or just f-a (pale orange circles) which leads into a stronger sonority on c (orange circles). The pentatonic construction of this melody allows for the tonal meanings of the “D”- and the “F-field” to partly merge into one another. In addition, the falling fourth motif, which characterises the melody of the A part, further weakens the tonal structures and ensure that the entire melody can be referred to the finalis d. It very much depends on the structure of the underlying text and ultimately on the individual interpretation in the performance to verify how clearly a certain note within the melody will be associated with a certain tonal field. Again, other interpretations are of course possible.

The two versions of this melody are essentially two realisations of one melodic idea under different prerequisites. While the earlier transmission in MS O oscillates between different tonal centres and thus places different modal ‘fields’ as tone colours next to one another, the version of MS c sticks to a very clear, tonal framework—a “Hauptklang”—which is punctuated merely by the occasional use of a weak “Gegenklang”. While the version of MS O relies on modal ambiguity, the version of MS c presents a relatively simple melodic organisation in just one tonality, in this case even bordering on a pentatonic scale. Furthermore, the version in MS O features small melismas at cadences which are missing almost entirely in MS c—an indication for the

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“Hauptklang” (“main sonority”) and contrasting “Gegenklang”, both of which were originally introduced by Smits van Waesberghe, Joseph: *A Textbook of Melody. A Course in Functional Melodic Analysis*, trans. by W. A. G. Doyle-Davidson, Rom (American Institute of Musicology) 1955.

trend in later sources to favour syllabic over melismatic treatments.<sup>236</sup> These observations can be confirmed by comparing other melodies from the two manuscripts thus describing a general stylistic tendency.

The song at hand was intended as an example to illustrate certain tendencies. There are, however, two further observations worth mentioning, which in this melody may recede into the background, yet feature strongly in other examples from the same sources. Both of them seem to support the idea that a common melodic core was elaborated in different ways with different priorities in each of the two manuscripts. The first one is that the melodies in the early MS O (ca. 1300) often feature notes for syllables in excess of the metrical count—syllables which would have been elided in a metrical analysis, and possibly in a spoken performance as well. Of course, the Germanic verse—in contrast to the Romance—allows for a more flexible filling of its metre, which is governed by a regular stress pattern rather than the Romance syllable count. Still, the metrical system would ask for the elision of unstressed syllables in certain positions, especially when a hiatus occurs (the head-on encounter of a final and an initial vowel within a metrical measure). In the example at hand, this case occurs only twice for the first strophe: once in the first line on the word “gheve” in which the unstressed suffix “-ve” (which in a metrical analysis would have been elided and the word cut to its stem “ghev”) received its own note, and a second time in the last line of the song where the words “so ist” are provided with a note each, even though the position of this group as an upbeat to the verse line would ask for only one syllable. In a performance one would assume that these two words would have been contracted to the monosyllabic “so’st” to

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<sup>236</sup> For a thorough analysis regarding the tendency towards syllabic settings in the late Neidhart sources, see: Lewon: ‘*Vom Tanz im Lied zum Tanzlied?*’, there especially: p. 174. See also Kragl, Florian: ‘Walther, Neidhart und die Musik. Möglichkeiten der musikalischen Analyse’, in: Bein, Thomas (ed.): *Der mittelalterliche und der neuzeitliche Walther. Beiträge zu Motivatik, Poetik, Überlieferungsgeschichte und Rezeption* (Walther-Studien 5), Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007, pp. 165–212, who supports this observation if only by comparing a very small corpus of songs.

support an alternating metre and in order to avoid the hiatus. Other songs from the same manuscript feature even greater deviations from a regularly alternating verse metre. This has strong implications for the question of a musical rhythm (though not notated), and therefore has consequences regarding performance, as will be shown below.<sup>237</sup> Song texts in later transmissions—such as MS c—appear to give up this freedom in favour of a more regular, alternating metrical pattern.

The second additional observation is that the repetition of melodic form parts is never identical. In “Sinc eyn gulden hoen” this merely concerns the word “gheve” previously discussed. In other songs from this source, however, the melodic deviation in the repeated A-part can be baffling.<sup>238</sup> On the other hand, the layout of the melodies of MS c exhibits a concept in which repetitions are intended as melodically identical. This feature highlights a critical issue, because the layout of MS c itself affects the discussion of its melodies. The scribes and compilers of the manuscript were apparently interested in a sober and consistent presentation of the songs. Perhaps the exemplars to their great Neidhart collection were extremely heterogenic, and the scribes tried their best to find a lowest common denominator. Maybe the texts and melodies had to be compiled from separate sources and thus recombined—a process which often involves a degree of uncertainty, especially regarding text underlay. Whatever the reasons for their decisions, homogeneity and completeness were guiding principles in the preparation of this manuscript. These principles left their mark on the melodic structure as well as the relationship between text and melody—and they consequently influence our

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<sup>237</sup> For a more detailed account of the musical treatment of excess syllables in MS O and its implication for a musical rhythm, see Lewon: ‘*Vom Tanz im Lied zum Tanzlied?*’, and there especially p. 163. Examples for this phenomenon are not restricted to MS O, but can be found in other contemporary sources of German music, such as the Münster Fragment (D-MÜsa, Msc VII 51). The extent of freedom in the filling of Germanic verse metres and its consequences for the musical settings is exemplified in: Lewon, Marc: ‘In het voetspoor van Veldeke. Essay over de verloren melodieën van Hendrik van Veldeke’, in: Baeten, Herman (ed.): *Hendrik van Veldeke en zijn muziek*, Neerpelt: Alamire, 2014, pp. 161–176, 191–193, 212–113, there especially on p. 163.

<sup>238</sup> For a more detailed analysis and comparison, see Lewon: ‘*Vom Tanz im Lied zum Tanzlied?*’, p. 165.

interpretation. The decision for an untexted transmission of the melodies, for example, leaves us with the question of whether or not they were intended primarily to fit the first strophe of the song—as is undoubtedly the case with the transmissions in MS O, where that strophe is underlaid—or if they represent a less specific, universally valid and ‘ironed out’ version of the melody. If the latter should prove true, the writing process would have involved levelling certain musical variants. The decision to not fully notate all repetitions deprives us of additional information, such as whether small melodic variants would have to been in practice. The fact that the scribes chose an almost schematic presentation of text and melody, at a time when Neidhart songs were still in vogue and part of the musical life, speaks for a general tendency towards regularity and simplicity in text and music from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century—a tendency that can be traced through other sources as well.<sup>239</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Rhythm

Modern ensembles tend to rely on a musical rhythm to guide their performance of secular monophony and to coordinate the interaction of the musicians. Regardless of whether or not such an ensemble performance of monophony existed in the Middle Ages, the question of a musical rhythm appears to be a modern *desideratum*. It is precisely this rhythm, however, that is not transmitted in the vast majority of the musical sources. Monophony was generally—and especially in the German region—notated in non-rhythmical chant notation. This does not pose a problem for a soloistic and unaccompanied performance: an unspecified rhythmical structure leaves the

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<sup>239</sup> The corpus of comparable sources for the early era of transmission is listed in the footnotes of Lewon, Marc: ‘Wie klang Minnesang? Eine Skizze zum Klangbild an den Höfen der staufischen Epoche’, in: Gallé, Volker (ed.): *Dichtung und Musik der Stauferzeit. Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Stadt Worms vom 12. bis 14. November 2010* (Schriftenreihe der Nibelungenlied-Gesellschaft Worms 7), Worms: Worms Verlag, 2011, pp. 69–123; for further information regarding the chronological development from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, see Lewon: ‘*Vom Tanz im Lied zum Tanzlied?*’, particularly pp. 161–171.

responsibility of shaping the line to the singer, and allows for a range of options at the singer's discretion. With a specified musical rhythm, these options would be unnecessarily constrained. The absence of a musical rhythm, however, has consequences for the interpretation, the size of the performing ensemble, and the coordination of a musician's performance. I have explored these consequences thoroughly with regard to the Neidhart transmissions in earlier studies, to which I will refer in the following discussion.<sup>240</sup>

A complete survey of all Neidhart sources has shown that the overwhelming majority of the melodies are notated without a musical rhythm: the 66 unrhythmised melodies by far outnumber the six rhythmised melodies from late sources.<sup>241</sup> This finding is remarkable in itself in that, since their rediscovery, Neidhart's songs have been almost without exception viewed as a pointedly rhythmical, indeed "dance-like" repertoire that were even considered suitable to accompany dance performances (and this quite distinct from other repertoires in the realm of German Minnesang and Spruchsang). As a result, the secondary literature on the one hand routinely asked for a "dance-like" rhythm in the performance of these songs, while on the other hand never clearly defined its parameters.<sup>242</sup> A dance can, for instance, be slow and calm, without necessarily featuring regular stress patterns. The expectation expressed in the secondary literature, however,

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<sup>240</sup> See Lewon: 'Vom Tanz im Lied zum Tanzlied?'; Lewon: 'Wie klang Minnesang?', here pp. 79–87; and Lewon: 'Die Melodienüberlieferung zu Neidhart'.

<sup>241</sup> Three of these are found in the "Eghenvelder Liedersammlung" (A-Wn s.n. 3344, fols. 100v–115r), which has a significant Neidhart section that contrasts strongly in appearance from the rest of the song collection: whereas the bulk of the source uses chant notation, the Neidhart-songs are notated with mensural note-shapes even when there is no musical rhythm. For a thorough analysis of the source and its notation, see Lewon: 'Eghenvelder-Liedersammlung'.

<sup>242</sup> For a conclusive line of argument that shows how Neidhart's songs became "dance-songs" in the course of their modern reception in the secondary literature and musical editions since the nineteenth century (ergo, a historiography on Neidhart reception with respect to rhythm and dance), see Lewon: 'Vom Tanz im Lied zum Tanzlied?', pp. 137–159. The idea that songs from the minnesang oeuvre, even if they are about dance, were not actually meant to be danced to is also supported by a philological study by Hübner, Gert: 'Gesang zum Tanz im Minnesang', in: Klein, Dorothea, Brigitte Burrichter and Andreas Haug (eds.): *Das mittelalterliche Tanzlied (1100–1300). Lieder zum Tanz – Tanz im Lied* (Würzburger Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie 37), Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2012, pp. 111–136.



implicitly tends towards a simple, regular, alternating, accentuated, even fast musical rhythm. There is no question that such an interpretation is possible for a number of Neidhart songs, especially from the late sources. Yet such a generic rhythm cannot be derived from the notation of the surviving sources, and certainly not for all the songs.

The previous observations suggest that it may be sensible to once more clearly discern between early and late transmissions of Neidhart melodies in order to mark another paradigm shift: as in the discussion on modality above, there appears to be a tendency of change from an unspecified rhythm in the earliest sources to a regular one by the fifteenth century. This finding matches the observed tendency in the metrics of the Neidhart texts from the early to the late transmissions, pointing to a development from more freely organised metrical units to regular stress patterns, as exemplified by the two versions of Winterlied 4 (“Sinc eyn gulden hoen” and “Das guldein hún”). This preference for a uniform metrical system with a regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables increases towards the late Middle Ages and seems to influence the rhythm of both the text and the melody in performance.<sup>243</sup> Combined with a syllabic setting, the resulting rhythmic structure of both text and music translates to a simple, rhythmic principle with a regular alternation of stressed and unstressed notes, which I like to refer to as ‘reference rhythm’ in order to replace the old, rather laboured and misleading expression “dance-like triple metre” (see also chapter 1.1). The problem with the descriptive latter term is its biased interpretation of a simple phenomenon, which might in truth be open to a number of different and equally valid interpretations. For one it labels pieces as “danceable” whether or not the song was actually meant to be danced to (a functional purpose which cannot be ascertained for any of the surviving songs). Furthermore, the alternating rhythm of the text’s metrics is thus forced into a musical

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<sup>243</sup> For an exemplary comparison of two text transmissions from two eras of the same song, see especially Lewon: ‘*Vom Tanz im Lied zum Tanzlied?*’, pp. 169–171, particularly p. 170.

metre which, on the one hand, seems to predispose the modern transcription into a three-four or six-eight time, while, on the other, limits it to a triple metre. The principle of the reference rhythm, however, can also be found in duple time realisations.<sup>244</sup> The occasionally-drawn connection to the first rhythmic mode from modal notation is not of much help either, for similar reasons: again, the idea behind the rhythm is not restricted to a triple metre, as is suggested when referring to the concepts of modal rhythms, but can translate to a duple metre as well. What is more, the concept of modal rhythms was invented for textless melodies, preceding their later texting. And finally, this thirteenth-century concept developed for sacred Latin polyphony from France bears no direct relationship to the realm of monophonic secular German music of the fifteenth century, and thus is unsuited to describing the phenomenon under discussion.<sup>245</sup>

#### 4.1.3 Reference Rhythm and Dance

In summary, modern scholarship had more or less adopted the idea that Neidhart songs—especially those from late sources—were essentially dance music. For a number of reasons this assumption was not entirely unfounded, some of which have already been discussed above: firstly, the songs are often themselves about dance, secondly, they

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<sup>244</sup> A detailed discussion of the concept of ‘reference rhythm’ and its implications on performance can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 169–173, and in Lewon, *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch 2*, pp. 35, 37, and 46. For a more recent summary, see also: Lewon, Marc: ‘Jenseits der Hierarchie: Oswald von Wolkenstein als adliger Musiker am Konstanzer Konzil’, in: Morent, Stefan, Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinheuer (eds.): *Europäische Musikkultur im Kontext des Konstanzer Konzils* (Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen 47), Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2017, pp. 131–147, here pp. 138–140. For a list of songs showing a reference rhythm in triple and duple metre, see FN 249. One particularly illustrative example is Oswald’s song “Vil lieber grüsse süsse” (Kl 42)—a song with a strictly alternating stress pattern in its text combined with a syllabic underlay, which in his earlier manuscript (A-Wn Cod. 2777, WOLKA, fol. 44r) is notated in triple metre and in his later manuscript (A-Iu s.s., WOLKB, fol. 18r) in duple metre.

<sup>245</sup> For a discussion of rhythmic theories for secular monophony, namely Minnesang, see: Kippenberg, Burkhard: *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang. Eine Kritik der literar- und musikhistorischen Forschung mit einer Übersicht über die Musikalischen Quellen* (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 3), München: C. H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962; a thorough discussion of the problematic application of the “modal theory” on the music of the trouvères, including a chapter on Minnesang, can be found in: Sühling, Peter: *Der Rhythmus der Trobadors. Zur Archäologie einer Interpretationsgeschichte* (Berliner Arbeiten zur Erziehungs- und Kulturwissenschaft 16), Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2003.

display the observed tendency towards regularly alternating rhythms in metrics and notation, thirdly, a number of dance and feast halls from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were decorated with painted scenes from Neidhart songs including dance scenes, and fourthly, documents from the late Middle Ages sometimes refer to the term “Neidhart-Tanz” (“Neidhart dance”).<sup>246</sup> However, songs about dance do not necessarily have to be dance songs, and as has been shown, the alternating reference rhythm is primarily a visual manifestation of a metric principle that may have had motivations and meanings other than dance music. Many Neidhart songs do not even mention dance, and the term “Neidhart-Tanz” was a contemporary name for the popular “Neidhart Plays” and did not refer to the songs. It is true that numerous dance scenes were acted out in the course of these plays, as we know from surviving stage directions. Yet, it is more likely that they were performed to typical dance music of the time played by wind bands, rather than to sung versions of Neidhart songs.<sup>247</sup> The same applies to events hosted in private dance halls. The scenes depicted in surviving frescos in a number of these halls are often generic, particularly so when they show dances. Rather than depicting certain Neidhart songs, they might just as easily have been inspired by—and thus represent—acted out scenes from the Neidhart Plays.<sup>248</sup>

In summary, it can be said that the alternating musical rhythm of the late Neidhart sources is a notational echo of the increasingly popular metrical principle of a strict alternation between stressed and unstressed syllables in the song texts. This principle may occasionally even lead to verses, strophes, or even to whole songs obeying the concept of

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<sup>246</sup> See FN 227.

<sup>247</sup> See Margetts, John (Hrsg.): *Neidhartspiele*, (Wiener Neudrucke. Neuausgaben und Erstdrucke deutscher literarischer Texte 7), Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1982. The indications for musical performances in the surviving Neidhart Plays bear no hints at the intended repertoire. For the accompaniment of dances “minstrels” are asked to “aufpfeifen”, i.e., to play wind instruments, likely the reed instruments of an *alta capella* (shawm and pommer). When singing is mentioned, the actor is asked to sing “whatever he likes” (“Das Große Neidhartspiel,” vss. 1552–1553) or “a new dance” (“einen neuen trit”) which was specifically written for the occasion (vs. 141).

<sup>248</sup> See Lewon: ‘*Das Phänomen “Neidhart”*’, chapter “Eine studentische Neidhartsammlung aus Wien”.

syllable count, which was alien to Germanic poetry of the Middle Ages. The resulting reference rhythm in the notation is therefore nothing more than the transcript of a practice or the illustration of a principle. It serves as an orientation and not as an instruction to be strictly followed. It could be described and interpreted as “dance-like” but by the same token, and probably even more adequately, as “narrative.” As such it should not be taken too literally but rather accepted as a sort of “performance pulse, especially since the notation of these pieces is “semi-mensural” at best and cannot be compared to the precision of mensurally-notated polyphony of French and Italian sources from the same time. The pulse provided by the reference rhythm can be helpful for an ensemble interpretation because it renders the organisation of the song predictable, and thus enables collective extemporisation. This may well be desirable for forms which include refrains that could have been intended for performance with a chorus, though a refrain in the modern sense of the word rarely appears in Neidhart songs, and never in those that survive with music.

Outside of Neidhart’s oeuvre, reference rhythm can be encountered in other repertoires of German monophony, particularly so in the monophonic songs of Oswald von Wolkenstein and LOCH.<sup>249</sup> Occasionally, the reference rhythm can also appear in polyphony, for instance when a melody is reworked as a cantus firmus into a polyphonic texture and the reference rhythm betrays its previous life as a monophonic tenor. One example is the anonymous “Ein tagweiß” in the Linz Fragments (A-LIb 529, Fragment 21), which can be reverse engineered to reconstruct the original ‘Tenor’ with its reference

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<sup>249</sup> The following monophonic songs by Oswald von Wolkenstein (quoted by Klein-numbers) feature reference rhythm: Kl 19, Kl 26, Kl 44, Kl 21, Kl 27, Kl 55, Kl 59, Kl 60, Kl 61, Kl 73, Kl 81, Kl 90, Kl 99, Kl 106, and Kl 116, which in WOLKA has the reference rhythm but features no rhythm in WOLKB, as well as Kl 42, which in WOLKA features a triple metre but a duple metre in WOLKB; furthermore, the *Repeticiones* of the following Oswald-songs display a reference rhythm in triple metre: Kl 20, Kl 37 (2vv in WOLKA, but monophonic in WOLKB), and Kl 69. These Oswald songs show a reference rhythm in duple metre: Kl 86, Kl 70, Kl 104, as well as the 2vv organum-like pieces: Kl 51, Kl 84, Kl 91; the Lochamer Liederbuch features a reference rhythm in triple metre in: LOCH 8, LOCH 35, LOCH 42; and on in duple metre in: LOCH 39, LOCH 44.

rhythm.<sup>250</sup> In performance this rhythm can also be plausibly applied to a number of unrhythmised Neidhart songs from late sources. Transferring this rhythmical principle to songs, which are notated without a musical rhythm, however, requires a differentiated approach.



**Figure 4:** “Owe summer zeit” (Neidhart, w5, A-Wn s.n. 3344, fol. 106v), a Neidhart song notated in reference rhythm with alternating semibreves and minims. The ends of verse lines are marked with breves or longs, custodes are represented by semiminims.

<sup>250</sup> For a facsimile depiction, transcription, and analysis, see the blog entry Lewon, Marc: “A-Lib 529, Fragment 21”, <https://musikleben.wordpress.com/2012/11/25/ein-tagweis/> (accessed 30.12.2017), and for the reconstructed “Tenor”, see Lewon, Marc: “Marc’s Milk Carton: Who recognises the “tagweiß”?”, <https://mlewon.wordpress.com/2013/03/12/who-recognises-the-tagweis/> (accessed 30.12.2017).

It appears that by the fifteenth century, the reference rhythm had become a feature, associated with Neidhart songs. When in 2013 I ordered a scan of the Neidhart sketches in A-Wn Cod 5458, fol. 226r, Friedrich Simader from the department of manuscripts at Vienna University informed me that there was notation on the outside of the book's cover. I had also this cover scanned and could identify three different textless notations, two of which employ reference rhythm. Their melodic structure is very reminiscent of the monophonic repertoires by Oswald von Wolkenstein or the late Neidhart transmissions in the Eghenvelder Liedersammlung (EGH) from the same era—both of which also tend to employ reference rhythm.<sup>251</sup>

With regard to notation and musical rhythm, the early Neidhart sources are indistinguishable from the transmission of other comparable genres from the same time, first and foremost Minnesang and Spruchsang. Everything that is known or assumed for the music of Minnesang and Spruchsang should be transferable to Neidhart songs in principle, and we should likewise not expect a radically different approach to the musical rhythm. In modern scholarship and performance practice, however, it is quite the opposite: The relatively rich and seemingly homogeneous corpus of surviving Neidhart melodies, which at the same time has been assumed to be strictly rhythmical and “dance-like”, has also been used as a backdrop and model for other repertoires that are less fortunate with respect to melody transmission and information on performance practice. However, this new interpretation of the sources explored above suggests that the transmission of Neidhart melodies is actually far less homogeneous than previously assumed, having been subject to massive changes between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and that it was far less “rhythmical” or “dance-like”. Classic Minnesang is the

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<sup>251</sup> For a facsimile depiction, transcription, and analysis, see the blog entry Lewon, Marc: “A-Wn Cod 5458 – Medieval Musical Scribbles from Vienna University”, <https://musikleben.wordpress.com/2013/07/07/a-wn-cod-5458-musical-scribbles-from-vienna-university/> (accessed 30.12.2017).

backdrop for the transformations and innovations in Neidhart's texts, and all available evidence suggests that it applies to the performance of early Neidhart transmissions, not the other way around.

The distinguishing feature of Neidhart's songs is of course the deviation from the norm. Therefore, deviation in melody and rhythm from its Minnesang backdrop is to be expected. This deviation might have manifested itself in citations of peasant musical practices (possibly including choral forms), or—and this is even more likely—citations of what the nobility of this time considered rustic music. Unfortunately, these parameters cannot be verified since comparative repertoires are missing. My assumption, however, is that Neidhart himself had planted the seed for the reference rhythm, which would only become apparent in the late sources of the fifteenth century, and that he had introduced it not in order to render his songs danceable, but as a quotation of (rural) dance.<sup>252</sup> For the performance practice of early Neidhart transmissions this would mean that it may be desirable at least occasionally to allow a regular rhythm to shine through, namely, as part of the narrative tool, as an aural marker, and as an illustrative *mise-en-scène* of the song's contents—but not as an end in itself dominating the interpretation.

The late Neidhart transmissions, however, are a different case altogether, presenting a heterogeneous picture with respect to rhythm: The majority of the transmissions are still notated without a musical rhythm. A few examples feature a reference rhythm, which in some cases appears to be transferable to unrhythmised melodies from the same sources, meaning: the structures of those unrhythmised songs resemble those with a notated rhythm, and thus allow a reference rhythm to be imposed upon them. Therefore, these sources seem to increasingly favour a regular performance rhythm as an additional possibility to a free, declamatory style. This tendency could be

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<sup>252</sup> For a more detailed analysis see Lewon: '*Vom Tanz im Lied zum Tanzlied?*', pp. 176–179.

interpreted as (1) a more pronounced citation of dance, (2) an indication of an actual dance song, or—analogue to Oswald’s narrative songs—(3) a propulsive pattern, suitable for story-telling. The latter interpretation of the rhythm seems particularly apt for the performance of the Neidhart farces with multiple strophes. Their narrative character and the absence of refrains support the idea that these songs were meant for solo performance by professionals in front of an audience rather than communal songs jointly sung by many.<sup>253</sup> This means that even though these songs are particularly suited to be sung with a reference rhythm, this rhythm would be used for its narrative qualities, and not for coordinating an ensemble of musicians in joint performance, nor for accompanying a dance.

#### 4.1.4 Instruments

In his monograph *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages* Christopher Page presented all string instruments that could be considered for the accompaniment of monophony in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and thoroughly discussed their suitability, scope of application, and idiomatic aspects.<sup>254</sup> Admittedly, his analysis refers to the music of the Trobadors and Trouvères. However, certain aspects, particularly regarding specific

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<sup>253</sup> For a practical and experimental application of these principles, particularly the implementation of the reference rhythm, see the recordings of Neidhart and Oswald songs on the albums by Ensemble Leones: *Neidhart – A Minnesinger and his „Vale of Tears“: Songs and Interludes*, Ensemble Leones (Naxos, 2012), *The Cosmopolitan – Songs by Oswald von Wolkenstein*, Ensemble Leones (Christophorus, 2014), and *Argentum et Aurum – Musical Treasures from the Early Habsburg Renaissance*, Ensemble Leones (Naxos 2015).

<sup>254</sup> See Page: *Voices and Instruments*, especially part 2, chapters 9 & 10, pp. 111–134. See also the relevant chapters to the individual instruments in Duffin, Ross W.: *A Performer’s Guide to Medieval Music*, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000, and particularly for the vielle/fiddle with ideas about tuning, as well as playing techniques and methods for accompaniment McGee, Timothy J.: ‘The Medieval Fiddle: Tuning, Technique, and Repertory’, *Instruments, Ensembles, and Repertory, 1300–1600. Essays in Honour of Keith Polk* (Brepols Collected Essays in European Culture 4), Turnhout/Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2013, pp. 31–56 as well as Woodfield, Ian: *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, Ceulemans, Anne-Emmanuelle: *De la vièle médiévale au violon du XVIIe siècle: étude terminologique, iconographique et théorique*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2011 (Épitome musical), and Polk, Keith: ‘Vedel and Geige—Fiddle and Viol: German String Traditions in the Fifteenth Century’, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52/3 (1989), pp. 504–546.



instruments and ensemble combinations can convincingly be transferred to the practice in German speaking lands. In order to do so it is of crucial importance to verify if and how far the instruments in use differed between the German speaking world and the Romance linguistic areas. Analogous to the observations on texts and melodies above, we must ask if the instruments were subject to change, replacement, and enhancement, or if they were retained largely unchanged until the fifteenth century. Even though there is a wide overlap in both categories between both language areas, a closer analysis shows that small but vital differences must have had an impact on the instrumental sound of the individual repertoires. Equally important to defining the typical instruments for a certain era and region is also the question of untypical instruments.<sup>255</sup> For instance, the iconography at the heyday of German Minnesang shows essentially no plucked chordophones with a neck to fret the strings—i.e. no lutes, citoles, gitterns, etc.—instruments, which to some degree can be found in Romance lands of the thirteenth century. Unsurprisingly, the *vielle* is the one instrument that pervades almost all eras and regions of the late Middle Ages as the most popular for accompaniment and it is thus also of fundamental importance for the early Neidhart transmission. Apart from this, the sound of Minnesang and its sister oeuvre must have been dominated by plucked chordophones with unfretted strings, ergo with instruments that feature one string per note, such as harp, lyre (the old form of the late medieval harp), psaltery, rota (harp-psaltery), etc. The small ranges of these instruments indicate that they were probably used to create “modal fields” and changing drone patterns for the accompaniment of a melody (which certainly could have been oscillating and dense) rather than to provide a melody plus “chordal” accompaniment (as is often done in modern performance practice).<sup>256</sup> Apart from these stringed instruments and a

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<sup>255</sup> See Lewon: ‘*Wie klang Minnesang?*’, pp. 108–116.

<sup>256</sup> Concerning tuning and possible playing techniques on early harps, see Bagby, Benjamin: ‘Imagining the Early Medieval Harp’, in: Duffin, Ross W. (ed.): *A Performer’s Guide to Medieval Music*, Bloomington &

variety of percussion instruments, which were probably used primarily to accompany dance music, few other instruments turn up in German iconography which could reasonably be connected to the accompaniment of monophonic song, such as the transverse flute and the hurdy-gurdy.

Only in the late Middle Ages do plucked chordophones with a neck to fret the strings begin to appear in German iconography. Some of them, such as the citole, only stayed for a very short time at the linguistic border to French speaking lands, from whence they came, and quickly disappeared at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Others, such as the lute (which around 1400 received frets) were there to stay, and rose to become the most popular instruments of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Instruments with unfretted strings survived, but were subject to substantial and lasting changes, such as the expansion of their ambitus, which impacted heavily on playing techniques and idiomatic aspects. The applications of this altogether new range of instruments points in a distinct direction: they became, to a certain degree, capable of soloistic polyphony.

Thus, composed polyphony as well as techniques for extemporising polyphony taught in discantus treatises became increasingly accessible on instruments. In rare cases these techniques could have extended to more than two voices, as is indicated in the English discantus treatises by Walter Odington (*De Speculatione Musices*, beginning 14<sup>th</sup> century) and Pseudo-Chilston (ca. 1420).<sup>257</sup> The extemporisation of new voices to a given

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Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000, pp. 336–344; and Bagby, Benjamin: ‘Beowulf, the Edda, and the Performance of Medieval Epic: Notes from the Workshop of a Reconstructed “Singer of Tales”’, in: Vitz, Evelyn Birge, Nancy Freeman Regalado and Marilyn Lawrence (eds.): *Performing medieval narrative*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 181–192, here pp. 188–191. In these essays Bagby describes such an oscillating playing technique for harps and related instruments with small ranges.

<sup>257</sup> On Walter Odington, see: Hammond, Frederick F. (ed.): *Summa de speculatione musicae Walteri Odington* (Corpus scriptorum de musica 14), Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1970, part VI: “De Harmonia Multiplici”, chapters 11–17, pp. 139–146, translated in: Huff, Jay A. (ed.): *Walter Odington: De speculatione musicae, part VI* (Musicological Studies and Documents 31), The American Institute of Musicology, 1973, pp. 26–39. On Pseudo-Chilston and theoretical sources on fauxbourdon techniques, see: Meech, Sanford B.: ‘Three Musical Treatises in English from a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript’, in:

melody was not limited to vocal performance: The organ treatises of the fifteenth century also taught a form of extemporised polyphony in their *fundamenta organisandi*: a practice of adding a moving upper voice to a slow moving *cantus firmus* on the instrument, which Hans Rudolf Zöbeley referred to as ‘*Spielvorgang*’.<sup>258</sup> These practices, and particularly those of *fauxbourdon* on the continent and *faburden* and *gymel* in England, even though they all derived their counterpoint from linear progressions, might have resulted in certain harmonic expectations. Though “preferential harmonic progressions” were not discussed in theory treatises before 1500, modern scholars thought them to be derivable from existing compositions and from Guilielmus Monachus’s *discantus* treatise “*De preceptis artis musice et pratice compendiosus libellus*”, though both late and exceptional (ca. 1480).<sup>259</sup> Whether or not such standardised progressions were actually part of a musical conscience or whether polyphonic extemporisation was limited to *fauxbourdon* practices and *discantus* rules, the newly developed instruments from this era were capable of imitating the counterpoint and thus the resulting harmonies.

Even if the voice leading of the original polyphonic models could not always be completely fulfilled on these instruments, the progressions could be simulated well enough to recreate the impression of contrapuntally-derived harmonies that would have been in agreement with the *discantus* rules of the time. Instruments with a large pitch

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*Speculum* 10/3 (1935), pp. 235–269 and Bukofzer, Manfred: *Geschichte des englischen Diskants und des Fauxbourdons nach den theoretischen Quellen*, 2nd ed. (Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen 21), Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1973.

<sup>258</sup> See above, FN 88, for a definition.

<sup>259</sup> The concept of a “harmonically planned” composition was argued for instance by Blackburn, Bonnie J.: ‘On compositional process in the fifteenth century’, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40/2 (1987), pp. 210–284. The idea that rules for extemporised three- to four-voice counterpoint derived from Guilielmus Monachus’ treatise “*De preceptis artis musice et pratice compendiosus libellus*” would result in standardised harmonic progressions was described and prepared for practical application by Jans, Markus: ‘Alle gegen Eine. Satzmodelle in Note-gegen-Note-Sätzen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts’, *Bildung und Ausbildung in Alter Musik* (Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis 10), Winterthur/Schweiz: Amadeus Verlag, 1986, pp. 101–120; and again, but more systematically in Jans, Markus: ‘Modale »Harmonik« . Beobachtungen und Fragen zur Logik der Klangverbindungen im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert’, *Modus und Tonalität* (Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis 16), Winterthur/Schweiz: Amadeus Verlag, 1992, pp. 167–188.

range, such as the harp and the lute, were not the only ones able to create this impression of polyphony, but certain instruments with serious restrictions with regards to ambitus or number of strings, such as the late medieval fiddle and the early forebears of the Renaissance guitar, could also have managed it. These were equipped with an efficient tuning system and strings that could be fretted, to enable the impression of polyphony when played, even if occasional “shortcuts” had to be taken or idiomatic tricks employed.

The instruments emerging in Italy at this time took one step further, and despite the fruits of this development not being automatically transferable to the German speaking areas, the following considerations might clarify which tendencies in the polyphonic treatment and accompaniment of monophonic melodies must have taken root by the early fifteenth century. A number of instruments started to feature so called “re-entrant” tuning systems, in which the outer strings do not represent the highest and lowest courses of the instrument respectively: a tuning, in short, where the courses are not all ordered from the lowest to the highest pitch, as is normally the case for such instruments as harps, psalteries, and lutes.

The concept itself was not new to the fifteenth century: Two of the three fiddle tunings given by Jerome of Moravia in his *Tractatus de Musica* already in the late thirteenth century include a re-entrant tuning in which the bottom string is not the lowest. By the fifteenth century, however, these tunings became increasingly popular: it is for instance described for the cetra by Johannes Tinctoris in his “De inventione et usu musice.” The tuning of these instruments was designed to produce a maximum of harmonic colours with few but powerful means, which included a small ambitus with small intervals between open courses that can be fretted. In the case of the cetra the possible range of the open metal strings was already limited by material constraints because the available alloys allowed only a narrow margin, much smaller than the more flexible gut. The re-entrant tunings facilitate a polyphonic-chordal playing technique in

which individual voice leading does not always strictly conform to polyphonic models, but merely creates the illusion of a “correct counterpoint”—much like in the later arrangements and repertoires for cittern and guitar.<sup>260</sup> The evolution of the medieval *vielle* to the *lira da braccio* of the early Renaissance belongs in the same category, with the later instrument being capable of creating harmonic progressions, as opposed to providing oscillating modal fields.<sup>261</sup> These instruments, with their possibilities and sonorities pointing towards the ideals of the Renaissance, can arguably be viewed as humanist pioneers of the later Orphic instruments.<sup>262</sup> The chordal progressions that result from “model harmonisations” (see FN 259) must have been in the air, and thus potentially and generally available, not only in Italy but also in the neighbouring German speaking lands. Since both the model harmonisations and the instrumental accompaniment of songs belonged to the realm of extemporisation, and thus should be understood in terms of “usus” and unwritten practice, they would surface only secondarily in the realms of composition and textuality.<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> This effect is nowadays still being used for such instruments as the ukulele or the banjo.

<sup>261</sup> See especially McGee: *The medieval fiddle*, pp. 49–54.

<sup>262</sup> For a reference to Orphic instruments in one of the songs by Oswald von Wolkenstein, see: Lewon: *‘Jenseits der Hierarchie’*, pp. 138–140.

<sup>263</sup> Oswald von Wolkenstein’s song „Ir alten weib“ (Kl 21; see FN 229) is full of allusions to music and musical terms including explicit references to polyphonic playing or singing („quintiere[n]“ = parallel organum, „französisch hoflich discantiere[n]“ = *discantus*-improvisation in the French courtly manner) as well as a direct reference to instrumental accompaniment in the style of one “Jöstlin,” which after Werner Marold (Marold, Werner: *Kommentar zu den Liedern Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, ed. by Alan Robertshaw, (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft. Germanistische Reihe 52), Innsbruck 1995, Diss. Göttingen 1926) also Michael Shields argued to refer to Leonardo Giustinian (“Jöstlins saitenpiel” interpreted as “Giustiniani’s string playing”). Reinhard Strohm, however, has pointed out (in private communication) that “Jöstlin” is a common diminutive of “Judocus” and probably refers to another person. In the first strophe of his song “Ich sich und hör” (Kl 5) Oswald explicitly refers to his own music making when he says “owe ist mein gesangk. / dasselb quientier ich tag und nacht” (“My singing goes “alas”. This I sing in fifth day and night.”). Though none of these remarks actually denote “harmonisations”, since “discantieren” and “quintieren” are single-line techniques, the references associate extemporised polyphony with the accompaniment of monophonic music, both by voices and instruments. See also Shields, Michael: “‘Hidden polyphony’ bei Oswald von Wolkenstein: Der Reihen “Ir alten weib” (Kl 21)”, in: März, Christoph, Lorenz Welker and Nicola Zotz (eds.): *‘Jeglicher sang sein eigen ticht’. Germanistische und musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge zum deutschen Lied im Mittelalter* (Elementa Musicae. Abbildungen und Studien zur älteren Musikgeschichte 4), Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2011, pp. 131–147.

#### **4.1.5 Implications for an Instrumental Accompaniment...**

The observations made so far for the Neidhart transmissions regarding melodic construction, rhythm, and instruments during the transition from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries provided glimpses into possible consequences for an instrumental accompaniment. In the following section, these three strands shall be combined to paint a hypothetical picture of techniques suited for the instrumental accompaniment of Neidhart songs—hypothetical, in that this picture mainly relies on the circumstantial evidence laid out above, enriched with and superimposed by expectations established in the course of the modern history of medieval performance practice, as well as personal playing experience. A “strategy” for instrumental accompaniment will be proposed for each of the two Neidhart repertoires—the early (“nîthart”) and late (“Neidhart”) transmission—including suggestions for available instruments and plausible combinations to create distinctive soundscapes.

##### **... for “nîthart”**

Melodies in the style of those found in the early Neidhart manuscript O require a flexible strategy for accompaniment: Generally, these melodies do not allow for an accompaniment with one continuous drone because they oscillate between at least two important modal centres. It is advisable to experiment with changing drones, with doubling the melody, with paraphrasing the melody heterophonically (a technique that has long since been successfully adopted by modern performance practice even if it is historically undocumented), with techniques of polyphonic extemporisation (e.g., movement in parallel intervals, such as “quintieren” (see FN 263), or in free organum style, i.e., “übersingen”), as well as with modal patterns idiomatic to the respective instrument. Tuning and idiomatic aspects of the instruments used naturally have a great influence on the specific shape of the accompaniment. Depending on the instrument, its

tuning, and the accompanying techniques the same melody can be placed in distinctively different modal contexts. It may be advisable to develop a whole vocabulary of strategies so that their constant and flowing change ensures an accompaniment that does not petrify in one single model. Instead, this approach should smoothly adapt to the narrative structure of the song text, explore the various possibilities of the melody's modality, and follow the spontaneous inspirations of the singer. The early Neidhart transmissions ask for subtlety and rhythmic flexibility in performance, because the rhetoric of their multilayered and demanding texts—on the backdrop of the minnesang tradition—requires a refined approach for a transparent delivery in performance and because their variable metrical construction opposes a regular performance rhythm. Admittedly, certain passages or individual strophes may present a repetitive rhythmical pattern, which is possibly intended as a quotation of dance. In general the processes on the textual, modal, and rhythmical levels are abounding in information, and seem to call for an equally rich and flexible accompaniment. In my opinion this can only be provided by a very small ensemble of musicians who are practiced in playing together and skilled at reacting very quickly to one another. The surviving sources suggest either soloistic performance by a self-accompanying singer or a duet of one singer and one instrumentalist. Iconographical evidence does not show ensemble sizes for this kind of music of more than three musicians.<sup>264</sup> Instruments that come into question for the accompaniment of this early repertoire are first and foremost the ever-present *vielle* (fiddle), but in the German speaking regions also and especially the harp, the psaltery, the transverse flute and the hurdy-gurdy. There is no reason to entirely exclude a possible use of percussion instruments, particularly for lighter songs that allow for a fairly regular rhythm and may have a connection to dance. However, even if these songs are about dance in their texts,

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<sup>264</sup> See for instance the miniature of “Der Kanzler” in the Manesse Codex, fol. 423v, which is one of the very few depictions in the codex that seems to show a performance situation of Minnesang.

or if they quote dance-like rhythms in their notation, one should keep in mind that—as was argued above—they were not originally intended to actually accompany dance.

An unaccompanied performance of this kind of repertoire is of course always an option, especially for modally complex melodies that tend to “resist” an instrumental accompaniment.<sup>265</sup> At the same time it would certainly maintain modal ambiguity. The complexity of some of these melodies might be a reflection of the fact that they were indeed considered an a cappella repertoire, not fit for accompaniment.<sup>266</sup>

The consequences for the accompaniment of the early Neidhart transmissions as part of the Minnesang genre therefore differ only marginally from what Christopher Page had concluded for the accompaniment of trobador and trouvères repertoires.

### **... for Neidhart**

By the time of the late Neidhart transmissions in the fifteenth century the situation had changed significantly: Comparing these late sources to the transmissions from the earlier period, it is clear that the melodies had become much simpler and more focussed on a single tonality, instead of favouring modal ambiguity. At the same time they had become more syllabic and—especially with regard to cadential progressions—more “tenor-like”, meaning that their construction made them more suitable for a tenor function within a polyphonic setting (e.g., “Owe summer zeit”, see above Illustration 4, where cadential notes are reached in a stepwise motion rather than a leap and preferably downwards).<sup>267</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> A good example for this is the modally complex song “Ich claghe de blomen” from the Frankfurt Neidhart-Fragment (O6, fol. 4r–v), which, in addition, features the extreme ambitus of almost two octaves.

<sup>266</sup> As expected, by the fifteenth century such cases are extremely rare in monophonic repertoires. One of the few late examples is the song “Es seusst dort her von orient” (Kl 20) by Oswald von Wolkenstein with unusual leaps, extreme changes of modal fields, and an unusually large range of one and a half octaves.

