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Neapolitan Repertory in the Glogauer Liederbuch[§]

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The Glogauer Liederbuch, once held in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and now to be found in the collection of Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków (Mus. ms. 40098), counts among the most valuable sources of polyphonic music of the second half of the fifteenth century. The manuscript was created in Silesia, most probably in the Augustine monastery in Żagań under the influence of Abbot Martin Rinckenberg¹. It was copied around 1480, most probably — as the testing of watermarks shows — during the years 1477–1481². The Glogauer Liederbuch is one of the earliest examples of musical notation in partbooks: it is made up of three books in oblong quarto format (and not, as is usually quoted, in octavo)³. The manuscript is well known to scholars researching 15th-century music: its complete edition has been published in the *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*⁴, and also in the form of a facsimile⁵. In spite of this it would be difficult to regard it as a source which has been described in a fully multifaceted and exhaustive manner. This is particularly true in relation to the manuscript's repertory.

There are 292 compositions recorded in the Glogauer Liederbuch, most of them three-voice ones. The repertory presented in the manuscript is of mixed character, which can be regarded as a feature of the majority of polyphonic music collections in Central Europe. It contains both religious and secular

[§] This paper was read during the 17th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, Leuven, 1–7 August 2002.

works, those of local origin and imported from abroad. Compositions with Latin text form the largest part of the Glogauer Liederbuch repertory; these are usually adaptations of antiphons, responsories, hymns and sequences. We also find there a significant collection of German Lieder and French chansons. The Latin and German repertory is of local character. Most of it is not known from other sources of polyphonic music, and the preserved works are anonymous. The rare concordances of these compositions concern manuscripts created in the area of Central Europe, such as: the Trent codex 91 (I-TRbc 91), Schedel Liederbuch (D-Mbs 810), and also Speciálník Codex (CZ-HK II A 7), Strahov Codex (CZ-Ps 47) and Kassa fragments (SK-Bm 33 and SK-Bu 318). The French songs, grouped mainly in the final part of the Glogauer Liederbuch, possess — understandably — features of imported repertory. Compositions of this type are most frequently copied without text and without a title of any kind. Religious Latin text has been set to some of the chansons; a few have been given German titles. The chanson repertory in the Glogauer Liederbuch is typical for the 60s and 70s of the fifteenth century. We find there works by such composers as Guillaume Du Fay, Antoine Busnois, Firminus Caron and Hayne van Ghizeghem, as well as a number of anonymous and unidentified compositions. It is also worth noting that the Silesian manuscript is the oldest known source of the works of Jacob Obrecht (born 1457/58) — it records without the text the chanson *Lacen adieu* (no. 292⁶).

When one analyses the list of the Glogauer Liederbuch concordances⁷, it becomes clear that manuscripts originating from Naples occupy an important position among them (see table). At first glance this does not appear unexpected: Aragonese Naples belonged among the leading musical centres of Europe in the second half of the fifteenth century⁸. Prominent musicians working there included Johannes Cornago, Johannes Tinctoris and Johannes Vincenet; among others who had links with Naples were Franchinus Gaffurius, Josquin des Prez and Alexander Agricola. A number of important anthologies of polyphonic music were created either within this centre, or under its direct influence; almost all theoretical works of Tinctoris were also written there. However, one cannot ignore the fact that the Glogauer Liederbuch shares the greatest number of compositions with just one of the Neapolitan

manuscripts. This is the Seville Chansonnier (E-Sc 5-1-43 and F-Pn 4379/I)⁹, imprecisely dated to around 1480 or to the years 1470–1485¹⁰. As can be seen from table, the number of concordances relating to this manuscript (21) exceeds even that of such important sources as the Schedel Liederbuch (17 concordances) or Trent codex 91 (16 concordances). Such a large number of shared compositions does not, of course, mean that the Seville Chansonnier played a particularly significant part in forming the Glogauer Liederbuch repertory. After all, for the most part the concordances relate to repertory which was popular throughout the whole of Europe and, apart from these two manuscripts, was preserved in many sources, in the case of some works often numbering more than ten. Such popular compositions are, among others, the chanson *Hélas que pourra devenir* by Caron (no. 8), preserved in 21 sources in total, or the chanson *Ma bouche rit* by Ockeghem (no. 267), familiar from as many as 18 copies. On the other hand, it should be noted that there exist only two copies of one of the chansons by Busnois, *Au povre par necessité* (no. 10), apart from the Seville Chansonnier and the Glogauer Liederbuch. The same situation arises in regard to Du Fay's chanson *Dieu gard la bone sans reprise* (no. 180)¹¹.

