

**Supplementary Notes to the Revised Paperback Edition of
The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470–1530
(New York: Routledge, 2007)**

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p. 3: ***Krausengesang***. Bishop Roth’s disapproval of polyphony seems to have been remarked upon by several Silesian chroniclers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though in most cases, unfortunately, their texts are not as yet available in modern editions. One of the chroniclers, Joachim Cureus, provides a few more details in his *Neue Cronica Des Hertzogthumbs Ober- und Nieder Schlesien* (Eißleben: Bartholomäus Hörnig, 1601), 270, including the interesting point that Roth’s critique had been based on the same passage of St Augustine’s *Confessions* to which Giovanni Caroli had alluded in 1479. The key issue, once again, was text versus music. Quoted here after the excerpt printed by Alicja Simon, *Polnische Elemente in der deutschen Musik bis zur Zeit der Wiener Klassiker* (Zürich: Leemann, 1916), 17 n.5:

Der Bischoff . . . (nach Streitereien mit dem Thum-Capitul) schaffte . . . die Kirchen-Musica, welche er den krausen Gesang nennete / auch vielerlei Ceremonien . . . ab / führete hingegen den alten Gregorianischen Kirchen-Gesang wieder ein / verwendete die Klage Augustini, daß die Zuhörer mehr auff die liebliche Melodien / as auff den Text merckte.

The bishop . . . (after quarrels with the Cathedral Chapter) abolished . . . [the practice of] church music, which he called *krausen Gesang*, / and also various kinds of ceremonies . . . / instead he reintroduced the old Gregorian chant, invoking the complaint of St Augustine that listeners paid more attention to the lovely tunes than to the text.

Latin chronicles rendered Bishop Roth’s *Krausengesang* as *cantus crispus*, a term that seems also to have been current as a (non-pejorative) synonym for *cantus fractus* in early sixteenth-century England. Cf. Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), 165 and 181.

p. 19: **rarely without room for exceptions**. A further example may be found in a charter compiled by the bishop and chapter of Schwerin Cathedral (northern Germany) around 1370, in which they set down the uses and customs of their church. One of the clauses was concerned with the practice of *discantare*: singers were not to engage in this practice, except on the feasts of the Virgin and St John the Baptist, the patron saints of the church. See Verein für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde, ed., *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, 26 vols. (Schwerin: Stiller, 1863–1977), 16: 638–52, at 652:

Item nullus discantabit in choro; sed nota simplex concorditer debet cantari, preterquam in duobus festis, scilicet Johannis baptiste et patroni; tunc enim fiet discantus super “Kyrieleison” et

Item, no one shall sing discant in the choir, but a single note must be sung by all, except on two feasts, namely of John the Baptist and of the patron: for then there will be discant on *Kyrie*

“Vox tonitrui” et alia, sicut est
consuetem.

eleyson and *Vox tonitrui* and others, as
is customary.

p. 19: **Dominicans and polyphony.** In his commentary on the rule of St Augustine, written *c.*1375, the Dominican friar Arnaldus Bernardi Aimeri praised the canons regular of the church of Saint-Étienne, Toulouse, for their rigorous avoidance of measured polyphony. (After Raymond Creytens, O.P., “Les commentateurs dominicains de la règle de S. Augustin du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle. – II. Les commentateurs du XIV^e siècle. B) Arnaud Bernard,” *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, 35 (1965): 21–66, at 57.)

In ecclesia Sancti Stephani, quantum
ad hoc, discreta gravitas observatur,
numquam ibi audiuntur quicumque
discantus vel cantus fracti, sed solum
cantus qui dicitur gregorialis. Et
utinam ita in omnibus ecclesiis
observaretur.

