

## PATRONAGE AND INNOVATION IN INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN THE 15th CENTURY

Keith Polk

Performance forces in instrumental music of about 1400, as is now well known, were divided into two groups, *haut* and *bas*, loud and soft. The categories were relatively inflexible. Players from the soft category (e.g., lutenists, organists, and fiddlers) seldom crossed the barrier and performed with those from the loud (most prominent were the players of trombones and shawms). Important differences set the classes apart from one another - soft players, for example, were more often soloists, and their ensembles allowed for more elastic combination. But, whatever their differences, the music of both soft and loud performers, judged from the standards of contemporary vocal composition, tended to exhibit features that strike us now as crude and rather stylized. Example 1 illustrates music from the early 15th century that would have been played by a soft minstrel (note the parallel progressions and the stereotyped dissonances). Example 2 is a source which reflects a style which was apparently typical of loud players of that same time (the piece was noted in the manuscript as being suited for wind instruments, *gut zu blasen*, and the lower part is indicated as being for the bombard). Note the very simple, drone-like counterpoint.

Recent scholarship has shown that by as early as 1500 this situation was quite changed. The loud and soft distinction still served in a general way, but was more supple. Loud groups, especially the wind bands, for example, were much more varied in their combinations. And outstanding loud players routinely worked with soft musicians, especially with singers, and performed not just inside the walls of churches but within the liturgy itself. Furthermore, instrumental music was no longer so coarse and restrictively stylized. Example 3, Conrad Paumann's *wiplichfigur*, illustrates this later approach in music for soft performers; that of loud players is shown in example 4, Martini's *La martinella* (Martini's piece was included in the Casanatense manuscript, evidently a source for wind players, see below). The basic fundamentals of style, concepts of consonance and dissonance and cantus firmus technique for example, were shared not just between soft and loud instrumentalists, but between instrumental and vocal music in general. This is not to say that there were not idiomatic devices peculiar to one group or another, but general features of style were common property.

Thus instrumental music of c. 1500 was quite changed from that of 1400—a statement that is supported now by a broad consensus among musicologists. Major disagreements have arisen, however, as we have attempted to determine more closely when these transformations may have taken place. It will be the purpose here to present some new information on this issue, and to suggest at least a tentative chronology.

Changes in instrumental music in the 15th century were the result of a complex of features. One that was especially important was patronage — and, patronage itself has

been a subject that has received a great deal of attention in the last decade or two. It has been, in fact, a highly fashionable subject for historians of various stripes. Musicologists, because of the nature and concerns of our field have tended to focus on rather limited issues - such as who paid the bill, and what did they pay for? A much broader perspective is that of the economic historian Anthony Molho who defines the patron as a "broker of power."<sup>1</sup> Ronald Weissman expands on this approach in his observation that for Italians in the 15th century,

The world was divided into two camps ... friends and strangers. In this world one promoted the interests of family, friends and patrons, for one assumed that everyone else did likewise... Since strangers would invariably seek their own interests before, or at the expense of, yours, one did not seek....as in the idealized vision of the Renaissance state, to treat all citizens with bureaucratic impartiality.<sup>2</sup>

While recognizing that such approaches are sophisticated and illuminating, I must confess that my effort, following the model so often laid out by colleagues in music history, is more circumscribed. My interest is in the more mundane questions of who were the patrons, what kind of music did they support, and what were the musical effects of such support?

In terms of music, several institutional frameworks acted as patrons, which may be roughly classed as courts, the church, and cities. The emphasis here is on the courts, particularly on the musical establishments supported by the higher nobility. Tables provide a graphic illustration; Table 1 gives profiles of court establishments about 1400, Table 2 gives similar information for about 1450, and Table 3 for circa 1500.<sup>3</sup>

To a considerable extent these speak for themselves, but several features should be emphasized. First, note the obvious correlations from court to court and from place to place. Previous studies of musical patronage, including my own efforts, have tended to be one-dimensional, either with a focus on a single court, or perhaps on one region. Also, a recent trend among cultural historians has been to attempt to distinguish features of patronage as characteristic of North or South. In music what is remarkable is the apparent consistency between centers both above and below the Alps.

In the late 14th century the fiddle player had been probably the leading performer among the *bas* instrumentalists. But by about 1440 the leading role had shifted, and the lute became the premier ensemble instrument, which it would remain throughout the period considered here. Not only did the lute assume the leading role, the lute pair became the most fashionable combination of soft instruments. This was an international phenomenon, notable especially in Germany and in northern Italy, but prominent developments seem to have been particularly related to German players. Tinctoris, for example, not only singled out Conrad Paumann's polyphonic lute playing, but he also credited Germans with the development of metal strings for the lute. Significantly, this development would appear to have allowed for more effective resonance in the lower

register - that is, for more effective results for the player of the lower parts, the tenorist.<sup>4</sup>

Another feature not evident from the tables was that mid-century soft minstrels tended to be doublers. The Burgundian duo (listed in Table 2), for example, was sometimes referred to as consisting of fiddles, sometimes as lutes, and sometimes the musicians were simply called *bas menestrels*.<sup>5</sup> The Brandenburg doubling was a little broader and included besides fiddle and lute the portative organ.<sup>6</sup> The most impressive doubler of the age was Conrad Paumann, who was mostly an organist, but was a master lutenist and a player of fiddle, harp, and recorder as well. Already by mid-century, however, an important concentration had evolved — the tenorist in the lute duo. The naming of this function occurred early in the documents in Ferrara, first in 1449 with a player who functioned as a tenorist to the renowned soprano Pietrobono.<sup>7</sup> Analogous concentration probably characterized the German lute pairs which had become fashionable a decade or two earlier (see Table 4).

The lute duos maintained their status throughout the century and well beyond 1500. One new group, however, comprised the viols, which seem to have appeared in professional ensembles both north and south of the Alps about 1500. An important trend, one again not obvious from the tables, was that such soft players were evidently increasingly specialists by the turn of the 16th century. Paul Hofhaimer, for example, though he was reputed to have been a capable lutenist, was not noted in payment records as anything but an organist.

