

Antonio Chemotti

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# The Hymnbook of Valentin Triller

(Wrocław 1555)



Musical Past and Regionalism  
in Early Modern Silesia

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Komb güttiger vnnd ~~hüer~~ Got du heilger Ge

Hilff deiner werden Christenheit Das sie bleib

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of Valentin Triller



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(Wrocław 1555)



Musical Past and Regionalism  
in Early Modern Silesia



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## TERMINOLOGY

Hymn and hymn tune: I use the collective term 'hymn' to refer to the text and music of the vernacular religious settings discussed in this book. Since these are mostly contrafacta, I use the term 'hymn tune' to refer to their music models, irrespective of their genre and text. For instance, Michael Weisse's *Als der gütiger Gott vollenden wollt sein Wort* is based on the sequence *Mittit ad virginem*. I refer to the first as 'hymn' and to the second as its 'hymn tune'. For the sake of clarity, I use the term 'office hymn' for hymns in the strict sense (Latin chants), without implying they were exclusively sung during the liturgy of the hour.

Geographical names: because of the history of the territories discussed in this book, many places have multiple names reflecting the different languages of the inhabitants, and these names can be perceived as ideologically connoted. I decided to deal with this complex situation in pragmatic terms, and when possible I use modern names that have currency in English (for instance, 'Wrocław' not 'Breslau'). For other centres, noble titles, duchies etc. I use normalised German names that mirror those appearing in the sources I address (for instance, 'Brieg' not 'Brzeg', 'Liegnitz' not 'Legnica' etc.). When misunderstandings could arise, I indicate also modern (mostly Polish) counterparts.

## TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Texts quoted from primary sources are transcribed as they appear in the sources, reproducing also the original punctuation. Abbreviations are spelled out without any special notation. In German texts, vowels with the diacritic sign 'e' have been transcribed with an Umlaut (ä, ö, ü). The letter 'w' is retained throughout, while the letter 'v' has been transcribed as 'v' or 'u' following the conventions of modern German.

Grantley McDonald translated title pages, dedication letter, and preface of Valentin Triller's hymnbook. All other translations are mine, if not stated otherwise. In the translations, text incipits of musical items or generic labels have been normalised to facilitate retrieval.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Positions in the score are indicated by the voice and the bar, followed after a comma by the number of the note (counting from the beginning of the bar, including rests and syncopated values across bars). For instance, 'bassus bar 17,1' indicates the first note/rest in bar 17 of the bassus.

Pitches follow the Helmholtz pitch notation. In the critical apparatus of Appendix D, they are given in parenthesis. For instance, 'bassus bars 59–60 (A)' indicates that the note in bars 59–60 of the bassus is A.

Clefs are indicated with the pitch in a capital letter followed by a number indicating its staff position. For instance, C1 indicates a c' clef placed on the first line of the staff.

Rests are given in square brackets. For instance, 'T bar 6,1 [Sb]' indicates that the tenor in bar 6,1 has a semibreve rest.

AH	<i>Analecta hymnica</i>
B	bassus
Br	breve
Böker-Heil	Norbert Böker-Heil, Harald Heckmann, Ilse Kindermann, <i>Das Tenorlied. Mehrstimmige Lieder in deutschen Quellen 1450–1580</i> (Kassel: Bärenreiter 1979–1986)
Cantus ID	Identification number from <i>Cantus Index. Catalogue of Chant Texts and Melodies</i> , < <a href="http://cantusindex.org">http://cantusindex.org</a> >
CAO	<i>Corpus antiphonarium officii</i>
Ct	contratenor
D	discantus
DKL	<i>Das deutsche Kirchenlied. Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Melodien</i> (Kassel: Bärenreiter 1975–2010)
fol./fols.	folio(s)
L	longa
LU	<i>Liber usualis</i>
M	minim
Melnicki	Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki, <i>Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters</i> (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag 1955)
r	recto
RISM	<i>Répertoire international des sources musicales</i> , < <a href="http://www.rism.info">http://www.rism.info</a> >

Sb	semibreve
Sehling	Emil Sehling, <i>Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts</i> (Leipzig: Reisland 1902–1913)
sig. cong.	signum congruentiae
T	tenor
Thannabaur	Peter Josef Thannabaur, <i>Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts</i> (München: Ricke 1962)
v	verso
VD16	<i>Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts</i> , < <a href="http://gateway-bayern.de/index_vd16.html">gateway-bayern.de/index_vd16.html</a> >
VD17	<i>Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts</i> , < <a href="http://www.vd17.de">http://www.vd17.de</a> >
vdm	<i>Catalogue of early German printed music</i> , < <a href="http://www.vdm16.sbg.ac.at">www.vdm16.sbg.ac.at</a> >
VL	<i>Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon</i> (Berlin: de Gruyter)
W	Philipp Wackernagel, <i>Das deutsche Kirchenlied: von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts</i> (Leipzig: Teubner 1864–1877)
WA	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe</i> (Weimar: Böhlau 1883–1929)
WB	Philipp Wackernagel, <i>Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert</i> (Frankfurt am Main: Heyder and Zimmer 1855)
Zahn	Johannes Zahn, <i>Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder</i> (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann 1889–1893)

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CZ-KUm 88/85 Czech Republic, Kutná Hora, České muzeum stříbra, MS 88/85

CZ-OP RC 4 Czech Republic, Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, MS RC 4

CZ-Pa Vyš 376 Czech Republic, Prague, Národní archiv, fond Vyšehradská kapitula, MS Vyš 376

CZ-Pam 7847 Czech Republic, Prague, Archiv hlavního města Prahy, MS 7847

CZ-Pnm I A 17 ('Solnice Gradual') Czech Republic, Prague, Národní muzeum, MS I A 17

CZ-Pnm II C 7 ('Jistebnice Cantionale') Czech Republic, Prague, Národní muzeum, MS II C 7

CZ-Pnm XII A 23 Czech Republic, Prague, Národní muzeum, MS XII A 23

CZ-Pnm XIII A 2 Czech Republic, Prague, Národní muzeum, MS XIII A 2

CZ-Ps DA III 17 Czech Republic, Prague, Památník národního písemnictví, Strahovská knihovna, MS DA III 17

CZ-Pu I G 39 Czech Republic, Prague, Národní knihovna ČR, MS I G 39

CZ-Pu XVII A 3 Czech Republic, Prague, Národní knihovna ČR, MS XVII A 3

CZ-Pu XVII A 41 Czech Republic, Prague, Národní knihovna ČR, MS XVII A 41  
 CZ-Pu XVII A 53a Czech Republic, Prague, Národní knihovna ČR, MS XVII A 53a  
 CZ-Pu 59 R 5116 ('Prague Speciálník') Czech Republic, Prague, Národní knihovna ČR, MS 59 R 5116  
 CZ-TEm 2 Czech Republic, Teplice, Knihovna Regionálního muzea, MS 2  
 CZ-TRE A 4 Czech Republic, Třeboň, Státní oblastní archiv, MS A 4  
 CZ-VB 28 Czech Republic, Vyšší Brod, Klášterní knihovna, MS 28  
 CZ-VB 42 ('Hohenfurter Liederhandschrift') Czech Republic, Vyšší Brod, Klášterní knihovna, MS 42  
 CZ-VO Czech Republic, Vodňany, Městské muzeum a galerie, inv. 18551  
 D-B MS Mus. 40021 Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Mus. 40021  
 D-B MS Mus. 40193 Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Mus. 40193  
 D-B MS Mus. 40194 Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Mus. 40194  
 D-B Slg Bohn Mus. MS 352 Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Sammlung Bohn Mus. MS 352  
 D-Bsb Theol. Lat. Qu. 149 Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Theol. Lat. Qu. 149  
 D-D MS Grimma 51 Germany, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MS Grimma 51  
 D-D MS Mus. 1/E/24 Germany, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MS Mus. 1/E/24  
 D-Heid Cod. Pal. germ. 734 Germany, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 734  
 D-HRD 9822 Germany, Arnsherg-Herdringen, Jagdschloss Herdringen, Bibliotheca Fürstenbergiana, MS 9822  
 D-ISL IV 36 F124 Germany, Iserlohn, Varnhagensche Bibliothek, fragments from incunabulum IV 36 F124  
 D-LEu 1305 Germany, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1305  
 D-LEu 1494 ('Apel Codex') Germany, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1494  
 D-Mbs Clm 5023 Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5023  
 D-Mbs Clm 11943 Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 11943  
 D-Mbs Mus. MS 1501 Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 1501  
 D-Mbs Mus. MS 3155 Germany, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 3155

D-Rp A. R. 855 Germany, Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, MS A. R. 855

D-Rp A. R. 940/941 Germany, Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, MS A. R. 940/941

D-Rtt Freie Künste Musik 76 Abth. II, Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek, Freie Künste Musik 76 Abth. II

D-TRs 322/1994 Germany, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 322/1994

D-Usch MS 236 A-D Germany, Ulm, Schermer Bibliothek, MS 236 A-D

D-W A: 5.1 Mus. Germany, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, A: 5.1 Mus. (handwritten addition to *Ein hübsch Christlich gesang buchlen*, Ulm: Jakob Gruner 1541)

D-W Cod. Guelf. 37.27 Aug. 2° Germany, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 37.27 Aug. 2°

D-W Cod. Guelf. 292 Germany, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 292

D-Z 17.8.39 Germany, Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, MS 17.8.39

D-Z 78,2 Germany, Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, MS 78,2

GB-Lbl Add. MS 31922 ('Henry VIII Manuscript') United Kingdom, London, British Library, Add. MS 31922

H-Bn Ms. lat. 243 ('Trnava Codex') Hungary, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. lat. 243

H-Bu U.Fr.I.ch. 297 Hungary, Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, fragment U.Fr.I.ch. 297

H-Bu U.Fr.I.ch. 299 Hungary, Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, fragment U.Fr.I.ch. 299

I-Bc Q.15 Italy, Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.15

I-Bu MS 2216 Italy, Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, MS 2216

I-PAVu MS Aldini 361 Italy, Pavia, Biblioteca universitaria, MS Aldini 361

I-TRbc 87 Italy, Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1374 (Tr 87)

PL-C DD I 28 Poland, Cieszyn, Oddział Zabytkowy Biblioteki Śląskiej w Cieszynie, MS DD I 28

PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40098 ('Glogauer Liederbuch' or 'Żagań partbooks') Poland, Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. ms. 40098

PL-Nm (lost) Nysa, Städtisches Museum

PL-Płsem 35 Poland, Płock, Archiwum i Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku, MS 35

PL-SAk 40 Poland, Sandomierz, Biblioteka Kapituły Katedralnej w Sandomierzu, MS 40

PL-Tm J. 4° 29-32 Poland, Toruń, Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna – Książnica Kopernikańska, MS J. 4° 29-32

PL-WRk 58 ('Neumarkter Cationale') Poland, Wrocław, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Biblioteka Kapitulna, MS 58

PL-WRu 51221 Poland, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 51221 Muz.

PL-WRu XV Q 1066a Poland, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, XV Q 1066a

PL-Wu RM 5892 ('Wrocław Codex') Poland, Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 5892 (olim Mf 2016)

SK-Bu Inc. 318 ('Košice Fragments') Slovakia, Bratislava, Univerzitná knižnica, Inc. 318



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# Introduction

In 1555 Valentin Triller, the Lutheran pastor of a village in Lower Silesia, published a hymnbook entitled *Ein Schlesich [sic] singebüchlein*, 'a Silesian hymnbook'. This collection, intended for Lutheran communities, contains hymns with German texts, most of them with musical notation. It was printed at the workshop of Crispin Scharffenberg in Wrocław and dedicated to Duke Georg II of Brieg (1523–1586), a rising authority among the Silesian estates.

*Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* is beyond doubt one of the most-studied musical sources from early modern Silesia. The hymnbook and its author were already known to eighteenth-century lexicographers,<sup>1</sup> and especially in the nineteenth century hymnologists dealt extensively with its content, which was regarded as a precious record of the German *Volkslied*.<sup>2</sup> Philipp Wackernagel, the author of the weighty *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, described Valentin Triller's hymnbook in his 1855 *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes*,<sup>3</sup> and he edited most of the hymnbook's texts,<sup>4</sup> thus assuring the enduring presence of Triller's hymns in hymnological studies. In recent years, the hymnbook was repeatedly discussed by Anna Mańko-Matysiak,<sup>5</sup> while most of its hymn tunes were recorded and analysed in *Das deutsche Kirchenlied* (DKL). In 2019 I contributed to the research with a critical edition of its polyphonic hymns.<sup>6</sup>

This considerable amount of scholarly work notwithstanding, the historiographical potential of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* has not been exhausted yet. In fact, Triller's hymnbook is an extremely complex source that can be analysed from countless perspectives, not least because of its sheer dimensions. Its three hundred pages in oblong quarto format contain 145 hymns, virtually all accompanied by detailed title rubrics concerning the content of the text, the ritual or liturgical function, the musical model of the contrafactum... all aspects that have attracted the attention of generations of scholars.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> (Ehrhardt 1782, 414).

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, (H. Hoffmann 1832, 74–75), (Tucher 1840, 21), (Winterfeld 1843, 75–80, 99), (Mützell 1855, 286–303), (Schneider 1857, 8), (E. E. Koch 1867, 160–164), (Bäumker 1883, 44–47), (Zahn 1894).

<sup>3</sup> WB, 270–271 and 294–295.

<sup>4</sup> W IV 29–139.

<sup>5</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2003, 157–159), (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 56–73), (Mańko-Matysiak 2016).

<sup>6</sup> (Chemotti 2019). Available online at <<https://epub.uni-regensburg.de/38328/>>, accessed 2 October 2019.

<sup>7</sup> In 1840 Gottlieb Tucher noted that Triller's hymnbook was 'interessant wegen Angabe der Quellen vieler aus dem Volksgesange hervorgegangener Melodien', (Tucher 1840, 21). Triller's rubrics have also been fundamental for reconstructing the history of Martin Luther's hymns, see, for instance, (Jenny 1985, 81, 110).

The other paratexts are no less fascinating: the title page, the dedicatory letter, and the preface are a veritable gold mine of information, addressing the political and religious context that led to the publication of the hymnbook. In the paratexts Valentin Triller also discusses aesthetic and practical reasons for his choice of the repertory, with an explicitness that is uncommon in sixteenth-century music sources. Accordingly, the dialogue between the hymnbook's paratexts and content offers a unique perspective on the musical culture of mid-sixteenth-century Silesia. In this regard, I will suggest that appropriate geographical contextualisation is essential for the comprehension of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*, whose embeddedness in a regional context is suggested by its very title. We cannot understand the hymnbook without situating it in the region, and I would argue that we cannot understand the musical culture of early modern Silesia without Valentin Triller's hymnbook.

The relation between the hymnbook and the cultural climate of Silesia is one of the main threads that I will follow in the present book, and therefore it is necessary to clarify what I mean by 'Silesia' and 'Silesian (musical) culture', and why I regard these categories as relevant to musicological research.

The territory known as 'Silesia' lies in the upper and middle sections of the Odra river valley. We can visualise it on a map, taking the Odra as its longitudinal axis and the city of Wrocław as the centre of its elliptical shape. Silesia extends from the Sudetes and Silesian Beskids in the south to the the Baruth-Głogów glacial valley in the north, and its eastern and western borders are defined by the course of rivers.<sup>8</sup> The region is usually divided into Lower and Upper Silesia: Lower Silesia constitutes its bigger portion, and is situated in the central and northwestern part of the region (including the city of Wrocław), while Upper Silesia corresponds to the southeastern part, around the upper section of the Odra.

Nowadays most of Silesia belongs to Poland, but it retains the borderland territory status that characterised much of its history: taking historical regions as points of reference, it lies between Greater and Lesser Poland, Moravia, Bohemia, and Lusatia. Thus, different cultures influenced the definition of the identity (or identities) of Silesia, and different historiographical traditions laid claim to it, often serving more or less explicit political and ideological agendas.<sup>9</sup> These agendas were driven by confessional, ethnic, and national frictions, and even nowadays Silesia is viewed differently by different national communities.<sup>10</sup>

Silesia's special geographical, cultural, and ideological position has attracted long-standing scholarly attention, with a massive amount of contributions produced on various aspects of its history and historiography. The intellectual work on Silesia

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<sup>8</sup> For the geographical definition of Silesia I follow (Kosmala 2013), especially (Kosmala 2013, 21–22).

<sup>9</sup> (Bahlcke 2005a).

<sup>10</sup> (Wiszewski 2013b, 10).

has been so intense that we can speak of 'Silesian studies' ('Schlesienforschung') as a specific discipline, and a 2005 collection of essays titled as such presented the recent state of research.<sup>11</sup> This important publication represents a perfect starting point for anyone willing to deal with Silesia from a historical perspective, and takes into account many disciplines and methodologies, including historiography, archaeology, codicology, bibliography, economy, religious studies, and art history.<sup>12</sup>

In spite of this publication's richness, none of its chapters considered musicology. This is all the more striking because musicologists have long made Silesia an object of research,<sup>13</sup> and various publications attest the existence of a historiographical narrative centred around it.<sup>14</sup> In fact, a critical examination of the musicological discourse on Silesia is very instructive: in recent years, Silesia increasingly has been dealt with by musicologists working in former Warsaw Pact countries, a state of affairs that mirrors a tendency also present in other historical studies.<sup>15</sup> It should be noted, moreover, that the musicological discourse about Silesia betrays attempts at national appropriation which resemble trends observed in other historiographical disciplines.<sup>16</sup>

This book situates itself within a broader tradition of 'Silesian' historical and musicological studies, and it attempts an interpretation of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* as an expression of a 'Silesian culture'. It should be noted, however, that such regional narratives are far from neutral: the very existence of a 'Silesian (musical) culture' and the dearth of studies devoted to it is closely linked to the status of the region in the conscience of scholars (including myself). It might sound a truism, but such studies rely on the assumption that a circumscribed territory can be identified as a region (in the strong sense of the word) and that its features need to be distinguished from the surrounding territories when discussing cultural practices such as music. This shows how forms of regional consciousness influence the way we conceptualise and frame music history: it is telling that we can browse through several 'Silesian' music histories and lexicons, while we cannot do the same for other central European regions such as Moravia or Lusatia. Such states of things, although not entirely arbitrary, have nothing

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<sup>11</sup> (Bahlicke 2005b).

<sup>12</sup> Particularly useful is also the online database *Bibliography of the history of Silesia*, edited by the Institute of History of the University of Wrocław (<<http://www.wroclaw-uw.sowwwa.pl>>, accessed 21 December 2017).

<sup>13</sup> As early as 1830, Carl Julius Adolph Hoffmann edited the lexicon *Die Tonkünstler Schlesiens*, see (C. J. A. Hoffmann 1830).

<sup>14</sup> Think, for instance, of the output of Fritz Feldman (1905–1984). Feldmann was Silesian by birth and he devoted much of his work to the musical culture of his region, starting from his doctoral dissertation on the manuscript PL-Wu 2016. His habilitation thesis *Musik und Musikpflege im mittelalterlichen Schlesien* was published as (Feldmann 1938), and he authored several lexicon entries related to Silesia. Cf. (SL 2001).

<sup>15</sup> (Bahlicke 2005a, XVI). A valuable outcome of such studies is the collection of essays (Gancarczyk, Hlávková–Mráčková, and Pošpiech 2013).

<sup>16</sup> See the survey in (Stefiański 2016).

to do with scarcity of sources. Music was extensively cultivated in Moravia and Lusatia, but no historiographical narrative on a regional level was developed in a way comparable to Silesia. In addition, it is clear that musicologists frame territories according to different parameters and pursuing different agendas, sometimes relying on the borders of historical regions or ecclesiastical/political administration, other times using modern categories created ad hoc to describe specific phenomena.<sup>17</sup>

Thus it must be clear that by speaking of 'Silesian musical culture' I am subscribing to a constructed identity that has changed dramatically over the course of the centuries and that is ideologically connotated. Nevertheless, I would argue that a regional focus on Silesia offers a fascinating perspective on fundamental aspects of early modern music, allowing us also to assess the advantages and limits of different research methodologies.

First of all, I wish to underline that 'Silesia' is a historically accurate term that can be used profitably when discussing early modern cultural practices. While many national narratives do not mirror the political, jurisdictional, and cultural situation of the past they wish to portray, much evidence suggests that Silesia was a real entity in the sixteenth century—not just on maps, but also in the conscience of (some) people. Much research has been devoted to the formation of a Silesian 'ideological and territorial cohesion',<sup>18</sup> and I will argue that this is a key point for understanding the repertory studied here.

This internal regional cohesion did not prevent Silesia's integration into a complex cultural, political, and jurisdictional network that stretched far beyond its borders. As a matter of fact, Silesia was situated at the crossroads of different regions and cultures. Settlers from German-speaking areas had already gradually replaced the formerly dominant Polish-speaking communities in the thirteenth century,<sup>19</sup> but Silesia always retained a multiethnic and multilingual character. In the period addressed in this book, significant Polish, Czech, and Jewish communities dwelled in Silesia alongside the dominant German ones.<sup>20</sup>

Silesia was also bound to its neighbours by dynastic relations. Until the mid-seventeenth century the majority of its territory was ruled by members of the Silesian Piasts, a dynasty of Polish origin.<sup>21</sup> Relations with Bohemia were also highly important for Silesian history: in the first half of the fourteenth century, most Silesian dukes paid feudal homage to John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia (d. 1346), and the Duchy of Wrocław was bequeathed to the Crown of Bohemia. Through the Bohemian crown,

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<sup>17</sup> Think of the nowadays popular concept of 'central Europe' as it is used, for instance, in (Perz 1990), (Ward 2001), and (Gancarczyk 2016).

<sup>18</sup> In particular, see (Rüther 2010), (Wiszewski 2013a), and (Harc and Wąs 2014).

<sup>19</sup> (Wiszewski 2013b, 15).

<sup>20</sup> (Lipiński 2014, 147–156).

<sup>21</sup> See (Eiden 2012, 21–109) for an introduction to the history of the Silesian Piasts.



Silesia came under the rule of the Habsburgs in 1526, following the death of Louis II Jagiellon, King of Hungary, Croatia, and Bohemia, at the battle of Mohács. The Habsburgs defined the history of Silesia for more than two centuries, until most of the region was conquered by Prussia in 1742.<sup>22</sup>

Silesian culture was obviously influenced by these ties with other German-speaking countries, as well as by those with Bohemia and Poland. Furthermore, a very important trade route, the High Road (*Hohe Straße*), ran through Silesia, facilitating the movement of people and goods.<sup>23</sup> From a musicological perspective, all these circumstances make Silesia a perfect place for studying the circulation of repertoires and for assessing the significance of borders when studying musical practices. At the same time, a study of the musical repertoires present in Silesia allows us to evaluate the methodological advantages and disadvantages of a regional focus on such matters.

It is also worth studying early modern Silesia from the point of view of the correlation between music and religious history. It has been argued that processes of reformation and confessionalisation in the region differed significantly from other territories<sup>24</sup> because of Silesia's special political and jurisdictional situation.<sup>25</sup> Although the bishop of Wrocław (Silesia's most important diocese) was usually appointed by the emperor to act as governor of the whole region between 1536 and 1609,<sup>26</sup> the dissemination and consolidation of Lutheran ideas was not really challenged. As early as 1519, the Wrocław-based printers Adam Dyon and Kaspar Libisch began publishing Luther's writings,<sup>27</sup> and groups of sympathisers of the Reformation are already documented in 1520. At the government meeting of Silesian estates (the *Fürstentag*)<sup>28</sup> held in January 1524, Silesian rulers supported Luther's teachings, and soon the majority of Silesian duchies and state-countries embraced the Reformation.<sup>29</sup> In this context, the sixteenth-century bishops of Wrocław were unable to pursue strong anti-Protestant politics, since as governors of Silesia they had to maintain good relations in the *Fürstentag*, which was dominated by Protestants.<sup>30</sup> Even the emperor, who controlled

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<sup>22</sup> The political relations between Silesia and Bohemia until the advent of the Habsburgs are well summarised in (Wiszewski 2013b, 16–17).

<sup>23</sup> (Myśliwski 2013, 96–97).

<sup>24</sup> (Machilek 1994, 27).

<sup>25</sup> Various contributions deal with confessional issues in Silesia. For an introduction see (Benrath et al. 1992) and (Wünsch 1994).

<sup>26</sup> See (van Eickels 1994b, 23–26).

<sup>27</sup> (Volz 1967).

<sup>28</sup> Until the mid-sixteenth century, the *Fürstentag* was the only government meeting of the Silesian dukes, lords, and cities, usually taking place twice a year in Wrocław. Cf. (van Eickels 1994b, 28–32).

<sup>29</sup> (Weigelt 1992, 1).

<sup>30</sup> (Machilek 1994, 21).

Silesia as the King of Bohemia, could not oppose the Silesian elites who turned to Protestantism too strongly because of his financial and military dependence on them.<sup>31</sup> This general tolerance between the Lutheran and Catholic parties existed side by side with confessional conflicts within the Lutheran Church, stirred by the strong presence of spiritualist movements.<sup>32</sup> The situation gradually changed in the first half of the seventeenth century, with the Catholic party acquiring strength and influence, and was finally overturned in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War. In 1635, Silesian estates had to come to terms with the victorious emperor, and only a few of them were granted religious freedom (for example, the Duchy of Liegnitz–Brieg–Wohlau, and the city of Wrocław).<sup>33</sup> This paved the way for a vigorous re-Catholicisation of the region.<sup>34</sup>

Confessional shifts, the presence of 'heterodox' religious groups, the coexistence of different religious identities in a circumscribed territory (even within the same city, as in Wrocław): Silesia is a perfect laboratory for testing hypotheses regarding the function of music in constructing and affirming religious and confessional identities. I will show, for example, that much of the *raison d'être* of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* is to be found in the tension between Lutherans and spiritualist movements. Other important facets of the role of music in Silesian confessionalisation have been discussed repeatedly in studies on the musical culture of local Jesuits.<sup>35</sup> At the same time, Silesian music sources often exhibit an interconfessional circulation of repertoires, a phenomenon that makes it possible to question historiographic narratives excessively influenced by the confessional paradigm.<sup>36</sup>

Lastly, it should be added that engaging with the music history of Silesia in particular is a fundamental step towards a more balanced understanding of European music history as a whole. For more than forty years, musicology was split along the Iron Curtain, so that scholars working on its western side had little chances to cooperate with colleagues from its eastern side. This situation was extremely detrimental to the development of coherent historiographical perspectives, and the neglect of the musical cultures of territories belonging to Warsaw Pact countries hindered the understanding of many phenomena. Although the situation started changing after 1989,<sup>37</sup> music historiography is still biased by this division. Most textbooks about medieval and early modern European music make no or little reference to the institutions and

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<sup>31</sup> (van Eickels 1994b, 48).

<sup>32</sup> (Weigelt 1973).

<sup>33</sup> (Machilek 1994, 27).

<sup>34</sup> (Weigelt 1992, 5).

<sup>35</sup> See (Jež 2010), (Jež 2013), (Jež 2018).

<sup>36</sup> On this issue see (Leitmeir 2019).

<sup>37</sup> For a survey of international musicological cooperations involving central and eastern European countries from the time of the Iron Curtain onwards, see (Poniatowska 2016, 20–28).

repertoires that defined the soundscape of, for instance, the Polish, Bohemian, and Hungarian kingdoms. Thus, researching Silesia and its relation with the surrounding regions can mark a step towards bridging this gap, especially because Silesia represents a meeting point between musical traditions that are not equally represented in the prevalent narratives of European music history. This is particularly evident in a source like *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*, where so-called Tenorlieder, a genre discussed in most music history classes, are copied side by side with polyphonic songs strongly related to the Utraquist tradition, an equally fascinating but certainly less known repertory.

The present book is intended to present the features that I consider most important for understanding *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*. The aim of chapter 1 is to situate *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* within a specific production system, and to gather all the available information regarding life and work of its editor. Therefore, this chapter deals with the two persons who are credited with the creation of the hymnbook, the pastor Valentin Triller and the printer Crispin Scharffenberg.

Chapter 2 addresses the paratexts that introduce the publication, focusing on the title page, dedicatory letter, and preface. As I have argued above, they constitute one of the hymnbook's most fascinating features. Accordingly, they have been discussed relatively often in secondary literature, although never as extensively as they deserve. I propose a close reading of these important sources, uncovering the religious, dynastic, and regionalistic layers of meaning that Triller constructed while offering his publication to the public. In the same chapter I examine his views on the musical repertory itself, showing how they are related to the regionalistic trope that repeatedly emerges in the paratexts. In addition, I discuss Triller's statements concerning the age and aesthetic qualities of the musical repertory of the hymnbook, offering a comparison with similar rhetorical patterns in other early modern hymn collections.

Chapter 3 engages with the hymnbook's structure and content and shows the rationale behind the ordering of the hymns. I discuss the textual, ritual, liturgical, and musical parameters on which Triller relied to create the hymnbook, revealing the accuracy and coherence of his editorial plan.

Chapter 4 focuses on the musical repertory itself. The examination of the hymn tunes follows two distinct methodologies: first of all, I portray the repertory through the categories that are used in the paratexts, ideally reconstructing (part of) the editor's understanding of the music of his hymns. Subsequently, I analyse the hymnbook from a philological perspective, resorting to modern bibliographical tools to trace the origins and dissemination of the models of Triller's contrafacta. I pay special attention to the hymns that are set polyphonically, thus ideally complementing the critical edition I published in 2019.<sup>38</sup> I tackle questions regarding the origins and circulation of Triller's

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<sup>38</sup> (Chemotti 2019).

models, and I reflect upon whether the results of this analysis are compatible with Triller's assertions in the paratexts.

Chapter 5 sketches the reception history of Triller's publication. I discuss some of the hymnbook's extant sources, focusing on traces of a Silesian reception, and I address the circulation of Triller's hymns in other early modern sources.

After having discussed both paratexts and contents in chapters 2–4, the Conclusions once again address Valentin Triller's musical past, advocating an overarching interpretation of the hymnbook's repertory beyond the hymnbook tradition. At the same time, I underscore that Triller's awareness of the past in music is but one aspect of his complex editorial endeavour.

The main body of the text is accompanied by four appendices. Appendix A consists of a transcription of the main paratexts of the hymnbook (title pages, dedication letter, and preface), also including an English translation kindly prepared by Grantley McDonald. Appendix B is a catalogue of the hymns published in *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*. Each hymn carries an identification number to which I refer consistently in the present book, pointing both to the hymns and to the hymn tunes. Appendix C lists the concordances of Triller's polyphonic hymn tunes. Appendix D contains the edition of three polyphonic settings discussed in chapter 4.

As I have already pointed out above, much remains to be done. Most importantly, an analysis of Valentin Triller's literary language is still a research desideratum. This is a very serious lacuna: Triller probably considered his religious texts his most important contribution, and yet his hymns have failed to attract the attention of literary scholars. Investigating *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* from a literary perspective would most certainly deepen our understanding of Valentin Triller's production and intentions. In addition to this, it would be necessary to trace the history of each of the 145 hymns of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*: a great deal of work has already been done by the editors of DKL, but many aspects regarding the content, style, and tradition history of the individual hymns are still unknown in detail. This must be left to future investigations, and it is my hope that this book will contribute to exposing facets of hymnody and, more generally, of early modern music that are under-represented in musicological studies, showcasing a repertory of great interest and encouraging further research in this direction.

# Chapter 1

## Printer and editor

Before addressing the hymnbook's paratexts, structure, and content, some information on the persons who were responsible for its creation, the pastor Valentin Triller and the printer Crispin Scharffenberg, is in order. The names of both men appear on the title page, where their role in the publication is stated briefly but clearly: Triller is credited with the creation of the content, while Scharffenberg is identified as the printer at whose Wrocław workshop the collection was given material form. These two names alone do not account for all the craftsmen who must have contributed to the book (papermakers, engravers, typesetters...), and yet they make it possible for us to situate *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* in a specific production system, highlighting its ordinary as well as its distinctive traits. Accordingly, chapter 1.1 contextualises the hymnbook within Wrocław music printing in general and Scharffenberg's production in particular, while chapter 1.2 examines Valentin Triller's life and works. The sources on Triller's biography are well known to hymnologists, but I deemed it necessary to reassess them in order to dispel several unverified pieces of information that at times are present in secondary literature, hindering a correct understanding of the circumstances that led to the creation of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*.

### 1.1 Crispin Scharffenberg and music printing in sixteenth-century Wrocław

The fact that a Silesian pastor like Valentin Triller went to Wrocław to print his collection of hymns is by no means surprising. In fact, Wrocław was the main economic and cultural centre of sixteenth-century Silesia. A favourable position, along important communication and trade routes such as the Via Regia and the Odra river, gave Wrocław a centralising capacity<sup>1</sup> that turned it into the 'capital city' of Silesia. In the mid-fifteenth century, the town had already a population estimated between 15,000 and 21,000 individuals, numbers rivalled in the neighbouring regions only by Kraków (Lesser Poland) and Prague, the capital of the Kingdom of Bohemia.<sup>2</sup>

Given its primacy, it is no wonder that Wrocław was the first Silesian centre to house a printing workshop, that of Caspar Elyan, documented from 1475.<sup>3</sup> It was in Wrocław that music printing was first practiced, too, at the workshop of Adam Dyon,

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<sup>1</sup> (Myśliwski 2013, 111–119).

<sup>2</sup> See the very useful table in (Myśliwski 2013, 108–109), especially n. 105.

<sup>3</sup> (Maleczyńska 2014).

a native of Nuremberg.<sup>4</sup> The earliest example I am aware of is a 1522 edition of Laurentius Corvinus' *Cursus sancti Bonaventurae de passione domini*, including settings for one, two, and four parts in mensural notation, printed from woodcut.<sup>5</sup> Three years later, in 1525, Dyon issued *Eyn Gesang Buchlien geystlicher Gesenge*,<sup>6</sup> an octavo book with monodic hymns in white mensural notation, once again printed from woodcut. Dyon's *Eyn Gesang Buchlien* is the first hymnbook published in Silesia, and it represents a very early reception of this book type and repertory (the *Achtliederbuch* was published just a year earlier). Without denying the historical importance of Dyon's hymnbook,<sup>7</sup> it should be added that it was not a new publication. In fact, its contents had already appeared in the *Enchiridion* published by the Erfurt printer Matthes Maler in 1525 (RISM B/8 1525–07).<sup>8</sup> Thus, Wrocław soon entered the scene of hymn printing, maintaining an important status over the years, although not comparable quantitatively with the output of workshops in Wittenberg, Leipzig, Nuremberg, or Strasbourg.<sup>9</sup>

During the first half of the sixteenth century, printing workshops opened also in other Silesian centres. The first print from Liegnitz is dated 1528, followed by Oels in 1530 and Neisse in 1541.<sup>10</sup> However, music printing seems to have been practiced only in Wrocław during the sixteenth century, and we need to wait until the advent of Crispin Scharffenberg in the second half of the century to find a regular production of prints with musical notation.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 37–39).

<sup>5</sup> See the bibliographic description in vdm 136. On Laurentius Corvinus see (McDonald 2002, 258–277), which focuses on metrical monody in Corvinus' *Dialogus de Mentis saluberrima persuasione* (Leipzig: Valentin Schumann 1516, vdm 134). Regarding the *Horae de passione Domini* in Wrocław see (Sander 1937, 20–29).

<sup>6</sup> RISM B/8 1525–04, see (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 34–56).

<sup>7</sup> Mańko-Matysiak has shown that Dyon's *Gesang Buchlien* might have been intended as an essential step in the process of reforming the Silesian Church (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 39–41). The colophon states that it was printed on 'Wednesday after Easter 1525' (19 April), about a year after Johann Heß's first public disputation of Lutheran doctrine at the Wrocław monastery of Saint Dorothy (Benrath et al. 1992, 14–16), and just some days before the official introduction of the Lutheran service (Benrath et al. 1992, 17). It is likely that the latter circumstance promoted the sale of the *Gesang Buchlien*: the first edition was probably sold out, and Dyon prepared a second augmented edition. The second edition is usually referred to as RISM B/8 1526–01, although does not contain a date of printing. For problems of dating see (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 38–39); for a summary of the differences between the two editions see (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 300–305).

<sup>8</sup> The dependence on this earlier publication is so strong that Dyon's hymnbook was long considered a 'mindless' reprint. Nonetheless, Mańko-Matysiak has identified some interesting differences, suggesting that Dyon consciously altered his model, possibly with the assistance of an editor versed in theological matters. See (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 42–56).

<sup>9</sup> See the map of German-text hymn printing in (C.B. Brown 2005, 2).

<sup>10</sup> (Haberland 2003, 549).

<sup>11</sup> Scharffenberg's predecessor, Andreas Winkler, only published a music theory textbook for school education, the *Erotemata musicae practicae ad captum puerilem formata* (1541, vdm 1318). The treatise was written by the Wrocław-based musician and theorist Virgil Haug, and it was dedicated to Sebastian Helmann, a member of

Crispin Scharffenberg was originally from Lauban, a town in Lusatia, around 120 kilometres west of Wrocław. Around 1540 he was active as engraver in Görlitz together with his brother Georg. In 1552 he left Görlitz for Wrocław, and on 9 September 1552 he purchased the workshop of Andreas Winkler,<sup>12</sup> obtaining a printing privilege on 23 January 1553.<sup>13</sup> Thus he was the only printer in town, and he was active there for twenty-three years, producing more than two hundred prints.<sup>14</sup> Although not primarily a music printer, he certainly owned moveable types for musical notation (all his prints use the same types), and he issued music-related material throughout his career until he passed away in December 1576. After his death the printing privilege passed to his son, Johann Scharffenberg.

Table 1 lists Crispin Scharffenberg's prints with musical notation,<sup>15</sup> representing around 5 percent of his surviving catalogue. It should be noted that this percentage, though small, is in line with the tendency observed among other printers active in German-speaking countries, who often printed music as a secondary activity, without the exclusivity characteristic of specialised Italian workshops.<sup>16</sup>

Table 1: Crispin Scharffenberg's prints with musical notation

No.	Year	Title	Annotations
1	1555	<i>Ettlicher gutter Teutscher und Polnischer Tentz biß in die anderthalbhundert mit fünff und vier stimmen zugebrauchen auff allerley Instrument dienstlich</i>	RISM A/1 H 5212
2	1555	<i>Viel feiner lieblicher Stucklein Spanischer Welscher, Englischer Frantzösischer composition und tentz, Über drey hundert mit Sechsen, Fünffen und Vieren, auff alle Instrument dienstlich.</i>	RISM A/1 H 5213
3	1555	<i>Ein Schlesich singebüchlein [...]</i>	RISM B/8 1555-07
4	1559	<i>Ein Christlich Singebuch [...]</i>	RISM B/8 1559-07 <i>Titelaufage of no. 3</i>

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Wrocław town council. With the exception of a 1545 reprint of the *Erotemata* (vdm 1315), I am not aware of any other print with musical notation from Winkler's workshop.

<sup>12</sup> (Burbianka 1968, 27).

<sup>13</sup> See a transcription of the official document in (Burbianka 1968, 290-291).

<sup>14</sup> See (Burbianka 1968, 130-201) for a catalogue of surviving prints by Crispin Scharffenberg.

<sup>15</sup> Online inventories of early prints sometimes mention a hymnbook printed by Scharffenberg in Wrocław c. 1553, but this has to be considered a ghost edition due to the erroneous cataloguing of VD16 ZV 29595.

<sup>16</sup> (Kmetz 2010, 173-174).

5	1562	<i>Compendiolum Musicae Pro Incipientibus. Per Magistrum Heinricum Fabrum conscriptum, ac nune denuo, cum additione alterius Compendioli, recognitum.</i>	Listed in (Burbianka 1968). See the copy at PL-WRu 380572.
6	1564	<i>Ein Gesangbuch der Brüder inn Behemen und Merhern Die man aus hass und neyd Pickharden Waldenses etc. nennet. Von jnen auff ein newes (sonderlich vom Sacrament des Nachtmals) gebessert und etliche schöne newe Geseng hinzu gethan</i>	RISM B/8 1564-03
7	1566	<i>Ein Gebet wider den Türcken / So in der Pfarrkirchen zur Olse / bey gewöhnlichen Predigten und Lectionen gehalten wird. Durch M. Valentinum Leonem / Pfarrherrn daselbs gestellet.</i>	See the copy at PL-WRu 378032
8	1568	<i>Ein Gesangbuch der Brüder inn Behemen und Merhern</i>	Lost, RISM B/8 1568-03. Reprint or <i>Titelaufgabe</i> of no. 6
9	1568	<i>Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus</i>	See the copy at PL-WRu 305708.
10	1572	<i>Geistliche lieder D. Martin. Luth. und anderer frommen Christen nach ordnung der Jarzeit mit Collecten und Gebeten.</i>	Lost, RISM B/8 1572-01. Possibly ghost edition, cf. (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 103).
11	1573	<i>Musica Nicolai Listenii</i>	Copy unlocated, listed in (Burbianka 1968).
12	1573	<i>Summa nabożeństwa i powinowatstwa Chrześciańskiego: przez rozmowę dwu bratu spisana a dla młodych dżiatek na swiatło wydana. Przy tym przydano jest Spiewanie y Modlitwy nabożne kożdey części należące.</i>	RISM A/1 BB 3758 I,1
13	1577	<i>Geistliche lieder D. Mart. Luth. und anderer frommen Christen nach Ordnung der Jarzeit mit Collecten und Gebeten.</i>	RISM B/8 1577-02. Reprint or <i>Titelaufgabe</i> of no. 10

Scharffenberg's output with musical notation can be divided into three groups: instrumental music, music theory, and hymnody. It seems that he published instrumental music just on one occasion, at the very beginning of his career, see no. 1 *Ettlicher gutter Teutscher und Polnischer Tentz* and no. 2 *Viel feiner lieblicher Stucklein*. These are remarkable collections, edited by the brothers Paul and Bartholomaeus Hessen,



instrumentalists in the service of the city of Wrocław.<sup>17</sup> Both collections consist of five partbooks, including a total of 477 polyphonic compositions (4–6 voices) for instrumental ensemble.<sup>18</sup> They must have been published together, since the dedication letters were both signed on 14 April 1555.<sup>19</sup>

Nos. 5, 9, and 11 (Table 1) are treatises on the foundations of music theory, Heinrich Faber's *Compendiolum* and Nikolaus Listenius' *Musica*. These were already popular publications, particularly suitable for basic music teaching in Latin schools.<sup>20</sup> Scharffenberg must have thought that it might be a good investment to reprint these much-demanded books, and indeed the 1562 *Compendiolum* was sold out, since a newly typeset edition was published in 1568. Five years later the more ambitious *Musica* by Listenius followed. All in all, these music methods are in line with Scharffenberg's publishing activity. As a matter of fact, he also printed other publications clearly directed at schools, such as Philipp Melancthon's *Grammatices Latinae elementa*,<sup>21</sup> arithmetic books by Adam Ries<sup>22</sup> and Matthäus Nefe,<sup>23</sup> a *Biblia Puerorum Scholae Latinae Christianae*,<sup>24</sup> and comedies by Plautus and Terence.<sup>25</sup> The local school system was evidently a market of primary importance for Scharffenberg.<sup>26</sup>

The rest of Scharffenberg's output with musical notation is made up of Lutheran hymns with vernacular texts, mostly in German.<sup>27</sup> No. 7 *Ein Gebet wider den Türcken*

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<sup>17</sup> See the dedicatory letters in which the brothers Hessen identify themselves as 'Besolte Instrumentisten der Königliche Stadt Breslaw'. (H.M. Brown 1965, 164–167).

<sup>18</sup> (H.M. Brown 1965, 164–167). See also (Suppan 1965).

<sup>19</sup> The two dedicatory letters resort to different calendar systems: one is signed 'Bresslaw, 14 Aprilis 1555', the other 'Breslaw, An dem Heiligen Ostertag' (14 April 1555).

<sup>20</sup> In the timespan 1548–1617, Faber's *Compendiolum* went into at least forty-six editions and two German translations. Listenius' *Musica* (first published in Wittenberg in 1537) enjoyed comparable success. Cf. (Heinz von Loesch 2001) and (Heinz von Loesch 2004).

<sup>21</sup> Published in 1558, VD16 ZV 25175.

<sup>22</sup> Published in 1563, VD16 R 2393.

<sup>23</sup> Published in 1565, VD16 N 445.

<sup>24</sup> Edited by Martin Hofmann and published in 1571, VD16 H 4299.

<sup>25</sup> See, for instance, *P. Terentii comoediae sex* (1558, VD16 T 449; 1566, VD16 T 464; 1574, VD16 T 473), and *M. Accii Plauti comedia castissima* (1570, VD16 ZV 30126).

<sup>26</sup> Around 1580 music lessons at the cathedral school in Wrocław were led with the aid of a 'compendium musicae' (Niemöller 1969, 4). Possibly, one of Scharffenberg's reprints of Faber's treatise was used to this end.

<sup>27</sup> No. 12 is the only example of Lutheran hymns with Polish texts published by Scharffenberg. Its title page in English translation reads 'Summa of services and Christian duties, written as a conversation between two brethren and published for young children. Hymns for singing and pious prayers are added', translation from (Poźniak and Walecki 2004, 304). This summa is a Lutheran catechism in Polish including twelve polyphonic and four monodic hymns. Although printed in Wrocław, it is not directly related to Silesia, but rather to Greater Poland, and it is dedicated to the guardian of Polish Lutherans Andrzej Górka. Cf. (Poźniak and Walecki 2004, 304–313).

is a short collection of twelve folios in octavo by Valentin Leo, pastor in Oels (Polish Oleśnica), Lower Silesia. It contains two prayers and two hymns against the Turks, of which only the last one is notated.<sup>28</sup> Unsurprisingly, the majority of Scharffenberg's extant music prints is made up of hymnbooks, whose sheer dimensions increased their chances of being preserved.<sup>29</sup>

*Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* was Scharffenberg's first publication of this kind, the first hymnbook to appear in Silesia after Dyon's *Gesang Buchlien* of 1525. Moreover, as we will see in detail later on, *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* was an entirely new publication, a much more demanding editorial enterprise than a simple reprint. It should be noted that *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* appeared in the same year as the two collections of instrumental music discussed above. Scharffenberg's workshop must have been very busy, and although the three 1555 collections seem to be his first attempts at printing musical notation, the results are striking in their beauty and precision. He had certainly gained experience in music printing before 1555, possibly in Frankfurt an der Oder, where he seems to have contributed to the realisation of the *Enchiridion* by Johann Eichorn.<sup>30</sup>

The order of prints 1–3 in Table 1 is arbitrary: in fact, it has not been possible to reconstruct the exact chronology of the three publications dated 1555. *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* is not dated precisely, and even its dedicatory letter does not offer any

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<sup>28</sup> Notwithstanding its size, this print is extremely interesting. The first hymn is a German version of Psalm 79, *Sieh an die Not O trewer Gott*, to be sung to the melody of *Aus tiefer Not* or *Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält* (without notation). The second hymn, *Ihr fromen Brüder nehmet war*, is instead notated in white mensural notation. This hymn is defined as a 'military song for the consolation of all the pious knights and servants in the current Turkish affliction' ('Heer Lied zur Trostvermanung für alle frome Reutter und Knechte inn vorstehender Türcken not'), and its hymn tune is 'the song of the latter day *Ihr lieben Christen, freut euch* (Jm Thon des Gesangs vom Jüngsten tage Jhr lieben Christen frewet euch)'. The monodic hymn is followed by a four-voice version by Michael Duquesse, a musician active in Olse. It should be added that the publication of this collection was a response to the immediate political situation. In 1566 the Ottoman Emperor Suleiman the Magnificent had launched his last campaign against the Holy Roman Empire, and Emperor Maximilian II reacted by collecting a large army to defend his territories. The duchies of Silesia, as part of the Bohemian Crown, contributed to the effort, both economically as well as by sending troops under the command of Duke Georg II of Brieg, cf. (Thebesius, Scharff, and Jaeckel 1980, 125–126) and (Buckisch et al. 1998, 92–93). Hymns against the Turks might have been sung on a variety of occasions, including the *Türkenglocke* (the Turkish bell), a ritual involving bell-ringing and prayers against the Turks. The *Türkenglocke* was first instituted by Pope Callixtus III in 1456 and was revived in 1566 in the wake of the military events mentioned above (Grimmsmann 2016, 31–33). In Wrocław the *Türkenglocke* involved also the singing of vernacular hymns and litanies, as is stated in the *Ordnunge / so zu Breslaw / inn den Pfarkirchen / unter der Türkenglocken gehalten wird* (Wrocław: Scharffenberg 1566, VD16 S 3828–3829). Interestingly, these *Ordnunge* mention also congregational singing ('Darnach fehet der Prediger ein deutsch Lied an / so sich auff diese zeit reimet / welches er sampt dem Volcke zum ende singet').

<sup>29</sup> Wrocław University Library holds a few pamphlets with hymns published by Scharffenberg, but they are not discussed here since they do not contain musical notation. See, for instance, *Ein schön new tröstlich lied, in sterbens leufften* (PL-WRu Sign. 313022, not listed in VD16) by Johannes Gigas, pastor in Freystadt (Polish Koźuchów), Lower Silesia.

<sup>30</sup> This is suggested by the presence of some of his woodcuts, see (Lipphardt 1968, 161).

clue, since it does not contain any exact reference to historical events. Moreover, dates in paratexts do not necessarily account for the date of printing: even if the dedication letters of the instrumental collections are dated 14 April, the print could have taken place much later that year, and might well have followed rather than preceded the publication of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*.

Although it is not clear which collection was published first, I would argue that the chronological proximity between the three prints accounts for a striking peculiarity in the hymnbook's layout. *Ettlicher gutter Teutscher und Polnischer Tentz* and *Viel feiner lieblicher Stucklein* were printed in oblong quarto, the standard format for polyphonic music in partbooks. Oblong quarto was also used for *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, although this was a very unusual choice for a collection of hymns. Scharffenberg probably applied the same format he was using for the instrumental music to the hymnbook, in spite of already established typographic conventions regarding hymn publishing. In this regard, it is telling that all the other hymnbooks he published in the following years use the more common portrait orientation of the page.

In 1559 Scharffenberg reissued Valentin Triller's hymnbook with a different title page, *Ein Christlich Singebuch* (Table 1 no. 4, Appendix A/2). The new title notwithstanding, this was not a new edition but a so-called *Titelaufgabe*,<sup>31</sup> a simulated reprint obtained by changing just the title page. In fact, with the exception of the first fascicle, all the gatherings of the 1555 and 1559 editions are the result of the same print run.<sup>32</sup> Scharffenberg must have tried to get rid of unsold copies of the 1555 edition by producing a new, more appealing title page.<sup>33</sup> It is possible to glimpse these concerns by analysing the most obvious changes in the 1559 title page. *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* became *Ein Christlich Singebuch*, possibly also pointing to an extraregional market, and stressing the size of the collection (a 300-page publication is indeed more of a 'Singebuch' than a 'singebüchlein'). Another sentence added on the 1559 title page goes in a similar direction, declaring that the hymnbook is suitable 'for laymen and scholars, children and the elderly, to sing at home and in churches, for one, two, and three voices' (1559 title page, lines 2–4). The reference to the collection's adaptability to different contexts and numbers of performers has the characteristics of an advertisement, and it betrays the desire to reach a broad audience.

Because of the 1559 *Titelaufgabe*, scholars have suggested that *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* was a commercial failure that sold only few copies.<sup>34</sup> The line of argu-

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<sup>31</sup> *Titelaufgaben* are not uncommon among music prints. See, for instance, the 1597 Nuremberg reprint of Jacob Handl's *Sacrae Cantiones*, which turned out to be the 1590 Prague edition with a new title page. Cf. (Gancarczyk 2007).

<sup>32</sup> Compare, for instance, the misplacement of the syllables 'ewi=gen' on fol. E4r of the 1555 and 1559 'editions'.

<sup>33</sup> The relation between the 1555 and 1559 editions was first established by Philipp Wackernagel in WB, 295. His codicological description is, however, inaccurate. See (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 57, n. 4).

<sup>34</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 56–57).

ment seems compelling, and yet I would argue that there is not enough information to support this hypothesis. It is conceivable, for instance, that Scharffenberg did not evaluate correctly how many copies the market could absorb (after all, it was his first hymnbook), and he might have printed too many of them. Indeed, seven copies of Triller's hymnbook survive.<sup>35</sup> This number is rather significant,<sup>36</sup> especially when compared with other sixteenth-century Silesian hymnbooks: a total of just two copies are preserved of the four hymnbooks printed by Scharffenberg between 1564 and 1577, while we have one single copy for each of the two editions of Dyon's hymnbook (1525).<sup>37</sup> Be that as it may, it is clear that Triller's hymnbook did not attain the success of the influential publications issued in Wittenberg or Nuremberg, and no second edition was ever produced.