In the Church of Saint-Étienne, in this
regard, a distinguished gravity is being
observed: never are discants or *cantus
fracti* heard there, but only the chant
which is called Gregorian. Would that
such were the observance in all
churches.

p. 30: **simple chant doubled or tripled.** This may explain the term *cantus mixtus*, which in some contexts denotes the mingling of plainchant with additional voices or consonant sounds. We find the term used in this sense in the well-known commentary to Dante’s *Paradiso* by Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola (*c.*1320–1388): “quia sicut patet ad sensum magis delectat audientes *cantus mixtus cum sono*, quam solus cantus et solus sonus per se” (*ad Par.*, XX. 142–44). While this could still be an observation about concordant sound in general, the reference in the following document, dated 1502, is quite unequivocal. It concerns a case brought before the episcopal court at Théroouanne by the monastery of Saint Martin, Ieper (Flanders), against a priest named Pascasius Senguin. The latter, without their permission, and indeed against their will, had opened a school in the parish of Saint Pierre, where he instructed the boys in Latin and in “cantus Gregorianus mixtus sive discantus,” with the intention of having them sing in the parish church. See Eusèbe Feys and Alois Nelis, eds., *Les cartulaires de la prévôté de Saint-Martin à Ypres précédés d’une esquisse sur la prévôté*, 2 vols. (Bruges: A. De Zuttere, 1881–84), 2: 866–69, at 868.

p. 32: **nugari.** For *nuga* (trifle) as a term to characterize modes of musical performance, see also Roger S. Loomis, “Were There Theatres in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries?” *Speculum*, 20 (1945): 92–95.

p. 38: **nothing but sound.** Pontus de Tyard invoked this very commonplace to argue that music for one voice alone was to be preferred over music composed of many voices (which he called “musique figurée, ou chose faite”), because it was capable of affecting the listener more powerfully. See Pontus de Tyard, *Solitaire second ov prose de la mvsiqve* (Lyon: Ian de Tournes, 1555), 132:

Donq (me demanda le Curieus)
estimez vous autant un Phonasce, de
quel nom les Grecs apeloient celui

So (the curious reader will ask me), do
you really esteem the *Phonascus*—as the
Greeks called the one who properly and

qui d'une seule voix proprement & melodieusement acompagnoit la chanson, que l'autre, nommé Symphonete, qui d'une sutilité laborieuse accomode plusieurs voix ensemble, d'ou l'acomplissement de la harmonie procede? Le premier (respondí je) est à mon jugement beaucoup estimable: car si l'intencion de Musique semble estre, de donner tel air à la parole, que tout escoutant se sente passionné, & se laisse tirer à l'afeccion du Poete: celui qui scet proprement accomoder une voix seule, me semble mieus atendre à sa fin aspiree: vù que la Musique figuree le plus souuent ne raporte aux oreilles autre chose qu'un grand bruit, duquel vous ne sentez aucune viue efficace: Mais la simple & unique voix, coulee doucement, & continuee selon le deuoir de sa Mode choisie pour le merite des vers, vous rait la part qu'elle veut.

euphoniously accompanied the poem with a single tune—more than the other, called *Symphonetes*, who with effortful subtlety arranges several voices together, by which arrangement harmony is brought about? The first (I answer) is in my judgement most praiseworthy indeed. For if it be granted that the intention of Music is to bring such modulation to the words that every listener feels moved by passion, and lets himself be drawn to the sentiment of the Poet, then he who knows how to properly arrange one voice alone, it seems to me, will be the one who attains his hoped-for end more successfully—seeing that *Musique figurée* usually brings nothing to the ears but a great noise, from which you won't perceive any living power. But the simple and unique voice by itself, sweetly flowing, and proceeding according to the demands of the mode that has been selected for the quality of the verse, will ravish you however it wishes.

This argument was famously anticipated in Castiglione's *Libro del cortegiano*, though without the “nothing but sound” objection (*The covrtyer*, trans. Hobby, sig. M.iiii r–v):

Allor il signor Gaspar Pallavicino, “Molte sorti di musica,” disse, “si trovano, così di voci vive, come di instrumenti; però a me piacerebbe intendere qual sia la migliore tra tutte ed a che tempo debba il cortegiano operarla.” “Bella musica,” rispose messer Federico, “parmi il cantar bene a libro sicuramente e con bella maniera; ma ancor molto più il cantare alla viola perché tutta la dolcezza consiste quasi in un solo e con molto maggior attenzion si nota ed intende il bel modo e l'aria non essendo occupate le orecchie in più che in una sol voce, e meglio ancor vi si discerne ogni piccolo errore; il che non accade cantando in compagnia perché l'uno aiuta l'altro. Ma sopra tutto parmi gratissimo il cantare alla viola per recitare; il che tanto di