<sup>267</sup> This is also true for the melodic style in French and Dutch sources: The few surviving sources show a similar tendency to reduce modal colours in favour of a clear tonality and the melodies appear increasingly suited for polyphonic treatment. Such sources include the Gruuthuse manuscript (Koolkerke, Casteel Ten Berghe, Privatbibliothek des Baron Ernest van Calcoen), and the two monophonic chansonniers F-Pn, f. fr. 9346 (Chansonier Bayeux) and F-Pn, f. fr. 12744. (My thanks go to Carlo Bosi for exchanging these observations in personal correspondence.) However, the suitability of these forme fixe melodies for



All of these developments make the option for continuous drone accompaniment plausible on the one hand, yet they facilitate on the other hand a “harmonisation” according to the discantus models for extemporised counterpoint. Therefore, when considering the entirety of their melodic and metric construction as well as a possible instrumental accompaniment, fifteenth-century “Neidharts” are much closer to songs by Oswald von Wolkenstein and genuinely monophonic pieces in LOCH than to the “nîthart” transmissions from the thirteenth century.

Moreover, the Neidhart transmissions in the Eghenvelder Liedersammlung (EGH, Vienna, ca. 1430) confirm a relationship of Neidhart songs to mensural notation. This is even more striking considering that all other pieces in the same collection are written purely in chant notation. The use of mensural note signs in the Neidharts from EGH does not mean that they are all notated rhythmically. In most cases the signs are used structurally and without rhythmic meaning: longs, breves, and bistropha signify the ends of lines or structurally important places of arrival, semibreves stand in the place of puncta from chant notation, minims mark upbeats, and semiminims are used as custodes. This unrhythmised use of mensural note shapes is not rare and can be found for instance — often less systematically employed—in some monophonic songs in the Oswald codices, in several melodies in the Beheim Codices, etc. In three cases of EGH, however, the mensural notes were used to notate a clearly defined reference rhythm (see FN 241).

The other late Neidhart sources do not show such a clear connection of the repertoire to mensural notation. But the fact that three songs in EGH are notated with a regular rhythm, combined with the general observation of a tendency towards syllabic musical settings of texts with a strictly alternating metrical structure, supports the trend towards a universal reference rhythm, even if not notated in the sources. The case for the

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polyphonic treatment may already stem from a tradition of more than 100 years of polyphonic chanson composition in these forms—a tradition that did not exist to the same extent for German song production.

many of the song texts' relationship to dance is therefore increasingly represented in parameters that belong in the sphere of performance. At the same time the subject matter of the songs and the choice of words become rougher by the fifteenth century, more straightforward (or maybe: more unambiguous), perhaps—in a certain brutish way—“funnier”. While their original subtlety suffers, their narrative power remains, or even increases.<sup>268</sup> In short, the new simplicity and regular rhythm does not shift the rhetorical focus, i.e. from text to music, but stays fixed on the delivery of the text.

Since it has now been established that the late Neidhart transmissions are not primarily dance music, it is clear that they would not require a fundamentally different ensemble combination than the early “nîthart” transmissions. Although the instruments in use were adapted to the new conditions, the size of the ensembles cannot have changed significantly. The songs can be interpreted soloistically, or with an ensemble of not more than two or three performers. A larger ensemble would restrict the expressive potential rather than broaden it, and soloistic performance of a self-accompanying singer might still be the more appropriate choice. The use of percussion instruments for songs, which are suitable for reference rhythm, is possible within limits, but not necessary for the coordination of an ensemble of this size, and will flatten certain nuances of the performance. The playing techniques for the newly developed harmony-instruments—first and foremost the harp and the lute—enabled the player to perform an accompaniment soloistically, even if it involved improvised polyphony. The *vielle*, which was still one of the most popular instruments by the fifteenth century, apart from playing drone accompaniments must have been capable of imitating chordal progressions at least to some degree: Most depictions show very flat bridges, which suggests that the player

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<sup>268</sup> The use of a simple musical rhythm to form a particularly close bond between a melody and its text for the benefit of a narrative performance style can also be observed with the Italian *musici* and *cantori* from the same era (information from Carlo Bosi from personal correspondence). For instance, “Ave fuit vera salus” by Giustinian fits this observation very well (information from Reinhard Strohm in personal correspondence).

customarily bowed more than one string at a time, possibly all of them simultaneously. This could either imply an “open tuning” and thus a drone function for the instrument, or that there was some kind of predecessor to the *lira da braccio*, capable of playing chords. The loss of modal diversity, which came with a taste for more modest melodic constructions in the fifteenth century, is counterbalanced with new harmonic colours in the accompaniment. Strategies for an instrumental accompaniment can change even within a song, depending on the construction of certain passages within the melody: between drone, *fauxbourdon*, and *discantus*.

It does not matter whether heterophonic modal fields and organum-techniques are employed for the performance of early Neidhart sources, while drones and model harmonisations are used for late Neidhart sources: it should be clear that the addition of an instrumental accompaniment means the introduction of polyphony into the performance of monophony. Even if only a drone is used, the continuous note will stand in focus as a contrapuntal point of reference, and will influence the perception of a principally monophonic melody.<sup>269</sup> The authority of the accompaniment for the impression of a melody on the listener can therefore not be underestimated.

## 4.2 Spruchsang vs. Tenor

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<sup>269</sup> The accompaniment of a melody with one continuous drone note is explicitly prescribed in a comparable, contemporaneous transmission of a song by the Monk of Salzburg in the Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift (A-Wn 2856, fol. 186v): “Das taghorn. auch gut zu blasen und ist sein pumhart dy erst note und yr ünder octava slecht hin” (The daytime horn. It can also well be played on wind instruments and its pommer simply is the first note and the octave below.) The adverb “auch” (also) could refer to the “Nachthorn,” which is notated directly before (fols. 185v–186r) and which according to its rubric is also “gut zu blasen” (suitable for wind instruments). Reinhard Strohm argues that this late Salzburg rubric might be meant to distinguish the terms “Tag-” and “Nachthorn” from the “Hornwerke” (organ-like constructions) on towers. Thus “auch” could mean “not only to play on the Hornwerk but also on wind instruments” (see Strohm, Reinhard: “Hornwerke”, <http://www.musical-life.net/kapitel/hornwerke>, 6.9.2017). One Hornwerk on St Stephen’s in Vienna was explicitly referred to as “Taghorn”. The “pumhart” (pommer; a shawm instrument) as the low instrument in a wind ensemble represents the lower voice. It is noteworthy that the song is located right at the beginning of the section with secular songs, grouped with the polyphonic compositions. Although the main reason for placing it there might have been the obvious coupling with the (polyphonic) “nachthorn” as its counterpart another reason for the placement could have been that the scribe already considered the song as polyphonic due to its implied “harmonisation” with a drone.

As indicated above, the transmission of monophonic secular music in the German speaking regions of the fifteenth century is unique: No other European language area has transmitted a comparable amount of monophonic songs in the vernacular. This abundance in monophonic German repertoires suggests a similar variety in melodic construction, and may be worth closer inspection regarding possible strategies for accompaniment. The late Neidhart repertoire alone exhibits two types of melodies, namely those that are suitable for polyphonic treatment and those which works with a drone accompaniment.

For the monophonic songs of the Monk of Salzburg, Christoph März introduced a categorisation, discerning between ‘Tenor’ and ‘Virelai/Ballade’. His criteria were primarily of a formal nature, but also included elements concerning the melodic construction. März took the term “Tenor” from the rubric of two monophonic, secular songs of the Monk of Salzburg in the “Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift” and transferred it to all melodies that were constructed according to the principles he extracted from these models.<sup>270</sup> Formal aspects of ‘Tenor’ texts include a tendency towards verses of varying lengths, both accumulations of rhymes and isolated rhymes, and the use of “Kornreim”. This is an orphaned rhyme that occurs at the same position of every strophe and is used to interconnect the individual strophes of a song.<sup>271</sup> According to März the most important features of the musical form of the ‘Tenors’ include a lack of internal repetitions (for instance repeated form parts) and lack of a refrain. They often begin with an untexted melisma and seem to have greater melodic independence from the text form

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<sup>270</sup> See März, Christoph (ed.): *Die weltlichen Lieder des Mönchs von Salzburg. Texte und Melodien* (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 114), Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999, pp. 14–19. The two songs in question are W7 and W8. But more songs could be added to this list, particularly the song G42 from the Monk’s sacred oeuvre, which also features the rubric “Tenor” and fulfils März’ criteria. März considers this genre by the fifteenth century to still be a very young form. For a categorisation of all secular songs by the Monk of Salzburg, see *ibid.*, pp. 38–39. For a slightly different categorisation of the Monk’s oeuvre according to contents and forms, see Wachinger: *‘Textgattungen und Musikgattungen’*, here pp. 386–387.

<sup>271</sup> This observation by Wachinger: *‘Textgattungen und Musikgattungen’*, S. 388 is confirmed by several “Tenors” in the Lochamer Liederbuch. Often these songs have only three strophes and the “Kornreim” that appears just once in every strophe can function as a connecting link.

than can be observed in other genres of German monophony. This can have a direct influence on their musical rhythm. Although the musical rhythm of the ‘Tenors’ in the Monk of Salzburg’s repertoire does not differ greatly from that of other melodies, it does so quite distinctly in other sources of German monophony from the same time. ‘Tenors’ in early German songbooks (chiefly amongst them, the Sterzinger Miszellen-Handschrift, the Eghenvelder Liedersammlung, the Lochamer Liederbuch, the Schedelsche Liederbuch, and the Rostocker Liederbuch) and in the Oswald codices<sup>272</sup> often feature a musical rhythm that is reminiscent of the rhythmical structures found in contemporaneous polyphony in that it is much more varied and employs a wider range of note values than the simple reference rhythm.

März named his other category “Virelai/Ballade” mainly because he required a term for song forms with internal repetitions. Since these abound in the transmission of German monophony from the very beginning, it is difficult to summarise them under one label.<sup>273</sup> In other words, this category consists of songs in traditional forms, normally referred to as “Kanzonenstrophe”, and comprises most of the surviving repertoire from the genres of Minnesang and Spruchsang. They can appear in vastly different forms, but most have in common that at least one of the form parts is repeated. This internal repetition is their most significant characteristic and one that refers to both text and music. Also, their melody is usually closely modelled along the text and either does not feature a musical rhythm, or feature one which is likewise closely modelled on the metrics of the

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<sup>272</sup> Wachinger emphasises this development very pointedly by calling the Monk of Salzburg a pre-summit and Oswald von Wolkenstein the main peak of German art song in the late Middle Ages (“Und doch darf man den Mönch von Salzburg einen Vorgipfel und Oswald von Wolkenstein den Hauptgipfel deutscher Liedkunst des Spätmittelalters nennen.” Ibid., p. 386).

<sup>273</sup> For an overview of the multitude of forms in the genre of Sangspruchdichtung alone, see Brunner, Horst: *Formgeschichte der Sangspruchdichtung des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Imagines Medii Aevi. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung 34), Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2013. All surviving Spruchsang melodies are published and prepared for analysis in a synoptic edition by Brunner, Horst and Karl-Günther Hartmann (eds.): *Spruchsang. Die Melodien der Sangspruchdichter des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 6), Kassel u.a.: Bärenreiter, 2010.

text (usually a reference rhythm). März chose the names of the French formes fixes for two reasons: Firstly, the repeating structures of the German songs in this category are slightly reminiscent of the French virelai and ballade forms and secondly, he wanted to imply a possible influence from French to German forms.<sup>274</sup>

Burghart Wachinger states that the third of the formes fixes, the rondeau, apparently did not have a German equivalent.<sup>275</sup> However, according to März's definitions, the 'Tenors' described above could be regarded as a German counterpart to the rondeau form. Like the French rondeaux, the 'Tenors' neither have internal repetitions nor a refrain, and they often feature an initial melisma. To the listener, the form of a rondeau only becomes apparent after a complete performance of the refrain (one A and one B-part)—once the typical pattern of repetitions commences. Thus, the 'Tenors' with their lack of internal repetitions combined with their three-strophe superstructure could be viewed as simplified rondeaux. One case of a German three-strophe tenor by Oswald von Wolkenstein (Kl 100, "O wunniklicher"), which actually turned out to be the contrafacted tenor of a Binchois chanson ("Triste plaisir"), has been argued to be a simplified rondeau due to its truncated middle strophe. This could imply that Oswald tried to imitate the distinctive "short refrain" of the rondeau form.<sup>276</sup> In any case, the 'Tenors' with their

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<sup>274</sup> The formes fixes were certainly known in German speaking regions as is attested by the mention of "rondellum, piroletum, baladum" in a fifteenth-century treatise from Wroclaw. (See: Wolf, Johannes: 'Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts', in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1918), pp. 331–34536, and Eggebrecht, Hans Heinrich and Fritz Reckow: 'Das Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie', in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 25/4 (1968), pp. 241–277.)

<sup>275</sup> Wachinger: 'Textgattungen und Musikgattungen', p. 388. A German variant of the French rondeau form, however, is intensively discussed by Kornrumpf, Gisela: 'Rondeaux des Barfüßers vom Main? Spuren einer deutschen Liedmode des 14. Jahrhunderts in Kremsmünster, Engelberg und Mainz', in: März, Christoph, Lorenz Welker and Nicola Zotz (eds.): 'Jeglicher sang sein eigen ticht'. *Germanistische und musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge zum deutschen Lied im Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2011, pp. 57–72. While the Dutch songs of the Gruuthuse Manuscript are clearly constructed on French models the evidence for German adaptations on the formes fixes is much sketchier, particularly due to a lack of surviving melodies. Regarding the rare cases of German songs in rondeau form, but without melodies, see: Petzsch, Christoph: 'Ostschwäbische Rondeaux vor 1400', in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 98 (1976), pp. 384–394.

<sup>276</sup> Kraft, Isabel: 'Rondeau oder Reigen: "Triste plaisir" und ein Mailied Oswalds von Wolkenstein', in: März, Christoph, Lorenz Welker and Nicola Zotz (eds.): 'Jeglicher sang sein eigen ticht'. *Germanistische*

“leaping repetitions” are not further from the rondeau form than other forms of German monophony are from the virelai or the ballade with their “connecting repetitions”.<sup>277</sup>

In order to establish a genre of ‘Tenors’ that comprehensively encompasses German repertoires, one must be able to find them outside the oeuvre of the Monk of Salzburg. An examination of the monophonic songs in the Lochamer and Rostocker Liederbuch has shown that all melodies with the rubric “Tenor” indeed fulfil März’s criteria.<sup>278</sup> If we accept these as the category-defining characteristics of a distinct genre, a large number of songs from these two collections could be added to the list, since they would meet the criteria of ‘Tenors’ while lacking the rubric.

Reinhard Strohm has offered a different explanation for the “Tenor” rubrics:<sup>279</sup> While most of the melodies with this label are “through-composed”, i.e., they do not feature internal repetitions, some of the underlying texts clearly show bar-form constructions. At the same time the melodies in the Rostocker Liederbuch that could not be categorised as bar-forms were apparently labelled as ‘Tenors’, while many unlabelled melodies in this source would conform to März’s broad ‘Tenor’ definition. Therefore, Strohm suggests that the rubric “Tenor” was not used to mark a certain form, but to signal that the melody was not genuinely composed to the underlaid text in the manuscript. In other words: The monophonic ‘Tenors’ are primarily comprised of melodies which are not firmly attached to a certain text, and which are therefore available for reworkings of any kind (e.g., contrafacta with new texts or a polyphonic treatment). Or to put it another

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*und musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge zum deutschen Lied im Mittelalter* (Elementa Musicae. Abbildungen und Studien zur älteren Musikgeschichte 4), Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2011, pp. 75–97.

<sup>277</sup> These terms were coined by Reinhard Strohm in their German form as “Sprungwiederholung” and “Anschlusswiederholung” (from personal correspondence). For their application in a different context, see: Strohm, Reinhard: *Italianische Opernarien des frühen Settecento (1720–1730)* (Analecta Musicologica 16), Köln: Volk, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 154–158.

<sup>278</sup> The “Tenors” with rubrics in the Lochamer Liederbuch accumulate at the beginning of the manuscript (LOCH 2, 3, 4, 5, 14, 37—LOCH 32 is marked as a “Tenor” but the music has an internal repetition supporting the bar-form of the text, which disagrees with März’ definition). The marked “Tenors” in the Rostocker Liederbuch are ROSTOCK 1, 23a, and 46.

<sup>279</sup> This information comes from private correspondence and in the context of the Vienna “Musical Life” research project (<http://www.musical-life.net/>).

way: a ‘Tenor’ is ‘a melody’, as opposed to ‘a song’. This definition is strengthened by collections of melodies in central European manuscripts, which, even though they are not labelled “Tenor”, fulfil the characteristics above and on top of this are untexted. Only incipits attest to their German origin. These ‘Tenors’ include several melodies in the Rostocker Liederbuch (e.g. the textless version of “Wach auf mein hort”, labelled “Item aliud Canticum”, ROSTOCK 46, see also chapter 5.1, Figure 2) as well as individual pages in the manuscripts CZ-Pu XI.E.9, fol. 261v and A-Wn Cod 5455, fol. 180v.<sup>280</sup> März, Wachinger, and Strohm thus focus on different angles in their respective definitions of ‘Tenors’ What they all have in common, however, is that they include musical features.

The repertoires including the ‘Tenor’-genre, can of course also be described by tracing other ‘fault lines’, which brings new aspects of the pieces to the fore. The oeuvre of the Monk of Salzburg is clearly divided into sacred and secular pieces in the surviving sources, while the polyphonic pieces are assigned their own separate space. Modern editions have adopted this organisation. Some of these categorisations may be congruent or overlap to a certain degree: The sacred songs by the Monk of Salzburg, for instance, consist largely of translations of hymns and sequences, so liturgical forms can be expected to be more abundant in this category than in the section with secular songs. No one system of coherent terminology will be able to cover all of the parameters, particularly the ones that are most significant for the subject matter at hand, such as melodic construction and notation, while at the same time aligning perfectly with the signature features of the genre.

One observation on the musical aspects of the monophonic ‘Tenors’, however, is particularly compelling, especially when looking for potential strategies for an

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<sup>280</sup> For a depiction, description, transcription, analysis, and identification of the melodies on A-Wn Cod 5455, fol. 180v, see the blog post and its sublinks Lewon, Marc: “A-Wn Cod 5455, fol. 180v – German “Tenors” from Vienna University”, <https://musikleben.wordpress.com/2013/07/09/a-wn-cod-5455-german-tenors/> (accessed 30.12.2017).



instrumental accompaniment: that the label ‘Tenor’ may suggest a proximity to polyphony. This association is further strengthened by the rubric to the Monk’s song W8 (“Ich klag dir traut gesell”) in the Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift, which says: “Ain tenor von hübscher melody, als sy ez gern gemacht haben, darauf nicht yglicher kund übersingen.” (A ‘Tenor’ with a beautiful melody, as they like to make them and upon this one not many could “übersingen” (i.e. extemporise a top line—see above).) Labelling a melody as a “Tenor” while at the same time suggesting the practice of “übersingen”, which like “quintieren” is a term for polyphonic extemporisation, seems to shift the whole genre of monophonic ‘Tenors’ into the realm of polyphony.<sup>281</sup> Sure enough, all of melodies identified as ‘Tenors’ by März, as well as the few in Oswald von Wolkenstein’s codices and the Lochamer Liederbuch, are well suited for the use in a tenor function for polyphonic treatment. März also suggested a relationship to instrumental repertoires,<sup>282</sup> which brings to mind the monophonic basse danse-tenors that were customarily used by professional ensembles—first and foremost the *alta capella*—as a basis to improvise polyphony. Many of these basse danse melodies were used in turn as tenors in polyphonic French chansons from the same time. One telling example is the above-mentioned tenor of Gilles Binchois’s rondeau “Triste plaisir”, which turns up as a monophonic ‘Tenor’ contrafacted with a new German text in the Wolkenstein codices as “O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai” (Kl 100).<sup>283</sup> The melody is here neither marked as a contrafact, which is typical for the Wolkenstein codices, nor has the rubric “Tenor”, yet it features all the hallmarks of the latter: a (correct) use of mensural notation, a rhythmic structure that goes beyond the simple reference rhythm including a wide range of note values, an initial melisma, no internal repetitions, the orphaned “Kornreim” in the song text, and three

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<sup>281</sup> März (ed.): *Die weltlichen Lieder*, p. 16 and Wachinger: ‘Textgattungen und Musikgattungen’, p. 389 have already pointed out this possibility.

<sup>282</sup> See März (ed.): *Die weltlichen Lieder*, p. 14, FN 22.

<sup>283</sup> See: Böhm: ‘Entdeckung einer französischen Melodievorlage zum Lied O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai (Kl. 100) von Oswald von Wolkenstein’.

strophes to make up the overall form. This contrafact convincingly presents how one voice from a polyphonic rondeau can mutate seamlessly into a monophonic German ‘Tenor’. The same melody structurally reduced to *brevis* units, however, also survives as a basse danse tenor in two contemporary collections,<sup>284</sup> implying that the process can go in both directions. Instrumental ensembles would have ornamented the melody or extemporised a new counterpoint on its basis. The features necessary for these melodies serving in a tenor function could have developed directly in connection with polyphonic practices mirroring contemporary taste, and could thus be characteristic traits of a very young genre. Above all, they comprise a melodic construction with passages largely in stepwise motion, which—especially for cadences—is directed downwards. Another feature already observed by März is the greater independence of the melody from the underlying text, which can manifest itself in more frequent melismas, as well as the above-mentioned greater independence of the musical rhythm from the metrics of the text.

The suitability for polyphonic treatment may be a prominent feature of ‘Tenors’, and should be added to the definition of the “tenor” genre. However, this does not seem to be an excluding characteristic, since many of the melodies from März’ ‘Virelai/Ballade’ category are also suitable for polyphonic treatment.

The rich and multi-faceted transmission of late medieval German monophony thus presents us with a diversity of melodic constructions, ranging from the (hard-to-accompany) melodies of certain Sangspruch poets, via late sources of Minnesang music including the fifteenth-century Neidhart manuscripts, to the ‘Tenors’ and other new melodies that emerged from a polyphonic environment. Hereafter, I provide three examples representing the aforementioned spectrum of categories that lend themselves to

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<sup>284</sup> The melody has the title “Triste plaisir a 42 notes a 5 mesures” in both sources: B-Br 9085, fol. 15r and Michel Toulouze: *S’ensuit l’art et instruction de bien dancier*, Paris ca. 1496, fol. A4v.

different approaches regarding an instrumental accompaniment. Even though these repertoires and categories developed in different eras, they are all present in sources from the fifteenth century and therefore represent melodic types existing side by side rather than a development from one to the other over time:

#### 4.2.1 ‘Spruchsang’-Melodies

The late medieval transmissions of Sangspruch include melodies, which were apparently composed outside the influence of current polyphonic trends, and which were obviously not intended for a polyphonic treatment after the latest fashion.<sup>285</sup> There are melodies by the Monk of Salzburg, which were inspired by horn signals or the sound of the “Hornwerke” installed on city towers (see FN 269), and which move mainly in thirds and triads (e.g. “Das taghorn,” see FN 269). Another repertoire in this category is that of Neidhart songs that are based on pentatonic scales (such as “Das guldein hún,” see above) and constitute numerous melodic leaps even for cadences.<sup>286</sup> Such melodies can often be accompanied by simple means, such as a continuous drone note, a changing drone, or contrary motion of an accompanying voice.<sup>287</sup> Others, such as the melodies by the Sangspruch poet Michel Beheim (1420–1474/8), would require a more flexible approach. Here, only a few phrases are suitable for a drone or fauxbourdon accompaniment, while the others would require techniques more reminiscent of accompanying strategies that we

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<sup>285</sup> This does not preclude certain polyphonic techniques of extemporised counterpoint, which do not require a “tenor”-like construction, such as “quintieren” or “übersingen.” The Monk exemplifies this himself by setting the “nachthorn” for two voices, the “trumpet” with a drone, and the “kchuhhorn” (cow horn) as a heterophonic pseudo-“motet” (see also: <http://www.musical-life.net/audio/untarnslaf-das-kchuhhorn>). It does, however, preclude or at least complicate techniques that were increasingly coming into vogue at the time and described in contemporary discantus treatises. These techniques were adapted for instruments capable of performing polyphony soloistically, a feature that was also used to accompany monophonic songs.

<sup>286</sup> For a discussion of this melody type, see Lewon: ‘*Die Melodienüberlieferung zu Neidhart*’, especially pp. 220–221.

<sup>287</sup> Examples of such a style of accompaniment with changing drone notes can be found in some of the polyphonic songs by the Monk of Salzburg (see the songs W1, W4, W5) and in certain passages of two-voice songs by Oswald von Wolkenstein (e.g., Kl 51, Kl 84). The same underlying principles can easily be applied to other similarly built monophonic songs.

might associate with modal monophony from the thirteenth century. Yet, another aspect comes into play: Beheim's songs, despite being strictly syllabic, are written according to the principle of syllable count rather than regular alternating accent patterns, as would be expected in Germanic poetry. Consequently, they include numerous "false" stresses when intoned in an alternating metre, favoured by the structure of the melodies. For performance this means that Beheim's songs do not allow for the general use of reference rhythm, which apart from a syllabic text underlay is based on an alternating metrical pattern in the poetry. In short, they are lacking a unified metrical and rhythmical system—just what would have been helpful for organising an accompaniment. The melodies and the required rhythmical freedom of such pieces therefore seem to indicate that no instrumental accompaniment of any kind was intended. It is not only their structure that discourages instrumental accompaniment: Beheim's oeuvre, coupled with his proud self-conception as court poet and singer, make an instrumental accompaniment seem unlikely. Firstly, his poetry was of such an overwhelming importance to him that his 452 song texts, some of which comprise of tens of strophes, far outstrip the number of melodies to which they are set (altogether only 11). Admittedly, the principle of Sangspruch rests on individual strophes written on a limited number of melodies. The concept of reusing a certain form and melody over and over again is deeply embedded in the genre. Beheim, however, went to extremes in all directions: Not only is his "Kurze Weise" ("short melody") the shortest and his "Lange Weise" ("long melody") the second longest in the entire oeuvre,<sup>288</sup> the number of texts he set to each of his melodies also far exceeds that of any other sangspruch poet and singer. Secondly, his texts were meant to be sung, for only in sung performance would Beheim's self-conception as a Sangspruch poet be satisfied and justified. Thirdly, it was essential to his work that his texts were

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<sup>288</sup> Brunner: *Formgeschichte der Sangspruchdichtung*, pp. 201–204.

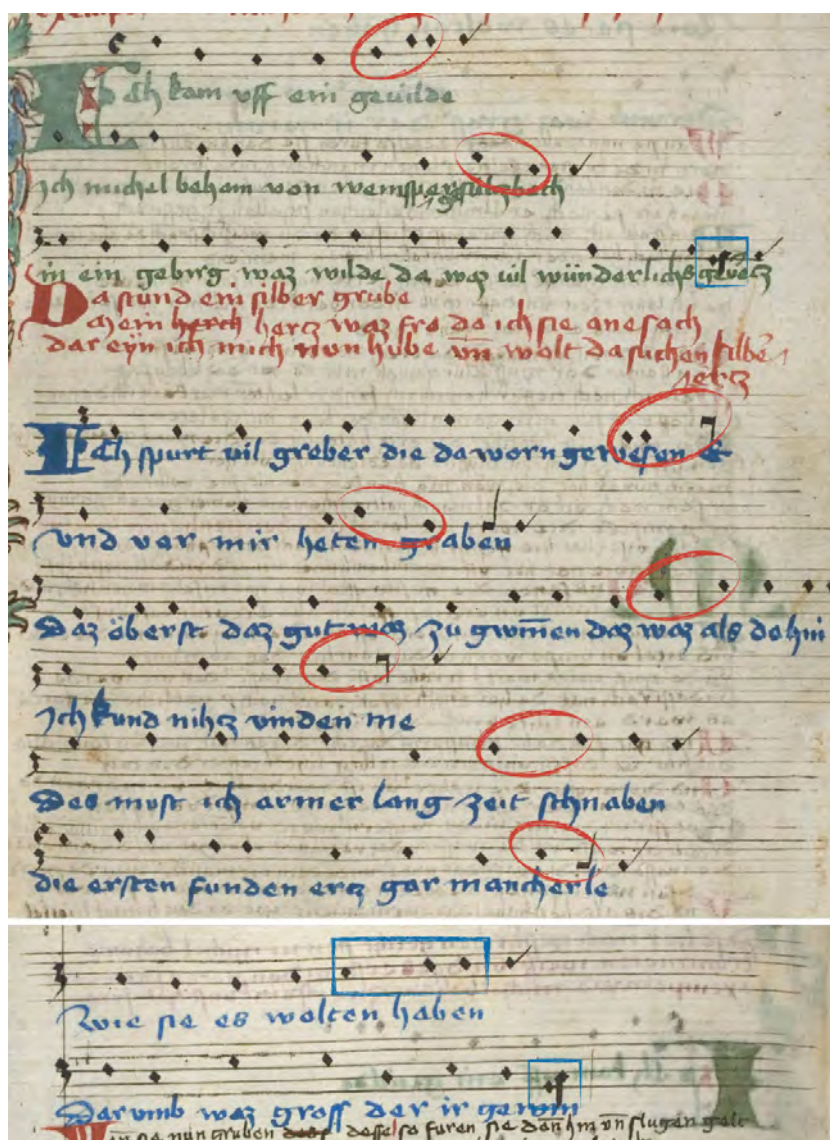
understood by the listeners. Distracting additions, such as an instrumental accompaniment, would have been detrimental to the comprehensibility of the text. And last but not least, his contemptuous diatribe against rival singers, especially when they also play instruments (e.g. “ein straf auf torat singer”, *Kurze Weise*, no. 67),<sup>289</sup> and especially his satirical song against instruments and their players (“Ich kam mains mals czu ainem tag”, *Osterweise*, no. 115)<sup>290</sup> testify to his deep resentment against instrumental music and instrumental accompaniment of song. It appears that Beheim’s art of monophonic song, by this time outdated, had to compete with the emergence of instrumental music at the courts. Interestingly, Beheim never attacks polyphonic performances. His primary targets are “bad” singers, which does not necessarily refer to the quality of their voices or their vocal technique, but could just as well mean the quality of their texts and melodies. His secondary targets are instrumentalists and instruments. This category could of course include polyphonic performances. A sense of gravity and pride pervades Beheim’s oeuvre to such a degree as to suggest that he probably could not have afforded to employ instruments in his performances while at the same time ridiculing their use by others. This evidence, combined with the assessment that his melodies seem to defy accompaniment, is a clear indication for a genuinely unaccompanied solo oeuvre. However, even if that was the original intention, it does not

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<sup>289</sup> Gille, Hans and Ingeborg Spriewald (eds.): *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim. Nach der Heidelberger Hs. cpg 334 unter Heranziehung der Heidelberger Hs. cpg 312 und der Münchener Hs. cgm 291 sowie sämtlicher Teilhandschriften* (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters 60), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968, pp. 116–117.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 420–424. A certain opposition between instrumental music and singing can already be traced to earlier sources of Spruchsang: Ton II of “der Unverzagte” in the Jenaer Liederhandschrift (D-Ju El.f.101, fol. 40r) takes off on a positive note “Ez ist eyn lobeliche kvnst, der seitenspil tzvo rechte kann. die giger vreuwen maniges mvot” (“It is a laudable art to know how to properly play (string) instruments. The fiddle players enlighten the mood of many people”) only to turn the tables and demonstrate how singing is by far the nobler art because unlike fiddle music it can be used to praise princes. What is more—and with this the first strophe ends—“song can be written down and read” (“sanc mac man scriben vnde lesen”). The possibility to notate vocal music apparently trumps the inherent orality of instrumental music thus claiming superiority; although it remains unclear if “der Unverzagte” was alluding to just the possibility of writing down the sung text, or if he was indeed referring to musical notation, thus implying that musical notation was intended (and in his time almost exclusively used) for vocal music. “Der Unverzagte” might at the same time hint at the fact that if anyone can read notation it is singers.

mean that these melodies cannot be accompanied. After all, Beheim's songs were also performed and used by other singers even more than a hundred years after his demise, as is testified by a number of his melodies in Adam Puschman's "Singebuch", written in 1588.<sup>291</sup> It is possible to map out an effective accompaniment by using a flexible mixture of drone and fauxbourdon techniques, interspersed with heterophonic passages. Typical cadence formulas of the fifteenth century, however, are often thwarted by melodic leaps at the ends of lines, rather than stepwise motion.



<sup>291</sup> Formerly Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, MS 356, lost since 1945. A selection of the melodies were edited before the manuscript was lost and can be found in: Münzer, Georg (ed.): *Das Singebuch des Adam Puschman nebst den Originalmelodien des M. Beheim und Hans Sachs*, Leipzig, Berlin, Brüssel, London, New York: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1906 All surviving transmissions of Beheim melodies are edited in: Brunner/Hartmann (eds.): *Spruchsang*, pp. 6–17.

**Figure 5:** “Trummetenweise” (Michel Beheim, D-HEu cpg 312, fols. 172r–v) notated in mensural notes without rhythmical meaning: semibreves are used instead of puncta, and longas are occasionally placed to mark the ends of verse lines. (The unmeasured use of mensural notation can be found in numerous sources with German monophony, such as the Eghenvelder Liedersammlung and the Oswald Codices.) The clear organisation of the melodies in Beheim’s main manuscript assists analysis: each verse line receives its own line of music, the text of the first form part is notated with green ink, the text of its repetition with red ink, and the second form part with blue ink. The cadences that end in a leap upwards or downwards are here marked with a red circle. All other cadences (blue boxes) are reached via a stepwise motion upwards with a melodic semitone. In summary, this is a melody that resists with an instrumental accompaniment on a number of levels.

#### 4.2.2 ‘Lied’-Melodies

A second group of melodies, here summarised as ‘Lied’-melodies, seems to comply at least in part with fifteenth-century taste in melodic construction, and in turn seems to yield to the emergence of polyphonic treatments according to the latest discantus techniques. This group includes a number of old melodies from the genre of Minnesang (such as the late Neidhart transmissions), newly composed melodies in traditional styles (such as the melodies by the Monk of Salzburg, Hugo de Montfort—or, more accurately, his squire Burgk Mangolt—, and Oswald von Wolkenstein), as well as the simple and often anonymous melodies from student songbooks of this time (typical examples from the Lochamer Liederbuch are the songs LOCH 7: “Mein freud möcht sich wol meren,” LOCH 8: “Ich far dohin,” and LOCH 35: “Verlangen thut mich krencken”). The melodies are modelled very closely on their texts and comprise internal repetitions. Their notation often features reference rhythm, and thus a regular rhythmical pattern that in contrast to the melodies of the first category governs the entire melody. At first sight, many of these melodies seem apt for fauxbourdon or discantus treatment, but when examined in more detail often lack the necessary cadential formulae, i.e., a stepwise motion at the end of a line or a cadential position. Again, this does not preclude older discantus techniques, but it does stand in the way of a polyphonic treatment in the latest fashion. Certainly by using simple tricks these gaps in voice leading can be bridged in the accompaniment, for instance by feigning cadence movements where they are lacking or by filling them with

intermediate notes. Sometimes, these melodies also mix tenor (stepwise motion downwards) and cantus clauses (stepwise motion upwards). An accompanist could react to these by simply moving the cadential formulae to their respective voice functions in the accompaniment, effectively splitting up the melody on the instrument.<sup>292</sup> Because of the generic nature of the accompanying sonorities, however, these contrapuntal “violations” rarely stand out. In most cases alternation between drone and fauxbourdon passages seems to be a good basis for an accompaniment, and could possibly be expanded and refined by adding melodic elements into the mix. Oswald von Wolkenstein, whose oeuvre (despite a substantial polyphonic fraction) primarily consists of monophonic music from this category, did not shy away from adorning some of his melodies with older discantus techniques reminiscent of the methods here outlined. This includes the practice of “quintieren” (see FN 263), which Oswald even quotes in his songs and which can be traced to some of his two-voice, “organum-like” pieces.<sup>293</sup> In applying these techniques, Oswald is by no means alone. Even though this style of two-voice counterpoint is often referred to as “outdated” or “archaic”, it can be found in abundance in late medieval manuscripts with liturgical music (e.g., A-Iu 457 and A-Gu Cod. 30).<sup>294</sup> The lectures in these sources tend to even feature organum techniques. One of the more striking features in Oswald’s settings in this style is the undifferentiated use of parallel fifths and sixths, which apparently fulfilled the same purpose. Apparently, he was interested in certain polyphonic effects, and with the means available to him, he could achieve this either by adding an organum-like voice, thus creating a distinctive and striking sonority, or by

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<sup>292</sup> This technique can be traced to cantus firmus compositions, where it was a very familiar task to switch tenor- and discant clausulas with the chant.

<sup>293</sup> See Lewon: ‘*Die mehrstimmigen Lieder*’.

<sup>294</sup> More sources are described in: Rausch, Alexander: ‘Klösterliche Mehrstimmigkeit. Grundlagen’, in: *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich (ca. 1340–ca. 1520)* (2017), <http://www.musical-life.net/essays/a4a-kloesterliche-mehrstimmigkeit-grundlagen> (accessed 6.11.2017), and: Corsi, Cesare and Pierluigi Petrobelli (eds.): *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del Congresso internazionale, Cividale del Friuli, 22–24 agosto 1980*, Rome: Torre d’Orfeo, 1989.



imitating and quoting the sonorities of current discantus techniques. In doing so, he associated his piece with the “western mainstream.” In short, the melodies from this category are available for the full range of accompanying techniques that are mentioned in the chapter title.

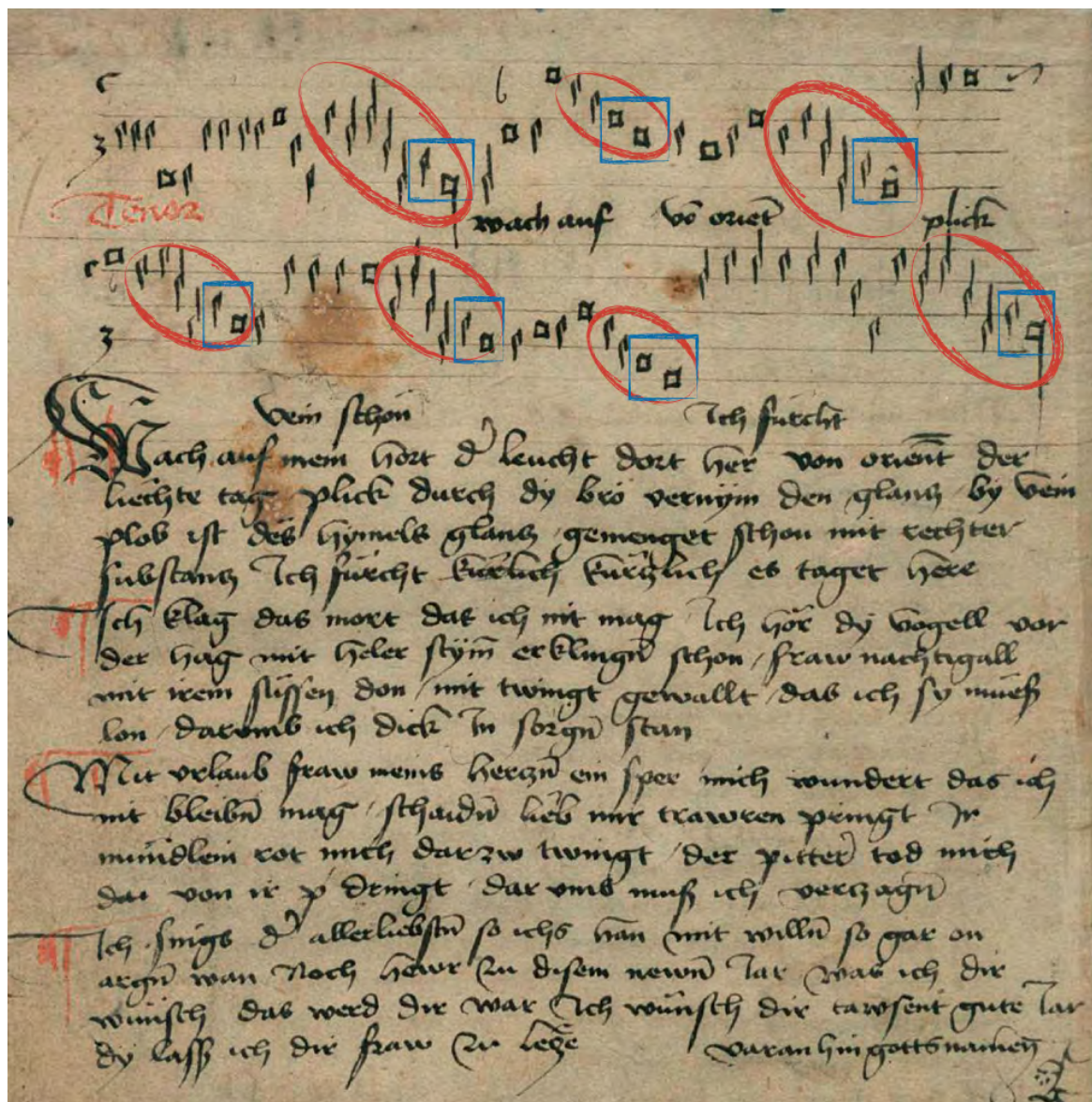


**Figure 6:** “Do man den gumpel gampel sank” (Neidhart, w7, A-Wn s.n. 3344, fol. 107v) semi-mensurally notated in reference rhythm. An accompaniment that gives the impression of a standardised discantus harmonisation would require a flexible approach: it may be advisable to mentally transfer cadences that lead upwards (red circles) into a cantus function. The cadences leading downwards (blue boxes) can be used in a tenor function. The intermediate passages may be accompanied with changing drones.<sup>295</sup>

<sup>295</sup> For an exemplary accompaniment of this song with lute and vielle see track 10 of the CD *Argentum et Aurum – Musical Treasures from the Early Habsburg Renaissance*, Ensemble Leones (Naxos 2015).

### 4.2.3 ‘Tenors’

The third category includes the melodies defined above as ‘Tenors’, plus those that feature a melodic construction predisposed for a polyphonic treatment according to fifteenth-century discantus techniques, usually in a tenor function (see also above, chapter 1). Often, they also feature a rhythmic organisation that makes them appear to have been taken directly from a polyphonic setting.