Once Scharffenberg decided to provide a new title page while reusing the remaining copies of the first print run, he was unable to simply substitute the first page only. The starting point of a quarto publication is a sheet of paper that is folded two times to produce four leaves, so that it is necessary to reprint eight pages. Fascicle A of the hymnbook is made up of three bifolios: Scharffenberg reused the inner bifolio (fols. A3 and A4) of the 1555 edition, and he reprinted the other two (fols. A1–A2 and A5–A6). While typesetting them anew he corrected a mistake in the opening of the dedication letter, where the ducal title of the dedicatee was misspelled as 'Hortzogen' (instead of the correct 'Hertzogen'). The typesetter made also other minor changes, correcting erroneous spacing of words, expanding abbreviations, changing the capitalisation etc., but leaving the content of the text untouched.<sup>38</sup> Notwithstanding the skilful simulation of a new edition, Scharffenberg did not invest too much extra work in improving the eight pages he had to typeset. This is evident in the table of contents, where mistakes that could have been spotted just by carefully checking the relation with the content were left uncorrected.<sup>39</sup>

It cannot be ascertained whether the 1559 title page had the desired effect of attracting more buyers, but it seems that Scharffenberg learned his lesson: he continued producing hymnbooks at regular intervals of four/five years, but he abandoned 'new' collections. As a matter of fact, nos. 6, 8, 10, and 13 were all reprints of already suc-

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<sup>35</sup> D–B Slg Wernigerode Hb 1796; D–W H: Yv 1129.8° Helmst.; PL–WRu 395219; PL–WRu 51221; PL–Wu SDM 93; PL–Kj Mus. ant. pract. T 145; PL–LEtpn S/25 (also catalogued as Rud. 5215). See chapter 5.1 for details.

<sup>36</sup> Comparing music-printing contracts and extant musical sources, Gancarczyk has noted that the survival rate for print runs is often very low, around 1%. Cf. (Gancarczyk 2015, 44). This is just a rough indication based on the few sources for which we know exactly the number of copies produced, but it gives an idea of how little has survived to our day.

<sup>37</sup> (Mańko–Matysiak 2005, 278–279).

<sup>38</sup> The variants of the 1559 reprint of the dedication letter are listed in Appendix A/3.

<sup>39</sup> For instance, no. 142 *Tröstlich ist mir* is wrongly indexed as *Erstlich ist mir*, while no. 108 *Gesegne uns Gott der Vater mit seinem Göttlichen segnen* is missing from the table of contents.

cessful publications, an editorial strategy akin to the abovementioned *Gesang Buchlien* by Adam Dyon. Anna Mańko-Matysiak has shown that the *Gesangbuch der Brüder inn Behemen und Merherrn* is based strongly on Johann Horn's *Gesangbuch* published in 1544 by the Nuremberg printer Johann Günther.<sup>40</sup> As stated on the title page, the hymnbook belongs to the tradition of the Unity of the Brethren, a denomination that points at the Christian communities first established in Bohemia and Moravia in the second half of the fifteenth century. Nonetheless, Scharffenberg's publication probably aimed at Lutheran communities, not just at the Brethren in the strict sense.<sup>41</sup> In fact, the hymnological tradition of the Unity of the Brethren enjoyed wide recognition in Lutheran circles, and Johann Horn's *Gesangbuch* of 1544, the model for Scharffenberg's publication, already displays a strong convergence with Lutheran doctrine.<sup>42</sup>

The *Geistliche lieder D. Martin. Luth.* is also a reprint of already popular hymns, and is related to the hymnbooks published in Frankfurt an der Oder by Johann Eichorn,<sup>43</sup> which in turn were based on the hymnbooks published by Josef Klug in Wittenberg and Valentin Babst in Leipzig, the quintessential Lutheran hymnbooks of the sixteenth century.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to assess the commercial success of Scharffenberg's *Gesangbuch* and *Geistliche lieder*. The first edition of the *Geistliche lieder* (1572) and the second edition of the *Gesangbuch* (1568) are both lost,<sup>44</sup> and it has even been proposed that the 1572 *Geistliche lieder* is a ghost edition.<sup>45</sup> Given the lack of an original with which to compare, it is not clear whether the 1568 and 1577 publications are genuine reprints or just *Titelaufgaben*. Be that as it may, it is worth noting that the *Geistliche lieder* were reprinted in 1597 by Georg Baumann, who had acquired the Scharffenberg workshop after marrying Johann Scharffenberg's widow.<sup>46</sup> This suggests that there was still demand for this hymnbook and that its previous editions were no longer available.

This brief excursus has shown some essential features of music printing and especially hymn publishing in Wrocław, thus highlighting the exceptionality of Valentin Triller's *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, which appears to be the only 'new' hymnbook

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<sup>40</sup> It is not clear, though, whether Scharffenberg relied on the original edition or one of its numerous reprints. (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 90–91).

<sup>41</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 90).

<sup>42</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 85–86).

<sup>43</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 102–104).

<sup>44</sup> The only known copies were allegedly housed at Zwettl Abbey Library, see (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 90, n. 59 and 102–103). I would like to thank Andreas Gamerith of Zwettl Abbey Library for confirming that they are still missing (private communication 6 October 2017).

<sup>45</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 103).

<sup>46</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 107–111).

published in Silesia during the sixteenth century. On the whole, Wrocław workshops mostly adopted and reprinted hymnbooks that had been already established elsewhere, a commercial strategy that in itself is not uncommon, especially in the context of hymn publishing. Indeed, the value of a hymnbook did not necessarily reside in the novelty of its texts and melodies, but rather in the wider recognition and religious prestige of its hymns. Accordingly, resorting to authoritative sources and repertoires was a very common policy in the growing vernacular hymn market. A truly new hymnbook like *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* was a risky venture, which Scharffenberg might have learned to his own cost. It was also intellectually more demanding: texts had to be selected, corrected, or written anew, hymn tunes had to be chosen, the hymns had to be organised into a coherent collection and so on. In the case of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*, I assume that these tasks were carried out by the volume's editor, Valentin Triller. The following chapter aims to introduce him and his cultural background, a fundamental step in order to further contextualise the hymnbook and its hymns.

## 1.2 Valentin Triller

The majority of hymn collections published in the first half of the sixteenth century do not bear the editor's name on the title page. In an important publication such as Michael Weisse's *Ein New Geseng buchlen* (RISM B/8 1531-02), for instance, the name of the editor (and author of the texts) only appears as a signature at the end of the foreword. Collections that include Martin Luther's hymns or forewords more often display his name on the title page, commonly also indicating his academic qualification (Doktor Martin Luther). However, this represents a special case: by showcasing the name of the Reformation's most important personality, the publishers surely also intended to advertise the publication and guarantee its religious orthodoxy. Luther's name also appears on the title pages of countless collections that were not issued under his direct supervision, including Scharffenberg's *Geistliche lieder D. Mart. Luth.*, for example.

Against this background, the fact that the name of Valentin Triller appears prominently on the title page of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* acquires special significance. Triller's name is even underscored by a bigger font and red ink, thus bestowing an authorial status upon Triller, identifying him as the main actor in the hymnbook's compilation. Even though we do not possess many primary sources concerning Triller's life and work, some biographical information can be inferred from the paratexts of his publication.

From the title page we learn that Triller was born in 'Gora' (Guhrau), a town in Lower Silesia, around seventy kilometres northwest of Wrocław.<sup>47</sup> The title page states also that

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<sup>47</sup> Triller probably received his first education in his hometown, where a school is documented from the fourteenth century, (Clemenz 1927, 98). On Guhrau see also (Hoffmann-Erbrecht 2001).

he was pastor of Panthenau in the territory of Nimptsch ('Pantenaw im Nimpschischen Weichbilde'). This place can be identified as Panthenau (Polish Ratajno, near Niemcza) in the Duchy of Brieg, not to be confused with another Panthenau in the Duchy of Liegnitz.<sup>48</sup> The Reformation had reached Panthenau quite early. Friedrich II, Duke of Brieg, supported the Reformation from 1522 onwards,<sup>49</sup> and in 1534 Panthenau got its first Lutheran pastor, Martin Anders from Brieg.<sup>50</sup> It is not clear, though, when Valentin Triller took office, the only direct evidence being the 1555 title page.<sup>51</sup>

Other basic facts of Triller's biography are uncertain, and this is complicated by the proliferation of wrong or unverified data in the secondary literature. In a 1962 article for the encyclopaedia *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Siegfried Fornaçon wrote that Triller was born around 1493, son of a Hieronymus Triller, and that he matriculated at the University of Kraków in June 1511.<sup>52</sup> These pieces of information were accepted as facts in all the subsequent secondary literature,<sup>53</sup> although Fornaçon did not quote any primary source, so that it is difficult to verify his statements. The parish registers of Guhrau were lost during World War II,<sup>54</sup> and we are left wondering on which sources Fornaçon relied for his biographical reconstruction. I assume that he consulted the matriculation book of the university of Kraków, which was probably available to him in the 1872 edition *Das älteste Matrikel-Buch der Universität Krakau*.<sup>55</sup> In the summer semester of 1511, a 'Valentin' was indeed matriculated, and his name was registered as 'Valentinus Hieronimi de Gorda' (Valentin son of Hieronymus from Gorda).<sup>56</sup> Fornaçon probably took 'Gorda' as an alternative spelling for 'Gora', and he concluded that 'Valentinus Hieronimi de Gorda' must have been Valentin Triller. From this record he must have deduced the name of Triller's father, and he inferred Triller's date of birth as around 1493, assuming that he was about eighteen years old when he matriculated.

Evidently, this is a highly hypothetical reconstruction. Nowadays we can rely on the *Metrica seu album Universitatis Cracoviensis*, published in 2004–2010. In the timespan

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<sup>48</sup> On the Reformation in the Duchies of Brieg and Liegnitz see (Harasimowicz and Lipińska 2007).

<sup>49</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 12). (Petry 1961) erroneously gives the year 1523. See also (Weigelt 2007a, 63–65).

<sup>50</sup> (Neß 2014, 258) and (Wiontzek 1931, 32).

<sup>51</sup> The *Presbyterologie des Evangelischen Schlesiens* by Siegismund Justus Ehrhardt mentions 1559, but this date is patently wrong. Ehrhardt only knew the 1559 edition of Triller's hymnbook, and he certainly relied on its title page for this information (Ehrhardt 1782, 414). Siegfried Fornaçon proposed November 1550 instead, without giving the source of the information (Fornaçon 1962, 1021–1022). Dietmar Neß cautiously records 1555 as starting date of Triller's pastorship in Panthenau (Neß 2014, 258).

<sup>52</sup> (Fornaçon 1962, 1021).

<sup>53</sup> See, for instance, (Ameln 1971, 164), (Elste), (Stalman 2006), and (Mańko–Matysiak 2005, 58).

<sup>54</sup> <<http://dirk.steindorf-sabath.eu/g-kb-forsch.html>>, accessed 18 January 2018.

<sup>55</sup> (Zeissberg 1872).

<sup>56</sup> (Gaşiorowski, Jurek, and Skierska 2010, 27).

1400–1551, no Valentin is recorded among the students who gave the Silesian Gora as their place of origin.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, it turns out that ‘Valentin’ was among the most common names of students at the University of Kraków in the first half of the sixteenth century,<sup>58</sup> and many Silesians were studying there, especially before the outbreak of the Reformation.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, we cannot be sure that ‘Gorda’ was the Silesian ‘Gora’. According to the editors of the 2010 edition of the matriculation book, ‘Gorda’ actually points to Torda in Transylvania.<sup>60</sup> If this is the case, the Valentin son of Hieronymus who studied in Kraków cannot be Valentin Triller.

One of the few certain facts of Triller’s biography once again comes from the paratexts of the hymnbook. At the end of the dedication letter, Triller asks for the duke’s protection for his wife and children (dedication letter, lines 59–62). This statement suggests that he married some time before 1555, and his children were not yet grown up. It should also be noted that he refers to his wife (or both his wife and children?) as ‘verweiste’, an ambiguous term whose meaning in the context of the dedication letter is not entirely clear. *Verweisen* means ‘to banish’, ‘to expel’, but I do not think that this meaning applies here. Truly, unwelcome persons could be banned from the duchy, but if that had been the case of Triller’s wife, it would make little sense to ask for the duke to protect her. In the context of this dedicatory letter, I think that ‘verweist’ has a more generic meaning, something like ‘abandoned’ or ‘destitute’. In any case, Triller wished to underline that his family depended on him, and that their economic conditions were not flourishing.

This scenario is confirmed by another primary source, a letter sent by Valentin Triller himself to Duke Georg II of Brieg.<sup>61</sup> In this letter, dated 1560, Triller discussed administrative issues concerning his parish, and he lamented the lack of income due to jurisdictional conflicts. Notwithstanding these adverse conditions, he probably remained in Panthenau until 1573, when Johann Lange from Lüben was appointed as pastor.<sup>62</sup> It is likely that Triller passed away that year, although there are no explicit documents that confirm this.<sup>63</sup>

Having looked at Triller’s biography, his works now need to be briefly considered. His scholarly reputation rests on *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, yet there are some inconsistencies in the secondary literature with regard to his actual role in the hymn-

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<sup>57</sup> (Gašiorowski, Jurek, and Skierska 2004, 157) and (Gašiorowski, Jurek, and Skierska 2010, 357).

<sup>58</sup> (Gašiorowski, Jurek, and Skierska 2010, 588).

<sup>59</sup> (Bauch 1907b).

<sup>60</sup> (Gašiorowski, Jurek, and Skierska 2010, 355 and 526).

<sup>61</sup> The letter was edited in (Wiontzeck 1931, 25–26).

<sup>62</sup> (Neß 2014, 258).

<sup>63</sup> The first scholar who connected the date 1573 to Triller’s death was Hellmut Eberlein, albeit without offering any further evidence. See (H. Eberlein 1955, 58).



book's creation. In fact, Triller is sometimes credited just as the editor of the collection, not the author of the texts of the hymns.<sup>64</sup> I cannot think of any evidence supporting this assumption: most of the texts in *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* are not documented in any other source, and there is no reason to think that Triller was not their author. The title page identifies Triller as the person responsible for creating the hymnbook, and in the preface he collectively points at the hymns as 'my songs' ('meine gesenge', preface, line 18). Admittedly, there are several hymns in *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* that rework older texts<sup>65</sup> or borrow entire strophes from other hymns,<sup>66</sup> instances already noticed by Wackernagel in his 1855 edition. Such procedures, however, are very common in the hymn repertory, and I do not think that they should lead us to question Triller's part in the creation of the collection. However, a comprehensive analysis of the texts and their intertextual network is essential in order to understand Triller's relation to the vernacular hymnic tradition, a task that I must leave to future investigations.

In addition to compiling the hymnbook, Triller must have composed other works that now unfortunately are lost. From a reference in the preface to *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* we learn that he had already published six hymns in another multi-authored printed collection, which is now either lost or unidentified. It has been proposed that this collection was printed in Saxony,<sup>67</sup> but this hypothesis derives from what I consider a misinterpretation of the sentence 'etwa bey sechsen / neben andern gedruckt' (preface, line 12): 'sechsen' is not 'Saxony', but simply 'six'.<sup>68</sup>

Incidentally, this collective publication cast doubts upon Triller's confession. As he explains in the preface to the hymnbook, some of the hymns in the collection were 'quite obscure and repugnant to a correct Christian understanding' (preface, lines 14–15), and they were mistakenly attributed to him. I will deal in detail with this circum-

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<sup>64</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2016, 114): 'Die gleichen Prinzipien galten für die Liedtexte (Psalmen, Hymnen, Antiphonen u.a.), die Triller zum Großteil – es sei an die Vorrede erinnert – nicht selbst verfasste, sondern auswählte, inhaltlich verbesserte oder auch übersetzte. Von ihm selbst sollen mindestens drei Lieder stammen: *Der Herr, Gott, sey gepreiset*, *Nun danket Gott aus Herzens Grund* und *Nun singet Lob mit Innigkeit*'. It is not clear on which basis Mańko-Matysiak singled out these three hymns as the only ones certainly authored by Triller. She probably derived this information from Eduard Emil Koch's *Geschichte des Kirchenliedes und Kirchengesangs* (1867), where those three hymns are mentioned as examples of Triller's 'original songs' ('Originalliedern') as opposed to 'translations and adaptations of old Latin songs' ('Hymnenübersetzungen und Bearbeitungen alter lat. Lieder') and 'reworks of secular folksongs' ('Umdichtung weltlicher Volkslieder'), (E.E. Koch 1867, 162–163). It is evident that to consider translations as 'nicht selbst verfasste' texts fails to recognise the importance of this procedure for the creation of a corpus of vernacular hymns.

<sup>65</sup> See, for instance, no. 10 *Ein kind geboren zu Bethleem* (W IV 37), no. 18 *Inn einem süßen thon* (W IV 44), no. 34 *Also heilig ist der tag* (W IV 59), no. 37 *Christ ist erstanden von des Todes banden* (W IV 6), no. 40 *Erstanden ist der Herre Christ* (W IV 64), no. 129 *Es war ein mal ein reicher man der nicht* (W IV 124).

<sup>66</sup> See, for example, no. 19 *Es kam ein Engel hell und klar* (W IV 45).

<sup>67</sup> (Horyna 2003, 304).

<sup>68</sup> Note that also Konrad Ameln read 'sechsen' as 'six', (Ameln 1971, 169). The spelling 'sechsen' for 'six' appears also in other sixteenth-century publications, see, for instance, VD16 S 1431 and ZV 17291.

stance in chapter 2.2. For now it is enough to note that, misinterpreting this paragraph of the preface, some scholars have proposed that Triller was no Lutheran, but a follower of the radical spiritualist reformer of Silesian origin Kaspar Schwenckfeld. This hypothesis has long been proved wrong.<sup>69</sup>

The existence of another lost work by Triller is implied in another source, a letter transcribed in the manuscript Cod. Guelf. 37.27 Aug. 2° of the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel (D-W). The manuscript was copied in the early seventeenth century by Daniel Sudermann, a poet and theologian close to the spiritualist movement, and it contains letters and texts by its leading exponents Kaspar Schwenckfeld and Valentin Krautwald.<sup>70</sup> One of these letters mentions Triller, and it merits a closer look.<sup>71</sup>

The letter was written by the abovementioned Silesian spiritualist Kaspar Schwenckfeld ('C. S.' in the source), who strongly opposed the Lutherans on various theological issues pertaining the nature of the Eucharist and of Christ (see chapter 2.2). The addressee is unknown, since Sudermann did not copy the salutation or conclusion, but we can infer that the recipient must have asked Schwenckfeld for a comment on a theological text that is identified as 'Triller's book' ('Trillers büchlin'). This 'Triller' is certainly Valentin Triller, since no other Triller is known to have taken part in the theological controversies of the mid-sixteenth century.

At first, it is tempting to see *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* as this 'Trillers büchlin'.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, as we shall see in detail in chapter 2.2, Triller implicitly criticises Schwenckfeld's theology in the dedication letter of his hymnbook, albeit without mentioning it explicitly. However, reading Schwenckfeld's letter it seems that the 'Trillers büchlin' was a polemical theological pamphlet rather than a hymnbook. Schwenckfeld claims to have read 'more than the half of it', stating that Triller 'writes against us more skilfully than any theologian from here' ('here' probably being South Germany).<sup>73</sup> The issues discussed in the letter are Christological in nature, which is unsurprising since Christology was one of the main topics of contention between Schwenckfeld and Lutheran theologians.<sup>74</sup> Christological themes are obviously present in Triller's hymnbook, but they are not expounded in the systematic way implied by Schwenckfeld's detailed answer. Nor is the hymnbook concerned just with Schwenckfeld's theology, which seems

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<sup>69</sup> See (Ameln 1971) and (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 68–70).

<sup>70</sup> (Heinemann 1966, 152–153).

<sup>71</sup> The letter was edited in (Schultz 1961, 474–477).

<sup>72</sup> This interpretation was proposed in (Mańko-Matysiak 2003, 158). Mańko-Matysiak's reasoning is quite confusing, however, as she seems to believe that the letter was written in 1553 (see further), which is patently incompatible with her hypothesis that it discusses a hymnbook published in 1555.

<sup>73</sup> 'Wass Trillers büchlin belanget, hab ich mehr den halb gelesen, und wiewol er keinen grund hat, so schreibt er doch geschichter wider uns, den kein Theologus hieraussen', D-W Cod. Guelf. 37.27 Aug. 2°, p. 295.

<sup>74</sup> On Kaspar Schwenckfeld's theology see (Weigelt 1973) and (McLaughlin 1996).

to be the case of 'Trillers büchlin'. Accordingly, it seems more likely that 'Trillers büchlin' is a theological text, now lost, which might have circulated in printed or handwritten form. We do not know exactly when Valentin Triller wrote it. The letter by Schwenckfeld is usually dated to 1553 in the secondary literature,<sup>75</sup> but this dating is unfounded.<sup>76</sup> Its transcription in Sudermann's manuscript bears no date, nor is the source organised in chronological fashion. It must have been written before 1561 (the year of Schwenckfeld's death), most likely during the 1550s, since it was copied among letters some of which are dated 1553 or 1557.

To conclude, although Valentin Triller might seem a minor figure in music history, and his life did not leave many traces, his output is quite striking. Born in a town in Lower Silesia and pastor of a village, he was active as a theologian and hymnodist, participated actively in the religious controversies of his time, and edited a voluminous and unique hymnbook, *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, at which we will take a closer look in the following chapters.

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<sup>75</sup> See, for instance, (Ameln 1971, 165–166) and (Mańko–Matysiak 2005, 69).

<sup>76</sup> Scholars probably uncritically took over this date from (Schneider 1857, 8), where Schwenckfeld's letter was first discussed in connection with Triller. Schneider, however, did not add any evidence to support his dating.

## Chapter 2

### The hymnbook through its paratexts

The idea that paratexts negotiate the relation between author, text, and reader has become a truism in academic discussions. To quote a statement by Gérard Genette, 'the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public'.<sup>1</sup> Paratexts shape our approach to the content and, for the historian, they constitute a unique window onto its multiple and complex meanings.

In this chapter, I shall address what I consider the most important issues that emerge from reading the main paratexts of Valentin Triller's hymnbook. My analysis follows three principal threads, which can be summarised with the keywords 'regionalism', 'religious identity', and 'musical past'. Chapter 2.1 deals with the sense of regional consciousness that shines through the hymnbook, considering especially its title 'a Silesian hymnbook'. Chapter 2.2 offers a close reading of the dedication letter and shows the religious and confessional meanings that Triller attributed to the publication. Chapter 2.3 investigates Triller's statements on the musical repertory, focusing on the antiquity trope that appears both on the title pages and in the preface. Chapter 2.4 tackles questions regarding the hymnbook's intended readership and function, examines the relation between paratexts and content, and summarises the findings of the entire second chapter.

Before proceeding to this topic-oriented analysis, it is worth offering a general overview of the different textual and visual paratexts of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*. Besides title rubrics that introduce virtually every hymn (transcribed in Appendix B and addressed from different perspectives in chapters 3–4), the hymnbook's paratexts comprise its entire fascicle A (including title page, a woodcut, dedication letter, preface, and table of contents), and its last page (fol. o4v), adorned by a woodcut with a scriptural inscription.

As I mentioned in chapter 1.1, Triller's hymnbook was distributed with two different title pages in 1555 and 1559 (see Appendix A/1 and A/2). Although these were printed four years apart and contain different content, both bear the same scriptural quotation, 'Psalm. CL. Alles was odem hat lobe den Herren' ('Herrn' on the 1559 title page).<sup>2</sup> This is Martin Luther's translation of Psalm 150:6,<sup>3</sup> a very prominent verse in

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<sup>1</sup> (Genette 1997, 1).

<sup>2</sup> 'Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord', King James Version.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm 150:6. WA *Die deutsche Bibel*, 10/1, 586–587. In the three Luther's translations recorded in WA, this verse reads basically the same, with the alternating spelling 'Herren' vs. 'Herrn', which I do not consider decisive. Thus it is not possible to infer from which edition of the psalms the quotation was taken.

the psalter, being the last verse of the last psalm. Probably for this reason, this verse was occasionally used in the colophons of hymnals.<sup>4</sup> Evidently, the conclusion of the psalter was deemed an appropriate *explicit* for a music book. By contrast, I am not aware of any hymnbook predating *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* where Psalm 150:6 is printed on the title page, although its exhortative tone certainly forms an apt opening for a collection.



Plate 1: The last folio of Valentin Triller's hymnbook (PL-Wu SDM 93, fol. o4v)

The Book of Psalms also features on the last page of the hymnbook (Plate 1), where we find a woodcut representing King David accompanied by Luther's translation

<sup>4</sup> In its Vulgate translation 'Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum', Psalm 150:6 appears, for instance, in the colophon of *Hymnarius durch das gantz Jar verteuscht* ([Schwaz am Inn]: Joseph Piernsieder 1524, RISM B/8 1524-06, vdm 177).

of Psalm 145:21, 'Mein mund sol des Herren lob sagen / und alles Fleisch lobe sein heiligen Namen jimmer und ewiglich'.<sup>5</sup> The reader would have recognised Psalm 145:21 as a caption to the woodcut, since the tradition (including the Lutheran tradition) ascribes Psalm 145 to King David.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, the woodcut was not prepared for *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, but was recycled from an as yet unidentified earlier print. In fact, it is dated 1552, three years before the publication,<sup>7</sup> and closer scrutiny reveals that it does not entirely match the context in which it appears. King David is depicted kneeling in prayer before God, who is shown looking down from a cloud. To the left of David, a harp and a sceptre lie abandoned on the ground. This is a very common iconography known as David penitent. It was often used to decorate books of hours, where it was specifically related to the penitential psalms,<sup>8</sup> and it also often appears in printed prayer books.<sup>9</sup> Its association with Psalm 145, a psalm of praise, must have been the result of Scharffenberg's pragmatic approach. He probably did not have a woodcut depicting King David playing the harp, which after all would have been more fitting for a hymnbook. He was probably aware of the penitential connotation of his 1552 woodcut,<sup>10</sup> but evidently this was not perceived as a problem.<sup>11</sup> He must have thought that a King David, although penitent, was good enough for a collection of hymns, or perhaps he simply did not want to invest extra work in Triller's hymnbook. It should be noted that the same 1552 woodcut appears on the title page of another Scharffenberg publication,<sup>12</sup> an undated pamphlet with two hymns by Johannes Gigas.

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<sup>5</sup> WA *Die deutsche Bibel*, 10/1, 578–579. 'My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord: and let all flesh bless his holy name for ever and ever', King James Version.

<sup>6</sup> 'Ein Lob David', cf. WA *Die deutsche Bibel*, 10/1, 574–575.

<sup>7</sup> I do not agree with Siegfried Fornaçon, who assumed that the hymnbook was finished by 1552 and just published three years later (Fornaçon 1962, 1022).

<sup>8</sup> See, for instance, the several examples catalogued as 'David penitent' in the Online Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts of the British Library, <[www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/](http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/)>, accessed 23 August 2019.

<sup>9</sup> For instance, in the popular prayer books known as *Hortulus animae*. Katarzyna Krzak-Weiss analysed such prayer books focusing on sources printed in Kraków in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and she includes many examples of King David penitent. See (Krzak-Weiss 2014, 202, 229, 260, 280, 307). I would like to thank Grażyna Jurkowlaniec for pointing out these examples to me.

<sup>10</sup> In the woodcut accompanying the 'Lobgeseng' *Gott wir loben dich* (the *Te Deum laudamus*) in *Ein Gesangbuch der Brüder inn Behemen und Merhern* (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg 1564, RISM B/8 1564–03), Scharffenberg coherently portrayed King David playing the harp. Cf. the reproduction of the woodcut in (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 326).

<sup>11</sup> The iconography of David penitent also appears on the title pages of sixteenth-century psalters, suggesting that it was considered appropriate to illustrate also the Book of Psalms in general. See, for instance, *Der Psalter In Neue Gesangs weise vnd künstliche Reimen gebracht* (Frankfurt am Main: Christain Egenolff 1553, RISM B/8 1553–06, VD16 B 3316), a vernacular psalter with musical notation. I would like to thank Henrike Lähnemann for drawing my attention to this source. See also the title page of *Dauids Schleuder und aller frommer Kriegesleut Psalterlein* (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg 1566, VD16 ZV 15040).

<sup>12</sup> *Ein schön new tröstlich lied / in sterbens leufften / durch M. Johann Gigas / Pfarhern zur Freistat / vor sein*





Plate 2: The coat of arms of Duke Georg II of Brieg (PL-Wu SDM 93, fol. A1v)

In this case, however, the David penitent is entirely appropriate, since Gigas' texts were intended as burial hymns.

On fol. A1v we find another woodcut, reproducing the coat of arms of Duke Georg II of Brieg, the dedicatee of the collection (Plate 2). The duke is directly addressed in the dedication letter (Appendix A/3) on the opposite page (fol. A2r), so that the two folios of the first opening mirror each other. This layout reveals the importance of the dedication in the publishing system of the time: the coat of arms and the presence

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*Haußgesinde gestellet* (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg, no date). Not listed in VD16, see the copy at PL-WRu Sign. 313022. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether this print was published before or after 1555.

of an ornamental, engraved capital letter make it impossible to overlook. Generally speaking, the presence of a dedication is not surprising in a sixteenth-century printed book. It has even been argued that the dedication was ‘the official act of publication’ and that ‘a work without dedication might be in fact synonymous with an unpublished work’.<sup>13</sup> However, the situation is quite different if we consider specifically hymnbooks, a book type where dedications are more the exception than the norm.<sup>14</sup> This might be related to the status of authorship in the hymn-publishing system: many publications had no author in the strong sense of the word, but consisted of altered reprints or newly organised collections of hymns already in circulation. Since the dedication is primarily a means by which authors sought not only remuneration but also recognition, it is conceivable that it played a secondary role among hymnbooks precisely because of the weak status of authorship. Thus, I would argue that the dedication letter of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* mirrors the authorial status that Valentin Triller claimed for himself by displaying his own name on the title page. It negotiates the relation between author and dedicatee and it ‘locates the text [...] in the system of the social and political hierarchy, thus in a system of power’.<sup>15</sup> In chapter 2.2 I will analyse in greater detail the nature of this ‘system of power’, also investigating the role of Duke Georg II of Brieg in the publication of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*.

The dedication letter is followed by the *Preface to the Christian reader* (Appendix A/4), a short but informative text which I will address repeatedly in chapters 2.1–4. After the preface, a table of contents lists the text incipits of the hymns in alphabetical order (see chapter 3).

Before proceeding to the analysis of the discourses staged in title pages, dedication letter, and preface, it should be noted that these paratexts have already attracted great scholarly attention, even more than the musical content of the hymnbook. The reader will certainly notice the richness of these texts, which portray with clarity the cultural, political, and religious conditions that constituted the breeding ground of Triller’s editorial enterprise. However, their apparent explicitness has repeatedly caused misinterpretations of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*. It goes without saying that Valentin Triller did not write these texts as an ‘instruction manual’ for his hymnbook, nor did he imagine twenty-first century hymnologists as his readers. Thus, although the paratexts discussed in this chapter contribute greatly to our understanding of the book they accompany, they are sources from a distant past, and as such they need to be read critically.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> (Enenkel 2008, 40)

<sup>14</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 59).

<sup>15</sup> (Enenkel 2008, 39).

<sup>16</sup> To date, the best analysis of Triller’s hymnbook is a short contribution published by Konrad Ameln, (Ameln 1971). Although this article is chiefly concerned with dismissing the interpretation of the hymnbook as a Schwenckfelder



## 2.1 'A Silesian hymnbook'

When I held the first edition of Valentin Triller's hymnbook in my hands, I immediately glanced at its title page (Appendix A/1). It is impossible to overlook the first line, printed in bigger characters with red ink, which both describes and names the book as *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, 'a Silesian hymnbook'. Not only does this label define the object as what it is (a hymnbook), but it also includes a connotative adjective that seeks to characterise just this very hymnbook (Silesian). I would argue that these few words had the status of a title in the strong sense of the word. For instance, on the leather cover of the original binding of the copy PL-WRu Sign. 51221, probably executed in 1557, the binder impressed just two words, 'Schlesich Singebuch', suggesting that these unmistakably defined the content of the binding. In light of this title's specificity, it is essential to reconstruct its meaning, trying to unveil some of the associations that it might have evoked in the mind of a sixteenth-century reader.

It should be noted that hymnbooks quite often resort to geographical references on the title page, in addition to the place of printing. For instance, the title page of a 1541 Strasbourg publication<sup>17</sup> informs the reader that its content was gathered from 'the little songbooks of Wittenberg, Strasbourg, and other churches'.<sup>18</sup> Geographical labels of this kind did not simply identify sources and repertories. In fact, they could fulfil multiple functions, as the following examples make clear. Consider, for instance, the title page of the so-called *Achtliederbuch*, a collection of eight hymns generally regarded as the first Lutheran hymnal.<sup>19</sup> The source displays 'Wittenberg' as the place of printing, although it was printed by the Nuremberg-based printer Jobst Gutknecht. It is likely that Gutknecht opted for a false place of print because Nuremberg had not yet officially allowed the Reformation. The title page contains a second reference to Wittenberg, which states that the book contains 'several Christian songs, hymns of praise and psalms [...] for singing in the church, as in part is already the practice in Wittenberg'.<sup>20</sup> This was interpreted as a further attempt to deflect attention from Gut-

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source, Ameln touches on many other aspects that lay a solid foundation for any scholarly work on Valentin Triller and his hymnbook. Accordingly, I will often refer to this publication.

<sup>17</sup> *Gesangbuch, darinn begriffen sind, die aller fürnemisten und besten Psalmen, Geistliche Lieder, und Chorgeseng, aus dem Wittembergischen, Strasburgischen, und anderer Kirchen Gesangbüchlin zusammen bracht, und mit besonderem fleis corrigiert und gedrucket. Für Stett und Dorff Kirchen, Lateinische und Deudsche Schulen* (Strasbourg: Georg Messerschmidt 1541, RISM B/8 1541-06).

<sup>18</sup> Translation from (Trocme-Latter 2015, 201). See (Trocme-Latter 2015, 201-207) for a detailed discussion of this source's title page.

<sup>19</sup> *Etlich cristlich Lieder, Lobgesang und Psalm* ([Nuremberg]: [Jobst Gutknecht] 1524). Three editions of this book exist, all dated to the same year. Cf. vdm 179-181.

<sup>20</sup> 'Etlich Christlich lieder Lobgesang und Psalm [...] in der Kirchen zu singen wie es dann zum tayl berayt zu Wittenberg in übung ist', translation from (Herl 2004, 91).

knecht's press,<sup>21</sup> but the reference to the cradle of the Reformation certainly also had legitimising and advertising purposes.<sup>22</sup> Such considerations also account for the title pages of two other 'Wittenberg' collections not issued in Wittenberg, the 1534<sup>23</sup> and 1537<sup>24</sup> Strasbourg reprints of Johann Walter's *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn* (RISM B/8 1524–18).<sup>25</sup> The original title was turned into *Wittenbergisch Gsangbüchli*, thus pointing at the authoritative origin of the published repertory.

A title such as *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, although very close to the examples just mentioned, constitutes a different case again. First of all, 'Schlesich' does not refer to a city, but to a region, a somewhat vaguer geographic entity. Moreover, Silesia could not boast a religious prestige in any way comparable to that of Wittenberg. Even if we broaden the scope to book printing in general, it was not very common to define a publication as 'Silesian'. The *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD 16) records just one other example, the *Schlesische General Chronica*, a chronicle of Silesian history for which the geographical specification in the title seems obvious. With regard to collections of hymns, we have to wait until 1704 before encountering another 'Silesian' hymnbook, the *Schlesisches Kirchen Gesangbuch*.<sup>26</sup> Thus we are left wondering what lies behind the definition *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, and why Valentin Triller chose it as the title of his publication.

Before attempting to answer these questions, it should be added that the term 'Silesia' is far from unequivocal, and it has been argued recently that 'depending on the chosen perspective—whether geographical, historical, cultural, political or administrative—it may be identified with different areas'.<sup>27</sup> The term also underwent radical changes diachronically, and we must take care to avoid anachronistic understandings. When searching for an adequate explanation of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, moreover, we should not look for a univocal meaning that could account for its sixteenth-century understanding. Geographical terms do not just point at surfaces on a map: they often combine cultural, political, religious, and even emotional meanings. Thus the specific but dynamic and multifaceted associations that Triller and his readers might have established with the title *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* are a defining but elusive aspect, which I will address from different perspectives in the following pages.

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<sup>21</sup> (Herl 2004, 91).

<sup>22</sup> (Leaver 2017, 91).

<sup>23</sup> *Wittenbergische Gsangbüchli durch Johan. Walthern Churfürstlichen von Sachsen senger meystern uff ein neues corrigiert gebessert und gemeret* (Strasbourg: Schöffner and Apiarius 1534, RISM B/8 1534–07, vdm 112).

<sup>24</sup> *Wittenbergisch Gsangbüchli [sic] durch Johan. Walthern Churfürstlichen von Sachsen senger meyster uff ein neues corrigiert gebessert und gemeret* (Strasbourg: Schöffner and Apiarius 1537, RISM B/8 1537–08, vdm 113).

<sup>25</sup> (Trocme–Latter 2015, 132–133).

<sup>26</sup> On this source see (Mańko–Matysiak 2005, 232–239).

<sup>27</sup> (Kosmala 2013, 21).

## Silesian regionalism

The name 'Silesia' first appeared in writing in Latin, and during the Middle Ages various forms emerged (Śląsk, Slezsko, Schlesien), reflecting the different languages of the region's inhabitants. In the twelve and thirteenth centuries 'Silesia' appears as part of ducal titles as well as as geographical designation,<sup>28</sup> and both uses became widespread by the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>29</sup> The division between Upper and Lower Silesia, mentioned in the Introduction, was already current in the early modern period, but in the sixteenth century the general term 'Silesia' tended to include both.<sup>30</sup>

As we will see in detail later on, Triller's hymnbook was dedicated to one of the Silesian dukes, Georg II of Brieg, who is defined in the dedication letter as 'Duke in Silesia of Liegnitz and Brieg' (dedication letter, line 2). Since the Silesian duchy in which Triller resided belonged to the duke, it is plausible that dynastic associations prompted the choice of the title, and we could interpret the definition 'a Silesian hymnbook' as a homage to the dedicatee, and as a token of loyalty. There are other instances of 'geographical titles' connected to the noble titles of the dedicatee: a good example is Girolamo Diruta's *Il Transilvano* (Venice: Vincenti 1593), dedicated to Sigismund Báthory Prince of Transylvania.

This explanation takes into account the early modern understanding of local identities, which were often constructed upon representatives of the ruling class. However, I do not think that this sufficiently explains Triller's title page. Without denying the role of dynastic associations in the choice of the title, I would argue that another meaning should be taken into account, one that goes beyond the duchy and its ruler to embrace the whole of Silesia as a region.

Although sixteenth-century Silesia was fragmented into duchies, free states, royal, and feudal cities, some of its inhabitants felt a sense of belonging to the geographical space they identified as Silesia. In other words, some of Valentin Triller's contemporaries not only were inhabitants of a territory that had been called Silesia for centuries, but they also identified as Silesians, nurturing an emotional bond with the region. The formation, development, and transformation of Silesian regional identity have formed the subject of various studies,<sup>31</sup> and countless early modern literary, historiographical, and geographical works show the existence of a strong sense of 'Silesianity', at least among the elite. Moreover, it has been argued that regional consciousness also operated beyond the circles of the highly educated. As Lucyna Harc pointed out: 'perceptions of Silesia as a kind of a whole and building emotional bonds with the

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<sup>28</sup> (Mrozowicz 2013, 216–217).

<sup>29</sup> (Manikowska 1990).

<sup>30</sup> (Möller 2000) and (Harc 2014, 198).

<sup>31</sup> See especially (Rüther 2010), (Wiszewski 2013a), and (Harc and Wąs 2014).

region' were 'instilled and passed in the local gymnasiums [i.e. schools] to the young boys from all walks of life – from the nobility and the wealthy burghers to the children from poor families who were gaining education owing to the system of foundations and grants'.<sup>32</sup>

Against this background, the title 'a Silesian hymnbook' appears to be more than a geographic label, and it must also have reflected a Silesian regional identity. After all, Triller was born in the region and he probably received his education there. This assumption is confirmed by other formulations in the paratexts of Triller's hymnbook. In the preface, for example, Triller speaks of 'our Silesian places':<sup>33</sup> this expression betrays a sense of community and belonging, and we find several similar formulations in humanist works that are considered among the chief expressions of Silesian identity. For example, Joachim Curaeus speaks of Silesia as 'our Silesia' ('nostra Silesia') and 'our homeland' ('patria nostra') in his *Gentis Silesiae Annales* (1571), while Martin Helwig's printed map of Silesia (1561) labels the region as 'our dear fatherland Silesia' ('unser liebes Vaterlandt Schlesien').<sup>34</sup>

I claim that the 1555 title page of Triller's hymnbook (and, as we shall see, not just the title page) is best understood in terms of regionalism, intended as regional consciousness and identity. In speaking of regionalism, I do not assume a homogeneous community that perfectly corresponds to the region (one place, one people, one culture). Such an understanding of regionalism would be out of place in sixteenth-century Silesia, and indeed the very idea of region as 'primordial *ethnos*' as opposed to a 'cosmopolitan *demos*' has no currency anymore in geographical studies.<sup>35</sup> As I have mentioned above, different linguistic and ethnic communities dwelled in Silesia, and not all of them identified with the region in the same way as Valentin Triller, who was part of a German-speaking and Lutheran culture. Still, at least some of the inhabitants of Silesia shared an understanding of the place that was similar to that of Valentin Triller. *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* should also be read from this perspective: it is a title with which the editor's community could certainly identify.

By arguing that *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* evoked dynastic and regionalistic associations, I have shown just part of its meaning. While it is plain that a person or a duchy could be defined as 'Silesian', it is not entirely clear what makes a hymnbook 'Silesian'. Is this just a label chosen for its evocative meaning, or is there anything more specific that renders the hymnbook 'Silesian'? Some hints are to be found in the *Preface to the Christian reader* ('Vorrede zum Christlichen Leser'). I have mentioned above

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<sup>32</sup> (Harc 2014, 201).

<sup>33</sup> See preface, lines 8–9 ('in unsern Schlesischen orten und Kirchen') and line 20 ('in unsern Schlesischen orten und gemeinen').

<sup>34</sup> (Harc 2014, 200).

<sup>35</sup> (Paasi 2003, 480).

the characteristic expressions used by Triller when referring to Silesian localities, which he calls 'our Silesian places'. Interestingly, the rest of the foreword is written entirely in the first person singular: Triller only switches to the first person plural when talking of Silesia. This not only points to a sense of community, but also reveals that the 'ideal reader' Triller imagined while writing the preface was another fellow Silesian. Only thus does the plural inflection of 'our Silesian places' make sense. Thus, the 'Christian reader' addressed in the foreword is not characterised just by a religious identity, but implicitly also by a regional one. This suggests that the publication was intended as a hymnbook for Silesians, thus a Silesian hymnbook. Valentin Triller is quite explicit on this point, and right at the beginning of the foreword he defines the hymnbook as 'my small service to my fellow Silesians' (preface, lines 4–5). He defines the inhabitants of Silesia as 'Silesians', he identifies them as fellow countrypeople, and he refers to the hymnbook as a service to them. I do not think that one could find clearer evidence that regionalism was a fundamental ingredient of the cultural context that led to the publication of Valentin Triller's hymnbook.

This interpretation allows me to reconcile *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* with the marketing function of title pages discussed above. Although Silesia did not have the reputation and 'saleability' of Wittenberg, the preface suggests that the hymnbook targeted a regional market, and Triller could have chosen the imaginative title *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* in order to leverage the 'patriotism' of his fellow Silesians. Since nothing comparable was available on the market, Silesians might have been interested in a hymnbook printed in Silesia and edited by a pastor born and active there, or at least that is what Triller and Scharffenberg might have thought. It should be noted, moreover, that all these aspects are showcased on the title page: the Triller's place of birth ('Gora'), his parish ('Pantenaw im Nimpschischen Weichbilde'), and the hymnbook's place of print ('Bresslaw') are all ostensibly Silesian places.

That being said, a caveat is necessary with regard to the regionalistic meanings of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*. Although I have argued that the paratexts reveal an emotional bond with Silesia, we should not overlook the nature of such sources. A title page and a preface are public statements, and as such they represent the public persona of their author. Triller's reliance on a regionalistic narrative might have been prompted by his public function as a pastor and by his affiliation with a Silesian duke. In the absence of other sources, his inner thoughts remain hidden to historical research. Moreover, Triller betrays a certain flexibility in portraying his publication's target reader, and he seems to have adapted it to his addressee. While in the preface he speaks of the 'fellow countrypeople' of Silesia, in the dedication letter to Duke Georg II of Brieg he declares to have compiled the hymnbook 'for the use of Your Grace's subjects and of any others who can make use of it' (dedication letter, lines 28–29). 'Your Grace's subjects' are those living in the Duchy of Brieg (Georg II's hereditary duchy) and probably also those dwelling in the Duchy of Liegnitz (where Georg II was duke regent, see below). Both are indeed Silesians, but form just a part of the whole

region's inhabitants. However, there is no need to read this (opportunistic?) dualism between duchies and region as a contradiction: regional, dynastic, and (as we shall see) religious layers were deeply intertwined in the definition *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*, and we should not try to force a univocal interpretation upon the hymnbook. In order to discuss possible further meanings, I will now leave the title page and proceed to the dedication letter.

## 2.2 Music and religious identity in Valentin Triller's dedication letter

Triller's dedication letter, although following the basic rules of the *ars dictaminis*, is unusual in many respects. The opening salutation serves the basic purpose of declaring the names of the interlocutors, their titles, and the relationship between the two, thus staging a 'discourse between absentees'.<sup>36</sup> Triller wrote it in the first person singular, following a standard bipartite structure, stating first the addressee's name and titles, followed by the sender's expression of affection.<sup>37</sup> The salutation serves also as *captatio benevolentiae*: the duke is defined as 'Your Grace, high-born prince and lord', while Triller calls himself a 'poor servant of the Word' (dedication letter, lines 1 and 4). Note also the repetition of the word 'Herr' at lines 1–2, which is not a printing mistake, but a way of reinforcing the honorific.<sup>38</sup> In the conclusion, Triller wishes the duke and his family spiritual and physical health, entrusting his own wife and children to the duke's protection (dedication letter, lines 56–62). Thus, the letter's beginning and conclusion underline the relationship of subordination between editor and dedicatee. Nonetheless, Triller dispensed with a more elaborate *laus patroni*, and no space is devoted to the dedicatee's qualities and deeds. Instead, the dedication letter expounds two sets of arguments directly related to the hymnbook's publication. The first has a generic tone, and could be found in any sixteenth-century music print; the second closely mirrors the specific political and religious situation of mid-sixteenth-century Silesia, and it adds an important layer of meaning to the title 'a Silesian hymnbook'.

### Music as sacrifice of praise

The first part of the dedication letter discusses worship and music, addressing the nature of music from a theological point of view (dedication letter, lines 10–30). The reasoning begins by thematising the distance between humans and God (lines 10–17). Triller states that we cannot offer anything to God but our 'bodies' ('Leibe') and

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<sup>36</sup> (Delle Donne 2002, 251).

<sup>37</sup> For a discussion of salutations according to medieval and renaissance practices, see (Baños 2005, 153–157 and 539–556).

<sup>38</sup> As such, it was criticised as adulation by some rhetoricians (Baños 2005, 540–541).

our 'sacrifice of praise' ('opfer des lobes'). These two concepts are rooted in the Holy Scriptures. The 'sacrifice of the body' is addressed by Saint Paul in Romans 12:1: 'I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercy of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing unto God, your reasonable service'.<sup>39</sup> The 'sacrifice of praise' is a more common expression that appears in the psalms as well as in the letter to the Hebrews 13:15, 'By him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise always to God, that is to say, the fruit of lips confessing to his name'.<sup>40</sup> All in all, Triller's words echo Lutheran understandings of sacrifice (*Opfer*), which is presented as every Christian's duty (a duty grounded in the Holy Scriptures). This can be compared fruitfully with Martin Luther's words in *The misuse of the Mass* (1521), where the 'sacrifice of the body' and the 'sacrifice of praise' are discussed as the scriptural foundations of the priesthood of all believers.<sup>41</sup>

From the sacrifice of praise, Triller proceeds to expound the difference between private and communal devotion (lines 17–23). Although contemplating both, he lays emphasis on the second, underscoring the advantages of encouraging each other to praise God.<sup>42</sup> Triller refers explicitly to the psalms and especially ('sonderlich') to Saint Paul,<sup>43</sup> but he does not mention a precise scriptural passage. He was probably thinking of Ephesians 5:19<sup>44</sup> and Colossians 3:16,<sup>45</sup> where communal devotion is linked to the singing of hymns.<sup>46</sup> These implicit references to Saint Paul's letters enable Triller to finally introduce the main point of his argument, which is 'Musica' (dedication letter, lines 24–27).

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<sup>39</sup> Douay–Rheims 1899 edition. Luther's Bible of 1545 reads 'Ich ermahne euch nun, liebe Brüder, durch die Barmherzigkeit Gottes, daß ihr eure Leiber begebenet zum Opfer, das da lebendig, heilig und Gott wohlgefällig sei, welches sei euer vernünftiger Gottesdienst'.

<sup>40</sup> Douay–Rheims 1899 edition. Luther's Bible of 1545 reads 'So lasset uns nun opfern durch ihn das Lobopfer Gott allezeit, das ist die Frucht der Lippen, die seinen Namen bekennen.'

<sup>41</sup> WA 8, 492–493. It should be noted that Triller's expression 'kelber unser lippen' (dedication letter, line 15) appears also in Luther's *The misuse of the Mass* (WA 8, 493, line 8) as a quotation of Hosea 14:3. Luther's later translation of the same passage renders this expression as 'Farren unsrer Lippen' (WA *Die Deutsche Bibel* 11/2, 208).

<sup>42</sup> The importance of communal worship for Lutherans is discussed in (Schattauer 2014).

<sup>43</sup> Saint Paul was an authority often evoked in prefaces of sacred music collections. See, for instance, (Redeker 1995, 203) and (Groote 2013, 243).

<sup>44</sup> 'Speaking to yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual canticles, singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord', Douay–Rheims 1899 edition. Luther's Bible of 1545 reads 'redet untereinander in Psalmen und Lobgesängen und geistlichen Liedern, singet und spielet dem Herrn in eurem Herzen'.

<sup>45</sup> 'Let the word of Christ dwell in you abundantly, in all wisdom: teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual canticles, singing in grace in your hearts to God', Douay–Rheims 1899 edition. Luther's Bible of 1545 reads 'Lasset das Wort Christi unter euch reichlich wohnen in aller Weisheit; lehret und vernahmet euch selbst mit Psalmen und Lobgesängen und geistlichen lieblichen Liedern und singt dem Herrn in eurem Herzen'.

<sup>46</sup> Unsurprisingly, authors discussing the role of music often point to these scriptural passages: see, for instance, WB, 577, 584, 631, 636, 657. There are several other similar examples.

Triller's idea of music, as it emerges from this dedication letter, is quite conventional. Music is portrayed as a *donum Dei* whose sole function is to praise God.<sup>47</sup> Note the expression 'made and given by God' (dedication letter, lines 24–25): music was not invented by humans, but created by God, and accordingly Triller makes no reference to Jubal or Pythagoras. Additionally, there is no trace of the humanistic reasoning expounded by other sixteenth-century Lutheran writers, who also stressed the edifying power of music and its impact on the human soul.<sup>48</sup> Triller remains grounded in a strictly theological understanding of music, which is hardly surprising given the context of this dedication letter. Nonetheless, he briefly acknowledges the sonic essence of music, its 'manifold concords and different tones' ('manchfaltigen concordanten / und unterschiedlichen tonis', dedication letter, lines 25–26). Terms such as 'concordanten' and 'tonis' betray Triller's familiarity with music theory, and shortly after he presents music as one of the gifts God gave him (whether he means one of his talents or something else is unclear). This suggests that he considered himself well-versed in the subject of music, although there are no sources telling us what sort of music training he might have enjoyed.