Then saide the L. Gaspar Pallavicin. “There are manye sortes of musike as well in the brest, as vpon instrumentes, therefore would I gladly learne whiche is the best, and at what time the Courtyer ought to practise it.” “Me thinke,” answered Sir Friderick, “pricksong is a faire musicke, so it bee done upon the booke surely and after a good sorte. But to sing to the lute is muche better, because al the sweetnesse consisteth in one alone, and a manne is muche more heedefull and understandeth better the feate maner and the aer or veyne of it, whan the eares are not busyed in hearynge any moe then one voyce: and beesyde euerye lyttle errore is soone perceyued, whiche happeneth not in syngynge wyth companye, for one beareth oute an other. But syngynge to the Lute wyth the dyttie (me thynke) is more pleasaunte then the reste, for it

venustà ed efficacia aggiunge alle parole, che è gran maraviglia.”

addeth to the wordes suche a grace and strength, that it is a great wonder.”

p. 43: **Martin Luther, a staunch supporter of polyphony.** Cf. Luther’s foreword to *Symphoniae iucundae* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1538), in which he describes the marvel of polyphony, and deplures those unfortunate human beings who are unable to appreciate it:

Vbi autem tandem accesserit studium et Musica artificialis, quae naturalem corrigat, excolat et explicet, Hic tandem gustare cum stupore licet (sed non comprehendere) absolutam et perfectam sapientiam Dei in opere suo mirabili Musicae, in quo genere hoc excellit, quod vna et eadem voce canitur suo tenore pergente, pluribus interim vocibus circum circa mirabiliter ludentibus, exultantibus et iucundissimis gestibus eandem ornantibus, et velut iuxta eam diuinam quandam choream ducentibus, vt iis, qui saltem modice afficiuntur, nihil mirabilius hoc seculo extare videatur. Qui vero non afficiuntur, nae illi vere amusi et digni sunt, qui aliquem Merdipoetam interim audiant vel porcorum Musicam.

But when, finally, human effort is joined with all of this, and man-made music, which improves on the natural kind, develops and unfolds, we can sense (but not comprehend) with astonishment the absolute and perfect Wisdom of God in His wondrous work of Music, in which nothing is more excellent than this, that when one sings with one and the same voice pursuing its own course, several other voices play around it in the most marvelous manner, exulting and adorning it with the most pleasing gestures, and seeming almost to present some kind of divine dance, so that it will seem to those with even the least bit of feeling that there exists nothing more marvelous in our time. Those who are not moved by this are indeed unmusical, and deserve rather to listen to some shit-poet or to the music of swine.

After Luther, *Werke, Schriften*, 50: 372–73; cf. Walter E. Buszin, “Luther on Music,” *Musical Quarterly*, 32 (1946): 80–97, at 81–82.

p. 60: **softness and effeminacy . . . moderate use.** For another example linking these two themes, see Torquato Tasso’s dialogue *La cavalletta, ovvero Della poesia toscana* of 1587. Quoted here after Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 1: 219–20:

Forestieri. Dunque lascierem da parte tutta quella musica, la qual degenerando è divenuta molle, ed effeminata: e pregheremo lo Striggio, e Jaches, e’l Lucciasco, e alcuno altro eccellente Maestro di Musica eccellente, che voglia richiamarla a quella gravità, dalla quale traviando, è spesso traboccata in parte, di cui è più bello il tacere, che il ragionare. E questo modo grave sarà simile a quello, che Aristotele chiama *δωριστί*, il quale è magnifico, costante, e grave, e sopra tutti gli altri accomodato alla cetera.

Orsina. Cotesto non mi spiace; ma pur niuna cosa, scompagnata dalla dolcezza,

Forestieri. Then let us put aside all that music which, in degenerating, has become soft and effeminate, and let us ask Striggio and Jaches [Wert] and Luzzasco, or any other excellent master of excellent music to lead it back to that seriousness, in deviating from which it has often drifted into regions which it is better to pass over in silence than to talk about. And this serious style will resemble the one Aristotle calls *δωριστί*, a style that is magnificent and severe and more than any other suited to cithara accompaniment.