**Figure 7:** “Wach auf mein hort der leucht dorth” (Oswald von Wolkenstein, D-Bsb Mus. ms. 40613, p. 2). This monophonic and anonymous transmission of Oswald’s famous aubade in the Lochamer Liederbuch exhibits a number of features betraying a polyphonic context: a sophisticated rhythmic structure, a standardised, almost mechanical ornamentation of the cadences (red circles), as it can be found all over polyphonic songs and tablatures from the era, and the rubric “Tenor.” The descending cadence formulas (blue boxes) allow for the melody to be transferred into a polyphonic setting according to

contemporaneous discantus rules without any changes in the function of a tenor voice—as stated by the rubric.<sup>296</sup>

The Lochamer Liederbuch features an exceptionally large number of such melodies. As a rule, they present an initial melisma, their notation exhibits a greater range of note values that goes well beyond the alternation of semibreve and minim in the reference rhythm, and they tend to feature descending lines in stepwise motion at the cadences, ideal for the use in a tenor function. In many cases these cadences are even provided with cadential ornamentations, typical of melodies already prepared for a polyphonic treatment. Not only can such melodies be easily accompanied with an extemporised “harmonisation” (see FN 259), they can also be set polyphonically according to the principles of contemporary discantus treatises without the need of any special preparations or changes. They appear to have an inherent potential for polyphonic treatment and in many cases might have actually come from polyphonic settings.

It is a highly speculative endeavour to attempt a comprehensive characterisation of an elusive subject such as the instrumental accompaniment of medieval monophony—something that never belonged to the sphere of textuality, and is therefore by its very nature unpreserved. Whatever we feel we can deduce is based on the ghosts of a former practice. The aim of this chapter was therefore not a claim to reconstruct what was, but to merely attempt, to the best of one’s knowledge, to explore what could have been. The thoughts formulated above, even if they seem to be stated with conviction, are little more than an educated guess, the description of a possibility at best, which has proven its worth in practical application.<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> For an experimental reconstruction of a polyphonic setting for this tenor line used for an instrumental ensemble accompaniment with lute and vielle, see track 1 of the CD *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch (The Locham Song Book) – German Popular Songs from the 15th Century*, Martin Hummel, Marc Lewon & Ensemble Dulce Melos (NAXOS, 2008).

<sup>297</sup> To what extent such reflections and the resulting sonorities depend on and are influenced by individual experiences and wishful thinking is demonstrated impressively in Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel: *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music. Scholarship, Ideology, Performance*, Cambridge 2002.

## 5 Oswald and Neidhart: Reworking the Texts of the Classics

The following chapter is dedicated to songs of late Minnesang traditions, particularly of those by Oswald von Wolkenstein (ca. 1376–1445) and Neidhart (ca. 1190–ca. 1240 but with repercussions until well into the fifteenth century), some of which have connections to the Lochamer Liederbuch. Apart from musical intertextuality this chapter will also focus on the textual side, namely the contrafacta.

While almost all of the songs and intabulations in LOCH are notated without ascriptions, two names which seem slightly at odds with the rest of the repertoire can be connected with the collection: Oswald von Wolkenstein and Neidhart—two of the most prominent authors of medieval German song. The Monk of Salzburg, the third name associated with this classic German repertoire in a straight line from early Minnesang to Oswald von Wolkenstein, is also present in LOCH with his “Tischsegen” (“benediction”, LOCH 34) and with a text set to new music (LOCH 40 “Mein trawt geselle”), the latter of which enjoyed a second life in the form of keyboard and lute tablature reworkings (see chapter 1.3). The presence of songs by the Monk, however, is less surprising as they are a common feature in fifteenth-century song collections, such as the Eghenvelder Liedersammlung. Some song collections are almost entirely dedicated to his works. Oswald, on the other hand, was first and foremost a nobleman and influential politician from South Tyrol, who wrote songs and poetry only in his spare time, and had neither the distribution nor the aspiration of an internationally renowned artist (though his self-confidence occasionally seems to indicate otherwise). His works were known primarily in his immediate circles and only in rare cases found their way into sources outside the two

main manuscripts, which he had commissioned and paid for himself.<sup>298</sup> Neidhart was a minnesinger of the beginning of the thirteenth century, and thus would seem unlikely to feature in a song collection of the mid-fifteenth century. As has been shown above in chapter 4.1, his afterlife was unique amongst the minnesingers: His songs continued to be performed, expanded, updated, and transformed by other singers, and thus survived as a contemporary repertoire until well into the late fifteenth century. Despite that the largest collection of Neidhart songs with melodies was compiled in Nuremberg in the 1460s, precisely the time and place when and where LOCH was written, none of his songs was actually copied into LOCH. Nevertheless, his name and his most famous story, a farce-song quoted in LOCH (p. 29) as “des neytharts veyol” (“Neidhart’s violet”) were known to everyone at the time.<sup>299</sup> Both Oswald and Neidhart left their traces in this manuscript and both figuratively shake hands across the centuries. German scholars have shown how much Oswald’s poetry owes to Neidhart’s songs. Recently, Michael Shields discussed a case where the text of an Oswald song found its way into a print of Neidhart texts, proving that even contemporaries sometimes could not tell these two authors apart:<sup>300</sup> Oswald’s song “Ir alten weib” (Kl 21) will be analysed in more detail below, and considered as a direct reaction by Oswald to the Neidhart song “Der sawer kúbell” that survives in the Eghenvelder Liedersammlung.

One case of self-borrowing within Oswald’s oeuvre had previously gone unnoticed, as it traverses the boundary of his monophonic and polyphonic repertoires, and these repertoires were traditionally treated separately in modern scholarship. This case study on a borrowed melodic line between “Lieb, dein verlangen” (Kl 94) and “Wer ist,

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<sup>298</sup> A-Wn 2777 (WOLKA, Wien?, ca. 1425) and A-Iu s.s. (WOLKB, Basel?, ca. 1432). Regarding Oswald’s models and his self-conception as composer and poet, see Lewon: ‘*Jenseits der Hierarchie*’.

<sup>299</sup> For a recording and contextualisation of this farce-song in fifteenth century Vienna, see Lewon, Marc: “Das Phänomen Neidhart”, in: *Musical Life of the late Middle Ages in the Austrian Region* (online publication: <http://www.musical-life.net/essays/b3-das-phaenomen-neidhart>, accessed 6.11.2017).

<sup>300</sup> Shields: ‘*Hidden polyphony*’.

die da durchleuchtet” (Kl 13) not only shows that the division of a monophonic and a polyphonic repertoire in Oswald’s oeuvre is outdated and needs to be revised, but it also indicates that Oswald himself might have composed some of his polyphony rather than relying entirely on models for his polyphonic pieces.

The subject of intertextuality within Neidhart’s surviving music has not yet been treated by a detailed study. An intensive comparative analysis has brought to light numerous cases of self-borrowing that indicate a coherent oeuvre across different manuscripts from different times and places, yet one that is centred on the largest collection of Neidhart melodies, dating from the same time and place as LOCH: Neidhart manuscript c from Nuremberg ca. 1460.

Finally, the Latin contrafact “Ave dulce tu frumentum” on Binchois’s ballade “Je loe amours” bears implications for Oswald von Wolkenstein’s reworking of the same chanson, as has been indicated previously (see chapter 1.6). Oswald wrote “Den Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer” with the incipit “Mir dringet zwinget” as a contrafact on the same Binchois ballade, which is only transmitted without music in one secondary source. The case study below will examine how the information from LOCH can be used to find a functional version for this Oswald contrafact, while also shedding new light on his contrafaction process.



## 5.1 “Wach auff, mein hort”: A Melody of Modal Ambiguity

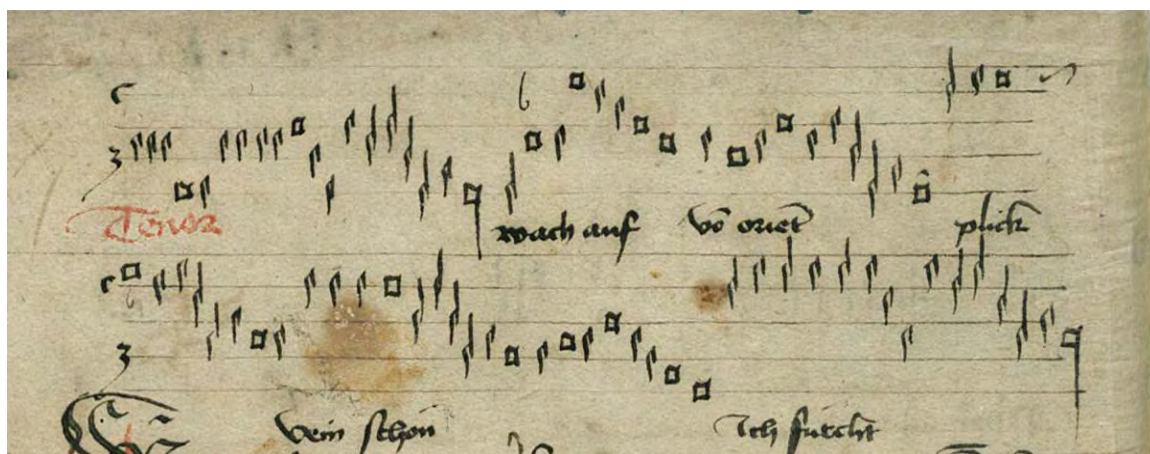


Figure 1: Melody transmission of “Wach auff, mein hort” in LOCH, p. 2.

The only Oswald song transmitted in LOCH is one of his two-voice “organum-like” pieces. It is one of the few pieces in LOCH that can actually be ascribed to an author.<sup>301</sup> It found its way anonymously into the beginning of the collection (LOCH 2, p. 2) in an updated and reworked form: Oswald’s “Wach auff, mein hort” (Kl 101) is here given as a monophonic ‘Tenor’, lacking its original cantus, with a slightly corrupted text to which a new, fourth strophe was added in a different metrical structure and with different content. LOCH presents the melody without text underlay, a common feature of this source. It merely indicates where certain verses of the first strophe should begin by

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<sup>301</sup> For some new aspects on this group of pieces, including the question which of the two voices in this sort of polyphony is the vox organalis and which the vox principalis, were formulated in Lewon: ‘*Die mehrstimmigen Lieder*’. The categorisation of Oswald’s “organum-like” two-voice pieces and their distinction from his polyphonic contrafacta is problematic and questionable. There are in fact numerous notations of so-called “archaic” polyphony—comparable to the pieces by Oswald—in scores of manuscripts from the time in Austria, Bavaria, Italy, Bohemia, and Switzerland. For a description of some of these, see the new and critical article by Rausch: ‘*Klösterliche Mehrstimmigkeit*’, particularly the first chapter “Klösterliche Mehrstimmigkeit – primitiv und archaisch?”. For an introduction to the sources, see Corsi/Petrobelli (eds.): *Le polifonie primitive*. The term “organum-like polyphony” for Oswald’s polyphony outside the contrafacta was coined by Theodor Göllner and Göllner, Theodor: *Formen früher Mehrstimmigkeit in deutschen Handschriften des späten Mittelalters*, (Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 6), Tutzing: Heidelberg, Univ., Diss., 1957, 1961. See also Staehelin, Martin: ‘The constitution of the fifteenth-century German tenor lied: drafting the history of a musical genre’, in: Kmetz, John (ed.): *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles and Contexts*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 174–181 and Gozzi, Marco: ‘The Abbey of Novacella and Local Polyphonic Traditions’, in: Berger, Christian (ed.): *Oswald von Wolkenstein. Die Rezeption eines internationalen Liedrepertoires im deutschen Sprachbereich um 1400. Mit einer Edition elf ausgewählter Lieder* (Rombach Wissenschaften. Reihe Voces 14), Freiburg i. Fr., Berlin, Wien: Rombach Verlag, 2011, pp. 17–32.

providing keywords at the appropriate places: “wach auf”, “von orient”, “plick”, “vein schön”, and “Ich fürcht”. The rest of the text is provided below the melody as a text block. Oswald’s song has been extended to include an initial melisma, a new feature that appears in almost all subsequent versions and reworkings of this melody. The melody survives twice in ROSTOCK as a monophonic ‘Tenor’ (ROSTOCK 19 and 46, the latter textless) and twice in BUX as a keyboard tablature (BUX 100 and 218).<sup>302</sup> It was also used as a cantus firmus and tenor line in the sacred four-voice reworking “Ave pura tu puella” in the Codex Specíálník (SPEC).<sup>303</sup> This wide distribution of an Oswald song is exceptional and all versions outside his main manuscripts are anonymous.

The rubric “Tenor” in LOCH points to a specific genre of monophonic melodies that can be found in numerous German song books of the fifteenth century (see chapters 2 and 5.2 for a detailed discussion). Melodies of this genre feature a diverse musical rhythm, display melodic and rhythmical characteristics typical for a tenor line in a polyphonic setting, and tend not to have internal repetitions. The version of “Wach auff, mein hort” in LOCH meets all of these criteria. With its rhythmic structure and ornamented cadences it is perfectly equipped to serve as a tenor line in the polyphonic texture of a typical mid-fifteenth-century setting, whereas Oswald’s original two-voice setting displays signs of an extemporised counterpoint in the style of “übersingen” (see chapter 4), including parallels, extreme ranges, long dissonances, and unexpected leaps. The fact that the cantus is untexted in both his manuscripts might hint at the possibility that Oswald had intended or even conceived it instrumentally. A logical instrument candidate for the performance of the cantus would be the fiddle, an instrument Oswald claims to have been able to play, provided that single-line playing was both possible and idiomatic

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<sup>302</sup> For a critical edition, see Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch I*, pp. 8–10 & 29–30 (commentary).

<sup>303</sup> CZ-HKm II A7, fol. 238v (p. 478). Fallows lists further versions in song books of the early sixteenth century, which, however, are fragmentary and do not show a clear relationship to Oswald’s song. See Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, pp. 489–490.



by his time. The performance of an instrumental line on the flat-bridge fiddle, however, may have also included its drones as an idiomatic feature, comparable to the use of bagpipes in polyphonic *alta capella* ensembles.

Another feature of the ‘Tenor’ genre is its independence from a specific text:<sup>304</sup> Melodies of this genre appear not to be married to any particular text, but were available for re-texting. The transmission in ROSTOCK supports this idea: it presents the melody with only the rubric “Item aliud Canticum”, without text underlay or even incipit, and in a schematic, almost “skeletal” form. In this state the melody is ready to be re-used for any suitable text.



**Figure 2:** Textless melody transmission of “Wach auff, mein hort” in Rostock 46, fol. 35r: Item aliud Canticum.

The surviving sources are ambiguous on the question whether “Wach auff, mein hort” was considered a polyphonic song outside the Oswald codices. If it was, then the counterpoint would most certainly have been changed to a more standard song setting resembling the three-part songs in LOCH, such as “Des klaffers neiden” (LOCH 14a/b, see also discussion above in chapters 2 and 3). The polyphonic version in SPEC is clearly a new composition based on the tenor alone. The only other polyphonic versions of “Wach auff mein hort” are the three tablatures in BUX and LOCH: Their counterpoint is related,

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<sup>304</sup> This was originally suggested by Reinhard Strohm in private conversation (see chapter 4.2).

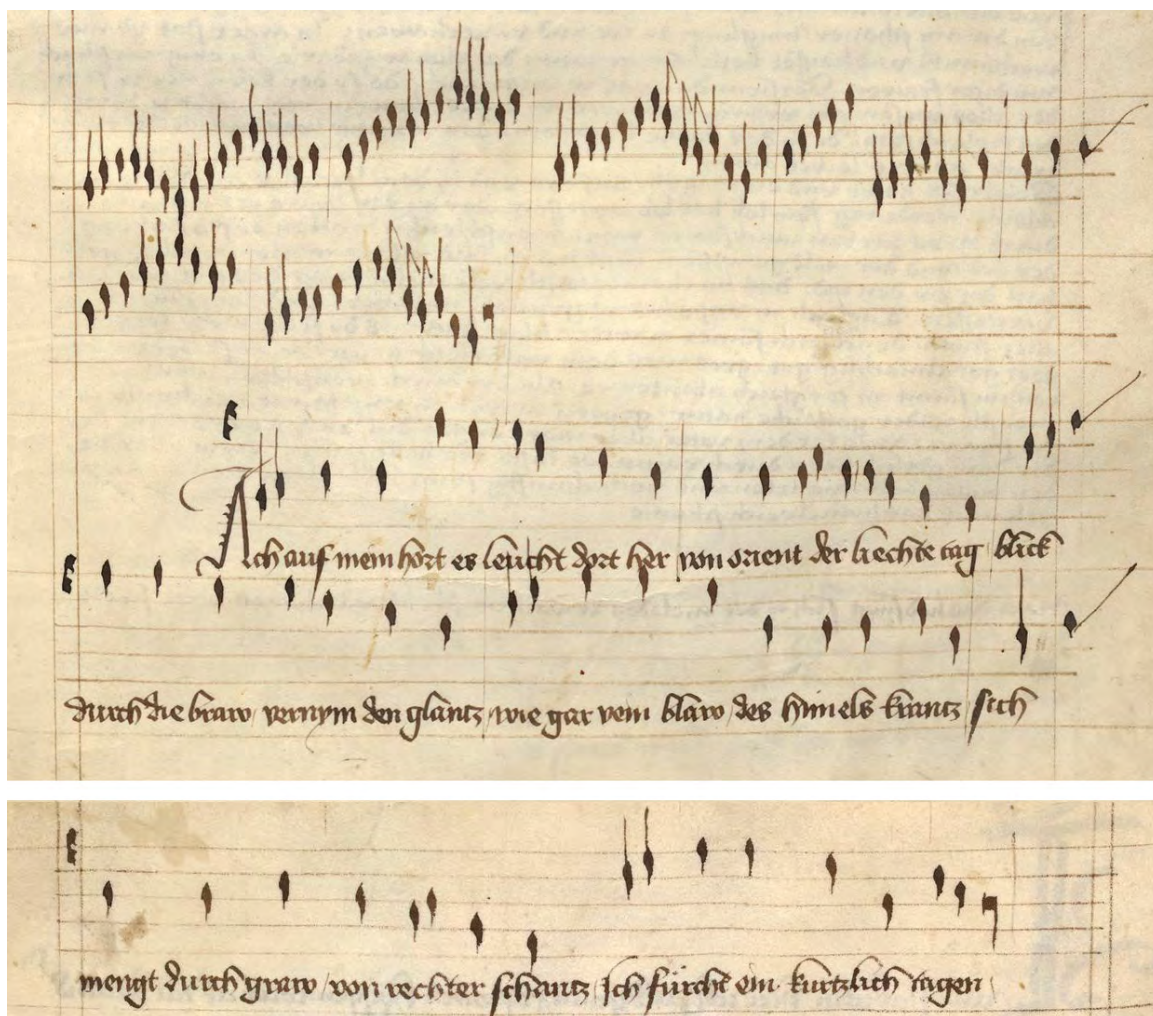
but it appears to be the result of an applied ‘Spielvorgang’ rather than differently ornamented cantus parts of a pre-existing polyphonic song setting. The fact that their counterpoint is not identical, but comparable, may be due to similarly applied fundamentum rules by the intabulators, or it might point to a model intabulation, which was varied for the different versions. The evidence seems to suggest that the ‘Tenor’ in LOCH and ROSTOCK was in fact a monophonic melody, taken out of a polyphonic context, rearranged, updated, and made available for re-texting, for polyphonic settings, and for instrumental intabulations. Instrumental intabulations by definition would also be polyphonic in effect—however, not by means of a compositional process, but via ‘Spielvorgang’.

The presence of the melody of “Wach auff mein hort” in so many different sources, and twice without an incipit, raises the question whether Oswald was actually its inventor and not merely its main user. Since, however, all versions in BUX and one of the melodies in ROSTOCK and LOCH are later than the Oswald codices and transmit either his full text or at least his incipit, it seems plausible to assume that Oswald in fact was the prime mover in this case. A counterargument to this could be the case of “Vier hundert jar auff erd” (Kl 88), which lent its incipit to both intabulations in BUX (117 and 199), but is actually Oswald’s contrafact of “A son plaisir” by Pierre Fontaine. Yet, there are a number of other transmissions of this song, including several versions that keep a corrupted original title (twice as “Addo plaisir” in the lost Strasbourg manuscript, STRAS 47 and 185), a Latin contrafact in the St Emmeram codex (MUEM 43), and two transmissions of the original chanson from French-Italian sources,<sup>305</sup> whereas the ‘Tenor’ “Wach auff, mein hort” only appears in German manuscripts with Oswald’s incipit.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> For a full list, see Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, pp. 90.

<sup>306</sup> The Latin contrafact “Ave pura tu puella” is texted only in the cantus and has no tenor incipit.



**Figure 3:** Transmission of “Wach auff, mein hort” in WOLKA, fol. 56r–v: textless and clefless cantus, tenor in F-mode without accidentals.

One question that follows the entire transmission of the melody to “Wach auff, mein hort”, starting with its tradition in the Oswald codices, is that of modality. WOLKA features the song as a late addition on one of its final folios.<sup>307</sup> The tenor is in an F-mode and the cantus has no clef. In order to coordinate the two voices, Pelnar transposed the tenor up a tone to G, introduced a b-flat and assumed a c1-clef for the cantus.<sup>308</sup> These kinds of mistakes, ambiguities, and missing accidentals are common in the Oswald codices, and Pelnar provides a convincing reason: the scribes of the Oswald codices had a tendency to notate upbeats in the space between two lines and the first stressed note on a

<sup>307</sup> A-Wn 2777, fol. 56r–v.

<sup>308</sup> For her critical edition and diplomatic transcription, see Pelnar, Ivana: *Die mehrstimmigen Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein. Edition*, ed. by Theodor Göllner (Münchner Editionen zur Musikgeschichte 32), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1981, pp. 70–73.

line, which often results in “Sekundverschreibung” (slips of the pen by a second).<sup>309</sup>

Another reason explored by Pelnar is that the scribes were accustomed to placing melodies on the musical system in such a way as to avoid the use of *musica ficta*. The rare use of accidentals in the Wolkenstein codices and the frequency with which wrong transpositions of individual lines in polyphony occur seems to support this idea.

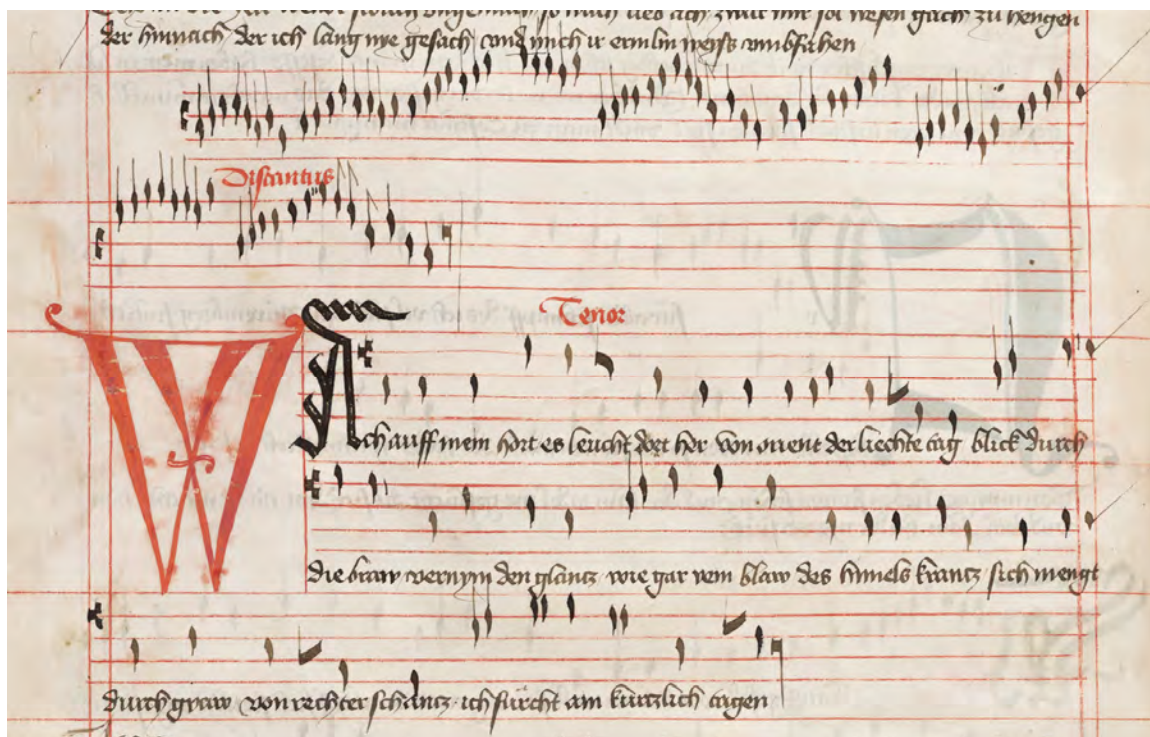
Transposing a line to avoid *ficta* only works for monophonic pieces. This appears to happen in the Wolkenstein codices, as monophonic songs in different modes between the two codices seem to indicate. But in polyphony this practice results in transpositions of single lines and thus ends up in a dysfunctional counterpoint, when individual parts have different accidentals—a common feature in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chansons, where the cantus often has fewer b-accidentals than tenor and contratenor (*bassus*). Such mistakes, especially in the notation of Oswald’s “organum-like” pieces, may point to another characteristic feature of this repertoire, namely that notation was not part of the compositional process. It appears that these pieces were conceived outside the realm of notation and only found their way onto the parchment as a “*Nachschrift*” (secondary transcript) when either the composer (possibly Oswald himself) or the scribe attempted to notate by ear.

Pelnar’s resulting g-Dorian mode for “Wach auff, mein hort” is supported by the transmission in LOCH as well as the tablatures in LOCH (LOCH 64) and BUX (BUX 100 and 218). Because of the modern reception of these sources, it is also the mode in which the piece is generally known today. However, if the cantus was intended for an f3-clef but played up an octave, then the two voices would match without other transpositions, and the setting would stay in the F-mode of the tenor.

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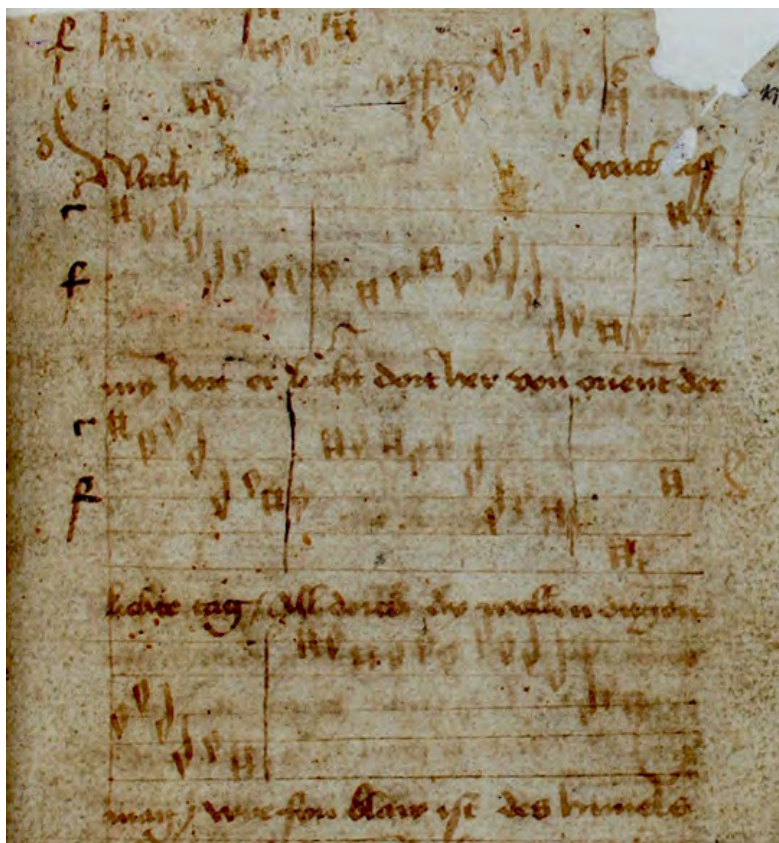
<sup>309</sup> For her comprehensive discussion of modality and rhythm, see Pelnar, Ivana: *Die mehrstimmigen Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein. Textband* (Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 32), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1982, pp. 72–75.





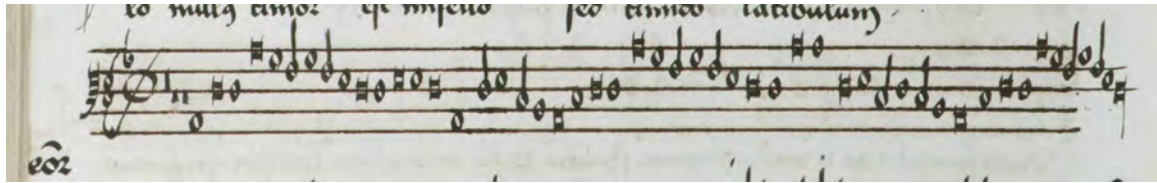
**Figure 4:** Transmission of “Wach auff, mein hort” in WOLKB, fol. 41v: tenor in G-mode without accidentals, cantus erroneously only a fifth higher rather than an octave.

WOLKB presents a conflicting modality: assuming that the scribed used the f-clef erroneously instead of a c-clef—as was suggested by Pelnar—the tenor would be in a G-mode without accidentals, and the cantus would then be set a fifth apart. This setup would again result in a dysfunctional counterpoint. Pelnar gives another plausible explanation: the scribes were expecting a two-voice piece employing the technique of ‘quintieren’ (see chapter 4) and thus expected the two voices to start a fifth apart. Again, the notation needs correction. If the cantus were transposed up a fourth and a b-flat were introduced to avoid the tritone, this version would end up in the same g-Dorian mode that both Pelnar assumed for the transmission in WOLKA and that is supported by LOCH and the tablatures. The evidence of the sources and Pelnar’s explanations raise the question of the exemplars from which Oswald’s scribes were working. It appears that Oswald provided mere sketches or oral performances, which they tried to interpret as best as they could.



**Figure 5:** Monophonic transmission of “Wach auff, mein hort” in ROSTOCK 19, fol. 19r: tenor in F-mode without accidentals.

With Oswald’s original neatly sorted out and the Wolkenstein codices aligned with LOCH and BUX, the question of mode appears to be resolved, at least for the time being. In turning to the other transmissions in ROSTOCK and SPEC, however, the picture remains obscure: the monophonic version ROSTOCK 19, which has the full text, is, like WOLKA, notated in an F-mode without accidentals, while the textless and monophonic version ROSTOCK 46 is set in a G-mode without accidentals, as in WOLKB (see figure 2 above). Both versions in ROSTOCK thus support the tenor readings of the Wolkenstein codices without the need of corrections. The four-voice setting of Oswald’s tenor in SPEC substantiates this finding: it lacks the initial melisma that features in all other transmissions outside the Wolkenstein codices, and is set in an F-mode, this time, however, with b-accidentals.



**Figure 6:** Transmission of “Wach auff, mein hort” in the tenor line of the four-voice “Ave pura tu puella” in SPEC (fol. 238v = p. 478): tenor in F-mode with b-accidental.

In comparing the melody in all its different transmissions, it appears to have come without a fixed mode. If the tenor in the two Wolkenstein codices can be taken at face value, requiring no transposition or mode change by the application of *musica ficta* (except possibly for a standard b-flat to avoid the melodic tritone in the F-mode of WOLKB), then its inventor had already used it in two different modal versions—both of them, however, with a major third above the finalis: a plagal G-mode (WOLKA) and a plagal F-mode (WOLKB). Such modal ambiguity is not unique in the Wolkenstein codices. Another example exists with the first song in both manuscripts, “Ain anefangk”, a melody modelled on the metrical structure of Regenbogen’s “Grauer Ton,”<sup>310</sup> used by Oswald for a total of seven different texts (Kl 1–7) in the manner of the German Sangspruch poets. In WOLKA the melody is in an F-mode, in WOLKB it is in a d-mode. Neither of the two versions can claim priority over the other as both are modally functioning melodies. Slight differences in the formulation of the melody may be the result of the individual modal framework, and thus strengthen the argument for a conscious choice of each mode.

Despite the change from a mode with a major third above the final to one with a minor third, as in the case of “Ain anefangk”, which should have significant implications for the perception of a melody, the melody must have been recognisable in either form.<sup>311</sup>

<sup>310</sup> See Brunner, Horst: ‘Oswald von Wolkenstein: Die einstimmigen Lieder. Strophenbau und Wort-Ton-Beziehungen’, *Oswald von Wolkenstein. Leben – Werk – Rezeption*, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011, pp. 154–167, here p. 155–157.

<sup>311</sup> Strohm argues for a conscious reworking of the mode for this song. See Strohm, Reinhard: ‘Lied und Musik’, in: Bennewitz, Ingrid and Horst Brunner (eds.): *Oswald von Wolkenstein im Kontext der Liedkunst*

A similar discussion on the influence of mode on the distinctiveness of a melody taking the example of the “Palästinalied” by Walther von der Vogelweide and its supposed model, Jaufré Rudel’s “Lanquan li jorn”, ultimately came down to the same question.<sup>312</sup> That is, if a melody changes mode, is it still the same melody? The evidence laid out above and below suggests that a melody in a changed mode does not lose its identity. It may seem counterintuitive to a modern ear, but for a society trained in modal monophony a melody could be transposed to another mode and still be recognised. Applied to this case, the evidence suggests that the melody kept its integrity in different modal forms, and should not be considered as corrupted transmissions for the tenor line in the Wolkenstein codices and ROSTOCK. This finding would also contradict Pelnar’s thesis that different modes for the same pieces in the Oswald codices are proof for erroneous notations, missing accidentals, or wrong clefs.

Another example of a melody changing mode in transmission is the tenor to the anonymous lauda “Ave mater, o maria”, found with its full text and a German contrafact by Oswald only in his B-manuscript. It appears as a tablature in BUX (BUX 74: “Maria tusolacium”) with a new contratenor and ornamented cantus-line. This is at the same time another case of ‘Spielvorgang’ that implies organ practice, rather than the intabulation and ornamentation of an existing polyphonic setting, and another case of a tenor line transposed to C, even though several b-accidentals shed doubt on its pure C-mode.<sup>313</sup> A more famous example is the “L’homme armé” melody, which appears in a G-mode at least as often as in a transposed g-Dorian mode.

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*seiner Zeit* (Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft, 19 (2012/2013)), Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2013, pp. 359–375, p. 371.

<sup>312</sup> For a detailed discussion, see Lewon, Marc: ‘Der gesungene Gedichtsvortrag: Eine musikalische Hypothese über die Lieder Walthers von Klingen’, *Walther von Klingen und das Kloster Klingental zu Wehr*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke Verlag, 2010, pp. 131–145, and Lewon: ‘Voetspoor van Veldeke’.

<sup>313</sup> See Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, p. 571.



Assuming that the Wolkenstein codices transmit melodies at their intended relative pitches, it would seem that that “Wach auff, mein hort” circulated in three different modes in the fifteenth century: in an F-mode possibly with b-flat intended (WOLKA, ROSTOCK 19, SPEC), in a G-mode without accidentals (WOLKB, ROSTOCK 46), and in a transposed g-Dorian mode with b-flat (LOCH and BUX). The G-mode might be the most surprising and could easily be softened by assuming a general b-flat accidental as it was applied in LOCH and BUX, also both WOLKB and ROSTOCK are unreliable sources when it comes to the designation of *musica ficta* or lack thereof. There are other melodies in a plagal G-mode in the manuscripts under discussion that make effective use of its characteristic major third in the upper range (g-d') and minor third in the lower range (d-g). One example is Oswald's contrafact “Fröleichen so well wir” on the tenor line of M. Fabris's “[N]'ay je cause” (see below). Another is the anonymous “Ich far dohin wann es muß sein”, which survives as a monophonic song in LOCH, but which turns up in many forms throughout the fifteenth century: it was quoted in two quodlibets of the Glogau Songbook (GLOG), once with its incipit and once with its refrain,<sup>314</sup> it was reworked several times as a contrafact (including a sacred version in the source that for the first time uses the word “contrafactum” for this purpose),<sup>315</sup> and it was intabulated in the earliest lute tablature (see chapter 3.2.4). “Ich far dohin” must have been well-known in its time, yet, due to a missing clef in the only source that gives the full melody (LOCH 8), its modality was unclear until its appearance in the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature (WOLFT), which clarified that indeed a G-mode was intended.

The melody in the Wolkenstein codices is only one step away from a monophonic, unrhythmicised notation: minims hint at upbeats and a singular case of stroke notation

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<sup>314</sup> On the GLOG quodlibets, see Lewon, Marc: “As you like it: The Glogau Songbook “Quodlibets””, <https://mlewon.wordpress.com/2012/11/03/quodlibets/> (accessed 6.11.2017).

<sup>315</sup> D-Sl cod. theol. et phil. 4° 190 (Pfullinger Liederhandschrift, 1470s), fol. 170r: “Vom Núwen Jor. Ich var do hin wennd es muß sin. Contrafactum”.

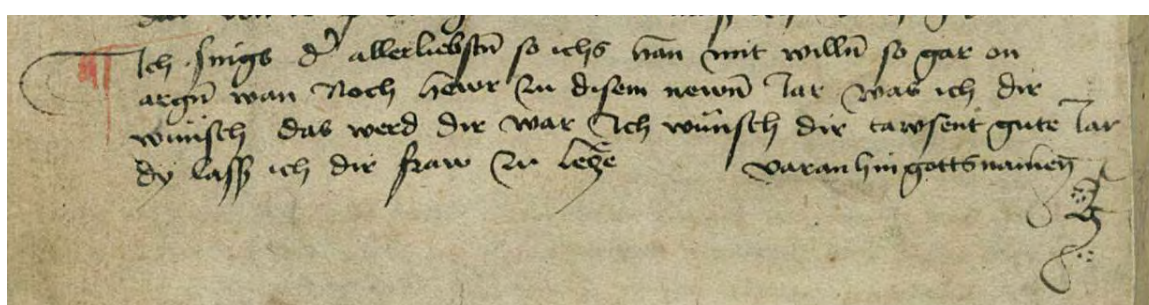
towards the end of the melody in WOLKB (over the words “ich fürcht ain kurzlich tagen”) implies a reference rhythm, but the main body of the notation is made up of undifferentiated semibreves that appear to be used merely as puncta. Pelnar took these hints and transferred them to the entire melody, creating an edition of the piece with a coherent, alternating reference rhythm. Since it is also supported by most of the later transmissions (especially ROSTOCK 19 and SPEC), this is the rhythmic setting by which this song is generally known today. The ambivalent rhythmical notation and the implication of a reference rhythm are signs that, despite its two-voice setting in the Oswald codices, the melody was rooted in monophony. The version in LOCH goes one step further, transferring Oswald’s loose rhythm to the refined structure of a ‘Tenor’. Though the song is monophonic in LOCH, it nevertheless carries the trademarks of polyphony. The most striking rhythmical feature can be found at the end of the melody over the words “ich fürcht kürzlich es taget sere”, and it might be no coincidence that this is the same place where WOLKB clarified its rhythm. The text in LOCH at this place has two syllables more than Oswald, and the melody also differs here from the tablatures in BUX: they introduce an additional tactus, perhaps as a reaction to a longer verse line. Such metrically overshooting verses are a common feature in LOCH, and referred to by Petzsch as “Versaufschwellung”.<sup>316</sup> Despite the fact that the melody in LOCH makes up for the extra syllables by accelerating the musical rhythm in this place, the interdependence between the song in LOCH and the intabulations in BUX hints at a connection between the two, and by extension at a shared repertoire in mid-fifteenth-century Nuremberg within the reach of the ‘Paumann School’.

The version of “Wach auff, mein hort” in LOCH is a personalised adaptation and appropriation of Oswald’s song. Oswald’s text is complemented by a fourth strophe in a

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<sup>316</sup> Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*, p. XLV.

simpler metrical form that includes New Year's wishes dedicated to an unnamed mistress. Such a New Year's greeting was a popular and recurring element in the fifteenth century and occurs also in Oswald's oeuvre. The strophe is a unicum in LOCH and might well be by the main scribe of the manuscript. It would befit a redactor who frequently added comments and humorous remarks to the notated songs, as he did here: "varan hin gotts namenn—Jg" ("Godspeed"). The initials "Jg" (or "bg") might belong to Frater Jodocus de Windsheim, the main scribe and owner of the manuscript.<sup>317</sup>



**Figure 7:** Final (fourth) strophe of "Wach auff, mein hort" (LOCH 2, p. 2) with annotation and Judocus's monogram.

## 5.2 "Ir alten weib" and "Der sawer kúbell": Oswald quoting Neidhart<sup>318</sup>

The late-medieval confusion over Oswald's song "Ir alten weib" (Kl 21) is an indication for the affinity of at least certain aspects of Oswald's and Neidhart's mutual poetry. The text was admitted to the late-medieval collection of Neidhart farces printed under the title "Neidhart Fuchs" and thus assumed to be a work by the then legendary minnesinger. In truth, most of the farce-songs were probably works by later Neidhart imitators, most prominently amongst them Neidhart Fuchs, himself by the fifteenth century already a legend, who presumably lived and worked at the Viennese court of the early fourteenth century. The print was re-issued several times until the mid-sixteenth century, and is the

<sup>317</sup> See *ibid.*, p. XLV–LXI.

<sup>318</sup> This study was pre-published on my blog site as a peer-review:  
<https://mlewon.wordpress.com/2014/06/30/oswald-quoting-neidhart/> (accessed 6.11.2017).

last and culminating witness to an unbroken Neidhart tradition from the time of the original minnesinger (ca. 1190–ca. 1240) until well into the Renaissance. In the fifteenth century Neidhart songs were not only collected and read, but also performed, as the late collections with melodies and the transmissions of Neidhart Plays testify.<sup>319</sup> This mix-up of Oswald’s and Neidhart’s texts is therefore the ideal starting point to analyse the effect of the Neidhart genre on Oswald’s song production. The influence of Neidhart songs on this particular Oswald text have been discussed in detail in other publications.<sup>320</sup>

Therefore, the following analysis will focus on a comparison of the music. The “Neidhart Fuchs” print does not include music, but Oswald’s melody is provided in both of his main manuscripts and appears to be monophonic. Michael Shields, however, proposed in a recent article that there is a hitherto unnoticed canon in this piece.<sup>321</sup> Shields argued that the third section of “Ir alten weib” was intended as a “fuga” because the transmission in WOLKA features strange and seemingly functionless clef-changes as well as a marker.<sup>322</sup> The latter turned out to merely be an artefact in the old black and white facsimile, but the clef-changes are curious indeed.<sup>323</sup> They would be in the correct places if instead of indicating a new range they were meant to mark the entrance of a second voice and the beginning of the ouvert ending. The resulting canon in two voices is simple, featuring numerous dissonances, but it is comparable in its contrapuntal effect to other contemporary canons such as “Martein, lieber herre” by the Monk of Salzburg.