Richard Goldthwaite has argued that the rapid expansion in the patronage of building in the late fifteenth century reflected important stages in the evolution of contemporary political and economic life.<sup>8</sup> Support of music, as is shown in Table 3, expanded and appears to have been buoyed by parallel patronage trends, trends we can trace in prominent centers of musical culture of the time throughout Europe. The most spectacular expansion can be seen in the wind contingents. The house of Brandenburg, for example, supported three or four shawms and two trumpets about 1400. By about 1500 the shawm ensemble had expanded to six (probably with two shawms, two bombardes, and two trombones). More impressive in terms of pure numbers, the Brandenburg trumpet ensemble had expanded to ten.<sup>9</sup>

The vigorous, increased backing of musicians seems to link up with changes in performance techniques and musical style. As already mentioned, instrumental music circa 1400 exhibited rather crude features. By about 1440 this was no longer the case, especially for soft minstrels. The role played by Conrad Paumann is pivotal. Because he was not only exceptionally gifted but also blind we have an unusual wealth of documentation of the parameters of his talents. He was born in Nuremberg about 1410. One of his early appointments, in 1447, was as the *portatifier* in the portative organ/lute duo which formed part of the civic music of Nuremberg. He soon moved on to the court of Duke Albrecht of Bavaria/Munich (in 1450), and he remained in ducal service until the end of his life, 1473.<sup>10</sup> As pointed out above, Paumann was the leading organist of his day, but documents refer to him also as a master lutenist, and he often appeared representing the Munich house in soft ensembles. That is, he was one of the Duke's soft

minstrels. He was the leading teacher of his generation, and while his teaching manuals, the *Fundamenta*, demonstrate many idiomatic techniques, they also reveal that Paumann was skilled in what we can term the international contrapuntal style of the time.<sup>11</sup> If we consider the discantus of *wiplich figur*, for example (Example 3), note the graceful line at the opening. Equally important, is the deft coordination of the tenor and contratenor, especially as they are directed to cadences, as in measures 6 and 12, and in the final close.

This coordination of the tenor and contratenor opens the possibility that tenorists in general and Paumann in particular may have played important roles in the development of concepts of harmonic motion. Tinctoris specifically commented on the novelty of Paumann's skill in polyphonic lute playing. And, the *Fundamenta* of the Nuremberg organist/lutenist give abundant examples of harmonic procedures available to a soft minstrel. Paumann in fact was especially thorough in his instructions for cadential formulas, instructions which are detailed in their demonstrations of the voicings of tenor and contratenor. The formulas illustrated in Example 5 represent such voicings, which would have been taken over by a tenorist and which were expected to be applied at will in improvised performances. Example 5a illustrates three different versions of cadences with the contratenor placed below the tenor, cadences which conclude with what we might call V-I motion. Example 5b shows the schematic reduction of the tenorist pattern, in which the intervals between tenor and contratenor are, third, fifth, third, fifth, close.

Professional minstrels would not have needed written music to negotiate these formulas, and in fact when we consider the matter of written repertory we face a curious gap. We have records now of hundreds of lutenists of the fifteenth century, whom we know participated in thousands of performances. What is astonishing is that the repertory of these performances has almost completely vanished. But we may not have sufficiently considered the performance context. We do have one example which might illustrate lute techniques, a textless version of Dufay's *Ce jour le doit* in Vienna Codex 5094 (Example 6).<sup>12</sup> The scribe has put the discant part in the upper staff, and reduced the tenor and contratenor onto the other staff.

This is a German manuscript from c.1460, and the question is, who, in Germany, would have performed from such a folio leaf? The piece itself (a French chanson) would have been most appropriate for a refined evening of entertainment of a small group of noble ladies and their gentlemen, or perhaps a similar gathering of wealthy burgers. In an aristocratic setting the piece might have been played by a small positive organ - but the positive, though theoretically portable, was in fact bulky and cumbersome to move. Much more likely was the combination of two lutes. Other choices were possible, fiddle and lute or portative and lute, for example, but these were distinctly less likely by 1460. Note that should such a performance take place and involve the minstrels of Bavaria or Brandenburg, it probably would have been the same players involved whatever option were chosen by the master or, quite likely, the mistress of the household (Table 4 indicates how often women were specifically noted as patrons of lute pairs).

Therefore, if we assume that such a piece as *Ce jour* would have formed part of intimate aristocratic recreation, on some occasions it would likely have been played by

minstrels, in which case the most likely performance combination was two lutes, with the bottom lines being managed by the tenorist. In such cases the sound would have been exactly that represented in the version preserved in Vienna 5094. The Dufay chanson was a composed piece, originally vocal in conception, and was certainly not an example of improvisation. Still, the presence of harmonic formulas, and the reduction of these formulas into the notational format most convenient for tenorists is a distinctive feature of the Vienna 5094 version. The piece, taken with the ample instructions and analogous examples provided by Paumann in the *Fundamenta*, suggests the idea that by about 1450 outstanding soft minstrels had developed an extensive vocabulary of harmonic formulas, successions of chordal options which could be directed to harmonic goals. These players were not only competent in basic contrapuntal concepts of their day, they were developing sophisticated harmonic practices of wide application - not just in instrumental performance practices, but in musical composition as well.

The Bavarian Paumann was an exceptionally talented musician, but other performers served in similar roles elsewhere, both in Germany and in other lands. Tinctoris, a Flemish theorist writing at the Spanish court in Naples, described the capacities and the accomplishments of various German, Burgundian, and Italian musicians. The court at Ferrara supported a soprano and tenorist lutenist pairing which included the famous Pietrobono. The Burgundian duo of Fernandez and Cordoval were certainly of equivalent adeptness, for it was the Burgundian soft minstrels who, according to the poet Martin le Franc, roused the envy of even the "shamed" Binchois and "frowning" Dufay.<sup>13</sup> The talent net, it must be emphasized, was international. The Burgundian court, and its musicians, had heard Paumann in 1454, and Paumann was in Italy in 1470. Minstrelsy, as observed years ago by John Stevens, was an international craft - as was the patronage network which supported these musicians.<sup>14</sup>

The thrust of my argument runs counter to one of the most vigorous currents in present-day scholarship. Very recently one of the foremost authorities on music of the fifteenth century stated that "the minstrels who were paid enormous salaries at the great courts almost certainly never played part-music as we now understand it until quite late in the fifteenth century."<sup>15</sup> Make no mistake, Paumann, Pietrobono, Fernandes and Cordoval, to name a few, were minstrels - and they could produce sophisticated counterpoint literally at the drop of a hat. That is, not only could they do it, they could do it *extempore* on demand, anywhere, anytime. Such minstrels commanded these skills by 1450 at the latest, and for some this was true decades earlier.

By about 1475 a century of vigorous patronage of loud music culminated in an outburst of talent of the highest level. This is most clearly demonstrated among German musicians, but here too international interaction produced artistic results of the highest caliber. In the Low Countries town ensembles of trombones and shawms assumed a prominent role in contemporary musical life, especially as the custom of the civic celebration of an evening Marian service - the *Lof*, became deeply rooted there in such cities as Kampen, Bergen op Zoom, Utrecht, and Bruges. We know that a collection of motets was prepared especially for the city musicians in Bruges in the 1480's, probably

for the *Lof* ceremonies, and specific repertory items were described as having been performed, *Ave Regina caelorum* and *Salve Regina*, among others.<sup>16</sup> The sources also document that players, boy choirs, adult singers, and composers such as Obrecht and Divitis worked together in the presentation of these services.