All things considered, the first part of Triller's dedication letter serves to present music as a means of making an appropriate 'sacrifice of praise', and it matches the quotations from the Book of Psalms on the first and last page of the hymnbook. In opening the dedication letter with this argument, Triller made an efficient rhetorical move: by legitimising music, he legitimises the publication of the hymnbook itself, constructing a solid basis for what follows.

### A manifesto of faith

After depicting the hymnbook as an instrument for exercising faith and devotion, Triller addresses another reason that prompted him to publish it. Although this comes second in the dedication letter, it is by no means of secondary importance, and Triller introduces it with the adverb 'sonderlich' ('especially', dedication letter, line 30). As I have mentioned above, Triller's line of reasoning is inextricably related to the religious and political situation of mid-sixteenth-century Silesia, which is outlined by the editor himself in the dedication letter. It is worth quoting his words in full:

Especially because we servants of the Word who live in Your Grace's lands are suspected by many highly educated people of being teachers of error—this accusation touches not only us, but has the potential to damage Your Grace's reputation—in order to clear our-

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<sup>47</sup> This conception of music has been widely discussed by scholars, especially with regard to Martin Luther's theology of music. See, for instance, (Leaver 2007, 65–103). (Bear 2016) discusses the problems inherent in Luther's theology of music to a great extent.

<sup>48</sup> Inga Mai Groote has discussed at length the 'theological' and 'humanistic' conceptions of music in Lutheran writings, especially in Philipp Melancthon. See (Groote 2013) and (Groote 2016).



selves of suspicion and protect Your Grace from the slander that you support and tolerate followers of false teaching in your territories, this book testifies to and sings of the following doctrines, so that everyone can see and perceive that we promulgate a pure and impeccably Christian doctrine [...] (dedication letter, lines 30–37).

Admittedly, this paragraph is confusing: revealing being considered a ‘heretic’ by many highly educated people (which perhaps refers to theologians) seems out of place in a dedication letter. This is no personal communication: it is a fictive letter that is meant to be read by all the prints’ buyers. Why does Valentin Triller wish to inform all his readers about this?

In order to understand this part of the dedication letter, it should be first noted that the ‘we’ through which Triller is speaking is not the majestic plural.<sup>49</sup> While he described the compilation of the hymnbook in the first person singular in the preceding paragraph, here he switches to the first person plural to indicate a group of which he is part. This group is not ‘mankind’, as in the opening of the dedication letter, but a much more restricted one: the ‘servants of the Word’ (the pastors) who live in Duke Georg II’s lands. Triller notes moreover that the allegation of heresy would not slander just the religious community, but also its secular authority, thus portraying the duke and his pastors as facing one and the same issue. In the subsequent passages, Triller adopts a defensive tone that is quite different from the combative and admonishing character we find in other sixteenth-century hymnbooks.<sup>50</sup> The modern scholars who assumed that Triller was or had been a ‘teacher of error’ (from a Lutheran perspective) must have read this as an attempt to obtain the duke’s forgiveness. This hypothesis has been dismantled by Konrad Ameln, yet Triller’s statement remains puzzling. Once again, the key to understanding it lies in Triller’s reference to a community, in this case a community whose honour would be at stake.

Indeed, a ‘heterodox’ religious reputation was reality for sixteenth-century Silesians. It had been brought about in the two preceding decades by the strong presence in Silesia of Anabaptists and Spiritualists, and by the prominent role of Silesian theologians in the religious disputes within the Protestant front.<sup>51</sup> As a matter of fact, two of the most important Spiritualist thinkers were of Silesian origin, the abovementioned Kaspar Schwenckfeld (d. 1561) and his close associate Valentin Crautwald (d. 1545). They had been deeply involved in the political and religious life of the region, where they left an enduring influence: groups of Spiritualists dwelled in Silesia until the nineteenth century.<sup>52</sup> While speaking of ‘teachers of error’, Triller was intentionally vague, avoiding any precise reference and pointing collectively at those doctrines opposed by the

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<sup>49</sup> Triller’s use of the first person plural was already noted in (Ameln 1971, 166).

<sup>50</sup> See, for instance, (Redeker 1995, 255–269).

<sup>51</sup> The best and most complete contribution on the topic remains (Weigelt 1973).

<sup>52</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 1).

Lutherans. However, a reader aware of the religious history of Silesia and especially of Duke Georg II's duchies would have interpreted 'error' in more precise terms. In order to understand this aspect of the dedication letter, it is worth summarising the roots and development of Spiritualist strands in Silesia.

The initiator undoubtedly was Kaspar Schwenckfeld.<sup>53</sup> Born in 1489 of a noble family in the Duchy of Liegnitz, around 1518/1519 he entered the court council of Friedrich II of Liegnitz (Georg II's father), with whom he established a relation of esteem and confidence.<sup>54</sup> At first, Schwenckfeld and his followers saw themselves within the Wittenberg Reformation,<sup>55</sup> until their views, especially those on the Eucharist, led to the break with the Lutherans in 1526.<sup>56</sup> Briefly, Schwenckfelders did not acknowledge the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and they conceived a strong dichotomy between body and spirit, rejecting any external means (including the sacraments) as *media salutis*. Even the Holy Scriptures were seen as an external sign (*verbum externum*) of the real Word of God, which is purely spiritual. By the end of the 1520s, Schwenckfeld and his followers found themselves in theological and ecclesiastical isolation.<sup>57</sup> Schwenckfeld himself had to leave Silesia in 1529, following a decree of King Ferdinand I against the 'scorners of the sacrament'.<sup>58</sup> Friedrich II of Liegnitz, who had long supported Schwenckfeld, at first was hesitant, opposing only the most radical fringes of the Spiritualists.<sup>59</sup> In 1539, however, political upheavals prompted him to join sides with the Lutherans, and he took firmer action to repress the Spiritualists in his lands.<sup>60</sup> In 1545 he issued his first decree against Schwenckfelders,<sup>61</sup> threatening to expel anybody who would not embrace the Lutheran confession.<sup>62</sup> Notwithstanding the loss of political support, groups of radical spiritualists remained in Silesia, including within Friedrich II's lands, and Schwenckfeld continued to promote his doctrine in exile, stirring up controversy within and outside the region. Between 1546 and 1575 over 110 theological pamphlets were published in which Schwenckfeld's ideas are either supported

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<sup>53</sup> On Schwenckfeld, see (Weigelt 1973), (Weigelt 2007b), and the essays collected in (McLaughlin 1996). See also (Wąs 2017, 19–65).

<sup>54</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 3–6).

<sup>55</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 47).

<sup>56</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 65–77).

<sup>57</sup> Next to the secondary literature quoted above, see the very clear summary in (Weigelt 2007b, 258–260).

<sup>58</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 102–104).

<sup>59</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 126–144 and 152).

<sup>60</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 169–181).

<sup>61</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 177).

<sup>62</sup> The evolving relations between Duke Friedrich II and Schwenckfelders are discussed in (Weigelt 2007a).

or opposed.<sup>63</sup> This debate achieved wide resonance, involving influential personalities such as Philip Melancthon<sup>64</sup> and Matthias Flacius.<sup>65</sup>

The risk that Schwenckfelders could affect Silesia's reputation already had been perceived by Ferdinand I, who ruled over the region as King of Bohemia. In a letter of 1528 that urged Duke Friedrich II of Liegnitz to take action against Schwenckfeld, Ferdinand wrote:

Although just your [Friedrich II's] pastors and subjects, according to the common Christian understanding, are responsible for this rumination against the clear text and scripture of Matthew, Mark, Luke and Paul, all Silesians will be suspected not only by Germans, but also by Bohemians and other nations, as if all Silesians supported this damnable doctrine, established by its new sectarians [...].<sup>66</sup>

Against this background we can fully understand Triller's concerns. After all, Georg II's duchies were among those that witnessed the birth and the strongest dissemination of Schwenckfeld's ideas. The authorities' measures notwithstanding, sympathisers with this doctrine were still present in the 1550s,<sup>67</sup> and other members of the local ecclesiastical community worried about their own reputation. For instance, on 9 October 1554 (just a few months before the publication of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*) the pastors of Liegnitz, Goldberg, Haynau and Lüben wrote to Duke Georg II that

[...] the pernicious offence of the Schwenckfelder heresy pervades these places far and wide, and the surrounding neighbours, foreigners, men of learning and esteemed persons, suspect that all the pastors together with the whole principality are followers of such heresy, and Your Highness's whole principality is infected with such poison.<sup>68</sup>

This letter thematises the same issue as Triller's dedication letter, yet there is one fundamental difference between the two. The private letter, sent to urge the duke's intervention, portrays the situation in its gravity, stressing the disruptive force of the

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<sup>63</sup> See the sources listed in (Dingel).

<sup>64</sup> See his *Antwort auff Schwenckfelts suchung* (Worms: Paul and Philipp Köpfel 1557, VD16 A 2999). Catalogued in (Dingel).

<sup>65</sup> Matthias Flacius often engaged with Schwenckfeld's doctrine, see the publications listed in (Dingel).

<sup>66</sup> 'Denn wiewohl allein seine Prädicanten und Unterthanen solches Grübeln wieder klahre Text und Schrifft, Mat-thäi, Marci, Luca und Pauli, nach gemeinen Chrstlichen Verstandt Anfänger und Ursache seynd, so müßten doch nicht allein bey Deutschen, sondern bey Boheimbden und andern Nationen, alle Schlesier beziehen werden, als ob die Schlesier alle dieser verdammten Lehre, so seine neue Sectirer aufgerichtet, anhangend [...]'. Quoted after (Rosenberg 1767, 435). See also (Weigelt 1973, 102) and (Weigelt 2007b, 34–35).

<sup>67</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 178–181).

<sup>68</sup> '[...] das verterblich ergernis der Schwenckfeldischen schwermerey, welche je lenger je weyter in diesen orten einreisset, und alle seelsorger unnd pfarherrn sampt dem gantzen Fürstenthumb bey umbliegenden nachbarn unnd auslendern, vielen verstendigen leuten und ansehnlichen personen in starcken Verdacht und Argwon kommen, als weren wir alle solcher schwermerey anhengig unnd das ganze E. F. G. Fürstenthumb were mit solcher gieft durch aus beschmeisset'. Quoted in (Weigelt 1973, 178).

Schwenckfelder heresy. On the contrary, Triller's dedication letter just refers to the allegation against the local pastors without mentioning any precise doctrine, and carefully avoiding any allusion to the presence of spiritualists within the duke's lands. The hymnbook itself is presented as evidence (note the expression 'zeuget und singet', dedication letter, line 54) that the pastors of Duke Georg II's lands abide by a pure and impeccable Christian doctrine ('reine untadliche Christliche lere', dedication letter, lines 36–37). Triller's references to the unity of the Christian Church (dedication letter, lines 37–39 and 51–53) also need to be understood from this point of view. His clear intent is to stress that the local ecclesiastical community, and with it the lands governed by Duke Georg II, belong to the Lutheran Church.

In order to dispel any further doubt, the dedication letter includes also a confession of faith (lines 39–53). Konrad Ameln already noted that Triller's words are in accordance with the Augsburg Confession,<sup>69</sup> which had been adopted officially in the Duchy of Brieg with the church order of 1542.<sup>70</sup> Triller's 'confession', however, is quite short (c. 170 words), and it is important to point out which articles of faith are selected and expounded. In fact, Triller's arrangement of this brief theological statement is by no means accidental. In the first part (lines 39–45) he echoes articles one<sup>71</sup> and three<sup>72</sup> of the Augsburg Confession, concentrating on God and His Son. The following lines then focus on the ministry and the means of grace, which acquires special significance in light of the abovementioned controversies. Triller seems to draw on article five of the Augsburg Confession,<sup>73</sup> which was drafted in explicit polemic against the Anabaptists, who claimed that mankind could receive the Holy Spirit without the *verbum externum*.<sup>74</sup> By stressing the role of the ministry, the Word, and the sacraments as *media salutis*, Triller implicitly tackles one of the main aspects of the controversy with the Spiritualists, namely the preaching of the Word and the Eucharist. Just two years earlier, the pastor of Brieg, Hieronymus Wittich, had attacked Schwenckfeld's doctrine exactly on these points.<sup>75</sup> In 1556, instead, a pamphlet against Schwenckfelders addressing the same

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<sup>69</sup> (Ameln 1971, 166).

<sup>70</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 169, 176).

<sup>71</sup> (Dingel 2014, 92–95). See also (Grane 1980, 25–31).

<sup>72</sup> (Dingel 2014, 96–99). See also (Grane 1980, 39–45).

<sup>73</sup> (Dingel 2014, 100–101). See also (Grane 1980, 54–64).

<sup>74</sup> 'Damnant Anabaptistas et alios, qui sentiunt spiritum sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum preparationes et opera', *Confessio Augustana*, article 5. Quoted after (Dingel 2014, 101).

<sup>75</sup> 'Nemlich zum ersten des Schwenckfeldes / der do leret das man one alle Prediget Gottes worts / und brauch der heiligen Sacrament Christi Jesu könne gleubig und seelig werden', Hieronymus Wittich, dedication letter dated 25 November 1553 from *Kurtze vnnd gründtliche widderlegung* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter 1555, VD16 W 3789).

issues was published in Wrocław by none other than Crispin Scharffenberg, the printer of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*.<sup>76</sup>

Thus, I would argue that readers who were aware of these debates and knew the 'errors' of which Silesian pastors were suspected would have read lines 45–54 of the dedication letter as an explicit refutation of such errors, a direct answer to the allegations evoked but not specified in the dedication letter.

Taking all its parts into consideration, the dedication letter adds an important political and religious dimension to the hymnbook. It presents the collection of hymns as a manifesto of faith, with the unconcealed intent of declaring the Lutheranism of the ecclesiastical community living in the lands of Duke Georg II. The reference to the contrary allegations, which at first might seem puzzling, serves this function, and the hymnbook acquires a 'confessional' meaning, drawing a line between Christians (i.e. Lutherans) and other movements, first and foremost the Spiritualists inspired by the teachings of Kaspar Schwenckfeld.

It should be clear by now that the title of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* is also to be understood from this perspective. Admittedly, the dedication letter speaks of Duke Georg II's lands rather than of Silesia as a whole, but I have argued above that the two geographical terms should not be seen as contradicting one another. Quite the contrary: there was certainly a sense of a shared responsibility among the different Silesian duchies.<sup>77</sup> If Triller intended the hymnbook as evidence of Lutheran faith, in calling it 'Silesian' he was probably attempting to shape the perception of a regional confessional identity. That this could be the agenda of a Lutheran pastor seems even more likely in a region like Silesia, whose religious identity was indeed threatened by the centrifugal forces sketched above.

It would be valuable to ascertain the role that the Catholic party played in all this. It is indeed striking that Triller's dedication does not polemicise against 'the Papists', as many other sixteenth-century hymnodists did. It is conceivable that, because of the political

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<sup>76</sup> Simon Musaeus, *Auslegung des ersten Psalms* (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg 1556, VD16 M 5029), dedicated to 'Herrn Stentzeln / Grafen auff Gortaw / zu Buscen / Gnesen / Kolens und Valtzen'. The title page is quite telling and it is worth quoting it in its entirety: 'Außlegung des erstenn Psalms / darinn gründtlich und getrewlich gewarnet wird für des Schwenckfelds Geistloser wütereij und Teufflicher schwermereij / wider das Schrifftliche und mündtliche wort Gottes und Predigamt des Evangelij / und der Sacramenten. Geprediget vnd gestellet durch Simonem Musaeum Doctorem und Superintendenten zu Breßlaw / im Jar 1556. Psal. 119. Ich hasse die Fladergeister und liebe / Herre Gott / dein Gesetz. Denn das heil ist ferne / von den Gottlosen / die deine reche nicht achten. 1. Johan. 5. Jesus Christus kompt mit Wasser und Blut. Item / Drey sind die da zeugen / der Geist / und das Wasser und das Blut / und die drey sind beysamen'. Catalogued in (Dingel).

<sup>77</sup> In this regard, see a letter sent in 1562 by Duke Georg II of Brieg to the *Hauptmann* of Wrocław. The duke is troubled by the presence of Calvinists in Wrocław. He cautiously stresses his reluctance to meddle in 'foreign affairs' (Wrocław did not belong to his duchies), but he is mindful of the wellbeing of 'our common fatherland', also because the other churches in Silesia pay special attention to the Church in Wrocław: '[...] so bedencken wir doch hinwider die Wolfart dieses unsers gemeinen Vaterlandes, und das alwege die andern Kirchen in Schlesien auf die Kirche zu Bresslaw ein sonderlich Auge und Aufmerkern gehabt'. The entire letter is reproduced in (Eberlein 1893).

and confessional situation of mid-sixteenth-century Silesia (see the Introduction), Triller maintained a consciously neutral stance towards Catholics. After all, part of the parish of Panthenau extended to the Duchy of Schweidnitz, where the majority was still Catholic,<sup>78</sup> so that mutual tolerance was probably necessary. Similarly, the dedicatee Duke Georg II of Brieg had to maintain good relationships with the Catholic party, being vassal of the Habsburg king of Bohemia and close associate of the *Hauptmann* of Silesia, the Catholic bishop of Wrocław.<sup>79</sup> However, tensions between Catholics and Protestants were not altogether absent in Silesia,<sup>80</sup> and Triller's position in the relations between the two confessions would merit further scrutiny.

### Duke Georg II of Brieg and the hymnbook

In light of the political and religious dimensions of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*, it is worth looking more closely at the dedicatee Duke Georg II of Brieg<sup>81</sup> in order to assess the relation of Triller's dedication letter to the duke's religious policy.

Georg II was born in Liegnitz (Lower Silesia) in 1523, the second son of Friedrich II of Liegnitz and his second wife Sophie of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach. His family belonged to the Silesian branch of the Piast dynasty, a family that could boast ancestors back to the tenth century, and had been Poland's first ruling dynasty. Georg's father, Friedrich II, became Duke of Liegnitz in 1499; in 1521, after the death of his brother, he also obtained the Duchy of Brieg, and in 1523 he bought the Duchy of Wohlau. In June 1522 he turned to the Reformation, being the first German lord to publicly do so,<sup>82</sup> and in 1526 founded the first Protestant university of Silesia in Liegnitz, although it was short-lived and was dissolved four years later.<sup>83</sup> He further regulated the life of the infant Protestant Church by issuing church orders in 1535<sup>84</sup> and 1542.<sup>85</sup>

The 1540s were characterised by strong tensions between the Silesian duke and the Habsburgs, who controlled Silesia as part of the Bohemian crown. In 1537, Friedrich II had stipulated an *Erbverbrüderung* with the house of Hohenzollern (Brandenburg),

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<sup>78</sup> On this regard, cf. Triller's letter of 1560, edited in (Wiontzek 1931, 25–26).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. (Petry 1964).

<sup>80</sup> The *Schlesische Religions-Akten* document several conflicts, (Buckisch et al. 1998). Regarding the juridical basis of Protestant–Catholic relations in Silesia, see (van Eickels 1994a).

<sup>81</sup> For a general biographical introduction to Duke Georg II see (Petry 1964), (Thebesius, Scharff, and Jaeckel 1980, 124–131), and (Prokop 1999b).

<sup>82</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 12). See also (Weigelt 2007a, 63–65) for an account of Duke Friedrich II's gradual conversion to Protestantism.

<sup>83</sup> (Petry 1961).

<sup>84</sup> Sehling 3, 436–439, discussed in (Weigelt 1973, 154–155).

<sup>85</sup> Sehling 3, 439–441.

which was sanctioned in 1545 by the double marriage between the two houses: Friedrich's second son Georg (the future Duke Georg II) married Barbara von Brandenburg, while Friedrich's daughter Sophia married Johann Georg von Brandenburg.

Ferdinand of Habsburg, however, saw the ties between these two houses as a threat to his power, and at the Wrocław *Fürstentag* of 1546 he refused to recognise the *Erbverbrüderung*. Friedrich II passed away in 1547, and his duchy was divided between his two sons: the eldest son, Friedrich III, inherited Liegnitz, while Georg II got Brieg. Ferdinand forced Friedrich II's sons to renounce the *Erbverbrüderung*, which Georg II officially did in Prague in 1549.<sup>86</sup> The situation was further complicated by the behaviour of Georg's brother Friedrich III. A politically very unstable ruler, in 1551 Friedrich III turned against the Habsburgs by supporting the king of France and was deposed. His son Henry XI became Duke of Liegnitz, but as Henry was underage, his uncle Georg II was appointed his guardian.<sup>87</sup> Thus, when Triller's hymnbook was published, Georg II was administrating both the Duchy of Brieg and that of Liegnitz. Given the role of secular authorities in the regulation of the Lutheran Church, it is unsurprising that Triller placed the hymnbook under the duke's protection. Moreover, he was directly subject to the duke, since his parish was located in the area of Nimptsch, which was among the territories Georg II inherited from his father.<sup>88</sup>

In 1557, Georg II's brother was appointed Duke of Liegnitz once again. However, his behaviour led to a second and final deposition, and he was kept under house arrest until his death in 1570.<sup>89</sup> Given this complex situation, Georg II had to negotiate between the different forces at play, and he proved himself a clever administrator and politician. Through the thirty-nine years of his government, he played a leading role among the Silesian estates, enjoying the trust of the Habsburgs, his Lutheran confession notwithstanding. He died in 1586, and his court was hailed as 'the town hall of all Silesia'.<sup>90</sup>

From the very beginning of his rule, Georg II was deeply involved in religious matters and was in contact with important reformers. In 1551, for instance, Philipp Melanchthon addressed him in the dedicatory letter introducing Johannes Hyalinus' *Von den Versuchungen des Herrn Christi* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau Erben 1551, VD16 G 2178).<sup>91</sup> Melanchthon stressed that the chief objective of government should be the

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<sup>86</sup> (Schönwälder 1855, 100).

<sup>87</sup> (Buckisch et al. 1998, 85–86).

<sup>88</sup> (Schönwälder 1855, 101–102).

<sup>89</sup> (Schönwälder 1855, 101–108).

<sup>90</sup> (Petry 1964).

<sup>91</sup> Johannes Hyalinus (Johannes Glaser) was born in Liegnitz, which explains his work's dedication to Georg II. (Freytag 1918).

planting and preservation of religion,<sup>92</sup> and he praised Duke Georg II's contribution to the wellbeing of churches and schools.<sup>93</sup> Indeed, in those years the duke was actively involved in the reform and administration of the Lutheran Church in the duchies of both Liegnitz and Brieg.<sup>94</sup> Sometime before December 1555<sup>95</sup> he asked the superintendents of Liegnitz to prepare a new church order for the duchy, and they proposed adopting the Württemberg church order.<sup>96</sup> He also took similar measures in the Duchy of Brieg, where the Mecklenburg church orders were finally adopted in 1558,<sup>97</sup> a decision that has been interpreted as a declaration of Lutheran orthodoxy.<sup>98</sup>

The temporal coincidence between this impetus in regulating church affairs and the publication of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* cannot pass unremarked. As a pastor, Valentin Triller was certainly aware of the discussions surrounding the adoption of new church orders. Although there is no direct evidence that he compiled the hymnbook in reaction to them, I argue that *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* must be seen against this background. In the 1550s there evidently was a desire to regiment the young Lutheran Church, and a similar design also can be seen in the hymnbook. As I will discuss in detail in chapter 3, *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* is not a randomly assembled collection of hymns. Quite the contrary, its content, structure, and paratexts reveal a coherent plan for framing the soundscape of vernacular devotions and liturgies, constituting a musical counterpart to the regulations we find in sixteenth-century church orders.

Besides this, there is another aspect that binds Triller's hymnbook to the religious policy of Duke Georg II, an aspect that certainly influenced Triller's choice of the topics addressed in the dedication letter. As I have shown above, the spectre of the 'teachers of error' looms large over the dedication letter, and the hymnbook itself is presented as a proof of Lutheran faith. It is no coincidence that, in those very years, Duke Georg

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<sup>92</sup> *Von den Versuchungen des Herrn Christi* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau Erben 1551), fol. A1v: 'in der Regierung das erst und das höchst werck ist und sein sol / pflanzung und erhaltung rechter erkenntnis und anruffung Gottes / und des Heilands Jhesu Christi'.

<sup>93</sup> *Von den Versuchungen des Herrn Christi* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau Erben 1551), fol. A2v: 'Nu sind durch Gottes gnedige wirkung / Kirchen und Schulen in E. F. G. Land Christlich bestalt / mit vielen Gottfürchtigen gelarten Mennern / Und thun E. F. G. Gott ein wolgeselligen dienst / das sie Jr dieselbigen in Fürstlichem und Vaterlichem schutz lassen bevohlen sein'. Another of Melanchthon's letters dated 11 March 1554 addressed to Duke Georg II expounds similar topics. Cf. (Bauch 1907a, 33–34) and *Melanchthons Briefwechsel – Regesten online*, Regestnummer 7111, <<https://www.haw.uni-heidelberg.de/forschung/forschungsstellen/melanchthon/mbw-online.de.html>>, accessed 22 March 2019.

<sup>94</sup> See the very clear summary in (Weber 2007, 143–146). See also the documents edited in (Jessen and Schwarz 1938, 39–40, 42–44).

<sup>95</sup> See the letter dated 'Monday after Saint John the Evangelist 1555' in which the superintendents inform the Duke that they have pondered the matter together with several other pastors. Sehling III, 423.

<sup>96</sup> (Weber 1996, 386, no. 250).

<sup>97</sup> (Weber 1996, 386–387, no. 251). See also (Buckisch et al. 1998, 85).

<sup>98</sup> (Weber 2007, 145).



II was taking measures against Schwenckfelders. In 1555, Valentin Trotzendorf, principal of the school in Goldberg and close to the duke,<sup>99</sup> went to Wittenberg in order to consult with other Lutherans about the 'mischievous error' of the Schwenckfelders.<sup>100</sup> In the same year, the Liegnitz superintendents urged the duke to take action against Schwenckfelders, and the duke ordered examinations that led to the identification of people who refused the Eucharist.<sup>101</sup>

Likewise in 1555, Duke Georg II's role as a leading protector of the faith was highlighted in a theology treatise dedicated to him, the *Kurtze unnd gründtliche widerlegung* published in Magdeburg by Michael Lotter. The treatise is introduced by three dedication letters by Sebastian Zedlitz, Hieronymus Wittich (pastor of Brieg and author of the treatise), and Matthias Flacius, all three addressed to the duke. As Wittich explains in his dedication letter, dated 25 November 1553,<sup>102</sup> the treatise was drafted 16 years earlier at the request of Duke Georg II's father Friedrich II, as an assessment of four 'Schlusreden' by Johannes Sigismund Werner, then pastor of Liegnitz. Following this evaluation, Werner was recognised as a follower of Schwenckfeld and removed from office.<sup>103</sup> Many years later Wittich, solicited by 'several pious and learned pastors', decided to publish the treatise, because 'now this Schwenckfelder error rises up again and seeks to spread itself in Your Grace's lands'.<sup>104</sup> Wittich portrays Duke Georg II as a determined opponent of the threat posed by the Schwenckfelders, a consolation and assurance for the local pastors, and a worthy successor to his father.<sup>105</sup> Note also the 'regionalistic trope' that emerges from the dedication letter by Sebastian Zedlitz,<sup>106</sup> who concludes his writing praying that 'those who are seduced and in error return back

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<sup>99</sup> See the letters between Trotzendorf and Duke Georg II edited in (Bauch 1907a, 34–36).

<sup>100</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 178).

<sup>101</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 178–179).

<sup>102</sup> *Kurtze unnd gründtliche widerlegung* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter 1555, VD16 W 3789), fols. A7v–B2r.

<sup>103</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 173).

<sup>104</sup> *Kurtze unnd gründtliche widerlegung* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter 1555), fol. A8v: 'dieweil nu solcher Schwenckfeldischer irthum / Widerumb sich entpören und ausbreiten wil auch in E.F.G. Landen / Bin ich angelangt und vleissig gebeten worden / von etlichen frumen gelernten Pfarherrn und trewen Liebhabern / der rechten und reinen Lere / Solch mein schreiben öffentlich auch an tag zu geben'.

<sup>105</sup> *Kurtze unnd gründtliche widerlegung* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter 1555), fol. B1r: 'Zum andern / das wir Pfarherrn alle in diesem E. F. G. fürstenthumb eine gnedige und fürstliche vertröstung und zusage haben / das E. F. G. nach dem hochlößlichem und Christlichem Exempel E. F. G. Herrn und Vaters / wider des Schwenckfeldes irthume auch mit fürstlichem euer und ernst / zu procedirn / gedencken wollen'. Georg II's father had not always been an opponent of Schwenckfeld, cf. (Weigelt 2007a). One wonders whether Friedrich II's initial collusion with Schwenckfeld was still remembered in the 1550s. If so, such public statements acquire special significance, and they might have been directed at clearing his name.

<sup>106</sup> Zedlitz is known as an opponent of Schwenckfeld from other sources, too. In 1554 he is mentioned in Schwenckfeld's *Vom under schayde des worts Gottes* (Augsburg: Hans Gegler 1554, VD16 S 5029), fols. D1v–D2r. See also Zedlitz's letters to Duke Georg II of Brieg quoted in (Weigelt 1973, 178 n. 71–72).

to Him [Jesus Christ], so that all of us together in this poor fatherland [Silesia] remain steady and unanimous in the pure veritable doctrine [...].<sup>107</sup>

The correspondences between the duke's measures against Schwenckfelders, the publication of the *Kurtze unnd gründtliche widerlegung*, and Valentin Triller's dedication letter are evident. In light of this, we are left wondering about the duke's role in the publication of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*. Did Valentin Triller choose him as dedicatee of his own accord, thus writing a dedication letter that corresponded to the duke's positions and concerns? Or was the duke somehow actively involved in the publication?

It seems very unlikely that a simple pastor could publish a book under the name of his territorial lord without the latter's approval. What is more, the presence of Duke Georg II's coat of arms on the first page of the hymnbook suggests an official status. I think that a duke engaged in the promulgation of church orders was likely to sponsor the publication of a hymnbook, an expensive undertaking that Triller was unable to fund all by himself.<sup>108</sup> After all, he could not count on a high revenue, as explained in chapter 1.2. Furthermore, Duke Georg II could have been aware of the benefits of making available a corpus of vernacular hymns that could be sung in the parishes of his lands. This is suggested in a letter dated 17 January 1583—admittedly, this is many years after the hymnbook's publication, but the letter is still representative of the duke's views. The duke wrote to the council of Ohlau after having been informed that only a few parishioners attended the service, while the rest gathered 'around the mulled wine [*bei dem gebrandten weine*], also in the ale-houses'. The parishioners justified themselves by arguing that they would not know what to do in the churches, because only Latin songs were sung. Consequently, the duke ordered that also German songs should be sung.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> *Kurtze unnd gründtliche widerlegung* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter 1555), fol. A7r: 'die jrrigen und verführten widerum zu jme bekeren / damit wir alle zu gleich in diesem armen Vaterlandt bey der reinen warhafftigen Lere in dieser gegenwertigen / jrrigen / vorfürischen betrübten / gefehrlichen zeit biss zu seiner kurzkünfftigen herrlichen Erscheinung bestending und einhellig vorbleiben und mit und bei jme in dem ewigen Paradiss sein und leben mögen / Amen.'

<sup>108</sup> Editors of hymnbooks occasionally refer to the high costs of such undertaking. See, for instance, Martin Bucer's preface to the Strasbourg *Gesangbuch* of 1541: 'The honored printer, Jörg Waldmüller, called Messerschmid, to further the good in the dear Churches and to promote sacred song in Christian congregations, schools, and places of learning, was requested and commissioned to print a songbook with no little cost and trouble'. Quoted after (Trocme-Latter 2015, 345–346).

<sup>109</sup> 'Erbare, wolweise, liebe getreuen. Wir mögen euch gnediger meinungk nicht pergen, daß wir glaubwirdig berichtet worden, wie daß sich die gemeine aldar zur Ohlau gancz nochlessig und in geringer anzahl zu anhörung goettliches wortes in die kirchen finden und gemeinlich erst in di kirchen kommen sollen, wan der pfarher schon auf der canzel unnd di predigt wo nicht gar, doch den mehrern theil albereit furuber. Indeß sollen sie gancz heufig bei dem gebrandten weine, auch in den bierheusern zusammenkommen, und also ganz mutwilligerweise gottes wort verechtlichen hindasecen und sollen sich auch noch eczliche hören lassen, waß sie in der kirchen thun sollten, weil man kein deutsches, sondern nur lateinische lieder singen thete. Weil wir dan solchem gottlosen wesen und mit willen ferner gar nicht zusehen können, als haben wir bei dem pfarher die verordnungk gethan, daß hinfürö nicht alleine lateinische, sondern auch deutsche lieder sollen in der kirchen gesungen werden [...] Datum Briegk den 17. January Ao. 1583.' Quoted after (Eberlein 1902).

On the whole, these are all merely clues, and there are also contrary hints suggesting that Duke Georg II was not familiar with the hymnbook before its publication. For instance, note Triller's proposal to submit it to the judgement of the duke's scholars (dedication letter, lines 55–56). It sounds as if the duke had not approved the publication yet, although this could be just a rhetorical move on Triller's part, a fictional readiness to let others judge the purity of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*.

### Valentin Triller's reputation

With or without the direct involvement of the Duke Georg II, *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* appears fully consistent with the duke's political and religious agenda, a fact of primary importance for understanding the source and its paratexts. The political, however, does not exclude the personal, and in the *Preface to the Christian reader* Triller addresses another circumstance that adds a more private layer to the issues of religious orthodoxy and reputation that show through the dedication letter. I have already touched upon this aspect in chapter 1.2: before publishing the hymnbook, Triller contributed to a multi-authored collection that contained also hymns that were 'quite obscure and repugnant to a correct Christian understanding' (preface, lines 14–15). Triller claims that these were wrongly attributed to him, and *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* aims to declare his beliefs to all people (preface, lines 15–16).

The story Triller tells is plausible: intentionally false or simply wrong attributions were not uncommon in the thriving hymn-publishing industry. Martin Luther famously addressed this issue in the preface to Klug's hymnal of 1529, explaining that he saw himself forced to add his name to the hymns he authored in order to avoid other songs of lesser quality being sold under his name.<sup>110</sup>

Although we do not know what the content of the hymns incorrectly attributed to Triller was, it seems likely that they leaned towards those doctrines that he condemned in the dedication letter. Schwenckfelders, for instance, were also spreading their beliefs through songs, which Lutherans considered as dangerous as Schwenckfeld's theological publications.<sup>111</sup> In the 1557 *Antwort auf Schwenckfelds Suchung*, drafted by various theologians (including Philipp Melanchthon), this issue is thematised as follows:

Unfortunately, it is generally known that in many places Schwenckfeld's books and followers cause terrible disturbance to the righteous Christian preachers and churches. In Augsburg, Strasbourg, Ulm, and in Silesia pernicious un-Christian songs are made, which are spread and sung publicly.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> WA 35, 476. On this issue see also (Jenny 1985, 131–132). Similar concerns were voiced also by Martin Bucer in his preface to the *Gesambuch* (Strasbourg: Köpfel and Messerschmidt, 1541, RISM 1541-06, vdm 1245). See (Trocé-Latter 2015, 346).

<sup>111</sup> (Evers 2007, 152–156).

<sup>112</sup> *Antwort auff Schwenckfelds suchung* (Worms: Paul and Philipp Köpfel 1557, VD16 A 2999), 'Es ist leider offent-

It is not unlikely that some of Triller's hymns were printed with others whose texts were suspicious from a Lutheran perspective. For obvious reasons, Triller did not want to be counted among the 'heretic' hymnodists, and he used *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* as a public reply to the allegation. This matter, although strictly related to the concerns Triller addressed in the dedication letter, is only mentioned in the preface, as if Triller wanted to keep the political and the personal separate. However, one wonders whether Triller really considered the two aspects to be unrelated. It seems likely that he regarded the false attribution of the 'quite obscure and repugnant' hymns as a consequence of his being Silesian, one of those pastors 'suspected by many highly educated people of being teachers of error', to use his own words (dedication letter, lines 31–32). He must have had first-hand experience of his reputation being tarnished, a circumstance that might even have been the first impulse for his fervent defence of the good name of the pastors living in Duke Georg II's lands, obviously including himself.

Admittedly, there is one weakness in this reconstruction: it is entirely based on Triller's own account. Given the seriousness of the charges (a pastor spreading 'false doctrines' could be removed from his post and even expelled from the land), Triller could have had a direct interest in distorting the truth. Before 1555, he might have really spread compromising ideas, and he could have used the paratexts of the hymnbook to clear his name, and obtain the protection (or even forgiveness?) of the Lutheran duke. Matters are complicated by the fact that Schwenckfeld's letter against 'Trillers büchlin' discussed above, the only external proof of Triller's aversion to Schwenckfeld, is undated, and it is not certain that it was written before 1555.

The interpretation sketched here was essentially that insinuated by the scholars who believed that Triller indeed supported Schwenckfeld's doctrine (even though they were unaware of Schwenckfeld's letter). This hypothesis is admittedly tempting, but there is no real evidence to support it. Several contributions report that Triller was expelled from the duchy in 1573 because of his theological positions,<sup>113</sup> but this key information is most likely the product of mere speculation.<sup>114</sup> The only person who is known to have been expelled in 1573 is Johann Ferinarius (1534–1602), who had Calvinist leanings and did not recant them in an examination held on 14 January 1573. Probably in the wake of this event (Ferinarius was not a secondary figure, but the

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lich / das Schwenckfeldts Bücher und anhang / an vielen orten / den rechten Christlichen Predicanten / unnd Kirchen / viel schrecklicher unrhu machen / Als zu Augspurg / Straßburg / Ulm und in Schlesien / da auch schändliche unchristliche Lieder / wider das Ministerium Evangelij, gemacht sein / die öffentlich in landen gesungen und außgebreitet werden'. Quoted after (Evers 2007, 155). Note that the three cities are named individually, while Silesia is identified collectively as a region.

<sup>113</sup> See, for instance, (H. Hoffmann 1832, 74 n. 94), (Winterfeld 1843, 80), (Schneider 1857, 8), (E. E. Koch 1867, 162), (Seipt 1909, 43), (Mańko-Matysiak 2003, 158).

<sup>114</sup> Konrad Ameln already noticed this inconsistency, see (Ameln 1971, 165).

head of the Brieg gymnasium), Georg II convened a meeting in Strehlen on 15 January 1573, admonishing the teachers and preachers of the Duchy of Brieg not to follow any 'sectarian' doctrine.<sup>115</sup> If Triller was still alive at this point, he must have taken part in this meeting, but there is no evidence whatsoever that he underwent an examination and/or was banished.<sup>116</sup>

However, what is true is that some of Triller's hymns entered the repertory of the Schwenckfelders, as we know from eighteenth-century sources (see chapter 5).<sup>117</sup> This is an interesting and somewhat ironic example of the circulation of repertories beyond confessional borders, but it is not evidence of Valentin Triller's position in the theological debates of the 1550s.

### 2.3 'Set to many old familiar melodies': musical past

The dedication letter and part of the preface emphasise the theological content of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*. The hymnbook is supposed to declare the orthodoxy of its author and his fellow pastors, and Triller himself presented this as the main reason for the publication. This argument's importance notwithstanding, it alone does not account for the creation of a hymnbook. After all, if confessing a pure Christian faith was the only aspect dear to Triller, he could have published a polemic pamphlet, the most appropriate medium to take a public position on a theological controversy.<sup>118</sup> The dedication letter is indeed the publication's 'front entrance', but it was written when the hymns had already been arranged and the hymnbook was about to be published. It offers one perspective from which Valentin Triller wished his readers to view the hymnbook, but other aspects must be considered if we are to gain an elaborate understanding of it.

Fortunately, other paratexts, especially the *Preface to the Christian reader*, give a more comprehensive picture of Triller's activity as hymnodist, shedding light on one of the hymnbook's most striking features, namely its musical repertory. The 1555 title page characterises this repertory as 'old familiar melodies, sung previously in either Latin or German, with sacred or secular texts' (lines 4–6). The same adjectives 'old' and 'familiar' are also present on the 1559 title page (line 5). Self-evident as it might seem, Triller's reference to the age of the repertory needs explanation. In the following,

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<sup>115</sup> (Buckisch et al. 1998, 98–99). (H. Eberlein 1955, 57) reports (another?) move against the Calvinists in the 1570s: he notices that the names of the persons concerned were accurately listed and Valentin Triller is not among them. I was unable to identify this document, since Eberlein does not quote any source.

<sup>116</sup> Valentin Triller is not mentioned anywhere in the *Schlesische Religions-Akten*, an extensive collection of documents regarding religious policy in Silesia (1517–1675) collected in the seventeenth century by Gottfried Ferdinand Buckisch, and recently published in form of regesta. (Buckisch et al. 1998).

<sup>117</sup> (Evers 2007, 4).

<sup>118</sup> Triller indeed took part to the theological controversy over Schwenckfeld's doctrine with the 'Trillers büchlin' discussed above, chapter 1.2.

I will attempt to shed light on Triller's discourse on the musical past, comparing it with other similar, albeit not identical views in early modern hymnody.

Several sixteenth-century hymnbooks have title pages or other paratexts that involve some sort of chronological reference. Unsurprisingly, many title pages advertise novelty, either referring to the publication itself or to the repertory it contains. Titles such as 'entirely new sacred German hymns and songs',<sup>119</sup> 'sacred songs newly improved',<sup>120</sup> or 'a new songbook of sacred songs'<sup>121</sup> and the like are clearly directed at attracting the public's attention, promising something up to date that cannot be found elsewhere. Publications that thematise oldness are less numerous,<sup>122</sup> although it is obvious that any sixteenth-century hymnbook contains at least some 'old' hymns, be it in terms of text or music. Thus, the publications in which this aspect is explicitly addressed are particularly useful in order to understand Triller's hymnbook, since they reveal interesting views on the musical past and the values (or disvalues) attached to it. It should be noted that the various instances discussed in this chapter are not concerned with the same musical past, which often accounts for the diverging perspectives and judgements. Nonetheless, this analysis aims at uncovering what sorts of values could be attached to musical repertories perceived as old, irrespective of the actual nature of these repertories in terms of age, genre, or language.

The most renowned hymnbook that addresses explicitly the age of its hymns is Josef Klug's *Geistliche Lieder*, the so-called *Wittenberger Gemeindegesangbuch* of 1533.<sup>123</sup> This seminal source is organised in five parts, each introduced by an explanatory rubric. Part three contains 'sacred songs made by the old ones':<sup>124</sup> *Dies est laetitiae*, *Der Tag der ist so freudenreich*, *In dulci jubilo*, *Christe der du bist Tag und Licht*, and *Christ ist erstanden*. The editor felt compelled to justify their presence along-

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<sup>119</sup> *Gantz neue geystliche teütsche Hymnus und gesang* (Nuremberg: Jobst Gutnecht 1527, RISM B/8 1527-07, vdm 340). Translation from (Herl 2004, 94).

<sup>120</sup> *Geistliche lieder auff's new gebessert* (Erfurt: Andreas Rauscher 1531, RISM B/8 1531-03, vdm 379). Translation from (Herl 2004, 101-102).

<sup>121</sup> *Ein new Gesangbüchlin geystlicher Lieder* (Leipzig: Nickel Wolrab 1537, RISM B/8 1537-06 vdm 442).

<sup>122</sup> See, for instance, Johann Spangenberg's *Alte und neue geistliche Lieder* (Erfurt: Melchior Sachse the Elder 1544, RISM B/8 1544-03, vdm 1279). The dedication letter, however, does not comment further on the repertory's chronology. See WB, 577. We also find a similar expression on the title page of a Strasbourg publication, *Das Newer und gemehret Gesangbüchlein: Darinnen Psalmen, Hymni, Geistliche Lieder, Chorgesange, Alte und neue Festlieder* (Strasbourg: Thiebold Berger 1566, RISM B/8 1566-11). Such expressions that emphasise the chronological extremities of the repertory often have a generic meaning, emphasising the wide range of the content without necessarily having a self-conscious interest in the musical past.

<sup>123</sup> *Geistliche Lieder auff's new gebessert* (Wittenberg: Josef Klug 1533, RISM B/8 1533-02, vdm 384). Paratexts and content are transcribed in (Jenny 1985, 324-340). See (Leaver 2017, 165-173) for an English translation of the paratexts. There probably were two earlier editions of this hymnbook, dated 1529, but they are now lost. Cf. (Leaver 2017, 151-162).

<sup>124</sup> 'Nu folgen etliche geistliche lieder / von den Alten gemacht'.

side hymns by Luther and other exponents of the Reformation, explaining that he has 'included these old hymns, which follow here, as the testimony of a number of pious Christians who lived before us in the great darkness of false doctrine, so one can see that at all times there were people who rightly acknowledged Christ [...]'.<sup>125</sup> For the author of this rubric, the old songs included in the *Wittenberger Gemeindegesangbuch* are tokens of faith, and they are to be valued because they bear testimony to the existence of righteous Christians under the yoke of the papacy.

The same arguments are expounded even more explicitly in the preface to the *Christlichs Gesangbüchlein* (Eisleben: Andreas Petri 1568, RISM B/8 1568–08),<sup>126</sup> authored by Cyriacus Spangenberg (1528–1604), a Lutheran pastor and theologian.<sup>127</sup> Spangenberg explains that the hymnbook also includes 'old and yet Christian little songs that were much used by our ancestors also before the light of the Gospel was rekindled', so that one can see 'what good pious simple Christians they were, and what devotion, joy, and consolation they took in the birth, suffering, and resurrection of the Lord Christ'. Afterwards, Spangenberg contrasts the simple religiosity of these songs with the Catholic liturgy, noting that 'there was and is more piety and right belief in such common children's songs than in the abbeys, monasteries and churches with their papist masses and sermons'.<sup>128</sup>

In these writings, a pre-Reformation musical repertory is appropriated by opposing it to the degeneration of religion and worship in those times. Thus, the 'good old songs' are portrayed as exceptions, the product of Christians who professed their faith despite the dark times in which they lived. Such rhetorical patterns must have enjoyed wide currency, and they occur in different but related forms in several sources.<sup>129</sup> In the following decades, when Catholics recognised the importance of vernacular singing and started publishing hymns, the 'antiquity trope' was deployed in

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<sup>125</sup> Fol. M6v: 'Diese alten lieder / die hernach folgen / haben wir auch mit auffgerafft / zum zeugnis etlicher fromen Christen / so für uns gewest sind / jnn dem grossen fisteris der falschen lere / auff das man ja sehen müge / wie dennoch allezeit leute gewesen sind / die Christum recht erkand haben / doch gar wunderlich / jnn dem selbigen erkenntnis / durch Gottes gnade / erhalten'.

<sup>126</sup> WB, 631–635.

<sup>127</sup> (Kaufmann 2010).

<sup>128</sup> WB, 635: 'Und dazu habe ich mit diesem Gesangbüchlin auch wollen ursach geben, darein auch etzliche Alte und doch Christliche Liedlein gesetzt worden, deren viel bey unsern Vorfarn, auch ehe dieses Liecht des Evangelij wider angezündet, im Brauch gewesen, Daraus man sehen und abnemen kan, wie gute frome einfeltige leute sie gewest, und was sie dennoch in solcher finsternis für andacht, und für freude und trost an des Hern Christi Geburt, Leiden und Aufferstehung gehabt, welchs freylich auch jhrer viele, an jhrem letzten ende in sterbens nöten haben jhren grösten trost sein lassen, denn in solchen gemeinen Kindergesengen, beneben dem Catechismo mehr Gotseligkeit und rechte meinung gewesen und blieben, denn man in Stifften, Klöstern und Kirchen in jhren Bepstischen Messen und Predigten gefunden.'

<sup>129</sup> See also Gigas Johannes, *Des alten Christlichen Lieds, Ein Kindelein so löblich, etc. kurtze erklerung* (Frankfurt an der Oder: Johann Eichorn 1564, VD16 H 3208), fols. C1r–v and Nicolaus Florus, *Das uralte und Christliche Lobgesang, Ein Kindelein so Löblich, etc.* (Strasbourg: Nikolaus Wiriot 1581, VD16 F 1732), fol. [A6r–A7r].



the opposite direction in order to counterbalance the predominance of Lutheran and reformed hymnody and lay claim to what Catholics portrayed as an old tradition that had been corrupted. Traces of this rhetorical strategy appear in several publications,<sup>130</sup> among which the *Catholische Kirchengesänge und geistlich Lieder* (Neisse: Johann Schubart 1625, RISM B/8 1625–13) is particularly relevant to us, being the first Catholic hymnbook published in Silesia.<sup>131</sup> In the preface, the musical past is portrayed as an usurped heritage:

Many pious and devout men have noticed the great interest that Germans have in sacred and church songs, and also how many beautiful, old and Catholic songs have been fraudulently given the names of non-Catholic authors.<sup>132</sup>

Going back to Protestant publications, it should be noted that the musical past is not always characterised positively. Consider, for example, *Das alte gedicht, welchs man nennet das Mülenlied* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter 1552, VD16 W 3499), a commented edition (without musical notation) of the 'old poem' known as 'the mill song' (*Mülenlied*). The publication was edited by Johannes Winnigstedt (d. 1569), Lutheran pastor of Quedlinburg.<sup>133</sup> Following a line of reasoning very close to that of the examples discussed above, Winnigstedt explains in the dedication letter that he has published 'such an old Christian song [...] so that one can feel and clearly see that also our ancestors sang something of God, following the teaching and command of the royal prophet David [...]'.<sup>134</sup> Winnigstedt implicitly also points out the faults of the old musical repertory when he argues that the author of the *Mülenlied* lived 'many years ago, when not much that was good, useful and Christian was sung in our German language', an epoch in which 'the precious treasure of the Word of God was withheld from the world' and 'almost nobody could sing or speak of it anymore'.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> See, for instance, the paratexts of the *Catholische Teutsche und Lateinische Gesang* (Tegernsee: [Kloster-druckerei] 1574, VD16 W 794), *Die Psalmen Davids* (Cologne: Gerwin Calenius and Johann Quentels Erben 1582, RISM B/8 1582–09, VD16 U 44), *Catholisch Cantual* (Mainz: Mainz: Balthasar Lipp 1605, RISM B/8 1605–08, VD17 547), and *Groß Catholisch Gesangbuch* (Fürth: Georg Endter 1625, RISM B/8 1625–04).

<sup>131</sup> On this source see (Jež 2013).

<sup>132</sup> *Catholische Kirchengesänge und geistlich Lieder* (Neisse: Johann Schubart 1625), fol. A2r: 'Es haben viel fromme und Andächtige Männer gesehen / Wie grossen lust die Teutschen / jetziger Zeit / zu den geistlichen Liedern unnd Kirchengesängen tragen: Unnd wieviel schöner / alter und Catholischer gesängen mit den Nahmen Uncatholisch Autorn verfälschet worden'.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. the section 'Personen' in (Dingel).

<sup>134</sup> Johannes Winnigstedt, *Das alte gedicht, welchs man nennet das Mülenlied* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter 1552), fol. A2v: 'ein solch alt Christlich Lied [...] hab ichs wider stückweise zusammen gelesen / und wil es wider an den tag bringen / das man spüre unnd klerlich sehe / das unsere Vorvaren auch haben etwas von Gott gesungen / nach der lehre und bevelich des Königlichen Propheten Davids [...]'.  
<sup>135</sup> Johannes Winnigstedt, *Das alte gedicht, welchs man nennet das Mülenlied* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter 1552), fol. A2r: 'Wievöl der edelste schatz des heiligen Göttlichen worts der welt / lang ist vorenthalten / und verborgen gewest / also / das schier niemand mehr davon hat gewüst zusingen / oder zusagen / dennoch hat jm



The distinction between 'good' and 'bad' old songs is articulated in greater detail in the paratexts of *Die Historien von der Sündflut* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau Erben 1562, RISM B/8 1562–03, VD16 H 2380),<sup>136</sup> a most influential hymn collection by Nicolaus Herman (d. 1560), cantor at Joachimsthal.<sup>137</sup> In the preface signed by the pastor Johann Mathesius (1504–1565), for instance, there is a concession to the old repertory, but a line is drawn between songs with a Christian (from a Lutheran perspective) content and those expounding on secular stories. 'I do not condemn the old *Meistergesänge* and *Bergreigen*'—Mathesius writes—'because I have seen much beautiful old poetry where one senses good and Christian people, such as the one of the pelican, of the mill and others. But what do the old Hildebrand and giant Sigenot teach? Whom do they comfort?'<sup>138</sup> Once again, the old songs bear testimony to the ancestors' good faith. Note also that Mathesius probably is referring to the same *Möhlenlied* edited by Winnigstedt. In the dedication letter by Nicolaus Herman, by contrast, the musical past is chiefly characterised in negative terms: German- and Latin-texted compositions are mentioned in order to demonstrate the poor state of religion prior to the advent of the Reformation. Herman writes:

I just want to speak of the songs from which one can easily see what the state of religion was. The majority of these focused upon appealing to the highly praised Virgin Mary and the dead saints. Nobody knew how to sing or speak of the Lord Christ, he was simply considered and represented as a severe judge, from whom one could expect no mercy, only wrath and punishment. Therefore the Virgin Mary and the dear saints were needed as intercessors. The old will still remember some of these songs: *Maria zart von edler Art*, *Die Frau von Himmel ruf' ich an*, *Sankt Christoph du viel heiliger Mann*, *Du lieber Herr Sankt Nikolaus wohn uns bei* etc. and other similar songs, which once were often common in German. I will not speak of the Latin [songs], of which once there were a countless number that spoke only of the Virgin Mary and the saints. If it was not for the dear chant *de tempore* and the psalter, our Lord God would have been entirely forgotten, and nobody would have sung anything about Him, but in the church there would have been only the vain *Salve Regina*, *Requiem* and similar songs.<sup>139</sup>

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Gott gleichwol etliche vorenthalten / denen er denselbigen nach etlicher weise und masse hat offenbaret. Unter welchen ist auch gewest der Dichter dieses Möhlenlieds / welcher vielleicht vor vielen jaren ist gewesen / do man allbereit nicht viel guts / nützliches unnd Christliches in unser Deutschen sprache hat gesungen'.