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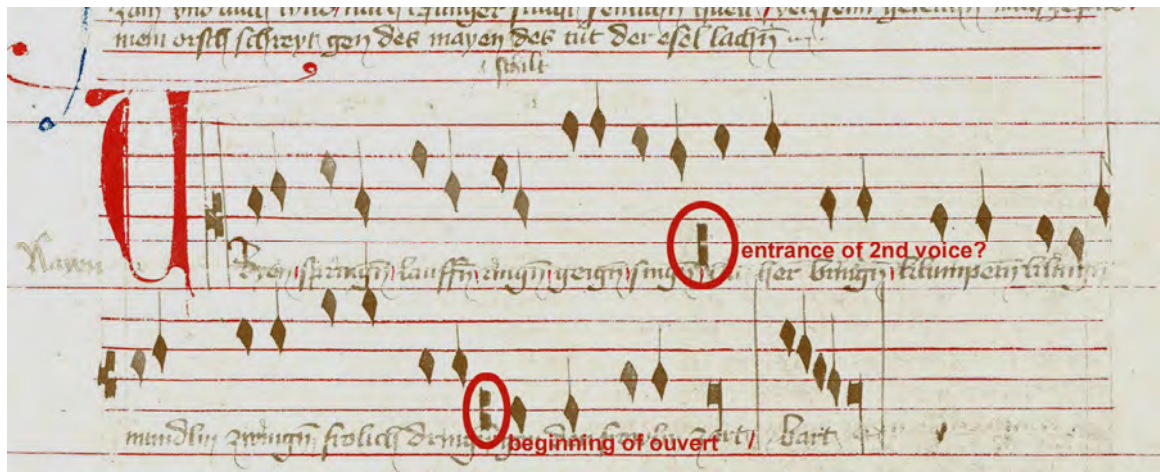
<sup>319</sup> For an overview of the late medieval Neidhart tradition with a focus on Vienna, see Lewon: ‘*Das Phänomen “Neidhart”*’ (accessed 6.11.2017) and Lewon, Marc: ‘Neidhart in Vienna’, in: *Musikleben – Supplement* (2017), <https://musikleben.wordpress.com/2013/07/22/neidhart-in-vienna/> (accessed 6.11.2017).

<sup>320</sup> Regarding the Neidhart allusions see the significant article on the song by Müller, Ulrich: ‘Oswald von Wolkenstein und Neidhart Fuchs: Das Tanzlied “Ir alten weib”, ein Schlager des späten Mittelalters’, in: *Prospero I* (1994), pp. 90–121, as well as influences from the north Italian Trecento on this and other songs by Oswald in Classen, Albrecht: *Zur Rezeption norditalienischer Kultur des Trecento im Werk Oswalds von Wolkenstein (1376/77-1445)* (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 471), Göttingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1987.

<sup>321</sup> For a full discussion and edition of the proposed canon, see Shields: ‘*Hidden polyphony*’.

<sup>322</sup> A-Wn 2777, fol. 12r–v.

<sup>323</sup> Müller, Ulrich and Franz Viktor Spechtler (eds.): *Oswald von Wolkenstein. Handschrift A*, Stuttgart: Privatdruck, 1974.



**Figure 8:** Oswald von Wolkenstein: “Ir alten weib” (Kl 21; WOLKA, fol. 12r), third (canonic?) section with entrance marked by clef-changes (red circles).

Shields noted other remarkable features of this song, particularly in its text, which has an unusual number of musical allusions, even for Oswald (see chapter 4.1.4 for a more detailed list). It mentions “Jöstlins saitenspil” (which was interpreted as “Giustiniani’s string playing” by Werner Marold and Michael Shields, but might refer to any “Judocus”, such as the owner of LOCH), dancing, singing, a musical form (“hofeweis”, used here in the double meaning of “courtly manner” and “Hofweise”, a meistersinger genre) and birdsong. Finally, Shields noticed a close proximity to the Neidhart genre, especially in the first strophe with its “Natureingang” and invitation to dance.<sup>324</sup> Songs that in modern scholarship are identified as “Reihen” (round dance) are often still considered to actually have been “danceable”. Since Oswald’s song text resembles such a Neidhart “Reihen” and since Shields suggested a polyphonic performance for its third form part, he therefore tried to substantiate the dance character of this piece by showing that an instrumental two-voice dance was labelled as “ray” in a contemporaneous manuscript.<sup>325</sup> The piece was, however, identified by Reinhard Strohm as a keyboard intabulation of the motetus and tenor of Bernard de Cluny’s “Apollinis

<sup>324</sup> Shields: ‘*Hidden polyphony*’, p. 132: “[D]ie erste Strophe mit ihrem Natureingang und der Aufforderung zum Tanz ganz eindeutig zur Identifikation als ‘Neidhart’ einlädt [...]” (“The first strophe with its *natureingang* and the invitation to dance unmistakably asks for identification as a ‘Neidhart’-piece [...]).

<sup>325</sup> A-Wn 5094, fol. 158r. He transcribes the rubric as: “finis hu(ius) ray/ de(leatur et certum)”.

eclipsatur” and the rubric identified as “Finis huius rundelli etc.”, thus lacking any indication of a classification as a “Reihen” or other dance.<sup>326</sup> In any case, as has been demonstrated in publications on the relationship of text, music, and dance for medieval German songs, a song that speaks about dance and that even may quote dance music in its melody or rhythm, does not necessarily have to be danceable.<sup>327</sup> The atmosphere of dance evoked by text and music may have been enough to illustrate a dance scene before the eyes and ears of an audience. After all, the genre of Minnesang, to which most of Neidhart’s and Oswald’s songs belong was ultimately intended for a performance in front of a knowledgeable courtly (by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries also: bourgeois) audience, and not primarily for the accompaniment of a dance. The same still applied for dances performed in Neidhart plays, which were instrumental dance tunes, possibly not even taken from Neidhart songs.<sup>328</sup>

The relationship of this Oswald song to the Neidhart oeuvre, however, can be substantiated by some additional observations: The song’s notation in both Wolkenstein manuscripts features a characteristic reference rhythm, consisting of a regular alternation of semibreve and minim typical for Oswald’s monophonic story-telling songs. This rhythmic principle could be the heritage or direct quotation of a practice of the late medieval Neidhart tradition (see also chapter 4). The most direct connection to the Neidhart genre, however, is a possible melodic citation of a specific Neidhart song.

The song “Niemand sol sein trauren tragen lange” also known as “Salbenschwank” (“ointment farce”) survives in four Neidhart sources from the early to

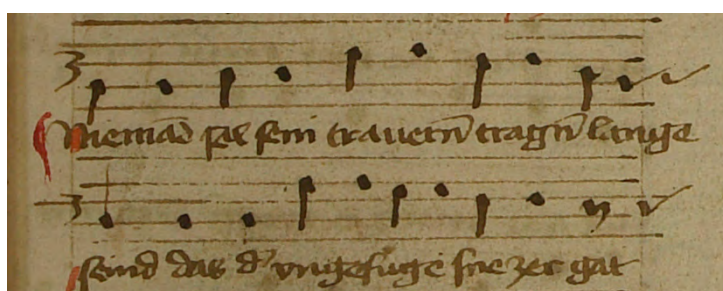
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<sup>326</sup> Strohm, Reinhard: ‘Native and foreign polyphony in late medieval Austria’, in: *Musica Disciplina* 38 (1984), pp. 205–230, here p. 227. Admittedly, it is not clear yet why this motet intabulation is called “rundellus”, a genre name used for polyphonic pieces with sectional voice-exchange, or canonic songs (“fugae”), or the French rondeau.

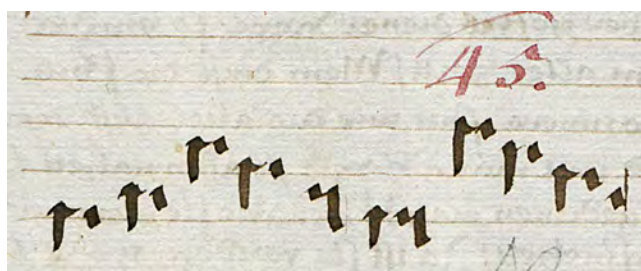
<sup>327</sup> Hübner: ‘Gesang zum Tanz im Minnesang’ and Lewon: ‘Vom Tanz im Lied zum Tanzlied?’. See also: Lewon: ‘Die Melodienüberlieferung zu Neidhart’, pp. 223–225 and Lewon: ‘Das Phänomen “Neidhart”’.

<sup>328</sup> See Lewon: ‘Vom Tanz im Lied zum Tanzlied?’, Lewon: ‘Wie klang Minnesang?’, Lewon: ‘Die Melodienüberlieferung zu Neidhart’, and above, chapter 4.

the late fifteenth century, two of which provide a melody.<sup>329</sup> The transmission in the later manuscript from Nuremberg also gives a title which refers to an unusual and slightly cryptic metaphor in the eighth strophe: “Der sawer kúbell”. Though neither version employs rhythmical notation, both convey an air of reference rhythm. The regular alternation of virga and punctum in both sources may be owed to scribal convention as it was confronted with tone repetitions, but the visual impression does evoke the familiar rhythmical pattern:



**Figure 9:** Beginning of the Neidhart song “Niemand sol sein trauern tragen lange” in EGH (w1), fol. 104r.



**Figure 10:** Beginning of the Neidhart song “Der sawer kúbell” (incipit: “Nyemant soll sein trawren tragen lennger”) in Neidhart MS c, fol. 178r.

Moreover, almost all other Neidhart songs in EGH are notated with mensural note shapes, three of which actually depict a performative rhythm. In all three cases this is the reference rhythm. Since the transmission of the song in EGH is situated in this context of mensural notation and reference rhythm, the suggestive visual impression of its layout also points to a rhythmic performance.

<sup>329</sup> w1: A-Wn s.n. 3344 (Eghenvelder Liedersammlung, Vienna/Hainburg ca. 1431), fol. 104r–v and c45: D-B 779 (Riedsche Handschrift, Nuremberg ca. 1465), fols. 178r–179r. For more information on EGH and the transmission of w1 in particular, see Lewon: ‘Eghenvelder-Liedersammlung’, especially p. 324.



The association of Oswald’s “Ir alten weib” with Neidhart’s “Niemand sol sein trauern” may appear superficial at a first glance, but the melodic and rhythmic flow is similar if not identical in detail, suggesting that the first two lines of “Ir alten weib” are cognate with, if not a truly reworked citation of Neidhart’s “Niemand sol sein trauern”.



**Figure 11:** Beginning of Oswald von Wolkenstein’s “Ir alten weib” (WOLKB, fol. 10v), first two verses, notated in reference rhythm.

The identical metrical length of the two lines in both songs, their shared modality (especially taking into account the transmission in WOLKB), their similar melodic direction (particularly in the second, descending line), the characteristic tone repetitions in both melodies, and the use of the reference rhythm, all point towards cognate versions.

**Niemand sol sein trauern tragen lange (w1)**

8

Nie-mand sol sein traue-ren tra-gen lan - ge seind das der vn - ge - fü-ge sne czer-gat

w1, A-Wn s.n. 3344, fol. 104r  
stem down = virga; no stem = punctum; quaver = minim

**Ir alten weib (KI 21)**

Des kal - den snees mag er nit len-ger tau - ren was sich ver-smo-gen hat in krum-bes lau-ren

KI 21, Wolk B, A-Iu s.s., fol. 9v  
text of the repetition; crotchet = semibreve; quaver = minim

**Figure 12:** Synoptic edition of the two opening lines of “Niemand sol sein trauern tragen lange” (Neidhart; Egh, fol. 104r) and “Ir alten weib” (Oswald von Wolkenstein; WOLKB, fol. 10v, text underlay of the repetition).

Once a connection between the two songs is established, a textual similarity strikes the eye. Though the use of “Natureingang” topoi is generic, it might not be by coincidence that both songs share certain keywords in their initial verses, such as “sne” (snow) and “trauren” (to grieve—in the 7th line of “Ir alten weib”). Given the much more



expansive form of Oswald's song, this version seems to be a melodically inflated and textually "troped" version of a Neidhart idea. Certainly, the version of "Ir alten weib" in WOLKA has the melody of the first and second sections notated a fifth lower, thus with a final on G. WOLKB puts the melody in an extremely high register and has the third section in the same register as WOLKA, and therefore WOLKA appears to provide the correct version. Since b-fa and b-mi are always available (signed or not), the transposition in WOLKB does not necessarily indicate a different modality.

South Tyrol was a centre of late medieval Neidhart reception with a lively tradition of Neidhart plays, so it is of no surprise that Oswald was familiar with the repertoire. Yet there might be a more specific connection between Oswald and Neidhart's "Niemand sol sein trauern tragen lange". The Sterzing Manuscript Miscellany from ca. 1410 was likely assembled at the monastery of Neustift near Brixen, and contains a substantial repertoire of notated Neidhart songs.<sup>330</sup> Since Oswald was closely associated with this monastery it is quite possible (and had previously been suggested) that he had access to the manuscript and may even have used it for his own studies.<sup>331</sup> The page that would have contained the beginning of the Neidhart song "Niemand sol sein trauern tragen lange" is missing, as it must have been ripped out at some point before the modern foliation of the manuscript. Two remaining notes on a fragment of the page preceding fol. 47 show that this page featured musical notation. If these notes belonged to the beginning of "Nymand sol sein trauren", they would demonstrate that this version of the melody started on the same pitch (d) as in the parallel transmissions. A closer examination of the manuscript has shown that another page following this fragment was ripped out. This would leave too much space between the fragmented beginning of the

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<sup>330</sup> Sterzing/Vipiteno, Stadtarchiv, s.s.

<sup>331</sup> See Senn, Walter: 'Wo starb Oswald von Wolkenstein?', in: *Der Schlern* 34 (1960), pp. 336–343, here p. 340 and Zimmermann, Manfred: *Die Sterzinger Miszellaneen-Handschrift. Kommentierte Edition der deutschen Dichtungen* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft. Germanistische Reihe 8), Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik an der Universität Innsbruck, 1980, p. 50–51.

song and the end of the song on the current fol. 47r. If the surviving snippet was not part of the beginning of “Niemand sol sein trauern”, it still features the same notation as the Neidhart pieces on the following pages, and would therefore likely be the beginning of another Neidhart song. In any case, the beginning of “Niemand sol sein trauern”, ostensibly with musical notation, was somewhere on these two missing pages. If Oswald had worked with the manuscript he would have had access to this song and its notation; and maybe he actually was the one responsible for the clipping.



**Figure 13:** Snippet with f-clef and the remains of two puncta “d” in German chant notation, possibly from the beginning of the Neidhart song “Nymand sol sein trauren” in the Sterzing Manuscript Miscellany (recto side of a folio that used to precede the current fol. 47).

This probable quotation of a Neidhart song in Oswald’s oeuvre substantiates the possibility for the influence of the Neidhart genre on Oswald’s songs, expanding the possibility from the generally-held interrelationship of text and form to include a musical connection.

### 5.3 Oswald quoting Oswald: Crossing the Border to Polyphony<sup>332</sup>

It is well established that Oswald’s musical work features a plenitude of contrafacta, musical borrowings and melodic intertextuality. Oswald clearly did not only take over complete melodies or polyphonic settings from other composers, he did not only write contrafacta on his own compositions, but also re-used and re-assembled melodic bits and

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<sup>332</sup> This study was pre-published on my blog site for peer-review:  
<https://mlewon.wordpress.com/2014/04/22/oswald-quoting-oswald/> (accessed 6.11.2017)

pieces from his own material to create new songs. The free interchange of phrases or whole melodic parts is a common feature within Oswald's monophonic oeuvre. Examples are the refrain of "Es seusst dort her von orient" (Kl 20), which provided also the refrain for "Ich spür ain lufft" (Kl 16)<sup>333</sup> and certain melodic phrases of "Ain jetterin" (Kl 83), which can be found in "Gelück und hail" (Kl 61), amongst other pieces. One such case of self-borrowing, however, which has not been discussed in musical scholarship up to now, sheds new light on the interrelationship between Oswald's monophonic and polyphonic output, traditionally treated as a separate issue by musicologists.<sup>334</sup> It also strongly suggests that Oswald himself—or someone he was closely working with—was responsible for those two-voice compositions, which are often referred to as "organum-like" (see the case study above and especially FN 301).

Characteristic features of Oswald's organum-like pieces include the abundant use of parallel motion in perfect intervals (mainly fifths, but occasionally also octaves and unisons), unusual melodic jumps, simultaneous declamation in both voices, an often unclear hierarchy of the voices (leaving the question as to which one is actually the *cantus prius factus* open), the absence of a clear musical metre, the unregulated use of dissonances, and the apparent practical equivalence of fifths and sixths in parallel motion. The last is a conundrum that could point to a local tradition of polyphonic improvisation.

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<sup>333</sup> For an analysis see Tammen, Björn R.: 'Es seusst dort her von orient... (Kl. 20). Versuch über das Phrygische bei Oswald von Wolkenstein', in: Berger, Christian (ed.): *Oswald von Wolkenstein. Die Rezeption eines internationalen Liedrepertoires im deutschen Sprachbereich um 1400. Mit einer Edition elf ausgewählter Lieder* (Rombach Wissenschaften. Reihe Voces 14), Freiburg i. Fr., Berlin, Wien: Rombach Verlag, 2011, pp. 57–83, especially pp. 71–76.

<sup>334</sup> This separation of monophonic and polyphonic songs started already with the first complete edition of Oswald's texts and music by Schatz, Josef and Oswald Koller (eds.): *Oswald von Wolkenstein: geistliche und weltliche Lieder, ein- und mehrstimmig* (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 9), Wien: Artaria & Co., 1902, and continued throughout the Oswald scholarship, see for instance Pelnar's work on only the polyphonic music (Pelnar, Ivana: *Die mehrstimmigen Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein. Edition*, ed. by Theodor Göllner (Münchener Editionen zur Musikgeschichte 32), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1981 and Pelnar, Ivana: *Die mehrstimmigen Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein. Textband* (Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 32), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1982), and most recently, the new Oswald handbook with separate articles on Oswald's monophonic and polyphonic works (Brunner: 'Leben-Werk-Rezeption' and Lewon: 'Die mehrstimmigen Lieder').

No parallel transmissions for compositions from this group have been found, and it appears that they are not contrafacta. Typical examples of Oswald's "organum-like pieces" are: "Des himels trone"/"Keuschlich geboren" (Kl 37/38) in the polyphonic version of WOLKA, "Wol auff, wol an" (Kl 75), "Ain graserin" (Kl 76), and "Ach senliches leiden" (Kl 51).<sup>335</sup>

Another group of pieces in Oswald's manuscripts occupies a compositional middle ground between contrafacta of polyphonic French or Italian chansons and the two-voice organum-like pieces. This group of pieces employs the effects of free organum, but occasionally apply a regular metre as well as progressions towards cadences that appear to quote standard discantus rules of the time. The pieces of this "mixed group" are sometimes sorted together with the organum-like pieces because they share the most significant features, and neither contrafacta nor parallel transmissions could be found in this group.<sup>336</sup> Typical examples of this group are: "Wach auff, mein hort" (Kl 101, see the case study above), "Wol auff wir wellen slauffen" (Kl 84), and "Lieb, dein verlangen" (Kl 94). The seemingly irregular contrapuntal structure of these examples also suits the notion that Oswald—who most certainly was not a fully trained composer—might have fallen back on a simpler and more traditional approach to extemporising polyphony by using the techniques of "quintieren" and "übersingen" (see chapter 4.1.4), while occasionally interspersing quotations from discantus-informed counterpoint known to him through his work with contrafacta into this style. The aforementioned case of a hitherto unnoticed internal borrowing strengthens this argument and supports the idea that the organum-like pieces are actually Oswald's own compositions and unique to his oeuvre.

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<sup>335</sup> For a new critical edition of „Des himels trone“ and „Ach senliches leiden“, see Lewon, Marc (ed.): *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Songs of Myself. Eine ausführlich kommentierte Anthologie von Oswald Liedern mit einem Vorwort von Andreas Scholl*, Basel: Terem-Music, 2016, pp. 35–37 and 38–43.

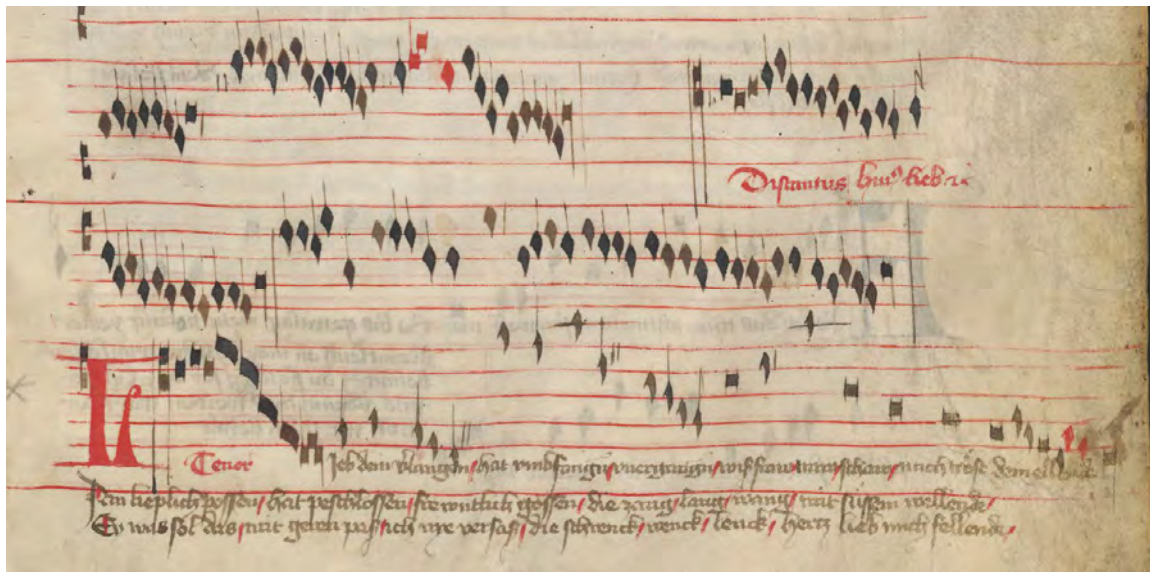
<sup>336</sup> See Lewon: 'Die mehrstimmigen Lieder', pp. 169–170 & 189–191.

While “Wer ist, die da durchleuchtet” (Kl 13) became one of the most popular monophonic pieces by Oswald von Wolkenstein in modern times, the two-voice “Lieb, dein verlangen” (Kl 94) is probably one of the least performed pieces from his sources. This is owed primarily to the fact that there is still no satisfactory edition of the piece. The version of “Lieb, dein verlangen” in WOLKB only gives a tenor line, but has an empty musical stave above it, which indicates that a second voice was planned. Unlike a handful of songs in Oswald’s sources which appear to have existed in a monophonic as well as a polyphonic arrangement—such as “Ain gút geboren edel man” (Kl 43) and “Des himels trone/Keuschlich geboren” (Kl 37/38) in WOLKB—“Lieb, dein verlangen” must have been genuinely intended for two voices, not least because a hoquetus passage is indicated by the rests in the tenor line.



**Figure 14:** “Lieb, dein verlangen”, Oswald von Wolkenstein, in WOLKB, fol. 38v.

The transmission of “Lieb, dein verlangen” in WOLKA, a later addition by scribe number 6, identified as the Viennese Oswald Holer, verifies that a cantus line and a hoquetus passage indeed existed.



**Figure 15:** “Lieb, dein verlangen”, Oswald von Wolkenstein, in WOLKA, fol. 18r.

Neither the counterpoint nor the rhythm of the transmission in WOLKA adds up. The piece does not work as notated and corrections are required. Furthermore, the piece seems forced into too little space at the bottom of a page, which is already crowded with stray and partly unmarked voices from other pieces. Amongst the stray voices is the unmarked cantus line of the above-mentioned “Fröleichen so well wir” (Kl 47, see above and below). The immediate context of the manuscript does not add credibility to the notation of this song. An attempt at transcription shows that the notation is at least as garbled as it is for the cantus line of “Fröleichen so well wir” immediately preceding the beginning of the “Discantus huius lieb etc”. There seems to have been a great deal of confusion around the notation of the piece—a problem that was not resolved when the later WOLKB was assembled. Part of this problem amounts an error of transposition or a wrong choice of clef, because the intervals need to be corrected for at least part of the piece. An internal borrowing gives clues to guide the transposition: the initial melisma, including the first few texted notes of “Lieb, dein verlangen” and that of the monophonic “Wer ist, die da durchleuchtet”, is essentially the same, and even the ligatures are almost identical.





**Figure 16:** The initial melisma of “Wer ist, die da durchleuchtet”, Oswald von Wolkenstein, in WOLKA, fol. 4v.



**Figure 17:** The initial melisma of “Lieb, dein verlangen”, Oswald von Wolkenstein, in WOLKA, fol. 18r.



**Figure 18:** The initial melisma of “Wer ist, die da durchleuchtet”, Oswald von Wolkenstein, in WOLKB, fol. 6v.



**Figure 16:** The initial melisma of “Lieb, dein verlangen”, Oswald von Wolkenstein, in WOLKB, fol. 39v.

The only difference between the initial melismas of the two songs is the pitch level. “Lieb, dein verlangen” is notated in C, while “Wer ist die da durchleuchtet” is notated in D. This is no surprise, since the case of “Wach auff, mein hort” (see above) has conclusively shown, melodies can change mode, even within the oeuvre of one singer. On the other hand, Pelnar has shown that scribal errors, especially “Sekundverschreibung”,

occur regularly in Oswald's manuscripts, particularly in monophonic songs and pieces from the group of organum-like pieces, in the creation of which notation apparently played no significant role.<sup>337</sup> "Wer ist die da durchleuchtet" is one of the first pieces that were copied into WOLKA, whose first layer of entries was written before 1425. Werner Marold assumed that it was written in 1416 on stylistic grounds.<sup>338</sup> Though located within that first layer, "Lieb, dein verlangen", was added later into the remaining space on fol. 18r by Oswald Holer. Holer wrote his parts after 1425, and was also responsible for most of WOLKB in 1432. It is safe to assume that the polyphonic "Lieb, dein verlangen" was written after the monophonic "Wer ist, die da durchleuchtet", and that Oswald reused the latter's initial melisma for the former. It is likely that "Lieb, dein verlangen" was meant to be in the same D-mode as "Wer ist, die da durchleuchtet". I would like to suggest the following solution as an attempt at a corrected edition:

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<sup>337</sup> On the problems with the notation in the Oswald codices and its function especially in the "organum-like" pieces, see *ibid.*, p. 171–172 and 184–185.

<sup>338</sup> Marold: *Kommentar zu den Liedern Oswalds*, pp. 29, 35, and 235.



The image displays an amended transcription of a medieval song in 6/8 time. It consists of four systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (bass clef, marked with an '8'). The lyrics are in German. The transcription includes several corrections, such as adding sharps to the key signature and adjusting note values and rests to improve the counterpoint. The lyrics are: '1. Lieb, 1. Lieb, lieb, dein ver-lan-gen hat umb-fan-gen frau, trau, mich un-er-gan-gen. wiss, frau, trau, schau, mich tröst dein el - - - len - - de. tröst dein el - len - - de.'

**Figure 17:** Amended transcription by Marc Lewon of “Lieb, dein verlangen”, Oswald von Wolkenstein, in WOLKA, fol. 18r—the corrections are too numerous to mark.

If the resulting counterpoint should prove to reflect what Oswald had intended when he had conceived the piece, it would belong to the group of “mixed” pieces. Its rhythmical structure along with its hoquetus passage points to contemporaneous discantus practice, while the contrapuntal framework, which tends to favour parallel motion in perfect consonances, points to the organum-like repertoire.

A comparison of the initial melisma of the earlier, monophonic and unmeasured “Wer ist, die da durchleuchtet” with the later, polyphonic (two-voice) and measured “Lieb, dein verlangen” shows that musical intertextuality in Oswald’s oeuvre crossed the border from monophony to polyphony. Since the monophonic songs connected to Oswald are believed to be largely his own compositions, since his organum-like pieces do not appear anywhere outside his own manuscripts, and since we find the initial melisma of one of his monophonic songs in one of his two-voice “organum-like” compositions, it would seem that Oswald himself—or someone working directly for or with him—composed at least some of his organum-like songs. This case might also reveal that a composed or improvised embellishment of a genuinely monophonic song was part of the performance practice or style of this genre, since it was apparently feasible for Oswald to conceive of a new, measured voice upon a melodic line, which had originally been part of an unmeasured, monophonic song. The notion that such a procedure was within Oswald’s means is further substantiated by the organum-like, polyphonic “Des himels trone” (WOLKA, fols. 34v–35r), which is notated as a monophonic song in WOLKB (fols. 15v–16r).

## 6.4 Neidhart quoting Neidhart<sup>339</sup>

Of the eight surviving manuscripts that contain notation to Neidhart’s songs, the bulk of the transmission is owed to only four sources, three of which date from the fifteenth century and one of which outweighs them all: the Neidhart manuscript c.<sup>340</sup> This manuscript contains 45 melodies out of a total of 72 melodies in all Neidhart sources together. Despite certain problems with its notation, its corpus is sufficiently large for an

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<sup>339</sup> The statistical research for this case study was pre-published separately as part of the article Lewon: ‘*Die Melodienüberlieferung zu Neidhart*’.

<sup>340</sup> D-Bsb Ms. Germ. Fol. 779 (Riedsche or Berliner Neidhart-Handschrift, Nuremberg ca. 1460), fols. 131r–269v.

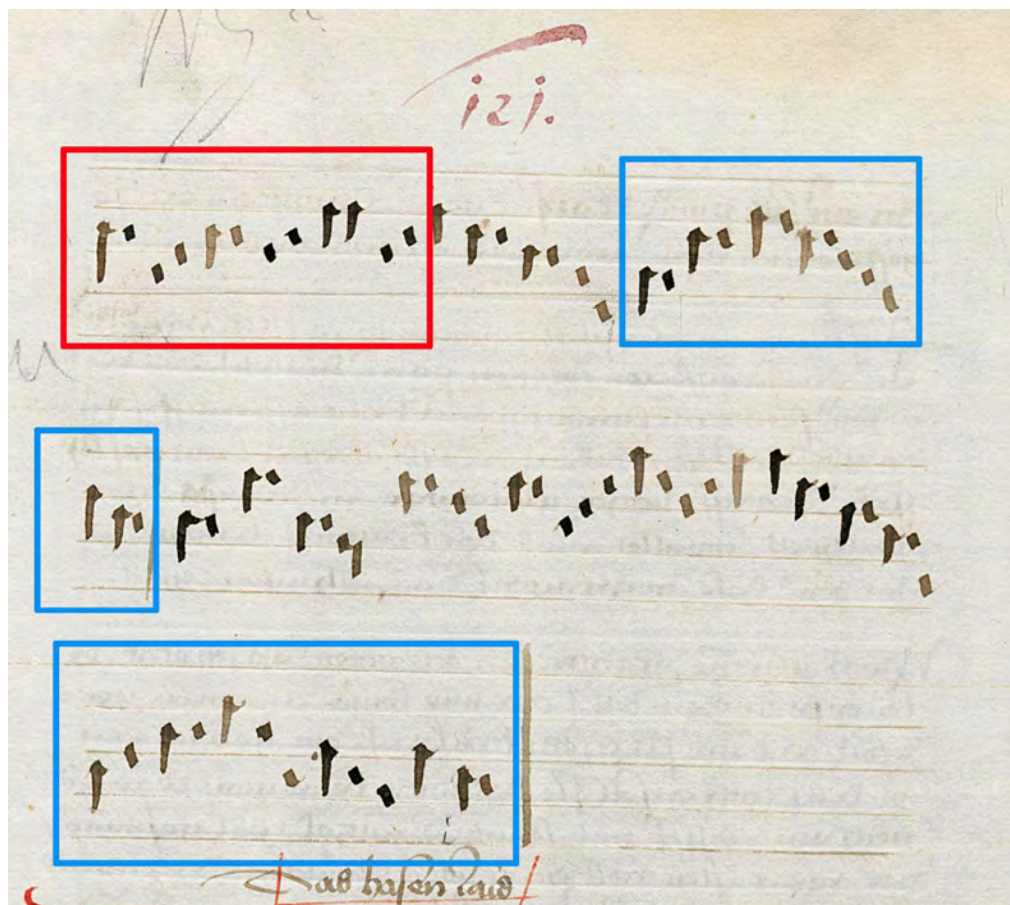
analysis of stylistic relationships between individual melodies, and for an identification of certain melodic types within this genre.<sup>341</sup> The transition between generic modal material, explicit quotation phrases, and designed intertextuality is by its very nature flowing, especially when certain motifs are part of a generic style and thus omnipresent—not only within the Neidhart oeuvre but also more universally within German monophony of the fifteenth century. Certain songs within Neidhart manuscript c, however, display similarities or borrowings that go beyond coincidence. The most obvious melodic correspondence is the case of “Der loben spott” (c77), which is identical to the A-section (the “Aufgesang” of a bar form) of “Der aúgstein” (c93).



**Figure 21:** (a) Neidhart’s “Der loben spott” (c77) and (b) Neidhart’s “Der aúgstein” (c93) with identical A-section marked red.

<sup>341</sup> The notation of all 45 pieces lacks clefs and text underlay. However, the assumption of a general c4-clef and the principally syllabic nature of the songs yield satisfying results. For a summary and historiography of the discussion on the notation of Neidhart c, see Lewon: ‘*Die Melodienüberlieferung zu Neidhart*’, pp. 202–208.

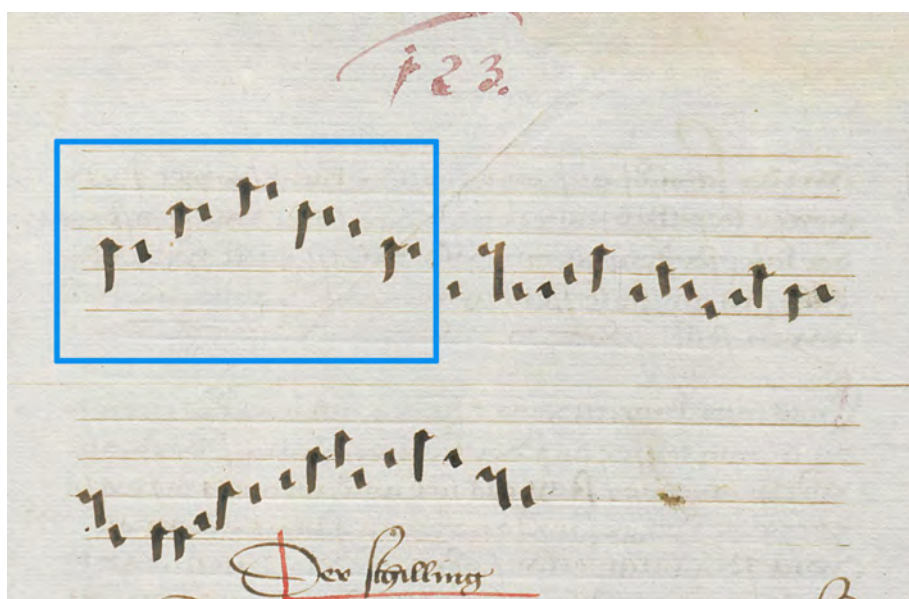
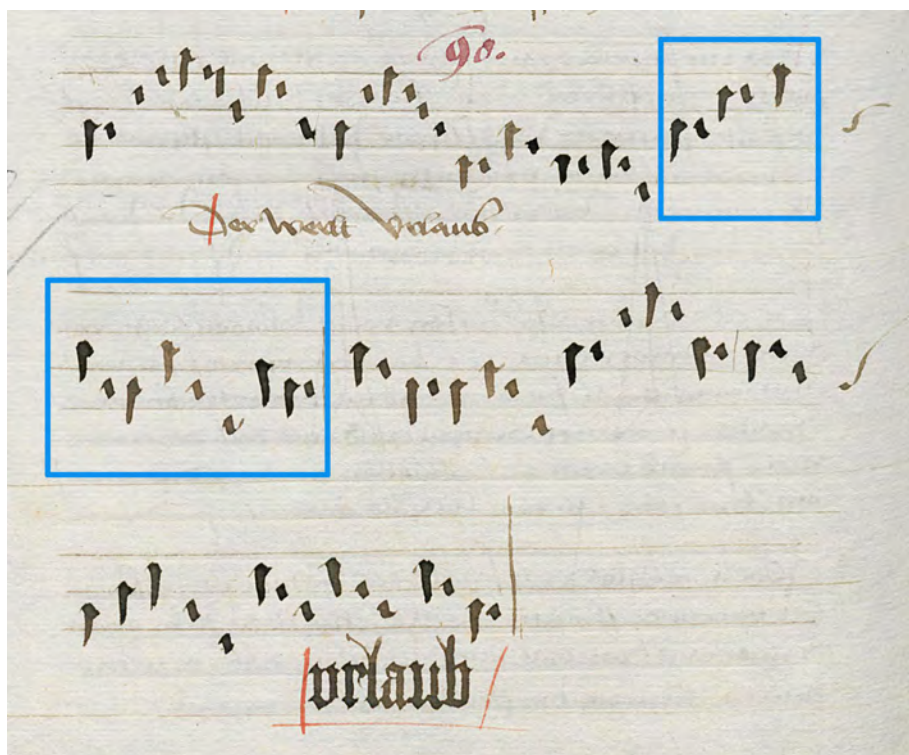
This relationship grows into a network with “Das hasen laid” (c121), which quotes a transposition of the same melody at the very beginning.

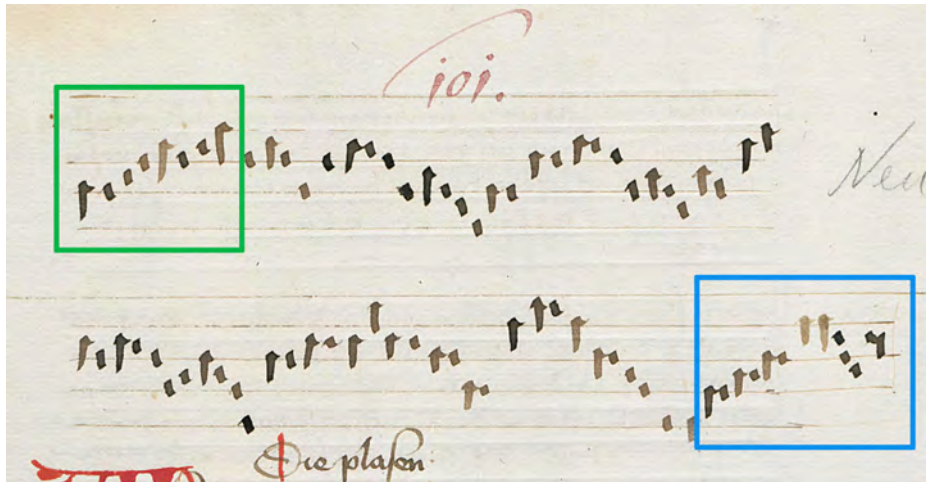


**Figure 21c:** Neidhart’s “Das hasen laid” (c121) with A-section marked red and return line marked blue.

The “Rücklauf” (“return line”, a musical rhyme at the end of the melody, quoting the end of the A-section) in “Das hasen laid” includes a striking motif (see Figure 21, blue boxes), which appears again at the end of the A-section of “Der werlt vrlaub” (c90), as the opening phrase of “Der schilling” (c123), and in the return line of “Die plasen” (c101).

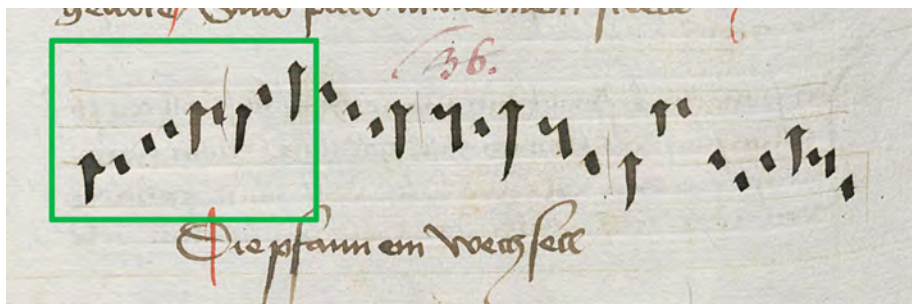






**Figures 22:** (a) Neidhart’s “Der werlt vrlaub” (c90), (b) “Der schilling” (c123), and (c) “Die plafen” (c101) with shared material marked blue.

The interconnection continues with the melodies of “Die plafen” (c101, see Figure 22c, green box) and “Die pfann ein wechsell” (c36), as they share a melodic idea for their respective first form parts.