Orsina. This does not displease me, though nothing lacking in sweetness can really be pleasing.

può essere dilettevole.

Forestieri. Io non biasimo la dolcezza, e la soavità, ma ci vorrei il temperamento; perchè io stimo, che la musica sia come una delle altri arti pur nobili, ciascuna delle quali è seguita da un lusinghiero simile nell'apparenza, ma nell'operazioni molto dissomigliante . . .

Forestieri. I do not blame sweetness and grace; but I should like to see them combined with moderation; for I am of the opinion that music is like the other noble arts, each of which is combined with a similar flattery [of the senses] in its manifestations, though its effects are quite different . . .

pp.77–88 and 232–36: **the music hater.** The stability and consistency of the topos is confirmed with every new text that emerges: it seems almost as if “the music hater” became a favorite theme for literary elaboration in sixteenth-century Italy, challenging writers to invent ever more colorful imagery to belabor the point. As might be expected, Teofilo Folengo (1491–1544) went to vitriolic extremes in the two examples that follow, quoted from his burlesque poems *Baldus* (expanded 1521 version) and *Orlandino* (1526), respectively. In Book XXI of *Baldus*, an evening of convivial four-part singing among the principal characters (XXI. 52–85), in a narrative rich in musical detail, gives rise to the following aside—see Teofilo Folengo, *Baldus*, ed. Mario Chiesa, 2 vols. (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1997), 2: 852–55:

Sunt tamen insani quidam, pazzique balordi,
sunt quidam stronzi, dico, bis terque cagati,
qui tam dulcisonis plenam concentibus artem
esse legerezzam dicunt, tempusque gitatum,
90 plusque volunt aut esse asinos aut esse cavallos,
et tamen attracta reputari fronte Catones.
Plusque suam boriā preciant, et ventre pieno,
lardatisque gulae paffis, vultuque botazzi,
praelati insignes dici, quam scire coëllum
95 seu sit parlandi, seu sit doctrina canendi.
Imo macer quidam bos Chiari, tortus, et omnes
scomunicatus habens materno a lacte diablos
in gobba, hypocritus, gnato, vecchiusque crevatus,
est qui sbaiaffat, gracchiat de hac arte canendi.
100 Musica continuo versatur in ore deorum,
musica concordi fert circum cardine coelum,
musica nascendo humanos compaginat artus.
Cur hymnos, psalmos, cur cantica tanta vetusti
disposuere patres gesiis cantanda per orbem?
105 cur, dico, antiqui doctores atque magistri
ornavere libros responsis, versibus, hymnis,
Kyrie leysonis, Introitibus ac Aleluis?
Ite genus pecudum, pacchiones, ite gazani,
vos quicumque fero laceratis dente camoenas.

Translation:

Yet there are some madmen, crazed and deranged, there are some pieces of shit, I say, crapped out twice or three times over, who say that this art, so full of sweet-sounding concords, is nothing but levity and a waste of time, who prefer to be asses or horses, and yet held to be Catos because of their frowning brows. They set great

store by their arrogance, and [like] to be spoken of as important prelates, with their stuffed stomachs, their larded gorges, and their liquored faces, rather than be knowledgeable about anything, be it the art of conversation or of singing. Quite the contrary, somebody who squeals and prattles against the art of singing is [like] a skinny ox at the Chiari cattle market, misshapen and accursed, carrying, ever since he was a suckling, all the devils in the hump on his back, a hypocrite, a Gnato, a crackly old man.

Music breathes on the lips of the gods. Music, with concord, turns the Heavens on their axes. Music proportions the human body at birth. Why were hymns and psalms, why were so many songs, ordained by the Ancient Fathers to be sung in churches throughout the whole world? Why, I say, have the old teachers and masters adorned whole books with Responsories, Verses, Hymns, Kyries, Introits, and Alleluias? Be off, then, you degenerate sheep, you gorging pigs! Be off, you low-life, all of you who tear at the Muses with your savage fangs!