Italy seems to have provided fertile soil for international cooperation. Italian musicians made their own contributions. Hints of their performance skills are provided by the modest but important manuscript of one Zorzi Trombetta, which shows that a mid-century player of slide trumpet [for in this case probably Trombetta means slide trumpet] could certainly read and write music.<sup>17</sup> And, even though he achieved only clumsy results, Zorzi knew the rudiments of counterpoint (Example 7). That Italian players were concerned with performance in parts is verified by a record of civic deliberations in Perugia in 1432, in which a case was made for hiring a third player for the city wind ensemble, because a third voice was necessary to "perfect the harmony" of the band.<sup>18</sup> Still, however skilled Italians may have been, we now know that a wave of German wind players swept over northern Italy in the course of the fifteenth century. Italian centers recruited German trombonists with particular enthusiasm, but players of [soprano] shawms and bombards were welcome as well. Their presence was felt in Florence by about 1400, and the civic ensemble there was normally exclusively made up of *oltremontani* by mid-century.<sup>19</sup> To ensure that the band could attract outstanding talent for the key function of player of contra-tenor, the trombonist was paid a higher salary. This strategy appears to have worked, for included among the Florentine trombonists was the renowned Augustein Schubinger (who subsequently established himself as the first player of zinck with what can be termed an international reputation).<sup>20</sup> The court ensembles at Milan and Mantua likewise incorporated northerners - but Ferrara seems to have played a central role as a point of interaction. Corrado da Alamagna (Conrad the German) was the leading player there at mid-century, and Michel Schubinger arrived in 1479.<sup>21</sup> These German musicians in Ferrara, like those elsewhere (the Italian Zorzi, for example), apparently based their improvisations on a cantus firmus. A Ferrarese inventory of about 1495 lists a volume of *tenori tedeschi*, German tenors. The volume, no longer extant, was a collection "obviously [of] dance tenors for use by the players, for improvisation" as Lockwood put it.<sup>22</sup> That German tunes did circulate in Italy is established by the four-part setting titled *Rompeltier* in Petrucci's *Odhecaton A*. The source for the cantus firmus of *Rompeltier* turns out to be a melody in a three-part setting of a German tune *Es sold ein man* in the Glogau song book from about 1480 (see Example 8, *Rompeltier* is given in Example 10). Significantly, although she was evidently unaware of the origin of the melody, Helen Hewitt observed in her edition of the *Odhecaton* that *Rompeltier* could be "nothing else than [a] dance tune".<sup>23</sup>

The stimulation of international cross currents in Ferrara appears to be reflected in the Casanatense manuscript. This collection, as has been suggested by Lewis Lockwood, was apparently prepared specifically for the court's wind players, including the newly arrived Michel Schubinger, in about 1481.<sup>24</sup> In fact, the presence of first-rate players in Ferrara may have influenced composers represented. Lockwood has suggested, for

example, that Martini's *La martinella* may well reveal specific adaptations to match the ranges of discant and tenor shawms (the piece, it should be noted, is also included in the Glogau collection).<sup>25</sup> At a deeper level, the piece may also mirror techniques and styles of instrumentalists - the opening duets, for example, reveal a device which could have been easily managed by talented performers (Example 4). The concluding section, with its canonic structure between discant and tenor, too, might have been manoeuvred by improvising players (the ending, however, betrays the hand of a polished composer).<sup>26</sup> In any case, at the very minimum, the repertory contained in the Casanatense manuscript would have been played by the court shawms and trombones, and would have formed a part of the repertory of wind players in general.

Ferrara was particularly important, but Florence, too, witnessed similar connections between performers and composers. Michel's brother Augstein was in Florence during the same years when Heinrich Isaak was in residence there, and these two musicians both then moved on to service with Maximilian I in Innsbruck. It can hardly be a coincidence that such pieces of Isaak as *Palle*, *Palle* and *Ainfrolich wesen* exhibit traits that have been long thought to be "instrumental." A more specific indication of northern influence in Florence is the inclusion of *La coda de volpe* in Florence 229, a manuscript prepared in Florence about 1490, i.e., exactly the time when Isaak and Augstein were in the city.<sup>27</sup> This piece, too, appeared in the Glogau books, with its apparently original title, the *Fuchs Schwantz* — the Fox's Tail.

The Glogau books evidently were copied somewhere in Silesia, in or near Glogau, and distinctly remote from Florence.<sup>28</sup> But German court and civic ensembles often traveled, and, for example, the Leipzig civic ensemble visited Augsburg in 1482, when Augstein Schubinger was still a trombonist there.<sup>29</sup> The distance between Augsburg and Glogau is considerable, but Leipzig and Glogau are relatively near to each other, and trade links between them were close. Incidentally, one of the musicians in the Leipzig band was the trombonist Hans Nagel, who was later with groups in the Low Countries where he performed again with Augstein (in Brussels, where both were engaged by Philip the Fair), and where (in Antwerp) he also had contact with Alamire and with the young Tielman Susato.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that the composer Rubinus may have acted as the connection between Glogau and Florence, as Howard Mayer Brown has suggested.<sup>31</sup> Much less conjectural, however, was the existence of a tightly interwoven network of contacts which would have connected players and repertory in Glogau, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ferrara, and Florence, and, for that matter with Brussels, Mechelen, and Antwerp.

International cooperation was most striking south of the Alps, where northern instrumentalists were undoubtedly influenced by composers active in Italy. Furthermore we now see hints that the flow was likely in both directions. It is now clear that some northern instrumental repertory penetrated into Italy; it is also almost certain that styles and the very skills of players influenced such composers as Agricola, Isaak, Obrecht and Martini. What has been missing in our previous considerations of "instrumental" music, that of Italy particularly, has been an awareness of context. The extent to which wind

performers influenced compositional style will remain a matter of speculation. What is not speculation is that late fifteenth-century Italian cities and courts, particularly Ferrara and Florence, provided the support for an interaction of very talented players with leading composers of the day, French, Flemish, and Italian. Italy was not alone in this, but it was there that the intermingling of styles, techniques, and ideas was particularly intense.

Furthermore, by about 1450 at the latest, outstanding minstrels of shawm and trombone were participating in performances which involved contrapuntal techniques (Zorzi knew the rules of counterpoint by ca. 1440, and by then players for decades had been designated by their functions within polyphonic ensembles, as players of soprano, tenor, and contratenor).<sup>32</sup> The best of these performers evidently read music, and almost certainly incorporated sophisticated and up-to-date styles in their improvisational performance practice. These very fine musicians were not only performers of previously composed texts, they were themselves creators of music of very high quality, and their skills were highly valued in contemporary cultural life.