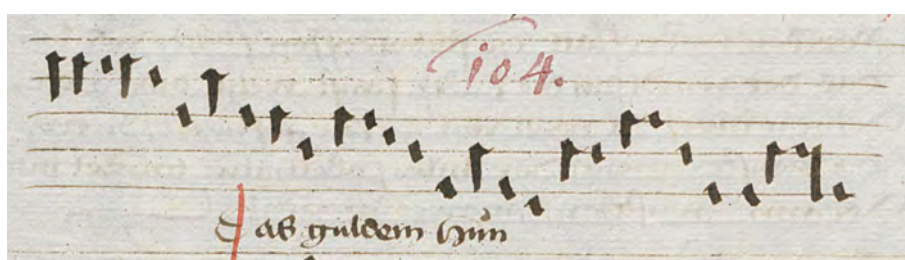
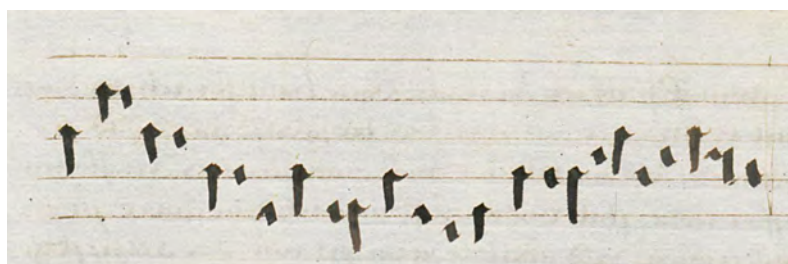
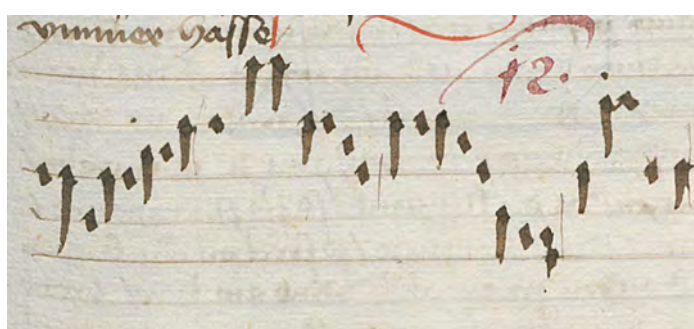


**Figure 23:** A-section of Neidhart’s “Die pfann ein wechsell” (c36) with shared material marked green.

Finally, melodies which show aspects of a pentatonic construction are connected by a number of rather generic melodic gestures, probably owed to their pentatonic nature: c8, c11, c12, c18, c104, c108, and “Der veyhell” (c17)—the latter being the very farce-song that is also quoted in LOCH (p. 29, see above).<sup>342</sup> This quotation of the farce title in LOCH is *pars pro toto* for a central scene of the farce-song, in which Neidhart intends to present the first violet of the year to the duchess of Austria by lifting his hat from his find, only to discover that it had been replaced by his rustic adversaries with a pile of faeces. In

<sup>342</sup> See *ibid.*, especially pp. 220–221

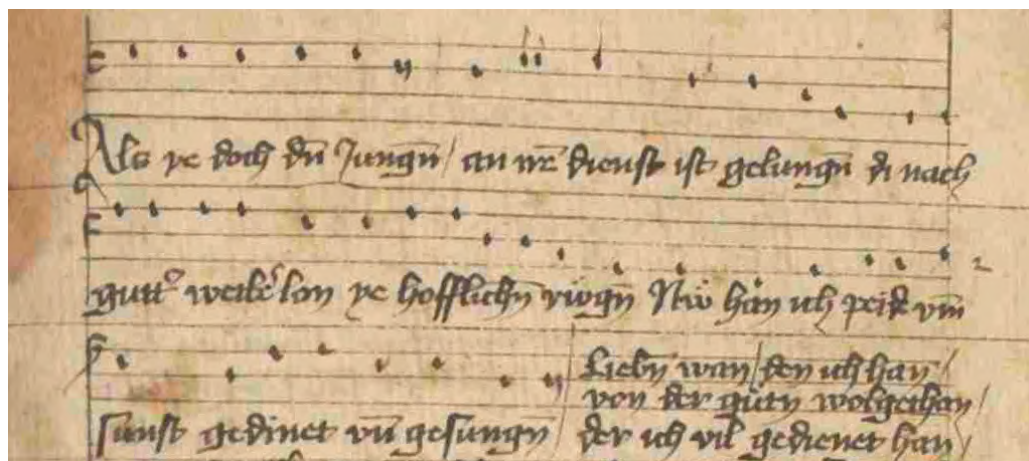
LOCH the title of the song (“veyel” = “violet”) is therefore used as a euphemism for excrements. The generic nature of this melody is demonstrated by its parallel transmission in the Sterzing Miscellany Manuscript, where the melody is recognisable, but A- and B-section (“Aufgesang” and “Abgesang”) are exchanged. A closer relationship seems to exist between “Der prem” (c12) and “Der hanff swing” (c108), and to a lesser degree to “Das guldein hún” (c104), as they share connections beyond mere generic modal gestures in this group of pieces.



**Figure 24:** (a) Characteristic pentatonic sections from Neidhart’s “Der prem” (c12), (b) “Der hanff swing” (c108), and (c) “Das guldein hún” (c104).

The Sterzing manuscript mentioned above also features two melodies which share a common language, namely “Meýe dein lihter schein” (s9) and “Meýe dein wunnnewerde zeit” (s15). Part of their similarity is owed to short verse lines, which were set to music in a similar way in order to support the effect and impact of the quick succession of rhymes.





**Figure 25:** (a) Neidhart’s “Meÿe dein lihter schein” (s9, B-section) and (b) “Meÿe dein wunnewerde zeit” (s15), the latter in a duple reference rhythm.

The coherence of the musical Neidhart oeuvre as it was known in the fifteenth century demonstrates that “a Neidhart” was not only recognisable by its textual content, but also by the characteristics of its melody—features that influenced other genres, including Oswald’s monophonic songs.

## 5.5 “Den Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer”: A Look into the Workshop of a Professional Contrafactor<sup>343</sup>

One of Oswald’s songs that had been considered apocryphal for a long time in modern scholarship survives only as an entry without music in a miscellaneous manuscript from

<sup>343</sup> The results of this case study were presented as a peer-review at the symposium “Contraffare” at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis on Dec 17<sup>th</sup> 2017.



the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>344</sup> Hans-Dieter Mück provided a detailed description of the source in his joint article with Hans Ganser.<sup>345</sup> This song text with its *cantasi come timbre* in the title “Den Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer” (“Wolkenstein’s text on *Je loe amours*”) provides a unique glimpse into Oswald’s contrafaction process. A close look elicits a questioning of long held beliefs regarding this process and results in the suggestions of new interpretations and performance. In a first step I will use the classic example of Francesco Landini’s “Questa fanciull’ amor” and Oswald’s reworkings of it in “Mein herz, das ist versert” (Kl 65) and “Weiss, rot, mit brawn verleucht” (Kl 66) to present how modern scholarship imagined his contrafaction process to work. This process was the basis that resulted in two alternative text underlays published first by Ganser and Mück in the same article (see above), and shortly after by Lorenz Welker.<sup>346</sup> In a second step I will question the premisses and provide new solutions for a recombination of this text and its alleged music.

During the twentieth century a large number of Oswald’s polyphonic songs were proven to consist of contrafacta even though his manuscripts do not mention the original chansons.<sup>347</sup> A rare exception is the rubric to the tenor of “Der mai mit lieber zal” in WOLKA,<sup>348</sup> which cites the model (“Permontes foyes”). This rubric suggests that “Der mai mit lieber zal” was an already reworked Latin contrafact. The incipit is Latinised in the same way that it appears in a parallel version in the St Emmeram codex (“Per montes foyes

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<sup>344</sup> The first editor of Oswald’s complete works, Josef Schatz, rejected Oswald’s authorship of this text categorically in the introduction to his edition, and Werner Marold in 1926 and Christoph Petzsch in 1964 supported this view with further though contradicting arguments. For a summarising discussion, see Mück/Ganser: ‘*Den Techst vbr’ das geleyemors wolkenstain*’, here pp. 117–119. In 2000, Burghart Wachinger published a revised and corrected text of the contrafact, and in his re-assessment confirmed that the text is probably by Oswald von Wolkenstein: Wachinger, Burghart: ‘Ma dame Mercye und swarz meidlin. Zweifelhafte am Rande (Œuvres Oswalds von Wolkenstein)’, *Vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Festschrift für Horst Brunner*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2000, pp. 403–422, here pp. 408–414.

<sup>345</sup> Mück/Ganser: ‘*Den Techst vbr’ das geleyemors wolkenstain*’.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid. and Welker: ‘*New Light on Oswald*’, here pp. 203–207 & 225–226 (edition). Wachinger (see FN 344) accepts Mück/Ganser’s and Welker’s assumption of a tenor contrafact.

<sup>347</sup> For the historiography on Oswald’s polyphonic songs, see principally Lewon: ‘*Die mehrstimmigen Lieder*’

<sup>348</sup> Kl 50, A-Wn 2777, fol. 20r.

ad honorem”).<sup>349</sup> Another exception is the cryptic rubric “Skak” to “Frölich geschrai so well wir machen” in WOLKA.<sup>350</sup> “Skak” appears similarly in several other German codices,<sup>351</sup> and the word might indicate an instrument associated with the original chanson “Qui contre fortune”: an exchiquier.<sup>352</sup> The aforementioned “Mir dringet zwinget” is the last exception where the model is cited in the title.<sup>353</sup>

Models for 16 of Oswald’s 37 polyphonic pieces can be traced in French and Italian sources, and I suspect 10 more to be contrafacta of such chansons.<sup>354</sup> From the middle of the twentieth century until well into the 1980’s the idea that Oswald followed certain patterns when reworking his models had been largely accepted by modern scholarship. Musicologists assumed that Oswald only took over cantus and tenor from his models, thus reducing the often three- and four-voice exemplars to their contrapuntal core, that he moved the texted part from the cantus to the tenor, thus making a “Tenorlied” out of a cantus-texted setting (discantus song, or “Kantilensatz”), and that he ignored the original form, usually a *forme fixe*, cutting it to a simple AB-form with multiple strophes. Scholars have discussed for several decades how many of these interventions were Oswald’s conscious decisions. This also includes the question of his direct exemplars. One idea is that Oswald became acquainted with his models on his long travels—particularly in the wake of the Council of Constance—and that after returning home to South Tyrol he had them picked out from local song collections to subsequently create his contrafacta.<sup>355</sup> A complementary suggestion was that Oswald’s models might

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<sup>349</sup> D-Mbs Clm 14275, fol. 27v.

<sup>350</sup> (Kl 54) A-Wn 2777, fol. 21v.

<sup>351</sup> For a list, see Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, pp. 345–346.

<sup>352</sup> Strohm: *Rise*, p. 260.

<sup>353</sup> D-Mbs Cgm 4871, p. 135.

<sup>354</sup> None of these, however, could yet be verified. For a list with proven and suspected contrafacta, see Lewon: ‘*Die mehrstimmigen Lieder*’, pp. 189–191, though Kl 93 (“Herz, prich”) should be added to the list of suspicious candidates.

<sup>355</sup> Timm, Erika: *Die Überlieferung der Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein* (Germanische Studien 242), Lübeck, Hamburg: Matthiesen Verlag, 1972.

have come to him in an already reworked form, for instance as Latin contrafacta.<sup>356</sup> In such a form most of the decisions for changes to the original composition in the contrafact might have already been taken before Oswald got in touch with his model. For example, the models themselves might already have been a contrafact in a different language (possibly even more textually dense than the original) with a reduction of the number of voices. A telling example is Oswald's contrafact on the anonymous virelai "Par maintes foyes". It is transmitted several times in different versions as a sacred Latin contrafact in German sources of the early fifteenth century.<sup>357</sup> Even the texting of the tenor, as opposed to the cantus, might have been anticipated by a model that was already a contrafact in itself. The splitting up of note values—a feature so common to Oswald's contrafacta—is also a typical feature of other Central European Latin contrafacta, such as "Virginem mire pulchritudinis" on the anonymous ballade "A discort sont desir et Esperance", though the texted voice stays in the cantus. Another example that predates Oswald is the German contrafact on the three-voice chasse "Umblemens vos pri merchi" by the Monk of Salzburg as "Ju, ich jag nacht und tag". "Ju, ich jag nacht und tag" employs a multitude of split notes to accommodate the much denser contrafacted text, and is very similar to Oswald's reworkings, especially to his canonic pieces. Reinhard Strohm proposed that Oswald "would have learnt the foreign songs by heart (perhaps not with all their voices),

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<sup>356</sup> Strohm: *Rise*, pp. 120–121, shows that a number of manuscripts produced in German speaking lands are closer to the selection and notation of Oswald's contrafacta than the "original" French sources. Welker, Lorenz: 'Die Überlieferung französischer Chansons in der Handschrift 2777 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Wolfenstein-Handschrift A)', in: Lodes, Birgit (ed.): *Wiener Quellen der Älteren Musikgeschichte zum Sprechen gebracht. Eine Ringvorlesung* (Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 1), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007, pp. 311–330, here p. 320, speaks of a "mitteleuropäischen Rezeptionsfilter" ("Central European reception filter") that these pieces passed before they came to Oswald. Hertel-Geay, Carola: 'Oswalds Vorlagen in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n.a.f. 6771', *Oswald von Wolfenstein. Die Rezeption eines internationalen Liedrepertoires im deutschen Sprachbereich um 1400* (Rombach Wissenschaften. Reihe Voces 14), Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach Verlag, 2011, pp. 33–44, discusses Oswald's reactions to the incipits of already contrafacted pieces, suggesting that he knew them in an already reworked form.

<sup>357</sup> Berger, Christian: 'Edition ausgewählter Lieder Oswalds und ihrer Vorlagen', in: Berger, Christian (ed.): *Oswald von Wolfenstein. Die Rezeption eines internationalen Liedrepertoires im deutschen Sprachbereich um 1400* (Rombach Wissenschaften. Reihe Voces 14), Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach Verlag, 2011, pp. 144–163, see here: "KL. 50 Johannes Vaillant, "Par maintes foyes" Oswald, "Der mai mit lieber zal" (KL. 50) "[P]er maintes foyes / Ad honorem" Fragment CH-Bst.", pp. 144–163.

and then shaped his new poems for them.”<sup>358</sup> Anna Maria Busse-Berger picked up and expanded this idea imagining a process of contrafaction for Oswald, which worked mainly by memory and was only later and in a second step brought to parchment.<sup>359</sup>

The following example shall demonstrate how Oswald’s process of contrafaction was assumed to have worked, taking his retexting of Francesco Landini’s “Questa fanciull’amor” as an example.<sup>360</sup> Landini’s three-voice ballata in the Panciatichi codex is texted only in the cantus, while tenor and contratenor are untexted.<sup>361</sup> Oswald’s contrafact “Mein herz, das ist versert” in his B manuscript presents the song with two voices, leaving out the contratenor, with only the tenor texted.<sup>362</sup> The original ballata form was exchanged for a simple AB-form with three strophes.

Oswald’s contrafacta cannot be discerned by their text alone. In the past they could only be identified by their music. Contrary to the assumption that a formal compliance coupled with textual references exposes a contrafact—a method often employed in the past to detect German contrafacta of *trouvère* and *trobador* songs—Oswald’s reworkings differ so fundamentally in their form from his models that a relationship cannot be assumed without the knowledge of the melodies. This applies even to cases where the amount of text between model and contrafact is comparable as in “Questa fanciull’amor”/“Mein herz, das ist versert”. And as has been stated above, the transmissions of only three of Oswald’s contrafacta include hints to their models—each in only one manuscript. One of these exceptions is the song “Mir dringet zwinget” (Kl 131) with the title “Den Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer”, which was recognised as

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<sup>358</sup> Strohm: *Rise*, p. 120.

<sup>359</sup> Busse Berger, Anna Maria: ‘Wie hat Oswald von Wolkenstein seine Kontrafakta angefertigt?’, in: Nanni, Matteo (ed.): *Music and Culture in the Age of the Council of Basel*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, pp. 197–212.

<sup>360</sup> Leaving aside the question whether Oswald knew his models as they came down to us in the French and Italian chansonniers or if he was working from already reworked versions, this example will use the standard transmissions of the Landini ballata, as was previously done in traditional scholarship.

<sup>361</sup> I-Fn Panc. 26 (ca. 1400), fol. 22v

<sup>362</sup> (Kl 65), A-Iu s.s., fol. 28v

a song by Oswald von Wolkenstein in the nineteenth century by Karl Bartsch.<sup>363</sup> Only in the twentieth century was the *cantasi come* instruction “geleymors” decrypted as Binchois’s “Je loe amours”. This corrupted title appears in similar forms in other German collections, such as LOCH and BUX (see chapter 1.6). All of the versions in BUX are keyboard reworkings of Binchois’s three-voice ballade, and one title in the tablature part of LOCH (“Gelendemours”) indicates that this chanson was known to the scribe as a keyboard tablature. “Gelendemours” was apparently identified as a misnomer and subsequently crossed out to be replaced by the rubric “Tenor Anavois” for the tablature of the rondeau “Une foy avant que morir”. The other occurrence of this piece in LOCH appears at the end of the song part with the same corrupted title (“Geleymors”). It is a Latin contrafact of the tenor line of “Je loe amours”, written in stroke notation with the incipit “Ave dulce tu frumentum”. This reworking is comparable to Oswald’s contrafact on the same chanson.

In the 1980’s two musicologists attempted to reunite Oswald’s “Mir dringet zwinget” with its music. The first one was Hans Ganser, who presented a text underlay in cooperation with the German scholar Hans-Dieter Mück in 1984.<sup>364</sup> According to Oswald’s assumed contrafaction principles laid out above, Ganser and Mück put the text in the tenor, split numerous note values in order to accommodate the considerable amount of syllables, and provided three performance options: a monophonic version with the tenor alone, a two-voice version with a textless (in their view synonymous to “instrumental”) cantus, and finally a three-voice version with additional, textless contratenor. With the suggestion of a monophonic contrafact Ganser and Mück anticipated a practice, which would be substantiated about 15 years later with the

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<sup>363</sup> Bartsch, Karl: ‘Kleinere Mitteilungen. 5. Zum Lohengrin’, in: *Germania* 7 (1862), pp. 274–275

<sup>364</sup> See above: Mück/Ganser: ‘*Den Techst vbr’ das geleyemors wolkenstain*’.

discovery of another, monophonic contrafact by Oswald on a Binchois tenor.<sup>365</sup> In 2001 Rainer Böhm announced that Oswald's monophonic song "O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai" is in fact texted on the tenor of Binchois's famous "Triste plaisir". This new find also dispelled earlier doubts repeated by Mück and Ganzer that Oswald could have known the chansons by the much younger Binchois.

In 1987 Lorenz Welker had already faced these same doubts when he offered an alternative tenor texting. He showed that Binchois's "Je loe amours" in the Oxford codex is surrounded by other Burgundian chansons that were also contrafacted by Oswald, namely "A son plaisir" (Oswald's "Vierhundert jar") and "La plus jolie" (Oswald's "Wer die ougen will verschüren").<sup>366</sup> Therefore, Welker finds it likely that Oswald also knew "Je loe amours". Welker based his version on the same premisses as Ganzer and Mück, also placing his text under the tenor, but left open the question of a monophonic or a polyphonic contrafact. Welker focused solely on the form and the numerous split note values in Ganzer and Mück's version, which he considered unidiomatic and in need of a different solution. "Je loe amours" is a ballade with a repeated A-section and an elongated clos-ending. Oswald's text reproduces this AAB form. Like Binchois's text, Oswald's text has two A-sections of equal length. That Oswald would imitate the ballade form seems an obvious choice, since the German "Kanzonenstrophe" (bar form), a standard since the time of Minnesang, a form well known to Oswald, has the same structure. Ganzer and Mück's approach, like the model, consequently allowed for a textless melisma at the end of the second A-section. This solution is not inconceivable, but is untypical for Oswald's verbose contrafacta, which tend to text original melismas. In contrast to the texted sections with their plenitude of split notes, these untexted melismas

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<sup>365</sup> Böhm: 'Entdeckung einer französischen Melodievorlage zum Lied *O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai* (Kl. 100) von Oswald von Wolkenstein'.

<sup>366</sup> Welker: 'New Light on Oswald', here pp. 203–207 & 225–226 (edition).

in Ganser and Mück's version stand out particularly. Welker argued that Oswald might instead have placed the repetition at the end of the second A-section, which would have given him more notes at his disposal for the text underlay, requiring fewer note splits.

A comparative edition with the original tenor of Binchois's chanson and the text underlays by Mück/Ganser and Welker is provided in appendix 8: "Den Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer", Figure 1, with split notes marked blue and changed rhythmical values marked in orange. The comparison between Welker and Ganser and Mück's version reveals that the latter has the most split notes (blue). Ganser and Mück's version on the one hand observes most of the word stresses of Oswald's text, but on the other hand ignores many of the verse cadences and syntactic correlation. This happens to such a degree that some places of the song become a relentless string of words. What is more, numerous repeated notes (a result of the multitude of split values) render the melody hardly memorable, contrasting it unfavourably by sudden leaps, the most prominent of which encompasses a whole octave in the middle of a sentence. Even for an adept performer this version would present several stumbling blocks, making it one of the most insensitive of all of Oswald's tenor contrafacta.

Certainly, just as the Monk of Salzburg had done in his "Ju ich jag" (see above), Oswald sometimes employs multiple tone repetitions by splitting longer note values. However, this is always done with utmost attention to the rhythm of the text and by maintaining a transparent melodic line. The opening bars of his contrafact on the anonymous rondeau "En tes doulz flans" serves as a positive example:

**En tes doulz flans** [5] Anonymous, F-Pn n.a.fr. 6771 (Codex Reina), fol. 77v

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is for the song 'En tes doulz flans' and the bottom staff is for 'Frölich, zärtlich, lieplich und klärlich'. Both are in 2/4 time. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The bottom staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are written below the notes. In the bottom staff, some notes are marked with a blue 'b' for split notes.

1.4.7. En tes doulz flans

Frölich, zärtlich, lieplich und klärlich Oswald von Wolkenstein (Kl 53), WolkA, fols. 33v–34r

1. Frö-lich, zärt-lich, liep-lich und klär-lich, lust-lich, stil - le, lei - se,

**Figure 26:** Beginning of the anonymous rondeau “En tes doulz flans” with the beginning of Oswald’s contrafact of the tenor line, “Frölich, zärtlich, lieplich und klärlich” in a synoptic edition.<sup>367</sup> Split notes are marked blue.

Welker’s version requires fewer split notes, yet the words often fall on awkward positions in the musical rhythm or melodic line, so that part of the texting appears almost arbitrary. This is a clear example for a case where is not sufficient to merely have enough notes at one’s disposal to accommodate the syllables. They also need to fall on convenient places in melody and rhythm. A comparison with Oswald’s monophonic contrafact on Binchois’s “Triste plaisir”, his “O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai”, exemplifies how Oswald might have dealt sensibly with pre-given rhythmical structures, such as cadential hemiolas, and highlights instances of the preservation of the melismas of his models—in this case, the initial melisma.

<sup>367</sup> For a new critical edition of Oswald’s “Frölich, zärtlich, lieplich und klärlich”, see Lewon (ed.): *Songs of Myself*, pp. 21–25. This song is another example of either transposed modality or missing accidentals in the Wolkenstein Codices (see commentary to the edition).



music: Gilles Binchois  
text: Alain Chartier

**Triste plaisir** [5] GB-Ob Can. Misc. 213, fol. 56v

Oswald von Wolkenstein, WolkB, fols. 40r-v

**O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai**

[10]

wol-ge-zier - ter mai, dein süß ge - schrai pringt

**Figure 27:** Beginning of Binchois’s “Triste plaisir” and Oswald’s contrafact of the tenor alone, “O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai” in a synoptic edition.

Both Welker and Ganser and Mück’s text underlays also feature formal variations in the text between the first and the second A-section, which casts doubt on the accuracy of the edited text. This problem needs to be addressed before a sensible underlay can be made. A comparison of the two A-sections (the two “Stollen”, which make up the “Aufgesang”) suggests a metrical analysis in which the verses 3 and 4 of the first A-section feature male cadences, while the same place in the second A-section has a female cadence and a reversed rhyme.

strophe 1		strophe 2	
<b>A</b>		<b>A</b>	
1. Mir dringet	1wa	1. Dein Senenn	1wa
2. zwinget	1wa	2. wenen	1wa
3. fraw dein <b>guet</b>	<b>2mb</b>	3. ich nitt puessen	<b>2wb</b>
4. mein <b>gemúet</b>	<b>2mb</b>	4. kan volsuessen	<b>2wb</b>
5. trawt liebsstes ain	2mc	5. deiner ger	2mc
6. an ern reich	2md	6. mein weiplich zucht	2md
7. gleich	1md	7. frucht	1md
8. so mues ich loben fraw deinn guet gestalt.	5me	8. mag klain erfrewen dich zw kainer stund.	5me
<b>A'</b>		<b>A'</b>	
1. Deins herczen	1wf	1. Meinen willen	1wf
2. scherzen	1wf	2. stillen	1wf
3. mich ser <b>wundert</b>	<b>2wg</b>	3. du wol kúndest	<b>2wg</b>
4. <b>sundert</b> von dir	<b>[2wg]</b>	4. vnd enpúndest	<b>2wg</b>
5. trawt geselle rain	3mc	5. all mein schwär	3mc
6. dein höflich schimpf	2mh	6. dein wort vnd weis	2mh
7. glimpf	1mh	7. leis	1mh
8. mit frewden mich behaget manigfalt.	5me	8. lieblich erkuchken möcht meins herczen grunt.	5me

An examination of the second and third strophes confirms that the verses in question should actually have a feminine cadence and end with the same rhyme (the table above gives only the second strophe, but the third has the same structure). This means that formal corruptions must have crept into the first strophe, possibly in the process of compilation. Such rearrangements, enhancements or contractions of verses appear regularly in German lyric manuscripts of the fifteenth century and especially so in LOCH.<sup>368</sup> I suggest the following corrections to restore the metric flow of the poem:

**A**  
fraw dein **gúete**  
mein **gemúete**

**A'**  
mich ser **wundert**  
von dir **sundert**

<sup>368</sup> Petzsch: *Lochamer-Liederbuch*, see especially chapter II “Zu einzelnen Liedern” with the sections on “Weiterdichten” (“embellishment”) and “Umformen” (“transformation”).

On this textual basis and with the insights gained from the previous observations on Oswald's instinct for melodic and rhythmic subtleties when writing a new text on a pre-given melody, a new text underlay may be attempted. One may dismiss such an undertaking as a mere intellectual exercise with no merits beyond personal entertainment or the practical musician's desire for a performable edition. However, the question of whether Oswald's text can actually be set sensibly to the music of any particular line of Binchois's chanson can only be answered when the trained experience of a performer is involved—as has been amply demonstrated by the previous unsuccessful attempts. Such hypothetical reconstructions may lead to new and unexpected questions from the realm of performance and orality and thus open up new discussions, which can bring the subject matter back to the realm of verifiable scholarship. A new attempt at a text underlay should also accommodate the aforementioned contrafact on the same chanson from LOCH: “Ave dulce tu frumentum” (see also chapter 1.6).

Je loe amours (Binchois, Oxford codex) [5] [10]

Ave dulce tu frumentum (transposed)

8 A, A - ve dul - ce tu fru - men - - - - tum

15 20

8 in vir - gi - ne quod in - ven - - - - tum cru - cis ve - nit ad tor - men - - - - tum

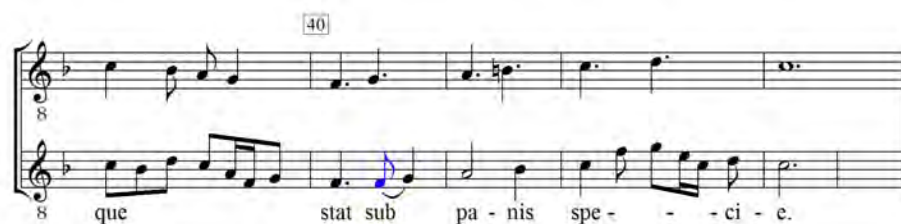
25 30

8 no - bis in so - la - - - ci - um. A - ve sa - lus a - ni - ma - - rum man - na cla - - rum

orig: double values

35

8 ca - ro ca - rens ca - - ri - e con - se - cra - ta sed ve - - la - - ta



**Figure 28:** Comparative edition of Binchois's tenor of "Je loe amours" and the anonymous "Ave dulce tu frumentum" from LOCH.

The original rhythmical structure of the tenor was largely maintained in this reworking. The amount of text is less than the original and at the same time much less than in Oswald's contrafact, which seems to speak against their comparability. Nevertheless, "Ave dulce tu frumentum" contains valuable information for the treatment of the original tenor in a monophonic reworking. One of the most striking features is the ornamentation of the cadences and at the same time elimination of the hemiolas (bars 4, 9, 15, 20, 24, 27, 33, 37, 39, and 42), a feature that is very typical for the adaptations in LOCH but at the same time very atypical of Oswald's contrafacta. Oswald tends to especially preserve the pre-cadential hemiolas of his models. The reworking of these pre-cadential rhythms in the LOCH contrafact will therefore be excluded for the task at hand. Other notable changes to the model include split note values (blue), which seem to be not only motivated by the text underlay, but are occasionally used to smoothen the rhythmic flow. Passing notes are introduced to soften melodic leaps (orange), which is particularly noticeable in the mitigation of the octave leap. Formal aspects were also slightly altered. The contrafact still features the repeat sign in the same place as Binchois's chanson (bar 10), but since no new text is provided it seems that this sign is merely a remnant from the exemplar and the A-section of the contrafact ends with the texting of the originally untexted clos-melisma with a signum congruentiae (bar 16). The initial melisma is a completely new feature, which is not in the model. Such melismas feature in many chansons of the time, and also in Oswald's songs, both monophonic and polyphonic.

I took on a number of these observations for the new text underlay of the Binchois tenor with Oswald's "Mir dringet zwinget". The initial melisma and the texting of the clos-melisma were adopted from "Ave dulce tu frumentum". The idea to use the clos-melisma for both A-sections I took over from Welker. Individual melodic leaps were softened again following the example of "Ave dulce tu frumentum" and the performance rhythm was adjusted towards a regularly alternating reference rhythm, as demonstrated by Ganser and Mück, which supports the flow of Oswald's text. The rhymes and verse lines were placed on the melody in a way to support text form and syntactic correlations. It may be that Oswald had planned even more substantial changes of the melody in order to streamline his version, as it was done in LOCH for "Ave dulce tu frumentum". It is also possible that he had a version that was already arranged and smoothened out for monophonic performance.<sup>369</sup> However, in the edition, found in appendix 8: "Den Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer", Figure 2, I attempted to keep the adjustments to a minimum.

This solution may be more organic and idiomatic than the previous experiments, but it requires a number of changes in order to fit the melody into a monophonic song at the same time does not ultimately satisfy: The long note values of the original line that even in this underlay require many split notes and thus tone repetitions, the frequent melodic leaps coupled with this highly complex poem aid neither melody nor contrafact text. Either the melody would have to be highly altered to balance the setting, or a fresh look at Oswald's contrafacta may be necessary. The remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to such a fresh look.

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<sup>369</sup> More examples for the rearrangement and diminution of a tenor line for the purpose of monophonic performance can be observed in the monophonic French chansonniers F-Pn f.fr. 12744 and F-Pn f.fr. 9346 (Chansonnier Bayeux, see there especially the monophonic version of "Triste plaisir") ca. 1500 and on a number of "Tenors" in LOCH.

## 6.6 Questioning the Premises of an Oswald Contrafact

All attempts of a text underlay for Oswald's "gelejemors" so far operated upon the assumption that the text was intended to be in the tenor, whether intended for monophonic or polyphonic contrafaction—just as Oswald's principles for contrafacta seem to dictate (see above). These premises will be put to the test with the following empirical analysis. I will demonstrate that these principles were overly simplified in earlier attempts. For this purpose I shall consult the prime example for Oswald's process of contrafaction, his "Mein herz, das ist versert" on Landini's "Questa fanciull'amor" in order to deconstruct the methods of earlier attempts.

The sources for model and reworking quoted above (Panciatichi codex and WOLKB) seem to compliment the idea that Oswald took a cantus-texted setting, reduced the chanson to its core of cantus and tenor, and wrote a new text for the tenor only while ignoring the original *forme fixe*. The principles do not seem as straightforward after a look into the parallel transmissions: Landini's song is fully texted in both cantus and tenor in the Squarcialupi codex and Oswald's version in WOLKA features individual words clearly placed under certain notes, indicating that a complete textung of the cantus line was intended.<sup>370</sup> This is by no means the only case in which Oswald's two main manuscripts send ambiguous signals. Reasons for this discrepancy between WOLKA and WOLKB may be specific layout principles for one of the manuscripts (WOLKB) or the manuscripts' individual proximity to or distance from performance. The decision in WOLKB to leave all cantus voices that do not strictly require a text underlay untexted might have had two reasons. First, leaving them untexted would clean up and standardise the layout in order to make the manuscript more prestigious. Second, leaving them untexted might have better reflected Oswald's own mode of performance, where he sang

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<sup>370</sup> I-Fl Mediceo Palatino 87, fol. 138r.

the texted tenor line—simply because it was his own voice range—and played the accompanying lines instrumentally.

A statistical analysis will show how many of Oswald’s proven contrafacta actually follow the principles laid out above. The following list contains all known contrafacta by Oswald.

no.	incipit	no red. 371	texted voices	original form
Kl 46	Du ausserweltes schöns mein herz	A, B	cantus	<u>ballade</u>
Kl 47	Fröleichen so well wir	—	tenor	ballade
Kl 48	Stand auff Marede! – Frau ich enmag	A	cantus & tenor	rondeau
Kl 50	Der mai mit lieber zal	—	cantus	<u>virelai</u>
Kl 52	Wolauff, gesell! wer jagen well	A, B	cantus & tenor	<u>ballade</u>
Kl 53	Frölich, zärtlich, lieplich und klärlich	—	cantus & tenor	rondeau
Kl 54	Frölich geschrai, so wel wir machen	A	cantus	rondeau
Kl 56	Tröstlicher hort—Frölich das tün ich	A, B	cantus & tenor	<u>virelai/ballade</u>
Kl 62	Von rechter lieb krafft—Sag an, gesellschaft	A, B	cantus & tenor	rondeau
Kl 65/66	Mein herz, das ist versert / Weiss, rot mit brawn	—	cantus & tenor	ballata
Kl 70	Her wiert, uns dürestet	A, B	—	<u>canon</u>
Kl 72	Die minne	A, B	—	<u>canon</u>
Kl 88	Vier hundert jar auff erd	—	tenor	rondeau
Kl 100	O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai	—	tenor	rondeau
Kl 103	Wer die ougen wil verschüren	<del>A</del> —	tenor	rondeau
Kl 107	Kom, liebster man	<del>A</del> , B	tenor	rondeau
Kl 109	Ave mater / Ave, mütter	<del>A</del> , B	tenor	<u>lauda (AB)</u>

It is no surprise that most of the original chansons to these contrafacta are rondeaux (see right column). When all original forms that Oswald had adopted in his reworkings are marked by underlining, one thing becomes clear: he ignored rondeau forms. This also comes as no surprise, as there is no true German equivalent to this form, with a few exceptions (see chapter 4.2).<sup>372</sup> Oswald observed most of the forms of his other models, at least to some degree. In focusing on the question of which voice receives a text underlay, the canons can be excluded, since their only voice is naturally the one that has to be texted. Oswald adopted the texting of only the cantus from the original for three pieces.

<sup>371</sup> = “no reduction”: Oswald manuscripts in which the number of voices was not reduced for the contrafact. A crossed out sigla means that the song is not in that manuscript.

<sup>372</sup> See Kraft: ‘Rondeau oder Reigen’ and Kornrumpf: ‘Rondeaux des Barfüßers vom Main?’.

One of the basic criteria for his contrafacta therefore does not apply to these: the texting of only the tenor voice. To this of pieces that are not only texted in the tenor we may add the six pieces which are underlaid in both cantus and tenor in at least one of Oswald's manuscripts. This means that only six known Oswald contrafacta are only texted in the tenor (see second column from the right). Three of these contrafacta exist only in WOLKB (see the crossed out sigla A for the last three songs in the middle column), where cantus lines are not texted as a rule, due to layout reasons. Therefore, these three pieces might be considered as candidates for purely tenor-texted songs. Furthermore, the models for these three contrafacta and another from the list (Kl 88, Kl 103, Kl 107, Kl 109) are all texted in both the cantus and tenor in the surviving manuscripts, meaning that in these cases Oswald did not have to move the text from the cantus to the tenor. This leaves only two contrafacta that tick all the boxes: Only "Fröleichen so well wir" (Kl 47) and "O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai" (Kl 100) began their transmission as discantus songs with only the cantus texted in their surviving sources, having found their way into both Oswald codices as a pure tenor-texted songs for which the original form was abandoned.<sup>373</sup>

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<sup>373</sup> The two models are "Triste plaisir" by Binchois (GB-Ob canon. misc. 213, fol. 56v) for "O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai" and "[N]ay je cause" by M. Fabris (NL-Lu 2720, fol. 3v) for "Fröleichen so well wir". The apparent texting of tenor and contratenor in the Leiden fragment is merely the rest of the cantus text for the rondeau distributed on empty space. A method of accommodating surplus text that is common to a number of chansonniers and song books, e.g. the *Schedelsche Liederbuch*. Reinhard Strohm, however, argued that the Fabri song was intended for dialogue-texting, where the words run through more than one voice, which Oswald in turn exploits to form a real dialogue: see Strohm, Reinhard: 'Song Composition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Old and New Questions', in: *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft* 9 (1996), pp. 523–550, here p. 525–530 and Strohm: *Rise*, p. 70–72, including an edition. The original texting may correspond to the dialogical 'Soy tart temple' family as analysed by Welker, Lorenz: 'Soit tart temple und seine Familie', in: Danuser, Hermann and Tobias Plebich (eds.): *Musik als Text. Bericht über den internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998, pp. 322–334. The evidence for dialogue songs in the French and German songs repertoires is abundant and is further discussed in Strohm: *Rise*, p. 13 and März, Christoph: 'Versuch über Wechsel, Dialog, Duett. Zur Mehr-Stimmigkeit im deutschen mittelalterlichen Lied', in: März, Christoph, Lorenz Welker and Nicola Zotz (eds.): *Jeglicher sang sein eigen ticht'. Germanistische und musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge zum deutschen Lied im Mittelalter* (Elementa Musicae 4), Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2011. The concept of "a versi" and "cursiva" texting that may apply for the notation in the notation of Fabri's song is discussed in Schoop, Hans: *Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213*, Bern: Paul Haupt, 1971, p. 49–51. Assuming this assessment to



This assessment is confirmed by the middle column of the table above. It demonstrates for which of the two Oswald manuscripts the number of voices was not reduced in comparison with the surviving models and shows that only in a minority of the cases (7 out of 16) the number of voices was reduced in both Oswald manuscripts containing the contrafacta in question (Kl 47, Kl 50, Kl 53, Kl 65/66, Kl 88, Kl 100, Kl 103). Two more songs have a reduced number of voices in one of the manuscripts (WOLKB) but not in the other (Kl 48, Kl 54). Both of the contrafacta singled out by the statistic analysis above also have a reduced number of voices. What is more, one of these contrafacta, “O wunniklicher, wolgezierter mai” is monophonic in both Oswald manuscripts, and the other (“Fröleichen so well wir”) is monophonic in one of them (WOLKB). The cantus of the latter’s two-voice version in WOLKA is so obscure, unassigned, and hidden amongst other voices that it can be assumed that Oswald had intended it also as a monophonic contrafact.<sup>374</sup> This means that while the majority of Oswald’s contrafacta do not adhere to most of the assumed rules, the only pieces for which all the rules actually apply are two monophonic contrafacta, and are therefore not typical representatives of Oswald’s polyphonic reworkings.

Most of Oswald’s contrafacta are at least texted in the tenor line, which is probably owed to the fact that this was Oswald’s own voice register. A trend of favouring the tenor line is becomes clear after taking Oswald’s other polyphonic pieces into account, including his “organum-like” two-voice polyphony, where it is often unclear which of the two voices is actually the main melody.<sup>375</sup> The statistic analysis above

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prove true the statistical analysis above would reduce the number of Oswald contrafacta that obey the assumed rules of contrafaction to only one piece: Kl 100 (“O wunniklicher wolgezierter mai”).

<sup>374</sup> Not only is it places to pages apart from the texted tenor line, it is also without a title of incipit “hidden” in an accumulation of unmarked voices, and was apparently thought to be a tenor line, because of an incomplete rubric “[T]enor”. Only a later hand added a tiny rubric “triplum” under the beginning of the cantus line.

<sup>375</sup> Lewon: ‘*Die mehrstimmigen Lieder*’, p. 169.

demonstrates that though a tenor texting is likely in an Oswald contrafact, it is by no means invariable.

This new evidence encourages a rethinking of traditional Oswald contrafaction scholarship, and opens up a new possibility for a text underlay of “Je loe amours” with “Mir dringet zwinget”. Oswald may have intended to have the cantus texted instead of the tenor. The edition found in appendix 8: “Den Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer”, Figure 2, with the text under the cantus carries the assumption of a polyphonic version, because it could not function without at least the tenor voice. The cantus supplies an attractive melodic line and sufficient notes for Oswald’s text. The resulting contrafact could have been for either two or three voices, depending on Oswald’s immediate exemplar: either just the contrapuntal core of (texted) cantus and (textless) tenor, or a three-voice version including the (textless) contratenor. For the following edition I chose a version with only cantus and tenor. The underlay was created in an attempt to support the metric and syntactic structure of the poem, and to place important words and rhymes on suitable melodic gestures.

## 7 Conclusion

The present study provides new insights into the transformational practices documented in sources from the mid-fifteenth-century German-speaking lands with the Lochamer Liederbuch as a prime witness. Its song section shows how the transmission of melodies from different styles and origins side by side was used for multiple purposes, and sometimes for several at once: as a traditional, monophonic song collection, as a partbook for polyphonic songs, as a personal scrapbook by the main scribe for own textual and musical reworkings, and as a quarry for ‘Tenors’ to be used for re-texting and as the basis of polyphonic arrangements and instrumental tablatures. The song collection also contains examples of contrafacta that went through the same transformational processes as those by Oswald von Wolkenstein. By comparing these processes, I was able to formulate new approaches to Oswald’s contrafacta, which move away from the ‘Tenorlied’ hypothesis. Some notations in the collection hint at a combined use of voices and instruments and at a practice of instrumental ensemble music. The melodies betray their origin and conception not only by their texts, but also by their melodic construction and their musical rhythm. The transmission in the Lochamer Liederbuch displays a trend of adapting dated melodies to serve new purposes. This trend can be traced to parallel sources, such as the late Neidhart transmissions, in which older melodic features were discarded to update the melodies to contemporary aesthetics, in new functions, and for different uses. These include the accompaniment on a range of instruments, which were newly available by the fifteenth century and which allowed for elements from polyphony to feature in the instrumental accompaniment of monophonic songs.