In very much the same vein is the following *digressione* in *Orlandino*, IV. 21–23, quoted here after Teofilo Folengo, *Orlandino*, ed. Mario Chiesa, Medioevo e umanesimo, 79 (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1991), 103–105 (Eng. trans. by Dr Giovanni Zanovello):

E pur trovo ch'alcuni vecchi padri
biasmòr di concordanze cotal pratica;
non so, lettor, se chiaramente squadri
esser stata la mente sua lunatica.
Ver è ch'e' gargionetti assai legiadri
fur grati piú ne la scola socratica
di tante note, ch'appeloron "buse,"
quasi se 'l buco a loro non s'incuse.

Dicean che molle, vago, effeminato
l'animo rende questa melodia;
come se 'l pescar fezza in bucco lato
non via piú molle effeminato sia.
Vedi tu quell'ipocrita velato
di santimonia, come va per via?
Non t'accostar, figliuolo, perché porta
nel corno il feno [Hor. *Sat.* I. iv. 34] et ha
sotto la storta.

Chi dannà il canto (vòi che chiaro il dica?),
qualunque biasma il canto ha del coione.
Se grata e grave et utile fatica
fu quella di Virgilio e Cicerone,
già non fia manco, mentre s'affatica
per noi Iosquin comporre e Gian Motone:
itene dunque, sporchi, al vostro ufficio,
ch'è di sterco purgar l'altrui ospicio.

And yet, I read that there have been
ancient fathers who censured this
practice of concordant sounds. Reader, I
hope you can see clearly that their
minds were afflicted by lunacy. Indeed,
in the Socratic school they had a greater
liking for fair boys than for many notes,
which they called "pricked"—as if they
weren't pricking the boys' holes.

They maintained that this melodious
sound renders the soul feeble, lax, and
effeminate—as if it were not feebler and
more effeminate to go poking for shit in
a large hole! Do you see that hypocrite,
veiled in sanctimoniousness, how he
goes along the street? Do not approach
him, son, for he is very dangerous and
carries a concealed dagger.

He who condemns music (if I may
speak plainly), he who criticizes music
is a jerkoff. If it was worthy and useful
for Virgil and Cicero to undertake the
endeavors they did, then certainly
Josquin and Jean Mouton do no less
when they exert themselves to compose
for us. Get you gone, then, you dirty old
men, go back to your job, which is to
clean the shit from other people's privy
chambers.

p. 80: **qui harmonia non delectatur**. Some version of the maxim ascribed to Saint Augustine must have been known to Conrad von Zabern, who remarked in his *Novellus musicae artis tractatus* (c.1460–70): “Hinc ait quidam notabilis: *Miserrimus est, qui non delectatur in musica.*” Cf. Karl-Werner Gumpel, *Die Musiktraktate Conrads von Zabern* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1956), 186.

As far as I can determine, the first music theorist to quote the maxim directly from Ficino may have been Dietrich Tzwyfel, in the 1513 edition of his treatise *Introductorium musice practice* (Cologne: Petrus Quentel, 1513): “opus inquam omnibus cantu se oblectantibus iucundum, maxime tamen sacerdotibus necessarium, quia, *ut Augustinus dicit: Non est harmonice compositus, qui non oblectatur musica.*” After Wilfried Kaiser, *Dietrich Tzwyfel und sein Musiktraktat “Introductorium musicae practicae,” Münster 1513*, Marburger Beiträge zur Musikforschung, 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968), 21 and 199.

p. 118: **angelic song superior to human polyphony**. Erasmus made the same point in his preface to *Virginis matris apvd Lavretvm cultae Liturgia, adiecta concione, per Des. Erasmum Roterodamum* (Basel: Ioannes Frobenius, 1525), fol. A² (*Opvs epistolarvm*, 6: 73; *CWE* 11: 106–7):

Vbique gentium omni genere musices
ac diuersis musicorum organis
obstrepitur sanctissimae Virgini, quae
quotidie audit angelorum choros,
aliquanto, ni fallor, modulatus
canentes nobis. Sed non aliunde venit,
quod in pagis et nonnullis etiam
oppidis videmus tantam hominum
ruditatem, tantam inscitiam rei
Christianae, quam quod vocum et
organorum strepitus frequenter
audiunt, sermonem Euangelicum aut
nunquam audiunt aut perquam raro.