Italy appears to have been the focal point of yet another phase of instrumental music which will form my final subject here. A segment of the Augsburg Liederbuch of about 1513 contains a distinctive set of pieces of instrumental, dance-like character. One of these, titled "Mantuan dance" (*Mantuaner Danz*) is given in Example 9.<sup>33</sup> A somewhat garbled note on one of the pages in this section of the manuscript suggests that this group of pieces was delivered to the scribe by Jacob Hurlacher, a civic musician (*Stadtpeifer*) in Augsburg at that time.<sup>34</sup> Now Jacob had taken over the post of city trombonist previously occupied by Ulrich Schubinger, who had moved on to service with the Gonzaga court - in Mantua. The possible tie between the manuscript/Jacob/Ulrich/Mantua is further strengthened by the fact that during these years Ulrich maintained a home in Augsburg, was carried on the city's tax rolls, and his wife was listed as resident there. Furthermore, for a few months, early in 1505, Ulrich had been joined for a short time in Mantua by his brother Augstein.<sup>35</sup> At about this time Augstein Schubinger was turning his hand to composition. We know from the Pirckheimer correspondence that *bassa danzas* by him and by the lutenist Johann Maria Ebreo were circulating in manuscript form in Southern Germany in 1506, just after Augstein would have been in Mantua.<sup>36</sup> It is, of course, quite likely that the dances referred to in the Pirckheimer letters were some of the items which were included as anonymous in the Augsburg set. One further hint of the connection with Mantua is that the only known contemporary concordance with this Augsburg dance repertory is the manuscript Florence Panciatichi 27, which Atlas tentatively identified as one likely to have originated in Mantua.<sup>37</sup> These pieces may provide a key link in the history of dance music, for they are all made up of very short phrases, each repeated. In the case of the "Mantuan dance," the melody is in the soprano, and is laid out in three sections - a strikingly similar structure to what was to become widely popular in the North as the *basse dance commune*.<sup>38</sup>

What appears to have taken place then is that a taste for a new kind of dance setting seems to have developed, certainly in Mantua but likely also throughout northern Italy.

Outstanding musicians, including German lutenists and wind players (especially trombonists) were among those who satisfied the need for what was apparently a new repertory. Italians, too, must have added their own contributions. Tromboncino, early in his career a splendid trombonist and only later a composer, was in Mantua - he too probably furnished music to satisfy the demands of this novel fashion.

This situation strikes me as significant on two counts. First, it provides yet another example of an international interaction. On this occasion German performers contributed not just elements of style, but apparently composed some of the music. Second is the matter of transformations in musical style. Clearly major changes in compositional approach c.1500 were the development of through-imitation and the acceptance of four-part writing as the norm. Imitation, particularly, posed very formidable problems to instrumentalists who had traditionally based their improvisations on a cantus firmus. In the period from about 1470 to 1500, instrumentalists, singers and, composers seem often to have utilized quite similar techniques and approaches. For players of loud instruments especially, this period represents a kind of artistic high water mark, during which they performed and interacted with other musicians on roughly equal footing. The Augsburg repertory, however, represents a turning in a different direction - towards a simpler and artistically more limited approach. Players were unable in *ex tempore* performance to match techniques of contemporary composers, thus they turned to less complicated styles, and, especially after about 1520, to more emphasis on embellishment - and, of course, to performance of written music which was becoming rapidly more accessible due to the availability of inexpensive printed parts. I should add that even in this last area, the international interweaving continued as one of the most successful of the new printers was Tielman Susato, a German trombonist who began his career in Antwerp as a member of the civic ensemble.

In summary, the period around 1450 witnessed the rapid spread of sophisticated musical techniques, especially among soft, but also among loud musicians, a development which was enriched by international contributions and nurtured by enthusiastic patronage throughout Europe. Interaction was especially intense about 1475, which was a time when players reached very high levels of accomplishment, and when musical techniques were shared to a remarkable degree among singers, composers, and players, both *haut* and *bas*. This period also witnessed a remarkable expansion in the resources devoted to patronage of music. Shortly after 1500, as suggested by the Augsburg collection, cross-influences between German performers and composers with those active in Italy produced a new, and simplified musical approach, one which was soon to be reflected in France (in the publications of Attaingnant) and Flanders (in the prints of Susato). This latter phase manifested on one level a high degree of international integration. Yet, at another level it was a kind of disintegration, which inevitably propelled ensemble instrumentalists on a course that separated them from the mainstream of composition.

## NOTES

1. A. Molho, "Cosimo de' Medici: *Pater Patriae of Padrino*," *Stanford Italian Review* I (1979), pp. 18-19.
2. Ronald Weissman, "Taking Patronage Seriously," *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. F.W. Kent and P. Simons (Oxford, 1987), pp. 43-44. The other essays in this volume explore patronage with a variety of stimulating approaches. Another similar collection is *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. Guy Fitch Lyle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton, 1981).
3. These tables are highly selective. A few figures are given for prominent bishops and for a comparative sample of especially prestigious cities.
4. A. Baines, "Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's *De Inventione et usu musicae*," *Galpin Society Journal*, 3 (1950), pp. 19-27. See also W. Prizer, "The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition," *Studi Musicali* 15 (1986), pp. 3-37.
5. Marix, *J. Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon* (Strasbourg, 1939), pp. 268-273.
6. Concerning the documents which record the Brandenburg doublings, compare the figures listed in K. Polk, "Voices and Instruments: Soloists and Ensembles in the 15th Century," *Early Music*, 18 (1990), Table A.
7. L. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), p. 317; for Pietrobono see pp. 95-108.
8. R. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, 1980), pp. 67-90.
9. While the functions of the trumpet ensembles were more ritualistic than musical, already by c.1450 the groups had developed distinctive specializations, with some players devoting their attention to the higher register as players of *clarino*, and others to the lower register as players of "field trumpet." On this development see Chapter Three in my book *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages*, forthcoming from Cambridge University Press.
10. F. Krautwurst, "Konrad Paumann," *Fränkische Lebensbilder Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte*, ed. G. Pfeiffer and A. Wendenburg, Series VII A, volume 7 (1977), p. 33-48.
11. C. Wolff, "Conrad Paumanns Fundamentum organisandi und seine verschiedenen Fassungen," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XXV (1968), pp. 196-222.
12. T. Göllner, "Notationsfragmente aus einer Organistenwerkstatt des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1967), pp. 170-177.

13. "J'ai veu Binchois avoir vergogne/ Et soy taire emprez leur rebelle,/ Et Dufay despite et frongne/ Qu'il n'a melodie si belle." G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, 1954), p. 51.
14. J. Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1961), p. 307.
15. D. Fallows, *Dufay* (London, 1982), p. 2.
16. Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 144-145.
17. D. Leech-Wilkinson, "Il libro de appunti di un suonatore di tromba del quindecimo secolo." *RIM* 16 (1981), pp. 16-39.
18. A. Rossi, "Memorie di musica a Perugia nei secoli XIV e XV," *Giornale di Erudizioni Artistica* III (1974), pp. 124-152. A similar document in Bologna in 1469 described the "trombonist ... who plays with the shawms" ("in trombonen ... qui cum piffaris pulsavit"), which resulted in consonances which were suave and delectable ("quod ob diversitas vocum consonantia et suavius et delectabilius ..."; see O. Gambassi, *Il Concerto Palatino della Signoria di Bologna* (Florence, 1989), p. 122. For a more adequate discussion of the context of this Bologna document than the one provided by Gambassi see Susan Weiss, "Musical Patronage of the Bentivoglio Signoria, c. 1465-1512," *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale de Musicologia* III (Bologna, 1987), pp. 703-715.
19. G. Zippel, *I suonatori della Signoria di Firenze* (Trent, 1892), pp. 15-25.
20. See the article on Augstein in this Journal, I, pp. 83-92.
21. Lockwood 1984, p. 318.
22. Lockwood 1984, p. 268.
23. H. Hewitt, ed., *Harmonices musices Odhecaton A* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1942), p. 104.
24. Lockwood 1984, pp. 269-272.
25. Lockwood 1984, pp. 273-276.
26. This concluding section is similar in versions in both the Casanatense and Glogauer collections, but shows distinctive differences from the generally concordant rendering in the Florence manuscript Banco Rari 229. That is, it is possible that the Casanatense/Glogau variants reflect actual contrapuntal changes which reflect influence of "instrumental" styles and performance practices. See H. M. Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229* (Chicago, 1983), II, pp. 26-29.
27. Brown 1983 is a study and an edition of the manuscript.