The study also shows that the repertoires of vocal music and instrumental intabulation were open to transformations in both directions: vocal ‘Tenors’ were used for new keyboard versions, but keyboard intabulations were also re-appropriated to obtain

song melodies—either out of necessity, because vocal exemplars were lacking, or in order to sing along with an instrumental performance.

Scholars had long surmised that already by the fifteenth-century lutenists imitated keyboard players: References, iconographical evidence, and archival notes from the fifteenth century as well as repercussions documented for the sixteenth-century lute suggest that an early lute practice was oriented towards keyboard practice. The new evidence at hand substantiates this claim and proves that lute players used the same principal style of ornamentation and a similar tablature system: the Kassel-Wolfenbüttel System. This is not surprising as leading keyboard players were also lutenists, above all Conrad Paumann. The Kassel-Wolfenbüttel Tablature System, however, appears to have been invented by someone other than Paumann, whose German lute tablature was to replace it. The practice to intabulate for the lute, following the example of the keyboard, therefore went beyond the immediate circles of the influential Paumann School and probably started before Paumann. Circumstantial evidence suggests that we can assume the same for the harp: not only did Paumann also play the harp, but the repertoires of harpists included the same vocal models as those of keyboard players and lutenists.<sup>376</sup> The process of transferring intabulation techniques from the keyboard to other polyphonic instruments leads to a coherent style for solo intabulations in the fifteenth century, which I like to refer to as “pan-instrumental”. These general trends are supported by specific findings of this study that concern individual pieces or groups of pieces in the analysed sources.

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<sup>376</sup> On this working hypothesis I gave intabulations from LOCH, BUX, and WOLFT to harp colleagues and students to try them on their instruments. The result was that even though the idiomatic limitations of the instrument restricted certain details, such as the free use of *musica ficta*, the general aspects of the style are transferable to the fifteenth-century harp.

The principle of the reference rhythm is present in almost all of these sources and can be found in the Lochamer Liederbuch, one intabulation of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature, the Oswald codices, and the Neidhart transmissions. It had been promoted by the Neidhart genre at least since the early fourteenth century and separates monophonic songs of the Minnesang-related ‘Lied’ traditions from unrhythmicised melodies of a genuinely unaccompanied genre, which in this thesis I label ‘Spruchsang’. The late fourteenth century also gave birth to the new monophonic genre of ‘Tenors’ with its own, specific rhythmic organisation. All three categories are found to be transmitted in the Lochamer Liederbuch and contemporary German manuscripts. The presence of these different melody types indicates different approaches in performance practice: whereas ‘Spruchsang’ is excluded from instrumental accompaniment, ‘Lied’ and ‘Tenors’ would admit polyphonic treatment or instrumental accompaniment. The analysed sources seem to indicate that the melodic characteristics of these genres had differentiated significantly by the fifteenth century, as compared to their origins in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Some of the melodies from the ‘Lied’ genre underwent a transformation in the direction of ‘Tenors’, which facilitated a flexible use and ensured their survival in a polyphonic environment. The comparisons within the ‘Lied’ genres also led to supporting evidence for the theory that Oswald von Wolkenstein had composed at least some of the polyphony in his manuscripts himself.

The analyses of keyboard intabulations of vocal polyphony in the Lochamer Liederbuch, the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, and the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature show that reworkings of German songs usually observed the original form closely. For some pieces this happened to such a degree that we have to assume the original song text to have been virtually present during an instrumental performance, guiding the interpretation and the form. In the case of two Latin pieces the notation in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch even implies that the organists accompanied a sung performance with their intabulations. The

idea that singers were involved in the performance of instrumental intabulations, therefore, has evidence arising from both sides, from the song section of the Lochamer Liederbuch and from the tablatures themselves. The analyses also bring to light that written down diminutions or arrangements via ‘Spielvorgang’ were expected to be repeated. This contrasts with statements in the literature that players were expected to extemporise new versions with every repetition of a piece. Apparently, both were customary practices, but possibly reserved for different occasions: functional purposes, such as the accompaniment of a ceremony or procession might have required less extravagance than a presentation in front of an audience.

While German songs had a virtual presence of their form and text in the transformed instrumental versions, foreign polyphony and certain ‘Tenors’ were used for their structuring qualities and purely musical merits. In these cases the intabulations tend to shed original forms. One such piece may have travelled with the inventor of the instrument for which it was intended: Ciconia’s “Con lagrime bagnandome” may have found its way into the intabulations of the Lochamer Liederbuch, Buxheimer Orgelbuch, and Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature by the inventor of the *clavicembalum*, Hermann Poll.

The analyses also highlight characteristics in the tablatures that were owed to idiomatic limitations of the intended instruments. For the keyboard tablatures, there is the lower limit of their range of B-natural below low C, which explains the case of the ‘Quartkadenz’. For the lute, there is the range limit of five courses, requiring solutions for notes that fall below the Gamut of the instrument.

The bulk of specific new insights, however, concern the findings arising from the analysis and reconstruction of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature. Despite its small volume this source has opened the window to a world of hitherto unknown instrumental practice. In the thesis I could show that polyphonic intabulations of vocal music for the lute, both of monophonic ‘Tenors’ via ‘Spielvorgang’ and of polyphonic models, were already

being created in the mid-fifteenth century. This was done in the style of keyboard arrangements, but allowing for limitations and possibilities idiomatic to the five-course lute. Furthermore, lute technique enabled this at a time when plectrum playing was the norm and finger playing an exception. The reworkings react to this by arranging the music so that it can be played with the plectrum alone. Certain passages in two of the arrangements suggest a combined plectrum and finger technique for individual chords—a technique that was suspected and developed by Crawford Young as a working hypothesis, but which could be confirmed as a historical practice by the evidence of this source and the accompanying iconographical evidence. The arrangements would also work with an early finger technique using only thumb and index finger, which would be only one step removed from plectrum playing. The findings suggest that tablature systems for the lute were being developed already around the mid-fifteenth century and that the German lute tablature, said to be invented by Conrad Paumann was not the first. Both the Kassel-Wolfenbüttel Tablature System and the German lute tablature were invented in German-speaking lands and both were originally designed for the five-course lute. Since the Kassel-Wolfenbüttel System, unlike the German lute tablature, did not allow for additional lower strings, it perished once six courses became the norm. Paumann's system survived.

A number of related questions arise beyond the scope of this thesis, promising an interesting field of additional research. These include the numerous smaller keyboard tablatures and tablature fragments, which were only consulted here in passing for specific pieces. They contain other information on idiomatic aspects of keyboard intabulations and on different practices or traditions of 'Spielvorgang', some of which appear less ambitious but in other respects more daring than the Paumann School. We should not expect to find a new tablature resembling the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature also for the harp. However, research into harp playing and intabulation techniques, involving practical

experiments could prove fruitful to transfer the findings to the fifteenth-century (bray) harp and thus expand the idea of a pan-instrumental intabulation style. A closer look at traces of instrumental involvement in the Lochamer Liederbuch, and possibly in the Glogauer Liederbuch, might result in new insights on instrumental ensemble practice and the combination of voices and instruments. By looking into iconography, lists of bequests,<sup>377</sup> and archival evidence from luthiers,<sup>378</sup> researchers could move the focus more to the musical life of this time. It appears that lutes were omnipresent in the wealthier homes of the fifteenth century, and not only in Patrician families. These owners of lutes and other instruments would become the customers for the lute prints and lute tutors of the early sixteenth century.

The results of the research presented in this thesis have already had repercussions in modern performance practice: My reconstructions of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature together with a number of arrangements from the Lochamer Liederbuch and the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, including the notorious “Jeloymors M.C C. b. In Cytaris vel etiam In Organis” are at the heart of a concert programme that features the solo plectrum lute and a plectrum lute duet. The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature was the subject of lectures and talks I gave over the past years and will present at the conferences of the German and Dutch lute societies in 2018. I also introduced the fragments of this tablature as teaching material to my lute class at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis: New arrangements based on its models are created and varied on a weekly basis, and the principles behind its ‘Spielvorgang’ hold the key to an almost unlimited resource of reworkings “in Cytharis”.

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<sup>377</sup> Information from Martin Kirnbauer in private correspondence.

<sup>378</sup> See Blackburn, Bonnie J.: ‘Making lutes in Quattrocento Venice: Nicolò Sconvelt and his German colleagues’, in: *Recercare* 27 1/2 (2015), pp. 23–59 and Blackburn, Bonnie J.: “‘Il magnifico Sigismondo Maler Thedescho’ and his Family: The Venetian Connection’, in: *The Lute. The Journal of The Lute Society* 50 (2010), pp. 60–86. The Venetian lute makers of the late fifteenth century were often of German origin and maintained strong business connections to German speaking lands, e.g. the Fugger family in Augsburg, and inventories of the workshops show that some of them had hundreds of lutes or lute parts in stock.



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# **Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music**

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy at the University of Oxford

## **Appendices**

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# Appendix 1: Literature Review

The Lochamer Liederbuch as a central source to the present thesis has been researched by musical and literary scholars alike. The polyphonic and monophonic songs were the subject of research since the nineteenth century, when Friedrich Wilhelm Arnold published a comprehensive transcription and study.<sup>379</sup> Konrad Ameln presented first a new transcription of the nine polyphonic songs in 1925, for which he assumed, according to the scholarship of the time, a corresponding performance practice that included voices and instruments together. A year later he introduced a facsimile edition, which remained the main source for research until the new scan was put online little more than a year ago.<sup>380</sup> The most important research until today, and still the basis for studying the Lochamer Liederbuch, was conducted by Walter Salmen and Christoph Petzsch in their individual and joint publications on the source.<sup>381</sup> Their studies, articles, and editions as well as my own preliminary research, partly published as a new and critical performing edition<sup>382</sup> are central pillars for the research in chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis. A related songbook, the Schedelsche Liederbuch from ca. 1460, was thoroughly discussed by Martin Kirnbauer. His assessments play an important role in many sections of the present thesis.<sup>383</sup>

The repertoire of the Lochamer Liederbuch also has a connection to fifteenth-century transmissions of Minnesang and Spruchsang, first and foremost the Oswald codices, the manuscripts containing the works by the Monk of Salzburg, and the late

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<sup>379</sup> Arnold: *Das Locheimer Liederbuch*.

<sup>380</sup> Ameln (ed.): *Die mehrstimmigen Sätze*; Ameln: *Lochamer-Liederbuch. Faksimile*; a new facsimile scan of the source can be accessed here: <http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN645230707> (accessed 6.11.2017).

<sup>381</sup> Salmen: *Das Lochamer Liederbuch*; Salmen/Petzsch (eds.): *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch. Edition*; Petzsch: *Lochamer-Liederbuch*; Petzsch: ‘“Der winter will hin weichen”. Vollständigere Überlieferung von Lochamer-Liederbuch Nr. 6’; Petzsch: ‘Stüblein’.

<sup>382</sup> Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch*, 2008 & 2010.

<sup>383</sup> Kirnbauer: *Hartmann Schedel und sein ‘Liederbuch’*.

medieval Neidhart transmissions. These works were primarily the subjects of literary scholarship. Only Oswald's music, though to a much lower degree, has been a research subject for musicologists. Most of the many individual articles and studies on Oswald are discussed and summarised in the two chapters on Oswald's monophonic and polyphonic music in the new Oswald handbook.<sup>384</sup> The historiography on studies of Neidhart's music is comprehensively summarised and complemented in my recent article in the new Neidhart handbook.<sup>385</sup> The melodies of the Spruchsang repertoire were edited by Horst Brunner, who also presented a comprehensive study of their forms.<sup>386</sup>

Late-medieval instrumental music, a vital part of musical transformational practices in the fifteenth century, has been the subject of research interest for more than 80 years, with Leo Schrade's habilitation thesis from 1929 taking a lead in the early years.<sup>387</sup> A large number of studies have since been dedicated to instrumental music of the late Middle Ages in all its facets: overviews of music history, including chapters on instruments or instrumental involvement in performances with singers, studies which are dedicated to the musical life of a certain space and time and its sociological context, collections of articles concerned with instrumental iconography, playing techniques and performance practice, as well as editions, facsimiles and discussions of surviving musical sources. They paint a colourful and diverse picture of instrumental practices, which seems to be coherent to a certain degree; in other areas, however, the picture appears to be inconsistent and to display a variety of conflicting views. Since instrumental music and its practice is much less well documented than vocal music, its study tends to sprout hypotheses and educated guesses, which lead to contradictory scholarly positions. In the thesis I added new findings to existing theories and endeavour to fill in some of the areas

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<sup>384</sup> Brunner: *'Leben-Werk-Rezeption'* and Lewon: *'Die mehrstimmigen Lieder'*.

<sup>385</sup> Lewon: *'Die Melodienüberlieferung zu Neidhart'*.

<sup>386</sup> Brunner/Hartmann (eds.): *Spruchsang*; Brunner: *Formgeschichte der Sangspruchdichtung*.

<sup>387</sup> Schrade, Leo: *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der ältesten Instrumentalmusik*, Lahr (Baden): Moritz Schauenburg, 1931.



that have so far remained blank. In this appendix I discuss the main secondary sources that are the basis of this study. Some of these sources supply large collections of material, which were processed for my thesis; some have been consulted only for very specific aspects, while others provide opposing viewpoints and sources of friction, and still other only slightly touch upon the subject matter and are dealt with in passing.

A number of music histories of a surveying nature provide a story of instrumental usage by combining archival and musical sources and putting them into the perspective of a musical life. Thus they help to establish points of departure and at the same time supply comprehensive bibliographies for more detailed studies. In this regard, the chapter on instrumental music by Howard Mayer Brown and Keith Polk in *Music as Concept and Practice*<sup>388</sup> proved to be a rich source of starting points. It gives an overview of the current status of knowledge and theories about instrumental sources, practices and musical life of the late Middle Ages, but does not substantiate general statements, leaving that task to an extensive bibliography and occasional case studies, cited for illustrative purposes. The first half of the chapter focuses on the musical life of the era, and the latter part on musical sources and practices. The strength of this work lies in the fact that two of the most accomplished scholars in the field authored this chapter—they took into account the latest findings of late-medieval research as well as feedback from experiences taken from the advances in the performance practice of this music. The chapter also puts a focus on those seemingly ‘peripheral’ sources and practices which have hitherto been largely left aside. These are, however, increasingly seen as crucial for the ‘normal’ musical life of the late Middle Ages and thus weigh in on the debate of musical centres versus periphery. This approach and these sources will be a focus of my thesis, as they often provide a

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<sup>388</sup> Brown, Howard Mayer and Keith Polk: ‘Instrumental Music, c.1300-c.1520’, in: Strohm, Reinhard and Bonnie J. Blackburn (eds.): *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages* (The New Oxford History of Music III, 1), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 97–161.

deeper insight into actual performance practice than the more representative, more standardised and ‘cleaner’ sources of the central Western mainstream.

Publications on social activities involving instruments are often concerned with the subject of dance. Walter Salmen has worked extensively in this field. His chapter on “Dances and Dance Music”<sup>389</sup> is oriented on the cultural-historical issues of how dancing is part of everyday life. The study takes no interest in a systematic assessment of sources and choreographies of dance and dance-music, but rather concentrates on occasions, locations, dress-codes, social status and literature on dance. Salmen mentions groups of minstrels playing for dance events. His chapter also provides a related bibliography, most of which is shared by the bibliography of this thesis. Salmen is to be credited for coming up with a clear distinction between the accompaniment of sung dances—a highly hypothetical assumption—and purely instrumental dance music, which includes a tendency towards the use of instruments capable of polyphonic performance. His own monograph<sup>390</sup> supplies some additional details for my thesis, and the case studies by Petzsch<sup>391</sup> on “calls” in dance-songs, and Lewon<sup>392</sup> on the question of rhythmical notation for monophonic songs as clues for dance-songs, are used as circumstantial evidence for repertoires with a connection to dance practice.

Reinhard Strohm’s *The Rise of European Music*<sup>393</sup> explores the subjects of instrumental music, practices, sources and its context in musical life so manifold, that it plays a certain role as a point of reference in most chapters of the present study, supplying keywords and securing many connections between concepts and case studies which are used as paths for the more detailed analyses of this thesis.

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<sup>389</sup> Salmen, Walter: ‘Dances and Dance Music, c.1300–c.1530’, in: Strohm, Reinhard and Bonnie J. Blackburn (eds.): *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages* (The New Oxford History of Music III, 1) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 162–190.

<sup>390</sup> Salmen, Walter: *Tanz und Tanzen vom Mittelalter bis zur Renaissance*, Hildesheim 1999.

<sup>391</sup> Petzsch, Christoph: ‘Rufe im Tanzlied’, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 95 (1966), pp. 204–212.

<sup>392</sup> Lewon: ‘*Vom Tanz im Lied zum Tanzlied?*’.

<sup>393</sup> Strohm: *Rise*.

A number of studies have shed light upon the sociological background of instrumental ensembles, their employments and functions. Since the scope of this thesis does not extend to these subjects and since much research has already been done in this field, these studies will be used mainly as sources to test and support theories and findings made in the course of my research. Such works include the comprehensive and exhaustive study by Reinhard Strohm on musical life in Bruges,<sup>394</sup> which presents the results of extensive archival research in the richness of the soundscape of a late medieval city, including its employment of instrumental music in public and private life. A main focus in this study lies on the city and court minstrels as well as the social status and activities of the city's wind bands, such as the "Turmblasen" (playing from the top of a tower). A much earlier book by Gerhard Pietzsch<sup>395</sup> had attempted this research concerning a major German city of the late Middle Ages, casting some light on the training of professional musicians employed by the city and assembling large amounts of archival data on the employment of instrumental musicians, not only in Cologne but in many locations within the Empire. A rich work on local music history is Lewis Lockwood's book, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*,<sup>396</sup> which analyses the court music of the Este dynasty but also mentions the training of professional city musicians and the activities of certain virtuosos such as the famous lutenist Pietrobono. Helen Green's doctoral dissertation by offers much information on the less well-known fields of travelling minstrels and instrument makers in southern Germany and Austria.<sup>397</sup> Most of the remaining studies on training, professional ensembles, and on cities and courts as employers of instrumentalists, however, are less extensive, outdated in parts, or cover a time period or a region which

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<sup>394</sup> Strohm: *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*.

<sup>395</sup> Pietzsch, Gerhard: *Fürsten und fürstliche Musiker im mittelalterlichen Köln* (Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte 66), Cologne 1966.

<sup>396</sup> Lockwood: *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505*.

<sup>397</sup> Green, Helen: 'Stadt Pfeifer and varende lewte: secular musical patronage in the Imperial cities of Germany during the reign of Maximilian I (1486-1519)', D.Phil., University of Oxford, 2006.

lies outside the scope of the thesis at hand.<sup>398</sup> Although the majority of these studies is concerned with places that geographically lie at the fringe of this thesis's subject matter, some of the results appear to be transferrable to the conditions in Southern German and Austrian cities, as Keith Polk's output of studies on instrumental music in German lands of the fifteenth century confirms. His first research into instrumental ensembles of the late Middle Ages, *Wind Bands of Medieval Flemish Cities*,<sup>399</sup> spawned a number of articles and books which are of great archival interest, especially for *alta capella* music. His research on Flemish minstrels received supporting evidence by another article,<sup>400</sup> using archival documents to show that courts and cities in the Low Countries heavily promoted both highly trained and specialised ensembles for chamber music and wind bands for public service, the members of these ensembles often fulfilling several functions. His

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<sup>398</sup> Bernhard, Madeleine B.: 'Recherches sur l'histoire de la corporation des ménestriers ou joueurs d'instruments de la ville de Paris', in: *Bibliothèques de l'École des Chartes* 3 (1841), pp. 377–404; 4, (1842–1843) 525–548; 5 (1843–1844) 254–284, 339–372; Burbure, Léon de: *Aperçu sur l'ancienne corporation des musiciens instrumentalistes d'Anvers*, Brussels 1862; Van de Casteele, D.: *Préludes historiques sur la gilde des ménestrels à Bruges* (Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges 23), 1870; Vander Straeten, Edmond: *Les Ménestrels au Pays-Bas*, Brussels 1878; Moser, Hans Joachim: *Die Musikergenossenschaften im deutschen Mittelalter*, Rostock 1910; Gilliodts-Van Severen, Louis: *Les Ménestrels de Bruges*, Bruges 1912; Marix, Jeanne: *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420-1467)*, Strasbourg 1939; Smits van Waesberghe, Joseph: 'Een 15de eeuwse muziekboek van de stadsministrelen van Maastricht?', in: Robijns, Jozef (ed.): *Renaissance-Muziek 1400-1600. Donum Natalicium René Bernard Lenaerts*, Louvain 1969, pp. 247–273; Page, Christopher: 'Court and City in France, 1100–1300', in: McKinnon, James (ed.): *Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, London 1990, pp. 197–217; Page, Christopher: *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100-1300*, Oxford University Press, 1990; Paganuzzi, Enrico: *Musica a Verona*, Verona 1976; McGee, Timothy J.: 'In the Service of the Commune: The Changing Role of Florentine Civic Musicians, 1450-1532', in: *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 30 (1999), pp. 727–743; Kreitner, Kenneth: 'Music in the Corpus Christi Procession of Fifteenth-Century Barcelona', in: *Early Music History* 15 (1995), pp. 153–204; Schwab, Heinrich W.: *Die Anfänge des weltlichen Berufsmusikertums in der mittelalterlichen Stadt* (Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 24), Kassel 1982; Wegman, Rob C.: 'From maker to composer: improvisation and musical authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500', in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996), pp. 409–479; Wright, Craig: *Music at the court of Burgundy: a documentary history*, (Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 28), Brooklyn: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979; Gallo, F. Alberto: *Music in the Castle. Troubadours, Books, and Orators in Italian Courts of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries*, Chicago 1995; D'Accone, Frank A.: *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Chicago 1997; Page: *Voices and Instruments*; Salmen, Walter: *Der Spielmann im Mittelalter*, Innsbruck 1983; Morent, Stefan: *Studien zum Einfluß instrumentaler auf vokale Musik im Mittelalter*, ed. by Hans Joachim Marx and Günther Massenkeil (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik 6), Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1998.

<sup>399</sup> Polk, Keith: 'Wind Bands of Medieval Flemish Cities', in: *Brass and Woodwind Quarterly* 1 (1968), pp. 93–114.

<sup>400</sup> Polk, Keith: 'Minstrels and music in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century', *Musicology and archival research/Musicologie et recherches en archives/ Musicologie en archiefonderzoek*, Bruxelles: Bibliotheca Regia Belgica, 1994, pp. 392–410.

article, “Civic Patronage in Renaissance Florence”,<sup>401</sup> falls in line with the already mentioned studies on musical life in Bruges and Ferrara and portrays, based again on a large archival foundation, the development of distinctive wind ensembles employed by the city for ceremonial occasions as well as singers and players of *bassa* instruments. Polk’s work on the Schubinger family in Augsburg<sup>402</sup> moves his archival research well into the scope of this thesis’s focus, especially since the Schubingers are rare examples of musicians who played both *alta* and *bassa* instruments. The archival research preceding his article, “Instrumental Music in the Urban Centres of Renaissance Germany”,<sup>403</sup> as well as intermediate publications, “Patronage and Innovation in Instrumental Music”,<sup>404</sup> and “Soloists and Ensembles in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century”,<sup>405</sup> with more information on the Schubingers (as well as other cornetto and sackbut players) led to his influential study on “German Instrumental Music”.<sup>406</sup> This book, dedicated to the cultural history of instrumental music in German lands, and to the German musicians who apparently dominated the field of instrumental music as far as Flanders and Italy, summarises Polk’s research on the subject and is an important source of archival material for parts of the thesis at hand, placing instrumental music in the social environment of the time and providing valuable information on typical ensemble combinations and their training. It appears that most of the German authorities on instrumental music embed their research

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<sup>401</sup> Polk, Keith: ‘Civic patronage and instrumental ensembles in Renaissance Florence’, in: Fleischhauer, Günter (ed.): *Generalbaßspiel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Editionsfragen aus der Sicht vorliegender Ausgaben zum Jubiläumsjahr 1985. Konferenzbericht der 14. wissenschaftlichen Arbeitstagung Blankenburg/Harz, 13. Juni bis 15. Juni 1986*, Michaelstein/Blankenburg: H. Schneider, 1987, pp. 51–68.

<sup>402</sup> Polk, Keith: ‘Augustein Schubinger and the zinck: innovation in performance practice’, in: *Historic Brass Society Journal 1* (1989), pp. 83–92; Polk, Keith: ‘The Schubingers of Augsburg: innovation in Renaissance instrumental music’, in: Brusniak, Friedhelm and Horst Leuchtmann (eds.): *Quaestiones in musica: Festschrift für Franz Krautwurst zum 65. Geburtstag*, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1989, pp. 495–503.

<sup>403</sup> Polk, Keith: ‘Instrumental music in the urban centres of Renaissance Germany’, in: *Early Music 7* (1987).

<sup>404</sup> Polk, Keith: ‘Patronage and innovation in instrumental music in the 15th century’, in: *Historic Brass Society Journal 3* (1991), pp. 151–178.

<sup>405</sup> Polk, Keith: ‘Voices and Instruments: Soloists and Ensembles in the 15th Century’, in: *Early Music 18/2* (1990), pp. 179–198.

<sup>406</sup> Polk, Keith: *German instrumental music of the late Middle Ages: players, patrons, and performance practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

into a portrayal of city culture rather than technical or analytical details of the sources or their performance practice.

Several studies concentrate on researching certain ensemble practices and repertoires. Warwick Edwards's<sup>407</sup> and Reinhard Strohm's<sup>408</sup> approaches to central European instrumental sources attempted to counteract the then-prevailing tendency to return to keyboard sources when working on instrumental music of the late Middle Ages. Taking the sources available at the time as points of departure, Strohm found traces of instrumental ensemble music in collections of polyphonic music and showed that particularly ensembles of soft instruments used to play music which we know mainly from vocal sources. He substantiated this finding by his article on "Native and Foreign Polyphony in Late Medieval Austria".<sup>409</sup> This strand of thought will be examined in the current thesis. Jon Banks went a step further with his book, *The Instrumental Consort Repertory of the Late Fifteenth Century*,<sup>410</sup> attempting to categorise and characterise a repertoire of instrumental ensemble music within a body of some 85 collections of polyphonic music from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, amongst them the early Petrucci prints, the early German songbooks, the Segovia Chansonier and the Basevi Codex. Since the music he identifies as 'instrumental' was written just before the advent of the viol consort and since the sources are written in mensural notation—at a time that most professional players of instruments seemed not to have been fluent in reading that notation—Banks defines a consort of lutes as the most likely ensemble combination for which these compositions were intended. He argues that ensembles of lutes were known in fifteenth-century Europe, that lutes provided the required ranges, and

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<sup>407</sup> Edwards: 'Songs Without Words by Josquin and his Contemporaries'.

<sup>408</sup> Strohm, Reinhard: 'Instrumentale Ensemblesmusik vor 1500: das Zeugnis der Mitteleuropäischen Quellen', in: Salmen, Walther (ed.): *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Maximilians I, Bericht über die am 21. und 22. Oktober 1989 in Innsbruck abgehaltene Fachtagung* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 15), Innsbruck: Helbling, 1992, pp. 89–106.

<sup>409</sup> Strohm: 'Native and foreign polyphony in late medieval Austria'.

<sup>410</sup> Banks: *Instrumental Consort*.

that they were played by singers who were familiar with the notation. The arguments, however, form a chain that is largely based on circumstantial evidence. His lists of sources and repertoires as well as his categorisations, however, are of prime value for the thesis at hand. Kees Boeke's article on instrumental music by Alexander Agricola<sup>411</sup> lays out another interesting line of arguments which in itself appears to be biased as to the outcome, but which also contradicts some of Bank's hypotheses and provides thought-provoking ideas concerning the ranges of instruments, modes of transpositions and key features for the identification of instrumental compositions.

The *alta capella* ensembles of the fifteenth century were amply covered by Keith Polk as has been shown before. This is complemented by Lorenz Welker's research on early wind bands.<sup>412</sup>

Howard Mayer Brown's interests lay mainly in providing, sorting and analysing collections of sources for instrumental music. His publications, however, also comprised some studies valuable to the area of instrumental practices, such as his chapter "Instruments",<sup>413</sup> in the guide to performance practice, as well as his articles, "Improvised Ornamentation"<sup>414</sup> and "Instruments and Voices".<sup>415</sup> The latter publication—studying the combination of vocal and instrumental forces (in this context see also Stephen Keyl's "Tenorlied, Discantlied, Polyphonic Lied")<sup>416</sup>—is a contribution to another field of study that came to a culmination in the theory of the 'a cappella hypothesis', or as Howard Mayer Brown—who opposed it—dubbed it, the 'a cappella heresy'. This hypothesis was

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<sup>411</sup> Boeke: '*Agricola and the "Basevi Codex"*'.

<sup>412</sup> Welker: '*"Alta capella". Zur Ensemblepraxis der Blasinstrumente im 15. Jahrhundert*'.

<sup>413</sup> Brown, Howard Mayer: 'Instruments', in: Brown, Howard Mayer and Stanley Sadie (eds.): *Performance Practice. Music Before 1600*, New York 1989, pp. 167–184.

<sup>414</sup> Brown, Howard Mayer: 'Improvised Ornamentation in the Fifteenth-Century Chanson', in: *Quadrivium* 12 (1971), pp. 238–258.

<sup>415</sup> Brown, Howard Mayer: 'Instruments and Voices in the Fifteenth-Century Chanson', in: Grubbs, John W. (ed.): *Current Thought in Musicology*, Austin, London: University of Texas Press, 1976.

<sup>416</sup> Keyl, Stephen: 'Tenorlied, Discantlied, Polyphonic Lied: Voices and Instruments in German Secular Polyphony of the Renaissance', in: *Early Music* 20/3 (1992), pp. 434–445.

developed in a series of publications by Craig Wright,<sup>417</sup> Christopher Page,<sup>418</sup> David Fallows,<sup>419</sup> Peter Urquhart,<sup>420</sup> and others<sup>421</sup> arguing both sides. The hypothesis developed a great momentum in the world of performance practice, leading to a particularly English tradition of performing medieval polyphony entirely vocal with no instrumental involvement.

The monograph by Armin Brinzing<sup>422</sup> on instrumental ensemble music in German-speaking regions of the sixteenth century goes beyond the scope of this thesis, but contains information which sheds retrospective light on practices of the late fifteenth century. In particular, the dance music at the court of Kaiser Maximilian (in this context also see Monika Fink,<sup>423</sup> Ute Henning,<sup>424</sup> and Rolf Dammann<sup>425</sup>) and the attempt to identify instrumental compositions by way of idiomatics and genre names, such as *carmen*, are of interest here (Brinzing himself interprets the genre *carmen* as indicating vocal, not instrumental music). A new publication in honour of Keith Polk provides

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<sup>417</sup> Wright, Craig: 'Voices and instruments in the art music of northern France during the 15th century: a conspectus', in: Heartz, Daniel and Bonnie Wade (eds.): *International Musicological Society Congress Report, Berkeley, 1977*, Kassel 1981, pp. 643–649.

<sup>418</sup> Page, Christopher: 'Machaut's "pupil" Deschamps on the performance of music: voices or instruments in the 14th-century chanson', in: *Early Music* 5 (1977), pp. 484–491; Page, Christopher: 'The performance of songs in late medieval France: a new source', in: *Early Music* 10 (1982), pp. 441–450; Page, Christopher: 'The English a cappella heresy', in: Knighton, Tess and David Fallows (eds.): *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music*, Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992, pp. 23–29; Page, Christopher: 'Going beyond the limits: experiments with vocalization in the French chansons, 1340–1440', in: *Early Music* 20 (1992), pp. 447–459.

<sup>419</sup> Fallows, David: 'Specific information on the ensembles for composed polyphony, 1400–74', in: Boorman, S. (ed.): *Studies in the performance of late medieval music*, Cambridge 1983, pp. 109–159; Fallows, David: 'Secular polyphony in the 15th century', in: Brown, Howard Mayer and Stanley Sadie (eds.): *Performance practice: music before 1600*, London 1989, pp. 201–221.

<sup>420</sup> Urquhart, Peter and Heather de Savage: 'Evidence contrary to the a cappella hypothesis for the 15th-century chanson', in: *Early Music* 39/3 (2011), pp. 359–378.

<sup>421</sup> Slavin, Dennis: 'In support of "heresy": manuscript evidence for the "a cappella" performance of early 15th-century songs', in: *Early Music* 19 (1991), pp. 178–190; Kreitner, Kenneth: 'Bad news, or not? Thoughts on Renaissance performance practice', in: *Early Music* 26 (1998), pp. 322–333; Leech-Wilkinson: *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music. Scholarship, Ideology, Performance*.

<sup>422</sup> Brinzing, Armin: *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik im deutschsprachigen Raum des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte 4), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998.

<sup>423</sup> Fink, Monika: 'Turnier- und Tanzveranstaltungen am Hofe Kaiser Maximilians I.', *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian I.*, Innsbruck 1989, pp. 37–46.

<sup>424</sup> Henning, Ute: *Maximiliana. Die Musikgraphiken in den bibliophilen Unternehmungen Kaiser Maximilians I.*, Neu-Ulm 1987.

<sup>425</sup> Dammann, Rolf: 'Die Musik im Triumphzug Kaiser Maximilians I', in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 31/4 (1974), pp. 245–255 and 257–289.



summaries and overviews of the subject.<sup>426</sup>

Research into the instrumental accompaniment of monophonic song in the fifteenth century forms an important part of chapter 4 in this thesis. Since instrumental accompaniment was an unwritten tradition and since the transmission of secular monophonic repertoires declines considerably at the turn of the fifteenth century, this subject has not been largely researched so far. When looking at German sources, however, the question becomes more pressing, since it is one of the few regions which provides ample examples of monophonic song tradition. Another region that reportedly had a tradition of the monophonically sung and accompanied recitation of verses, though lacking a corresponding musical transmission, is (humanist) Italy. Elena Abramov-van Rijk has presented a comprehensive study of this repertoire.<sup>427</sup> Her approach, however, is mainly concerned with the poetic-structure, rhetoric principles, the historical and social context of the genre and its development from the late thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and covers musical considerations only in a cursory manner, leaving out the function of instrumental accompaniment altogether. The repertoires discussed there will be enhanced through a discussion of musical performance in chapter 4, especially regarding the function of the late medieval *vielle* and the introduction of new instruments with harmonic functions, such as the fretted lute, the gothic harp, the *lira da braccio*, and the *cetra*. The findings will be employed also for German monophonic song of the same era.

The secondary literature includes substantial studies of individual instruments,

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<sup>426</sup> McGee, Timothy J. and Stewart Carter (eds.): *Instruments, Ensembles, and Repertory, 1300–1600. Essays in Honour of Keith Polk* (Brepols Collected Essays in European Culture 4), Turnhout/Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2013.

<sup>427</sup> Abramov-van Rijk, Elena: *Parlar cantando. The practice of reciting verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600*, Bern: Peter Lang AG, International Academic Publishers, 2009. See also Brown: ‘*Instruments*’ and Haar, James: ‘Monophony and the Unwritten Tradition’, in: Brown, Howard Mayer and Stanley Sadie (eds.): *Performance Practice. Music before 1600* (The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music), New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1989, pp. 240–266.

their techniques, literature, usage, soloistic and ensemble practice. One of the most prominent families of instruments—the wind band or *alta capella*—has already been studied by Keith Polk and Lorenz Welker. The rise and development of one instrument in particular, however, made the polyphonic *alta capella* possible: the slide trumpet, precursor to the trombone. Heinrich Bessler, in his groundbreaking article on the origin of the trombone, laid the foundation for the later studies by Keith Polk on the instrument, which appeared in the fifteenth century.<sup>428</sup> The latter disagreed with Ross Duffin on whether or not the iconography would already show a slide in early depictions of wind bands and even dates the origin of the slide trumpet back to the fourteenth century. In any case, the studies by Rodolfo Baroncini<sup>429</sup> on the “notebook of a 15<sup>th</sup> century trumpeter” seem to support the notion of the slide trumpet. The source in question (British Library, Cotton Titus A.XXVI) had already been the subject of an enlightening study by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, which focuses on the instrumentalist and owner of the book.<sup>430</sup>

Another central study is Polk’s article, “Vedel and Geige”,<sup>431</sup> where he names the main archival evidence for the usage of the early violin in ensemble practice. Other monographs on early bowed instruments which provide information on building techniques, forms, possible repertoires, and usage are Ian Woodfield’s *The Early History of the Viol*<sup>432</sup> and Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans’s *De la vièle médiévale au violon du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*.<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>428</sup> Bessler, Heinrich: ‘Die Entstehung der Posaune’, in: *Acta Musicologica* 22/1/2 January-June (1950), pp. 8–35; Polk, Keith: ‘The trombone, the slide trumpet and the ensemble tradition of the early Renaissance’, in: *Early Music* 17/3 (1989), pp. 389–397.

<sup>429</sup> Baroncini, Rodolfo: ‘Zorzi Trombetta and the band of Piffari and trombones of the Serenissima: New documentary evidence’, in: *Historic Brass Society Journal* 14 (2002), pp. 59–82; Baroncini, Rodolfo: ‘Zorzi Trombetta da Modon and the Founding of the Band of Piffari and Tromboni of the Serenissima’, in: *Historic Brass Society Journal* 16 (2004), pp. 1–17.

<sup>430</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel: ‘Un libro di appunti di un suonatore to tronba del quindicesimo secolo’, in: *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 16 (1981), pp. 16–39; on the practice of extracting *tenores* see also Strohm: *Rise*, pp. 348–349.

<sup>431</sup> Polk: ‘Vedel and Geige—Fiddle and Viol: German String Traditions in the Fifteenth Century’.

<sup>432</sup> Woodfield: *The Early History of the Viol*.

<sup>433</sup> Ceulemans: *De la vièle médiévale au violon du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

The practice of homogenous ensembles from one family of instruments was not limited to successful wind bands, but can also be found in the realm of the soft instruments. The existence of the professional lute duet of the fifteenth century is a well established fact, mainly through the works of Bruce MacEvoy,<sup>434</sup> Vladimir Ivanoff,<sup>435</sup> Martin Kirnbauer,<sup>436</sup> Crawford Young,<sup>437</sup> and Jon Banks.<sup>438</sup> While the majority of scholars assume that the task-sharing between the two players was due to the monophonic employment of the plectrum lute, Fallows<sup>439</sup> suggests the performance of simple polyphony on one of the lutes in the duet, namely the tenor lute, which could have played an intabulation of tenor and contratenor, rather than merely ‘holding’ a single tenor line. The assumption of a paradigm-shifting change in lute technique during the fifteenth century pervades a substantial part of the scholarly discussions, which I like to refer to as “the plectrum-lute controversy”. This controversy began as a scholarly exchange between Timothy McGee<sup>440</sup> and Roland Eberlein<sup>441</sup> on the question for which instrument or combination of instruments the Faenza Codex was intended: lute, lute duet, harp or organ. All discussion proceeded on the assumption of the plectrum lute and its purely monophonic usage. Later scholars (Howard Mayer Brown,<sup>442</sup> Keith Polk,<sup>443</sup> Jon Banks<sup>444</sup>) reiterated and cemented that assumption. However, as performers such as Crawford

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<sup>434</sup> MacEvoy, Bruce: ‘The Renaissance thumb-under technique’, in: *Divisions 1/3* (1979), pp. 4–20

<sup>435</sup> Ivanoff, Vladimir: ‘Das Lautenduo im 15. Jahrhundert’, in: *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 8 (1984), pp. 147–162.

<sup>436</sup> Kirnbauer, Martin: ‘Petrucci in the Fifteenth Century: The Lute Duos’, in: Cattin, Giulio and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (eds.): *Venezia 1501. Petrucci e la stampa musicale. Atti del convegno internazionale Venezia ... 2001* (Edizioni Fondazione Levi 3, vol. 6) Venice 2005, pp. 591–607.

<sup>437</sup> Young/Kirnbauer: *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early lute tablatures in facsimile*.

<sup>438</sup> Banks: *Instrumental Consort*.

<sup>439</sup> Fallows, David: ‘Fifteenth-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments: A Summary, a Revision, and a Suggestion’, in: *Lute Society Journal* 19 (1977), pp. 7–33.

<sup>440</sup> McGee, Timothy J.: ‘Instruments and the Faenza Codex’, in: *Early Music* 14 (1986), p. 482; McGee, Timothy J.: ‘Once again, the Faenza Codex. A reply to Roland Eberlein’, in: *Early Music* 20/3 (1992), pp. 466–468.

<sup>441</sup> Eberlein, Roland: ‘The Faenza Codex: music for organ or for lute duet?’, in: *Early Music* 20/3 (1992), pp. 460–466.

<sup>442</sup> Brown: *Instruments*.

<sup>443</sup> Polk: *German instrumental music of the late Middle Ages: players, patrons, and performance practice*.

<sup>444</sup> Banks: *Instrumental Consort*.

Young<sup>445</sup> and Marc Lewon<sup>446</sup> have shown and suggested, there is no technical reason which would refrain players from performing polyphony on a plectrum lute soloistically. A forthcoming study by Bonnie J. Blackburn on the lute virtuoso Pietrobono, who excelled as a soloist and duo player, summarises the previous findings and adds newly found archival information as well as new interpretations on how and what he might have performed.<sup>447</sup> She also showed that Pietrobono and Conrad Paumann knew each other and heard each other play on the lute.<sup>448</sup> A new and important article by Richard Robinson sums up the entire discussion on the codex and its function, linking it clearly to the keyboard and rejecting other uses for ensemble performance.<sup>449</sup> Nevertheless there is strong evidence suggesting a fundamental change in lute technique with the changeover from plectrum to finger plucking in the mid-fifteenth century, as is laid out by Christopher Page<sup>450</sup> and Hiroyuki Minamino,<sup>451</sup> who proposes a move from ensemble to soloistic performance based on compelling pictorial and archival evidence. While Page puts forward convincing evidence for the standard and tuning-system of a five-course lute, Minamino gives a summary of the discussion around the invention of German lute tablature as well as its connection to keyboard tablature and keyboard ornamentation styles. These articles provide a point of departure for the discussion of lute technique, idiomatics and notation in chapter 3 of my thesis on the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature as a solo plectrum source. The technicalities around lute practice are linked to real music-

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<sup>445</sup> Young: ‘*Lute, gittern, & citole*’.