Table: Concordances of the Glogauer Liederbuch

Source	Date	Provenance	Number of concordances
E-Sc 5-1-43 and F-Pn 4379/I	ca 1480 (1470-1485)	Naples	21
D-Mbs 810	1459/60-1463 and 1467	Nuremberg, Leipzig?	17
I-Fn 229	1491-1492	Florence	17
F-Pn 15123	1480-1484	Florence	16
I-TRbc 91	1472-1476/77	Trent	16
I-Rc 2856	1485-1490	Ferrara	11
I-TRbc 89	1460-1463/64 and 1465-1468	Trent	10
I-Rvat XIII, 27	1492-1494	Florence	9
I-Bc 16	1487	Naples	8
I-VEcap 757	ca 1490	northern Italy	8
US-NH 91	1475-1476	Naples	8
CZ-HK II A 7	1480-1500	Bohemia (Prague)	7
E-SE	1495-1497	Spain	7
CZ-Ps 47	1467-1470	south Bohemia or Moravia	6

SK-Bm 33 and SK-Bu 318	ca 1465	northern Hungary (Slovakia, Kassa?)	6
US-Wc L25	1465-1471 and ca 1485	France (Loire Valley)	6
and other 42 manuscripts			

It seems, however, that the 21 shared compositions which link the Glogauer Liederbuch and Seville Chansonnier do not do so merely by coincidence. It is their chronology which points to this conclusion: for a number of these compositions, the manuscripts under discussion are their oldest existing sources. The works involved are the chansons: *Que pourroit plus faire* by Morton (no. 130), *Se une fois* by Hayne (no. 263), *Helas le bon temps* by Tinctoris (no. 269) and *Adieu fortune* by Caron (no. 272). Moreover, three anonymous compositions are recorded in both sources with similarly sounding German titles¹². One of them — *O hertzens trost* (no. 196) — has been preserved only in the Seville Chansonnier and the Glogauer Liederbuch, and two — *Der fochß schwantcz* (no. 24) and *Nicht loss mich ort entgelden* (no. 226) — exist in only one other manuscript. The presence of these three compositions seems significant not only because they have survived in such a small number of sources, but particularly because of German influences in the titles. In Central Europe, ‘stripping’ the chansons of their original texts was common practice, and this approach is apparent not only in the Glogauer Liederbuch, but also, for instance, in the Speciálník Codex. For some reason, however, in a distant place like Naples, as many as three compositions are recorded with German titles, in an environment in which they must have undoubtedly sounded alien. In the light of these remarks it would seem difficult to deny the existence of some particular links between the Seville Chansonnier and the Glogauer Liederbuch. These links appear all the more interesting in that they were probably reciprocal, i.e., existed between Naples and Silesia (when one considers the chanson repertory), as well as Silesia and Naples (songs with German titles). Apart from this, in view of the problematic dating of the Seville Chansonnier, it is not really clear whether the Neapolitan manuscript was created earlier and is the oldest source of the chansons by

Morton, Hayne, Tinctoris and Caron referred to above, or whether it was preceded by the Glogauer Liederbuch.

When searching for the sources of the Glogauer Liederbuch repertory, one needs to pay particular attention to those manuscripts in the list of its concordances which were written before it was finished, i.e., prior to circa 1480. The Schedel Liederbuch and the Trent codex 91 are two such manuscripts, from which whole sequences of compositions were moved to the Glogauer Liederbuch. Other potential sources of the Silesian songbook are also: Trent codex 89 (I-TRbc 89 — 10 concordances), Strahov Codex (6 concordances), Kassa fragments (6 concordances) and also a number of collections of chansons. Among those chansonniers, the foremost contender is the Mellon Chansonnier (US-NH 91)¹³, created in Naples. Eight concordances linking the Mellon Chansonnier and the Glogauer Liederbuch may appear small, especially in the context of nearly three hundred compositions recorded in the latter manuscript. However, the Mellon Chansonnier records only 53 compositions; thus the eight concordances with the Glogauer Liederbuch amount to 15% of the whole collection, a significant proportion for that period. Both manuscripts record the popular chansons by Ockeghem (*Ma bouche rit*, no. 267), Du Fay (*Vostre bruit*, no. 273), Vincenet (*Fortune, par ta cruaulté*, no. 275) and a motet by Tinctoris — *Virgo dei throno digna* (no. 259). They also contain the much less well known chansons by Busnois, and a number of anonymous ones. For six of these eight works the Mellon Chansonnier — dated to the years 1475–1476 — is the oldest preserved source. It seems puzzling that these works appeared in the Glogauer Liederbuch only a few years later. Particular note should be taken here of the two chansons by Busnois (*Au povre par nécessité*, no. 10; *Pour entretenir*, no. 271) and the motet by Tinctoris referred to above, for which the Silesian manuscript is without doubt the second chronological source. Among compositions common to the Mellon Chansonnier and the Glogauer Liederbuch we also find an anonymous chanson (*Enfermé suis je en la tour*, no. 194), which has not been preserved in any other manuscript apart from these two.