28. See C. Väterlein, C., ed. *Das Glogauer Liederbuch, Das Erbe Deutscher Musik*, vols. 85-86 (Kassel, 1981).
29. The visit of the Leipzig ensemble was recorded in the city accounts books of Augsburg of 1481, Augsburg, *Stadtarchiv, Baumeisterbücher*, 1482, fol. 20.
30. On Hans Nagel see K. Polk, "Instrumental Music in the Urban Centres of Renaissance Germany," *Early Music History*, VII (1987), p. 182.
31. Brown 1983, I, p. 128.
32. By as early as 1405 a player in Florence was termed a player of the *contratenor*, see Zippel 1892, pp. 15-17.
33. The scribe of the manuscript (Augsburg, Staats-und Stadtbibliothek 2<sup>o</sup> Codex 142a) inserted the dance pieces between folios 18 and 21 (a few other textless, "instrumental" pieces are also included in this section of the collection). For an edition of the manuscript see Luise Jonas, *Das Augsburger Liederbuch* (Munich, 1983), 2 vols.
34. Jonas 1983, II, p. 39, viewed the note as a "pen trial," as a scribble which she read as "friendly greetings from/to the honorable and wise Jacob [Hurlacher], *Stadtpfeifer*." The note is incomplete as she gives it however, although it is admittedly difficult to decipher. The complete note appears to read "Dem Ersam und weisen Jacob statpfeyffer ist daf[ür] Vernommen .. sol mir Frantlichen grus Main frantlichen grus." The thrust of "ist dafür vernommen" would seem to indicate that Jacob was the source of this, whether the scribe was referring to the single piece, or to several pieces is unclear.
35. For Jacob Hurlacher as a city musician, see Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, *Baumeisterbücher*, 1506, f. 83'. Ulrich Schubinger maintained a residence in Augsburg for he was on the tax rolls there, as of 1506, *Steuerbücher*, 1506, fol. 35a. On Ulrich and Augustein in Mantua see William Prizer, *Power and Pleasure, Music in the Culture of Renaissance Mantua*, forthcoming from Oxford University Press.
36. The letters are available in *Willibald Pirckheimers Briefwechsel*, edited Ernst Reicke (Munich, 1940), I, Band, p. 371-372. They were brought to my attention through the Gerhard Pietzsch *Nachlass*, a collection in the Music Library of the Institute for Musicology of the University of Cologne, see volume II, p. 569.
37. A. Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier* (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, C. G. XIII.27) (Brooklyn, 1975), I, p. 252.
38. On the *basse dance commune* see D. Heartz, "The Basse Dance, Its Evolution circa 1450 to 1550," *Annales Musicologiques* VI (1958-63), pp. 325-327.

## TABLES

**Table 1: Patronage of Instrumentalists c. 1400<sup>1</sup>**

**Nobility**

Emperor: 2/4 *bas* minstrels, 6 shawms, 6 trumpets  
 King of Hungary: 2 *bas*, 3 shawms, [?2 trumpets]  
 King of Poland: 2 *bas*, [?3 shawms, 2 trumpets]  
 Duke of Austria: 1 *fiddle*, 4 shawms, 2 trumpets  
 (Count of Holland) - Duke of Bavaria/Straubing: 3/4 *bas* (2 fiddles, harp, quintern, and  
     ?portative), 4 shawms, 2 trumpets, *drummer*  
 Bavaria/Ingolstadt: 2 fiddles, 3 shawms, 2 trumpets  
 Margrave of Brandenburg (Hohenzollern from c.1414): 3-4 shawms, 2 trumpets  
 Duke of Braunschweig: 2 fiddles, 3 shawms, 2 trumpets  
 Duke of Burgundy: 2-3 *bas*, shawm band a4, 2 trumpets  
 Duke of Guelders: 2 fiddles, 4 shawms, 2 trumpets  
 Count (later Duke) of Württemberg: 2 lutes, 4 shawms

**Bishops**

Cologne: 3 *bas*, 6 shawms  
 Utrecht: 4 shawms  
 Würzburg: 2 *bas*, 4 shawms

**Cities**

Augsburg: 3 shawms  
 Bruges: 3 shawms  
 Florence: 2 *bas*, 3 shawms, 6 trumpets, 6 *trombadori*  
 Nuremberg: 2 *bas*, 3 shawms

**Table 2: Patronage of Instrumentalists c. 1450<sup>2</sup>**

**Nobility**

Emperor: 1/2 *bas*, shawms a5 (3 shawms, 2 trombones), 5 trumpets  
 King of Hungary: 3 *bas*, shawms a5, 4 trumpets

Austria: 2 lutes, shawms a4, 7 trumpets

Bavaria/Munich: 3 *bas* (2 lutes and Paumann), shawms a4, 4 trumpets, [note: c. 1460  
     2/3 crumhorns]

Bavaria/Landshut: 1 *bas*, shawms a4, 6 trumpets plus tympani

Brandenburg: 2/3 *bas*, shawms a5, 5/6 trumpets

Burgundy: 3 *bas* (2 lutes/fiddles, harp), 4/5 shawms, 5 trumpets

Ferrara: 4 *bas* (harp, 2 lutes, keyboard, 2 *violas* added, c.1466); 3/4 shawms, 5 trumpets  
 Milan: 2/3 *bas*, 4 shawms, 20 [!] trumpets  
 Württemberg: 2 lutes, shawms [a4], 5 trumpets

### Bishops

Cologne: 2 lutes, 4 shawms  
 Utrecht: 2 *bas* ("chamber players"), 3/4 shawms  
 Würzburg: 2 lutes, 4 shawms

### Cities

Augsburg: 4 shawms  
 Bruges: 4 shawms  
 Florence: (*bas* under Medici patronage?), 4 shawms, 6 trumpets, 6 *trombadori*  
 Nuremberg: 2 *bas* (portative/lute duo), 5 shawms