<sup>446</sup> Lewon: ‘*Agricola und die Laute*’.

<sup>447</sup> Blackburn, Bonnie J.: ‘“The Foremost Lutenist in the World”: Pietrobono dal Chitarino and his Repertory’, in: *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 51 (2018)—forthcoming.

<sup>448</sup> Apparently, Pietrobono was instrumental in Paumann’s invitation to Ferrara in 1470; see Blackburn, Bonnie J.: ‘Conrad Paumann in Ferrara’, in: *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 67/1/2 (2017), pp. 69–81.

<sup>449</sup> Robinson: ‘*The Faenza Codex*’.

<sup>450</sup> Page: ‘*The Fifteenth-Century Lute: New and Neglected Sources*’.

<sup>451</sup> Minamino: ‘*Paumann and solo lute practice*’.

making and teaching by archival evidence presented by Alison Hanham<sup>452</sup> on the notebook of George Cely, a fifteenth-century wool merchant. Apart from individual studies to certain instruments and ensemble combinations there is a number of guides to performance practice which contain articles on instruments, one of the most recent and comprehensive edited by Ross W. Duffin.<sup>453</sup>

Lists of sources and repertoires, some of which were already mentioned,<sup>454</sup> are complemented by the extensive bibliography by Howard Mayer Brown,<sup>455</sup> which lists and describes some 400 books of printed music in the sixteenth century—a lot of the earlier publications drawing music from the fifteenth century and thus within in the scope of this thesis—and the *Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs* by David Fallows,<sup>456</sup> a veritable cornucopia of sources and repertoires. Other important catalogues can be found in *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth-Century Basse Danse* by Frederick Crane,<sup>457</sup> which provides the basic material for purely instrumental repertoires and practices in the fifteenth century, as well as the broad lists provided by the articles of the New Grove Dictionary, “Sources of Instrumental Ensemble Music”<sup>458</sup> by Warwick Edwards, and “Sources of Keyboard Music”<sup>459</sup> by John Caldwell.

Access to the repertoires for this thesis is partly provided by a rapidly growing corpus of facsimiles, online scans and editions of early instrumental music, some of which are either concerned with the edition of a singular source, others with the repertoire

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<sup>452</sup> Hanham, Alison: ‘The musical studies of a fifteenth-century wool merchant’, in: *The Review of English Studies*, New Series 8/31 (1957), pp. 270–274.

<sup>453</sup> Duffin: *A Performer’s Guide to Medieval Music*.

<sup>454</sup> Banks: *Instrumental Consort*; Brinzing: *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik im deutschsprachigen Raum des 16. Jahrhunderts*.

<sup>455</sup> Brown, Howard Mayer (ed.): *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography*, Cambridge, Mass. 1965.

<sup>456</sup> Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*.

<sup>457</sup> Crane, Frederick: *Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth-Century Basse Danse* (Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen/Musicological Studies 16), New York: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1968.

<sup>458</sup> Edwards, Warwick: ‘Sources of instrumental ensemble music to 1630’, in: Sadie, Stanley (ed.): *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001.

<sup>459</sup> Caldwell: ‘Sources of Keyboard Music to 1660’.

for a certain instrument. It is common knowledge that keyboard music is the best documented instrumental repertoire of the late Middle Ages comprising a considerable number of manuscripts and fragments. Willi Apel's edition *Keyboard Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* is still the starting point, even if it has to be amended in places. It contains a largely reliable edition of most known sources of early keyboard tablatures. The Buxheimer Orgelbuch and the Codex Faenza, which received their own separate editions are excluded, here, as are younger finds of keyboard tablatures such as the Perugia-source (Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Ms 3410 (1-2-3-4-5-6)). Most of the intabulations of the Lochamer Liederbuch are also treated in my anthology with many corrections and a detailed commentary.<sup>460</sup> The largest source of keyboard music, the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, received its own facsimile edition<sup>461</sup> and edition<sup>462</sup> by Bertha Antonia Wallner and is now available online as a colour scan.<sup>463</sup> These publications are extremely helpful for working with the source. The edition, however, is of mixed quality, to be treated very cautiously and requires double checking with the original. The tablatures of Hans Buchner barely fall within the scope of the thesis and are edited by Jost Harro Schmidt.<sup>464</sup> Furthermore, the DIAMM website provides a growing number of entries with scans relevant to the thesis and detailed descriptions to many more.

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<sup>460</sup> Lewon: *Das Lochamer-Liederbuch I*.

<sup>461</sup> Wallner, Bertha Antonia: *Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch. Facsimile* (Documenta musicologica II/1), Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955.

<sup>462</sup> Wallner: *Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch*.

<sup>463</sup> A new facsimile scan of the source can be accessed here: <https://bavarikon.de/object/bav:BSB-MUS-00000BSB00104633> (accessed 6.11.2017).

<sup>464</sup> Buchner, Hans: *Sämtliche Orgelwerke. Erster Teil: Fundamentum und Kompositionen der Handschrift Basel F I 8a*, ed. by Jost Harro Schmidt (Das Erbe deutscher Musik 6/54), Frankfurt a. M.: Henry Litolf's Verlag, 1974.

Other relevant publications build a bridge between edition and study, such as Vladimir Ivanoff's work on the Pesaro cordiforme lute manuscript.<sup>465</sup> Ivanoff had taken Walter H. Rubsamen's<sup>466</sup> assessment of this source at face value, who had dated the earliest entries of the lute tablature to the end of the fifteenth century, thus making this source the oldest surviving French lute tablature. Ivanoff's important study and edition is complemented by the thorough work of Martin Kirnbauer and Crawford Young who provided a facsimile of this manuscript alongside other early lute tablature fragments with a comprehensive study.<sup>467</sup> Apart from a facsimile of the earliest surviving lute sources the publication also features a number of transcriptions, analyses, and a classification of the manuscripts, their notational features and possible practices. It is a valuable point of departure for further studies aimed at instrumental idiomatics and lute technique at the crucial crossroads where medieval practices faded and a new idiom started. The findings of this work will be employed and enriched by new evidence in the thesis at hand to form a broader understanding of soloistic instrumental practices of the fifteenth century—exploring both, typical characteristics unique to the lute as well as overarching principles, linking lute tablatures to the by that time well-established practice of keyboard tablatures. New transcriptions have since been attempted in semi-official publications, such as Dick Hoban's anthology<sup>468</sup> and a master thesis from the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis.<sup>469</sup>

Martin Staehelin has provided new interesting sources and fragments in his series of publications for many years—amongst them also a number of descriptions and

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<sup>465</sup> Ivanoff, Vladimir: *Eine zentrale Quelle der frühen italienischen Lautenpraxis: Edition der Handschrift Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, Ms. 1144* (Münchener Editionen zur Musikgeschichte 7), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988; Ivanoff: *Das Pesaro-Manuskript: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Lautentabulatur*

<sup>466</sup> Rubsamen, Walter H.: 'The earliest French lute tablature', in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21/3 (1968), pp. 286–299.

<sup>467</sup> Young/Kirnbauer: *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early lute tablatures in facsimile*.

<sup>468</sup> Hoban, Dick: *The Earliest Lute Music, Selected from Pesaro and Thibault Manuscripts* (Lyre Music Publications), Fort Worth, Texas 2010.

<sup>469</sup> González Treviño, Karina: 'Il Manoscritto Cordiforme. Transkriptionen von "Hand A" aus Pesaro, MS 1144', Master Thesis, Basel: Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, 2013.

sometimes facsimile editions with transcriptions of instrumental sources. Of particular interest for this thesis are his presentation of an early organ tablature<sup>470</sup> and the identification of probably the earliest surviving lute tablature, the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature.<sup>471</sup> The latter will feature as the central chapter 3 in the present thesis, where a new transcription and solution for the source is presented and the results are linked to the earlier findings on lute technique and instrumental idiomatics to form new insights into the changeover from plectrum to finger playing, the new soloistic lute technique and the interrelationship between organ and lute ornamentation. I had part of this research published on my blog site for peer review and my findings, particularly the identification of a solo plectrum lute repertoire, were already accepted by Victor Coelho and Keith Polk in their new publication *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture, 1420–1600*.<sup>472</sup>

Many of the sources mentioned have already been the subject of research. Especially the keyboard tablaturs have received much attention<sup>473</sup> with the Buxheimer Orgelbuch leading the way. Leo Schrade's dissertation<sup>474</sup> seems to have triggered a whole flood of publications on this important source, of which Theodor Göllner's dissertation<sup>475</sup> and Hans Rudolf Zöbeley's<sup>476</sup> work on the 'Spielvorgang' still form the basis for scholarly research. Even though the title of Göllner's work does not imply a study of instrumental music, about half of his work is dedicated to instrumental music, analysing musical styles of 8 different keyboard sources schematically and also touching the thorny subject of alternatim practice. Zöbeley's work represents the view of the Munich school

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<sup>470</sup> Staehelin: 'Die Orgeltabulatur des Ludolf Bödeker. Eine unbekannte Quelle zur Orgelmusik des mittleren 15. Jahrhunderts'.

<sup>471</sup> Staehelin: 'Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik'.

<sup>472</sup> Coelho/Polk: *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture*, see p. 237–238.

<sup>473</sup> Young, William: 'Keyboard music to 1600, I', in: *Musica Disciplina 16* (1962), pp. 115–150; Young, William: 'Keyboard music to 1600, II', in: *Early Music 17* (1963), pp. 163–193; Marx, Wolfgang: 'Die Orgeltabulatur des Wolfgang de Nova Domo', in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 55/2* (1998), pp. 152–170; Aringer: 'Orgeltabulatur-Fragment'.

<sup>474</sup> Schrade, Leo: 'Die ältesten Denkmäler der Orgelmusik als Beitrag zu einer Geschichte der Toccata', Dissertation, Leipzig: University of Leipzig, 1927.

<sup>475</sup> Göllner: *Formen früher Mehrstimmigkeit in deutschen Handschriften des späten Mittelalters*.

<sup>476</sup> Zöbeley: *Die Musik des Buxheimer Orgelbuchs*.



of thought under Göllner's supervisor Thrasybulos G. Georgiades, which makes the point that not everything which is notated is a composition as such. The keyboard tablatures in particular are viewed rather as the notation of a 'Spielvorgang', a "playing-process", or "process of performance". Zöbeley's research reveals these processes within the pieces of the Organ Book and presents their written form as a case against the conservation of finished compositions. Unlike Howard Mayer Brown's view on the subject, who saw the "fundamenta organisandi" within the Buxheimer Orgelbuch and related sources as treatises, Zöbeley thought of them not as schools for composing instrumental works, but as exercises to train motifs and figures into the heads and fingers of extemporising performers. Even the finished tablatures and diminutions upon pre-existing compositions are seen as realisations of "playing processes", as documented examples of a multitude of possible versions. Rubrics such as "adhuc semel" ("the same again") support this attitude of the same piece in a different way of playing rather than a new piece. While Zöbeley's research is largely forgotten in the musicological world, the practices which he claimed to be implied by their notated form are by now basically accepted principles in the field of performance practice: It is common practice to invent or even extemporise new diminutions and versions for repetitions within keyboard tablatures and to use them as models for new intabulations in the same style. Instrumental idiomatics play an important role in Zöbeley's argumentation, such as the ranges of instruments and how their limitations influence the sounding results of the intabulations. His approach to the keyboard tablatures will be employed, expanded to other instruments, and supported by new evidence in my thesis. Almost at the same time as Zöbeley's work, Eileen Southern presented her *The Buxheim Organ Book*<sup>477</sup> with case studies and analyses of intabulations

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<sup>477</sup> Southern: *The Buxheim Organ Book*.

and Robert Sutherland Lord<sup>478</sup> published his own monograph on the same source, both of which are—like Zöbele—rarely recognised today.

These substantial works on the Buxheimer Orgelbuch were followed by a number of case studies which focused on certain aspects of this and related sources, such as Mitzi Joanne Williamson's "Comparative Study"<sup>479</sup> or Christoph Wolff's codicological-philological work on Conrad Paumann's "fundamentum organisandi".<sup>480</sup> The latter found out an astonishing amount about chronological layers within the different versions. Göllner's article about "Notationsfragmente aus einer Organistenwerkstatt"<sup>481</sup> covers a curious source which now lies in Vienna. Even though Strohm<sup>482</sup> contradicts Göllner in that he believes the manuscript came from Vienna rather than Munich, the source indeed seems to have been collected by an instrumentalist, as stated by Göllner. Only a few case studies followed in the next two decades,<sup>483</sup> the new millennium, however, brought fresh interest in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, especially for computer aided studies: Jacques Meegens<sup>484</sup> tried to identify and classify the cogs and gears behind Zöbele's 'Spielvorgang', building up on his concept and attempting to find the common ground and governing principles between the tablatures of the Buxheimer Orgelbuch and its fundamenta. His master's thesis consists of the interpretation of large-scale lists and

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<sup>478</sup> Lord, Robert Sutherland: *The Buxheim Organ Book: a study in the history of organ music in Southern Germany during the fifteenth century*, Ann Arbor 1960.

<sup>479</sup> Williamson, Mitzi Joanne: 'Je loe amours: comparative study and new transcription of the chanson from the Buxheim Organ Book', M.Mus. thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1962.

<sup>480</sup> Wolff, Christoph: 'Conrad Paumanns Fundamentum organisandi und seine verschiedenen Fassungen', in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 25 (1968), pp. 196–222.

<sup>481</sup> Göllner, Theodor: 'Notationsfragmente aus einer Organistenwerkstatt des 15. Jahrhunderts', in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1967), pp. 170–177.

<sup>482</sup> Strohm: 'Native and foreign polyphony in late medieval Austria'.

<sup>483</sup> Terry, Carole R.: 'Analysis and performance practice of selections in the Buxheim Organ Book', DMA term project, Stanford University, Dept. of Music, 1976; Muscarnera, Annette Robin: *The Study of Fifteenth-Century German Keyboard Tablature as found in the Buxheim Organ Book and Related Manuscripts* 1979; Reaney, Gilbert: 'Intabulation techniques in the Faenza and Buxheim keyboard manuscripts', in: *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft. Neue Folge* 32 (1983), pp. 41–46.

<sup>484</sup> Meegens, Jacques: 'Le livre d'orgue de Buxheim – Étude de l'ornementation de 23 chansons françaises / The Buxheim Organ Book – Study of the Ornamentation of 23 French Chansons', Master's Thesis, Paris: Sorbonne Music and Musicology department, 2011.

tables of ornamental figures. In 2005 Frauke Jürgensen<sup>485</sup> presented a computer-aided study on musica ficta in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, adding empirical information to the long discussion on how reliable instrumental tablatures are for making ficta decisions—for this delicate subject see also the publications by Thomas Warburton<sup>486</sup> and Robert Toft,<sup>487</sup> who analysed ficta decisions in keyboard and lute tablatures of works by Josquin Desprez. Questions on musica ficta (see also Thomas Brothers,<sup>488</sup> Edward Lowinsky,<sup>489</sup> Karol Berger,<sup>490</sup> and Margaret Bent<sup>491</sup> on the hotly debated subject), however, will play only a minor part in the thesis at hand.

Some of the arguments, theories and controversies about instrumental sources, repertoires and practices seem to suffer from a compulsion to come up with definite rules and solutions. This might prove to be their weakest point, even though most of them appear very insightful in many aspects. The current thesis will try to add more ideas to the scholarly discourse without endeavouring on a quest for the one right answer.

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<sup>485</sup> Jürgensen, Frauke: *Accidentals in the mid-fifteenth century. A computer-aided study of the Buxheim Organ Book and its concordances*, Montréal 2005.

<sup>486</sup> Warburton, Thomas: *Keyboard intabulations of music by Josquin des Prez*, Madison: A-R Editions, 1980.

<sup>487</sup> Toft, Robert: ‘Pitch content and modal procedure in Josquin’s “Absalon, fili mi”’, in: *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 33/1/2 (1983), pp. 3–27.

<sup>488</sup> Brothers, Thomas: *Chromatic Beauty in the Late Medieval Chanson: An Interpretation of Manuscript Accidentals*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

<sup>489</sup> Lowinsky, Edward E.: ‘Conflicting views on conflicting signatures’, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7 (1954), pp. 181–204.

<sup>490</sup> Berger, Karol: *Musica ficta. Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

<sup>491</sup> Bent, Margaret: ‘Musica recta and musica ficta’, in: *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972), pp. 73–100; Bent, Margaret: *Counterpoint, Composition and Musica Ficta*, Routledge, 2002.

## Appendix 2: Evidence for Arrangements in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch

Canons and presence of repeat signs are marked in **red**. Composer initials are marked bold and green (**M. C. C. p.** = Magister Cecus Conrad Paumann). The most conclusive cases, quoted in chapter 2 are bold.

BUX 1, fol. 1r – “Jhesu bone”: **repeat sign** on the last note, one line below the “finis” (unclear; this is one of the few four-voice intabulations in BUX)

fol. 1v – “Sequitur In mentem veniunt cucumere **W. J. b. d. d. V.**” (attribution or location in liturgy? the title is taken from Numeris, 11:5)

BUX 5, fol. 2r – “Mir ist zerstört”: **repeat sign** for the A-section

BUX 7, fol. 2v – “Gedenck daran du werdes ein”: **repeat sign** for the A-section

BUX 9, fol. 3r – “Min fröud stet vngemessen”: two **repeat signs** for the A-section, “p”-pedal signs for each contratenor line on this folio

BUX 13, fol. 4r – [“Möcht ich din begern”]: “Iste tenor adhuc semel **Si In alio choro etc.**” (indicating a transposed version of the preceding piece up a tone)

BUX 16, fol. 5v – “Geloymors”: drawn **ornaments** between the ultimate notes (pausa) of tenor and contratenor (this could be a case of a “finalis” as introduced by Karin Paulsmeier<sup>492</sup> for the visual ornamentation of the end of a piece of music or an indicator for some sort of extemporised ornamentation)

**BUX 17, fol. 7r – “Jeloyms **M.C C. b. In Cytaris vel etiam In Organis 3m notarum**”** (this version is attributed to Conrad Paumann; the instruction after the attribution is usually interpreted as “suitable for lutes or also for the organ”, while “cytaris” can also refer to other plucked chordophones such as harps; the plural in “cytaris” may refer to a lute duet, the plural “organis” to the numerous pipes of the instrument, both may also be a reference to Genesis 4:21, see chapter 3)

BUX 21, fol. 9v – “Min trut geselle etc.”: **repeat sign** for the A-section

BUX 38, fol. 16r–17r – “Con lacrimae **M C. C.**” (attribution to Conrad Paumann): crossed out and corrected notes in the tenor and contratenor.

**BUX 39, fol. 17r–v – “O rosa bella”: “**Allassamire**”** (the beginning of the B-section is marked with the appropriate, if corrupted, text incipit of the chanson’s B-section indicating that the intabulator or scribe knew the text of the model chanson), a **perfectum maior sign** marks the mensuration change for the last section

BUX 40, fol. 17v–18v – “Sub tuam *protectionem*”: individual sections marked by incipits (“Et propter”, “Dei genitrix”)

BUX 42, fol. 20v – “Min fröud moch sich wol meren”: repeated A-section fully notated with new counterpoint

BUX 56, fol. 29v – “Collivit **3m notarum**” (indicating a mensuration)

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<sup>492</sup> Paulsmeier, Karin: ‘Finialen. Über die Darstellung von Schlüssen in der Musiknotation’, in: *Signa. Beiträge zur Signographie* 4 (2002), pp. 25–46

- BUX 57, fol. 30v – “Sequitur adhuc semel Collivit **4or notarum**” (indicating a mensuration) and “**vacat**” (indicating a tactus rest in the lower voices)
- BUX 59, fol. 32v–33r – “Dulongsür”:** **repeat sign** for the A-section, then “~~Ibi reincipitur~~” (crossed out, because it was misplaced; it was probably supposed to say “ibi terminatur”) and “**ibi terminatur**” (marking the cadence on F one verse before the refrain and return line, (“Rücklauf”) a repetition of the A-section’s clos-ending for the Refrain), **repeat sign** at the end with the direction “**sicut prius**” (indicating that the player should jump to the end of the A-section in order to play the return line until the “ibi terminatur”, which is misplaced, however; it should have been at the first cadence to F four tactus units before the crossed out “Ibi reincipitur”; also, several bars of music are missing before the return line; this elaborate canon to Binchois’s “Dueil angoisseus” exemplifies (1) that the original ballade form was reproduced in the instrumental arrangement, including the repetition of the A-section and that the intabulator was aware of the return line, (2) that the diminutions were intended to be repeated for repeated sections, and (3) that the chanson text and precise arrangement was removed from the intabulator to such a degree that the form was corrupted even after corrections were implemented)
- BUX 60, fol. 33r–v – “Sequitur adhuc semel Dulongsur”:** “**vel sic**” and again “**vel sic**” (indicating alternative diminutions for the preceding tactus)
- BUX 69, fol. 38v – “Aliud Benedicite”: “**sex qui altera**” (indicating a proportion)
- BUX 75, fol. 44r – “Virginem mire pulchritudinem”: “**primum finale**” und “**2dum finale**” (indicating an ouvert and clos ending), then “Secunda pars **Duarum notarum**”, then “3a pars **3m notarum**” (indicating mensuration changes that are also in the original chanson “A discort”)
- BUX 76, fol. 44r – “Veni virgo”:** “**vel sic**” (indicating an alternative diminution for a preceding tactus)
- BUX 81, fol. 47v – “Modocomor”: drawn **ornaments** between the ultimate notes (pausa) of tenor and contratenor (this could be a case of a “finialis” as introduced by Karin Paulsmeier for the visual ornamentation of the end of a piece of music, see FN 492)
- BUX 86, fol. 49v – “Ein güt selig Jar wünsch ich dir 4or” – drawn **ornaments** between the ultimate notes (pausa) of tenor and contratenor (this could be a case of a “finialis” as introduced by Karin Paulsmeier for the visual ornamentation of the end of a piece of music, see FN 492)
- BUX 92, fol. 52v–53r – “Annasanna”:** corrections and crossed out notes in tenor and contratenor, “**vel sic**” (indicating an alternative diminution for the preceding tactus, in this case, however, apparently misplaced), two tactus units filled with dragmas on fol. 53r are unclear, twice “**vel sic**” (indicating two alternative diminutions for the final three tactus units)
- BUX 96, fol. 55r – “Ellend”: after the final cadence “**Bonus tactus super f e d c d**” (apparently indicating an additional cauda elaborated over the specified notes; Eileen Southern suggested that the function of the three “Bonus tactus” in BUX was “to fill space in the manuscript for they always appear at the bottom of a page.”<sup>493</sup>)
- BUX 99, fol. 57r – “Ich beger nit mer. **M C. p.**” (attribution to Conrad Paumann)

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<sup>493</sup> Southern: *The Buxheim Organ Book*, p. 24.

- BUX 103, fol. 58v – “O rosa bella”:** “**Allassamire**” (the beginning of the B-section is marked with the appropriate, if corrupted, text incipit of the chanson’s B-section indicating that the intabulator or scribe knew the text of the model chanson)
- BUX 104, fol. 59r – “O rosa bella”: “**Allassamire**” (the beginning of the B-section is marked with the appropriate, if corrupted, text incipit of the chanson’s B-section indicating that the intabulator or scribe knew the text of the model chanson), a **perfectum maior sign** marks the mensuration change for the last section
- BUX 108, fol. 60v – “Die süß nachtigall”: “**vel sic**” (indicating an alternative diminution for the first tactus)
- BUX 115, fol. 62r – “Ein buer gein holtze **Jacobus vilecti**” (attribution to a composer or arranger?)
- BUX 117, fol. 63r – “Vierhundert Jare”: “**proporcio quadrupla**” (indicating a proportion)
- BUX 118, fol. 63r – “Mi vt re vt **e c d c**”
- BUX 119, fol. 64r – “Aliud Mi ut re ut **E c d c**”
- BUX 120, fol. 65r – “Arroghanier”: **repeat sign** for the A-section and “**vacat**” (indicating a tactus rest in the lower voices)
- BUX 127, fol. 67v – “Mille dou Jor”: “**vel sic**” (indicating an alternative diminution for two preceding bars)
- BUX 129, fol. 68v – “Myn fröud möcht sich wol meren etc”: repeated A-section fully notated with new counterpoint
- BUX 130, fol. 68v–69r – “Min froud möcht sich wol meren”: repeated A-section fully notated with new counterpoint
- BUX 132, fol. 70r – “Ellend ich bin hin ist myn trost. 3m”:** “**pausa**” (one of the few places in BUX, where a cadence is marked as “pausa”, indicating that extemporised ornaments according to the “pausa”-section in the fundamentum organisandi should be applied)
- BUX 135, fol. 72v – “Stüblin etc”: “**Sex qui tercia**” and “**vel sic Sex qui altera**” (indicating a proportion and an alternative diminution for the tactus with the proportion), then “**vacat**” (indicating a tactus rest in the lower voices)
- BUX 137, fol. 73v – “Conlacrime”:** **repeat sign** and “**bis**” in the lower voices, both for the A-section (even though the original chanson does not feature a repetition here, see chapter 3 for a full discussion of the instrumental reworkings of Ciconia’s “Con lagreme” in German sources) and “**Secunda pars**”
- BUX 138, fol. 74v–75r – “Conlacrime”:** **repeat sign** and “**bis**” in the lower voices, both for the A-section (even though the original chanson does not feature a repetition here, see chapter 3 for a full discussion of the instrumental reworkings of Ciconia’s “Con lagreme” in German sources), then “**Secunda pars**”, and a **vertical line with 3 dots** in the cantus (indicating a tactus rest; this is used regularly in BUX), preceded by corrected cantus notes
- BUX 140, fol. 76r – “Ich bin by Ir Sie weyßt nit darvm”: **corrections** and crossed out notes in tenor and contratenor
- BUX 146, fol. 78v – “Des klaffers nýd tüt mich mýden”:** **repeat sign** (indicating the position after the initial melisma where the player has to jump after having performed the alternative melisma for the second strophe), an **added tactus** between

the lines (that was missed in copying), another **repeat sign** at the end of the notation and the canon “**heb vornan an wider an dem vierden tct usque tale signum :: vnd mache uß biß uff die anderen pause so ist es uß. wiltu es drymal machen so heb vornen an. et dimitte tres vltimos tactus**” (“Start again from the beginning with the fourth tactus from this sign :: and play to the end until the second pausa, then it [the piece] is finished. If you want to play it three times then start from the beginning and omit the last three tactus”; for an full discussion of this canon and its implications for performance practice, see chapter 1)

fol. 80v – half page empty (apart from fol. 123v & 124r the only empty space in the manuscript)

**BUX 150, fol. 81r – “Kyrieleyson de S maria virgine”:** full of pedal instructions “**p**” possibly by a different hand

BUX 156, fol. 84v – “Sanctus angelicum”: “**vel sic**” (indicating an alternative diminution for the second tactus at the beginning of the second line), pedal instructions and **corrections** for the contratenor

BUX 157, fol. 85r–v – “Sequitur kyrieleyson de angelis”: addition by another hand that only appears on this folio

**BUX 159, fol. 87r – “Aue regina”:** **repeat sign** (indicating the place where the return line begins), the end of the A-section and the return line (“Rücklauf”) is **four-voice** (one of the rare cases of a 4vv arrangement in BUX), then “**Secunda pars sequitur Funde preces**” and **repeat sign** at the end with “**ut prius**” (indicating that the player should jump to the end of the A-section, where the first repeat sign is located in order to play the 4vv return line until the end of the clos; the canons recreate the form of Frye’s “Ave regina caelorum” (ABCB); in this setting the the A-section is 3vv, the B-section 4vv and the C-section only 2vv, which corresponds to a responsorial form with the versus sung soloistically)

BUX 160, fol. 87v – “Aue regina”: two-voice addition by a different hand

BUX 167, fol. 90r – “Dies est leticie In orbi regali”: “**proporcio sex qui tercia**” and “**4/3**” (both indicating the same proportion)

BUX 170, fol. 91r – “Sequitur tercium Inicium Jelemors”: “**Finitur per notata Inicia jeloemors**” (indicating a free composition over the beginning of Binchois’s ballade “Je loe amours”; for a discussion of reworkings of “Je loe amours”, see chapter 5)

BUX 174, fol. 92v – “Die vaßnacht bringt trurig zit”: **repeat sign** for the A-section

BUX 175, fol. 93r – “Wann ich betracht die vasenacht”: **repeat sign** for the A-section

**BUX 178, fol. 93v – “Ad primum morsum”:** **Latin incipits are noted in the musical text** (possibly as an orientation for the organist playing colla parte with a schola)

BUX 181, fol. 95r – “Min hertz In hohen freüden”: twice “**finale**” at the end (indicating an extreme long pausa)

**BUX 182, fol. 95v – “Es fuor ein buwer Ins holtze”:** notated by a different hand and with a tactus containing six rests amounting to 18 breves, labelled “**Litigacio**” (i.e. “lawsuit”/“quarrel”, which could be either meant as a joke referring to the song text, a bawdy song on infidelity, also in LOCH, or hint at a choreography, possibly anticipating a quarrel with the priest after he recognised the song; both cases indicates an intimate knowledge of the song on behalf of the intabulator or scribe)

- BUX 186, fol. 96r – “Woluff gesell von hynnen **W. K.**” (attribution to a composer or arranger?), after the “finis” the initials “**hg**” (possibly indicating a scribe, similar to the “Jg” or “hg” initials in LOCH?)
- BUX 187, fol. 96v – “Min synn die sind mir trübt **W. K.**” (attribution to a composer or arranger?)
- BUX 189, fol. 97r – “Incipit Fundamentum. **M. C. P. C.**” (attribution to Conrad Paumann)
- Fundamentum organisandi, fol. 105r – “**Bonus tactus**”** (apparently a space filler between two fundamenta, see FN 89)
- fol. 105v – “Concordancie **M. C. P. C.**” (attribution to Conrad Paumann)
- BUX 190, fol. 106v – “Sequitur aliud Fundamentum” (beginning of the second fundamentum)
- fol. 107v – “Pause”
- fol. 116r – drawn **ornaments** between the ultimate notes (pausa) of tenor and contratenor (this could be a case of a “finalis” as introduced by Karin Paulsmeier for the visual ornamentation of the end of a piece of music, see FN 492)
- BUX 214, fol. 118r – “Mit gantzem willen etc”: “**vacat**” (indicating a tactus rest in the lower voices)
- BUX 225, fol. 122r – “O Intemerata virginitas”:** “**pe**” at the beginning of each contratenor line-(indicating the use of the pedal), after “finis huius”: “**Bonus tactus**” (apparently one of three space fillers in BUX, see FN 89)
- BUX 229, fol. 123v – “Sig seld vnd heil”: **3 tactus units with corrections** (tenor crossed out and corrected), lower half of the page empty (apart from fol. 80v & 124r the only empty space in the first part of the manuscript)
- BUX 230, fol. 124r – [sine incipit]: one tactus notated a third too low crossed out and repeated correctly, lower half of the page empty (apart from fol. 80v & 123v the only empty space in the manuscript)
- BUX 236, fol. 142v – “Sequitur fundamentum **magistri Conradi pauman Contrapuncti**” (attribution to Conrad Paumann)
- fol. 167v – “Ave regina”: **repeat sign** in the middle and at the end with “**vt prius**” (indicating the repetition of the return line, compare to BUX 159)
- fol. before 169r. half a page with scribbles by a modern hand (d = d, d& = es, and the drawn ornaments from BUX 81, 86, and fol. 116r: someone had the same questions before)
- fol. 169r: 1 page of explanations on the notation by the main scribe, including a table with the instrument’s tessitura**



# Appendix 3: A Synoptic Edition of “Con lagrime bagnandome”

## LOCH 73 and Johannes Ciconia

c.l. [= Con lagrime] Loch 73, pp. 86–87

Con lagreme bagnandome F-Pn it. 568 (Pit), fol. 52v–53r

1.5. Con,  
4. Ay,

1.5. Con,  
4. Ay,

orig: two semibreves connected to a brevis

10 15 20

paus[am]

Con la-gri - me ba-gnan-do - me nel vi - - - so El  
Ay in-gor - da mal - va - gia san-ça fon - - - do; Fuor

la - gri - me ba-gnan-do - me nel vi - - - so El  
in - gor - da mal - va - gia san-ça fon - - - do; Fuor

orig: b

8

mie si - gnor la - scia - i, On - di mi stru-gho in  
d'o - gni ten - pe - ran - ça Strop-pa o-mai tuo ba -

30 35 tr

8

gua - i, Quan- d'io mi veg - -gio es - sy dal lui di - vi -  
lan - ça, Poi che m'ai tol - -to o - gni mio gio-co e ri -

40 45 50

addition of one measure

r[epeticio]

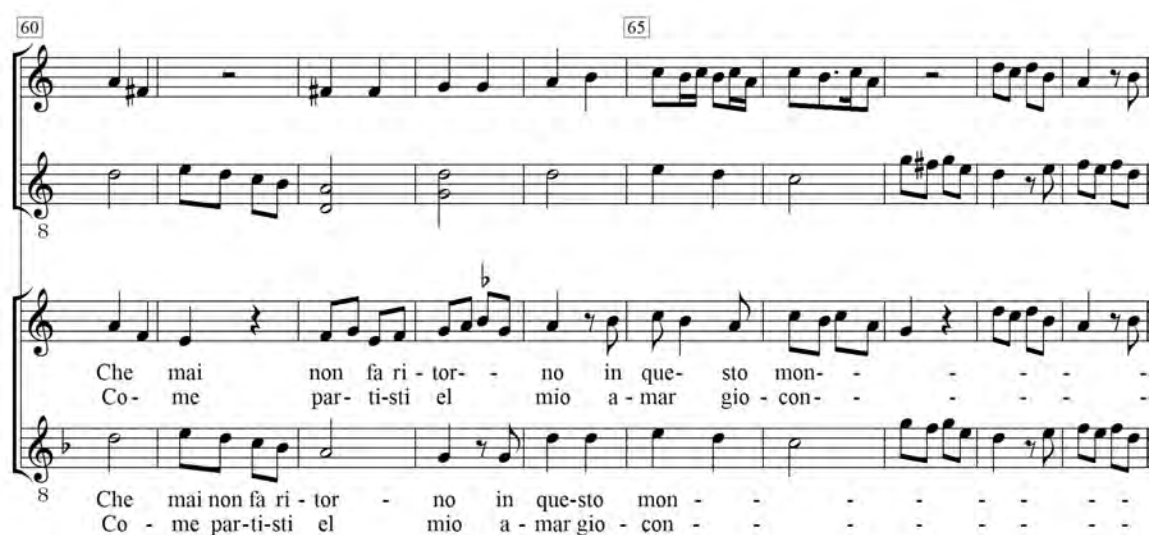
8

so. 2. O me do - len - -  
so. 3. Ay cru - da mor - -



8

- - - - - te, o du - ra di - spar - ti - - ta  
 - - - - - te, o de - spia - ta - ta vi - - ta,  
 - - - - - -te, o du - ra di-spar - ti - - ta  
 - - - - - -te, o de - spia - ta - ta vi - - ta,



60 65

8

Che mai non fa ri - tor - no in que - sto mon - - - -  
 Co - me par - ti - sti el mio a - mar gio - con - - - -  
 8 Che mai non fa ri - tor - no in que - sto mon - - - -  
 Co - me par - ti - sti el mio a - mar gio - con - - - -



70 75

8

Anno 1455 Remigii [con]f[ectum]

- - - - - do.  
 - - - - - do?  
 - - - - - do.  
 - - - - - do?

## Appendix 4: Keyboard Ranges in the Treatise of Arnold de Zwolle

The keyboards in the treatise of Arnold de Zwolle (F-Pn lat. 7295, fols. 127r–135r) have different ranges but all scales beginning on b-natural below low C.

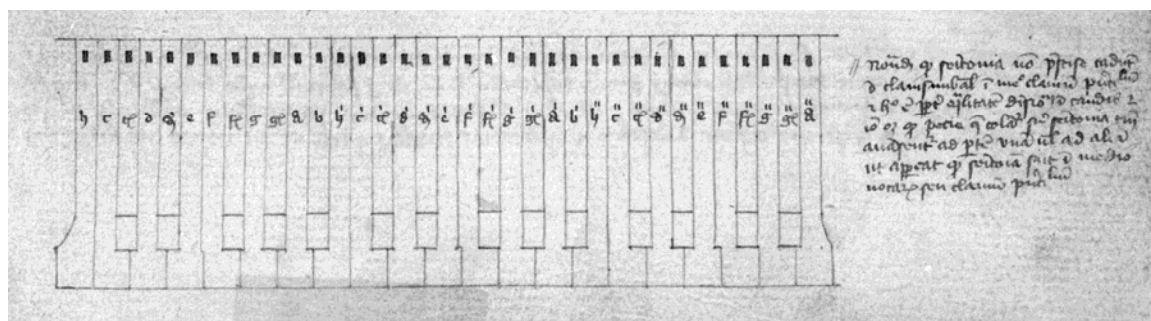


Figure 1: Keyboard of the *clavisimbalum* (fol. 128r).

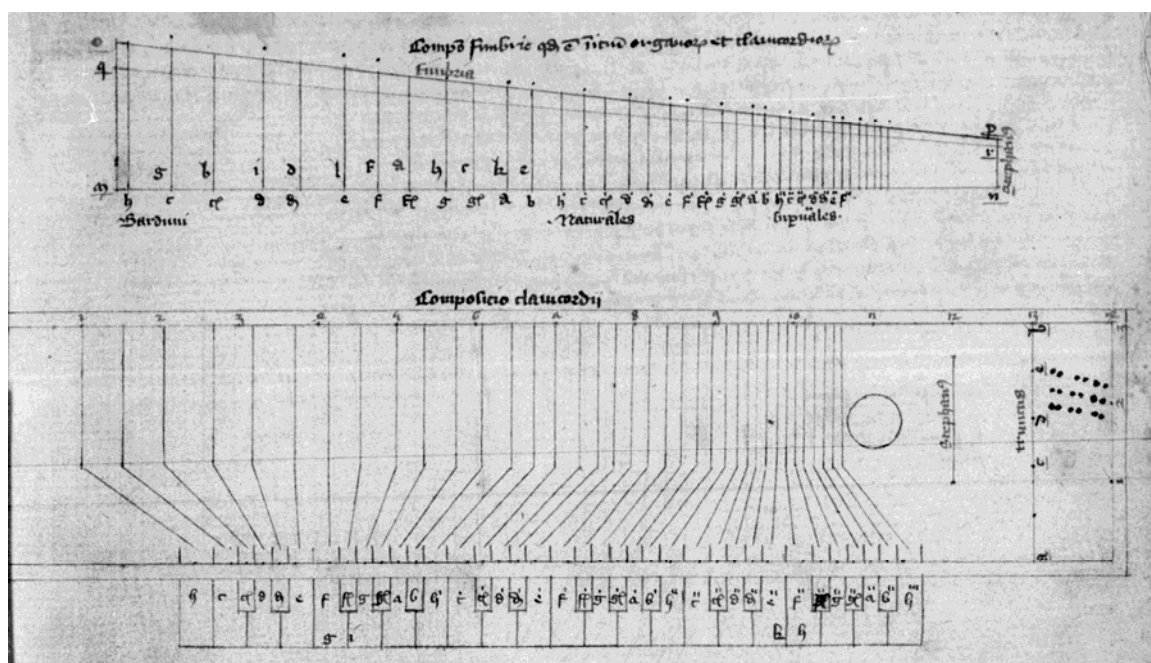


Figure 2: Above: diagram for organ pipe-lengths and *clavicordium* string-lengths: below: *clavichordium* (fol. 129r).