The existence of close links between the Glogauer Liederbuch or, more generally, Central Europe, and Naples, is also confirmed by the documented

output of Neapolitan composers. Although the Glogauer Liederbuch records only two compositions by Tinctoris and one chanson by Vincenet, in each case the Silesian manuscript is one of their oldest sources. It is also worth noting that out of the four masses by Vincenet as many as three make use of musical material clearly connected with Central Europe¹⁴. Cantus firmus from the mass *Enterpris suis* comes from a composition by Bartolomeo Brolo, preserved in, among others, the Glogauer Liederbuch (no. 102). The model of another mass ascribed to Vincenet is a German song *Zersundert ist*, known, so far, only from the Silesian manuscript (no. 233). Apart from the facts presented here it should also be mentioned that references to composer Johannes Touront, who was active in Central Europe¹⁵, beyond the boundaries of that region can be found mainly in the Neapolitan manuscripts. Two of his compositions have been copied in the Glogauer Liederbuch (Nos 15 and 20). This might be another clue pointing to the conclusion that the cultural exchange between Naples and Silesia was of a reciprocal nature.

The argument for the existence of a Neapolitan context to the Glogauer Liederbuch may be justified by referring to political history and the history of culture. At the time of the manuscript's creation, Silesia was one of the dominions of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490). In 1468 this ambitious ruler began a crusade against the heretical Bohemian king, Georg Poděbrad, who was a member of utraquists (calixtines) — the moderate wing of the Hussites. Matthias's policies led to the break-up of the Czech kingdom: the utraquist Bohemia stayed with Georg Poděbrad, while Catholic Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia accepted the supremacy of Hungary. In 1469 in Olomutz Matthias Corvinus was even crowned king of Bohemia; his coronation was not confirmed formally, but it sealed his claim to power in these three regions. When Ladislaus Jagiełło ascended the throne of Prague in 1471, the conflict between Hungary and Bohemia became the conflict between king Matthias and the Polish Jagiellonian dynasty. A peace treaty, which upheld Matthias Corvinus's claim to his territorial gains, was not signed until 1478.

In the second half of the fifteenth century Hungary was not only a great political strength, but also a cultural power in Central Europe. King Matthias received a thorough education — his teacher was the committed humanist

Janos Vitéz, later archbishop of Esztergom. Among the king's advisers was Janus Pannonius — a distinguished Latin poet of Croatian origin, educated in Italy. The so-called Bibliotheca Corviniana, an extensive book collection of about 3000 volumes, bears unprecedented witness to the high cultural sophistication of king Matthias's court. This was a humanistic collection, the largest of its kind not only in Central Europe but in the whole region north of the Alps. The remnants of this priceless collection are now dispersed over 40 libraries throughout the world¹⁶. Royal patronage extended not only to literature and science, but also various areas of art, including music. According to Bishop Bartolomeo de Maraschi, the choir of king Matthias was superior in its excellence even to the Papal chapel (letter to Vatican, 1483). Its leader was a Fleming, Johannes de Stokem (Stockem), a friend of Tinctoris. The Hungarian court was home to the talented lutenist, Pietrobono; Jacques Barbireau was also its guest for a short time¹⁷.

The cultural policy of Matthias Corvinus was clearly pro-Italian. The royal court maintained contact with the most important centres of humanism and renaissance, such as the court of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence. The links with Naples were no less close: in 1476 Matthias Corvinus married the Aragon princess Beatrice, daughter of the king of Naples Ferrante I. In this way the area of the Hungarian kingdom came into the orbit of Neapolitan influence. This influence undoubtedly included music. Beatrice received a thorough musical education — her teacher was none other than Johannes Tinctoris himself. The name of the queen appears in the dedications of three treatises by Tinctoris (*Tractatus de regulari valore notarum*, *Complexus effectuum musices*, *Deffinitorium musicae*). One can even tentatively suppose that this prominent theorist and composer may have visited his pupil in Hungary during one of his journeys to the north (1479/80 or 1487/88). It is known that Beatrice had her own library in Buda. The Mellon Chansonnier, the queen's private manuscript edited by Tinctoris shortly before her departure to Hungary, probably formed part of it. This manuscript, prepared with exceptional care and richly illuminated, contains compositions dedicated to Beatrice, among them the motet *Virgo dei* by Tinctoris, also recorded in the Glogauer Liederbuch¹⁸. An inscription in the Mellon Chansonnier, telling us that in 1609 one Mat-

teus Rohn from Kłodzko made a gift of it to Johan Georg Trigbor of Bruntál, provides evidence that the chansonnier found its way to Central Europe¹⁹.