Table 3: Patronage of Instrumentalists c. 1500<sup>3</sup>

### Nobility

Maximilian I: 7 *bas* (2 lutes, 4 *geigern*, organ); shawms a5 (3 shawms and 2 trombones, also including *zinck* and crumhorns), trumpets a12 (with tympani), "Swiss band" a3  
 King of Poland: 6 *bas* (2 lutes, 4 *geigern*), 4 shawms, 5 trumpets  
 Bavaria: 5 *bas* 1 lute, 4 *geigern*; 7 shawms (2 ensembles, each probably with a trombonist), 4 bagpipes (2 ensembles of 2 each), 9 trumpets (plus 1 tympani), "Swiss pair"  
 Brandenburg: 3 *bas* (lute duo, harp), shawm band a6 (including players of crumhorn), 10 trumpets and "Swiss pair"  
 Ferrara: 7/9 *bas* (2 organs, clavicembalo, 2/3 lutes, 2/3 *violas*), 4/5 shawms, 12 trumpets  
 Mantua: ?*bas* (2/3 lutes, organ, ?4 *viole*), 4/6 shawms (including players of *zinck* and recorder), 10 trumpets  
 Count Palatine: 5 *bas* (2 lutes, 3 *geigern*), shawm band a4 (probably including player of *zinck*), 9 trumpets  
 Württemberg: 2 lutes, shawms a5 (including 2 players of *zinck*), 12 trumpets, "Swiss band" a3

### Bishops

Cologne: 5 *bas* (2 lutes, 3 *geigern*), 4 shawms, 8 trumpets  
 Utrecht: 1 *bas*, 3 shawms, 8 trumpets (4 *claroenen*, 4 trumpets)  
 Würzburg: 2 lutes, 4 shawms, 4 trumpets

**Cities**

Augsburg, shawms a5

Bruges: shawms a5

Florence: (same as 1450 except shawms a5)

Nuremberg: (same as 1450)

**Table 4: Lute Pairs patronized by German Noble Houses<sup>4</sup>**

**Women Patrons**

Duchesses of Berg [=Cleve] (1446), Brunswick (1479), Jülich (1461), Saxony (1444), Countess of Henneberg (1499) and of Weinsberg (1482)

**Male Patrons**

Duke of Bavaria/Landshut (1490), Duke of Brunswick (1466), Duke of Cleve (1461), Landgrave of Hessen (1471), Duke of Jülich (1458), Count of Pappenheim (1443), Duke of Saxony (1458), Count of Weinsberg (1476)

## NOTES FOR TABLES

1. Documentation for court ensembles, c.1400:

Abbreviations used in documentation:

BB: Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, Baumeisterbücher, the term used in Augsburg for yearly financial account books.

BSA: Bayerisches Staatsarchiv

De Meyer: G. De Meyer, *De Stadsrekeningen van Deventer. Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht Teksten en Documenten*, uitgegeven door het Instituut voor Middel-eeuwse Geschiedenis, ed. W. Jappe Alberts (Groningen, 1968-1984), 6 vols.

Ernst 1945: F. Ernst, "Die Spielleute im Dienste der Stadt Basel im ausgehenden Mittelalter (bis 1550)," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 44 (1945), pp. 79-237.

GA Gemeentearchief; City Archive

KR Kammerrechnungen [SR]

Lockwood 1984: L. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara* (Cambridge, MA, 1984)

Marix: J. Marix, *Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon* (Strasbourg, 1939)

Meyer 1983: Meyer, K. *The Crumhorn* (Ann Arbor, 1983)

Pietzsch 1976-85: G. Pietzsch, "Die Hofmusikkollegien wittelsbachischer Fürsten bis zur Ende

des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Musik in Bayern* 13 (1976), pp. 24-48; 20 (1980), pp. 97-112; 21 (1980), pp. 69-70; 22 (1981), pp. 296-303; 23 (1981), pp. 128-134; 25 (1982), pp. 125-128; 26 (1983), p. 64; 27 (1983), pp. 114-116; 28 (1984), pp. 152-155; 29 (1984), p. 136; 30 (1985), p. 131; 31 (1985), pp. 199-204.

PNL: Pietzsch Nachlass: The collected papers of Gerhard Pietzsch, now housed in the Library of the Institute for Musicology of the University of Cologne. Roman numerals refer to typed volumes, arabic numerals to manuscript folders.

SA: City Archive (Stadsarchief in Flemish and Dutch, Stadtarchiv, German).

Sittard 1890: J. Sittard, *Zur Geschichte der Musik des Theaters am Württembergischen Hofe*, I, 1458-1733, (Stuttgart, 1890).

Sterl 1979: R. Sterl, "Die Regensburger Stadtrechnungen des 15. Jahrhunderts als Quellen für fahrende und hofische Spielleute," *Regensburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* (ed. H. Beck), Band 6 (Regensburg, 1979), pp. 249-312.

Zippel: G. Zippel, *I suonatori della Signoria di Firenze* (Trent, 1892).

- Emperor: For soft minstrels see Pietzsch 1976-85, 25 (1982), p. 125; the shawms and trumpets both probably a6; Nuremberg, BSA, Rep. 52b, f. 1'
- Hungary: soft minstrels a2, Pietzsch 1976-85, 28 (1984), p. 152; shawms a3, Sterl 1979, p. 256
- Poland: 2 soft minstrels, Pietzsch 1976-1985, 27 (1983), p. 115
- Duke of Austria: fiddle, Pietzsch 1976-1985, 27 (1983), p. 115; shawm band, a4; Augsburg, SA, BB, 1404, f. 67; trumpets, Regensburg, 1415, Sterl 1979, p. 258
- Duke of Bavaria/Straubing: see A. Janse, "Het Muziekleven aan het Hof van Albrecht van Beieren (1358-1404)," *TVNM* 36 (1986), pp. 136-157
- Duke of Bavaria/Ingolstadt: 2 *Fiedler* in 1398, Pietzsch 1976-1985, 25 (1982), p. 126; 3 shawms and two trumpets in Nuremberg, BSA, Rep. 54/177, 1389. f. 362
- Duke of Bavaria/Landshut: 3 shawms, Augsburg, 1414, SA, BB, f. 38; trumpets and nakers; Regensburg, 1408. payment to *pfeiffern, pusawnern und paüker*; trumpets are plural, and are probably two, Sterl 1979, 256
- Margrave of Brandenburg [Hohenzollern]: 4 shawms in Augsburg, 1413, SA, BB, f. 55; trumpets in Nuremberg in 1391, with shawms, with a total of five players, probably three shawms and two trumpets, Nuremberg, BSA, Rep. 54/177, f. 450'
- Duke of Braunschweig: 2 *Fiedler* in 1393, Pietzsch 1976-1985, 25 (1982), p. 127; 3 shawms and two trumpets; probably the ensemble in Deventer in 1410, described as "5 pipers," De Meyer, II, 475
- Duke of Burgundy: See C. Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364-1419* (Henryville-Ottawa-Binningen, 1979), pp. 23-53; see also Shawms a4 in 1411 (Dijon, Archiv de la cote d'or, B 1570, f. 53); two trumpets; 1409, ibid., B 1558, f. 62'-63'; tambourin, 1406, ibid., B 1547, f. 152'; harp, 1390, ibid., B 1390, f. 65', purchase of portative, 1388, ibid., B 1469, f. 61
- Duke of Guelders: soft minstrels, De Meyer, I, p. 335; shawms, De Meyer, I., p. 335; II, p. 124
- Count of Württemberg: four *pfeiffern* in Augsburg in 1413, SA, BB, f. 61'; two lutes (*quintarnaren*) in 1403, Pietzsch, 1976-1985, 28 (1984), p. 152
- Bishops of Cologne: shawms a6, De Meyer II, p. 475; soft minstrels 13, Pietzsch 1976-85, 28