<sup>136</sup> WB, 612–619.

<sup>137</sup> See (C.B. Brown 2005) on the Lutheran musical culture at Joachimsthal.

<sup>138</sup> WB, 614: 'Ich tadle der alten Meister Gesenge und Bergkreien auch nicht, Denn ich hab viel schöner alter Geticht, darin man gute und Chrstliche Leut spüret, gesehen, als das vom Pellican, von der Mühle und andere. Aber was leret oder wen tröstet der alte Hillebrandt und Riss Sigenot?'. Sigenot and Hildebrand are characters of the very popular poem *Sigenot*, which centres around the adventures of Dietrich of Bern. On the transmission of this poem see (Lähmann and Kröner 2003/2004).

<sup>139</sup> WB 615: 'Ich wil nur von den Gesengen sagen, daraus man leicht verstehen kan, wie die Religion gestanden sey, Dieselben waren zum mehrten teil dahin gericht, das man darin die hochgelobte Jungfraw Maria, und die

Herman has scant regard for the sacred music predating the Reformation, because much of it invoked the saints and asked for their help, an aspect of Catholic worship that was heavily criticised by the Lutherans.<sup>140</sup> Conversely, Herman extols the singing of chant *de tempore* and of the psalter ('Choral de tempore, und den Psalterium'). Being based on the Holy Scriptures, psalm singing was obviously commendable for a Lutheran; in regard to chant *de tempore*, Herman probably meant those chants that framed the liturgies recalling and celebrating the life of Christ.

The sources discussed so far address different musical pasts and express positive or negative views accordingly. However, there is a common denominator: all consider these musical pasts from a purely 'textual' perspective. Old songs and chants are either praised or condemned because of the content of their texts. The music itself does not seem to play any role, and if it did, this aspect was not voiced by the authors of these publications.

By contrast, Valentin Triller's relation to the 'old familiar melodies' is entirely different. On the 1555 title page, for instance, *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* is said to have been 'set to many old familiar melodies' ('gestelt auff viel alte gewöhnliche melodien', 1555 title page, line 4). With the word 'melodien', Triller points only to the music of the hymns, not to their texts. This is also evident from the single title rubrics that introduce the hymns. Consider for instance the rubric of no. 6 *Wolauff last uns frölich singen*, 'a song on the old melody *Martyr felix insignita*'.<sup>141</sup> The term 'melody' indicates the hymn tune, the musical model of the contrafactum, while the vernacular hymn *Wolauff last uns frölich singen* is called a song ('gesang'). In addition, the contrafactum *Wolauff last uns frölich singen*, as most other hymns in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, is not a translation or paraphrase of the 'original' Latin text *Martyr felix insignita*, but an entirely new composition. Thus, it is clear that Triller's interest in the 'old melodies' was music- rather than text-oriented. This acquires even more significance if we consider the adjectives with which Triller characterises his musical models: these are only defined as 'old' and/or 'familiar' on the title pages and title rubrics, while in the preface

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verstorbenen Heiligen anruffet, Vom Herrn Christo wuste niemand zu singen oder zu sagen, Er ward schlechts für einen gestrengen Richter, bey dem man sich keiner gnad, sondern eilt zorn und straff zuversehen, gehalten und ausgegeben, Darumb must man die Jungfraw Maria und lieben Heiligen zu Vorbittern haben. Es werden die alten noch eins teils die Gesenge kennen, *Maria zart von edler art*. Item, *Die fraw von Himel ruff ich an*. Item, *S. Christoff du viel heiliger Man*. Item, *Du lieber Herr S. Niclas won uns bey etc.* und dergleichen Lieder, die dazumal heuffig im schwang giengen in Deutscher sprach. Ich wil der Lateinischen geschweigen, der waren dazumal unzelich viel, die alle nur von der Jungfraw Maria und den Heiligen lauteten. Und do es one den lieben Choral de tempore, und den Psalterium gewesen were, so were unsers Herrn Gottes gar vergessen worden, Unnd hette von jm niemand was gesungen oder geklungen, sondern es weren uff die letzt eitel *Salve Regina*, *Requiem*, unnd dergleichen Gesenge in die Kirche komen'.

<sup>140</sup> There is a plethora of secondary literature on this aspect. Here it must suffice to recall the article 21 of the *Confessio Augustana*, see (Dingel 2014, 128–131) and (Grane 1980, 161–164).

<sup>141</sup> 'Ein gesang auff ein alte melody / Martyr felix insignita'.

they are emphasised as the 'best old, familiar and fine melodies' (preface, lines 19–20). Triller resorts to aesthetic categories to describe the hymnbook's old musical repertory, a view of the musical past that appears very different from the theological evaluation we find in the other Lutheran publications discussed above.

It should be added at this point that this positive evaluation of 'old music', irrespective of its text, is not Triller's sole prerogative, and is also thematised in other sixteenth-century hymnbooks. For example, this issue emerges in Martin Luther's preface to his *Begräbnisgesänge* of 1542, the *Christliche Geseng Lateinisch und Deudsch, zum Begrebnis* (Wittenberg: Joseph Klug 1542, RISM B/8 1542–15).<sup>142</sup> Luther writes:

We have collected the fine music and songs which under the papacy were used at vigils, masses for the dead, and burials. Some fine examples of these we have printed in this booklet and we, or whoever is more gifted than we, will select more of them in the future. But we have adapted other texts to the music so that they may adorn our article of resurrection, instead of purgatory with its torment and satisfaction which lets their dead neither sleep nor rest. The melodies and notes are precious. It would be a pity to let them perish. But the texts and words are non-Christian and absurd. They deserve to perish [...]. We are concerned with changing the text, not the music.<sup>143</sup>

In this passage, the quality of old music (here Luther was probably primarily thinking of chants) is contrasted with the deficiencies of its texts, and the solution proposed by Luther has been interpreted as a typical example of his 'creative amalgam of existing practice with newly-espoused Reformation ideals'.<sup>144</sup>

A similar perspective on the musical past is also expounded in one of the hymnbooks of the Unity of Brethren, the *Kirchengeseng* published in Ivančice in 1566 (RISM B/8 1566–05). This important publication, which the Churches in Bohemia and Moravia dedicated to Emperor (and King of Bohemia) Maximilian II, exhibits a pronounced historical awareness of the Brethren's hymn tradition, which is sketched briefly but with unconcealed pride. Just like in Luther's *Begräbnisgesänge*, old music is appreciated despite its texts' limitations:

Jan Hus, among others in the Christian Reformation church, started singing in the Bohemian language. The same [church singing] was increased by his successors, who wrote such beautiful sacred songs on all articles of Christian faith and for all feasts through the whole year, that nothing of the kind had ever been seen before, as everybody will testify on their behalf, even truth itself. They have retained the old church melodies, tunes, and notes because they are delightful and Christian custom, and many hear and gladly sing the same. Where the text was illogical, impure or idolatrous, however, it was improved or removed (as it must happen with these and other things in a reformation of the Church), and a new text

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<sup>142</sup> (Jenny 1985, 131, 342).

<sup>143</sup> Translation from (Leaver 2007, 236). The entire preface is edited in WA 35, 478–483.

<sup>144</sup> (Leaver 2007, 236).

taken from the Holy Scriptures was made [...]. Not many years ago the same sacred songs were translated into German for the first time by Michael Weiss, a good poet. Afterwards printed anew by Johann Horn, and now once more corrected und increased by more than one hundred songs.<sup>145</sup>

In the 1555 edition of the hymnbook, Valentin Triller does not voice dissatisfaction with old texts. In fact, the title page addresses the 'original' texts of the musical models ('sung previously in either Latin or German, with sacred or secular texts', lines 5–6) simply in order to categorise the repertory, without expressing any judgement or claiming that the texts have been improved. The same neutral stance is also maintained in the preface. By contrast, the texts of the 'old melodies' are characterised negatively on the 1559 title page, where the musical models become 'old and familiar melodies known to our ancestors but abolished because of their idolatrous texts, partly arranged anew from the pure Gregorian chants' (lines 5–8). One wonders why this sentence was added: given that the 1559 title page seems to aim to increase the hymnbook's saleability, I would argue that the reference to the abolition of idolatrous texts and to Gregorian chants was intended to emphasise the hymnbook's religiousness. Significantly, the mention of secular texts disappeared from the 1559 title page.

These changes notwithstanding, the title pages and the preface reveal the nature of Triller's involvement with the 'old familiar melodies'. It was motivated by an aesthetic appreciation of their musical qualities irrespective of the theological compatibility of the original texts. That is not all: in the preface, Triller gives further insights into the circumstances that prompted his repertorial choices for the hymnbook. Right at the beginning, after a typical *captatio benevolentiae* and the abovementioned description of the hymnbook as a 'service' to Silesians, Triller vividly sketches the state of hymnody in Silesia, something he certainly experienced in his daily life as a pastor (preface, lines 6–11):

I was also prompted in this design [publishing the hymnbook] by many unfamiliar foreign melodies and music written in certain other hymnbooks, but unknown in the localities and

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<sup>145</sup> *Kirchengeseng* (Ivančice: 1566, RISM B/8 1566–05), preface (unnumbered folios): 'Nu hat Johannes Huss in der Christlichen Reformation unter andern auch den Kirchengeseng angefangen / in Behemischer sprachen: den selbigen haben hernach seine Nachkomen so gemehret / und von allen Artickeln des Christlichen glaubens / auff alle fest durchs gantze Jar / so schöne geistliche Lieder getichtet / das der gleichen nie gesehen worden / wie sie denn solch zeugnis von jederman / und von der warheit selbs haben. Sie haben aber die alten Kirchenmelodien / weis und noten behalten / weil sie köstlich sind / und der Christenheit inn brauch kemen / auch viel dieselben gern hören und singen. Den text aber (wie denn in der Kirchen Reformation mit diesen und andern dingen geschehen mus) hat man / wo er ungereimpt / unrein und abgöttisch gewesen / entweder gebessert / oder aber hinweg gethan / und newen text aus der heiligen Schrifft gezogen / drunter gemacht: wie denn jedermenniglich selbs hirinn sehen mag / wie wunderbarlich Gott durch seine Werckzeug die finsternis ins Liecht / die jrthumm in Warheit verwandelt / und den Kirchenstand vernewert und gebessert hat. Derselbigen geistlichen Gesenge sind nicht wenig vor etlichen jaren / erstlich von Michael Weisen ein guten Poeten verdeutscht: darnach von Johanne Horn wider inn druck verfertigt: und jtz abermal vom newen durchgesehen / und mehr denn mit hundert Liedern gemehret'.

churches of our Silesia. Many of these, perhaps because of the negligence of printers, are often badly clefled and notated, so that many give no correct note.

The repertory of the hymnbooks that circulated in Silesia is portrayed as ‘unfamiliar’, ‘foreign’ and ‘unknown’. Moreover, the poor print quality of these sources made it impossible to sing from them, which is obviously related to their repertory being unfamiliar to Silesians (a melody known by heart could be performed correctly, the misprints notwithstanding). This passage reveals why Triller chose to characterise his repertory as ‘familiar’ (‘gewöhnliche’) on the hymnbook’s title pages. Furthermore, it implicitly compares *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* with the ‘certain other hymnbooks’. While the musical content of the first is ‘old and familiar’, the others are ‘unfamiliar and foreign’. In light of the interpretation of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* proposed above, namely as an expression of Silesian regionalism, the choice of such adjectives cannot pass unnoticed. In fact, the term ‘foreign’ situates the musical repertory on a geographical map and immediately evokes the notion of borders. Further below, Triller specifies what lies within these borders, and what constitutes the bulk of the hymnbook: ‘the best old, familiar and fine melodies that were formerly familiar in the localities and churches of our Silesia [...] lest they should be entirely lost and all memory of them perish’ (preface, lines 19–22). Here, Triller connects time and space, and I would argue that the musical past conjured up in the hymnbook’s paratexts cannot be understood without the notion of Silesian regional identity discussed above. Thus, musical past and regionalism appear as related phenomena: the musical past is recorded because it is a local musical past. This adds another layer of meaning to the title *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*: besides the dynastic, regionalistic, and religious connotations, here we can also discover a musical significance.

All in all, Triller seems to consider the hymnbook’s repertory to be a waning tradition, and the publication is presented as some sort of commemorative volume, a *Gedenkschrift* to save a musical heritage (remember the sentence ‘lest they should be entirely lost and all memory of them perish’, preface, lines 21–22).<sup>146</sup> Although I do not know how old Triller was when he wrote the preface to *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*, there seems to be a touch of nostalgia in his words, as if he was remembering some of the ‘best old, familiar, and fine melodies’ from his youth. Indeed, the past in which this music was known, the ‘zuvor’ of which he speaks in the preface, is not the remote past of the Holy Scriptures, often evoked by hymnodists to legitimise religious singing, but a past that Triller himself could remember personally. Although he does not evoke his recollections explicitly, his musical memories likely played a role in the construction of the repertory. Other sixteenth-century hymnodists address this aspect, too: Martin Luther, for instance, in the preface to the *Begräb-*

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<sup>146</sup> The legitimisation of print as means to rescue a repertory from oblivion is also present in other sixteenth-century music collections. See, for instance, the dedication letter of *Hundert und fünfftzehen guter newer Liedlein* (Nuremberg: [Hans Ott] 1544, vdm 1027). Cf. (Schwindt 2012a, 225). Cf. also Conclusions: Musical pasts.

*nisgesänge* admits not liking when ‘a responsory or song is sung differently [...] from what I was used to in my youth’.<sup>147</sup> Heinrich Knaust (d. after 1577), a most unusual polymath,<sup>148</sup> even presents personal memories of his youth as the main selection criteria for his sacred contrafacta of secular *Lieder*.<sup>149</sup> In the dedication letter, dated 1570, Knaust recounts that around twenty years earlier<sup>150</sup> he moralised some ‘shameful popular songs circulating on the streets [*Gassenhauer*] and ditties used by soldiers [*Reiterliedchen*]’ for the use of his pupils, so they were able to set aside the lascivious texts.<sup>151</sup> He underlines the quality of the old songs, their texts notwithstanding, and explains: ‘I like the old little songs for their agreeable composition, and because I learned to sing through them in my youth’.<sup>152</sup> I would argue that, although Triller’s preface channels the hymnbook’s retrospectivity into a regionalistic narrative, other circumstances certainly shaped his relation with the musical past, including obviously taste and perhaps also personal memories.

In the preface, Triller explains that he has also included contrafacta of ‘well known secular melodies’ (preface, line 26). As I will discuss in detail in chapter 3.1, several of Triller’s hymn tunes seem to have had secular texts, but the preface certainly points at hymns nos. 129–145, copied separately at the end of the hymnbook and introduced by the explicit rubric ‘songs on secular melodies follow’ (fol. i4r ‘*Folgen gesenge auff Weltliche melody*’). Conscious backward-looking preferences are also evident among these settings,<sup>153</sup> although Triller does not relate them explicitly to Silesian performing traditions. Moreover, as these hymns are copied all together in the last section of the hymnbook, they seem to constitute an independent corpus. Did Triller regard the ‘well known secular melodies’ as ultimately different from the ‘old familiar’ ones known in Silesia? Or are they singled out in the preface just because of the secular content of their original texts? Once again, here we come up against the source’s hermeneutic

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<sup>147</sup> WA 35, 480: ‘Denn ichs selbs auch nicht gerne höre, wo in einem Responsorio oder Gesang die Noten verrückt, anders gesungen werden bey uns, weder ich der in meiner Jugend gewonet bin’.

<sup>148</sup> (Ahrens 1979).

<sup>149</sup> *Gassenhawer, Reuter und Bergliedlin, Christlich, moraliter, unnd sittlich verendert* (Frankfurt am Main: heirs of Christian Egenolff 1571, VD16 K 1407).

<sup>150</sup> Knaust was born in 1521/24, so he must have been around thirty.

<sup>151</sup> WB, 642: ‘Erbar und Namhaffter, Innsonders Günstiger Herr und guter Freund, Ich hab in meiner jugent vor zwentzig Jaren ungefährlich, etliche schampare Gassenhawer und Reuterliedlin, in einen Geystlichen, oder Moral, und sittlichen sinn unnd Text, so wol als ich gemocht, Transferirt, verändert, und aussfesezt, dass meine Discipeln denselbigen under die Noten applicirn, und singen solten, wann sie sich im singen uben wolten, uff dass ste der Bülen Texte abgehen möchten, Denn ob wol die alte Compositio gut, und mir sonst gefellig, so hab ich doch von den worten nichts gehalten, derowegen auch dieselbigen verendert’.

<sup>152</sup> WB, 642: ‘Und ich mag die alten Liedlin wol leiden, von wegen jhrer artigen Composition, und dass ich darauss in meiner Jugend erst habe singen gelehret’.

<sup>153</sup> See the title rubrics of hymns nos. 129, 131, 137–141, and 143, all defined as ‘alte melody’ or ‘alte weise’.

limits. The preface was not written to give a consistent description of the hymnbook, and we must be content with identifying the issues addressed in it, without trying to infer from Triller's few words a coherent and complete account of the repertory of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*.

This caveat notwithstanding, Triller's *Preface to the Christian reader* remains a unique testimony of an early modern awareness of the past in music, an awareness that is related to a collective identity based on the sense of belonging to a region. Triller was not alone in constructing a bond with what he perceived as a local musical repertory. I am unable to cite any positive evidence on this regard, but the very fact that he voiced this aspect in the preface suggests that he expected his readers to agree.

Furthermore, the interaction between Silesian identity and musical culture is present in another sixteenth-century publication, the *Panegyricus Silesiacus*,<sup>154</sup> a Latin poem written in 1506 by Pancratius Vulturius (Geier) during a stay in Padua, but published in 1521.<sup>155</sup> In this humanistic description of the region, a literary genre usually seen as the chief expression of Silesian regionalism, Vulturius praises Silesia, its natural resources and its culture, and he refers repeatedly to music making: on the feasts of Saint John<sup>156</sup> and Saint Martin,<sup>157</sup> as well as in the churches of Wrocław.<sup>158</sup> Although we should not read the *Panegyricus Silesiacus* as a factual account or a historical geographical treatise, it suggests that cultural practices including music were perceived, in some circles, as worth mentioning when celebrating Silesia and its riches.<sup>159</sup> I am not trying to trace a direct influence of Silesian humanism on Triller's editorial endeavour, but I wish to stress once again that the 'Silesian' narrative staged in Triller's paratexts was an expression of a broader cultural climate. One wonders whether the intellectual elite worshipping the cult of the Silesian homeland might have been interested in Triller's hymnbook because of its Silesian character. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that one copy of the hymnbook bears a note of possession by a Daniel Rapold (PL-WRu 395219), probably the Daniel Rapold (d. 1588) who was *Domsyndicus* of Wrocław Cathedral.<sup>160</sup> He was a humanist and, although not Silesian

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<sup>154</sup> Pancratius Vulturius (Geier), *Slesia, Bresla etc.* (Wrocław: [printer?] 1521), commonly known as *Panegyricus Silesiacus*. Edited in (Drechsler 1901).

<sup>155</sup> (Harder 1983, 40–41) and (Harc 2014, 192–193).

<sup>156</sup> (Drechsler 1901, 40, 54–55).

<sup>157</sup> (Drechsler 1901, 46–47, 64).

<sup>158</sup> (Drechsler 1901, 58).

<sup>159</sup> On this regard, consider also the *Sabothus sive Silesia*, a poem celebrating Silesia by Franz Faber (1497–1565), printed posthumously in Basel in 1592. Faber included the composer Thomas Stoltzer, who had already died in 1526, among the Silesian personalities praised in the poem. See (Fleischer 1992, 82–85) and (Kytzler 2016, 25–37). Admittedly, this example differs significantly from the *Panegyricus Silesiacus*: Faber pays homage to Thomas Stoltzer as an author, alongside rhetors, poets, and scholars.

<sup>160</sup> (Conrads and Bahlcke 2009, 226 n. 31).

by birth, he drafted a *Historia de illustrissimo Silesiae ducatu*,<sup>161</sup> a treatise on Silesian history inspired by obvious regional pride.<sup>162</sup>

## 2.4 Paratexts, content, and intended readership

Besides the aspects discussed above, the paratexts include some thought-provoking remarks concerning the ideal user Triller envisaged for *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*. This aspect is of great interest, especially in light of recent debates over the function of sixteenth-century hymnbooks, often conceptualised with the dichotomy congregation versus choir.<sup>163</sup> Moreover, it allows us to refine our understanding of the relation between what the editor says in the paratexts and the hymnbook's actual content.

A reference to the readership already appears in the dedication letter, where the hymnbook is offered to the dedicatee's scholars, so that its content can be judged (dedication letter, lines 55–56). I do not know whether any such evaluation ever happened, but I assume that the hymns would have been simply read (rather than sung), since the dedication letter is mainly concerned with the publication's theological fitness. Generally speaking, a hymnbook could have been treated as a collection of religious poetry, but no one would claim that this was its main function. Performers and musical performance are explicitly mentioned on the 1559 title page, according to which the hymnbook is suitable 'for laymen and scholars, children and the elderly, to sing at home and in churches' (1559 title page, lines 2–3). This sentence seems to specify the book's function in greater detail, but it actually means 'for everybody', and has the tone of an advertisement.

More articulate information on the intended readership of the hymnbook appears in the *Preface to the Christian reader*. Not only does Triller present *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* as a book for Silesians (as argued in chapter 2.1), but he also adds a social focus. In Triller's words, the hymnbook was published 'for the benefit of the Christians who live about us, especially in the villages, who do not always know how to sing different, difficult notes and poems' (preface, lines 17–18).

This reference to the limited literacy and musical abilities of the rural population is undoubtedly fascinating. Since Triller was the pastor of a Silesian village, his statement takes on a certain authenticity. Before the publication, probably even before conceiving

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<sup>161</sup> Edited in (von Sommersberg 1729, 98–113).

<sup>162</sup> Consider, for instance, the following statement: 'In value and wisdom, Silesians are never inferior to any other people, and this is true also in our times. This will become clear from the very long succession of historical facts which is to be put together for the eternal glory of the homeland', ('Virtute et sapientia aliis populis nunquam (uti nec hoc tempore nostro) inferiores sunt Silesii; quod ex longissima historiarum serie, quae ad eternam patriae laudem contexenda est [...] cognoscendum veniet'). (von Sommersberg 1729, 100).

<sup>163</sup> (Herl 2004) is chiefly concerned with the dichotomy choir/congregation in Lutheran liturgy, and discusses many hymnals from this perspective, see especially (Herl 2004, 87–106). For a different perspective on the same issue, see (Leaver 2017).



the idea of publishing a hymnbook, he probably practiced some of his hymns with his parishioners. After all, the everyday needs of the parish were often the first impulse for the creation of vernacular hymns, while publication often followed at a later point.

That being said, scholars have often read Triller's words too literally, as an exact description of how the hymnbook was (or should be) used. Commenting on this passage in the preface, it has been proposed that *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* was not intended for a choir of trained singers, but for the common people ('das einfache Volk'), and that it was meant for congregational singing ('Gemeindegesang').<sup>164</sup> The preface certainly points to Christians living in villages (presumably peasants), and the reference to their musical abilities undoubtedly suggests congregational singing. But explicit as it might seem, this statement needs to be measured against the actual content of the hymnbook. Konrad Ameln has already pointed out an inconsistency in this regard, noting that some of Triller's hymns are too demanding musically for the common people ('das niedere Volk').<sup>165</sup> In addition to this, one hymn explicitly calls for vocal forces that go beyond congregational performance, no. 30 *Kirieleison. Das leben an dem holtze starb*. This is a contrafactum of the litany *Vita in ligno moritur*, and rubrics placed below the staff indicate responsorial singing divided between boys, cantor, and choir ('Pueri', 'Cantor', and 'Chorus'). Note also the notation of hymns nos. 110–118 (discussed in detail in chapter 3.1): each of them includes a termination for a psalm tone, thus assuming that who handled the book had access to a vernacular psalter (the prose psalms are not printed in the hymnbook), and knew how to intone and perform a prose psalm.

These and many other instances suggest trained singers, so that it is inconceivable that *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* was intended solely as a congregational hymnal for the common man. At the same time, it was not intended for choral use (its format and layout clearly speak against it).<sup>166</sup> In fact, I think that the dualism between congregational and choir hymnal oversimplifies the multiple functions of sixteenth-century musical sources. I think that *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* was primarily conceived for the person responsible for leading the singing in a church (a cantor, an organist, a clerk trained in music etc.). This person could have involved other performers (soloists, a choir, a congregation), depending on the genre of the hymn and the available musical forces. In smaller centres (in Silesian villages?) the pastor often would have been called upon to perform the function of lead singer,<sup>167</sup> and this was probably the case with Valentin Triller, as implied in the 1560 letter to Duke Georg II.<sup>168</sup> Against this

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<sup>164</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2016, 113–114).

<sup>165</sup> (Ameln 1971, 169).

<sup>166</sup> See (Chemotti 2019, 5–8) for details on the layout of Triller's polyphonic hymns.

<sup>167</sup> (Herl 2004, 75) records two visitation reports regarding pastors compelled to lead the singing.

<sup>168</sup> (Wiontzek 1931, 25). Triller wrote that 'For a long time there was no *Diener* nor *Schreiber*' ('Es ist lange kein

background, I would propose that the reference to private devotion on the 1559 title page (lines 2–3, 'daheim und in Kirchen zu singen') must be considered a secondary aim. Triller's hymnbook, like many others, certainly could have been used in a domestic environment, but several features suggest that its editor was first and foremost thinking of public worship.<sup>169</sup>

Given all the indications that the hymnbook would have been handled by somebody with musical training, how should we understand Triller's statement that it was *for* the Christians living in villages? First of all, Triller's promise to the peasants must be contextualised within Lutheran clerics' general concern to accommodate smaller centres and work within the possibilities they offered. Several church orders issued in the sixteenth century include ad hoc regulations for villages (as opposed to cities), often differentiating between centres with or without schools (the presence of a school obviously affected liturgy and church singing, since the schoolboys could be employed as readers or singers). The Mecklenburg church order of 1552 is instructive in this regard. It was adopted in the Duchy of Brieg in 1558, just three years after the publication of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*. The church order for the villages<sup>170</sup> mentions fewer performers than the civic counterpart: just a pastor ('Pfarrherr'), clerk ('Custos'), and the congregation ('die ganze kirch') are expected to sing, while the 'Order of ceremonies in city parish churches'<sup>171</sup> also involves the schoolboys ('schüler') and the choir ('Chor'). Moreover, the village church order never calls for Latin (with the exception of the Credo, which is sung in both Latin and German), which is often required in the city church order. Thus one obvious way in which Triller sought to meet the common man's capacities was the language: the entire hymnbook is in German, even those solo chants that in many other contexts would have been performed in Latin.

With regard to the presence of musically complex hymns, these should not be interpreted as contradicting the preface. Triller highlighted what he considered to be the salient features of the hymnbook, those that would have interested his target reader, but this does not imply that his words apply to each and every hymn of the collection.<sup>172</sup> Nonetheless, at least some of the hymns of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*

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Diener oder Schreiber allda gewest').

<sup>169</sup> Compare the liturgical indications in the rubrics discussed in chapter 3.1. Triller mentions church performance even with regard to the contrafacta of secular settings (preface, line 27). Cf. chapter 3.1 for details.

<sup>170</sup> 'Kirchenordnung uff den dörfern', Sehling 5, 201–202.

<sup>171</sup> 'Ordnung der ceremonien in pfarkirchen der stedt', Sehling 5, 197–201.

<sup>172</sup> This is also true for other aspects addressed in the preface. Consider, for instance, the reference to the melodies recorded in the hymnbook 'lest they should be entirely lost and all memory of them perish' (preface, lines 21–22). Evidently, Triller regarded some of the hymn tunes as 'at risk of extinction', but he certainly did not think that all of them could meet this fate. For example, the hymn tune of no. 2 *Wol auff nu last uns singen* all is the extremely popular Advent hymn *Conditor alme siderum*. This melody certainly did not need Triller's hymnbook to be saved from oblivion.

could be performed by a congregation, probably even by an uneducated one, and it is telling that he thematised this aspect in the preface. Evidently, this was dear to him, as it was to other sixteenth-century hymnodists.<sup>173</sup> But important as it is, Triller's regard for Silesian peasants cannot be interpreted uncritically as evidence concerning the function and intended users of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*.

This caution notwithstanding, the analysis of paratexts conducted in this chapter has revealed the narratives through which Triller presented his publication to the public. The 1555 title page, the dedication letter, and the preface abound with expressions that reveal the editor's regional consciousness, which in turn appears closely related to the desire to declaring his and his fellow Silesians' religious identity. This agenda is a perfect match with the religious policy of Duke Georg II of Brieg, the publication's dedicatee and the territorial lord of its editor. Furthermore, the preface also channels the musical past evoked on the title page into a regional narrative, revealing the interdependence between identity and awareness of the past in music. Keeping Triller's words in mind, we can now proceed to the analysis of the hymnbook's actual content, without forgetting that paratexts do not always 'illustrate' the texts they accompany, but sometimes pursue their own goals.

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<sup>173</sup> Lutheran hymnody took its first steps under the same auspices: in the renown letter to Georg Spalatin of 1523, Martin Luther invited him to 'turn a Psalm into a hymn [...]. But I would like you to avoid any new words or language used at court. In order to be understood by the people, only the simplest and the most common words should be used for singing'. Quoted after (Leaver 2017, 74).

## Chapter 3

### Content arrangement and liturgical assignments

In the previous chapter I showed that *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* was primarily intended for public worship in the Lutheran churches of Silesia, even though many of its hymns certainly also would have been suitable for private devotion. Moreover, I argued that it was not meant as a congregational hymnal, but would have been used by the person(s) in charge of leading the singing, who could select the hymns and entrust them to the performing forces available, depending on the context and the possibilities of the individual communities.

To help navigate the 145 hymns of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*, the editor (presumably Valentin Triller) supplied several paratexts. Virtually every hymn is introduced by a title rubric that summarises information of different sorts: content of the text, hymn tune, intended context of performance and so on. Right after the *Preface to the Christian reader* the editor also included a table of contents, the 'Ordnung und Register der Gesengen so in diesem buch verfast seindt'. This title points at an alphabetical register of the incipit of each hymn (the 'Register'), and a list of the sections of the book (the 'Ordnung').<sup>1</sup> While the 'Register' is present at fols. A5r-A6v, there is no list of sections whatsoever. The editor, who was obviously acquainted with the content of his hymnbook, easily could have drafted such a list, and it is possible that the typesetter simply did not find room for it. Indeed, neither after the preface nor after the alphabetical register does there seem to be enough space.

In this chapter I will discuss the 'Ordnung' that underlies *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*, examining rubrics, the order of the hymns, their texts, and their hymn tunes. By analysing the principles on which Triller relied when organising his collection, I will show the systematic nature of his editorial endeavour. It will also become clear that the arrangement of the hymnbook is not just a practical, bibliographical matter: by shaping the hymnbook, the editor aimed at shaping the musical apparatus of Lutheran liturgies and devotions in the vernacular.

#### 3.1 The ordering of the hymns

Triller's striving for order and coherence is already evident from the hymns that he chose to open and conclude *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*: no. 1 *Macht euch herzu o lieben Christen alle* and no. 145 *Nu wünschen wir zu gutter nacht*. The first hymn has a proemial character and the title rubric defines it as an 'incentive to praise God' ('Ein anreizung zum lob Gottes'). Thus, it opens the hymnbook as if beginning a celebration

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the same headings in Michael Weisse's hymnbook, *Ein New Geseng buchlen* (Jungbunzlau: [Georg Styrsa] 1531, RISM B/8 1531-02).

and echoes the theology of music expounded in the dedication letter, where music is depicted as a sacrifice of praise (chapter 2.2). The hymn tune of no. 1 is the invitatory antiphon *Christum regem adoremus*, with the psalm verse *Venite exultemus*. In the liturgy of the hours, the invitatory is sung at the beginning of Matins, the night-time liturgy.<sup>2</sup> Nothing suggests that Triller intended his contrafactum for the same place in the liturgy, but no. 1 *Macht euch herzu o lieben Christen alle* matches its Latin model on a semantic level: it invites the Christian community to praise the Lord, just like the invitatory traditionally 'invited' the community to the Night Office.

A similar, though opposite, function is fulfilled by the last hymn, no. 145 *Nu wünschen wir zu gutter nacht*. As is evident from its very first verse, no. 145 is a goodnight hymn. A rubric adds that it should be sung 'at the dismissal of the assembly' ('zum abscheidt der Collation'). Just like the first hymn, no. 145 is not meant as a strictly liturgical item, as a substitute for the *Ite missa est*, but rather as a hymn to mark the end of any communal worship.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, wishes for a good night are also present in the musical model of Triller's contrafactum, the secular Lied *So wünsch' ich ihm/ihr ein gute Nacht zu hunderttausend Stunden*. This popular Lied was copied in several printed and handwritten sources, and it is worth noting that it is the last item of Georg Forster's *Ein Außzug guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlin* (Nuremberg: Johann Petreius 1539, and reprints). Although Triller probably did not rely on this collection as the source for his contrafactum,<sup>4</sup> it is telling that this parallelism between text and position was also present in other sixteenth-century song collections. This suggests that the placement of no. 145 *Nu wünschen wir zu gutter nacht* in Triller's hymnbook is not coincidental, but the consequence of a deliberate editorial decision.<sup>5</sup> Thus, hymns no. 1 and 145 fulfil a 'framing' function both on a material and ritual level: they open and close the hymnbook, just as they are supposed to begin and conclude a Christian celebration. Furthermore, they also seem to convey a symbolic meaning: by means of musical and textual references, they evoke the unfolding of a Christian day, from Matins to the evening prayer before retiring.

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<sup>2</sup> Triller retained the form of the hymn tune, starting with the antiphon and alternating repetitions *a latere* and *a capite* of the antiphon after each psalm verse. Cf. (Hiley 1993, 99). The liturgical form of this hymn notwithstanding, I rule out that Triller envisaged no. 1 for Matins, since items for the liturgy of the hours are grouped elsewhere in the hymnbook. See below.

<sup>3</sup> Vernacular contrafacta of the *Ite missa est* are printed elsewhere in the hymnbook (nos. 108–109), among the chants for mass. See below.

<sup>4</sup> Triller's contrafactum and Forster's version have slightly different readings. See the comparison of the incipit in (Chemotti 2019, 28). On the relation between Triller's contrafacta and printed collections of Lieder see chapter 4.3.

<sup>5</sup> See (Schwindt 2010, 337–342) for other 'framing structures' in printed songbooks.

## Nos. 2-56: hymns *de tempore*

While hymn no. 1 is not bound to any precise moment of the liturgical year,<sup>6</sup> hymn no. 2 begins a long series of hymns *de tempore*. As a matter of fact, an analysis of the title rubrics and texts of the hymns nos. 2-56 shows that Triller organised them according to the *temporale* cycle of the liturgical year, from Advent to the Sundays after Trinity. The following list summarises the results of the analysis, giving some additional relevant information derived from the title rubrics in parentheses.

Advent (nos. 2-6): no. 2 *Wol auff nu last uns singen all* ('Im Advent'), no. 3 *Als wir warn beladen*, no. 4 *Der Herr und ware Gott*, no. 5 *Als Maria die jungfraw rein* ('im Advent / und auff alle fest Mariae zusingen'), no. 6 *Wolauff last uns frölich singen* ('im Advent oder sonst ubers jar zusingen').

Christmas (nos. 7-19): no. 7 *Kom Herr Got o du höchster hort* ('Auff Weinachten am Christabend'), no. 8 *O herr Gott vater wir singen dir*, no. 9 *Preis sey Got im höchsten throne – Es ist der Engel herrligkeit*, no. 10 *Ein kind geboren zu Bethleem*, no. 11 *Nu dancksaget Gott dem Vater*, no. 12 *Wach auff liebe Christenheit*, no. 13 *Es ist ein kindlein uns geboren*, no. 14 *Das wort ist fleisch worden*, no. 15 *Nu feyret alle Christen leuth*, no. 16 *Rein und theur ist die geburt*, no. 17 *Aller ehren und herrligkeit*, no. 18 *Inn einem süssen thon*, no. 19 *Es kam ein Engel hell und klar*.

Purification: no. 20 *Da Jesus Christ Marie kind* ('Auffs Fest Purificationis').

Nos. 21-26: hymns for the Eucharist ('Folgen gesenge beim Abendmal'), function *de tempore* unclear, see below.

Palm Sunday: no. 26 *Lob ehr unnd danck sey dir du König* ('Am Palm Sontag').

Holy Week (nos. 27-31): no. 27 *Gros und heilig uber allen* ('Vom leiden Christi'), no. 28 *Felschlich und arg betrogen ist*, no. 29 *Wach auff vom schlaff der sünden dein*, no. 30 *Kirieleison. Das leben an dem holtze starb*, no. 31 *Herr Christe schöpffer aller Welt dein sterben – Lob und danck wir sagen dir Christe Gotes son*.

Easter (nos. 32-43): no. 32 *Wie die wagen Herrn und Regenten* ('an stat des Introitus'), no. 33 *Alle welt frewet sich – Ey wie reich und trew ist*, no. 34 *Also heilig ist der tag*, no. 35 *Nu seid auff jr lieben Christen*, no. 36 *Nu lobet jr Christen alle*, no. 37 *Christ ist erstanden von des Todes banden*, no. 38 *Alle landt da Christ wird erkandt*, no. 39. *Singet frölich alle gleich*, no. 40 *Erstanden ist der Herre Christ*, no. 41 *Christus der Herr Got des vatern*, no. 42 *Erstanden ist uns Jhesus Christ die gnad*, no. 43 *Der lentz ist uns des jares erste quartir* ('Ein gesang vom Lentz / welchs man auch sonst zu aller zeit des Evangelii').

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<sup>6</sup> See the rubric 'Auff alle zeit des jars bekwem zusingen'.

Ascension Day (nos. 44–45): no. 44 *Fest und hoch auff dem thron* ('Auffs Fest der Himelfart'), no. 45 *Jhesus Christus Gottes Son ist Fleisch worden*.

Pentecost (nos. 46–50): no. 46 *Komb du tröster O Heiliger Geist erfül die hertzen* ('auff Pfingsten'), no. 47 *Der heilige Geist und warer Got*, no. 48 *Komb güttiger unnd tewrer Got – Ein reicher milter Geist*, no. 49 *Komb Got Schöpffer heiliger geist Dieweil* ('hymnus zur Vesperzeit'), no. 50 *Komb herr Got heiliger Geist*.

Trinity Sunday and the following Sundays (nos. 51–56): no. 51 *Gebenedeiet sey inn aller welt* ('Auffs Fest Trinitatis und andere Sontag hernach'), no. 52b *Gelobet sey der Herr und Got unser vater* ('Ein ander Vers auff die Sontag ubers Jahr'), no. 53 *O Göttliche Dreyfaltigkeit O einige selbststendigkeit*, no. 54 *Lob ehr und preis unnd herrligkeit – Ein jder mensch der da selig werden wil*, no. 55 *Der Herr unnd Got von ewigkeit*, no. 56 *O Herr Got vater won uns bey*.

Since the editor included only a few explicit calendrical indications, it is necessary to explain how I inferred the liturgical assignments of the single hymns. Some are introduced by liturgical rubrics *de tempore* (see, for example, hymns nos. 2, 7, 20, 26 etc.). The hymns that are printed right after these and whose texts expound similar themes are considered *de tempore* even if they do not have any liturgical rubric. For instance, no. 43 is labelled 'a song of spring' ('Ein gesang vom Lentz'), a rubric that does not seem to bind it to any specific liturgy. However, the hymn's text draws a parallel between spring and the 'spiritual spring' initiated by the resurrection of the Lord (cf. for example the third strophe 'Ein solcher Lenz ist geistlich ietzt erstanden').<sup>7</sup> Moreover, it is printed right after a series of hymns certainly meant for Easter (see the rubric on fol. K1r 'Folgen gesenge auff das Osterliche Feyer'), and right before a hymn intended for Ascension (no. 44). Thus, I assume that Triller regarded no. 43 primarily as a hymn *de tempore* for Easter, just like the preceding nos. 32–42.

Similar reasoning justifies the identification of nos. 27–31 as hymns for Holy Week. Although none of them has a *de tempore* rubric, they are printed between settings for Palm Sunday and Easter. In addition, the first of the series (no. 27) is a hymn 'about the suffering of Christ' ('Vom leiden Christi'), and the following five hymns expound similar themes. Thus both their texts and their position in the hymnbook suggest that the editor regarded them as hymns *de tempore* for Holy Week.

Hymns nos. 21–25 represent the only inconsistency in this otherwise tightly organised section, since they do not seem to fit the *de tempore* cycle. They are labelled 'hymns for the Eucharist' ('Abendmal'), suggesting that they are meant to accompany a specific ritual action, the communion distribution, irrespective of the liturgical season. We are left wondering why they were printed between Purification (no. 20) and Palm

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<sup>7</sup> Text edited in W IV 67.

Sunday (no. 26). Since hymns *de tempore* were sometimes sung during Communion,<sup>8</sup> it is possible that Triller envisaged these *Abendmahl* hymns for the time of the liturgical year that was not covered by the surrounding groups, perhaps for the Sundays before the beginning of the penitential period that leads up to the commemoration of the Passion.

Be that as it may, Triller ordered around a third of the hymns of the entire hymnbook according to the *temporale*. Evidently he wanted his hymns to be performed on the appropriate feast or in the corresponding liturgical season. This concern is not particularly surprising: several Protestant church orders contain lists of hymns *de tempore*,<sup>9</sup> and the very idea of binding musical items to specific feasts was centuries old. Additionally, the *de tempore* organisation can be interpreted as a reader-oriented choice: it allows readers to navigate the hymnbook simply by knowing the sequence of feasts, and to choose the appropriate hymns without examining each of them in detail. Sixteenth-century editors were obviously familiar with this organisational principle, since it was standard practice in liturgical and chant sources. Nevertheless, it had not yet become an obvious choice to construct hymnbooks in such fashion. In 1558 for instance, Johann Eichorn, a Frankfurt an der Oder printer formerly associated with Crispin Scharffenberg,<sup>10</sup> complained that most hymnbooks were spoiled because their content was so confused.<sup>11</sup> Such complaints, printed as the preface to Eichorn's hymnbook *Ein new ausserlesen Gesangbüchlein*,<sup>12</sup> were certainly meant to advertise the accurate structure of his publication, whose content was ordered 'according to the feasts of the whole year'.<sup>13</sup> Yet they also give a sense of the situation around the mid-sixteenth century, when hymnbooks were a still evolving type of book, and some readers might have been frustrated by hymn publications whose arrangement did not follow a clear rationale. Triller was aware of the importance of offering a liturgy-oriented collection, and just like Eichorn he showcased this feature on the title page, both in the 1555 and in the 1559 edition.<sup>14</sup>

It should be added that Triller did not suggest a hymn for every single feast of the liturgical year. Instead, he made a selection of its pivotal moments, a choice similar to that of the abovementioned *Ein new ausserlesen Gesangbüchlein* (1558). Table 2

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<sup>8</sup> See, for instance, the reference to boys singing *de tempore* during the Communion in Suhl (Thuringia) in 1562. (Herl 2004, 80).

<sup>9</sup> (Herl 2004, 154–156).

<sup>10</sup> (Lipphardt 1968, 161).

<sup>11</sup> (Lipphardt 1968, 164).

<sup>12</sup> *Ein new ausserlesen Gesangbüchlein* (Frankfurt an der Oder: Johann Eichorn 1558, RISM B/8 1558–04).

<sup>13</sup> See the title page: 'auff alle Fest des gantzen Jars geordnet'.

<sup>14</sup> See the 1555 title page ('von den fürnemsten Festen des Jares'), and the similar wording on the 1559 title page ('von den furnemsten Festen des gantzes jares').



compares the *de tempore* sections of these two publications with that of an earlier source, Michael Weisse's *Ein New Geseng buchlen* (1531).

Table 2: *De tempore* order in three sixteenth-century hymnbooks

Liturgical year	<i>Ein New Geseng buchlen</i> , RISM B/8 1531-02	<i>Ein Schlesich singebüchlein</i> , RISM B/8 1555-07	<i>Ein new ausserlesen Gesangbüchlein</i> , RISM B/8 1558-04
Advent	Von der Menschwerdung Christi	Im Advent	Von der Menschwerdung Jesu Christi
Christmas	Von der Geburt	Auff Weinachten am Christabend	Von der Geburt Jesu Christi
Circumcision of Christ	Von der Beschneidung		
Epiphany	Von der Erscheinung		
Purification		Auffs Fest Purificationis	
Palm Sunday		Am Palm Sontag	
Holy Week	Vom Wandel und Leiden Christi	Vom leiden Christi	Vom Leiden und Sterben Jesu Christi
Easter	Von der Auferstendung [sic]	Folgen gesenge auff das Osterliche Feyer	Von der Auferstehung Jesu Christi
Ascension Day	Von der Himmelfahrt	Auffs Fest der Himelfart	Von der Himmelfahrt Jesu Christi
Pentecost	Vom Heiligen geiste	auff Pfingsten	Vom Heiligen Geist
Trinity Sunday		Auffs Fest Trinitatis und andere Sontag hernach	Von der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit

Nos. 57–66: hymns on the Christian Church  
and *sanctorale*

After the hymns *de tempore*, Triller copied a series of hymns that focus on the Christian Church (nos. 57–61). No. 57 *Von der Christlichen gemeine* is meant explicitly for the feast of the dedication ('von der kirchwey oder kirchmes'), and the following four hymns similarly thematise the privileged relation between God and His Church, depicting the latter as a metaphorical building (no. 58 'Von dem Tempel Gottes'), bride (no. 59 'von Christo und seiner heiligen Gemeine' and no. 61 'von der heyiligen Kirchen und Christo jrem Breutgam'), and Israel (no. 60 'vom rechten Israel'). The positioning of these five hymns is not coincidental, but complies with pre-existing editorial conventions. As a matter of fact, a similar arrangement is also present in earlier sources such as the 1544 *Ein Gesangbuch der Brüder inn Behemen und Merherrn*,<sup>15</sup> which must have been known in Silesia (Scharffenberg reprinted it in 1564, see Table 1 no. 6). Just like in Triller's hymnbook, in the *Gesangbuch der Brüder inn Behemen und Merherrn* the hymns 'of the Holy Christian Church' ('Von der Heyligen Christlichen Kirchen') are printed right after the Trinitarian hymns ('Von der Heyligen Dreyfaltigkeit').

After one hymn, no. 62 *Ich weiß ein Blümlein hüpsch und fein*, for whose presence at this point there does not seem to be a precise reason, Triller copied another cluster of liturgically ordered hymns, nos. 63–66. These constitute a very minimal *sanctorale*: the first is a hymn for Marian feast days (no. 63, 'Auff die Fest Mariae'), and it is followed by a hymn suitable for the feasts of Saint John the Baptist and of the apostles (no. 64, 'Auff die Fest Johannis des Teuffers und der Aposteln'). No. 65 has a slightly different rubric that defines the hymn as 'a song about the sinful woman, Luke chapter 7' ('Ein Gesang von der Sünderin Luc. vij.'). Strictly speaking, this does not seem to be a liturgical rubric, since it points at the text's content rather than at a specific feast day. However, the sinful woman of Luke 7:36–50 was traditionally identified with Mary Magdalene, and readers would have concluded that this hymn was suitable for her feast. This is confirmed by one copy of Triller's hymnbook where a sixteenth-century hand added the rubric 'on the day of Mary Magdalene'.<sup>16</sup> The *sanctorale* section is concluded by a hymn on the transfiguration of Christ (no. 66 'Von der verklerung Christi'). It should be noted that, although these *sanctorale* rubrics refer to different feast days at once, Triller had a calendrical order in mind when he copied these four hymns: the first Marian feasts of the *sanctorale* are between December and March, Saint John the Baptist is celebrated on 24 June, the

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<sup>15</sup> Johann Horn, *Ein Gesangbuch der Brüder inn Behemen und Merherrn* (Nürnberg: Johann Günther 1544, RISM B/8 1544-01). I consulted the copy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, available online at <<https://www.digital-sammlungen.de>> (accessed 11 September 2018).

<sup>16</sup> PL-Wu SDM 93, fol. S3v 'am Tage Maria Magdalene'.

apostles Saints Peter and Paul on 29 June, Mary Magdalene on 22 July, and the Transfiguration on 6 August.<sup>17</sup>

#### Nos. 67–76: hymns for the whole year

At fol. T3r a series commences of hymns that are related neither to the liturgical year nor to a concrete feast. Triller specified that these hymns could be sung during the whole year ('Folgen Gemeine Gesenge ubers gantze Jahr zu singen'), but he directed the reader by giving some information concerning the respective hymn's topic, or by suggesting the ritual actions that the hymns were appropriate to accompany. Hymns nos. 68–69, for example, are suitable to be sung 'before or after the sermon' ('vor oder nach der Predig'). The singing of hymns to frame the sermon was already a well-established custom in Lutheran churches: a survey of sixteenth-century church orders has identified tens of sources that mention this performance context.<sup>18</sup> Triller's hymns nos. 68–69 fittingly reflect on the Word of God: see for instance, the first strophe of no. 68 'the Word of God is pure, better than gold and precious stones',<sup>19</sup> or the last strophe of no. 69 'You [God] wanted to write Your Word in our hearts'.<sup>20</sup> In a Lutheran service, the Holy Scriptures were obviously the main focus of the sermon, and such hymns would have been appropriate for introducing or concluding it, without having a too direct link to the ever-changing content. The following hymn no. 70 is recommended as a conclusion and benediction after the service ('nach Göttlichem ampt zum Beschlus und Segen').

#### Nos. 77–83: metrical psalms

A rubric on fol. Y3r introduces the following hymns as 'psalms of David' ('Nu folgen etliche Psalmen Davids'). Indeed, their texts are metrical paraphrases of psalms, sung not to a psalm tone but to hymn tunes in strophic form. This genre is rooted in the very beginning of Lutheran hymnody, and Luther himself is usually credited with its creation.<sup>21</sup> The metrical psalms are followed by a hymn on the Song of Hannah (no. 84 'Ein gesang oder dancksagung Annae Samuelis Mutter .j. Reg. ij.').<sup>22</sup> The tone

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<sup>17</sup> I took the calendar of the *Missale Romanum* of 1474 as a reference point, see the synoptic table in (Muir 1995, 171–173).

<sup>18</sup> (Herl 2004, 80).

<sup>19</sup> No. 68, strophe 1 verses 1–2 'Rein und besser ist Gottes wort / denn Gold und edle steine'.

<sup>20</sup> No. 69, strophe 4 verses 1–2 'Du wollest dein wort schreiben / inn unser hertz und mut'.

<sup>21</sup> See a very short but informative introduction to metrical psalms in (Leaver 2017, 74–76).