The Hungarian context of the creation of the Glogauer Liederbuch has already been remarked on elsewhere a number of times; the existence of Neapolitan themes in the repertory of this manuscript has also been mentioned²⁰. However, the significance of the links between the Glogauer Liederbuch and Hungary and Naples is much greater than the sparse references to them in musicological works would indicate. Firstly, the Glogauer Liederbuch, a manuscript created on the German-Slavonic boundary, is — paradoxically — the only source of polyphony documenting the musical culture of the court of Matthias Corvinus during the period of its greatest flowering²¹. Secondly, some of the facts quoted above indicate that the migration of musical repertory took place not only from Naples to Hungary, but also in the opposite direction, from Hungary to Naples. This puts into question the stability of the traditional division into the centre and the periphery.

List of cited sources

- CZ-HK II A 7** – Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Cech, MS II A 7
(= Speciálník Codex)
- CZ-Ps 47** – Prague, Strahovská Knihovna, Klášter Premonstrátu na Strahove, MS D.G.IV.47 (= Strahov Codex)
- D-Mbs 810** – Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Germanicus monacensis 810 (olim Mus. 3232; Cim. 351a) (= Schedel Liederbuch)
- E-Sc 5-1-43** – Seville, Catedral Metropolitana, Biblioteca Capítular y Colombina, MS 5-1-43 (olim 2 Tab. 135, N.^o 33) (= Seville Chansonnier, see also F-Pn 4379/I)
- E-SE** – Segovia, Archivo Capítular de la Catedral, MS without call no.
- F-Pn 4379/I** – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, MS 4379 (only first section, a part of the Seville Chansonnier, see E-Sc 5-1-43)
- F-Pn 15123** – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Fonds Français, MS 15123 (olim Suppl. Fr. 2637) (= Chansonnier Pixérécourt)

- I-Bc 16** – Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 16 (*olim* 109)
- I-Fn 229** – Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 229 (*olim* Magliabechi XIX.59)
- I-Rc 2856** – Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 2856 (*olim* O.V.208)
- I-Rvat XIII, 27** – Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capella Giulia XIII.27
- I-TRbc 89** – Trent, Museo Provincionale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS 89
- I-TRbc 91** – Trent, Museo Provincionale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS 91
- I-VEcap 757** – Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLVII
- SK-Bm 33** – Bratislava, Miestne Pracovisko Matice Slovenskej, Inc. 33 (*olim* III A 13) (lost part of the Kassa fragments)
- SK-Bu 318** – Bratislava, Univerzita Komenského, Knížnica, Inc. 318-I (*olim* III B 6) (= Kassa fragments)
- US-NH 91** – New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library for Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS 91 (= Mellon Chansonnier)
- US-Wc L25** – Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Music Division, MS M2.1.L25 Case (= Laborde Chansonnier).

Notes

- 1 Paweł Gancarczyk, *Uwagi o genezie śpiewnika glogowskiego (ca 1480)* [Remarks on the Origin of the Glogauer Liederbuch (ca 1480)], *Muzyka* 44:3 (1999), pp. 25–40. The Glogauer Liederbuch takes its name from the nearby town of Głogów (Glogau), where it was located in mid-sixteenth century.
- 2 Paweł Gancarczyk, *Musica scripto. Kodeksy menzuralne II połowy XV wieku na wschodzie Europy Łacińskiej* [Musica scripto. Mensural Codices in Eastern Latin Europe in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century], Warszawa 2001, pp. 81–88.
- 3 The size of the leaves 153 x 215 mm.
- 4 Heribert Ringmann, Joseph Klapper (eds.), *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, vol. 1-2, Kassel 1936–1937 (= Das Erbe deutscher Musik 4, 8); Christian Väterlein (ed.), *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, vol. 3-4, Kassel, Basel, London 1981 (= Das Erbe deutscher Musik 85-86).
- 5 Jessie Ann Owens (ed. facs.), *Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Glogauer Liederbuch*, New York 1979 (= Renaissance Music in Fascimile 4).
- 6 Numbering of compositions follows that in the catalogue edited by Ringmann and