(1984), p. 152; Utrecht: shawms a4, De Meyer, III, p. 394; Würzburg: shawms a4, Nuremberg, BSA Rep. 54, f. 177; soft minstrels a2, Janse 1986, p. 147

•Cities of Augsburg: SA, BB, 1402, f. 66; Bruges: SA, SR, 1408, f. 34; Florence: Zippel 1892, p. 15-16; Nuremberg: BSA, Rep. 54/179, f. 16

### 2. Documentation, c.1450:

•Emperor: harpist, 5 shawms, 5 trumpets, Nuremberg, BSA, Schenkbuch #314, f. 34, also Ernst 1945, p. 222

•Hungary: organist and two lutes, PNL p. 1076; 5 shawms, Sterl 1979, p. 280

•Austria: soft minstrels a2, Ernst 1945, p. 223-4; shawms a4, Nuremberg, BSA, Rep. 52b., #314, f. 37; 7 trumpets, Sterl 1979, p. 279

•Bavaria/Munich: soft minstrels a3, Augsburg, SA, BB, f. 45 (including Paumann); shawms a4, 5 trumpets, Sterl 1979, p. 275

•Bavaria/Landshut: one soft minstrel (lutenist, Augsburg, SA, BB, 1455, f. 39); shawms a4 (Regensburg, 1442, Sterl 1979, p. 273); trumpets, 6 plus a *pawcker*, Sterl 1979, p. 282

•Brandenburg: shawms a5, Augsburg, SA, BB, f. 30; 2 trumpets, Nördlingen, SA, KR, 1470, f. 37'; 3 soft minstrels; Windsheim, SA, SR, 1441-43 (all unfoliated)

•Burgundy: Marix, p. 271

•Ferrara: L. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara* (Cambridge, MA, 1984), p. 317

•Milan: G. Barblan, "Vita musicale alla corte sforzesca," *Storia di Milano IX* (Milan, 1961), pp. 787-852

•Württemberg: lute duo, Nördlingen, SA, KR, 1467, f. 31; 4 shawms, Nördlingen, SA, KR, 1452, f. 24, 5 trumpets, Sterl 1979, p. 281

•Bishops of Cologne: 2 soft minstrels, Nuremberg, BSA, Schenkbuch #314, f. 37; shawms a4, Basel, Ernst 1945, p. 231; Utrecht: 2 soft minstrels, De Meyer VI, p. 365; shawms a4, Deventer, GA, SR, 1446, f. 14'; Würzburg: 2 lutes, Augsburg, SA, BB, 1464, f. 53; shawms a4, Augsburg, SA, BB, 1457, f. 45

•Cities of Augsburg: SA, BB, 1451, f. 80-81; Bruges: SA, SR, 1450, f. 24'; Florence: Zippel 1892, pp. 23-4; Nuremberg: BSA, Rep. 54/180, f. 483

### 3. Documentation, c.1500:

•Maximilian I: see K. Polk, "Patronage, Imperial Image, and the Emperor's Musical Retinue: On the Road with Maximilian I," forthcoming in the proceedings of the conference, *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilians I*

•Poland: lutes, Augsburg, SA, BB, 1509, f. 24'; *geigern*, Augsburg, SA, BB, 1508, f. 84; shawms, Augsburg, SA, BB, 1502, f. 18; trumpets, Nördlingen, SA, KR, 1507, f. 60

•Bavaria/Munich: 1 lutenist, Ernst 1945, p. 225; 4 *geigern*, Augsburg, SA, BB, 1518, f. 30-30'; 3 shawms, Nördlingen, SA, KR, 1490, f. 40'; 3 bagpipes, Augsburg, SA, BB, 1490, f. 17'; 6 trumpets, Augsburg, SA, BB, 1507, f. 24; "Swiss pair," Augsburg, SA, BB, 1509, f. 24'

- Brandenburg: 2 lutes, Nördlingen, SA, KR, 1502, f. 52; harpist, Nördlingen, SA, KR, 1498, f. 50; shawms, a6, Nuremberg, BSA, Rep. 54/181, f. 70'; "Swiss Pair," Augsburg, SA, BB, 1503, f. 28'; 10 trumpets, Nuremberg, BSA, Rep. 54/181, f. 319
- Ferarra: Lockwood, 1984, pp. 324-8
- Mantua: Prizer, *Power and Pleasure* (forthcoming)
- Palatinate: 2 lutes, Ernst 1945, p. 227; 3 *geigern*, Nuremberg, BSA, Rep. 54/181, f. 617; 4 shawms, Basel, Ernst 1945, p. 227; 9 trumpets, Nuremberg, BSA, Rep. 54/121, 1490, f. 218'
- Württemberg: two lutes, Nördlingen, SA, KR, 1494, f. 40; shawn band, a5, Augsburg, SA, BB, 1503, f. 29, for *zinck* in 1498 see Sittard 1890, p. 3; 12 trumpets, Augsburg, SA, BB, 1510, f. 25' ("Swiss band", three players, same account)
- Bishops of Cologne: *geigern* a3, Neuss, SA, SR, 1501, f. 51; shawms a4, Essen, SA, SR, 1489, f. 21; trumpets, a8, Neuss, 1501, SA, SR, f. 51; Utrecht: 1 lute, Deventer, GA, SR, 1496, f. 8'; no information on shawms available, probably a4; trumpets a8, Utrecht, GA, SR, 1496, f. 7; Würzburg: 2 lutes, Windsheim, SA, SR, 1486, unfoliated; shawms a4, Windsheim, SA, SR, 1490, unfoliated, number of players not specified, probably a4
- Cities of Augsburg: SA, BB, 1501, f. 62; Bruges: SA, SR, 1500, f. 52; Florence: Archivio di Stato, Monte Commune, Provveditori del Monte, #1512, f. 71'; Nuremberg: BSA, Rep. 54/181, f. 213

4. See K. Polk, "Voices and instruments: soloists and ensembles in the 15th century," *Early Music* XVIII (1990), p. 188.

## MUSICAL EXAMPLES



## Example 1

Music for soft minstrels of the early 15th century: Anon., *Bel fiore dança*; Faenza, Bib. Com. Ms. 117 [the Faenza Codex], f. 80'. Note dissonances in measures 1-2, and the parallel progressions in measures 2-3.

## Example 2

Music reflecting style of loud minstrels, early 15th century: [Hermann, Monk of Salzburg], *Das Nachthorn*; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Ms. 2856, f. 185'-186 [measures 1-6].

Note the "drone-like" character of the "counterpoint."

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is for the Tenor voice, indicated by a bracket and the label "[Tenor]". The middle staff is for the Discant voice, and the bottom staff is for the Contratenor voice. The music is in common time, with a key signature of one sharp. Measures 1-6 show the Tenor and Contratenor parts. Measures 7-11 show the Discant and Contratenor parts. Measures 12-13 show the Tenor and Contratenor parts. The final four measures show the Discant and Contratenor parts again.