<sup>22</sup> The title rubric refers to the Song of Hannah as '.j. Reg. ij.' (first book of Kings, chapter 2), while according to Lutheran (and many other) bibles this book is named 'first book of Samuel'. The rubric probably refers to a Vulgate Bible, where the two books of Samuel and the two books of Kings are joined together as the four books of Kings.

of this poem is very close to a psalm of praise, accounting for its position at the end of the psalm section. Thus the grouping of these hymns mirrors textual features rather than ritual or liturgical uses, although Triller also mentioned a possible performance context, the celebration of the Eucharist.<sup>23</sup> The hymnbook also contains other psalm paraphrases, but they were copied elsewhere because they are subjected to other organisational principles.<sup>24</sup>

Table 3: Metrical psalms nos. 77–83

Hymn	Paraphrased psalm according to the title rubric in <i>Ein Schlesich singebüchlein</i>	Paraphrased psalm (Greek numbering in parenthesis)
No. 77 <i>Der Herr Gott ist mein trewer hirt</i>	Psalm 22	Psalm 23 (22) <i>Dominus regit me, et nihil mihi deerit</i>
No. 78 <i>Zu dir erhebe ich meine seel</i>	Psalm 24	Psalm 25 (24) <i>Ad te Domine levavi</i>
No. 79 <i>Der Mensch ist recht selig und from</i>	Psalm 32	Psalm 32 (31) <i>Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates</i>
No. 80 <i>Nu last uns im glauben</i>	Psalm 113	Psalm 113 (112) <i>Laudate, pueri, Dominum</i>
No. 81 <i>Dich Gott von Himmel ruff ich an</i>	Psalm 129	Psalm 130 (129) <i>De profundis</i>
No. 82 <i>Gottes namen solt jhr loben</i>	Psalm 135	Psalm 135 (134) <i>Laudate nomen Domini</i>
No. 83 <i>O meine seele lobe Gott</i>	Psalm 146	Psalm 146 (145) <i>Lauda, anima mea, Dominum</i>

Internally, this section is ordered according to the ascending number of the paraphrased psalm (see Table 3). However, the editor was inconsistent in numbering the psalms: the title rubrics resort alternatively to the Hebrew or Greek numbering. In itself, the presence of Greek numbering in a Lutheran hymnbook is not surprising. Although

<sup>23</sup> Fol. Y3v 'Man möcht auch diesen Psalmen beim Abentmal singen'.

<sup>24</sup> No. 24 ('aus dem iij. Psalm') is grouped with the *Abendmahl* hymns discussed above; nos. 92–95 ('Der xx. Psalm', 'Der xcij. Psalm', 'Der xc. Psalm', 'Der Cxl. Psalm') and no. 98 ('Der xcvi. Psalm') are among the hymns 'for times of distress' (see below), while no. 135 ('aus dem Cxxxiij. Psalm') is copied among the hymns that rely on a secular hymn tune.

Lutheran bibles relied on the Hebrew numbering, hymnbooks often remained faithful to the Greek one,<sup>25</sup> probably under the influence of the liturgical singing of the psalms, which followed a tradition partially independent from the translation of the Scriptures. However, the combination of both Hebrew and Greek numbering within the same source, like in Triller's hymnbook, is quite peculiar, and I was not able to find any persuasive explanation for this. An oversight on the typesetter's part seems unlikely,<sup>26</sup> so the editor must have been responsible for this. He might have relied on different sources of the psalms, or maybe he quoted their numbering from memory, inadvertently mixing the Hebrew and Greek systems.

The hypothesis that Triller's numbering is just an error seems to be confirmed by the fact that early modern readers were irritated by it. The late sixteenth-century scribe who made several annotations on PL-Wu SDM 93 consistently corrected the Triller's Greek numbering to the Hebrew one.<sup>27</sup>

#### Nos. 86–100: hymns for times of distress and for thanksgiving

The hymns of the following section are meant to be sung in times of distress, asking God for protection against physical and spiritual threats (see the rubric on fol. b1r 'Folgen Gesenge zur zeit der not / des kammers oder auch des Creutzes und verfolgung').<sup>28</sup> As such, they offer a fascinating insight into the fears and hopes that agitated the minds of Valentin Triller and his parishioners.

The first hymn, no. 86 *Ach Herr Jhesu wir armes volck*, sets the tone of the whole section. In the first person plural, the Christian community (the 'armes volck') cries for help to Jesus Christ, who is portrayed as the community's advocate with the irate God the Father. The following three hymns narrow down the scope of prayer. No. 87 is set in the form of a litany, and lists all sorts of afflictions from which the community asks to be spared: the wrath of God ('Fur deinem Göttlichen zorn'), sin and disgrace ('Fur sünden und schanden'), wrong teachings and heresy ('Fur falscher leer unnd Abgötterey'), subterfuge and the power of the Devil ('Fur aller list und gewalt des Teuffels') etc. Note that the litany addresses exclusively God the Father and His Son, in truly Lutheran fashion. Nos. 88–89 pray for peace, nourishment, and protection from wars and storms.

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<sup>25</sup> For instance, Martin Luther's paraphrase of psalm *De profundis* (*Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*) was numbered sometimes as psalm 129 (Greek numbering), sometimes as 130 (Hebrew numbering). See the different title rubrics recorded in (Jenny 1985, 188–190).

<sup>26</sup> While it is conceivable that the typesetter printed 'xxij.' instead of 'xxijj.' by mistake (see hymn no. 77), for psalms 25 (24) or 130 (129) an oversight is unlikely, since the typesetter would have needed different types.

<sup>27</sup> See hymns no. 77, 78, 81, 92–94 in PL-Wu SDM 93.

<sup>28</sup> See (Lehmann 2006) for a discussion of the terms 'Not', 'Angst' and 'Pein' in Protestant hymnbooks of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

With hymns nos. 90–3 and no. 95, the focus moves to the enemies of the Christian community, who are identified in the title rubrics introducing each hymn. Some address specific enemies (see no. 91 ‘against the Turks and other pagan tyrants’),<sup>29</sup> while others have an indeterminacy that made it possible for them to be sung with different purposes.<sup>30</sup> No. 90, for instance, is a ‘song against the enemies of the holy Christian Church’,<sup>31</sup> and it invites God to destroy their power and forces (‘zurstöre die macht und stercke der grausamen Feinde deiner Christenheit’). Among these hymns, Triller copied also no. 94 *Wer da sitzt unter dem schatten*, which is rubricated as a metrical psalm on Psalm 91 (‘Der xc. Psalm’, Greek numbering).<sup>32</sup> I assume it was copied here because it is a reminder of the protection that God grants the believer.

Among these hymns thematising the enemies of the Christians, Triller also could have copied no. 136 *Was hilfft es doch das man so hoch*, ‘a song against the scorn-ers of the ministry and the Sacrament’.<sup>33</sup> As I noted above, however, Triller was not consistent in grouping hymns with similar textual content, because in some cases he chose to give precedence to other organisational principles. In fact, no. 136 is the contrafactum of a German Lied, *Was wird es doch, des Wunders noch*. Triller regarded this as a secular hymn tune and accordingly he copied it at the end of the book, together with other hymns that share the same feature (see below).

After two hymns in which the Christian community asks God to grant them the courage and patience to ‘carry the cross’ (nos. 96–97),<sup>34</sup> this section is fittingly concluded by three hymns in which the state of fear is successfully overcome (nos. 98–100). No. 99 is written in first person singular, and it boldly states that ‘I no longer fear misfortune and its vicious army’ (‘Unglück sampt seinem bösen heer furcht ich nich mehr’). Nos. 98 and 100 are hymns of praise, a metrical psalm that paraphrases the *Cantate Domino canticum novum* and a German version of the *Te Deum laudamus* respectively. The latter was traditionally sung to give thanks to God:<sup>35</sup> copying it after a series of hymns dealing with the negative forces that threaten the Christian community, Triller symbolised the faith that God would grant the prayers voiced in the preceding hymns.

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<sup>29</sup> No. 91 ‘Ein gesang wider die Türcken / und andere Heidnische Tyrannen’.

<sup>30</sup> For similar *Unbestimmtheitsstellen* in early modern and contemporary hymnbooks see (Wagner-Egelhaaf 2015, 9–10).

<sup>31</sup> No. 90 ‘Ein gesang wider die Feinde der heiligen Christlichen Kirchen’.

<sup>32</sup> Note that Wackernagel (W IV 107) erroneously transcribed the rubric as ‘Der xcj. Psalm’. He worked on the copy PL-Wu SDM 93 and he did not notice that the print has ‘Der xc. Psalm’, while the correction into ‘xcj’ is just handwritten.

<sup>33</sup> No. 136 ‘Ein gesang wider die verechter des ministerij und der Sacrament’.

<sup>34</sup> See hymn no. 96 strophe 10 verses 1–2 ‘O Herr Gott, gib uns durch dein Geist / gedult zu solchen dingen’ and hymn no. 97 strophe 6 verses 4–5 ‘las uns, O Herr, mit starckem mut / das Creutz gedultig tragen’.

<sup>35</sup> (Schlager and Kirsch 1998).

## Nos. 101–109: hymns for mass

Hymns nos. 101–109 are German-texted liturgical items for the celebration of mass, appropriate for any season of the liturgical year (fol. f1r ‘*Folgen geseng beim ampt der Messe ubers jar zusingen*’). Note that all these hymns are monodic, and they rely on the melodies of the Latin chants they replace.<sup>36</sup> Additionally, the items for the *ordinarium missae* are translations relatively close to their Latin counterparts. Compare, for instance, the Latin *prosulae* of the Kyrie *Fons bonitatis*<sup>37</sup> with no. 102 *O Herr Got du brun der gütte*:

Kyrie, fons bonitatis, pater ingenite, a quo bona cuncta procedunt, eleison. Christe, unice Dei patris genite, quem de virgine nasciturum mundo mirifice sancti praedixerunt prophetae, eleison. Kyrie ignis divine, pectora nostra succende, ut digni pariter proclamare possimus sempre, eleison.

O Herr Got du brun der gütte Vater inn ewigkeit / von dem alles gut mus ausflissen / erbarm dich unser. Christe der du bist Gotes Vaters einiger Son / es sagten zuvor die Propheten / dich solt geberen schon eine reine Jungfraw Maria erbarm dich unser. Heiliger Geist du Göttliche brunst gib uns allen die rechte kunst das wir dich wirdiglich inniglich loben erbarm dich unser.

Within this section of the hymnbook, the individual hymns are ordered following the structure of the mass, starting with an introit<sup>38</sup> and concluding with dismissal hymns (see Table 4).

Note that for each item of the mass (excluding the Gloria) Triller proposed two alternative hymns, which have to be chosen according to the season or the solemnity of the celebration. For example, Kyrie no. 103 is a ‘Paschal Kyrie eleison’; no. 106 is the ‘Sanctus summum’, while no. 107 can be sung on any Sunday or on weekdays. Alternative chants for the mass ordinary, sometimes including specific tropes, existed long before the Reformation, and Triller was simply following an existing tradition by including different options.

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<sup>36</sup> See Appendix B and Table 4 for details. One hymn needs a closer look, no. 105 *O Herr Gott im höchsten throne*. The title rubric identifies it as a ‘kurtze Prosa [...] auff die noten / Rex regum dives’. The editors of DKL (DKL A271) were unable to identify the model to which the rubric refers, because they were only aware of later sources, where *Rex regum dives* is an antiphon. However, a sequence (‘Prosa’) with the text *Rex regum dives*, and a melody that coincides with Triller’s hymn tune, is also present in earlier sources: it is the last strophe of *Laus tibi Christe* (AH 34, 167–168 and AH 50, 346–347). See, for instance, PL-SAK 40 fols. 113r–v, a fourteenth-century gradual from Sandomierz (Poland). Triller also published a contrafactum of the entire sequence (no. 66 *Als Jhesus Christus unser hoher Priester unnd König*), including the last strophe *Rex regum dives*. Either he deliberately shortened the longer sequence in order to have a ‘short sequence’, or the last strophe *Rex regum dives* was already circulating as independent chant, and this was used by Triller as the model for his contrafactum.

<sup>37</sup> According to AH 47, 53–54, strophes 1a, 2a, and 3c.

<sup>38</sup> No. 101 does not have a precise liturgical rubric, but it is clear that Triller intended it as an introit. This is suggested by its position and by its hymn tune, the introit *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino*.

Table 4: Hymns for mass nos. 101–109

Hymn	Hymn tune	Title rubric
No. 101 <i>Verley Herr Gott deine hülff und gnad</i>	[Introit] <i>Gaudeamus omnes in Domino</i>	Folgen geseng beim ampt der Messe übers jar zusingen / Erstlich auff die noten / Gaudemaus omnes.
No. 102 <i>O Herr Got du brun der gütte – Lob ehr und preis sey Gott dem Herrn in der höhe</i>	Kyrie [Melnicki 48, Kyrie <i>Fons bonitatis</i> ] and Gloria [LU ad libitum I]	Das Kirieleison / Fons bonitatis / sampt dem Englischen gesange / Gloria in excelsis Deo.
No. 103 <i>Herr Got Vater du ewiger brun</i>	Kyrie [similar to Melnicki 39, Kyrie <i>Lux et origo</i> ]	Das Osterliche Kirieleison.
No. 104 <i>Der alle Himel erd und meer hat formiret</i>	Sequence <i>Letabundus exultet</i>	Eine gemeine Prosa uber das Jar zusingen auff die noten / Letabundus exultet.
No. 105 <i>O Herr Gott im höchsten throne</i>	Sequence <i>Rex regum dives</i>	Ein kleine kurtze Prosa übers jar zusingen auff die noten / Rex regum dives etc.
No. 106 <i>Heilig Heilig Heilig ist der Herr</i>	Sanctus [similar to Thannabaur 185]	Das Sanctus summum.
No. 107 <i>Heilig Heilig Heilig ist der Herr</i>	Sanctus [Thannabaur 34]	Ein ander Sanctus auff alle Sontag oder sonst teglich
No. 108 <i>Gesegne uns Gott der Vater mit seinem Göttlichen segnen</i>	Ite missa est [originally Kyrie melody, see DKL]	Zum beschlus der Messen / auff die noten / Ite Missa est
No. 109 <i>Es woll uns Got der vater durch Christum segnen</i>	Ite missa est [originally Kyrie melody, see DKL]	Volget auff das Osterliche / Ite Missa est.

The absence of both a German-texted Credo and an Agnus Dei is striking, nor are these chants to be found anywhere else in the hymnbook. While the Agnus Dei was also considered optional in Martin Luther's *German Mass* (1526),<sup>39</sup> the singing of a vernacular Credo was a characteristic feature of Lutheran celebrations, although

<sup>39</sup> Sehling 1, 15, and (Herl 2004, 29).



the situation in Silesia in the first half of the sixteenth century is not entirely clear in this regard.<sup>40</sup>

Since the other items in this section clearly involve Sundays and feasts, it is unlikely that the absence of the Credo is connected to the celebration of mass on ordinary days. Perhaps Triller did not include a vernacular Credo simply because it was available elsewhere: for instance, Martin Luther's *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott* enjoyed great popularity,<sup>41</sup> and it certainly also circulated in Silesia.<sup>42</sup> Alternatively, it seems plausible that Triller simply did not consider the Credo strictly necessary. In this respect, it should be noted that on ordinary Sundays the church order for Brieg (1592) allowed a choice between the Credo and the Athanasian Creed.<sup>43</sup> For the latter, the church order makes explicit reference to Triller's German version, hymn no. 54b (see chapter 5.1).

#### Nos. 110–124: hymns for the liturgy of the hours

After the items for the celebration of mass, Triller included a section entirely devoted to the liturgy of the hours. The first nine hymns (nos. 110–118) are antiphons with German text. Nos. 110–114 are to be sung with psalms at Vespers (fol. g2v 'Antiphonae auff Psalmen zusingen in der Vesper'), and were copied in modal order, from mode 1 to mode 5. The four antiphons nos. 115–118, instead, were intended for the canticles Magnificat or Benedictus (fol. g3v 'Antiphonae auff Magnificat oder Benedictus'). As I have mentioned in chapter 2.4, psalms and canticles had to be sung to a reciting tone: each antiphon is followed by an untexted series of notes that corresponds to the termination of the psalm tone (see Table 5).<sup>44</sup> The prose psalms and canticles were not copied in the hymnbook, but we can assume that they had to be sung in German. Indeed, the singing of vernacular psalms and canticles to a reciting tone was no novelty, and was already envisaged in Martin Luther's *German Mass* (1526) and the Wittenberg *Enchiridion* issued in the same year.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> An anonymous report regarding Lutheran services in Wrocław (c. 1557) contains no trace of a vernacular Credo, cf. (Sander 1937, 7–10). On the contrary, in the *Kirchenbuch* of Saint Mary Magdalene (Wrocław), probably originating in the second half of the sixteenth century, we encounter a reference to a 'Deutsche Patrem', cf. (Sander 1937, 71). The Liegnitz-Brieg church order of 1535 mentions a 'Glaube' ('creed'): the German term seems to imply a vernacular Credo, but the reference is ambiguous. Cf. Sehling 3, 439.

<sup>41</sup> (Herl 2004, 58–59).

<sup>42</sup> For instance, it had already appeared in Adam Dyon's *Eyn Gesang Buchlien*. Cf. (Mańko-Matysiak 2004, 38).

<sup>43</sup> See the formulary 'Von gemeinen sontägen', Sehling 3, 446. Regarding the Brieg church order of 1592, see (Weber 2007).

<sup>44</sup> Note that the termination for no. 113 is the same as no. 118 (although the two antiphons have quite different *ambitus*), and the latter is texted with the usual abbreviation 'e u o u a e' ('saeculorum amen').

<sup>45</sup> (Leaver 2017, 124–132).

Table 5: Antiphons nos. 110–118

Hymn	Mode	Psalm tone termination
No. 110 <i>Tracht am ersten nach dem Reich Gottes</i>	Mode 1	a a g f g
No. 111 <i>Also hat Gott die Welt geliebet</i>	Mode 2	f f C d d
No. 112 <i>Das Gesetze ist durch Mosen gegeben</i>	Mode 3	c' c' a c' h a
No. 113 <i>Himmel und Erde werden vergehen</i>	Mode 4	a g a c' g e
No. 114 <i>Singet und spilet dem herrn Got</i>	Mode 5	c' c' d' h c' a
No. 115 <i>Das ist das ewige leben</i>	Mode 6	a a f g a g f
No. 116 <i>Gelobet sey Gott in ewigkeit</i>	Mode 8	c' c' h c' a g
No. 117 <i>Weil die Welt durch jre weissheit</i>	Mode 1	a a g f g a g
No. 118 <i>Von auffgang der Sonnen</i>		a g a c' g e

In addition to the antiphons, this section includes three German-texted office hymns (nos. 119–121), a two-voice composition to be sung ‘instead of the responsories’ (no. 122 ‘An stat der Responsorien’), and two *Benedicamus* (nos. 123–124). This content clearly points to the celebration of Vespers, whose basic structure was not much affected by the Reformation.<sup>46</sup> Consider, for instance, the Vespers at parish churches as prescribed in the Mecklenburg church order (1552, adopted in the Duchy of Brieg in 1558).<sup>47</sup> According to this source, at Vespers the schoolboys should sing one, two, or three psalms with their antiphons, followed by a responsory or hymn. After reading a lesson from the New Testament, the Magnificat should be sung (in Latin or German), similarly including the appropriate antiphon. At the end the priest reads the collect, and the choir concludes with *Benedicamus Domino*, or its German counterpart.<sup>48</sup> It is clear

<sup>46</sup> (Herl 2004, 62–65).

<sup>47</sup> Sehling 5, 161–224v.

<sup>48</sup> Sehling 5, p. 197: ‘Ordnung der ceremonien in pfarkirchen der stedt, und da schulen sind. Sonnabendes und andere heilige abend, und feiertage nach mittag: Sol man zu gewöhnlicher zeit vesper singen. Nemlich, die schüler einen psalm zwen oder drei, und die antiphen von der dominica oder fest, darauf ein responsorium oder hymnum, die da rein sind. Darnach sol ein knabe eine lection aus dem neuen testament latinisch, und ein ander knab eben die selbige lectio deudsch lesen. Nach der lection singe man das magnificat bei weilen deudsch, bei weilen latinisch. Auch mit einer antiphen, de dominica oder festo. Darauf lese der priester eine collect, und beschliesse der chor mit dem benedicamus domino, oder Erhalt uns herr bei deinem wort, und Verlei uns friede gnediglich’.

that in this section Triller collected the items necessary for the celebration of Vespers in the vernacular.<sup>49</sup> Even its ordering partially mirrors that of Vespers, starting with the antiphons and concluding with the Benedicamus.

The structure and content of this Vespers section of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* should be now clear, but the rubrics require further discussion, because they also point to other canonical hours. Consider, first of all, the reference to the Benedictus in the rubric at fol. g3v (no. 115). This canticle was not usually sung at Vespers, and I think that the rubric just mentions the possibility of using the antiphons nos. 115–118 for the Benedictus, without implying that the latter should be performed at Vespers. The same flexibility is also suggested by the rubric of the two Benedicamus (fol. h4r 'Folgen zwe Benedicamus noch der Vesper / oder sonst noch den Emptern.'). which are obviously for Vespers but can be sung at the end of any other office.

No. 122 *Gar nichts schedlichs noch verdamlichs ist* requires a closer look as well. This item is a contrafactum of the *repetenda* (probably troped) of a great responsory, a chant which was usually sung at Matins. Nonetheless, I do not think that the 'Responsorien' which no. 122 is supposed to replace (according to the rubric on fol. h2r) are the great responsories of Matins. Given this section's focus, it is more likely that this item was meant as a substitute of the responsory for Vespers, a chant which is also often mentioned in Lutheran church orders.<sup>50</sup>

#### Nos. 125–128: hymns for burial and marriage

Right after the hymns for the liturgy of the hours, Triller copied hymns that were supposed to accompany two fundamental rites of passage. Hymns nos. 125–126 are 'songs for the burial of the dead' (fol. h4v 'gesenge bey dem Begrebnis der Todten'). The two texts have a slightly different tone, the first underlining the brevity and vanity of human life, the second focusing more strongly on faith and hope. No. 127 *Der Mensch aus Erdt geschaffen ward* is dedicated to marriage ('Ein lied vom Ehestand'). Relying explicitly on Saint Paul's authority, the hymn thematises the union between man and woman as the union between Christ and His Church. It has a pedagogical tone, and it includes clear admonishments to the couple: the man should love the woman, and the woman should subordinate herself to the man, living according to his will.<sup>51</sup> Such

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<sup>49</sup> Cf. also the abovementioned report on Lutheran services in Wrocław (c. 1557). Regarding Vespers, the author noted that 'Alsdann wird die vesper gesungen mit fünf psalmen, responsorio, hymno, magnificat, capitula und collecten, wie je und alleweg gebreulich. Nach der collecten und benedicamus beschleust man die vesper mit dem gebet contra Turcam, Da pacem domine, Contere domine'. Quoted in (Sander 1937, 8).

<sup>50</sup> Among the numerous possible examples, see those directly related to the Duchy of Brieg: the Mecklenburg church order of 1552 and the Brieg church order of 1592, respectively Sehling 5, 197, and Sehling 3, 445–446.

<sup>51</sup> See W IV 123, strophes 10–11: 'Da sol der Man auff deinem part / das Weib als sein hertz lieben / weil sie jm nahe beim hertzen ward / gemacht aus seiner rieben / Das Weib sol mit demüthigkeit / dem man sich untergeben / mit trew und lieb inn einigkeit / noch seinem willen leben'.

statements, and the use of pronouns and demonstrative adjectives that situate the couple in the present ('now', 'here', 'these two'),<sup>52</sup> suggest that the hymn was intended for performance during an actual wedding.

The following hymn, no. 128 *Gott hat den mensch fur allen*, is defined as 'a song about indecent life and fornication' ('Ein Lied von unzüchtigem leben und hurerey'), and it recalls several Biblical episodes related to this: the punishment of the inhabitants of Sodom (strophe 4), Phinehas and the plague (strophe 5), the rape of Tamar (strophe 7) and so forth. The reason for its position right after a wedding hymn is evident: no. 128 reflects on the opposite of a virtuous married life, and it invites the man not to fornicate outside the wedlock, and to stay away from prostitutes.<sup>53</sup>

#### Nos. 129–145: hymns on secular hymn tunes

The last section of the hymnbook (no. 129–145) contains sacred contrafacta of secular models, as stated in a rubric on fol. i4r 'follow songs on secular melodies'.<sup>54</sup> As I noted in chapter 2.3, Triller also singles out these hymns in the preface, where he speaks of the 'secular melodies with added sacred texts' (preface, line 26).

The title rubrics appended to nos. 129–145 identify most hymn tunes and they give information regarding the textual content of the hymns. They do not, however, assign them to any specific ritual action, with the exception of no. 145, which has to be sung at the dismissal of the assembly, as noted above. Thus, this section is based on parameters that are fundamentally different from those employed in the rest of the hymnbook. While the other hymns were grouped according to their textual features or ritual uses, hymns nos. 129–145 are grouped together because of the 'original' textual content of their hymn tunes.

The first hymn of this section, no. 129 *Es war ein mal ein reicher man der nicht*, is particularly interesting, because it suggests that Triller was sometimes aware of the history and different facets of his hymn tunes. According to the title rubric, no. 129 relies on the melody *Die Schrift gibt uns Weis' und Lehr* ('the Scripture gives us wisdom and doctrine'), evidently a sacred text. However, Triller also knew that this was 'an old melody of the Meistergesang'.<sup>55</sup> In fact, the melody of no. 129 corresponds to the Herzog Ernst tone, although Triller does not name it as such.<sup>56</sup> Evidently, this hymn

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<sup>52</sup> See W IV 123, strophe 9 'Nu wird auch hie also ein leib / warlich aus diesen beiden / wo sich ehrlich ein man und weib / verleiben und nicht scheiden'.

<sup>53</sup> See strophe 2 (not edited in W IV): 'Der Herr hat jm befohlen / bey dem ewigen wehe / das er nicht sol verholten / ausserhalb der Ehe / noch offentlich vertreiben / sein brunst mit Hurerey / er wil das man sol beliben bey seiner ertzney frey'.

<sup>54</sup> Fol. i4r 'Folgen gesenge auff Weltliche melody'.

<sup>55</sup> Title rubric no. 129 'ein alte melody des Meistergesangs'.

<sup>56</sup> The melody was recognised by a scribe who added 'oder herzog Ernstes thon' below the title rubric in PL-Wu

tune still had secular connotations in the 1550s, which motivated its inclusion in the last section of the hymnbook.

Before addressing the circumstances that prompted Triller to separate his hymns with secular hymn tunes from the rest of the book, it should be noted that there are some exceptions to this rule. The hymn tunes of nos. 19, 59, 61, 62, 69, 72, 29, 93, 97 and 99 seem to have had secular origins, although the editor did not copy them with the others at the end of the book. Analysing these inconsistencies yields interesting results, and in some cases it helps to unveil Triller's awareness of his hymn tunes' different pasts.

For example, no. 19 *Es kam ein Engel hell und klar* was copied among the hymns *de tempore* for Christmas, although its hymn tune circulated with different secular texts.<sup>57</sup> Triller was aware of this, since he referenced one of these secular texts, *Aus fremden Landen komm' ich her*, in the title rubric. Nonetheless, he also knew this hymn tune through Martin Luther's Christmas hymn *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her*, as is evident if we compare Luther's and Triller's texts.<sup>58</sup> Luther's *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her* was associated with different melodies,<sup>59</sup> but the melody used by Triller had already appeared with Luther's text in 1535, bearing the rubric 'Ein kinder lied auff die Weinacht Christi. Martinus Luther'. Probably it was circulating with this text even earlier, as a broadsheet.<sup>60</sup> Thus, the sacralisation of the secular song *Aus fremden Landen komm' ich her* had started at least twenty years before Triller's publication, and rested on the authority of Martin Luther himself. This explains why Triller did not feel the need to copy no. 19 *Es kam ein Engel hell und klar* among the hymns that relied on secular hymn tunes, although he knew that its melody originally had a secular text.

Hymns nos. 59 and 99 represent similar instances, although the body of source material is not as plain as the example just discussed, and Triller might have simply been unaware of the secular origins of these hymn tunes. No. 59 *Merck auff merck auff du schöne* relies on the secular Tageweise *Wach auf, wach auf du Schöne*. The title rubric in Triller's hymnbook identifies the hymn tune simply as 'an old Tageweise' ('eine alte Tage weis'), and there is no evidence that Triller was aware of its secular origins, since a Tageweise could also be sacred.<sup>61</sup> He might have known the hymn

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SDM 93, fol. i4r.

<sup>57</sup> (Jenny 1985, 110) and DKL Ee18.

<sup>58</sup> The second strophe of Triller's *Es kam ein Engel hell und klar* is directly taken from Luther's *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her*. Cf. (Schmitz-Gropengießer 2011).

<sup>59</sup> (Jenny 1985, 287–291).

<sup>60</sup> Several contributions detail the genesis of Luther's *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her*. See especially DKL Ee18, (Jenny 1985, 109–111), (Korth 2005), (Korth 2010).

<sup>61</sup> See (Schnyder 2004).

tune through one of its sacred contrafacta, perhaps Hans Sachs' *Wach auff meins hertzen schöne*,<sup>62</sup> and accordingly he did not copy it in the 'secular section'.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, the tenor of Triller's no. 59 *Merck auff merck auff du schöne* is very close to the melody of Martin Luther's *Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein* (DKL Ee7), another circumstance that might have played a role in sacralising it.

Triller possibly was unaware of the secular origins of another of his hymns, no. 99 *Unglück sampt seinem bösen heer*, a 'comforting song on the notes *Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahn*'.<sup>64</sup> This hymn tune was extremely popular, and it first appeared as tenor of a song by Ludwig Senfl.<sup>65</sup> The tenor was soon also associated with a sacred version of the text, which circulated at least since 1529.<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately, the rubric in Triller's hymnbook does not help us to determine whether Triller knew the sacred or secular version (or both), since both begin with the verse 'Mag ich unglück nicht widerstan'.<sup>67</sup> There are other hymn tunes that are similarly elusive (see hymns nos. 61, 62, 69, 72, 93, 97), and their title rubrics do not contain any decisive evidence: even when they identify the hymn tunes, they use labels that could imply a secular as well as sacred content.<sup>68</sup> Thus, we are left wondering whether Triller consciously disregarded his own organisational principles, or whether he was simply unaware of the history of his hymns.

Exceptions and dubious cases notwithstanding, it is clear that Triller sought to group together the hymns whose music he considered to be secular, a notion based chiefly on the textual content of the hymn tunes (as suggested by the 1555 title page, line 6). He provided these hymns with an introductory rubric declaring their secular past, making them immediately recognisable and separating them from the rest of the repertory. How are we to understand this editorial choice? Is it the result of Triller's systematic organisation of the hymnbook, or are there other reasons behind it?

The presence of hymns on secular models is advertised on the 1555 title page, suggesting that Triller did not consider the sacralisation of secular songs problematic. Moreover, in the preface he explicitly states that the sacred contrafacta make it possible to perform the secular melodies in churches (preface, line 27),<sup>69</sup> a view quite

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<sup>62</sup> Regarding this hymn see the *Anmerkungen* of DKL Ee7.

<sup>63</sup> Similarities between Sachs' and Triller's text were already noted by Wackernagel, see W IV 77.

<sup>64</sup> 'Ein tröstlich gesang / auff die noten / Mag ich unglück nicht widerstan'.

<sup>65</sup> The earliest printed source of this Lied is Georg Forster's *Ein Außzug guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlin* (Nuremberg: Johann Petreius 1539), but Senfl must have composed it before 1523. See (Tröster 2012, 451–455) and Senfl Catalogue S 220, <www.senflonline.com>, accessed 6 November 2018.

<sup>66</sup> (Tröster 2012, 473).

<sup>67</sup> See a comparison of the two versions in (Tröster 2012, 450).

<sup>68</sup> No. 69 ('auff die noten des alten meye'), no. 72 ('auff die Weise des newen Rosenkrantz'), and no. 97 ('auff die noten des alten Rosenkrantzs').

<sup>69</sup> 'Moreover, I have provided particularly well known secular melodies with added sacred texts, of which many

different from that of other sixteenth-century hymnodists. According to the foreword of the *Hundert Christenliche Haußgesang* (1569),<sup>70</sup> for example, sacred contrafacta of secular music are suitable for domestic devotion, but not for church use.<sup>71</sup>

At the same time, Triller must have been aware that the appropriateness of secular compositions in a religious context was a controversial topic. The reformer Johannes Mathesius (d. 1565), for instance, condemned secular melodies in church because they hindered devotion,<sup>72</sup> and similar concerns inspired those instructions for organists that warned against playing secular tunes.<sup>73</sup> The issue was also debated in Silesia, as emerges from the following instructions for organists:

In the assembly of Christians everything should happen for the praise of God and common edification. Therefore, just like a schoolmaster or a cantor is not allowed to sing secular and amorous melodies and texts instead of the sacred melodies and songs, just as little can this be allowed for an organist. At the present time music with sacred songs is abundantly available, henceforth all the secular, voluptuous, and popular tenors and little songs (such as *Was wird es doch, des Wunders noch, Wer wollt dir nicht in Ehren sein hold*,<sup>74</sup> *Mein einigs, Nach willen dein* and other similar to these) should be expelled from our churches and sent fleeing into brothels and ale-houses.<sup>75</sup>

These instructions were drafted in 1560 for Münsterberg (Polish Ziębice), a town located about thirty kilometres from Triller's parish (although it belonged to another duchy). The text refers to the performance in church of 'secular and amorous melodies and texts', but being directed to the organist it is clearly also concerned with the instrumental performance of secular compositions. It appears that not every Silesian shared

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may permissibly be sung in church'. This passage contradicts Christopher Boyd Brown's interpretation of Triller's contrafacta of secular songs as solely intended for domestic devotion (C.B. Brown 2008, 235).

<sup>70</sup> *Hundert Christenliche Haußgesang* (Nuremberg: Hans Koler 1569, VD16 H 5899).

<sup>71</sup> See WB, 641.

<sup>72</sup> (C.B. Brown 2005, 50–51). See also the preface to *Ein new außzerlesen Gesangbüchlin für die Kirchen* (Strasbourg: Carolus Acker 1568, RISM B/8 1568–09) where the editor explains the exclusion of some hymns precisely because they are based on secular tunes (WB, 636).

<sup>73</sup> See, for instance, the minutes of the ecclesiastical visitation of Stettin (Polish Szczecin) dated 1573, according to which the organists are not to play secular songs or dances ('Sie sollen auch nicht weltliche lieder oder tentze auf der orgel schlagen', Sehling 4, 533).

<sup>74</sup> This incipit refers to the second strophe of *Ach Elsein liebes Elselein* as it appears in a reworked version of the text documented in Silesia at the end of the sixteenth century. Cf. (John 2013).

<sup>75</sup> Sehling 3, 466: 'In der versammlung der christen soll alles zu gotes lob und gemeiner erbauung geschehen, darum so wenig als einem schulmeister oder cantori könnte gestattet werden, das er stat der geistlichen melodien und gesenge weltliche und buerliche melodien und texte solten gesungen werden, ebenso wenig kan dieses auch einem organisten gestattet werden. Diweil nun itziger zeit die musica mit geistlichen gesengen uberreich am tage ist, so sollen hinfort alle weltliche, üppige und bekante tenores und liedlin (als: was wirt es doch, wer wolt dir nicht in ehren sein hold, mein einiges, nach willen dein und dergleichen) aus unserer kirchen geurlaubet und in die buel- und bierhäuser verjaget sein'.

Triller's 'open-mindedness' in this regard, and one wonders whether the author of the Münsterberg instructions might have heard one of Triller's hymns: among the secular songs that must be expelled from churches, these instructions quote the popular Lied *Was wird es doch, des Wunders noch*, for which Triller wrote the sacred contrafactum no. 136 *Was hilft es doch das man so hoch*.

Be that as it may, the last section of the hymnbook reveals that the polarity between sacred and secular played a fundamental role in Triller's understanding of his hymn tunes. Not only does this dichotomy appear on the 1555 title page, but also it informs the categorisation and ordering of the hymns. Evidently, Triller considered nos. 129–145 as ultimately different from the other hymns, even if their secular texts had been substituted with sacred ones. Although the editor approved and even encouraged the performance of sacred contrafacta of secular songs in churches, he was probably aware that this could be considered problematic. This might explain why he confined the overtly secular hymn tunes to the end of his book, making this feature immediately recognisable for the reader.

### 3.2 Hymns, hymn tunes, and performance contexts

In the previous chapter, I presented the rationale behind the order of the 145 hymns of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*. Here I would like to discuss the hymns *de tempore* (nos. 2–56) in greater detail, because they enable us to explore the relation between vernacular hymns, their hymn tunes, and the performance contexts suggested by the editor. While it is obvious that the vernacular substitutes for the mass were modelled on the corresponding chant melodies (see nos. 101–109), the hymns *de tempore* seem to eschew this genre-related logic.

In order to shed light on Triller's choices and working procedure, it is useful to analyse the history of the hymn tunes he chose for his hymns *de tempore*. Table 6 lists each hymn tune used in the first section of the hymnbook, indicating with an asterisk whether the *de tempore* ascription in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* corresponds to pre-Reformation performance customs (the records left blank are discussed in detail below). With regard to chant models, it was mostly sufficient to refer to the *Cantus Index*,<sup>76</sup> since many of the chants used by Triller had a wide circulation and a relatively standardised liturgical use. The assessment was slightly more difficult for sacred songs, many of which are not explicitly bound to the liturgical year in the sources. Even in absence of express liturgical rubrics, however, song texts often allow us to conjecture at least the liturgical season during which they must have been commonly performed.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> *Cantus Index: Catalogue of Chant Texts and Melodies*, <<http://cantusindex.org>>, accessed 24 January 2019.

<sup>77</sup> Many of the sacred songs used by Triller appear also in sources of Bohemian origin that are easily accessible through the *Melodiarium hymnologicum Bohemiae*, <<http://www.musicologica.cz/melodiarium/>>, accessed 24 January 2019.



Table 6: Hymns *de tempore* nos. 2-56 and pre-Reformation performance customs

No.	<i>De tempore</i> ascription	Hymn tune	Correspondence with pre-Reformation uses	Comments
2	Advent	<i>Conditor alme siderum</i>	*	Hymn, Cantus ID 008284. Commonly sung at Vespers on different Sundays of Advent.
3	Advent	<i>Ave hierarchia</i>	*	The song <i>Ave hierarchia</i> has a Marian text, and it contains an acrostic with the Angelic Salutation <i>Ave Maria gratia plena</i> etc. Its performance during Advent is well documented: in the Hohenfurter Liederhandschrift (copied in 1410), <i>Ave hierarchia</i> is labelled 'In adventu ad missam Rorate' (CZ-VB 42, fol. 145r).
4	Advent	<i>Mittit ad virginem</i>	*	Sequence, Cantus ID ah54191. Cf. also the Index Sequentiarum Bohemiae Medii Aevi (< <a href="http://hymnologica.cz/sequences">http://hymnologica.cz/sequences</a> >). Note that the juxtaposition of hymns nos. 3-4 might not be coincidental: <i>Ave hierarchia</i> and <i>Mittit ad virginem</i> were often interpolated. Cf. (Černý, Eben et al. 2005, 42).
5	Advent and Marian feasts	<i>Salve regina gloria</i>	Probably	I am not aware of any evidence concerning the Advent performance of <i>Salve regina gloriae</i> . Nonetheless, singing Marian songs during Advent was quite common (cf. hymns nos. 3-4), and this might also have been the case with <i>Salve regina gloriae</i> .
6	Advent or any other season	<i>Martyr felix insignita</i>		

7	Christmas Eve	<i>Veni redemptor gentium</i>	*	<p>Hymn, Cantus ID 008408a. It was sung on different occasions between Advent and Christmas, a flexibility that also influenced Lutheran hymnbooks. According to Lucas Lossius' <i>Psalmodia</i> (1553), for instance, the hymn is sung on first Sunday of Advent and on the <i>Vigilia Nativitatis</i>. Cf. (Merten 1975, 18). The latter is also the context proposed by Triller (see the rubric 'Auf Weinachten am Christabend').</p>
8	Christmas	<i>Efficax pax fax</i>	*	<p><i>Efficax pax fax</i> does not seem related to Christmas. In the manuscript D-Mbs Clm 11943 it carries the generic rubric 'Hymnus in Summi dei laudem' (cf. AH 20, 214). However, in D-Z 17.8.39 <i>Efficax pax fax</i> was copied next to polyphonic settings definitely related to Christmas (<i>Nunc angelorum gloria</i> and <i>Grates nunc omnes</i>). On top of this, the manuscript CZ-Pu I G 39, fol. 79r contains the text of this song in an extended version, with the refrain 'Rex nascitur' ('the king is born'), which strongly suggests a performance during the Christmas period.</p>
9a-b	Christmas	<i>Quem pastores laudavere</i> and <i>Nunc angelorum gloria</i>	*	<p>No. 9a and 9b are contrafacta of <i>Quem pastores laudavere</i> and <i>Nunc angelorum gloria</i>. According to Triller's title rubrics, the two songs should be sung together, alternating the strophes of no. 9a with the strophes of no. 9b. This performance practice is generally known as Quempas (from the first two syllables of <i>Quem pastores laudavere</i>), a quintessential Christmas tradition that predates Triller's hymnbook. Konrad Ameln has detailed the history of the Quempas, showing that the two songs already were copied together in the fifteenth century, and their connection with Christmas is proven by rubrics in musical sources as well as by church orders. Cf. (Ameln 1966).</p>

10	Christmas	<i>Puer natus in Bethlehem</i>	*	The text of this song suggests a performance during the Christmas season. In the Franus Codex this song bears the rubric 'In Epiphania Domini' (CZ-HKm II A 6, fol. 271r).
11	Christmas	<i>Grates nunc omnes</i>	*	Sequence, Cantus ID ah53010. Cf. also the Index Sequentiarum Bohemiae Medii Aevi, < <a href="http://hymnologica.cz/sequences">http://hymnologica.cz/sequences</a> >.
12	Christmas	<i>In natali Domini</i>	*	Cf. the rubric 'In nativitate Domini' in the Franus Codex (CZ-HKm II A 6, fols. 298r-298v).
13	Christmas	<i>Nobis est natus hodie</i>	*	See the text of this popular song in AH 2, 162-163 and AH 45, 100-101.
14	Christmas	<i>Verbum caro factum est</i>	*	Responsory, Cantus ID 007840.
15	Christmas	<i>A solis ortus cardine</i>	*	Hymn, Cantus ID 008248. In the Silesian source D-Bsb Theol. Lat. Qu. 149 it is included in various Vespers formularies from Christmas to Epiphany. Cf. Cantus Planus in Polonia, < <a href="http://cantus.edu.pl">http://cantus.edu.pl</a> >.
16	Christmas	<i>Resonet in laudibus</i>	*	The song <i>Resonet in laudibus</i> was already associated with Christmas in its earliest sources. See, for instance, the Seckauer Cantionarius A-Gu 756. Cf. (Ameln 1970, 54-55).
17	Christmas	<i>Psallat clerus de virgine</i>		
18	Christmas	<i>In dulci iubilo</i>	*	Cf. (Ameln 1985).
19	Christmas	<i>Aus fremden Landen komm' ich her</i>		

20	Purification	<i>Ex legis observantia</i>	*	Both texts and rubrics of the song <i>Ex legis observantia</i> (AH 1, 66) suggest a performance on the feast of the Purification. See, for instance, the rubric 'de purificatione' in the Hohenfurter Liederhandschrift (CZ-VB 42, fol. 149v), CZ-Pa Vyš 376, fol. 59v has an even more explicit rubric, 'In Purificatione scte Marie', but the text has no notation. <i>Ex legis observantia</i> was circulating also with different music, see D-Z 17.8.39, fols. 109v-111v.
26	Palm Sunday	<i>Gloria laus et honor tibi</i>	*	Processional hymn, Cantus ID 008310. Cf. also (Hiley 1993, 34 and 146-148).
27	Holy Week	<i>Crux fidelis</i>	*	Hymn. <i>Crux fidelis</i> is assigned to Good Friday in several central European sources, cf. Cantus Planus in Polonia, < <a href="http://cantus.edu.pl">http://cantus.edu.pl</a> >.
28	Holy Week	<i>Vexilla regis</i>	*	Hymn, Cantus ID 008410.
29	Holy Week	<i>Homo tristis esto</i>	*	Cf. VL, Band 11, 1061-1065.
29	Holy Week	<i>Ein Kindelein so läbelich</i>		
30	Holy Week	<i>Vita in ligno moritur</i>	*	The litany <i>Vita in ligno moritur</i> (a verse of the litany <i>Qui prophete ... Qui passurus</i> ) was sung at <i>Tenebrae</i> at least since the twelfth century, see (Lipphardt 1961, 83-85). A late fifteenth-century antiphony from Płock (PL-PLsem 35, fol. 85v) assigns the verse <i>Vita in ligno moritur</i> specifically to Holy Saturday. Cf. Cantus Planus in Polonia, < <a href="http://cantus.edu.pl">http://cantus.edu.pl</a> >.
31a-b	Holy Week	<i>Rex Christe factor omnium and Laus tibi Christe</i>	*	Hymn, Cantus ID 008384.

32	Easter	<i>Vidi aquam egredientem</i>	*	Antiphon, Cantus ID 005403. Commonly sung for the blessing of holy water in Paschal time, but also on other occasions connected with Easter. Cf. (Hiley 1993, 22).
33a-b	Easter	<i>Salve festa dies and Ecce renascentis</i>	*	Hymn, Cantus ID a00177 and a00177.1.
34	Easter	<i>Also heilig ist der Tag</i>	*	Leis, cf. DKL D12.
35	Easter	<i>Victimae paschali laudes</i>	*	Sequence, Cantus ID ah43007. Cf. also the <i>Index Sequentialium Bohemiae Medii Aevi</i> , < <a href="http://hymnologica.cz/sequences">http://hymnologica.cz/sequences</a> >.
36	Easter	<i>Victimae paschali laudes</i>	*	Sequence, Cantus ID ah43007. Cf. also the <i>Index Sequentialium Bohemiae Medii Aevi</i> , < <a href="http://hymnologica.cz/sequences">http://hymnologica.cz/sequences</a> >.
37	Easter	<i>Christ ist erstanden</i>	*	Cf. (Lipphardt 1960).
38	Easter	<i>Alle Dei filius</i>	*	See (Miazga 1979, 176-177) and (Schmid 1991).
39	Easter	<i>Cedit hyems eminus</i>	*	The song <i>Cedit hyems eminus</i> was already sung on Easter in the early fifteenth century: a monodic version close to the tenor of Triller's contratactus bears the rubric 'In Resurrectione Domini super Gloria in excelsis cantio' in CZ-VB 42, fol. 171v.
40	Easter	<i>Surrexit Christus hodie</i>	*	See the Latin text of this polyphonic setting in PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40098.

41	Easter	<i>Vita sanctorum decus angelorum</i>	*	Hymn, Cantus ID 008412.
42	Easter	[ <i>Christ ist erstanden</i> ]	*	Cf. VL, Band 1, 1197–1201.
43	Easter	[ <i>Du Lenze gut, des Jahres teuerste Quarte</i> ]	*	Cf. the text in (Jungandreas 1972, 208–210).
44	Ascension of Jesus	<i>Festum nunc celebre</i>	*	Hymn, Cantus ID 008303. Cf. also <i>Cantus Planus in Polonia</i> , < <a href="http://cantus.edu.pl">http://cantus.edu.pl</a> >, especially the Silesian source D-Bsb Theol. Lat. Qu. 149.
45	Ascension Day	<i>Rex omnipotens</i>	*	Sequence, Cantus ID ah53066. Cf. also the <i>Index Sequentiarum Bohemiae Medii Aevi</i> , < <a href="http://hymnologica.cz/sequences">http://hymnologica.cz/sequences</a> >.
46	Pentecost	<i>Veni sancte spiritus</i>	*	Antiphon, Cantus ID 005327.
47	Pentecost	<i>Spiritus sancti gratia</i>	Probably	Although I am not aware of any explicit liturgical rubric among the pre-Reformation sources of the song <i>Spiritus sancti gratia</i> , it is nonetheless very likely that it was sung for Pentecost. The late fifteenth century Bavarian manuscript D-Mbs Clm 5023, fols. 48v–49r contains a two-part version of this song with Latin and German texts (Bente et al. 1989, 13–16). The first strophe of the Latin text commemorates the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles: ‘Spiritus sancti Gratia / apostolorum pectora / replevit sua gratia / donans linguarum genera’.

48	Pentecost	<i>Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum</i>	Probably	Two parts of the motet declaim 'Veni sancte spiritus', clearly establishing a connection with Pentecost. See also the rubric 'Cantilene de Spiritu sancto' in CZ-KLm CS KL 403, fols. 473v–474r.
49	Pentecost	<i>Veni creator spiritus</i>	*	Hymn, Cantus ID 008407.
50	Pentecost	[ <i>Veni sancte spiritus et emitte</i> ]	*	Sequence, Cantus ID 850303.
51 and 52b	Trinity Sunday and following Sundays	<i>Benedicta sit sancta trinitas</i>	*	Introit, Cantus ID g01116.
53	Trinity Sunday and following Sundays	[ <i>Benedicta semper sancta sit trinitas</i> ]	*	Sequence, last four verses of Cantus ID ah53081.
54	Trinity Sunday and following Sundays	[ <i>Gloria tibi trinitas</i> ]	*	Antiphon, Cantus ID 002948.
55	Trinity Sunday and following Sundays	<i>O lux beata trinitas</i>	*	Hymn, Cantus ID 008358.
55	Trinity Sunday and following Sundays	[ <i>Verbum supremum prodiens or Ad cenam agni providi</i> !]		
56	Trinity Sunday and following Sundays	<i>Got der Vater won uns bey</i>		

It is immediately evident that the majority of Triller's hymns *de tempore* rely on hymn tunes that already were sung during the same period of the liturgical year before the Reformation. This confirms that the relation between Triller's hymns nos. 2–56 and their *de tempore* assignments is not arbitrary. It relies on both textual and musical features, and accordingly must have been planned in advance and cannot be ascribed to an *a posteriori* ordering of the hymns. Evidently, Triller wanted to preserve the performing traditions he was acquainted with. Such performing traditions, however, could be replicated or transformed. This is especially relevant in the case of contrafacta of liturgical chants, which Triller knew through the systematic order of the Latin liturgy. Are hymns *de tempore* based on chants bound to a specific position in the liturgy, just like their hymn tunes? Or is there just a generic association with feasts and liturgical seasons?

The rubrics of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* do not contain detailed information in this regard. There are, however, two hymns whose paratexts mention a precise liturgical position: no. 32 is to substitute the introit ('an stat des Introitus'), while no. 49 is to be sung at Vespers ('hymnus zur Vesperzeit'). Both rely on melodies taken from the chant repertory, and the liturgical position suggested by Triller matches that of the hymn tune.<sup>78</sup>

Given these two occurrences, we are left wondering whether Triller envisaged a fixed position in the liturgy for all the hymns *de tempore* that have chant models. Consider, for example, no. 2 *Wol auff nu last uns singen all*, copied at the very beginning of the *de tempore* section. This mirrors the liturgical use of its hymn tune, *Conditor alme siderum*, an office hymn commonly sung at Vespers on the first Sunday of Advent, the first Sunday of the liturgical year. Against this background, no. 2 *Wol auff nu last uns singen all* could have been intended for Advent Vespers, just like its hymn tune. Similarly, no. 4 *Der Herr und ware Gott* could have been intended for mass, the traditional context of performance of its hymn tune, the sequence *Mittit ad virginem*.

These hints notwithstanding, I do not think that Triller had such a rigid understanding of the liturgical assignments of his hymns *de tempore*. First of all, within the single sections hymns are not always ordered following the structure of a liturgical celebration (as is the case, for instance, in the mass and office sections, nos. 101–124). Secondly, among fifty-five hymns *de tempore* there are just two instructions concerning their exact liturgical position (nos. 32 and 49 discussed just now). If the editor had had a precise function in mind for each hymn, I think that he would have been more explicit. Lastly, a comparison with other hymnbooks containing hymns *de tempore* shows that these could be performed in a liturgical celebration irrespective of the genre and original liturgical position of their hymn tunes. Let us consider, for example, Johann

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<sup>78</sup> No. 32 is a contrafactum of an antiphon *Vidi aquam egredientem* with its psalm verse, and no. 49 is a contrafactum of a Latin office hymn, *Veni creator spiritus*.