Everywhere, with every kind of music,
and with all manner of musical organs,
a loud racket is produced for the most
holy Virgin—who every day hears the
choirs of angels singing rather more
tunefully (unless I’m mistaken) than
we do. If in villages, and even in some
towns, we see so much obtuseness and
so much ignorance of the Christian
cause, it is for no other reason than that
people listen all the time to the racket
of voices and organs, but never, or very
rarely, to the Word of the Gospel.

p. 160: **cantare/jubilare**. The aphorism must have circulated at least in England well before Tinctoris invoked it in his *Proportionale musices* of c.1472–73: it appears in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R.3.20, p. 9, a miscellany of literary works, prognostications, prayers, and proverbs compiled in the 1430s by John Shirley (c.1366–1456). See Aage Brusendorff, *The Chaucer Tradition* (London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925), 468 n.1, and, for the Trinity manuscript, Margaret Connolly, *John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth-Century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 69–101:

dictum de senioribus

Italici vtilant – Lombardes weymenten
Theotonici clamant – Duchmen cryen
Gallici cantant – ffrenchmen syngen
Anglici iubilant – And Englisshmen ioyessen

Videte

The 1430s seems very early indeed for such a perception of national musical styles to have been current. Given the literary context in which the saying appears, however, one wonders if it was not meant, at least initially, to characterize languages, or manners of speaking, rather than different ways of singing. This need not necessarily be in conflict with Tinctoris's parenthetical observation that "the English . . . are commonly said to jubilate while the French sing," even if he was the first to apply the saying to music.

pp.171–74: **the self-conscious and diffident listener.** The weight that came to be placed, from the 1470s, on the question of how to listen to music, is an issue that I have explored in greater depth in two recent essays: "Johannes Tinctoris and the Art of Listening," *Studies on Renaissance Music in Honour of Ignace Bossuyt*, ed. Pieter Bergé and Marc Delaere (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 279–96, and "'Tis not so sweet now, as it was before': Origins and Significance of A Musical Topos," *Festschrift für Klaus-Jürgen Sachs*, eds. Rainer Kleinertz and Wolf Frobenius, Veröffentlichungen des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, in press).

p. 177: **notes are the "soul" of song.** In Lutheran countries this analogy was given proverbial status by Johann Mathesius (1504–1565). See Mathesius, *Syrach Mathesij, das ist haffte Trostreiche und lustige Erklerung Außlegung des schönen Hausbuchs, so der weyße Mann Syrach zusammen gebracht und geschrieben*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Johann Beyer, 1588–89), 3: 24r–v: "Denn der Text ist der Noten Seel."

p. 198 n.27: **Hussites on church music.** See also the following resolution of the Utraquist Synod held at Prague in 1434, in which measured polyphony was discouraged specifically during recitations of the Epistles and the Gospel. The overriding concern here must have been with verbal intelligibility, for it was stipulated in the same clause that the texts were to be read in the vernacular: clearly it was deemed essential that those texts be heard and understood by the entire congregation. The clause allows us to infer that polyphony, even measured polyphony, would have been considered acceptable in many other contexts. After Franz Palacký, ed., *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hussitenkrieges in den Jahren 1419–1436*, 2 vols. (Prague: Friedrich Tempsky, 1873), 2: 425–29, at 428:

(17) Item cantu et orationibus, quae fiunt clara voce secundum scripturam in ecclesia, sacerdotes et scolares non lasciviam aut laudem hominum vacuam, sed laudem dei et devotionem populi curent provocare; sacerdotes epistolam et evangelium in vulgari pronuntient, utrique vero *discantus cum fractura vocis pro hac vice certis ex causis intermittant*, nisi horum rationabilis cause ex unanimini consensu resumendorum

(17) Item, concerning singing and prayer, let these be done in church with a clear voice according to Scripture, and let the priests and scholars take care not to provoke lasciviousness or empty praise of men, but praise of God and devotion of the people. Let the priests recite the Epistle and the Gospel in the vernacular tongue, and *for this particular occasion, in certain cases, let them leave off discants with breaking of voice* (unless it shall happen that, on reasonable grounds, and by unanimous agreement, they must be

affuerit, symbolumque legatur aut
decantetur tempore opportuno.