### Example 3

Soft music, second half of the 15th century: Conrad Paumann, *Wiplich figur-Bekenne myn klag*; *Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch*, ed. B. Walner, *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik*, vol. 38, II, p. 285 [measures 1-13 and final 4 measures]. Note the character of the discant, measures 1-7, and the harmonic motion of the tenor and contratenor to cadences in measures 7, 13, and at the end.

The image displays four staves of musical notation, likely for three voices (Treble, Bass, Alto). The notation is in common time. Measure 1 starts with a single note in each voice. Measure 7 begins with eighth-note patterns. Measure 12 features sustained notes. Measure 17 concludes the excerpt with eighth-note patterns.

#### Example 4

Loud music, second half of the 15th century: Johannes Martini, *La Martinella; Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, H. Ringman, ed., *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik*, vol. 8, pp. 62-63 [measures 1-44, 67-end]. Note duets at the opening and the three-part writing based on canonic motives between the upper parts (measures 67-end).

The image displays four staves of musical notation for brass instruments, likely three brasses and a bassoon. The notation is in common time.

- Staff 1 (Treble Clef):** Contains measures 22 through 25. Measure 22 starts with a dotted half note followed by eighth notes. Measures 23-25 feature eighth-note patterns.
- Staff 2 (Bass Clef):** Contains measures 22 through 25. Measure 22 starts with eighth notes. Measures 23-25 feature eighth-note patterns.
- Staff 3 (Bass Clef):** Contains measures 22 through 25. Measure 22 starts with eighth notes. Measures 23-25 feature eighth-note patterns.
- Staff 4 (Bass Clef):** Contains measures 22 through 25. Measure 22 starts with eighth notes. Measures 23-25 feature eighth-note patterns.

**Staff 5 (Treble Clef):** Contains measures 27 through 30. Measure 27 starts with eighth notes. Measure 28 begins with a rest. Measure 29 starts with eighth notes. Measure 30 ends with a sharp sign.

**Staff 6 (Bass Clef):** Contains measures 27 through 30. Measure 27 starts with eighth notes. Measure 28 begins with a rest. Measure 29 starts with eighth notes. Measure 30 ends with a sharp sign.

**Staff 7 (Bass Clef):** Contains measures 27 through 30. Measure 27 starts with eighth notes. Measure 28 begins with a rest. Measure 29 starts with eighth notes. Measure 30 ends with a sharp sign.

**Staff 8 (Bass Clef):** Contains measures 27 through 30. Measure 27 starts with eighth notes. Measure 28 begins with a rest. Measure 29 starts with eighth notes. Measure 30 ends with a sharp sign.

**Staff 9 (Treble Clef):** Contains measures 32 through 35. Measure 32 starts with eighth notes. Measure 33 begins with a rest. Measure 34 starts with eighth notes. Measure 35 ends with a sharp sign.

**Staff 10 (Bass Clef):** Contains measures 32 through 35. Measure 32 starts with eighth notes. Measure 33 begins with a rest. Measure 34 starts with eighth notes. Measure 35 ends with a sharp sign.

**Staff 11 (Bass Clef):** Contains measures 32 through 35. Measure 32 starts with eighth notes. Measure 33 begins with a rest. Measure 34 starts with eighth notes. Measure 35 ends with a sharp sign.

**Staff 12 (Bass Clef):** Contains measures 32 through 35. Measure 32 starts with eighth notes. Measure 33 begins with a rest. Measure 34 starts with eighth notes. Measure 35 ends with a sharp sign.

**Staff 13 (Treble Clef):** Contains measures 37 through 40. Measure 37 starts with eighth notes. Measure 38 begins with a rest. Measure 39 starts with eighth notes. Measure 40 ends with a sharp sign.

**Staff 14 (Bass Clef):** Contains measures 37 through 40. Measure 37 starts with eighth notes. Measure 38 begins with a rest. Measure 39 starts with eighth notes. Measure 40 ends with a sharp sign.

**Staff 15 (Bass Clef):** Contains measures 37 through 40. Measure 37 starts with eighth notes. Measure 38 begins with a rest. Measure 39 starts with eighth notes. Measure 40 ends with a sharp sign.

**Staff 16 (Bass Clef):** Contains measures 37 through 40. Measure 37 starts with eighth notes. Measure 38 begins with a rest. Measure 39 starts with eighth notes. Measure 40 ends with a sharp sign.

Example 4 (cont.)

42

67

71

76

Example 4 (cont.)

80

85

**Example 4 (cont.)**

**Example 5a, 5b**

Cadential formulas "V-I": Conrad Paumann, *Fundamentum*; Walner, 1958, II, p. 239.  
 Note motion between tenor and contratenor. 5b: Reduction of tenorist motion: 3rd,  
 5th, 3rd, 5th-end.



## Example 6

Guillaume DuFay, *Ce jour le doibt*; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 5094, f. 148'.

The image shows three staves of musical notation. The top staff features a vocal line with lyrics: "[C] Tenor puis che mamor ma pris". The middle staff consists of a continuous series of eighth notes. The bottom staff also consists of a continuous series of eighth notes. The notation is in common time and uses a G clef.

## Example 7

Zorzi Trombetta, tenor of Dunstable's *Puisque m'amour*, with the third of several countertenors composed by Zorzi; London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Titus A.XXVI.

The image shows four staves of musical notation for brass instruments, likely three parts (Treble, Alto, Bass) in a three-part setting. The music is in common time, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are in German, written below the notes. The first staff begins with 'Es' and ends with 'an der'. The second staff begins with 'in - re' and ends with 'rumpel'. The third staff begins with 'an der' and ends with 'man der b'. The fourth staff begins with 'ist' and ends with 'me.'.

1  
Es soll ein man kein mole farn rumpel an der

7  
in - re nichier hatte weder roß noch wagen, rumpel

14  
an der tu - re nicht, rumpel an der tu - re nicht, mein man der b

22  
ist zur mo - le nicht, er ist - da - hei - me.

### Example 8

Anonymous, *Es sold ein man; Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, Ringmann, 1936, p. 16.

Dis-Cantus

Tenor

Bassus

### Example 9.

Anonymous [Augustein Schubinger or Johann Maria Ebreo?], *La Gambetta/Mantuaner dantz; Das Augsburg Liederbuch*, ed. L. Jonas (Munich, 1983) I, pp. 61-2. Note melodic character of discant and the three-section structure (each section with repeat).

1  
Rum - fel - tie - re, rum - fel - da - er, Rum - fer - da - ren,  
Rum - fel - tie re  
Rum - fel - tie re  
Rum - fel - tie re  
Rum - fel - tie re

8  
min - du - er - nit, Mi - man - di - est, mie - bet - nit,

15  
Rum - fer - da - ran, die - du - er - nit, An - der - du - er, rum - pel

### Example 10.

Rompeltier, H. Hewitt, ed., *Petrucci, Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A* (Cambridge, MA, 1942), p. 274 [measures 1-22]. Note that the tune is the same as *Es sold ein man*, Example 8.