Spangenberg's *Kirchengesenge Deudsch*, issued in 1545.<sup>79</sup> For the first Sunday of Advent, Spangenberg proposed two hymns to be sung at mass after the epistle: the first is Martin Luther's *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* (fols. 6v–7v), the second is Michael Weisse's *Als der gütiger Gott vollenden wollt sein Wort* (fols. 7v–11v). The latter is based on the sequence *Mittit ad virginem*, and the liturgical position of the vernacular hymn matches that of the chant model. The hymn tune of Luther's *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*, by contrast, is the office hymn *Veni redemptor gentium*. The melody broadly matches the liturgical season, but it was transplanted from the office to the mass. There are many similar instances in Lutheran hymnbooks.<sup>80</sup> Triller's hymns *de tempore* should be interpreted from this perspective, irrespective of their hymn tunes' original liturgical function. It was certainly possible that a hymn *de tempore* was bound to the same liturgical position of its hymn tune, but this was not a strict rule. Moreover, there must also have been a certain flexibility between liturgical and devotional contexts.<sup>81</sup> I would argue that Triller chose the melodies for his hymns *de tempore* because of their suitability to evoke a feast or liturgical season, while their exact performance context could be adapted to the needs of Lutheran liturgical or devotional practices.

Among the hymns *de tempore* listed in Table 6 there are a few cases in which there is no apparent relation between their calendrical ordering and the performance traditions of their hymn tunes. These instances are particularly interesting, since they reveal the different facets of Triller's activity as a hymnodist and editor. As a matter of fact, although they do not match pre-Reformation traditions, the liturgical ascriptions of these hymns are not always arbitrary.

Let us discuss first no. 6 *Wolauff last uns frölich singen*, the last of of the hymns for Advent. Triller's contrafactum does not contain any explicit reference to Advent, and accordingly the title rubric also ascribes no. 6 to any other liturgical season ('im Advent oder sonst ubers jar zusingen'). Its hymn tune is identified as *Martyr felix insignita*, a polyphonic song that survives in three sources, with different text incipits (see Appendix C). The rubrics and content of these sources do not suggest any explicit Advent connection for this song. Moreover, its text suggests that it was performed at celebrations for male or female martyrs (see chapter 4.3). We are left wondering why Triller included no. 6 *Wolauff last uns frölich singen* among the Advent hymns, if neither its text nor its music establish any clear connection with that liturgical season. Although exceptions and inconsistencies are likely in a voluminous publication like *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, I would like to suggest another more plausible explanation.

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<sup>79</sup> *Kirchengesenge Deudsch* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter 1545, RISM B/8 1545/14–16, vdm 1398).

<sup>80</sup> (Leaver 2007, 230).

<sup>81</sup> To name one example, Martin Luther's *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* was not sung just at Advent liturgies, but also in devotional contexts during the same season. For instance, the church order for Mansfeld (1580) prescribes it for Catechism during Advent. Cf. Sehling 2, 235.

There is one source of the song in which the text incipit corresponds to that quoted in Triller's title rubric (*Martyr felix insignita*), D–Z 17.8.39. This manuscript displays several concordances with Triller's hymnbook, showing that both sources refer to a similar musical milieu.<sup>82</sup> Interestingly, a rubric in D–Z 17.8.39 narrows down the liturgical context of *Martyr felix insignita*, assigning it to the feast of the martyr Saint Barbara.<sup>83</sup> The rubric in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* does not mention this precise context, but the text incipit has the feminine ending ('insignita'), which shows that Triller knew this song as in praise of a female martyr. Accordingly, it is at least possible that Triller knew *Martyr felix insignita* as a song for the feast of Saint Barbara. If this was the case, it could explain why he included its contrafactum in the Advent section: Saint Barbara was celebrated on 4 December, which always falls during Advent. The calendrical attribution of no. 6 *Wolauff last uns frölich singen* would be the result of the interaction between the *temporale* and *sanctorale* cycles of the liturgical year. Its inclusion among Advent hymns would represent another reception of earlier customs, yet quite different from the more straightforward examples discussed above.

Let us now address no. 19 *Es kam ein Engel hell und klar* and no. 56 *O Herr Got vater won uns bey*. The first is copied among the hymns for Christmas, the second among those for Trinity Sunday and following Sundays. Although I could not trace any pre-Reformation source that accounts for such liturgical ascriptions, these were not invented by Valentin Triller. Quite the contrary, for hymns nos. 19 and 56 the editor followed performing traditions that originated during the first years of the Reformation. As I outlined above, the hymn tune of no. 19 *Es kam ein Engel hell und klar* is the secular song *Aus fremden Landen komm' ich her*, which was already used in Martin Luther's Christmas hymn *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her*. By using the same hymn tune for his own Christmas hymn, Triller relied on a performing tradition that was probably already familiar in Silesia, although it was considerably younger than the centuries-old traditions behind the other hymn tunes.

The inclusion of no. 56 *O Herr Got vater won uns bey* among the Trinitarian hymns probably has a similar background. The hymn tune is referenced in the title rubric as 'the old melody *Got der Vater won uns bey*' ('die alte Melodia / Got der Vater won uns bey'), which seems to refer to Martin Luther's *Gott der Vater wohn uns bei*. The genesis of Luther's hymn is unknown,<sup>84</sup> and this complicates our understanding of Triller's rubric. As a matter of fact, sacred texts with a similar incipit (invoking Saint Peter, Saint Mary mother of Christ, the prophets...) <sup>85</sup> also circulated before Luther, and

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<sup>82</sup> (Horyna 2003, 310).

<sup>83</sup> Cf. RISM B/4, volume 3, 399.

<sup>84</sup> (Jenny 1985, 79–88) and DKL Ec 17.

<sup>85</sup> (Jenny 1985, 82). Besides the invocations quoted by Jenny, see also Nicolaus Herman's reference to *Du lieber Herr Sankt Nikolaus wohn uns bei* in WB 615 (quoted above, chapter 2.3).

it is not clear whether or not the opening invocation to God the Father was introduced by Luther. In an early source of Luther's hymn, for example, it is rubricated as 'Der lobgesang Got der vater won uns bey, gebessert, und Christlich Corrigirt',<sup>86</sup> suggesting that the text was modified, but the incipit 'Got der Vater' was already familiar to the readers (note the use of the definite article '*der* lobgesang'). In his title rubric, was Triller pointing to an unknown, pre-Reformation tradition, or was he referring directly to Luther's hymn? I think the latter is more likely. In Luther's version, the text is repeated three times, but the incipits are modified in order to address God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit. The same tripartition and ordering are also present in Triller's no. 56 *O Herr Got vater won uns bey*, although each strophe has a completely new text. Thus I would argue that Triller must have known Luther's hymn and from it derived the Trinitarian structure and content. The link between the hymn tune and the Trinity explains the copying of no. 56 *O Herr Got vater won uns bey* among the Trinitarian hymns of the *de tempore* section, just like Luther's *Got der Vater won uns bey* is assigned to Trinity Sunday in other Lutheran hymnbooks.<sup>87</sup> That being said, the possibility that the hymn started by invoking the Trinity even before Luther cannot be ruled out,<sup>88</sup> but the paucity of sources precludes an assessment of pre-Lutheran traditions in this regard.

Thus the only real exceptions to the procedure highlighted above are two hymn tunes assigned to no. 29 *Wach auff vom schlaff der sünden dein* (Holy Week) and no. 55 *Der Herr unnd Got von ewigkeit* (Trinity Sunday and following Sundays). Let us consider their title rubrics: no. 29 reads 'on the notes *Homo tristis esto*, one can also sing it on *Ein Kindelein so löbelich*', and no. 55 'on the notes *O lux beata trinitas* or on this that follows [DKL Eg59]'. I would argue that, in both cases, Triller considered the hymn tune mentioned first in the rubric as the appropriate melody. Indeed, both *Homo tristis esto* and *O lux beata trinitas* match the calendrical ordering *de tempore* of hymns nos. 29 and 55.<sup>89</sup> The alternative hymn tunes, by contrast, do not seem to have any relation with those points in the liturgical year. *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* (DKL Eg17B,Tx1; 17B,a) was an extremely popular Christmas hymn, which was certainly well known in Silesia.<sup>90</sup> The melody notated at no. 55 (DKL Eg59) circulated with different texts, and Triller unfortunately did not mention the incipit. At any rate, I am not aware of any liturgical use of this melody on Trinity Sunday or any of the following Sundays. It is

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<sup>86</sup> *Enchiridion geystlicher Gesenge* (Erfurt: [Matthes Maler] 1525, RISM B/8 1525-07, vdm 191). Cf. (Jenny 1985, 237).

<sup>87</sup> See Cyriacus Spangenberg's *Christlichs Gesangbüchlein* (Eisleben: Petri 1568, RISM B/8 1568-08).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. the *Anmerkungen* in DKL Ec 17.

<sup>89</sup> *Homo tristis esto* was sung during Holy Week, and specifically at *Tenebrae*, at least since the fifteenth century, cf. VL, Band 11, 1061-1065. The hymn *O lux beata trinitas* was usually part of the liturgy *de trinitate*. Cf. Cantus ID 008358.

<sup>90</sup> This is suggested by the fact that Triller did not include any musical notation for this hymn tune.

likely that Triller chose these alternative hymn tunes simply because of their metrical compatibility, setting aside concerns regarding their liturgical appropriateness.

### Pre- and post-Reformation performance traditions

The correspondence between Triller's hymn tunes and pre-existing performance traditions does not concern just the *temporale* section. Indeed, there are other similar instances: see, for example, no. 57 *Von der Christlichen gemeine* for church dedications,<sup>91</sup> no. 63 *O der süßen gnaden gros* for Marian feasts,<sup>92</sup> or no. 65 *Christus inn diese welt ist kommen* for Mary Magdalene.<sup>93</sup> Although there seem to be some exceptions to this rule, these examples exhibit the fundamental role played by older customs in shaping Valentin Triller's dealings with the repertory he edited. He did not just rely on the 'old familiar melodies' (title page) as vehicles to deliver his texts, but he also exploited their power in evoking a specific period or feast of the liturgical year. His interest in the relation between the hymn tunes and the time of the year also shines through the preface, where he explains that the 'old, familiar and fine melodies' he relied on were 'sung throughout the year or for other occasions' (preface, line 21).

For the sake of clarity, in this chapter I have divided such performance customs into pre- and post-Reformation. I am not suggesting, however, that this dichotomy faithfully mirrors the complexity of sixteenth-century musico-liturgical practices. The distinction between pre- and post-Reformation has the advantage of assessing the different origins of Triller's liturgical assignments, but it fails to highlight how centuries-old and more recent customs could coexist and influence each other. In fact, although Lutheran hymnodists saw the Reformation as a pivotal moment in their musical past,<sup>94</sup> I doubt that Triller understood the ritual uses of his hymns alongside this divide, which is not as clear-cut as it might seem.

First of all, many of the chants of the traditional liturgy also remained in use in Lutheran liturgies.<sup>95</sup> At the same time, some of Triller's hymn tunes whose liturgical assignment aligns with pre-Reformation customs already had a relatively long history in vernacular hymnody, too. Consider, for instance, no. 4 *Der Herr und ware Gott*. I outlined above that its *de tempore* assignment matches the liturgical position of its hymn tune, the Advent sequence *Mittit ad virginem*. Concomitantly, *Mittit ad virginem* had already served as model for other popular Advent vernacular hymns, for example,

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<sup>91</sup> Its model is the hymn *Urbs beata Jerusalem*, usually sung *in dedicatione ecclesie* (Cantus ID 008405).

<sup>92</sup> Based on the sequence *Uterus virgineus*, Cantus ID ah54248.

<sup>93</sup> Based on the song *Felici peccatrici*, usually connected with Mary Magdalene. See, for instance, the rubric 'Marie Magdalene' in CZ-HKm MS II A 6, 351r. The *Melodiarium hymnologicum Bohemiae* <<http://www.musicologica.cz/melodiarium/>> records many other similar rubrics (see melody MHB/333).

<sup>94</sup> See the examples discussed in chapter 2.3 and in the Conclusions: Musical pasts.

<sup>95</sup> With regard to Wrocław, see the classic study (Sander 1937).

Michael Weisse's *Als der gütiger Gott vollenden wollt sein Wort*.<sup>96</sup> In this and similar cases, was it really just the chant that shaped Triller's understanding of this specific hymn tune, or did contrafacta on the same melody also act as go-betweens? I would suggest that in the 1550s, when vernacular hymnody was already widely developed, it is very likely that the latter, too, influenced Triller's choice of a specific hymn tune. Thus, while it is evident that Triller's liturgical ascriptions are often rooted in traditions that originated before the Reformation, he did not necessarily see them as inherently different from that which followed the Reformation.

Furthermore, the liturgical connotations of some melodies drew upon the interaction of parameters with different origins and histories. This is evident, for example, in the burial hymn no. 125 *O Mensch bedenck zu dieser frist*. One of the hymn tunes proposed in the title rubric is 'Aus tieffer not', an incipit that certainly refers to Martin Luther's *Aus tiefer Not*, a metrical paraphrase of the psalm *De profundis*.<sup>97</sup> Although *Aus tiefer Not* circulated with different melodies, Triller most likely knew the Phrygian version that might have been composed by Luther himself.<sup>98</sup> *Aus tiefer Not* was very popular and was certainly performed in different contexts; its use as burial hymn is attested since the 1520s,<sup>99</sup> a use also sanctioned in Martin Luther's *Christliche Geseng Lateinisch und Deudsch, zum Begrebnis* (Wittenberg: Klug 1542).<sup>100</sup> This is easily understood: the psalm *De profundis* had been part of the liturgy for the dead for centuries, and it was only natural to sing its German paraphrase in the same context. Thus the singing of *Aus tiefer Not* as a burial hymn probably began because of its text (*Aus tiefer Not* being the paraphrase of *De profundis*), but this also influenced the reception of the melody newly associated with the text. By 1555 the melody of *Aus tiefer Not* had evidently acquired funeral connotations independently of its text, thus explaining why Triller chose it for his burial hymn no. 125 *O Mensch bedenck zu dieser frist*. In this case, it is pointless to draw a line between pre- and post-Reformation performing traditions: it is clearly the interaction of the two that defined the hymn tune's character.

To conclude, it is worth once again underlining the systematic nature of Triller's editorial project, the various hymn backgrounds notwithstanding. He published 145 vernacular hymns and organised them in a coherent collection, easing their retrieval and instructing the reader in their use. In doing so, he largely relied on pre-existing customs, some of which were rooted in late medieval practices, while others had more

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<sup>96</sup> Cf. DKL Eg5.

<sup>97</sup> (Jenny 1985, 68–70).

<sup>98</sup> Melody B in (Jenny 1985, 188–193). In Silesia *Aus tiefer Not* was sung also on the hymn tune *Salvum me fac*, the melody C of (Jenny 1985, 189), as suggested by a title rubric in *Eyn gesang Buchlien* (Wrocław: Adam Dyon, no date, RISM B/8 1526–01). This possibility, however, does not invalidate the reasoning that follows.

<sup>99</sup> (Leaver 2007, 149).

<sup>100</sup> (Jenny 1985, 341–342).

modern foundations. In both cases, we notice the mixture of conservation and reform that characterised many other sixteenth-century attempts to recast liturgical and devotional practices. Most importantly, it should be noted that the content arrangement and liturgical assignments in *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* are not just a bibliographical phenomenon: through his book, Triller also aimed at reforming the soundscape of vernacular Lutheran liturgy and devotion in Silesia. Thus, *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* neatly fits into the general tendency towards the regulation of the Silesian Lutheran Church that was promoted by the collection's dedicatee, Duke Georg II of Brieg.

## Chapter 4

### Repertory

Chapter 3 showed how the hymns of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* were organised in a coherent collection, considering liturgical, ritual, and textual aspects. In this chapter I shall have a closer look at the musical repertory itself, a substantial corpus of 144 hymn tunes.<sup>1</sup> Most hymn tunes are notated, while few are just mentioned in the title rubrics. First of all, I will discuss the exterior features that can be revealed just by observing the hymnbook, focusing on notation and number of parts (chapter 4.1). In chapter 4.2 I will address the repertory in more differentiated terms, relying on the genre definitions that appear on the title page and in the title rubrics accompanying each hymn. By resting on features that are expounded in the paratexts, the analysis should expose a taxonomy of the repertory that matches Triller's perspective, who arguably authored the title rubrics and the other paratexts.

Lastly, I will consider the musical content of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* through a comparison with other early modern musical sources (chapter 4.3). This repertorial analysis will be first and foremost concerned with the polyphonic hymns, which constitute one of the most remarkable aspects of the collection.

#### 4.1 Notation and number of parts

When leafing through the hymnbook, we notice immediately that it contains different sorts of music. The most evident difference pertains to the hymns' graphic appearance, their notation. The hymnbook uses two notational systems: German gothic notation, sometimes including mensural elements, and white mensural notation.<sup>2</sup> Figure 1 summarises how many hymns are notated in each notational style. There is one instance that relies on both, no. 31 *Herr Christe schöpfer aller Welt dein sterben*, a contrafactum of the processional hymn *Rex Christe factor omnium*, notated in German gothic notation with the refrain in white mensural notation (no. 31b).

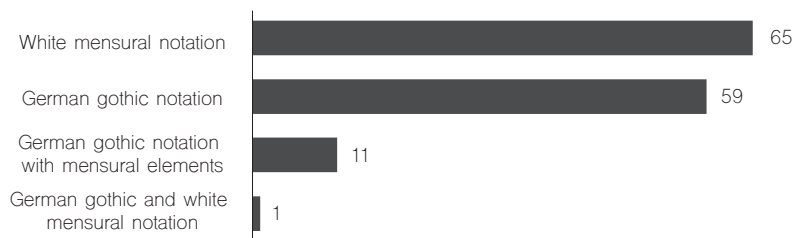


Figure 1: Notation

<sup>1</sup> I count multi-parts hymns separately although they had to be performed together (see, for example, nos. 9a and 9b).

<sup>2</sup> On the notation of Triller's hymns, especially the polyphonic ones, see (Chemotti 2019, 11–20).

Figure 2 portrays another basic feature of Triller's hymns, the number of voices they are written for. Eighty-one hymns are monodic, while fifty-one are polyphonic. Four further hymns consist of just one part, but it is likely that Triller envisaged them for polyphonic performance. The title rubric of no. 132 *Gantz schwartz heßlich jetz lang sich hat* is explicit in this regard, and it states that 'the other voices are to be found elsewhere' ('die andern stimmen findet man sonst'). The paratexts and musical style of three further monodic hymns (nos. 134, 136, and 145) suggest a similar situation, and I regard them as 'implicitly' polyphonic.<sup>3</sup>

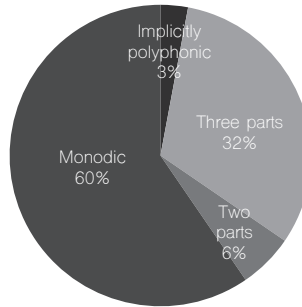


Figure 2: Number of parts

At the same time, many of the hymns that are notated for more than one part could also be performed monodically. Triller proposed this solution for the collection's first polyphonic item, the three-part hymn no. 3 *Als wir warn beladen*. Its rubric states that 'anyone who wants to [can sing it] with three voices' ('mit iij. stimmen / wer da wil'), implying that the two parts not carrying the cantus firmus are optional. As I have argued in detail elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> a monodic performance is also a viable solution for the other hymns that are polyphonic renditions of monodic models.

Nine hymns have no musical notation, but they carry title rubrics that refer to one or more appropriate hymn tunes.<sup>5</sup> Three are to be performed with music written elsewhere in the hymnbook (the polyphonic hymn tunes at nos. 79 and 127, and an 'implicitly' polyphonic at no. 135). The others rely on hymn tunes not present in the hymnbook, and they were arguably intended for monodic performance (see below for detail).

As a general rule, Triller used hymn tunes just once in the entire hymnbook, so that each text has its own, exclusive hymn tune. There are, however, some exceptions. Consider, for instance, hymns nos. 84, 92, and 98. These three hymns are supplied

<sup>3</sup> Cf. (Chemotti 2019, 8–10) for details, and (Chemotti 2019, 113–120) for an edition of these hymns. Hymn no. 135 has no notation, but it should be sung on the music of the 'implicitly polyphonic' hymn no. 134.

<sup>4</sup> (Chemotti 2019, 5–8).

<sup>5</sup> See hymns nos. 16, 17, 34, 36, 37, 79, 125, 127, and 135.



with musical notation, but the melody notated is the same (DKL A264). Triller copied it three times with minor divergences, and we are left wondering why he did so, since he simply could have copied it once at no. 84, including a cross reference in the rubrics of the other two hymns. In addition, the title rubrics of nos. 84, 92 and 98 refer to an alternative hymn tune, *Zu dir erhebe ich meine seel*, which Triller notated at no. 78 (DKL A260). Both melodies associated with these four hymns (DKL A260 and A264) are unidentified, and they do not appear in any other hymnbook, neither before nor after Triller's. Thus it is very likely that their dissemination was just local: Triller seems to have liked them very much, since he wrote four different texts with the same versification that matched these two melodies.

There are other hymn tunes used for more than one text: *Victimae paschali laudes* (hymns nos. 35 and 36), *In Dorotheae festo* (nos. 67 and 128), *Praelustri elucencia* (nos. 68 and 79), *O süßer Vater* (notated twice, nos. 70 and 74), *Ave sponsa trinitatis* (hymns nos. 96 and 127), and *Viel Glück und Heil ist niemand feil* (nos. 134 and 135). The hymn tune *Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein* is also used twice (nos. 91 and 125), although it constitutes a slightly different case. The text was written by Martin Luther and it circulated with different melodies. Triller knew it with the melody DKL Ea5,<sup>6</sup> which was probably composed by Luther himself.<sup>7</sup> This melody is notated at no. 91, with the text *Aus grosser angst und tieffer not*, and referenced in the rubric of no. 125 *O Mensch bedenck zu dieser frist*. However, in the latter there is no explicit cross reference to no. 91 (where the melody is notated), suggesting that the editor considered *Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein* as so popular that the readers could call it to mind without the aid of musical notation. The same is true for the hymn *Pange lingua*, notated at no. 21, and referenced as an alternative melody for no. 82 without a cross reference to no. 21.

Valentin Triller took for granted familiarity with seven further melodies, which are mentioned in title rubrics without being notated anywhere in the hymnbook. These are *Resonet in laudibus* (no. 16), *Psallat clerus de Virgine* (no. 17), *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* (alternative melody of no. 29), *Also heilig ist der tag* (no. 34), *Christ ist erstanden* (no. 37), *O lux beata trinitas* (alternative melody of no. 55), and *Aus tiefer Not* (nos. 77 and 125). Some of these melodies already had a long history, while with *Aus tiefer Not* Triller was probably referring to the melody composed by Martin Luther,<sup>8</sup> as I argued in chapter 3.2. Evidently, Luther's *Aus tiefer Not* was already popular in Silesia, just like *Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein* discussed above.

*Psallat clerus de Virgine* is the only enigmatic text incipit. It is not recorded in any of the standard bibliographies like DKL or AH, and I know it only from a much later

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<sup>6</sup> Melody 8 B in (Jenny 1985, 175).

<sup>7</sup> (Jenny 1985, 64).

<sup>8</sup> Melody B in (Jenny 1985, 188–193).

source, the eighteenth-century handwritten hymnbooks of Franziskus Valentin Ruthen (1674–1734), a Catholic priest from Wejherowo.<sup>9</sup> Evidently, Triller regarded *Psallat clerus de Virgine* as well known (if not, he would have probably included musical notation), but this melody must have had a very restricted circulation.

## 4.2 The hymn tunes from their editor's perspective

Triller's hymns do not differ solely with respect to their notation and number of parts. In this chapter I would like to discuss other features, taking into consideration the different musical genres on which Triller relied for setting his contrafacta. Before doing so, however, a short excursus on the notion of 'genre' is necessary.

The genres of late medieval and early modern music can be analysed from different perspectives: some generic labels have historical origins, and they reveal the genre awareness of the musical civilisation that used those labels, while others are modern terms invented to name collectively different compositions that share specific features. Both historical and modern terminologies are based on the interaction of different parameters: some reflect textual features (e.g. Tagelied), others thematise musical and compositional aspects (e.g. Tenorlied), still others consider the social background and performance contexts of specific compositions (e.g. Hofweise). Moreover, the meaning of generic labels is variable both diachronically and geographically, and even in modern musicological literature the very same term can acquire very different meanings (think of *cantio* or motet, for instance).

Evidently, generic labels are not neutral designations: even when they point at features that seem indisputable, they rationalise the multiplicity of different concrete compositions. This rationalisation can operate in various ways, stressing different aspects of the repertory under consideration. Therefore, I would argue that it is valuable to consider the parameters with which musicians of a distant past verbalised their musical culture, so that we can understand through which aspects they constructed their taxonomies, trying to look at musical sources through their eyes (and words).

By giving precedence to a 'historically informed' genre analysis, I do not wish to deny the value of modern, scientific terminologies: both approaches are legitimate if they help us to understand the repertories under consideration. Nonetheless, since my interest in Valentin Triller's hymnbook is closely related to its being an example of reception of an older repertory, it is fundamental to assess the terms in which the editor saw this repertory. All the more so as most of the musical compositions published by Triller had a long history, and we cannot take for granted that a sixteenth-century pastor understood them in the same terms as a fifteenth-century scribe, let alone as a twenty-first century philologist.

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<sup>9</sup> (Wöhler 1999).

On the basis of these premises, I carried out a 'distant reading' of the hymn tunes published or mentioned in Triller's hymnbook, taking as a starting point the categorisation suggested in the paratexts. This approach reveals at least part of the editor's view on the musical repertory he edited. Moreover, this generic categorisation goes beyond the editor's point of view, constituting the basis for the negotiation of the repertory between the editor and the readers. Was the music of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* seen as a homogeneous whole? Which features did the editor mention when confronted with the need to categorise the hymn tunes?

We can already find some answers to these questions on the 1555 title page. As I have argued above (chapter 2.3), Triller's interest in the 'old familiar melodies' was first and foremost music-oriented: after all, *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* is a collection of contrafacta. Nonetheless, the title page categorises the hymn tunes according to their original texts, that is, the texts with which they were sung before Triller provided them with new texts (1555 title page, lines 1–6):

A Silesian hymnbook [...] set to many old familiar melodies, sung previously in either Latin or German, with sacred or secular texts [...]

Simplistic as it might seem, the oppositions between Latin/German and sacred/secular texts were considered a fundamental feature that could summarise the sort of hymn tunes found in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*. Note that the disposition of terms suggests a relation between Latin and sacred texts on the one hand and German and secular on the other. The individual analysis of the hymn tunes confirms this, as we will see shortly.

In light of the generic rules displayed on the 1555 title page, I have analysed the hymn tunes from this perspective, giving the results in Figures 3–5. Assessing which version of the different hymn tunes Triller was familiar with obviously forms the precondition for this analysis: some melodies were circulating with different texts, and the oldest form of a hymn tune is not necessarily the one that constituted the starting point of Triller's contrafactum. In this regard, the title rubrics of the individual hymns are a key source: thanks to the textual incipits quoted there, I was able to identify the models of most contrafacta relatively precisely. Title rubrics, however, are not always decisive, and although it is mostly possible to identify the precedents of Triller's hymns, it is not always clear which of the various possible versions were known to the editor. In the diagrams I have thus highlighted the percentage of hymn tunes for which I could not identify language and content with certainty. This caution helps us to avoid superimposing our modern philological knowledge upon Triller's musical world, which would distort the results. Moreover, my analysis is based on what Triller considered the hymn tune, without taking into account the possibility that he knew other contrafacta, if these are not mentioned in the title rubrics. For example, I consider hymns nos. 35–36 as based on a Latin sacred hymn tune, the sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*. Triller certainly knew other vernacular contrafacta of this popular melody, but the title rubrics

suggest that he considered the Latin sequence to be the hymn tune, and accordingly I regarded it as such in my analysis.

Figure 3 summarises the language of the 144 hymn tunes copied or mentioned in Triller's hymnbook. I was able to determine this aspect for 135 hymn tunes, a representative sample. The majority of these (98) were certainly sung in Latin, while far fewer had a German text (35). Two hymn tunes were known to Triller with texts alternating Latin and German, or with two different Latin and German texts.<sup>10</sup>

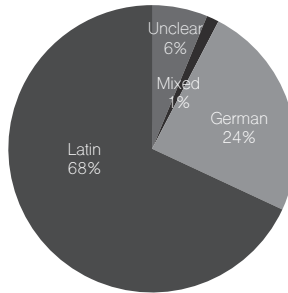


Figure 3: Language of the hymn tunes

With regard to the sacred or secular content of the texts (Figure 4), I was able to ascertain that 115 hymn tunes had a sacred text, and 15 a secular one. The opposition sacred/secular might seem too simplistic for the texts of early modern vocal music, and yet I conformed to this dichotomy for the reason that it was used as a framing feature by the editor, as highlighted above.

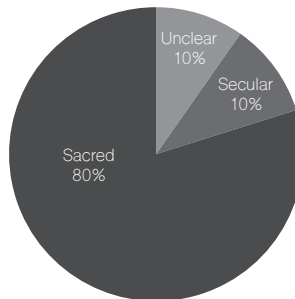


Figure 4: Content of the hymn tunes (sacred versus secular)

Figure 5 portrays the parameters depicted in Figures 3–4 in combination. As suggested on the 1555 title page, there is a relation between Latin text and sacred content,

<sup>10</sup> Nos. 18 and 31b.

and the vast majority of the hymn tunes was indeed sung with a Latin sacred text. In fact, all the hymn tunes that had a Latin text also had sacred content. German-texted hymn tunes instead had both sacred and secular content, more or less equally divided. Among the 'unclear' categories of Figure 3–5 I have included those hymn tunes that I could not identify, and those cases for which Triller certainly knew different texts, both sacred and secular, and it is not clear which version, if any, he considered to be the model for his contrafactum. Anyway, the analysis of the language and content of the hymn tunes reveals the musical world to which Triller turned for setting his hymns, a musical world largely constituted by Latin sacred compositions that were already part of a church repertory.

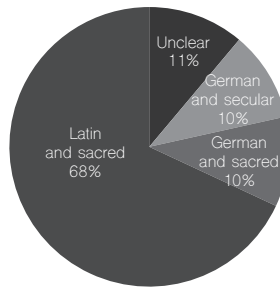


Figure 5: Language and content of the hymn tunes

Although we cannot be sure that Triller was involved in preparing the 1559 simulated reprint, it is also worth considering the second title page, since it introduces a different perspective on the repertory. As I have mentioned above, it abandons the distinction between Latin/German and sacred/secular, replacing it with a vague reference to the idolatrous texts to which the hymn tunes were sung. However, an important piece of information on the content was added, stating that some hymns were 'arranged anew from the pure Gregorian chants' (1559 title page, lines 7–8). Indeed, a good deal of the Latin sacred hymn tunes are chants (63, excluding some ambiguous cases). In the title rubrics, the editor often resorts to technical terms that identify the different chant genres: Antiphona, Benedicamus, Hymnus, Introitus, Invitatorium, Ite missa est, Kyrie, Gloria, Prosa, Lytanden, Responsorium, Sanctus, and Vers.<sup>11</sup> Triller often labels the vernacular hymns with the genre of the corresponding chant model. Consider, for example, the title rubric of no. 4 *Der Herr und ware Gott*, 'Eine Prosa auff die melody Mittit ad virginem'. The vernacular hymn is a 'Prosa' (a sequence), because its melodic model is a sequence, *Mittit ad virginem*. According to this and many other similar rubrics, the substitution of the Latin text with a vernacular one did not affect the definition of the genre.

<sup>11</sup> Among the hymn tunes from the chant repertory there is also one tract (*Aufer a nobis*, see hymn no. 86 *Ach Herr Jhesu wir armes volck*), although Triller did not use a precise generic label for it. Note also that *Aufer a nobis* is occasionally referred to as a litany. See below chapter 5 footnote no. 13.

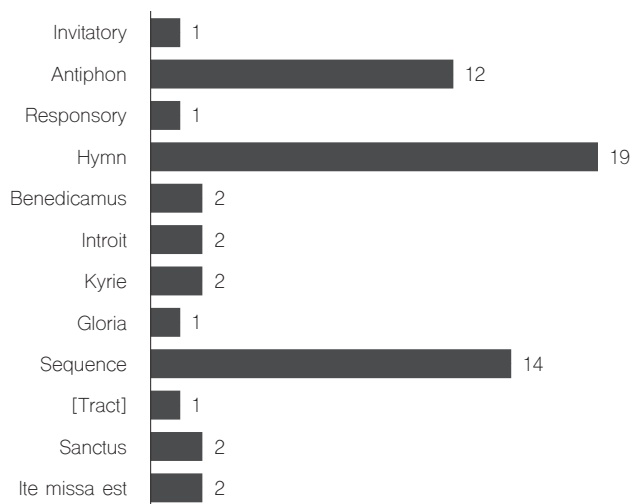


Figure 6: Genre of the chant hymn tunes

Encouraged by such rubrics, I analysed the contrafacta of chants from this point of view, inspecting the genres of their models (Figure 6). Although Triller did not include generic labels in every single title rubric, the relevance of these categories is guaranteed by the several cases in which he did. It is immediately evident that the majority of hymn tunes Triller used were office hymns and sequences. The sheer number of antiphons might lead one to think that this is a very important genre for the hymnbook, but in fact they are mostly very short (see, for instance, antiphons nos. 110–118, taking up just four folios).

Figure 7 compares the chant repertory with the rest of the Latin sacred hymn tunes. Many of them are not strictly liturgical strophic songs, which musicologists usually call *cantiones*, but Triller's rubrics do not follow any specific terminology. Hymns based on songs are sometimes called 'Gesang', a relatively loose definition with which the editor also referred collectively to the hymns copied in the hymnbook (see, for instance, the heading of the table of content 'Register der Gesengen'). The corresponding hymn tunes are 'Melody', 'Nota', or 'Thon', all terms that are also used for other genres. It seems as if Triller had no taxonomic genre awareness for songs in any way comparable to that he deployed for chants. I would argue that he simply lacked the words for this repertory: while chants are (mostly) easily identifiable because of their style, form, function and position in the liturgy, the song repertory eschews such precise categorisation. Nonetheless, in Figure 7 I have listed the hymn tunes that fall in the category of the sacred song, enclosing the generic label in square brackets, since it does not appear explicitly in the source. Interestingly, this repertory constitutes around one fourth of the Latin sacred hymn tunes.

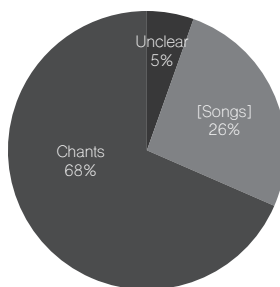


Figure 7: Latin sacred hymn tunes

Among the unclear genres of Figure 7 I have counted those hymn tunes whose features and tradition history made an inclusion in any of the other two categories problematic. Let us consider, for instance, *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum*, the hymn tune of no. 48 *Komb güttiger unnd tewrer Got – Ein reicher milter Geist*. Musicologists would consider *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* as a typical example of the central European motet, since it is a three-part polytextual setting, a feature that all theoretical sources from the area associate with the motet.<sup>12</sup> Triller's contrafactum retains the polytextuality (see below for details), suggesting that it was considered a fundamental aspect of the composition. However, by the 1550s the term 'motet' obviously had a very different meaning, and it is likely that Triller did not consider *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* a motet. Moreover, polytextuality notwithstanding, he might have regarded it as quite similar to the other polyphonic songs, and in the title rubric he labelled it simply as 'Melody'. Nonetheless, its inclusion among the songs in Figure 7 would have been potentially misleading, and I therefore categorised it as 'unclear'. Not because it is unclear from a modern musicological point of view, but because I am not sure about Triller's genre awareness with regard to this setting.

All in all, Figure 7 shows that chants and songs constitute the two main genres within the Latin sacred repertory. This dichotomy is also mirrored in the notation: songs are generally written in white mensural notation, while chants use most often German Gothic notation. This relation, obvious as it might seem, should not be taken for granted, and there are several hymnbooks that notate chants exclusively in white mensural notation.<sup>13</sup> In Triller's hymnbook, instead, the few chants in white mensural notation were printed this way in accordance with pre-existing customs. Let us consider, for instance, no. 63 *O der süssen gnaden gros*. Its model is the sequence *Uterus virgineus*,

<sup>12</sup> I borrow the definition 'central European' motet from (Gancarczyk forthcoming), to which I refer the reader for a detailed discussion of the genre.

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, the *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* (Bautzen: Hans Wolrab 1567, RISM B/8 1567-05), and the *Catholische Kirchengesänge und geistlich Lieder* (Neisse: Johann Schubart 1625, RISM B/8 1625-13).

and although all the other sequences are in chant notation, no. 63 is written in white mensural notation, under a free-standing tripla proportion. This notational peculiarity was certainly present in Triller's antigraph: *Uterus virgineus* also appears mensuralised with a triple metre in chant sources, which resort to mensural notation as well as to aptly modified Gothic chant notation.<sup>14</sup>

It should be added that there also seems to be a relation between the genre of the hymn tunes and number of parts. As a matter of fact, the Latin sacred hymn tunes that are set polyphonically are mostly songs. The few exceptions are two office hymns notated in white mensural notation (nos. 22 and 82),<sup>15</sup> and chant tropes that by 1555 were certainly considered independent compositions. Consider, for instance, no. 38 *Alle landt da Christ wird erkandt*, a two-part contrafactum of *Alle Dei filius*. The editors of DKL correctly identified the melody in the tenor as the Alleluia trope of the antiphon *Cum rex gloriae Christus* (DKL D10B). However, Bernhold Schmid has argued that the polyphonic renditions of *Alle Dei filius* were probably based on a mensuralised version of the trope that was notated as an independent composition.<sup>16</sup> It is unlikely that Triller considered no. 38 a polyphonic setting of a chant, and the same is true for no. 83 *O meine seele lobe Gott*, a contrafactum of the Benedicamus trope *Nicolai solemnia sua preces familia*.

Turning to the German-texted hymn tunes, we notice immediately that their title rubrics are rather vague when compared with the wide spectrum of technical generic labels Triller used for the Latin sacred repertory. The hymns are mostly defined as 'Gesang', while the hymn tunes are called terms such as 'Noten', 'Melody', 'Thon', 'Weise'. As I mentioned above, Triller just seems interested in distinguishing between the hymn tunes that had a sacred and secular text, and that is indeed the scope of the rubric at fol. i4r 'Folgen gesenge auff Weltliche melody'. The only specific generic labels for German-texted hymn tunes occur at no. 59 and nos. 129–130. The hymn tune of no. 59 is identified as a 'Tage weis' (a Tagelied),<sup>17</sup> while nos. 129–130 are rubricated as *Meistergesänge*. The fact that the editor of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* knew melodies of the Meistergesang and recognised them as such does not come as a surprise, and it attests to the presence of this repertory in Silesia even before the first official Meistersinger guild was founded in Wrocław in the 1570s.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> (Maciejewski 2001, 298, 310–311). Other chant hymn tunes notated with mensural notation in Triller's hymnbook are nos. 22, 31b, and 82. In these cases, too, it is almost certain that the mensuralisation already happened before Triller contrafacted them.

<sup>15</sup> It is not certain that Triller regarded the hymn tune of no. 82 as an office hymn. In fact, he calls it a 'alte Melody', whether the alternative hymn tune *Pange lingua* is coherently labelled 'Hymnus'.

<sup>16</sup> (Schmid 1991, 21).

<sup>17</sup> (Schnyder 2004, 713).

<sup>18</sup> (Napp 2013, 157). On Meistergesang in Silesia see also (Hahn 1984a), (Hahn 1984b), and (Hahn 2000).



## Title rubrics and antiquity

In addition to the genre awareness just discussed, the title rubrics reveal another facet of Valentin Triller's understanding of the repertory of his hymnbook. Twenty-two title rubrics define their respective hymn tunes as 'old' ('alt'),<sup>19</sup> while two are 'old and familiar'<sup>20</sup> and 'familiar'.<sup>21</sup> These rubrics mirror the statement on the title page, confirming that the editor regarded the repertory's age as a fundamental aspect of the hymnbook worth underscoring. Accordingly, he not only discussed this aspect in the preface, but amplified it by repeating it in the individual title rubrics. It should be added that although adjectives like 'alt' occur relatively often in hymnbooks' rubrics, I am not aware of any other source in which they appear as frequently as in *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*.

Before trying to infer anything from these rubrics, we need to take into account that the editor arranged them in a seemingly random fashion. Consider, for example, the hymn tune *O süsßer Vater*, which Triller used for hymns nos. 70 and 74. In the first title rubric, the hymn tune is identified simply by its textual incipit ('Auff die Noten / O süsßer Vater'), while in the second it becomes 'an old melody', without mentioning the textual incipit. This and other inconsistencies show that Triller evidently did not feel obliged to define as 'old' all the hymn tunes he considered as such. Nonetheless, it is worth analysing the overall distribution of the title rubrics that thematise this feature to see whether this reveals anything about Triller's view of the musical past.

If we look collectively at the hymn tunes that Triller labelled 'old', it is striking that virtually none of them is a chant. The only exceptions are a sequence and a polyphonic office hymn, both special instances notated in white mensural notation (nos. 63 and 82). This circumstance is unlikely to be a coincidence: even if Triller was inconsistent in compiling the title rubrics, I suspect that at least some of the traditional chants would have been called 'old' if he had regarded them as such. Moreover, it should be noted that the majority of the hymn tunes explicitly labelled 'old' are polyphonic (17 out of 23), among which a group of seven settings from the Tenorlied repertory stands out (nos. 131, 137–141, 143).

All in all, I would argue that these title rubrics reveal Triller's many-sided and somewhat elastic view of the age of the music he edited. Admittedly, the title pages suggest that the editor regarded all the hymn tunes as 'old', but those he selectively portrayed as such allow us to gain a more detailed perspective of the repertory's historicity. Although Triller was certainly aware that chants were rooted in an ancient musical tradition, he did not feel the need to make this explicit in the title rubrics. I am

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<sup>19</sup> Nos. 5–6, 48, 56, 59, 62–63, 69, 74–75, 81–82, 95, 97, 129, 131, 137–141, 143. Note that the adjective 'alt' in the title rubrics no. 69 and 97 might be part of the name of the hymn tune, and not a comment on its age.

<sup>20</sup> No. 42 'auff ein alte gewonliche Melody'.

<sup>21</sup> No. 76 'auff ein gewönliche Melodia'.

not suggesting that a historicised perception of plainchant was altogether absent, but it could be that Triller regarded it as some sort of timeless repertory. Note instead that the Tenorlieder he explicitly called 'old' had been circulating for around 40 years, judging from the concordant sources listed in Appendix C. They were obviously much younger than many of the other hymn tunes, and yet Triller took note of their age in the title rubrics, maybe in an attempt to legitimise this sort of polyphony by pointing to its age. Evidently, time passed differently for different genres, and the perception of the age of a hymn tune was not related to its actual historical origins.

### 4.3 The hymn tunes from a philological perspective

In chapter 4.2 I carried out an analysis of the repertory focusing on features of which Valentin Triller was aware. He knew the hymn tunes he relied on and categorised them in terms of language and textual content. Moreover, he resorted to several generic labels, sometimes making annotations regarding the age of the single hymn tunes.

In this chapter, I now will focus on the circulation of the hymn tunes. We can evaluate this aspect by studying concordant sources, but it should be noted that Triller was not necessarily aware of the tradition history of his hymn tunes. Needless to say, we cannot assume that Triller proceeded in the same manner as a philologist, compiling a list of concordances and comparing versions of the same hymn tune. Thus he was not conscious of all the information we can obtain from this kind of repertorial analysis, nor did these aspects necessarily play a role in his or his readers' understanding of the repertory. During the discussion, it will become clear that there is a fundamental difference between Triller's musical world and our knowledge of it—a knowledge strongly influenced on the one hand by an *a posteriori* omniscience, on the other hand by the gaps and losses of textual transmission.

#### *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* and earlier hymnbooks

First of all, I will analyse the repertory of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* within the printed Kirchenlied tradition, comparing it with the content of the hymnbooks issued before Triller's. As mentioned above, *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* is the only 'new' hymnbook published in Silesia during the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, by 1555 many hymnbooks had already been issued by European workshops: the *Gesangsbuchbibliographie* lists more than 230 publications in the timespan 1520–1554.<sup>22</sup> Given this state of things, it would not be surprising if Valentin Triller had relied on the hymn tunes contained in other hymnbooks to create his own hymns. It is particularly important to evaluate the repertorial proximity between *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* and earlier hymnbooks, since the editor himself hinted at this aspect in the preface. The

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<sup>22</sup> Available at <<https://scripts.zdv.uni-mainz.de/gesangbuch/index.php>>, accessed 10 January 2019.

reference to the ‘many unfamiliar foreign melodies and music written in certain other hymnbooks’ (preface, lines 7–8) seems to imply that the content of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* was different from the ‘certain other hymnbooks’. As I have argued above, this aspect plays a pivotal role in Triller’s staging of the ‘Silesianity’ of the hymnbook. However, while declarations in a preface are true in the sense that they mirror their author’s concerns and values, they do not necessarily correspond to the actual working procedure. Is the repertory of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* really different from other contemporary hymnbooks, or is this just Triller’s publicity stunt, an adequate narrative to present to the world his ‘Silesian’ publication?

In order to analyse Triller’s repertory from this perspective, I resorted to *Das deutsche Kirchenlied* (DKL), which make it possible to track the dissemination of specific hymn tunes among the hundreds of sources taken into account by its editors.<sup>23</sup> Accordingly, the following statistics consider just those hymn tunes from *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* that were catalogued in DKL, a representative sample of 117 hymn tunes.<sup>24</sup> The results are summarised in Figure 8. The most outstanding feature is that more than the half of the hymn tunes (62) did not appear in any hymnbook predating Triller’s. This aspect is of supreme importance: not only was *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* not a reprint of a pre-existing source, but even for the individual hymn tunes Triller resorted largely to a hitherto unexploited repertory. It should be added, however, that this unexploited repertory should not be equated with music of local provenance and/or dissemination. The hymn tunes that had not yet appeared in any other hymnbook include, for instance, very popular Tenorlieder, which were widely disseminated in manuscript and print (as I will discuss in detail shortly). They had simply never been used as models for Kirchenlieder before.

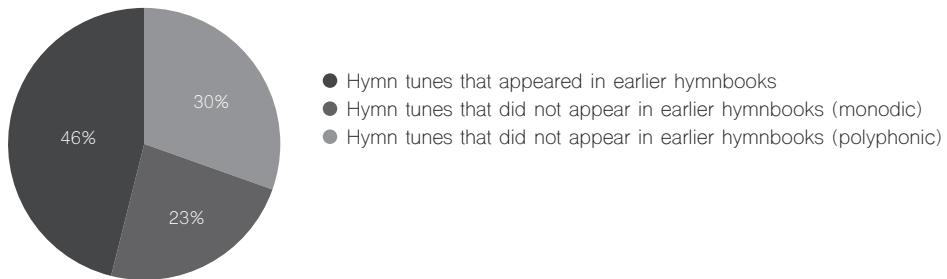


Figure 8: Triller’s hymn tunes in previous hymnbooks

<sup>23</sup> The Abteilung III (sources up to 1570) of DKL considered almost 600 printed sources, including about 1440 hymn tunes. Cf. DKL III Band 1 Teil 1, viii.

<sup>24</sup> The discrepancy between the 144 hymn tunes copied or mentioned in Triller’s hymnbook and the 117 referenced in DKL is due to the fact that the latter excludes hymn tunes that are only mentioned in title rubrics (without musical notation) and non-strophic German-texted chants (for example, nos. 110–118).

This appropriation of previously unexploited hymn tunes is not the only remarkable feature of Triller's repertorial choices, and it is necessary to also take a closer look at the hymn tunes that had appeared in pre-1555 hymnbooks in order to assess Triller's dependence on the tradition represented by such sources. In fact, even some of the more usual hymn tunes turn out to be quite removed from the preceding hymnbook tradition.

No. 9b *Es ist der Engel herrligkeit* is a case in point. Its musical model is the Christmas song *Nunc angelorum gloria*, which had already appeared in publications by the Wittenberg printer Joseph Klug in 1543/1544 (see DKL Ee23). The popularity of Klug's hymnbooks notwithstanding, Triller's *Nunc angelorum gloria* is not related to them. It contains a refrain, texted with the words 'Frew dich liebe Christenheit unnd lobe Gott inn ewigkeit', whose music did not appear in any of the pre-1555 hymnbooks. Nor was it Triller's addition: it corresponds to the trope *Huic sit memoria*, which was already appended to *Nunc angelorum gloria* in the fifteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Thus it is clear that Triller referred to a tradition of *Nunc angelorum gloria* that was different from the one adopted in the Wittenberg hymnbooks, and partially independent of them.

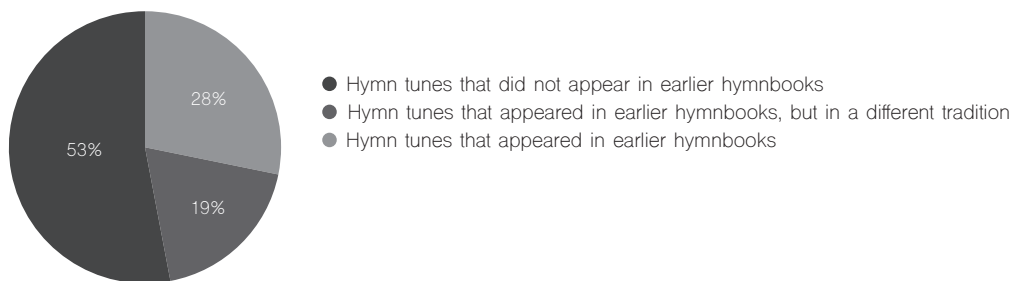


Figure 9: Triller's hymn tunes in previous hymnbooks

Bearing this issue in mind, I refined the analysis and summarised the results in Figure 9. Hymn tunes that appeared in earlier hymnbooks are divided into two categories, listing separately those that depart heavily from the earlier printed hymnbook tradition. To do this, I again relied on DKL:<sup>26</sup> in the example discussed above, for instance, *Nunc angelorum gloria* is the melody DKL Ee23. Triller's version, because of its refrain, was not considered a variant of DKL Ee23, and it was recorded and edited as an independent version, DKL Ee23A.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See, for instance, CZ-VB 28, a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript probably from Vyšší Brod (Bohemia). Cf. DKL Ee23 and Ee23A, and (Ameln 1966, 65–66, 75–77, 80).

<sup>26</sup> For a summary of the hymn tunes in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* see DKL Abteilung III, Band 1, Teil 1, Textband, 7 (a34a).

<sup>27</sup> The abbreviations used to identify melodies in DKL is explained in DKL Abteilung III, Band 1, Teil 1, Textband, XI.

By analysing Triller's repertory in these terms, it turns out that twenty-two further hymn tunes belong to a tradition apparently independent of pre-1555 hymnbooks. Thus, just thirty-three hymn tunes seem related to the repertory that circulated in hymnbooks before 1555. On top of this, the majority of these (21 items) are Latin chants that also circulated widely beyond hymnbooks, and Triller easily could have encountered them through other kinds of sources.

It should be added that the statistics of Figures 8 and 9 are not flawless, and we must take into account a certain margin of error. DKL only considers printed sources, leaving the manuscript tradition aside. Additionally, some printed broadsheets and hymnbooks that predate Triller's *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* are certainly lost. Moreover, the line between a variant and an independent version of a hymn tune is sometimes difficult to draw, and much depends on subjective evaluations. Accordingly, the percentages given in Figures 8 and 9 are just rough indications, without claiming absolute exhaustiveness. Nevertheless, these percentages represent an aspect that is important for understanding Triller's editorial policy, irrespective of the details of one percentage point more or less: when compiling his hymnbook, Valentin Triller resorted to a repertory that differed from similar sources circulating up to 1555. What is more, he was aware of this and emphasised this aspect in order to promote his publication.

#### The circulation of the polyphonic hymn tunes

The repertory of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* was only marginally influenced by analogous sources available by 1555. Important as it is, this finding leaves us wondering where the music of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* came from. Arguably, this question can only be answered by analysing concordances: by studying those sources that share compositions with *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, we can obtain information regarding the geography and chronology of its repertory. This is of vital importance, even more so in a collection in which the repertory's geographical and chronological connotations are among the key aspects with which the editor marketed the publication itself.

I restricted the concordance analysis to the fifty-one hymns that are set polyphonically, a choice prompted by various considerations. First of all, the polyphonic hymns of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* deserve this kind of analysis because they constitute one of its most unusual aspects. They represent a major portion of the source, which is not very common in sixteenth-century hymnbooks containing primarily monodic hymns. Moreover, they are largely unrelated to the previous hymnbook tradition, so that questions concerning their origins are particularly pressing.