- Klapper (op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 102–119). Obrecht's chanson is one of the last compositions in the manuscript, copied on paper originating from 1481.
- 7 See P. Gancarczyk, *Musica scripto...*, op. cit., pp. 97–100. The list requires corrections, but this does not affect in any significant degree the arguments presented here.
 - 8 See Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, Cambridge 1985.
 - 9 See Dragan Plamenac, 'A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina Seville', *The Musical Quarterly* XXXVII (1951), pp. 501–542 and XXXVIII (1952), pp. 85–117; Dragan Plamenac (ed. facs.), *Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschriften Sevilla 5-I-43 and Paris n.a. fr. 4379*, New York 1962 (= Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften 8); Alice Anne Moerk, *The Seville Chansonnier: An Edition of Sevilla 5-I-43 and Paris N.A. Fr. 4379 (Pt. 1)* (diss.), West Virginia University 1971. The Seville Chansonnier was originally part of a whole with the first section of the manuscript F-Pn 4379 (here: F-Pn 4379/I).
 - 10 The dating of the Seville Chansonnier, as well as of many other manuscripts quoted in this paper, follows that in the *Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550* (eds. Charles Hamm, Herbert Kellman, American Institute of Musicology 1979–1988). See also: Nanie Bridgman, *Manuscripts de Musique Polyphonique XV^e et XVI^e siècles. Italie*, München 1991 (= Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B IV⁵) and David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs 1415–1480*, Oxford 1999.
 - 11 Cf. Fallows, op. cit.
 - 12 See the Seville Chansonnier (Plamenac, *Faksimile-Ausgabe*), f. 27v-28r: *Niet laes mich leib*, f. 48r: *O heczen troist* (index: *O herten trost*), f. 94v-95r: *Fuyh schwanz*.
 - 13 See Leeman L. Perkins, Howard Garey (eds.), *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 2 vols, New Haven, New York 1979.
 - 14 Bertran E. Davis (ed.), *The Collected Works of Vincenet*, Madison 1978 (= Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 9/10); Adelyn Peck Leverett, 'Works by Vincenet in Trent 91', *I Codici Musicali Trentini. Nuove scoperte e nuovi orientamenti della ricerca*, ed. Peter Wright, Trento 1996, pp. 121–147.
 - 15 For new data concernig Touront's biography, see Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Związki kodeksu Strahov z Austrią i dworem cesarza Fryderyka III' ['The Links between the Strahov Codex and Austria and the Imperial Court of Frederick III'], *Muzyka* 49:2 (2004), pp. 79–88; see also Martin Staehelin, 'Uwagi o wzajemnych związkach biografii, twórczości i dokumentacji dzieł Piotra Wilhelmięgo z Grudziądza' ['Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz: Notes on the Coherence of his Biography, his Work and its Transmission'], *Muzyka* 49:2 (2004), pp. 9–19 (see pp. 16–18).
 - 16 See Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana. The Library of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary*, Budapest 1981.
 - 17 See for example Janka Szendrei, 'Hungary: I. Art Music: 1. To 1500', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Second Edition*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, London 2001, pp. 846–849 (see p. 848).
 - 18 Jaap van Benthem, 'Concerning Johannes Tinctoris and the Preparation of the Princess's Chansonnier'. *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* XXXII/1-2 (1982), pp. 24–29.
 - 19 Leeman L. Perkins, 'The Mellon Chansonnier as a Central European Source', *Musica*

Antiqua Europae Orientalis. Acta Scietifica Congressus, vol. 6, Bydgoszcz 1982, pp. 651–667. Kłodzko and Bruntál are Silesian cities, now situated on both sides of the Polish-Czech border.

- 20 See Reinhard Strohm, 'Die Missa super *Nos amis* von Johannes Tinctoris', *Die Musikforschung* XXXII/1 (1979), pp. 34–51 (see p. 48).
- 21 It is difficult to count among such sources the much earlier Kassa fragments (c. 1465) or the Strahov Codex, dated to 1467–1470 and of uncertain provenance (on the matter of dating, see P. Gancarczyk, *Musica scripto*). According to H.M. Brown the chansonnier I-Fn 229 was being prepared for Matthias Corvinus. Corvinus died before it was finished, and the manuscript remained in Florence; Howard M. Brown (ed.), *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229*, 2 vols, Chicago 1983 (= Monuments of Renaissance Music 7).