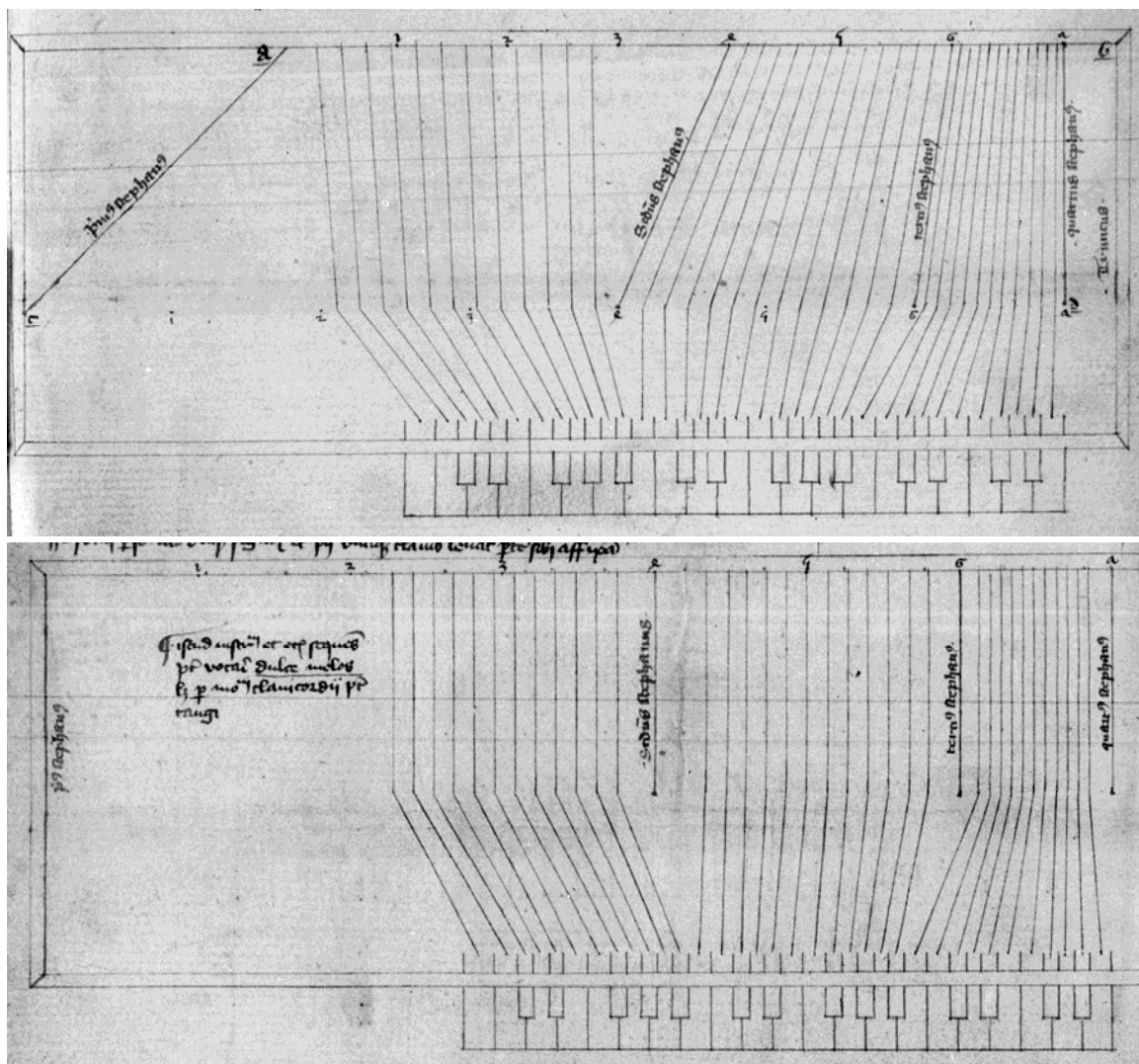
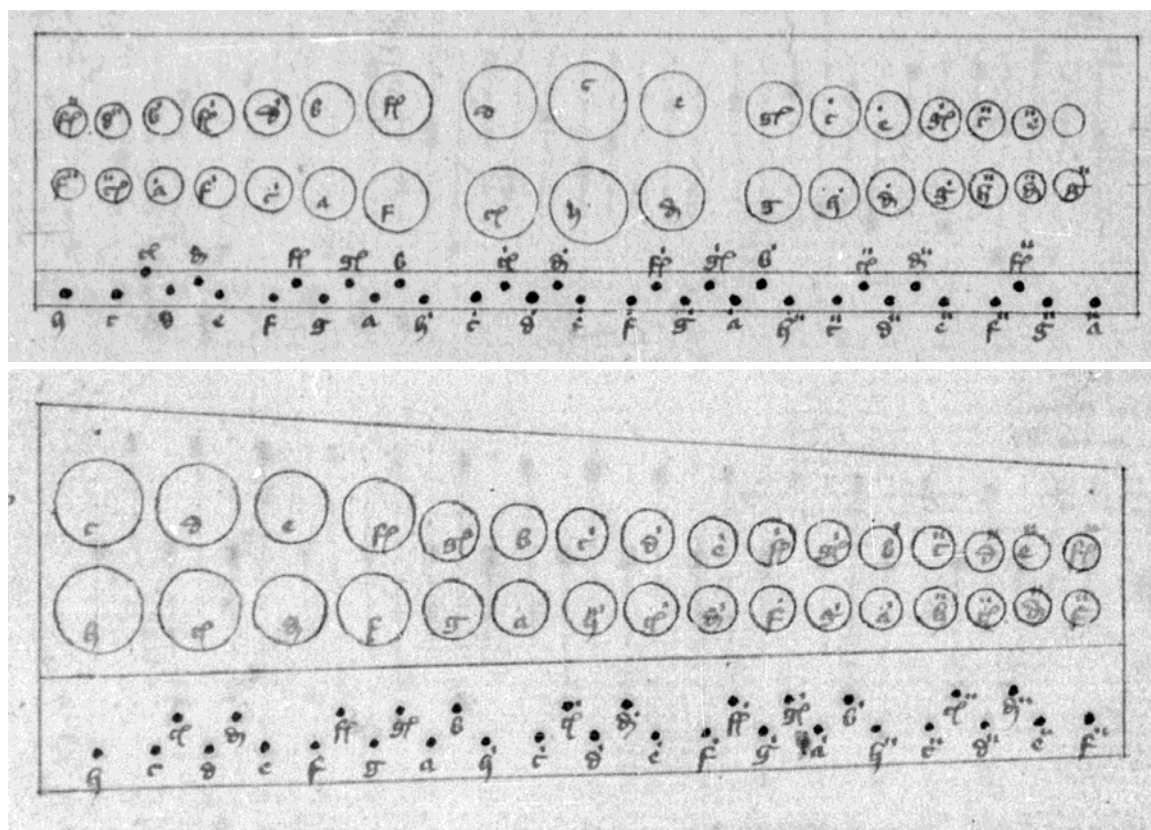
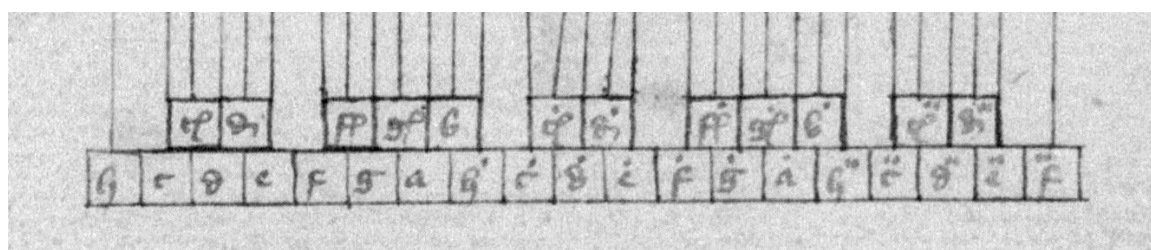


Figure 3a/b: Two alternative setups of the *dulcemos* (fols. 129v and 130r).





**Figure 4a/b:** Two alternative setups for the *organetto* (fol. 130v).



**Figure 5:** Keyboard of the organ (fol. 131r; detail).

## Appendix 5: The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature



Figure 1: D-Wa cod. VII B Hs Nr. 264 (WOLFT), fol. Ar.





Figure 2: D-Wa cod. VII B Hs Nr. 264 (WOLFT), fol. Av.





Figure 3: D-Wa cod. VII B Hs Nr. 264 (WOLFT), fol. Br.



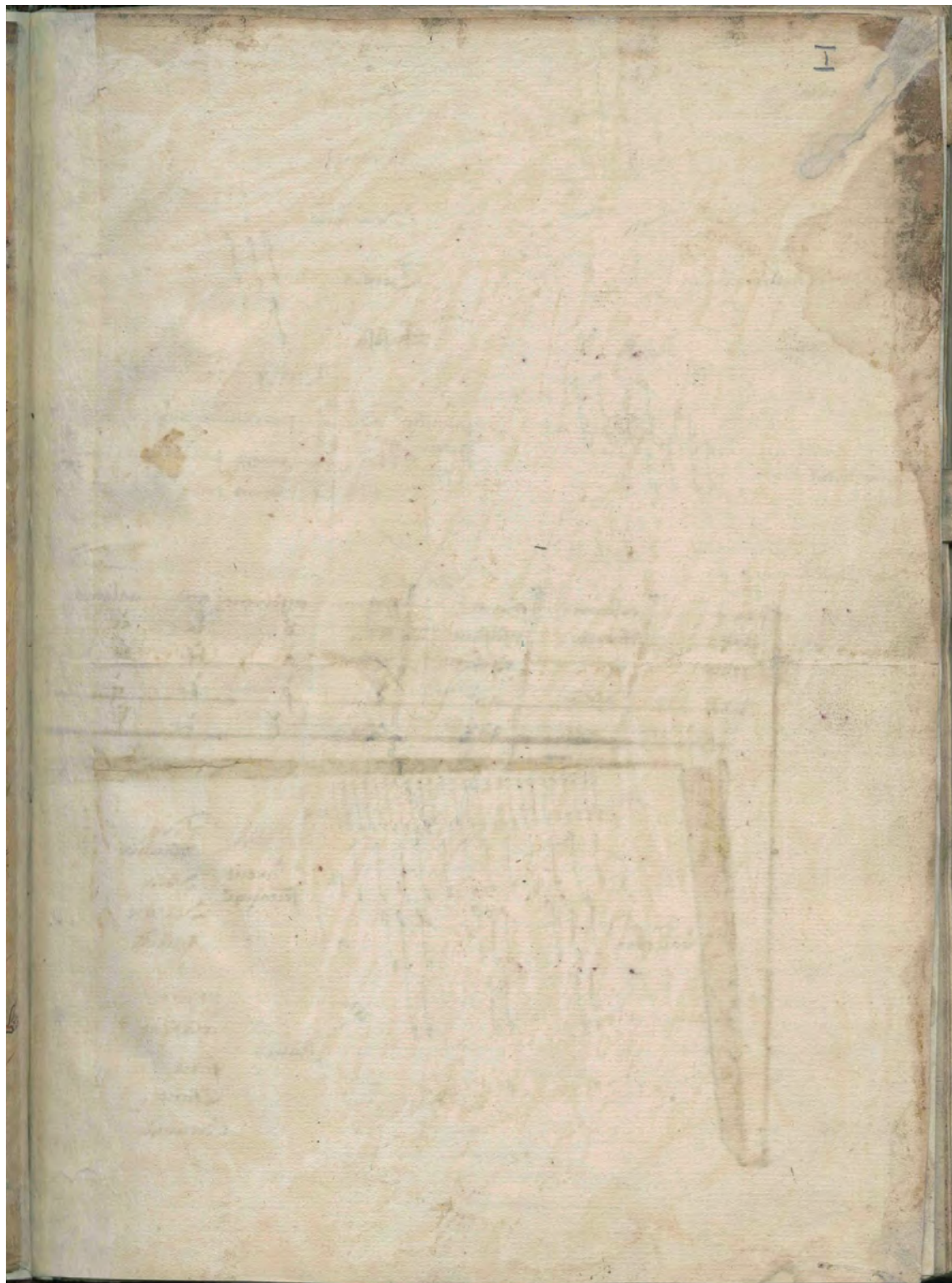


Figure 4: D-Wa cod. VII B Hs Nr. 264 (WOLFT), fol. Bv.

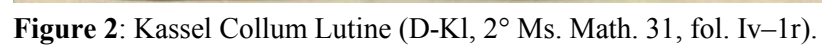


## Appendix 6: The Kassel Collum Lutine

D-Kl, 2° Ms. Math. 31, fols. 1r-v & 1r-v



**Figure 1:** Kassel Collum Lutine (D-Kl, 2° Ms. Math. 31, fol. 1r).



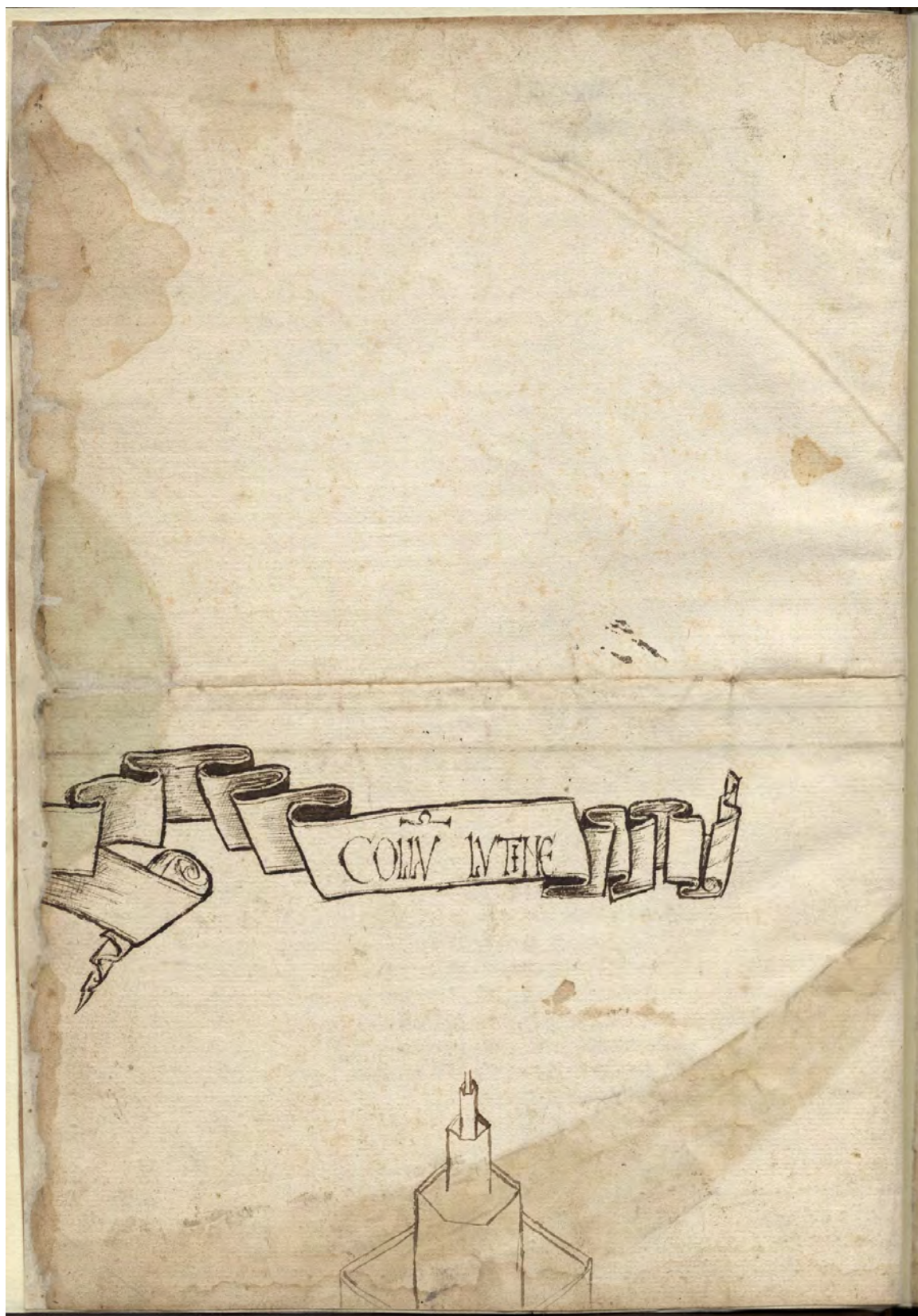












**Figure 3:** Kassel Collum Lutine (D-Kl, 2° Ms. Math. 31, fol. 1v).

## Appendix 7: A (Re-)Construction of the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature-Fragments

The following appendix is a critical playing edition, intended and designed to transfer the findings from chapter 3 (“The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature: The Earliest Source for the Lute”) into the realm of performance practice. In the years following Staehelin’s 2011 publication of the Wolfenbüttel tablature fragments,<sup>494</sup> I had experimented with the source by completing the fragmented pieces and subsequently performing the arrangements in concerts. Furthermore, I introduced the source as teaching material in my intabulation class at the *Schola Cantorum Basiliensis* (Basel, Switzerland). Eventually, I recorded my reconstructed versions as part of a CD-production.<sup>495</sup> Undertaking such a reconstruction attempt could be viewed as either a purely intellectual game or as something only the practitioner is expected to do in order to render incomplete pieces performable. But the task may also yield concrete results that feed back into the understanding of the intabulation and diminution processes as well as granting new insights in idiomatical aspects of the instrument and playing techniques. Thus, the following edition is not only a playing edition for the earliest surviving lute source, including the personal vision and contribution of the editor, but also a “conversation

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<sup>494</sup> For more information on the discovery, the host codex and a preliminary assessment of the tablature, and a black and white facsimile reproduction see: Staehelin, Martin: „Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik um 1460 in Wolfenbüttel“, in: Staehelin, Martin (Hrsg.): *Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 in deutschem Sprachgebiet: Neue Quellen des Spätmittelalters aus Deutschland und der Schweiz*, vol. IX, (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Neue Folge 15), Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 2011, pp. 67–88 (text and edition), pp. 141–144 (facsimile).

<sup>495</sup> Ensemble Dharma et al.: *Kingdom of Heaven – Heinrich Laufenberg*: tracks 02 (*Myn trud gheselle*), 06 (*Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe*), 09 (*Cum lacrimis*), 13 (*Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich*), and 15 (*Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn*).



piece” to trigger a discussion on early lute practice. This appendix was prepublished as a critical playing edition by the *Quarterly of the Lute Society of America*.<sup>496</sup>

## Abstract

The findings laid out in chapter 3 (“The Earliest Source for the Lute: The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature”) of the dissertation are here summarised to give a brief introduction into the source and scope that is the foundation of this playing edition.

The provenance of the Wolfenbüttel tablature fragments is the collegiate church of St Cyriacus in Braunschweig (Brunswick) but both the codex and the fragments, which have since been removed from the binding and added as separate pages, now lie in Staatsarchiv of Wolfenbüttel (D-Wa cod. VII B Hs Nr. 264, fols. A & B). Staehelin gave the source the provisional name of “Braunschweiger Fragmente” but since they now rest in Wolfenbüttel, I chose to introduce the name “Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature” (WOLFT). Staehelin was able to connect the unique tablature system to the Kassel Collum Lutine (D-Kl, 2° Ms. Math. 31, fols. Ir–v & 1r–v), a single leaf dated to roughly the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century with the drawing of a five-course lute neck and the explanation of tablature signs. The latter resemble but do not entirely match the signs used in German organ tablaturs, such as the Buxheimer Orgelbuch (BUX) and the instrumental part of the Lochamer Liederbuch (LOCH).<sup>497</sup> A number of observations led him to conclude that this notational system predates all known lute tablaturs and was eventually replaced by the

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<sup>496</sup> While I was conducting my research on the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature I was approached in 2014 by Dick Hoban and asked to submit the reconstructions I made its wake as a separate item for the *Quarterly of the Lute Society of America* (Lewon: ‘A (Re-)Construction’).

<sup>497</sup> For a colour depiction, comprehensive explanation, analysis, and further bibliography on the *Kassel Collum Lutine*, see: Kirnbauer, Martin: „The Earliest German Sources of Lute Tablature: The Kassel ‚Lautenkragen‘ (D-Kl, 2° Ms. Math. 31), the ‚Königstein Songbook‘ (D-Bsb, Ms. germ. qu. 719) and the Regensburg Drawing (D-Rp, Ms. Th. 98 4°)“, in: Young, Crawford und Martin Kirnbauer (Hrsg.): *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early Lute Tablaturs in Facsimile* (Pratica Musicale 6), Wintherthur: Amadeus Verlag 2003, pp. 171–204.

German lute tablature the invention of which is attributed to Conrad Paumann (ca. 1410–1473).

The tablature fragments of WOLFT contain instrumental arrangements of five songs (three of them fragmentary) that can be found in concordant sources from ca. 1460 which makes it likely that WOLFT is from the same time. Therefore, the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature constitutes the earliest repertoire explicitly intended for the performance on the lute.

6. **Cum lacrimis** (WOLFT 1, fol. Ar–Av) – end of the *secunda pars* and the entire *tertia pars* (marked “3<sup>a</sup> pars Cum lacrimis”) of an intabulation of Johannes Ciconia’s ballata “Con lagrime bagnadome nel viso” (for concordances see: Fallows<sup>498</sup>, p. 509);
7. **Myn trud gheselle** (WOLFT 2, fol. Av) – *prima pars* of the German song “Mein traut geselle” (for concordances see: Fallows, pp. 467–468);
8. **Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe** (WOLFT 3, fol. Br) – complete tablature of “Groß senen” (for concordances see: Fallows, p. 444);
9. **Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn** (WOLFT 4, fol. Bv) – complete tablature of “Ich far dahin” (for concordances see: Fallows, p. 449);
10. **Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich** (WOLFT 5, fol. Bv) – beginning measures of “Elend du hast umfangen mich” (for concordances see: Fallows, p. 434; the “new setting of similar T” on p. 435 concerns a different melody and has no connection to the arrangement at hand).

(It should be noted that the two folios A and B could have stood in reverse order in the original source since their contents do not overlap and they do not feature an original foliation.)

The Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature can be ambivalent about certain aspects of the left hand fingering, or—to be more precise—of the “fretting hand” (even though the Kassel-Wolfenbüttel Tablature System allows for a precise notation in these matters, namely

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<sup>498</sup> Fallows: *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*.

alternative fret positions using *signa equivalencia* and consistently marked chromatic alterations with *semitonis*). An edition, however, requires a system that can provide a musical text where these decisions are taken. Therefore, I chose to transcribe the arrangements of my reconstructions to French tablature. Most of the ambivalent places in the resulting arrangements are addressed in the annotations. To facilitate the identification of the individual voices of the arrangements I also added lines to indicate the duration of sustained notes. For the benefit of analysis and for those who do not read lute tablature I supplied a synoptic transcription into modern notation (assuming a five-course lute in A)<sup>499</sup> which also reveals the voice leading that can sometimes be concealed in the “Griffschrift” (notation only of the fret positions) of the tablature. The consistent f-sharp accidental throughout the transcriptions is owed to the mensural nature of the Kassel-Wolfenbüttel Tablature System, which—when transposed to the actual pitch of an A-lute—results in a permanent f-sharp accidental. The scribe of WOLFT (and in many additional cases also myself as the editor of the transcriptions) had to deliberately flatten this pitch to achieve the note f (b-flat in the original), which can thus easily be traced from the original into the transcriptions.

## Special Characteristics of WOLFT

At first glance WOLFT seems to have a lot in common with German organ tablatures from the same time, both in its notation and in its arrangements. The latter, however, are slightly less ambitious probably owed to technical limitations of the lute. The notation gives the impression of a “Klangschrit” (sound notation) rather than a “Griffschrift” (notation of the fret positions), as Staehelin put it.<sup>500</sup> However, the Kassel Collum Lutine

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<sup>499</sup> Interestingly, this transposition raises the majority of the arrangements in WOLFT to the pitch level of their concordances (WOLFT 2, 3, and 5).

<sup>500</sup> For his distinction and nomenclature of these two types of notation, see: Staehelin: ‘*Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik*’, p. 71.

clearly assigns the different pitches of the notation to certain fret positions on the instrument, even allowing for alternative positions by prescribing the above mentioned *signa equivalencia* (signs for equivalent frets). Furthermore, both the *Kassel Collum Lutine* and WOLFT use the lowest pitch of the Guidonian hand for the lowest open course and thus the lowest possible note on the instrument—which, in case of the five-course lute, is the open fifth course.<sup>501</sup> Taking a typical lute size from the mid- to late fifteenth century this would refer to roughly the pitch of c or d (which corresponds to a lute in G or in A, respectively). Thus, the note names in the Kassel-Wolfenbüttel Tablature System in fact indicate definite fret positions in an ultimately transposing system. Sadly, WOLFT does not make use of the *signa equivalencia* leaving alternative fret positions unmarked. Also, even though certain signs (*semitonis*) are designated for them, not every necessary chromatic alteration is actually notated—a phenomenon that also pervades the German organ tablatures. Therefore, even though the notation is essentially a “Griffsschrift” it features certain characteristics also found in organ tablatures leaving some decisions concerning the left hand fingering unclear leaving room for interpretation—albeit to a limited degree, because the vast majority of notes in the tablatures work perfectly well in the standard fret positions. The notation is, like all later lute tablatures, a “strike notation,” which only shows the placement of the next note or chord in relation to the preceding one and as a result neither differentiates between individual voices nor shows voice leading.

The arrangements show a variety of features idiomatic to the lute and particularly suited for a technique that involves a plectrum or is at least “within earshot” of the plectrum. According to pictorial evidence plectrum playing was still the standard at the time when WOLFT was written. And the tablatures indeed lend themselves to performance with a plectrum: The arrangements are generally reduced to an easily manageable two-

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<sup>501</sup> The tuning of the five-course lute resembles the higher five courses of the later, sixteenth-century Renaissance lute with an interval sequence from low to high courses of fourth-third-fourth-fourth.

voice core of cantus and tenor, the voices are often propelled individually by alternately touching cantus and tenor notes, almost all the chords lie on adjacent courses, and are frequently followed by monophonic runs. Only in two of the five pieces (WOLFT 1 and 3) do split chords occur, i.e., chords that involve bridging an intermediate string that has no part in the chord. All of these are simple splits, where the chord is divided only once and where not more than one course needs to be bridged. Some of them can be avoided by alternative fret positions, placing the fingering on neighbouring courses. A few, however, can only be avoided by either muting the undesired string, which in most cases seems an unnecessary effort, or by adding a note in the chord, which would be idiomatic but is not notated in the manuscript. These unavoidable split chords might point to a right hand technique that is one step away from pure plectrum playing. It could consist of adding a right hand finger to the plectrum in the few cases where the arrangements require it—a technique that was developed to a high standard by Crawford Young, who also teaches it to his students.<sup>502</sup> Another possibility is an early finger technique involving only thumb and index finger, where chords are mainly strummed with the thumb, where runs are played with the classic thumb-under technique that was first described by Petrucci and remained as a working technique for most of the sixteenth century, and where split chords are bridged by striking the bottom note(s) with the thumb and the top note(s) with the index finger. This technique would still carry the signature hand and finger positions of the plectrum player. In any case, the notation, the arrangements, and the implied playing technique raise WOLFT to the status of a missing link in the development of the fifteenth-century lute from a monophonic playing style to performing solo polyphony.

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<sup>502</sup> The première recording of WOLFT (see FN 495) was made with this technique.

## WOLFT 1: “Cum lacrimis”

On fols. Ar–v the Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature features the end of the *secunda pars* and the entire *tertia pars* of a lute arrangement of Johannes Ciconia’s two-voice ballata “Con lagrime bagnadome nel viso.” Approximately half of the piece is missing in the source—the added parts (bars 1-39) are indicated with brackets. By comparing all five surviving keyboard versions of “Con lagrime” the intabulation of BUX 137 turned out to be the nearest cognate to the remaining bits of WOLFT 1. BUX 137 features an idiomatically reworked version of the song involving an added contratenor part. It thus supplies stylistically closely related material. Therefore, with Ciconia’s ballata as a reference, I mostly used BUX 137 for the reconstruction. The *secunda pars* of WOLFT 1 has a repetition sign. I chose to also repeat the *prima pars*, which is the only part in any of the other tablatures that is repeated, even though it contradicts the ballata form.

## On the Fingering

Bars 28–30 in my reconstruction feature an alternative fret position for the open third fret. I used this in order to achieve a more coherent tenor line using only courses with octave strings in the surrounding measures (the Kassel Collum Lutine informs us that the lowest two courses of the five course lute feature octave strings) and to support voice leading (in case of bar 29). If it is more comfortable, one can also use the open third course instead. When using plectrum technique, the split chord in bar 47 requires muting the fourth course, which will almost automatically happen anyway when fretting the fifth course with the little finger. Alternatively, one could apply a version of this chord that completely lies on adjacent courses, making use of *equivalencia*:



Alternative bar 47

Bar 59 has the only unavoidable split chord in this tablature. Using only the plectrum, one could fret the intermediate string on the second fret thus adding a note to the chord which, however, is not notated. Other options include muting the undesired string or using a finger additional to the plectrum to play the higher of the two notes. The split chord in bar 61 can be avoided by using the open third course. I chose to use the fretted position for the benefit of the tenor line: This way the note can be held until the end of the bar rather than being interrupted by the entry of the contratenor note in the middle of the measure. The first note of bar 68 would profit from an added cantus note which is missing in the tablature. I supplied it with brackets to indicate that it is not in the original. Maybe it was forgotten or maybe the octave string on the tenor line, albeit supplying a different note, sounded close enough for the intabulator to abandon the cantus in this case. When using finger technique one might want to use the open second course instead of the fretted position. In the middle of that same bar (68) rather than using the open third course I opted for fretting both notes on the fourth course for the same reason: The line benefits from being performed only on courses that have octave strings.

[Cum lacrimis]

WolfT 1, fol. Ar-v

**Reconstruction:**

Marc Lewon

Musical score for "The Rose Tree" in G major, featuring a vocal line and a guitar accompaniment. The score includes a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The guitar part is written in a simplified notation style with letters (a, r, e) and symbols (o, r) indicating fret positions and techniques. The vocal line is written in a standard musical notation with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines, with measure numbers 5, 10, and 15 indicated. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.



20

ra a re ere a a-ra a r-ara re

[2a pars Cum lacrimis]

25

a r-ar r-ar r-ar a r-ar a e e a r a r-ar r-ar

30

a-r e r a r-a a r e a a r a r-ar a r-ar r-ar r-ar

35

The Rose Tree

40

[illegible]



## WOLFT 2: Myn trud gheselle

Fol. Av presents the beginning of an intabulation of the German song “Mein traut geselle” that can be found in a three-voice version in both LOCH (LOCH 40) and BUX (BUX 21).

The arrangement in WOLFT takes over the compositional core of cantus and tenor with additional ornaments on the former plus the occasional contratenor note. Both of the concordances have a repeated A-section which, however, is not supported by the form of the text. The text is taken from a song by the “Monk of Salzburg” that was originally set monophonically to a different melody. WOLFT does not show this repetition nor does it mark the end of the A-part, which appears just before the piece breaks off in bar 10 of the edition. Even the cadential chord (bar 9) is too short and should have been notated with

breves or longs instead of semibreves. This could have been a mistake by the scribe. However, the shortened bar lends a certain attraction to the changeover into the B-part and could have been intended, especially since the complicated counter rhythm towards the cadence lends this section an almost stumbling quality. In the edition I marked the end of the B-part for a better overview of the piece, but left the original note value in bar 9. The reconstructed parts are again marked with brackets (bar 10–22). The B-part of the versions in LOCH and BUX holds one problem for the lute version: It features at bars 17–18 a cadence on the note below *Gamut*, i.e., one tone below the lowest note of the instrument. A *scordatura* would not solve this problem, because it would render certain chords of the surviving bits unplayable and it would at the same time mess up the fret positions on the finger board, prescribed by the Kassel Collum Lutine. The arrangement of the next piece (WOLFT 3: “Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe”), however, offers a solution: The intabulator was facing a similar problem, namely that the tenor of the song falls below *Gamut* in bar 12 (even if not for a cadential sonority), and he simply substituted that note by going up a step instead. For WOLFT 2 this problem is somewhat more pressing for it involves the cadence note of the tenor. By supplying a chord that involves the expected cadential sonority immediately followed by a bridge I tried to disguise this shortcoming in the arrangement, circumnavigating the limitations of the instrument in a similar way as the intabulator of WOLFT did in other places himself (and indeed as can be found in many arrangements in German organ tablatures).

# My trud gheselle

WolfT 2, fol. Av  
Reconstruction:  
Marc Lewon

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with a vocal line (top staff) and a piano accompaniment (bottom staff). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal line is written in a stylized notation with many accidentals and ties, indicating a complex melody. The piano accompaniment consists of chords and single notes, providing harmonic support. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines, with some measures containing multiple notes or rests. The first system starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The second system begins with a measure rest (5) and continues the melody. The third system begins with a measure rest (10) and continues the melody. The score ends with a double bar line.

### WOLFT 3: Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe

Fol. Br features one of only two complete tablatures in WOLFT: An arrangement of the polyphonic German song “Groß senen”, which has one concordance in the Schedelsche Liederbuch (SCHE). As in WOLFT 2 (“Myn trud gheselle”) the intabulator took over cantus and tenor from the original three-voice song, ornamenting the former and adding the occasional contratenor note to the texture. This is the one arrangement in the source that might imply an early finger technique rather than pure plectrum playing, since it features the largest number of split chords. I used some alternative fret positions to avoid several of these and in the case of bars 11 and 12 (first chord in the bar), where the octave strings of the fourth and fifth courses respectively already supply the note responsible for the split chord, a player might actually take licence to avoid fretting or striking it

separately. A further two split chords (in bar 9 and the second one in bar 16) could be sidestepped by rather uncomfortable fretting, but the split chords in bars 10, 12 (second chord in the bar), and 16 (first chord in the bar) seem to be unavoidable. If one wants to use plectrum technique these places could either be played by adding a right hand finger to the plectrum or the undesired courses could be muted. They could also just as easily be filled with fitting notes on the intermediate courses, but since these do not feature in the source I omitted them here. For a pure plectrum version one might want to fill them in bar 10 on the third fret, in bar 12 on the first fret, and the first chord of bar 16 either on the first or the third fret (the resulting unsupported fourth appears elsewhere in the arrangement). Another surprising feature is that all the penultimate tenor notes to the most important cadence places are missing in this intabulation (second fret position on the fourth course of bars 3, 8, and 25), even though they could have easily been included with idiomatic fingering and even on adjacent courses. A reason for this might be that the intabulator tried to facilitate the busy pre-cadential positions for the player. Since the lone bassus note d in these places is always supplied with a simultaneous sounding octave, the sonority would still be fairly, maybe even sufficiently, rich to fulfil the listener's harmonic expectations. I added them in the edition, but marked them with brackets to show that they are not in the source.



# Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe

WolfT 3, fol. Br  
Reconstruction:  
Marc Lewon

The musical score is presented in four systems, each consisting of a vocal line and a lute line. The vocal line is written in a simplified notation with letters 'a', 'b', and 'r' indicating pitch and rhythm. The lute line is written in standard musical notation with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score is divided into four systems, each with a measure number in a box (5, 10, 15).

**System 1:** The vocal line begins with a series of eighth notes, followed by a half note. The lute line begins with a series of eighth notes, followed by a half note. The key signature is G major (one sharp).

**System 2:** The vocal line continues with a series of eighth notes, followed by a half note. The lute line continues with a series of eighth notes, followed by a half note. The key signature is G major (one sharp).

**System 3:** The vocal line continues with a series of eighth notes, followed by a half note. The lute line continues with a series of eighth notes, followed by a half note. The key signature is G major (one sharp).

**System 4:** The vocal line continues with a series of eighth notes, followed by a half note. The lute line continues with a series of eighth notes, followed by a half note. The key signature is G major (one sharp).



## **WOLFT 4: Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn**

The verso side of the same folio (fol. Bv) holds the other complete piece of the source. While WOLFT 3 (“Gruß senen Ich im hertzen traghe”) on the recto side is the most demanding of the surviving arrangements, WOLFT 4 is the simplest and shortest. The song seems to have existed only in a monophonic version and the single concordance is in LOCH (LOCH 8). The arrangement in WOLFT is a polyphonic treatment of that tenor line with a generic cantus—something that would have been expected to be extemporised. In this respect the setting has the appearance of a study piece. All chords fall on adjacent strings and the tablature is easily playable with plectrum technique. However, the arrangement sits very high on the instrument and transposing it down by a fourth to the pitch level of the song results in a version that works just as well, maybe even better. Therefore, even though the tablature has the piece in a high position, I supply the low version as well. One curious item is the fermata sign (labelled “Cardinalis” in the Kassel Collum Lutine) at a point in the piece which does not seem to be of any significance. The refrain of the song starts four bars later, so maybe this sign was merely misplaced and supposed to mark the last note of the strophe (bar 17). In order to suggest this option, I replaced the sign in the transposed version to where I believe the intabulator intended it to be.

As a little experiment I added a version with a new diminution, taking the formulaic arrangement of WOLFT as a point of departure for embellishments that are idiomatically suitable for pure plectrum technique.

# Ich fare do hyn wen eß muß syn

WolfT 4, fol. Bv

Reconstruction:

Marc Lewon

The musical score is presented in four systems, each consisting of a lute tablature line and a standard musical staff. The tablature uses letters (a, b, c, d, e, f, g) and numbers (5, 10, 15, 20) to indicate fret positions. The standard staff is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The piece begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first system of the tablature includes a bracketed '5' above the fifth measure. The second system includes a bracketed '10' above the second measure and a bracketed '15' above the sixth measure. The third system includes a bracketed '20' above the second measure. The piece concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

WolfT 4, transposed down by a fourth

The musical score is divided into three systems, each containing a vocal line and a piano accompaniment.

**System 1 (Measures 1-8):** The vocal line begins with a series of eighth notes (r a r r) followed by a half note (a). The piano accompaniment features a bass line with sustained notes (a a) and a treble line with chords and moving lines.

**System 2 (Measures 9-16):** The vocal line continues with a series of eighth notes (r r a) followed by a half note (a). The piano accompaniment features a bass line with sustained notes (a a) and a treble line with chords and moving lines.

**System 3 (Measures 17-20):** The vocal line concludes with a series of eighth notes (r r a) followed by a half note (a). The piano accompaniment features a bass line with sustained notes (a a) and a treble line with chords and moving lines.

new diminution by Marc Lewon, 2013

The musical score is presented in three systems, each consisting of a rhythmic notation line at the top and a two-staff musical notation below. The key signature is one sharp (F#).

**System 1:** The rhythmic notation includes a measure with a circled '5'. The musical notation below features a treble and bass staff with various note values and rests.

**System 2:** The rhythmic notation includes a measure with a circled '10' and another with a circled '15'. The musical notation continues with complex rhythmic patterns.

**System 3:** The rhythmic notation includes a measure with a circled '20'. The musical notation concludes the piece with a final measure.

## WOLFT 5: Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich

The same side of this folio (fol. Bv) also contains the beginning of an arrangement of a song that only survives as a monophonic version in LOCH (LOCH 5; p. 5). However, a number of organ tablatures feature instrumental arrangements of this tenor line (BUX 48, 49, 50, 94, 95, 96, and LOCH 68) each of which presents a unique counterpoint suggesting that they were not modelled on a polyphonic chanson, but newly created upon the tenor alone. Only little more than a sixth of the piece survives in the fragment (bars 1–10). For the rest of the arrangement (bars 11–55, marked with brackets) I reconstructed a tenor line, where the extremes of the concordant arrangements (such as large leaps and diminuted passages) were levelled by mutual replacements thus creating an average version. For the counterpoint and diminutions of the reconstruction I kept close to the limits and characteristics established in the first ten bars and by trying to re-enact a ‘Spielvorgang’ (the inherently unwritten practice of a “playing-process”).<sup>503</sup>

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<sup>503</sup> For a definition of the principle of ‘Spielvorgang’ and its notation as a ‘Nachschrift’ (the transcript of a ‘Spielvorgang’ rather a compositional process), particularly in connection with the arrangements for a keyboard instrument, see: Zöbele, Hans Rudolf: *Die Musik des Buxheimer Orgelbuchs. Spielvorgang, Niederschrift, Herkunft, Faktur* (Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 10), Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1964, especially pp. 46–50.

# Ellende du hest vmb vanghen mich

WolfT 5, fol. Bv  
Reconstruction:  
Marc Lewon

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system consists of a lute tablature on a six-line staff and a keyboard accompaniment in G major, 3/4 time. The tablature uses letters 'a' (A), 'b' (B), and 'r' (R) to denote fret positions. The keyboard part is written for a single manual with a 3/4 time signature. The second system continues the piece, also featuring a lute tablature and a keyboard accompaniment. The tablature includes a measure with a circled '5' and another with a circled '10'. The keyboard part continues the harmonic support for the melody.





40

a b a r r a a a b a b a

45

a b a b a a a a a a a a

50

a b a b a a a a a a a a

55

a b a b a a a a a a a a

40

45

50

55

## Appendix 8: “Den Techst vber das geleyemors Wolkenstainer”

Je l'oe amours (Binchois, Oxford codex)

Mück/Ganser 1984

Welker 1987

5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40

Mir drin-ge-zwin-ge-ten fraw dein guet ich lo-ben fraw dein guet ge-nig-  
Dein her-czen schere-zen mich ser wun-dert sun-dert von dir traw ge-sel-le ain an ern-  
Mir drin-ge-zwin-ge-ten fraw dein guet ich lo-ben fraw dein guet ge-nig-  
Dein her-czen schere-zen mich ser wun-dert sun-dert von dir traw ge-sel-le ain an ern-  
Rp. mein schal-len fraw zw di-ser frist ain-fal-tig ist für war dw pist der ich meins her-czen gan dar umb ge-  
stalt falt reich gleich so mues ich lo-ben fraw dein guet ge-stalt Mein schal-len fraw zu di-ser frist ain-fal-tig ist für war dw pist der  
schimpf glimpf mit frew-den mich be-ha-get ma-nig-falt. In lieb vnd laid pin ich be-rait ze-dienen dir mit traw lieb-ste maid ich be-rait ze-dienen dir mit  
lieb und laid pin traw lieb-ste maid in lieb und laid pin. lie-ber mir brächt gross-er czier wenn dass-tw schier ge-pew-test mütt mir tun vnd lan.  
zier wenn dass-tw schier ge-pew-test mitt mir tun und lan.

**Figure 1:** Comparative edition of the original tenor of Binchois’s chanson and the text underlays by Mück/Ganser and Welker. Split notes are marked blue, changed rhythmical values orange.

Je loe amours (Binchois, Oxford codex) [5]

Lewon 2017

8 Mir, mir drin-get zwin-get fraw dein güe-te mein ge-müe-te  
Deins, deins her-czen scher-zen mich ser wun-dert von dir sun-dert

[10] [15]

8 trawt lieb-sstes ain an e-ren reich gleich so mues ich lo-ben fraw deinn guet-ge-stalt.  
trawt gesel-le rain dein höf-lich schimpf glimpf mit frew-den mich be-ha-get ma-nig-fält.

[20]

8 Rp.Mein schal-len fraw zw di-ser frist ain fal-tig ist für war dw pist der

[25]

8 ich meins her-czen gan da-rumb ge-pewt an un-der-schaid trawt lieb-ste maid in

[30] [35]

8 lieb und laid pin ich be-rait ze dien-nen dir nit lie-ber mir brächt gros-ser

[40]

8 zier wenn dass-tw schier ge-pew-test muntt mir tün vnd lan

**Figure 2:** Comparative edition of Binchois's tenor of "Je loe amours" and Lewon's new text underlay.



Lewon 2017

Mir drin-get zwin-get fraw dein güe-te mein ge-müe-te trawt lieb-sstes ain an  
Dein her-czen scher-czen mich ser wun-dert von dir sun-dert trawt ge-sel-le rain dein

e-ren reich gleich so mues ich lo-ben fraw deinguet ge-stalt.  
höf-lich schimpf glimpf mit frew-den mich be-ha-get ma-nig-falt.

Dein schal-len fraw zw di-ser

frist ain-fal-tig ist für war dw pist der ich meins her-czen gan da-

rumb ge-pewt an vn-der-schaid trawt lieb-ste maid in lieb und laid pin

ich be-rait ze-dien-nen dir nit lie-ber mir brächt gros-ser zier wenn

dass - tw schier ge-pew-test muntt mir tün vnd lan.

**Figure 3:** Edition of Oswald’s contrafact “Mir dringet zwinget” on Binchois’s “Je loe amours” with text under the cantus.