Conversely, tracking concordances of monodic hymn tunes beyond the sources catalogued in DKL would have exceeded the scope of this book. As highlighted above, Latin sacred hymn tunes constitute the majority in Triller's hymnbook, and many

of them belong to the koine of liturgical singing.<sup>28</sup> Of course even extremely popular chants and songs might display traits influenced by local transmission, and Triller's hymn tunes are no exception in this regard. This aspect, however, cannot be evaluated through an analysis of concordances, but only through a detailed study of melodic variants, a task that I must leave to future investigations. The polyphonic hymns, by contrast, had a much more limited circulation, and their presence in other sources might reveal meaningful relations with Triller's hymnbook.

Lastly, our appraisal of the retrospectiveness of Triller's repertory strongly depends on its polyphonic hymns: remember that seventeen hymn tunes set polyphonically are labelled as 'old' in their title rubrics, and it is generally assumed that the polyphonic repertory 'aged' more quickly, making it particularly interesting to see how 'old' these compositions are.

I have listed the concordances of Triller's polyphonic hymns in Appendix C. This list of concordances must be regarded as work in progress, and I am not claiming to have collected all the existing sources of Triller's hymn tunes.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, I think that the sources listed in Appendix C reveal general trends that allow us to draw some conclusions concerning the sort of music used by Triller.

Before discussing the results of the survey, I need to clarify what I have considered to be a concordance. The transmission of the polyphony published in Triller's hymnbook tends to be much more unstable than other sorts of sixteenth-century polyphony. Thus, in Appendix C I listed not just concordances in the strict sense, but also polyphonic settings that share at least a discantus-tenor framework with Triller's hymns, irrespective of additional/substitutive parts and of differences regarding transposition and notation. All such divergences are recorded in the Appendix C, and I will discuss them in detail shortly.

It should be added that, because of the uneven tradition of some of these settings, the strict principles I followed in compiling Appendix C are at times problematic. It is not unusual to encounter pairs of settings that are obviously related although they do not share an entire discantus-tenor framework.

Consider, for example, Musical example 1, which compares Triller's no. 73 *Ey Got Vatter aller Gnaden* with the setting *Euge virgo castissima* from Christoph Hecyrus' *Veteres ac piae cantiones* (Nuremberg: Johann Berg and Ulrich Neuber 1561). Although *Euge virgo castissima* includes a concluding ternary section not present in Triller's hymnbook (not transcribed in Musical example 1), the two settings are clearly related. The melody in the tenor is identical, as well as the first two breves of discantus and bassus. What follows, however, exploits entirely different contrapuntal ideas, and

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<sup>28</sup> Imagine what blurred results the concordance analysis of hymn tunes such as nos. 2 (the hymn *Conditor alme siderum*), no. 14 (the responsory *Verbum caro factum est*), or no. 21 (the hymn *Pange lingua*) could produce.

<sup>29</sup> Especially with regard to extremely popular discantus-tenor frameworks such as *Puer natus in Bethlehem* (no. 10) and *In natali Domini* (no. 12).

*Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*

Discantus

Tenor

Bassus

Ey Got Vatter al - ler Gna - den Hilff uns ar - men

Ey Got Vatter al - ler Gna - den Hilff uns ar - men

Ey Got Vatter

*Veteres ac piae cantiones*

Discantus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

Eu - ge vir - go cas - tis - si - ma ma - ter Chri - sti

Eu - ge vir - go cas - tis - si - ma ma - ter Chri - sti san -

Eu - ge vir - go cas - tis - si - ma ma - ter Chri - sti

Eu - ge vir - go cas - tis - si - ma ma - ter Chri - sti

7

D

T

B

aus dem scha - den der uns von art an - ge - er - bet ist

aus dem scha - den der uns von art an - ge - er - bet ist

er

7

D

A

T

B

san - ctis - si - ma Ma - ri - a e - lec - tis - si - ma

san - ctis - si - ma Ma - ri - a e - lec - tis - si - ma

san - ctis - si - ma Ma - ri - a e - lec - tis - si - ma

san - ctis - si - ma Ma - ri - a e - lec - tis - si - ma

Musical example 1: Triller's no. 73 *Ey Got Vatter aller Gnaden* compared to *Euge virgo castissima* (*Veteres ac piae cantiones*, Nuremberg: Johann Berg and Ulrich Neuber 1561)

for this reason Hecyrus' setting is not listed in Appendix C. The limits of this approach are evident: even such tenuous musical echoes can expose meaningful relations between sources, as is indeed the case in Triller's and Hecyrus' publications.<sup>30</sup> However, it has been necessary to draw a line between 'real' concordances and other, less compelling intertextual relations.

### Unica

I was able to identify concordances for twenty-three of the fifty-one polyphonic hymns. The twenty-three polyphonic hymn tunes that also appear in other sources can be divided into Latin sacred and German secular models, and I will analyse them in detail below. Before doing so, however, I would like to discuss briefly the remaining twenty-eight polyphonic hymn tunes that are to be regarded as unica.<sup>31</sup>

Many of these are settings of very popular Latin sacred songs, yet I could not identify any other polyphonic rendition that shares at least two parts with Triller's hymns. In itself, this situation is relatively common: Reinhard Strohm has observed the same tendency in other sources of sacred Latin songs, and he suggested that settings were probably prepared ad hoc for specific occasions and did not circulate much.<sup>32</sup> Even if we consider ambitious polyphonic collections of central European origin, the high percentage of unica is the rule rather than the exception: for example, 74% of the compositions copied in the Żagań partbooks (PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40098), an extremely important Silesian source, do not appear anywhere else.<sup>33</sup>

That being said, one might wonder whether Valentin Triller should be regarded as the composer of the polyphonic versions of the unica, or whether these are just contrafacta of settings that had a very limited distribution. I would argue that the first hypothesis is unlikely. First of all, in all other hymns (monodic hymns and polyphonic hymns with concordances) it is clear that Triller's contribution was that of a poet and editor. Secondly, although in the preface he explains that he has 'adorned some [hymns] with two voices, others with three' in a way that might imply composition, he

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<sup>30</sup> (Horyna 2003, 308–310).

<sup>31</sup> *Ave hierarchia* (no. 3), *Salve regina gloriae* (no. 5), *Nunc angelorum gloria* (no. 9), *In dulci iubilo* (no. 18), *Aus fremden Landen komm' ich her* (no. 19), *Ex legis observantia* (no. 20), [*Jesus Christus nostra salus*] (no. 23), *Alle Dei filius* (no. 38), [*Christ ist erstanden*] (no. 42), [*Du Lenze gut, des Jahres teuerste Quarte*] (no. 43), *Wach auf, wach auf du Schöne* (no. 59), DKL A 249 (no. 62), *In Dorotheae festo* (no. 67), 'auff die noten des alten meye' (no. 69), 'auff die Weise des newen Rosenkrantzs' (no. 72), *Ave fuit prima salus* (no. 75), DKL A 259 (no. 76), *Omnium sanctorum pia dictamina* (no. 80), *Die Frau von Himmel ruf' ich an* (no. 81), *Iuste iudex Jesu Christe* (no. 82), *Nicolai solemnia sua preces familia* (no. 83), DKL A 265 (no. 93), *Carnis nube iam detecta* (no. 122), *Wol auff jr frome Christen* (no. 128), *Nun lobe, Linde lobe* (no. 133), DKL A288 (no. 140), [*Nach Lust hab' ich*] (no. 143), DKL A 292 (no. 144). Hymn tunes in brackets are not mentioned in Triller's title rubrics.

<sup>32</sup> See (Strohm).

<sup>33</sup> (Gancarczyk 2001b, 100).



explicitly also refers to a previously existing polyphonic performance practice ('because some of them were sung in this way', preface, line 24). This suggests that he recorded polyphonic settings that already existed, but whose sources nowadays are lost or unknown to me.

This general hypothesis is confirmed by a stylistic analysis of the unica. Consider, for example, no. 5 *Als Maria die jungfraw rein*, a polyphonic setting of the song *Salve regina gloriae*.<sup>34</sup> Although the monodic model is also attested in a Silesian source,<sup>35</sup> I am not aware of any polyphonic version that matches Triller's. The absence of concordances notwithstanding, this setting seems to have been composed before the 1550s: note the repeated sonorities involving just octaves and fifths (bars 1–2, 9–10, 20–22), the *altizans* clause leading to the fifth in the last harmony of a cadence (possibly to be realised as 'double-leading-note' cadence, bars 8–9, 12–13, 19–20, 24–25, 31–32),<sup>36</sup> and the general absence of thirds in cadences (bars 9, 13, 20, 25, 32–33). One certainly could imagine a mid-sixteenth-century contrapuntist cultivating this style, but in the context of Triller's hymnbook (first and foremost a collection of contrafacta) the simplest explanation is that the editor contrafacted a polyphonic song composed decades earlier.

Since there are no concordances, I am unable to detail the chronological and geographical distribution of the unica, but it seems safe to assume that they were 'at home' in Silesia and in the neighbouring regions. How else could Triller have encountered this music, which was never printed and, judging from the absence of concordances, also had a limited dissemination in manuscript form?

This assumption is strengthened by general stylistic affinities between Triller's polyphonic unica and the musical style cultivated in central Europe, an affinity that is clearly visible if we compare Triller's settings with other polyphonic renditions of the same cantus firmi. Let us consider, for example, no. 3 *Als wir warn beladen*, a three-voice contrafactum of the extremely popular song *Ave hierarchia*. I was unable to identify any exact concordance of Triller's *Als wir warn beladen*, although several polyphonic settings circulated before Triller published his contrafactum, even in sources copied not far from Silesia. For instance, the earliest extant polyphonic *Ave hierarchia* I am aware of was written down probably in Slovakia in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and it survives as a fragment in H–Bu U.Fr.I.ch. 299.<sup>37</sup> There are several three-part settings of *Ave hierarchia* comparable to Triller's *Als wir warn beladen*, for instance,

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<sup>34</sup> Modern edition in (Chemotti 2019, 40–41).

<sup>35</sup> See PL-WRK 58, the so-called Neumarkter cantionale, copied in 1474 for the parish school of Neumarkt in Schlesien (Polish Środa Śląska). See (Schmitz 1936), (Ciglbauer 2012), and (Ciglbauer 2017, 132–133).

<sup>36</sup> On double-leading-note cadences in Triller's hymnbook see also (Chemotti 2019, 33–34).

<sup>37</sup> (Brewer 1990, 15–17).

in the Bohemian Codex Speciálník,<sup>38</sup> and in PL-C DD I 28, an early sixteenth-century manuscript probably from Tyniec (Lesser Poland).<sup>39</sup>

The South German manuscript D-Mbs Clm 11943<sup>40</sup> also transmits a three-part *Ave hierarchia* (fols. 84v–85r), and the affinity between this source and Triller's hymnbook is confirmed by other 'real' concordances.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, D-Mbs Clm 11943's *Ave hierarchia* shares the same sonic ideal as Triller's *Als wir warn beladen*. They both have the cantus firmus with finalis f in the middle voice, with the top voice generally lying above c', and they are set in a homophonic style with a comparable contrapuntal rhythm. Furthermore, some contrapuntal solutions are identical. Musical example 2 superimposes the first seventeen breves of Triller's *Als wir warn beladen* with the corresponding portion of cantus firmus in D-Mbs Clm 11943, and there are evident similarities between the two at bars 5–8 and 9–12. These might be coincidences arising from contrapuntal grammar (a sort of 'physiological intertextuality'),<sup>42</sup> but given the proximity between the two sources, I think that they rather reveal meaningful relations between two polyphonic realisations of the same song. Thus, even a setting like no. 3 *Als wir warn beladen*, although not widely disseminated in this exact form, should not be seen as inherently different from those hymns whose polyphonic models appear in other sources.

It should be added that other unica in Triller's hymnbook also exhibit intertextual relations with settings preserved in other sources of central European origin, which reveals their embeddedness in the surrounding musical culture. Compare, for instance, Triller's no. 82 *Gottes namen solt jhr loben* with a *Iuste iudex Jesu Christe* in the Bohemian manuscript CZ-Pnm XII A 23 (Musical example 3).<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> CZ-HKm II A 7, fol. 204r. Modern edition in (Vanišová 1990, 6–7).

<sup>39</sup> This setting is copied in chant notation, see (Gancarczyk 2001a, 356–357). Modern edition in (Perz and Kowalewicz 1976, 177–178, 493).

<sup>40</sup> Probably copied in Polling (Bavaria) around 1550. (Bente et al. 1989, 19–20).

<sup>41</sup> *Efficax pax fax* (no. 8), *Praelustri elucientia* (no. 68), and *Deitatis flagrans stella* (no. 73). See also (Horyna 2003, 305, 310).

<sup>42</sup> (Caraci Vela 2009, 146).

<sup>43</sup> CZ-Pnm XII A 23 is a Catholic manuscript from Pilzeň (Bohemia), copied in 1527. *Iuste iudex Jesu Christe*, however, is clearly a later addition, in white mensural notation. (Graham 2006, 450–453).

*Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*

Discant

[Tenor]

Bassus

Als wir warn be - la - den mit e - wi - gem scha - den

Als wir

*D-Mbs Clm 11943*

Excellens vox

Media vox

Gravis vox

A - ve je - rar - chi - a ce - les - te et pi - a

9

D

[T]

B

ver - hisch Gott aus gna - den das er wolt her - sen - den

E. VOX

M. VOX

G. VOX

de - i mo - nar - chi - a res - pi - ce nos di - a

Musical example 2: Triller's no. 3 *Als wir warn beladen* bars 1-17 compared to *Ave jerarchia* (D-Mbs Clm 11943)

*Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*

Discant

Tenor

Bassus

Got - tes na - men solt jhr lo - ben die jhr sei - ne die - ner seidt

*CZ-Pnm XII A 23*

Discantus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

Ju - ste iu - dex

Musical example 3: Triller's no. 82 *Gottes namen solt jhr loben* bars 1–9 compared to *Juste iudex Jesu Christe* (CZ-Pnm XII A 23)

Lastly, it is important to make a general point regarding the status of the polyphony published in the hymnbook. It might come as a surprise to find such a high number of *unica* in a repertory that the editor Valentin Triller repeatedly characterised as ‘familiar’ and ‘well known’. The sources that could attest to the circulation of Triller’s polyphonic models might indeed have been lost, but this represents just part of the problem. In fact, the early modern perception of the ‘familiarity’ of these settings might have been just partially related to their polyphonic versions. With a few exceptions, the settings discussed here are either polyphonic renditions of sacred songs or so-called Tenorlieder. The stylistic differences notwithstanding, both genres are constructed around a melodic line that is mostly highly recognisable. Thus, it might have been first and foremost this melody that guaranteed the ‘familiarity’ of a setting, while the contrapuntal realisation might have been of secondary importance. In fact, Triller himself seems to consider some of the polyphonic renditions as optional (see the rubric of no. 3), and a monodic performance of many of the polyphonic hymns was certainly a legitimate

solution.<sup>44</sup> Thus, it is sometimes important to consider cantus firmi independently of their polyphonic renditions, an aspect that I will take into consideration when necessary.

### Sacred models

The majority of the concordances of Triller's polyphonic hymns is made up of settings with a Latin sacred text, mostly polyphonic renditions of songs.<sup>45</sup> Palaeographic analysis of concordant sources allows us to gain deeper insights into the age of Triller's repertory. Let us consider, for instance, the abovementioned Codex Speciálník, which contains five of Triller's polyphonic models. Four were inscribed by scribe A during the first copying phase, which according to Lenka Hlávková began in the 1480s and was completed by 1495, while a fifth concordance was copied between 1495 and 1500 (see Table 7).<sup>46</sup>

Table 7: Triller's polyphonic models in the Speciálník Codex

Folio and page	Text incipit	Notation	Scribe	Copying stage	Contrafactum in <i>Ein Schlesich singebüchlein</i>
101v–102r (202–203)	<i>Tu qui cuncta imperas</i>	White mensural notation	H	Stage I (completed before 1495)	No. 85
235v (470)	<i>In natali domini</i>	Black mensural notation	A	Stage I (completed before 1495)	No. 12
252r (503)	<i>Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum</i>	Black mensural notation	A	Stage I (completed before 1495)	No. 48
263v (526)	<i>Martir Christi insignitus/a</i>	Black mensural notation	A	Stage I (completed before 1495)	No. 6
283r (565)	<i>Prelustri elucencia</i>	Black mensural notation	K	Stage II (1495–1500)	Nos. 68 and 79

<sup>44</sup> (Chemotti 2019, 5–8).

<sup>45</sup> No. 6 *Martyr felix insignita*, no. 8 *Efficax pax fax*, no. 10 *Puer natus in Bethleem*, no. 12 *In natali Domini*, no. 13 *Nobis est natus hodie*, no. 22 *Anna coelestis*, no. 39 *Cedit hyems eminus*, no. 40 *Surrexit Christus hodie*, no. 47 *Spiritus sancti gratia*, no. 48 *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum*, no. 58 *Nunc festum celebremus*, no. 65 *Felici peccatrici*, no. 68 *Praleustri elucencia*, no. 73 *Deitatis flagrans stella*, no. 85 *Patris sapientia*, no. 94 *Dorothea coronata*, no. 96 *Ave sponsa trinitatis*.

<sup>46</sup> Table 7 is based on the palaeographic analysis in (Mráčková 2002).

A few years later, another manuscript was copied that displays close relations with Triller's polyphonic repertory, the Franus Codex (1505).<sup>47</sup> This contains eight of Triller's polyphonic hymn tunes.<sup>48</sup> It should be added that the majority of Triller's musical models appear in these sources in black mensural notation without mensural signs, and are therefore usually considered part of the 'archaic' repertory composed considerably earlier than around 1500, when these sources were copied.<sup>49</sup> In fact, in some cases it is also possible to trace the histories of these settings before 1500. Let us consider again the concordances between Triller's hymnbook and the Speciálník Codex. The discantus-tenor framework of *Praelustri elucientia* already appears in the fragment SK-Bu Inc. 318, dated about 1465.<sup>50</sup> A four-part version of *In natali Domini*, with two parts matching discantus and tenor of Triller's no. 12 *Wach auff liebe Christenheit*, was copied in I-Bc Q.15 by around 1435.<sup>51</sup> Slightly later, a three-part version was copied in the so-called Battre section of I-TRbc 87 (copied in Belgium c. 1434–1437).<sup>52</sup> I am not aware of any source prior to the Speciálník Codex for the motet *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum*, but another version of this composition appears in manuscripts copied in the first decades of the fifteenth century (see Table 8 for details).

The analysis of concordances can only reveal a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of a specific setting. The distance between this *terminus* (which also depends on the coincidental survival of specific sources) and the actual time of composition might be large, even in the case of settings that appear only in white mensural notation and in relatively 'late' copies. In other words, settings that do not appear in black mensural notation are not necessarily younger than those that do. A case in point is *Efficax pax fax* (the model for hymn no. 8 *O herr Gott vater wir singen dir*). This setting is recorded just in two sources copied in the first half of the sixteenth century,<sup>53</sup> and in both cases the scribe resorted to white mensural notation also supplied with mensural signs. Appendix D/3 is a transcription from D-Mbs Clm 11943, copied around 1550.<sup>54</sup> Consider the characteristic opening with parallel unisons and octaves (bars 1–2), the presence of only perfect consonances in pivotal positions, and the peculiar cadential

<sup>47</sup> CZ-HKm II A 6, see (Mráčková 2009b, 79–80).

<sup>48</sup> No. 13 *Nobis est natus hodie*, no. 39 *Cedit hyems eminus*, no. 94 *Dorothea coronata* (with the text *Resurgenti nazareno*), no. 68 *Prelustri elucientia*, no. 58 *Nunc festum celebremus*, no. 12 *In natali domini*, no. 48 *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum praemia*, and no. 65 *Felici peccatrici*.

<sup>49</sup> See (Černý 1990), (Mráčková 2002, 167, 174), (Mráčková 2009b, 81), (Hlávková forthcoming).

<sup>50</sup> (Gancarczyk 2017, 6, 11).

<sup>51</sup> I-Bc Q.15, 217v–218r, late stage III according to Margaret Bent. Cf. (Bent 2008a, 22, 161–162, 205).

<sup>52</sup> See the palaeographic description of the codex by Giulia Gabrielli in *Codici musicali trentini del Quattrocento*, <[www.cultura.trentino.it/Banche-dati](http://www.cultura.trentino.it/Banche-dati)>, accessed 17 July 2019.

<sup>53</sup> D-Z 17.8.39 and D-Mbs Clm 11943.

<sup>54</sup> (Bente et al. 1989, 19–20).

formulas (especially bars 9–10, 26–27). Stylistically, it does not differ much from a setting like *Felici peccatrici* (the model for no. 65 *Christus inn diese welt ist kommen*), which instead appears in black mensural notation in an early sixteenth-century source such as CZ-KUm 88/85.<sup>55</sup>

All in all, the concordances of Triller's polyphonic hymns based on sacred models suggest that the latter had been circulating for decades, on average at least fifty years. For some of them, it is possible to document a textual tradition that harks back to the second or even to the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>56</sup> It goes without saying that such findings confirm what Triller states in the paratexts regarding the age of the repertory: from the standpoint of a mid-sixteenth-century pastor, these were certainly 'old melodies'.

Having ascertained that many of Triller's sacred models were indeed 'old' by 1555, evaluating their geographical distribution appears fruitful. Here, we can rely once again on the analysis of concordant sources. In light of the regionalistic narrative that Triller set forth in the paratexts, admittedly it is striking that, among the concordances of sacred models listed in Appendix C, there are just two Silesian sources, both copied in the period around 1470–1480: the Neumarkt Cantionale<sup>57</sup> and the Żagań partbooks.<sup>58</sup> These manuscripts share only one 'real' concordance each with Triller's hymnbook, a two-part *Deitatis flagrans stella* (corresponding to discantus and tenor of Triller's three-voice version no. 73) and the discantus-tenor framework of a three-part *Surrexit Christus hodie* (Triller's no. 40) respectively.

This paucity of sources notwithstanding, it should be noted that other polyphonic hymns based on sacred models exhibit clear Silesian connections. Let us consider, for instance, hymn no. 43 *Der lentz ist uns des jares erste quartir*. This three-part setting is a unicum, and its model is not mentioned in the title rubric. However, another polyphonic setting on the same cantus firmus was copied in the abovementioned Żagań partbooks, with the text *Du Lenze gut, des Jahres teuerste Quarte*. This text and melody also appear—this time as monodic item—in D-LEu 1305, a fifteenth-century manuscript possibly copied in Silesia.<sup>59</sup> In addition, we also find the monodic *Du Lenze gut, des Jahres teuerste Quarte* in the Catholic hymnbook of the Silesian hymnodist

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<sup>55</sup> On this manuscript see (Černý 2006). A modern edition of *Felici peccatrici*, based on the copy in the Franus codex, is to be found in the same contribution, (Černý 2006, 180–181).

<sup>56</sup> See Appendix C no. 12 (*In natali Domini*), no. 39 (*Cedit hyems eminus*), no. 40 (*Surrexit Christus hodie*), no. 68 (*Praelustri elucentia*), no. 73 (*Deitatis flagrans stella*), no. 94 (*Dorothea coronata*).

<sup>57</sup> PL-WRk 58, copied in 1474 for a parish school in Neumarkt (Polish Środa Śląska). See (Schmitz 1936), (Ciglbauer 2012), and (Ciglbauer 2017, 132–133).

<sup>58</sup> PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40098, formerly known as the Glogauer Liederbuch, probably copied in Żagań in the years 1477–1482. (Gancarczyk 2009, 27–28) and (Gancarczyk 2014, 35).

<sup>59</sup> See (Feldmann 1938, 149–151). The origins of this source are controversial. See (Jungandreas 1972, 206–210) and W II 538.

David Gregor Corner (1585–1648).<sup>60</sup> The hymn is introduced by a rubric informing readers that the song was ‘made in the year 1283 by Conrad von Queinfurt pastor of Steinkirchen in Silesia’.<sup>61</sup> I do not know which sources Corner relied on for this attribution, but the fact that an early seventeenth-century Silesian hymnodist regarded *Du Lenze gut, des Jahres teuerste Quarte* as a song by a Silesian author strongly suggests that it was known in the region.

Other clues indicating the Silesian circulation of Triller’s polyphonic sacred hymn tunes come from their relation to the cult of saints worshipped particularly prominently in the region. I do not consider Marian compositions here, since the devotion to the Holy Virgin was omnipresent and evidence is not conclusive in this sense. However, there are also more specific examples among the saints addressed in Triller’s polyphonic models, the most telling of which is the hymn no. 122 *Gar nichts schedlichs noch verdamlichs ist*. Although this two-part composition in so-called simple chant polyphony is a unicum, its top part largely corresponds to the *repetenda* of a responsory from the office of Saint Hedwig,<sup>62</sup> who is also mentioned in Triller’s title rubric. Saint Hedwig was the patron saint of Silesia,<sup>63</sup> and it seems quite certain that the polyphonic model of Triller’s hymn was sung in the region before its appearance in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*.

Although not as eminently Silesian as Saint Hedwig, other saints played a central role in the region’s cultural life. When the Lutheran historian Joachim Cuareus (d. 1573) stigmatised the cult of the saints in Silesia, besides the Holy Virgin and Saint Hedwig he explicitly mentioned three further saints: Saint Dorothy, Saint Catherine, and Saint Anna.<sup>64</sup> Thus I do not think it is a coincidence that Triller’s polyphonic models include settings such as *In Dorotheae festo* (nos. 67 and 128), *Dorothea coronata* (no. 94), *Nunc festum celebremus* (no. 58),<sup>65</sup> and *Anna coelestis* (no. 22).<sup>66</sup> *Ave sponsa trinitatis*,

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<sup>60</sup> (Lipphardt and Schröder 2001).

<sup>61</sup> ‘Ein bekandtes Ostergesang der Lentz oder Fröling genandt / welches Herr Conrad von Queinfurt Pfarher zu Steinkirchen in Schlesien Anno 1283. gemacht’. I quote from a 1649 reprint of Corner’s hymnbook, *Geistliche Nachtigal, der Catholischen Teütschen* (Vienna: Gregor Gelbhaar 1649, RISM B/8 1649–02), 212.

<sup>62</sup> (Chemotti 2019, 12–13, 83–84, 139).

<sup>63</sup> There is a large body of secondary literature on the Silesian cult of Saint Hedwig. See especially (Harasimowicz 2010, 126–142), (Kaczmarek 2013, 198–200), and (Mrozowicz 2013, 223–224).

<sup>64</sup> Joachim Cuareus, *Gentis Silesiae annales* (Wittenberg: Johann Krafft and Samuel Selfisch 1571, VD16 C 6391), 365. Cuareus, while criticising the devotion to Saint Hedwig, Saint Catherine, and Saint Dorothy, explicitly quotes the chants that were sung in their honour.

<sup>65</sup> The text of *Nunc festum celebremus* further reads ‘laudesque decantemus / corde, voce, ore / virginis Catharinae’. See AH 1, 77–78. Polyphonic settings in honour of Saint Catherine also appear in other Silesian sources. See the two-voice setting *Ex stirpe paganorum* in the fragment PL–WRu XV Q 1066a, probably copied in Silesia in the second quarter of the fifteenth century (Gancarczyk 2013).

<sup>66</sup> The top part of this setting corresponds to the hymn *Ut queant laxis*. The early modern association between this melody and the text *Anna coelestis* is known only through Triller’s hymnbook (cf. DKL A238), although traces



the model for hymns no. 96 and 127, probably also was a song for Saint Dorothy.<sup>67</sup>

Admittedly, these hints involve only a minority of Triller's sacred polyphonic models, and the Silesian links appear quite weak, especially when compared with the concordant sources as a whole, which include a consistent group of manuscripts from Bohemia, most prominently CZ-HKm II A 6 (Franus Codex), CZ-HKm II A 7 (Codex Speciálník), CZ-CHRM 12580 (Chrudim Graduale),<sup>68</sup> and CZ-KUm 88/85.<sup>69</sup> These manuscripts were copied for the use of Utraquist communities in Bohemia, mainly literati brotherhoods.<sup>70</sup> In his seminal text, Martin Horyna pointed out a total of twelve polyphonic compositions from Utraquist literati sources which are present in Triller's hymnbook.<sup>71</sup>

Indeed, the Bohemian connection in Triller's polyphonic repertory is conspicuous, and it hardly comes as a surprise, given the geographical, political, and cultural proximity between Bohemia and Silesia (after all, Silesia was part of the Bohemian

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of this hymn appear in a much later source, a nineteenth-century treatise on harmony by Wilhelm Volckmar. This publication contains a musical example titled *Anna coelestis* with the top voice corresponding to the descant of Triller's hymn no. 22. Cf. Wilhelm Volckmar, *Harmonielehre* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel 1860), 286. It should be also noted that Triller's *Anna coelestis* suggests that the cult of the saints was one of the channels for the international circulation of music. The discantus-tenor framework of Triller's hymn appears also in earlier sources, albeit with different texts. The first is the late fifteenth-century manuscript D-B MS Mus 40021, where it has the text *Regiae stirpis*. As Rudolf Gerber has shown, this text is a hymn for Saint Sebaldus of Nuremberg, written by the humanist Conrad Celtis (1459–1508) most likely during his stay in the city. Accordingly, Gerber proposed that the composition appearing in D-B MS Mus 40021 originated there. Cf. (Gerber 1949, 112–126). Since the veneration of Saint Sebaldus of Nuremberg spread to Silesia in the second half of the fifteenth-century (Kaczmarek 2013, 198), the polyphonic setting might have arrived there together with the cult of the saint. Note however that this composition was evidently sung in different contexts, and it could have reached Silesia following other paths. Besides the texts in honour of Saint Sebaldus and Saint Anna, it also appears with the Marian text *En tibi carmen* in the manuscript D-Z MS 78,2. Most evident proof of its adaptability comes from another source, a copy of Gregor Breitkopf's *De stricta divi Hieronymi vita carmen Sapphicum* (Leipzig: Jakob Thanner 1504) held in D-Mu. In this print, an unidentified scribe copied a textless version of the composition discussed here, with the rubric 'Melodia carminum super quodlibet sapphicon'. Evidently, it also served as model for singing Sapphic stanzas. See (Hartmann 1976, 42–47).

<sup>67</sup> See the rubric 'De sancta Dorothea Introitus' in D-Z 17.8.39, fol. 111r.

<sup>68</sup> No. 6 *Martir felix insignita* (with the text *Martir Christi insignitus/a*), no. 12 *In natali domini*, no. 13 *Nobis est natus hodie*, no. 94 *Dorothea coronata* (with the text *Resurgenti nazareno*), no. 68 *Prelustri elucientia*, no. 48 *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum praemia*.

<sup>69</sup> No. 65 *Felici peccatrici* (with the texts *Felici amatrici* and *Felici peccatrici*), no. 12 *In natali domini* (with the texts *In natali domini* and *In hac die*), no. 94 *Dorothea coronata* (with the texts *Dorothea coronata* and *Resurgenti nazareno*), no. 39 *Cedit hyems eminus* (copied twice with the same text), no. 48 *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum praemia*.

<sup>70</sup> There is extensive secondary literature on the Speciálník and the Franus Codices. As an introduction see (Mráčková 2002), (Mráčková 2009a) and (Mráčková 2009b). On CZ-CHRM 12580 see (Graham 2006, 153–155). Regarding CZ-KUm 88/85 see (Černý 2006).

<sup>71</sup> (Horyna 2003, 305). Among the 'polyphonic concordances' between Triller's hymnbook and literati sources Horyna lists *In Dorothee festo* and *Nicolai solemnia sua preces familia*, the models of Triller's hymns nos. 77 and 83. However, I was not able to find any exact concordance of these two settings.

crown). Nonetheless, I believe that we should be cautious in labelling this corpus in Triller's hymnbook 'Bohemian' (or 'Utraquist'). The question is whether this repertory was appropriated by hymnbook's editor, or whether it constituted a pre-existing intersection between the musical cultures of Silesia and Bohemia. At first I will seek to evaluate this issue irrespective of Triller's statements in the paratexts,<sup>72</sup> since I believe that the narrative constructed by Triller and the actual content of the hymnbook should be analysed separately. Subsequently, I will weigh the results of the philological examination against Triller's statements in order to assess whether the two are compatible with one another.

Since we do not possess Triller's antigraphs, we can only investigate the relation between *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* and non-Silesian musical sources through philological analysis, evaluating the proximity or the distance between the readings in Triller's hymnbook and those preserved in other manuscripts. Admittedly, this method has one major limitation: Valentin Triller was musically literate (although I do not know to what extent), and as such he was probably inclined to intervene in his models.<sup>73</sup> I have argued elsewhere that he might have normalised the mensuration and note values of the polyphonic hymns,<sup>74</sup> and it is possible that at times he also intervened more deeply in their musical texts. Accordingly, some variants in Triller's hymnbook might represent not the reception of an independent tradition, but an innovation introduced by the editor.

These reservations notwithstanding, a comparison between Triller's hymnbook and the Bohemian concordances yields interesting results. Martin Horyna has already pointed out some differences regarding parts and scoring.<sup>75</sup> Besides a shared discantus-tenor framework, most of Triller's hymns have additional or substitutive parts that do not appear in the Bohemian sources (all aspects that are easily visible in Appendix C). The scoring is also different: while the settings in the Bohemian sources are often scored for voices with a similar ambitus, in Triller's hymnbook the parts mostly lie in different registers. Horyna has related this convincingly to different contexts behind the sources: while the Bohemian manuscripts were intended for the ensembles of adults who provided music in the Utraquist communities, sources like Triller's evidently

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<sup>72</sup> In this regard, Martin Horyna proposed that Triller consciously 'imported from abroad' some of his models. This hypothesis is based on Horyna's interpretation of the first lines of Triller's preface. Horyna suggests that Triller's complaints about the 'foreign melodies' wrongly notated in 'certain other hymnbooks' imply that he printed these 'foreign melodies' in his hymnbook, obviously in correct form. Cf. (Horyna 2003, 304, 308). I do not agree with Horyna's reading of this passage, since Triller does not state anywhere that he has corrected the 'foreign melodies', nor that these appear in his hymnbook. That being said, it is certainly possible that Triller did derive at least part of his repertory from 'foreign' hymnbooks, but he does not say that in the preface. Once again, it is fundamental to keep separate the discourses Triller constructed in the paratexts and his actual editorial activity.

<sup>73</sup> For a discussion of similar methodological issues, see (Hlávková-Mráčková 2013). The author analyses the relation between the Žagaň partbooks and the Codex Speciálník.

<sup>74</sup> (Chemotti 2019, 16–19).

<sup>75</sup> (Horyna 2003, 306–307).

also aimed at groups involving the high register of boys.<sup>76</sup>

Besides these general differences, it is fundamental to also assess variants through a note-by-note comparison, irrespective of notational issues and transpositions. This is not the place for a detailed analysis of each setting, but I will nonetheless discuss two examples that are characterised by very different textual transmissions, which conveys an idea of the range of possibilities.

### *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum*

I will begin the analysis with an example of great proximity between Triller's contrafactum and the Bohemian Utraquist sources: the abovementioned *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum*, the model for Triller's hymn no. 48 *Komb güttiger unnd tewrer Got – Ein reicher milter Geist*.<sup>77</sup> In order to reveal the scale of problems involved in the transmission of this music, I will take a step back and consider both textual and musical features of the setting.

*Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* is a three-voice polytextual motet that belongs to the core repertory of the Utraquist Church in Bohemia. I am aware of eight Utraquist manuscripts that contain this setting, copied between the 1480s–1490s (the Codex Speciálník) and the 1530s (CZ-CH 12580 and CZ-KLm 403). In all these sources, *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* is written in black mensural notation. The motet also served as a model for vernacular contrafacta within Utraquist circles, as attested by the Czech contrafactum *Zavítej k nám svatý Duše* that appears in manuscripts CZ-VO and CZ-TEm 2. All in all, the Utraquist tradition of this motet is very stable, and there are only a few variants in the musical text, most of which are just notational details that can be regarded as synonymous (see the critical apparatus in Appendix D/1).

The motet has a bipartite structure highlighted by a change in texting and mensuration: a polytextual section in imperfect prolation (henceforth section 1) is followed by a monotextual section in perfect prolation (henceforth section 2). The Latin texts read as follows (I transcribed the text from the Speciálník Codex, but note that all the Utraquist sources have the very same text):

Section 1 (imperfect prolation, polytextual)

[Discantus I]: *Veni sancte spiritus*

[Discantus II]: *Da gaudiorum premia da gratiarum munera dissolve litis  
vincula astringe pacis federa veni sancte spiritus*

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<sup>76</sup> (Horyna 2003, 306). Horyna seems to imply that Triller's top parts are an octave higher than their counterparts in Bohemian sources, but this is not the case. Triller's versions are generally transposed to a different finalis, with the top part lying a fourth or a fifth above the corresponding part in the Bohemian sources. Cf. Appendix C.

<sup>77</sup> Modern edition in (Chemotti 2019, 64–65). A recording of this hymn, performed by Schola Gregoriana Pragensis (David Eben), is available at the Sound Memories YouTube channel, <<https://youtu.be/PjElal5NbjA>>, accessed 17 July 2019.

[Tenor]: Veni sancte spiritus

Section 2 (perfect prolation, monotextual):

[Discantus I, discantus II, and tenor]: Da nobis Christe carmen modulantibus coniungi letis regni sedibus ut cum electis simus in celestibus consortes angelorum civibus.<sup>78</sup>

The text's Pentecostal character is evident from the invocation 'veni sancte spiritus' that appears in each part of section 1, which is reminiscent of chants for Pentecost. The first four verses of *Da gaudiorum* also appear in several chants,<sup>79</sup> while the text of section 2 is known only from this motet. Notwithstanding the verbal intertextuality with the liturgical repertory, none of the motet's parts seem to quote any pre-existing melody, but this is common for this sort of composition.<sup>80</sup>

While writing his contrafactum *Komb güttiger unnd tewrer Got – Ein reicher milter Geist*, Valentin Triller adopted the most prominent features of the Latin model with regard to content and structure:

Section 1 (imperfect *tempus diminutum*, polytextual):

Discant: Komb güttiger und tewrer Got du heilger Geist gib hilff und rath / hilff deiner werden Christenheit Das sie bleib inn der einigkeit / Deine Salbung ist uns immer not / Die uns mus leren und bekeren unser hertz zu Got

Discant: Ein reicher milter Geist / welchen Christus von dem Vater zu senden verheischt / ist mit gaben kommen dar / zu seiner Christenheit / inn der herrligkeit / Macht sie wol gemut / unnd gibt das sie recht kennet das ewige gut

[Tenor]: Komb güttiger und trewer Got / Heiliger Geist / gib uns deinen trost und raht / inn der höchsten noht

Section 2 (proportion '3', monotextual):

Discant, discant, and [tenor]: O Her wir schreien aller zu der gnaden dein / Du wollest unser Sünden gnedig sein / Und deine gaben uns verleihen mildiglich Das wir dich preisen ietz unnd ewiglich.

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<sup>78</sup> Section 1: 'Come, Holy Ghost. Grant us joyous rewards, grant us gracious gifts, loosen the chains of conflict, bind the covenants of peace. Come, Holy Ghost'. Section 2: 'Christ, let us who sing this song reach the happy seat of your kingdom, that we may be sharers with the angels amongst the chosen citizens of heaven'. English translation by Leofranc Holford-Strevens from the liner notes of La Morra, *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz: Fifteenth-century music from Central Europe* (Glossa GCD 922515, 2016).

<sup>79</sup> The *Analecta Hymnica* record them as additional strophes in the hymns *Plasmator hominis Deus* (AH 2, 33–34 and AH 51, 38), *O trinitas laudabilis* (AH 43, 12–13), and *Veni creator spiritus* (AH 50, 193–194). Moreover, the very same text appears also as the verse of the responsory CAO 6777, *Gloria patri genitaeque proli*.

<sup>80</sup> (Gancarczyk forthcoming).

Although the German contrafactum consists of much longer texts that adapt syllabically to the music, and is not a translation of the Latin model, Triller retained the Latin text's general content, focusing on the Holy Spirit and its works. Even the inclusion of *Komb güttiger unnd tewrer Got – Ein reicher milter Geist* among the *de tempore* hymns for Pentecost can be interpreted as a reception of earlier performing traditions of the Latin motet (see chapter 3.2). Furthermore, Triller maintained the polytextuality of section 1, even enhancing it (note that discant I and the tenor have two different texts), thus creating a very unusual example of a polytextual Lutheran hymn. He also followed the Latin model in the change to monotextuality in section 2.

If we consider the musical text, we notice several substantial differences, although all of them are compatible with the hypothesis that Triller knew *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* in the same form that is recorded in the Utraquist sources. With regard to the composition's overall structure, note that Triller's hymnbook foresees a da capo repetition after section 2. Although this repetition is not present in most Utraquist sources, it is not Triller's innovation either, since it is explicitly notated in the Franus Codex and in CZ-Pnm XIII A 2.<sup>81</sup> The da capo repetition might have been taken for granted by most scribes, who accordingly did not feel the need to notate it, or perhaps different 'forms' of the motet simply coexisted.

Notation and finalis, by contrast, are distinctive of Triller's version: *Komb güttiger unnd tewrer Got – Ein reicher milter Geist* is the only copy in white mensural notation with mensural signs, and it resorts to note values double than those used in the black mensural notation of the Utraquist sources. Moreover, it is transposed a fifth lower with finalis A.<sup>82</sup> This downward transposition would appear to contradict the abovementioned predilection for high registers, but can be explained as a desire for adaptability to different performing forces. In fact, a rubric on fol. N4v explains that *Komb güttiger unnd tewrer Got – Ein reicher milter Geist* can be performed as notated (with the range restricted to a tenth), but also with the second discantus one octave higher. Thus, this part would lie a fourth above the corresponding part in the Utraquist sources, and it could be easily performed by boy trebles.

These innovations regarding note values and transposition might have been introduced 'mechanically' by the editor, an impression that is reinforced by the fact that all the motet's other sources consistently use halved note values and the final E. The comparison of the readings of the musical text in Triller's hymnbook with the Utraquist sources confirms the great proximity between the two, irrespective of notation and transpositions. The differences are really minimal, mostly involving passing notes filling

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<sup>81</sup> In Triller's hymnbook it is not clear, though, whether just section 1 should be repeated after section 2 (ABA), or both sections 1 and 2 (ABAB). The same issue also pertains to the notation of the refrain in the Franus Codex and in CZ-Pnm XIII A 2.

<sup>82</sup> The transposition to A without flats changes the composition's mode, but singers who were acquainted with the Phrygian model probably supplied the flats in performance. On this issue see (Chemotti 2019, 34–35).

intervals of a third or other tiny melodic and rhythmic differences (see, for instance, Musical example 4, discant II bar 19). It should be noted that, with one single exception,<sup>83</sup> none of the variants that occur in Triller's *Komb güttiger unnd tewrer Got – Ein reicher milter Geist* appear in any other source. Some might have been introduced by Triller to underlay the text of his contrafactum, see, for instance, tenor bars 12 and 20 (Musical example 4). The only essential difference between Utraquist sources and *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* concerns tenor bars 13–17 (Musical example 4). The prolonged A causes a strong dissonance at bar 15, but in the context of Triller's polyphonic hymns this passage is not problematic and should not be regarded as a printing error.

All in all, *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* gives the impression of a stable transmission of this music. Since all the concordant sources pertain to the Utraquist tradition and were copied in Bohemia, one might feel justified in calling it a 'Bohemian' or 'Utraquist' setting that Valentin Triller adapted to the needs of the Lutheran communities of Silesia.

Without denying Triller's reliance on the line of tradition represented by the Utraquist sources, things become less linear if we consider the broader history of the motet *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum*. As a matter of fact, the version we find in Utraquist sources and in Triller's hymnbook is the re-elaboration of an older motet that already circulated in the early fifteenth century. Table 8 lists all the sources of *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* and its contrafacta, indicating their dating and provenance,<sup>84</sup> and with an alphanumerical system identifying the version of the motet they transmit. This distinction into versions is to a certain extent arbitrary, and it serves merely to make references to the versions easier in the following discussion.

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<sup>83</sup> Discant II bar 4 of Triller's contrafactum differs from the Utraquist sources of the Latin motet, but it matches the variant we find in the Czech contrafacta in CZ-VO and CZ-TE<sub>m</sub> 2.

<sup>84</sup> See the following secondary literature for the dating and provenance of the sources: H-Bn Ms. lat. 243, (Gancarczyk forthcoming); H-Bu U.Fr.I.ch. 297, (Brewer 1990); CZ-OP RC-4, (Ciglbauer and Gancarczyk 2017); D-TRs 322/1994, (Gancarczyk forthcoming); CZ-Ps DA III 17, (Hrábek 2018); CZ-HK II A 7, (Mráčková 2002); CZ-HKm II A 6, (Mráčková 2009b); CZ-Pnm XIII A 2, (Graham 2006, 462–465); CZ-KUm 88/85, (Černý 2006); CZ-CH 12580, (Graham 2006, 153–155); CZ-KLm 403, (Graham 2006, 233–236); CZ-Pu 59 R 5116, (Mjachká 1999); CZ-VO, (Gancarczyk 2017); CZ-TE<sub>m</sub> 2, (Gancarczyk 2017).

Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein

11

Discant [I]

Discant [II]

[Tenor]

8

8

Hei - li - ger Geist

Hilff

dei - ner wer - den

zu sen - den ver - heischt

ist mit ga - ben

CZ-HK II A 7

[Discantus]

[Discantus]

[Tenor]

8

8

e - - - ni

e - - - ni

dis - - sol - ve li - tis

san - -

17

D [I]

D [II]

[T]

8

8

Chris - ten - heit Das sie bleib inn der ei - nig - keit

komb

güt - ti - ger

kom - men dar zu sei - ner Chris - ten - heit

[D]

[D]

[T]

8

8

vin - cu - la a - strin - ge pa - cis fe - de - ra

san - - - - - cte

cte

Musical example 4: Triller's no. 48 *Komb göttiger unnd tewrer Got – Ein reicher milter Geist* bars 11–22 compared to *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* (CZ-HK II A 7)

Table 8: Sources of *Veni sancte spiritus* – *Da gaudiorum*

Source	Date	Provenance	Text	Version
H-Bn Ms. lat. 243, 49v–50r	c. 1400	Moravia?	Latin	A1
H-Bu U.Fr.I.ch. 297 (fragment)	Early fifteenth century?	Hungary?	Latin	A (?)
CZ-OP RC 4, 96v	c. 1431–35	Opava (Silesia)?	Latin	A1
D-TRs 322/1994, 211v–212r	Second quarter of the fifteenth century	Germany? Bohemia?	Latin	A2
CZ-Ps DA III 17, 66v–67v	Mid-fifteenth century	Bohemia?	Latin	A3
CZ-HK II A 7, 252r	Stage I (completed before 1495)	Prague?, Utraquist	Latin	B
CZ-Pu 59 R 5116, 652–653	c. 1500	Bohemia, Utraquist	Latin	B
CZ-HKm II A 6, 335v–336r	1505	Hradec Králové, Utraquist	Latin	B
CZ-Pnm XIII A 2, 368v–369r	1512	Kolín nad Labem, Utraquist	Latin	B
CZ-KUm 88/85, 317v–318r	Beginning of the sixteenth century	Kutná Hora?, Utraquist	Latin	B
CZ-CH 12580, 324v	1530	Prague/Chrudim, Utraquist	Latin	B
CZ-KLm CS KL 403, 473v–474r	1537	Prague/Klatovy, Utraquist	Latin	B
CZ-VO, 223v–225r	1537–1540	Prague/Vodňany, Utraquist	Czech	B
<i>Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein</i>	1555 and 1559	Wrocław	German	B
CZ-TEm 2, 206v–208r	1566	Prague/Teplice, Utraquist	Czech	B



I have labelled the early versions of the motet A, while the later version of the motet just discussed is labelled B. Version A has a bipartite structure, juxtaposing a poly-textual section (section 1) with a monotextual one (section 2). In contrast to version B, however, both sections 1 and 2 of version A are in major prolation, so that there is no mensural contrast between the two.

Within the same mensural plan and melodic content, the early sources of the motet transmit slightly different settings. Let us begin with H-Bn Ms. lat. 243<sup>85</sup> and CZ-OP RC 4, which share the same overall structure of section 1, built upon four repetitions of the two lower parts. Each repetition has exactly the same text and music, and accordingly they are notated just once in the sources.<sup>86</sup> The upper part, however, is notated in full: like the lower parts, it repeats four virtually identical statements of the same melodic line, but here each repetition has a different text.<sup>87</sup> Incidentally, this longer section 1 reveals the origins of the invocation 'veni sancte spiritus' that is also to be found in version B: the text in the upper part is not the sequence *Veni sancte spiritus*, but the antiphon *Veni sancte spiritus reple tuorum corda fidelium* (Cantus ID 005327), usually sung at Pentecost.

The sheer quantity of diverging sources of *Veni sancte spiritus - Da gaudiorum* makes it possible to document its development and observe the various adaptations that it underwent in the course of its long history. The shortening of section 1, for example, occurred before the motet was reworked into version B, as is attested by the manuscripts CZ-Ps DA III 17 and D-TRs 322/1994.<sup>88</sup> Both sources transmit versions very close to A-1 with regard to mensura and counterpoint, but with a shortened section 1. CZ-Ps DA III 17 reduces it to two statements, while D-TRs 322/1994 has one single statement. The verbal text is also altered accordingly,<sup>89</sup> and the top voice of D-TRs 322/1994 only intones 'veni sancte spiritus', just like version B. Note also that D-TRs 322/1994 foresees the da capo repetition of section 1 after section 2, which does not appear in any of the early versions of the motet. It should be added that another source contains version A of the motet, H-Bu U.Fr.l.ch. 297, a group of parch-

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<sup>85</sup> Modern edition in (Černý et al. 2005, 91-95). Note however that this is not a critical edition and the editors altered details of the musical text without marking their interventions.

<sup>86</sup> Since both melody and rhythm are repeated exactly there is no need to call this motet isorhythmic. Cf. (Bent 2008b, 128).

<sup>87</sup> H-Bn Ms. lat. 243 has just minimal differences between repetitions: compare, for instance, bars 13 and 31 of the edition in (Černý et al. 2005, 91-95). CZ-OP RC 4, instead, noticeably alters the first seven breves of the fourth repetition.

<sup>88</sup> Modern edition of D-TRs 322/1994 in (Ewerhart 1953, 45-46).

<sup>89</sup> The text in the top part of CZ-Ps DA III 17 reads 'Veni sancte spiritus reple tuorum corda fidelium', while the lower part expands the polytextuality of section 1 by underlaying the second repetition with a new text beginning 'Veni rex conditor' (the rest is not legible because the lower margin has been trimmed).

ment fragments removed from the binding of a chant book.<sup>90</sup> A complete transcription is impossible, but it is clear that these fragments transmit version A of the motet, with at least two repetitions of the top part.<sup>91</sup>

Whoever created version B probably already knew *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* in its shortened version, most likely in a form close to D-TRs 322/1994, and applied to it the contrast between minor and major prolation. This obviously also required the rearrangement of the individual parts. Generally speaking, the melodic contours are recognisable, but there are many rhythmic and melodic modifications. Moreover, version B exhibits a very different counterpoint, avoiding the most exposed parallel perfect consonances as well as the characteristic unisons between the upper parts. We notice also an overt preference for imperfect consonances.

Taking into consideration the geographical distribution of version A, it is evident that its history cannot be forced into a regional narrative. Evidently, this setting was well loved and had a wide circulation, also in Silesia, as it is suggested by the recently discovered manuscript CZ-OP RC 4.<sup>92</sup> It has even been proposed that *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* served as model for *Pneuma eucaristiarum – Veni vere – Dator eia – Paraclito tripudia*, a celebrated motet by the cleric, poet, and composer Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz.<sup>93</sup> Sometime in the fifteenth century, version A fell into disuse, and the motet survived in a re-elaborated form in Utraquist circles (version B). It was this version B that the editor of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* used for his contrafactum, which implies a reception through Bohemia, since version B seems to have first appeared there. This scenario matches research by Hlávková, who argued that some compositions in the Silesian manuscript PL-Wu RM 5892 (the so-called Wrocław Codex) arrived there via Utraquist circles.<sup>94</sup>

To conclude, the tradition history of the motet *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* gives the impression of a tight network between Silesia and Bohemia, and it suggests that Triller relied on a Utraquist repertory for creating at least part of his hymnbook. However, it would be misleading to take one composition as representative of a whole corpus, and if we proceed to consider other concordances between *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* and the Utraquist sources, the scenario becomes more multifaceted.