reinstated), and let the Credo be read or
sung at the appropriate time.

p. 199 n.39: **Requiem in Polyphony.** Among the very few institutions that specifically called for polyphony in commemorative Requiem services was the Guild of the Presentation of Our Lady in Oudenaarde. In the last clause of its foundation charter, dated 1519 or slightly earlier, the founders stipulated that:

Item tsanderdaeghs, tsmaendaeghs
vander Assumptions dach, zal men
noch doen zinghen, ten autare van *Pax
vobis*, eene schoone solemnele
ghesonghen messe van requiem, in
discante, over de zielen van den
guldebroeders ende guldezusters, die
overleden zijn, ende voor de
fondateurs ende weldoeners vander
zelve gulden . . .

Item, shortly thereafter, on the
Monday after the feast of the
Assumption, one shall have sung, at
the altar of *Pax vobis* [of the local
Chamber of Rhetoric], a beautiful,
solemn, sung Mass of Requiem, in
discant, for the souls of the deceased
brethren and sisters of the guild, and
for the founders and benefactors of the
same guild . . .

After D. J. Vander Meersch, “Kronyk der Rederykkamers van Audenaerde, XVI^e eeuw,” *Belgisch museum voor de nederduitsche tael- en letterkunde en de geschiedenis des vaderlands*, 7 (1843): 15–72, at 27. There are no other references specifically to polyphony in this charter.

Johannes Behem of Görlitz. Contrary to what I remarked on p. 1, he is not to be identified with the Johannes Behem who was a canon at Breslau Cathedral. While our parish priest was pursuing his case against the town council of Gorlitz at Rome in 1491, he became a member of the German Fraternità di Santa Maria dell’Anima, whose records contain the following entry:

Iohannes Behem de Gorlitz, in
decretis licenciatis, canonicus ecclesie
Budissinensis, rector parochialis
ecclesie in Gorlitz Misnensis diocesis,
huic fraternitati me ascripsi, anno &c.
LXXXXI., die martis .III. mensis maii.

I, Johannes Behem of Görlitz,
licenciate in decretals, canon of the
church of Bautzen, rector of the parish
church of Görlitz in the diocese of
Meissen, have joined this fraternity in
the year 1491, on Tuesday, 3 May.

After Pietro Egidi, ed., *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia Romana*, 2 vols. (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, Palazzo Madama, 1914), 2: 46. His association with the collegiate church of Bautzen (about 30 miles west of Görlitz) makes it all but certain that he is the Johannes Behem of Görlitz who is mentioned there, in 1470, as the secretary to the Official Principal of the Bishop of Meissen. Prior to this, in 1461–70, he apparently served as the schoolmaster in the Ratschule of Zwickau, whose library is well known to musicologists for the sixteenth-century choirbooks kept there. See Ludwig Erich Schmitt, *Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Struktur der “neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache,”* *Mitteldeutsche Forschungen*, 36 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1966), 1: 430. In this latter capacity Johannes Behem must have been responsible for teaching music as well as Latin to the schoolboys. This in turn raises at least the theoretical possibility that he was the composer

Johannes Beham, whose four-part settings of *Komm heiliger Geist* and *Christ ist erstanden* survive uniquely in BerlS 40021, in a layer likely to have been copied c.1498–1500. At the very least, it might help to explain his extraordinary investment in the issue of the *Hofereyen*.

However, Martin Just, in his study *Der Mensuralkodex Mus. ms. 40021 der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, 2 vols. (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1975), 1: 94–95, proposes a tentative identification with the better-known Hebrew scholar and cantor Johann Böhm of Ulm (d. c.1535), author of the phenomenally successful *Omnium gentium mores leges et ritus* of 1520. For this man, and the problems of identification surrounding him, see Eberhard Nestle, *Nigri, Böhm und Pellican: ein Beitrag zur Anfangsgeschichte des hebräischen Sprachstudiums in Deutschland* (Tübingen: Heckenhauer, 1893), 28–33.