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<sup>90</sup> (Brewer 1990, 11–15).

<sup>91</sup> In the fragment, it is possible to identify a textual and musical portion corresponding to the word 'fidelium', which according to the other sources occurs in the second repetition of the top part. I would like to thank Charles Brewer for sharing his reproduction and transcription of this fragment with me.

<sup>92</sup> (Ciglbauer and Gancarczyk 2017).

<sup>93</sup> (Gancarczyk forthcoming).

<sup>94</sup> (Mráčková 2007).

### *Martir felix insignita*

We can analyse Triller's hymn no. 6 *Wolauff last uns frölich singen* as a counterexample.<sup>95</sup> The model of this contrafactum is a two-part song that appears in two Utraquist manuscripts, the Speciálník Codex (CZ-HKm II A 7) and the Chrudim Graduale (CZ-CHRM 12580), as well as in D-Z 17.8.39. Just as in the motet discussed above, the Utraquist sources are extremely close to each other (cf. Appendix D/2). Triller's model, on the other hand, already differed from Utraquist sources in the text incipit: the title rubric in *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* identifies the hymn tune as *Martyr felix insignita*, while both the Speciálník Codex and Chrudim Graduale begin with *Martir Christi insignitus/insignita*. The text in the Utraquist sources is as follows:

Martir Christi insignitus/insignita	1
Deicis fulgoribus	
castitate prepositus/preposita	
summis ac honoribus	
nunc lauda cantu dulciter	5
vocem dans suaviter	
Dei patris filium	
castitatis lilium	
qui dignum/digna sibi famulum/famula	
sanctum/sancta elegit martirem. <sup>96</sup>	10

This song focuses on a 'martyr of Christ', but it does not make any precise reference to a specific martyr, neither by name nor by recalling hagiographical details. By virtue of its generic content, it was able to fit different ritual contexts, as long as they were dedicated to a martyr. Male or female inflections would have been changed accordingly, as indicated in both manuscripts.

Let us now consider Triller's contrafactum:<sup>97</sup>

Wolauff last uns frölich singen	1
Got dem herrn von ewigkeit	
Last uns zu seim lobe dringen /	
es wird uns nicht misselingen	
zu der selen seligkeit	5

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<sup>95</sup> Modern edition in (Chemotti 2019, 41–44). A recording of this hymn, performed by Anonymous III (Michael Bell, Gopal Kambo, Stephen Matthews), is available on the Sound Memories YouTube channel, <<https://youtu.be/84GkDJJyDc>>, accessed 17 July 2019.

<sup>96</sup> 'O martyr of Christ, you who have been elevated to the highest honours for your chastity, and crowned with light. Now, gently spreading your voice, praise sweetly with songs the son of God the Father, the lily of purity, who chose for himself the holy martyr as his worthy servant'.

<sup>97</sup> The text is transcribed from [discantus], fols. C2r–C3r.

Denn er ist gar ein trewer got	
der sein wort gehalten hat /	
welcher auch vor langer zeit	
hat versprochen ferr und weit /	
wie er mich aller sünd und schuldt	10
dorfür ich ewig leiden solt /	
durch seinen son benehmen wolt	
Darumb wolt zu hertzen nehmen /	
euch nicht seines lobes schemen	
seidt mit lob und danck bereit	15
Denn solche liebe niemand findt /	
das jmand sein einig kind	
für ein frembden schnöden man	
geben solt wie hie ist gethan /	
zu dem sein son auch willig war /	20
gab sich fur uns inn todes fahr /	
das er uns brecht zur engel schar	
Singet nu aus reinem hertzen /	
weil wir von der Hellen schmerzen	
sind durch Christum gar gefreyt	25
O Herr durch deinen trewen bund	
thu mir auff das hertz und mund	
dich zuloben stetiglich	
auch zuthun gantz williglich /	
den willen dein alhie auff Erd /	30
halt uns auch fest bey deiner herd /	
denn du bist alles lobes werd.	

First of all, it should be noted that Triller did not translate the Latin model, nor did he retain its general topic as with the motet *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum*. While the Latin text of *Martir Christi insignitus/a* focuses on a martyr, Triller's *Wolauff last uns frölich singen* is a hymn of praise to God and His Son. As I have argued above, it is likely that Triller knew *Martyr felix insignita* in association with the cult of Saint Barbara (see chapter 3.2). The redirection of the song from a saint to God Himself could be the consequence of the editor's Lutheran faith, and it should be noted that the *sanctorale* section of Triller's hymnbook indeed only contains hymns for saints whose authority rests on the Holy Scriptures (see chapter 3.1).

Besides the innovations regarding textual content introduced by the contrafactum, the Utraquist sources and Triller's version also display evident formal differences. The Latin text is organised in three sections (verses 1–2, 3–4, and 5–10), highlighted in the sources by the use of longae to mark the end of a section, barlines, and capitalised text incipits. This structure is reworked significantly in Triller's contrafactum: the music

corresponding to verses 3–4 (Appendix D/2, bars 15–27) and 5–10 (Appendix D/2, bars 28–48) of the Latin text is repeated three times with different texts, so that *Wolauß last uns frölich singen* becomes a strophic song (verses 3–33)<sup>98</sup> with a monostrophic introduction (verses 1–2).<sup>99</sup> Admittedly, Triller might have decided to abandon the form of the model autonomously, but it is also possible that the *Martir felix insignita* he knew already had a strophic text, and he replicated this feature in his contrafactum.<sup>100</sup>

With regard to the finalis and notation, *Wolauß last uns frölich singen* behaves like most other settings. Compared to Utraquist sources, discantus and tenor are transposed a fifth higher and a fourth lower respectively in order to have the two parts in different registers. Note values are doubled, and the ternary metre of the major prolation is substituted by a free-standing proportion  $\Phi$  3. Moreover, Triller's contrafactum has an additional part labelled contratenor, which occupies the range between the tenor and the discantus. As stated in a rubric on fol. C4r, this contratenor is optional.

*Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*

[Discantus] Wol - auff wol - auff last uns

Contratenor Wol - auff

[Tenor] Wol - auff wol - auff last uns

CZ-HK II A 7

[Discantus] Mar - tir Mar - tir Chri - sti

Tenor

<sup>98</sup> Bars 19–80 in (Chemotti 2019, 41–44).

<sup>99</sup> Bars 1–18 in (Chemotti 2019, 41–44).

<sup>100</sup> The copy of this song in D-Z 17.8.39, fols. 32r–34r offers some hints in this regard. Two strophes underlie the top part (*Martir felix insignita* and another illegible text), while a third different text (*Instat vere precibus*) underlies the lower part. This could suggest polytextuality, or simply a strophic performance of the entire song with three different strophes.

5

[D] frö - lich sin - gen Got dem

C

[T] frö - lich sin - gen Got dem

8

[D] in - si - gni - tus De - i -

T

12

[D] herrn von e - wig - keit von e - wig - keit

C

[T] herrn von e - wig - keit von e - wig - keit

[D] - cis ful - go - ri - bus ful - go - ri - bus

T

Musical example 5: Triller's no. 6 *Wolauff last uns frölich singen*  
bars 1-18 compared to *Martir Christi insignitus/insignita* (CZ-HK II A 7)

Besides these textual, formal, and notational differences, the analysis of the variants in the musical text suggests a scenario very different to *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum*. The first macroscopic variant in Triller's version concerns the incipit (see

Musical example 5 bars 1–2).<sup>101</sup> Instead of the elaborate melisma we find in Utraquist sources, *Wolauff last uns frölich singen* has a much simpler formula aptly echoing other cadential prolongations that appear later in the hymn (compare discantus bars 1–2 with bars 9–10, 25–26, 33–34, 46–47, 59–60, 71–72). It is difficult to say who shortened this melisma. The descending fourth with rhythm Br M M Br also recurs insistently in the contratenor (see, for instance, Musical example 5, bars 14–15), so that I am tempted to ascribe the composition of this part and the re-elaboration of the opening melisma to the same person. Was this Valentin Triller, who on some occasions re-texted melismatic models in a syllabic fashion? A comparison with another polyphonic hymns with similar opening melisma shows that there is no coherent stance on the matter in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*. Consider, for instance, *Praelustri elucentia*, which served as the model for no. 68 *Rein und besser ist Gottes wort*:<sup>102</sup> here the eight-breve-long melisma is left unaltered and texted in a melismatic style. Accordingly, it is difficult to say whether the incipit of *Wolauff last uns frölich singen* was shortened by Triller or already appeared in this form in his antigraph.

			
CZ-HKm II A 7, 263v: [discantus]	CZ-HKm II A 7, 263v: tenor	CZ-CHRM 12580, 332v: [discantus]	CZ-CHRM 12580, 332v: tenor

Plate 3: The opening melisma of *Martir Christi insignitus/insignita* in CZ-HKm II A 7 and CZ-CHRM 12580

In addition, the melisma of *Martir Christi insignitus/a* is notated ambiguously in the Utraquist sources (compare Plate 3 and Musical example 5). The mensural and rhythmic meaning of the top part is unclear because of the absence of *puncta perfectionis*.<sup>103</sup> Even Utraquist scribes had doubts on the correct interpretation of this passage, as it is suggested by the different notation of the tenor in the Speciálník Codex and in the Chrudim Graduale. If such notational inconsistencies also characterised other sources of the song, it is possible that whoever elided the melisma did so because he could not make sense of what he read in the antigraphs.

Besides the divergences just discussed, Triller's *Wolauff last uns frölich singen* displays several other variants that do not appear in the Utraquist sources. As a whole,

<sup>101</sup> See the critical apparatus of Appendix D/2 for details on the transcription of CZ-HKm II A 7.

<sup>102</sup> Modern edition in (Chemotti 2019, 70–72).

<sup>103</sup> I would like to thank Lenka Hlávková for her help in interpreting this passage.

Triller's version is based on a different understanding of counterpoint: the parallel perfect consonances that often occur in the Utraquist sources are not present in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* (see, for instance, Musical example 5, bars 5–6 and bars 10–11), and some of the most exposed dissonances are also avoided (see Musical example 5, bar 11). There are around forty passages that differ from the Utraquist sources, quite a high number in a hymn that is only eighty breves long.

I do not think that the hymnbook's editor can be considered responsible for taming the counterpoint of this setting. If he paid any attention to this aspect, we would expect him to have edited similar passages in other hymns, but this is not the case. In fact, other polyphonic settings in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* display parallel perfect consonances and evident dissonances, and the editor left them untouched. See, for instance, the parallel unisons and fifths in no. 8 *O herr Gott vater wir singen dir* (Musical example 6).

24

Discant

dein mag hertz dein gantz thun ge - ver - nei - gnü - get gen

Tenor

8

dein mag hertz dein gantz thun ge - ver - nei - gnü - get gen

Bass

8

Musical example 6: Triller's no. 8 *O herr Gott vater wir singen dir* bars 24–27

It should be noted, moreover, that the differences between *Martir Christi insignitus/insignita* and Triller's *Wolauß last uns frölich singen* are not due to the song's chronological development: the copy in the Specíálník Codex was inscribed in the late fifteenth century, but the copy in the Chrudim Graduale was executed as late as 1530, a date compatible with Triller's encounters with this song.

All things considered, it is probable that the source(s) available to Triller already transmitted a version of *Martyr felix insignita* quite remote from Utraquist sources. This hypothesis is strengthened by D–Z 17.8.39, a manuscript most likely copied in Zwickau for the local school.<sup>104</sup> D–Z 17.8.39 contains a *Martyr felix insignita* that displays several variants both with the Utraquist sources and with Triller's hymnbook, suggesting that the song circulated in different though related forms before Triller used it as model for

<sup>104</sup> See (Horyna 2003, 305 n. 71). This source was probably copied by Stephan Roth, rector of the local Latin school, and it is usually dated to the end of the 1510s (Schlüter 2010, 271). Note that Schlüter uses the old signature D–Z 84,2. On Stephan Roth and his music library see (Schlüter 2010, 248–277).



his contrafactum. Unlike with *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* discussed above, there is no need to postulate a direct mediating role of the Bohemian Utraquists for Triller's reception of *Martyr felix insignita*. The setting might well have been composed in Bohemia at some point in the fifteenth century, but given the differences between the Utraquist tradition and Triller's contrafactum, it is likely that it had its own 'non-Utraquist' history before being contrafacted by Triller, a history that probably also took place in Silesia, the lack of sources notwithstanding.

### Regional repertoires?

If we were to analyse each concordance between Triller's hymnbook and Utraquist sources, we would notice that a close relation like the one observed in *Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* is more the exception than the norm. In my opinion, the impression that we are dealing with a strongly 'Bohemian' repertoire here is due simply to the quantitative preponderance of Utraquist manuscripts among the surviving sources. This quantitative preponderance, however, does not necessarily mirror the distribution and circulation of music in the first half of the sixteenth century. I do not wish to deny the possible (or even likely) Bohemian origin of many of these settings, but simply want to underscore that this repertoire was 'at home' in different contexts, including outside of Bohemia. This is also suggested by two sources repeatedly mentioned in the previous remarks, D-Z 17.8.39 and D-Mbs Clm 11943, written in Saxony and South Germany (probably Bavaria) respectively. Both sources display repertorial affinities with Utraquist sources and with *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*,<sup>105</sup> and they were copied later than the early Utraquist manuscripts, but before the publication of Triller's hymnbook.

All in all, Paweł Gancarczyk's statement that the interregional circulation of music in central Europe cannot be understood through a simple dichotomy between the 'local' and the 'international' also applies to this repertoire.<sup>106</sup> I would argue that it is not always profitable to frame repertoires within regional borders, especially when their distribution is much better understood in terms of cultural proximity between neighbouring regions.

Moreover, the definition of repertoires in geographical terms is not as neutral as it seems. Labels that mirror the provenance of the sources might appear historically correct: after all, why not define as Bohemian a repertoire that is chiefly transmitted in sources produced in Bohemia? However, the place of production of a group of sources

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<sup>105</sup> With regard to the relations between D-Z 17.8.39 and the Bohemian repertoire see (Horyna 2003, 305 n. 71) and (Schlüter 2010, 271–276). D-Mbs Clm 11943 exhibits further relations with the polyphonic repertory of Triller's hymnbook in addition to the 'real' concordances listed in Appendix C. As a matter of fact, it contains other polyphonic settings on some of the cantus firmi that appear also in *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*. See fol. 82r *Nunc festum celebremus* (Triller no. 58), fol. 82v *Nicolai solemnia* (Triller no. 83), fol. 84v–85r *Ave Ierarchia* (Triller no. 3), fol. 86v–87r *Ihesus Christus nostra salus* (Triller no. 23), and fol. 87r *Spiritus sancti gratia* (just text, polyphonic model in Triller at no. 47).

<sup>106</sup> (Gancarczyk 2016, 32–33).

is not always the most appropriate feature to characterise a repertory, and the mechanical recourse to geographical definitions can obscure rather than clarify patterns of transmission and variance. For instance, it is likely that the differences between two versions of the same setting are due not to a geographical border between their sources, but rather to other aspects that influenced the cultivation and transmission of that setting. In other words, Triller's polyphonic model might have differed from the same setting in the *Speciálník Codex* not because one is 'Silesian' and the other 'Bohemian', but because they are rooted in different social and institutional contexts.

This being said, it is undeniable that the notion of borders plays a role in Triller's understanding of the repertory he used to create the hymnbook. When he discusses the 'foreign melodies' as opposed to the ones familiar in Silesia in the preface, is he not projecting regional and cultural borders onto the very same repertory that appears to have enjoyed an interregional circulation? How are we to reconcile these apparently contrasting perspectives?

First of all, it should be noted that we do not know exactly what Triller regarded as 'foreign'. Since we are dealing with a cultural border here, nothing tells us with any certainty that Triller saw everything that was present outside of Silesia as equally 'foreign'. His understanding of 'foreign' was probably based on the difference to what he was acquainted with. Since Triller was a German-speaking Lutheran, I would expect him to look westwards, but in terms of musical repertory he probably would have considered the Latin sacred songs of the Bohemian Utraquists as less 'foreign' than the repertory established by printing houses in Wittenberg and Nuremberg.

Moreover, the presence of this music outside Silesia does not contradict the assumption that it was also present in Silesia, the distribution of extant sources notwithstanding. Admittedly, one could object that the only real evidence for the Silesian circulation of most of Triller's polyphonic models is Triller's hymnbook itself. Furthermore, I have outlined above that the 'familiarity' of the repertory probably centred on the monodic hymn tunes rather than on their polyphonic realisations. Shall we postulate that the *cantus firmi* were part of a Silesian customary repertory, while their polyphonic guises were 'imported'? I do not think that this is a tenable explanation. I believe that Triller's collection is strong evidence that its content was available in Silesia, an evidence stronger than the absence of Silesian concordant sources. After all, there are only a handful of sources of mensural polyphony of Silesian provenance, most of them fragmentary,<sup>107</sup> and they are characterised by a high percentage of *unica*. Moreover, I have argued above that the unstable and diverse textual tradition of Triller's hymns implies a partly independent history behind the *contrafacta*, which would be compatible with the hypothesis that sources of these settings are simply lost.

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<sup>107</sup> See (Gancarczyk 2016, 33–34).

My comments above regarding the difference between Triller's musical world and our philological knowledge of it should now have become clear. If Triller considered a composition to be 'old and familiar' in Silesia, he might well not have known that the same composition was also part of the repertory of Utraquist brotherhoods in Bohemia, or of Catholic communities in Bavaria. Moreover, even if he was aware of the not exclusively Silesian character of his models, this would not have contradicted the editorial guidelines sketched in the preface. Triller stressed that the repertory was known in Silesia—its origins and circulation are musicological concerns that did not play a role in his understanding of this music.

### Secular models

As I mentioned in chapters 2.3 and 3, Triller's prefatory words set hymns based on secular models apart from the rest of the hymns (preface, lines 26–27), and I have argued that he was first and foremost referring to hymns nos. 129–145, which are indeed introduced by a rubric that identifies them as 'secular melodies'. Moreover, in the preface Triller defines these hymn tunes simply as 'well known', discussing neither their age nor their affinity with local Silesian musical traditions. These differences notwithstanding, I have shown above that Triller had retrospective preferences also with regard to these settings, as it is shown by their title rubrics.

The distinctiveness of the music included in the 'secular section', highlighted by Triller in the preface, also emerges from the analysis of the concordances listed in Appendix C. Even a cursory glance at the sources of Triller's hymn tunes reveals significant differences with the sacred repertory with regard to transmission and dissemination. While virtually none of Triller's polyphonic sacred models was issued in print before 1555,<sup>108</sup> the music of six hymns of the 'secular section' had already appeared in Lieder collections printed in Augsburg, Mainz, Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, and Nuremberg.<sup>109</sup> The sheer quantity of sources confirms that they must indeed have been 'well known', as Triller put it. Consider, for example, the model of hymn no. 142, *Tröstlicher Lieb*: this four-part setting was published in ten printed collections between 1512 and 1560, it was copied in (at least) six manuscripts, and it also served as a model for intabulations.<sup>110</sup>

The analysis of concordant sources confirms that Triller also had retrospective preferences with regard to this part of the repertory. In fact, the six hymns just men-

<sup>108</sup> The only exception is no. 10 *Ein kind geboren zu Bethleem* (*Puer natus in Bethleem*), whose discantus-tenor framework already appears in Lucas Lossius' *Psalmodia* (1553). Cf. Appendix C.

<sup>109</sup> [*Ein Maidlein (Magd, die) sagt mir freundlich zu*] (no. 131), *O werter Mund, von dir ist wund* (no. 137), *Nie noch nimmer so ruht mein G'müt* (no. 138), *Zart schöne Frau* (no. 139), *Auf dieser Erd' mein Herz begehrt* (no. 141), *Tröstlicher Lieb* (no. 142). Cf. Appendix C.

<sup>110</sup> The intabulations are not listed in Appendix C. Cf. DKL A290.

tioned were first published in the collections issued at the workshops of Erhart Öglin, Peter Schöffler the Younger, and Arnt von Aich, all dating to the second decade of the sixteenth century.<sup>111</sup> These prints are not collections of music purposely composed for the publication in question, but gather settings that were certainly already circulating, albeit probably only in specific circles. Thus it is safe to assume that the settings contrafacted by Triller might have been composed even before the 1510s: consider, for example, that the abovementioned *Tröstlicher Lieb'* is attributed in some sources to Paul Hofhaimer, an Austrian organist and composer born in 1459.<sup>112</sup>

Notwithstanding the chronological distance between Triller's hymnbook and the early sources of the polyphonic models, the transmission of these Lieder is much more stable than the Latin compositions discussed above, a state of things that might also have been influenced by the medium of print. All the sources addressed here use the same notation, while many of the Latin sacred models oscillate between black and white mensural notation. With one exception (to be discussed shortly), the note values and mensuration used in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* correspond to the ones used in all the other sources of a given setting, and the same is true for the ambitus and final of the single parts. There is no space in this repertory for the mechanical transposition of parts, nor for the flowering of alternative or additional parts, both aspects that characterised the sacred repertory discussed above.

The only structural difference between Triller's 'secular section' hymns and their models pertains the scoring: Triller's contrafacta have just three parts (discantus, tenor, and bassus), although the Lieder used as models are four-part settings, also including an altus. Because of the relatively stable transmission of these settings,<sup>113</sup> I believe that we should consider the omission of the altus as Triller's editorial choice, in the sense that he must have known these settings in four parts, but decided to reduce them to three.<sup>114</sup> The omission of the altus does not cause any contrapuntal issues, since it is not necessary to ensure the correct treatment of dissonances, and it never carries any fundamental cadential clause. However, the question of why Triller published just three parts if in all likelihood he had access to all four has yet to be explained.

First of all, it should be noted that this is not a layout issue. As I have detailed elsewhere,<sup>115</sup> the parts of Triller's polyphonic hymns are printed consecutively, so

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<sup>111</sup> On these collections, see the survey in (Schwindt 2008, 111) or (Schwindt 2010, 317).

<sup>112</sup> (Lindmayr-Brandl 2003).

<sup>113</sup> (Schwindt 2018, 449–460) discusses scoring in the German Lied repertory, showing some examples of added altus parts but highlighting the paradigmatic value of four-part scoring.

<sup>114</sup> Since polyphonic Lieder often circulated in partbooks, one might suppose that Triller had no access to the alto partbook of all his models. This would be quite an odd coincidence, however, since there is no reason to think that he obtained all the polyphonic Lieder through one single source. As I argue below, moreover, other circumstances prompted the omission of the altus.

<sup>115</sup> (Chemotti 2019, 5).

that they are almost never visible simultaneously. In the context of this simple and pragmatic layout, the editor could have easily also added the altus parts. True, this would have taken up slightly more space, but that hardly could have been considered a problem in an already voluminous publication, which as it stands numbers three hundred pages.

The omission of the altus might have been prompted by considerations regarding the average vocal skills of the intended users of the hymnbook. Triller states in the preface that he has thought of those 'who do not always know how to sing different, difficult notes and poems' (preface, lines 17–18), and it is not uncommon for altus parts of Lieder to be vocally demanding, with a wide ambitus, angular melodic lines, and complex rhythms. The altus of *Tröstlicher Lieb*, for instance, runs through a twelfth, while the other three parts rarely exceed an octave. Nonetheless, I do not think that this was Triller's concern when he decided to reduce the scoring of the Lieder. In the models of hymns no. 131 (*Ein Maidlein (Magd, die) sagt mir freundlich zu*) and no. 137 (*O werter Mund, von dir ist wund*), for example, the altus lies in a register very close to that of the tenor: anyone able to sing the latter could easily sing also the altus. Thus I would argue that Triller did not evaluate the complexity of each part individually, but just adapted the scoring of these Lieder to the rest of his polyphonic hymns, the majority of which are set for three voices (see Figure 2). Accordingly, he dropped the one part of the four-part Lieder that is not strictly necessary from a contrapuntal point of view. One wonders whether this intervention was motivated simply by an urge to standardise the hymnbook's content, or whether it was in line with a three-part performance practice with which Triller was acquainted.

If we turn back to the concordances of these Lieder and consider their geographical dissemination, Silesia seems quite remote from the early bulk of sources. Nicole Schwindt has shown that the repertory in the 1510s printed collections was strongly connected with the court of Maximilian I, who often resided in Augsburg, as well as with the court of Duke Ulrich of Württemberg, and more generally with the area of the Upper Rhine and Lake Constance.<sup>116</sup> Thus it was probably first and foremost the printed medium that enabled this repertory to circulate eastwards, paving the way for Triller's contrafacta. It is also possible that Triller himself encountered this music in print, while the Latin sacred models were certainly available only in manuscript form. Printed sources might even have constituted the antigraphs that the editor used when preparing *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*. After all, it is not uncommon to find printed or handwritten copies of a setting that were directly reproduced from a printed source.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> (Schwindt 2008, 111–112) and (Schwindt 2010, 321–322). On Lied culture at the court of Maximilian I, see also (Schwindt 2018).

<sup>117</sup> With regard to manuscripts copied from prints in German-speaking areas, see (Kmetz 2010, 168 n. 6). The songbook *Fünfundsiebzig hübsche Lieder* (Cologne: Arnt von Aich [c. 1514–1515], vdm 17) is known to be the

Without denying the fundamental role of printed sources in the dissemination and popularisation of the Lied repertory,<sup>118</sup> a detailed analysis of the variants in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* suggests that none of the printed collections listed in Appendix C served as Triller's antigraph. First of all, each hymn displays several superficial variants: *puncta augmentationis* instead of separate values, repeated values instead of one larger value (for example, two repeated minims instead of a semibreve) and so on. Admittedly, Triller could have voluntarily altered his antigraphs in this regard, but such occurrences also appear in parts that he left untexted, so that there is no apparent reason for dividing a value or substituting a *punctus augmentationis*.<sup>119</sup> It is more likely that these readings were already present in Triller's antigraphs, and were simply automatically reproduced in the hymnbook. Accordingly, I would argue that even such superficial differences indicate Triller's independence from the printed sources available to us. This assumption is strengthened by other more substantial variants, which suggests that *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* represents an independent strand in the textual tradition of these Lieder. The following case study will suffice to illustrate this point.

Triller's contrafacta and printed Lieder:  
*Ein Maidlein (Magd, die) sagt mir freundlich zu*

Let us consider no. 131 *Ach mein Got sprich mir freuntlich zu*. Its model *Ein Maidlein (Magd, die) sagt mir freundlich zu*<sup>120</sup> was printed in a Schöffers collection of 1513 (vdm 13)<sup>121</sup> as well as in Georg Forster's *Ein Außzug guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlin* (Nuremberg: Petreius 1539, vdm 48).<sup>122</sup> Forster's collection was very successful and was reprinted five times, always including *Ein Maidlein sagt mir freundlich zu* without substantial changes.<sup>123</sup> However, Forster's version differs heavily from Schöffers, and neither of the two is identical to Triller's *Ach mein Got sprich mir freuntlich zu*. First of all, while Schöffers and Triller's versions both lie in the same register, Forster's version is transposed a fourth higher. Moreover, Triller's

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exact reprint of a lost collection produced in Augsburg. See (Schwindt 2008).

<sup>118</sup> On this issue see (Schwindt 2012a, 226 and 229).

<sup>119</sup> See, for instance, the untexted bassus of no. 139 *O Mensch nu schaw bedenck die traw*, edited in (Chemotti 2019, 91–92). The two minims at bassus bar 4, 4–5 and bar 25, 4–5 appear as a semibreve in all the other printed sources. The semibreve and minim at bassus bar 10,3–11,1 are notated as a dotted semibreve in all the other printed sources.

<sup>120</sup> This Lied was discussed in (Schwindt 2006, 62–64) and (Schwindt 2018, 356–357).

<sup>121</sup> Modern edition in (Geering and Altwegg 1961, 29)

<sup>122</sup> Modern edition in (Gudewill and Heiske 1942, 34–35).

<sup>123</sup> I have personally inspected the reprints of 1543, 1549, and 1560. The critical apparatus in (Gudewill and Heiske 1942, 192) likewise does not record any difference, except the absence of the poet/composer's name in the 1539 and 1549 editions.

*Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*

12

Discantus

Tenor

Bassus

Denn mich an - ficht das ernst Ge - richt

Denn mich an - ficht das ernst Ge - richt

Denn mich an - ficht das ernst Ge - richt

[Songs for 3–4 voices], Mainz: Schöffer 1513

Discantus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

[hat wol sein fug brauns dier - lein klug]

*Ein Außzug..., Nuremberg: Petreius 1539*

Discantus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

Hat wol sein fug brauns meid - lein klug

Hat wol sein fug brauns meid - lein klug

Hat wol sein fug brauns meid - lein klug

Hat wol sein fug brauns meid - lein klug

Musical example 7: Triller's no. 131 *Ach mein Got sprich mir freuntlich zu* bars 12–17 compared to *Ein Maidlein (Magd, die) sagt mir freundlich zu* ([Songs for 3–4 voices], Mainz: Schöffer 1513 and *Ein Außzug guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlin*, Nuremberg: Johann Petreius 1539)

21

Discantus

Tenor

Bassus

bitt E - ya E - ya durch Christ ver - las mich nicht

Musical example 8: Triller's no. 131 *Ach mein Got sprich mir freuntlich zu* bars 21-27

21

Discant

Altus

Tenor

Bass

[bitt iu - iu iu - iu schöns mäd - lein mur nur nit]

Musical example 9: *Ein Magd, die sagt mir freundlich zu*  
bars 21-28 from [Songs for 3-4 voices], Mainz: Schöffner 1513

21

Discantus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

bit lu iu lu iu lu iu feins meid - lein mur nur nicht

Musical example 10: *Ein Maidlein sagt mir freundlich zu*  
bars 21-30 from *Ein Außzug guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlin*,  
Nuremberg: Johann Petreius 1539



contrafactum proceeds in breves and semibreves, whereas the values are halved in the other printed sources. Admittedly, this might be an innovation consciously introduced by Triller, who also seems to have doubled the values of his models in other instances.<sup>124</sup>

Alongside these and other smaller variants, there are two substantial differences that are decisive in my opinion. In *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, at the very beginning of the Abgesang, the melodic lines of discantus and tenor are exchanged (see Musical example 7). When compared to the two other printed sources, this passage is clearly corrupted: bassus bar 14,1 is certainly a misprint,<sup>125</sup> and the reworking in the upper parts causes parallel octaves at bar 14. While the reading in the bassus could be a typesetting error, the exchanged discantus and tenor must already have been present in the manuscript presumably given to the typesetter by Triller. It should also be noted that such an alteration is unlikely to happen inadvertently while copying linearly from separate partbooks (the format of both Schöffers' and Petreius' prints). Whoever introduced this must have done so consciously, the errors in the leading voice notwithstanding.

The difference between Triller's version and the other printed sources of this Lied is even more evident in the concluding section (compare Musical examples 8–10). The homophonic declamation of 'eya' ('iu iu' in the secular text) is stated twice in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* (and in Schöffers' print), while it appears three times in Forster's collection (Musical example 10). Moreover, Forster's version rewrites the concluding cadence, so that the Phrygian cadence to E we find in Schöffers' and Triller's prints becomes a plagal cadence to D. Although closer to each other, Schöffers' and Triller's versions display further differences. The proportion sets in earlier in Triller's hymnbook: the two exclamations 'Eya' are included in the ternary section (Musical example 8), while in Schöffers' print the iambic gesture is conveyed with minim rests in imperfect *tempus diminutum* (Musical example 9). In addition, Schöffers relies on a combination of *color* and a mensural sign to notate the proportion, while in Triller's hymnbook we simply have the numeral '3'.<sup>126</sup>

How are we to interpret these differences? Nicole Schwindt argued that Triller must have introduced them intentionally: she infers this intentionality from the fact that the

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<sup>124</sup> (Chemotti 2019, 16). Nicole Schwindt related the doubling of values to the doleful character of Triller's contrafactum. See (Schwindt 2006, 62).

<sup>125</sup> Nicole Schwindt proposed that the reading in Triller's hymnbook should be corrected to c. The parallel movement between bassus and discantus would mirror the syntax of Triller contrafactum (Schwindt 2006, 63–64). In my edition I followed the printed tradition, and corrected this tone to A. See (Chemotti 2019, 23–24 and 86). On the correction of bassus bar 14,1 see also chapter 5.2.

<sup>126</sup> Triller's use of the proportion sign '3' instead of the *color* is not related to technical limitations of the printing press: Scharffenberg did have types for notating *color*, and they are also used occasionally in Triller's hymnbook. Regarding the mensural meaning of Triller's '3', Nicole Schwindt has advocated a *proportio tripla* interpretation (Schwindt 2006, 62), while I have argued that a *sesquialtera* reading is also viable. Cf. (Chemotti 2019, 18–20).

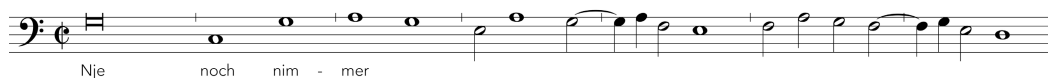
other secular Lieder contrafacted by Triller do not present comparable interventions, and Triller seems to have carefully reproduced his models. Accordingly, the modifications appearing in *Ach mein Got sprich mir freuntlich zu* must have been conscious.<sup>127</sup> I do not agree with this interpretation, and the line of reasoning could be easily reversed. All in all, I find it more likely that Triller's contrafactum simply was based on a textual tradition of *Ein Maidlein (Magd, die) sagt mir freundlich zu* partly independent of the Mainz and Nuremberg prints that are available to us nowadays.

The independence of Triller's contrafacta from the extant printed tradition of the secular Lieder is further suggested by the analysis of the other hymns. It is true that the differences are less pronounced, yet Triller's hymns display variants that do not appear in any of the printed sources of his models. Let us consider, for example, no. 138 *Nie noch nimmer hab ich erkandt*. Musical example 11 compares Triller's bassus with the corresponding part in three surviving prints published in Cologne and Frankfurt am Main between the 1510s and the 1550s. While these three prints do not display any variant in the low part (with the exception of a printing error in Arnt von Aich's songbook),<sup>128</sup> Triller's bassus often has a slightly different melodic contour (see bars 1–2, 4–5, 7, 12, 26–28). It should be added that the exclusion of the altus does not account for the changes in the bassus, nor are these due to the contrafactum, since Triller's bassus is untexted.

*Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*



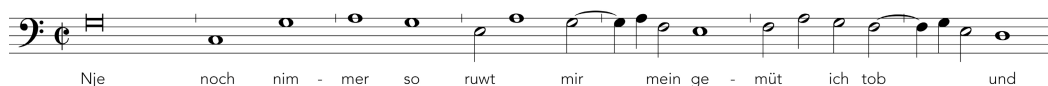
*Fünfundsiebzig hübsche Lieder*, Cologne: Arnt von Aich [c. 1514–1515]



*Gassenhawerlin*, Frankfurt am Main: Egenolff 1535



*Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin*, [Frankfurt am Main]: Egenolff [1552]



<sup>127</sup> (Schwindt 2006, 62).

<sup>128</sup> Bassus bar 27,1 is erroneously notated as Sb.

8

wüt bei dir zu - sein da - hin all mein ge - danck ich

16

setz tröst und er - getz mit tre - wen mich

24

dar ge - gen dich die - weil ich leb meinr trew ver - sich

Musical example 11: The bassus of Triller's no. 138 *Nie noch nimmer hab ich erkandt* compared to *Nie noch nimmer so ruht mein G'müt* from sixteenth-century printed sources

Likewise, the comparison published in (Slim 1981, 148–161) between Triller's no. 137 *O werder mundt durch den mir kundt* and the only surviving printed source of its model reveals a similar scenario. See, for instance, the reworked cadence in Musical example 12, bars 19–20. It is unlikely that Triller was responsible for this update of the octave-leap cadence in the bassus. In fact, he did not find octave-leap cadential clauses disturbing, since they occur in several of the polyphonic hymns he edited for *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*.<sup>129</sup>

*Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*

17

Discantus

Tenor

Bassus

zu hel - ffen uns aus not

*Fünfundsiebzig hübsche Lieder,*  
Cologne: Arnt von Aich [c. 1514–1515]

Discantus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

[ - - - ] schen die stundt]

Musical example 12: Triller's no. 137 *O werder mundt durch den mir kundt* bars 17–20 compared to *O werter Mund, von dir ist wund* (*Fünfundsiebzig hübsche Lieder*, Cologne: Arnt von Aich [c. 1514–1515])

<sup>129</sup> See, for instance, no. 3 *Als wir warn beladen*, bars 11–12, no. 40 *Erstanden ist der Herre Christ*, bars 12–13, no. 42 *Erstanden ist uns Jhesus Christ die gnad*, bars 16–17. Modern editions in (Chemotti 2019, 39, 58–60).

All things considered, Triller probably relied on a textual tradition that is certainly related to but cannot entirely be superimposed on the great sixteenth-century printed collections of Lieder that are still extant. I would argue that this prevents us from taking such collections as points of comparison for evaluating Triller's editorial choices: since we do not know the exact form of the models that constituted his contrafacta's starting point, it is impossible to assess which interventions he introduced (if any).

In addition, even where these 'particularly well known secular melodies' (preface, line 26) were concerned, Triller occasionally turned to polyphonic settings that probably just circulated locally. Consider again the 'implicitly polyphonic' hymn no. 132 *Gantz schwartz heßlich jetz lang sich hat*, a contrafactum of *Von schwarz ist mir ein Kleid* (as stated in the title rubric). As I have outlined above, the editor envisaged a polyphonic performance of this hymn, but he included just the tenor, advising the reader that 'the other voices are to be found elsewhere'. Since Triller took for granted that his readers would have easy access to the missing parts, I expected to find *Von schwarz ist mir ein Kleid* in many contemporary sources, but that is not the case. In fact, I am aware of just one source containing a polyphonic setting of this Lied compatible with Triller's tenor, the manuscript D-USch MS 236 A-D.<sup>130</sup> This source consists of two series of four partbooks bound together, but with a different provenance. Interestingly, those containing *Von schwarz ist mir ein Kleid* were copied around 1565–1575 on paper produced in Brieg,<sup>131</sup> the ducal seat of the very same duchy where Triller resided. Thus, part of D-USch MS 236 A-D might have been copied in Silesia, confirming that the polyphonic Lied contrafacted by Triller was available in the region, although it did not achieve a wide reception in other German-speaking lands. The impression that even within the 'secular section' of the hymnbook we are at times dealing with a repertory available just locally is reinforced by the presence of four polyphonic settings that do not appear in any other source.<sup>132</sup> Generally speaking, the presence of *unica* next to widespread settings invites us to reflect upon which circumstances made the polyphony published by Triller in the secular section 'sonderlich bekannt' ('particularly well known'). Usually, we evaluate this aspect by counting the number of concordances, and it might seem puzzling that Triller characterised as 'well known' settings that turn out to be present only in his hymnbook. Once again, I would argue that it is vital to differentiate between the dissemination of sources and Triller's views on his repertory. In a world like Triller's, what made a composition 'particularly well known' was not its international circulation in several sources (something that can only be assessed through the analysis of

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<sup>130</sup> (Gottwald 1993, 99–114).

<sup>131</sup> (Gottwald 1993, 100).

<sup>132</sup> No. 133 *Nu lobet mit gesungen*, no. 140 *So schon von art*, no. 143 *Nach lust hab ich nu recht erkant*, no. 144 *Ein seuffer der mus leiden viel*.

concordances), but most likely its stable presence in the repertory of the circles or institutions in which Triller practiced music.

Moreover, even among the Lieder, which can be contrapuntally more elaborate than most sacred songs discussed above, it was most likely the cantus firmus that was 'well known', while the polyphonic realisation might have been of secondary importance.<sup>133</sup> This reductionist view on polyphonic Lieder is also suggested by the 'implicitly polyphonic' hymns discussed above (nos. 132, 134–136, and 145). Although Triller probably intended them for polyphonic performance, the fact remains that he only included the tenor, which was evidently considered as a sufficient representative of the Lied.

Given this state of things, it is not enough to ascertain the presence (or absence) of 'polyphonic concordances'. As I have argued with regard to the Latin models, even the cantus firmus alone can reveal a setting's roots in a specific context. One of the unica of the 'secular section', no. 133 *Nu lobet mit gesangen*, is a case in point: although this polyphonic setting appears in this form only in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, the incipit of its tenor features in the quodlibet *Hostu mir dy lawte brocht* in the Żagań partbooks.<sup>134</sup> While this is not evidence that this melody was 'well known' in Silesia, it is at least a hint that it circulated in the region, independently of Valentin Triller's hymnbook.

## Conclusions

The repertory used by Triller to create the hymnbook offers several points for further reflection, and I shall summarise here the most important findings of the analysis conducted in chapter 4. Every hymn relies on a pre-existing hymn tune, the majority of which originated in the Latin sacred repertory. Although quantitatively less relevant, hymn tunes that had a secular text are also present, a characteristic that Triller repeatedly thematises in the paratexts, revealing the significance of the sacred-secular polarity for his understanding of music.

With regard to the hymn tunes' genres, some are represented more strongly than others, most notably office hymns, sequences, Latin songs, and German Lieder. I have also shown that chant models were carefully categorised relying on several technical terms, while for the rest of the repertory Triller did not employ an equally developed taxonomy, a lack of terminology that probably reflects a less elaborate genre awareness. The collective analysis of the hymn tunes also revealed a fundamental aspect of Triller's editorial policy: although by 1555 the Kirchenlied repertory was flourishing and available in print, *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* is largely independent of other analogous publications, not only with regard to the texts, but also with regard to the music

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<sup>133</sup> On the 'popularity' of Lieder see also (Schwindt 2012a). Schwindt has convincingly investigated the 'popularising force' of printed collections by Egenolff, Forster, and Ott, and their relation to *Flugschriften*.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. DKL A282.

itself. Many of the hymn tunes chosen by Triller had never appeared in a hymnbook before, a distinctive feature at which the editor hinted in the preface.

Given the originality of the hymnbook's contents, a detailed analysis of all its hymn tunes would certainly yield interesting results, but in this chapter I have dealt specifically with those set polyphonically. More than the half of them are unica. Furthermore, *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* attests the Silesian reception of settings that we would not otherwise link to the region. I have discussed contrafacta of sacred settings that are mostly transmitted in Bohemian sources, questioning the relevance of regional borders for studying central European musical cultures. Equally fascinating are the contrafacta of Tenorlieder: although available in print and apparently well disseminated in other German-speaking regions, their Silesian reception in the first half of the sixteenth century is documented first and foremost by Triller's hymnbook. Furthermore, *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* acquires great historical significance precisely as a meeting point of musical traditions that are usually regarded as quite remote from one another.

Most importantly, *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* offers the rare opportunity to compare the results of the philological analysis of a sizeable repertory with an early modern editor's statements on the very same repertory. With regard to the age of the compositions, the study of concordances matches Triller's characterisation of the repertory as 'old'. I have also argued that Triller's views on the 'historicity' of music probably changed according to the genre—Tenorlieder around forty/fifty years old are explicitly connoted as 'old', while centuries-old chants are not. The geographical distribution of the polyphonic settings proved to be more problematic, since the concordance analysis does not yield results that support the regionalistic tropes of the hymnbook's paratexts. Nonetheless, I have argued that the positivistic biographies of compositions (which can be assessed through philology) should not be seen as contradicting the constructed identities that were attached to the very same compositions. Although the two aspects do not always go hand in hand, both deserve to be studied and comprehended.

## Chapter 5

### Reception

In chapter 2, I showed the cultural, religious and political climate within which *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* needs to be contextualised, arguing that it is the expression of a multifaceted Silesian regional identity. In chapters 3 and 4 I dealt with the hymnbook's content, addressing some of the features of the repertory used by Triller, and revealing the care and coherence with which the hymnbook was put together. I have proposed interpreting *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* as part of a general effort at regulating the local Lutheran Church, an effort that is evident in the authorities' attempts to expel 'unorthodox' theological tendencies, and to systematise church, ritual, and liturgical matters by promulgating church orders. Thus, the hymnbook matches large-scale political and religious action supported by Duke Georg II of Brieg, regardless of whether the duke was directly involved in funding the publication.

That being said, one wonders what impact *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* really had: did it meet the values and tastes of fellow Christians? Was its music treasured and performed, or was it regarded as a hymnological extravagance, a consequence of its editor's nostalgic attitude?

In order to find out whether Triller's publication affected the soundscape of early modern communities it will be necessary to conduct a detailed study of its surviving copies, and to reconstruct the circulation of its hymns in other printed and handwritten collections. It is not possible to carry out a thorough inquiry into these aspects here. This will form the subject of future investigations. Nonetheless, I wish to point out some fundamental sources that allow us to gain at least an initial impression regarding the fate of Valentin Triller's *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* during the early modern period.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.1 Silesian reception of Triller's hymnbook

Before discussing traces of the reception of Triller's hymnbook, we should remember that the publication was not a great editorial success. As sketched in chapter 1.1, not every copy of the 1555 edition was sold, and the hymnbook was never reprinted. Although I have argued that we do not know how many copies were produced, it is clear that Triller's publication did not achieve the success of other sixteenth-century hymnbooks.

Moreover, it seems that Triller encountered many difficulties in establishing his hymns even within his own parish. This is suggested by the already mentioned letter sent to Duke Georg II of Brieg in 1560. Among various complaints pertaining to juris-

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<sup>1</sup> Some aspects of the reception of Triller's hymns are discussed also in (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 71–73) and (Mańko-Matysiak 2016, 117–119).



dictional issues, Triller laments the absence of a clerk and the fact that the local school has been closed.<sup>2</sup> In the same paragraph, he explains that

I had to conduct the office in the churches, with much toil and trouble, and I also developed quite a lot of rites, ceremonies and songs, which shocked and scared the people, especially at the beginning. I am still involved in such things, since nobody knows how to behave.<sup>3</sup>

This passage is revealing. Although Triller does not mention his hymnbook explicitly (which is somehow surprising, since the addressee is the publication's dedicatee), I assume that the songs mentioned in this letter correspond, at least partially, to the hymns we find in *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*. Thus, five years after the hymnbook's publication, even in Triller's own parish there was still trouble with conducting the rite and its musical apparatus appropriately. Moreover, Triller's letter reveals that the local community did not welcome the pastor's musical and ritual innovations. Once again, this source reveals the distance between programmatic, public statements such as the hymnbook's paratexts, and descriptive, private ones such as the 1560 letter. Even if Triller had a genuine concern for the Silesian rural population, things evidently did not turn out as he had planned in the *Preface to the Christian reader*.

Most importantly, the 1560 letter gives a very practical dimension to Triller's reliance on a repertory that he considered 'familiar'. We see a pastor's attempts to regiment the local community, trying to involve the parishioners in the liturgical and devotional life of the Church by contrafacting music that he thought might be more appealing than the 'unfamiliar foreign melodies and music written in certain other hymnbooks' (preface, lines 7–8). Judging from the 1560 letter, however, this attempt failed. Triller even laments the difficulty of making the local youth attend catechism, because he has to compete with the enticements of a nearby tavern and its dance music.<sup>4</sup>

The 'resistance' of Triller's parishioners also invites us to reflect on the meaning of Triller's musico-liturgical operation. The recourse to a customary or even traditional hymn tune does not guarantee that the hymn itself will be perceived as such: when the text and the performing context are altered, are we facing an act of musical conservatism, reform, revolution, or perhaps a bit of everything? In order to clarify this, one needs to be well informed regarding the musical and liturgical context into which

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<sup>2</sup> 'Es ist lange kein Diener oder Schreiber allda gewest, Uneinigkeiten halben mannigfaltiger Herrschaft und Gemeinen, darum die Schule in solcher Zeit gar eingegangen ist'. Quoted after (Wiontzek 1931, 25).

<sup>3</sup> 'Ueber das hab ich also mit großer Mühe und Beschwer das Amt in der Kirchen führen müssen, auch viel ziemlicher Brauch Zeremonien und Gesänge entstehen lassen, welche sonderlich am Anfang das Volk gestoßen und abgeschreckt hat, und bin noch in solchen Dingen, denn sich also niemand weiß zu verhalten'. Quoted after (Wiontzek 1931, 25).

<sup>4</sup> 'Dazu ist der Kretscham nahe bei der Kirchen im Königreich gelegen, da denn im Sonntage noch oftmals ein Pauken und Fiedeln zum Tanzen sich erhebet, welche mich oft auch in der Kirchen störrig macht, und daneben den großen Haufen der Jugend vom Catechismo abhält'. Quoted after (Wiontzek 1931, 25).

Triller tried to 'plant' his hymns. Were Triller's 'many old familiar melodies' really part of a living musical tradition, or was he trying to revive an already obsolete musical heritage? The present state of research is unable to answer this question, and Triller himself characterises the hymnbook's repertory in seemingly contradictory terms: the music is defined as 'familiar' (preface, line 19), an apt alternative to 'foreign' repertories, but it is also at risk of extinction (preface, lines 21–22), suggesting that it might not have been so 'familiar' after all...

Lastly, it should be noted that the 1560 letter is not explicit regarding what 'scared' the parishioners. As a musicologist I am probably inclined to give too much importance to the hymn tunes, but it is possible that the parishioners did not care much about the music, while they might have been more concerned by ritual innovations, by the use of the vernacular, or perhaps simply by the fact that they were occasionally expected to sing.

Be that as it may, the limited commercial success of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* and the 1560 letter strongly suggest that Triller's attempt to reform the soundscape of Lutheran Silesia was at first fruitless, even on the microscale of his own parish. Nonetheless, the hymnbook did have an impact on hymnody, within and beyond Silesia, although it probably took some time.

The most significant proof of a Silesian reception of Triller's hymnbook comes from the church order for the Duchy of Brieg, issued in 1592 by Duke Joachim Frederick of Brieg, the eldest son of Duke Georg II.<sup>5</sup> This source has been quoted repeatedly in secondary literature regarding Triller's hymnbook, but it has never been discussed in detail.<sup>6</sup> Two paragraphs of this church order explicitly mention Triller's hymnbook, identifying it not by its title, but by its editor's name ('Trilleri gesangbüchlein'). This occurrence is telling: Triller's hymnbook was still being read almost forty years after its publication, and the author of the 1592 church order took for granted that the book was available in the duchy.

It should be noted, moreover, that the Brieg church order explicitly quotes only one other hymnbook, the 'Gesangbüchlein des herrn doctoris Lutheri',<sup>7</sup> possibly pointing at one of Scharffenberg's reprints of the *Geistliche lieder D. Martin. Luth.* As Anna Mańko-Matysiak noted, this juxtaposition of Luther's and Triller's hymns reveals the prestige that the latter must have enjoyed in Brieg.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the church order bestows an official status on Triller's hymnbook, and it is likely that its dedication to Duke Georg II of Brieg played a role in this recognition by local church authorities.

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<sup>5</sup> Edited in Sehling 3, 444–448. See also (Weber 2007).

<sup>6</sup> See (Ameln 1971, 167), (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 71), (Mańko-Matysiak 2016, 117).

<sup>7</sup> Sehling 3, 446.

<sup>8</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2016, 117).

Let us now consider the contexts in which the 1592 church order calls for the use of Triller's hymnbook. The first mention occurs in the formulary for ordinary Sundays ('Von gemeinen sontägen'):

The cantor should sing one Sunday in polyphony, the other Sunday in plainchant; after the epistle [he should sing] a German song from the hymnbook of Doctor Martin Luther; after the gospel [he should sing] the Nicene or the Athanasian creed, one Sunday in Latin, the other Sunday the German Athanasian creed from Triller's hymnbook.<sup>9</sup>

This passage refers to one specific hymn from Triller's hymnbook, no. 54b *Ein jeder mensch der da selig werden wil*, which is indeed a German paraphrase of the Athanasian creed. It should be noted, however, that Triller intended it to be performed in conjunction with no. 54a *Lob ehr und preis unnd herrligkeit*, a contrafactum of the antiphon *Gloria tibi trinitas*. Accordingly, the hymn tune of no. 54b is a psalm tone that matches the first mode of the antiphon no. 54a. Moreover, Triller had included hymn no. 54a-b in the *de tempore* section of the hymnbook, probably intending it for Trinity Sunday. This liturgical link is represented musically by the chosen antiphon *Gloria tibi trinitas*, which was commonly sung on Trinity Sunday (cf. Cantus ID 002948).

The 1592 church order does not state this clearly, but it seems to imply the performance of no. 54b as a free-standing hymn, a quite peculiar choice, since a psalm tone without its antiphon would be rather unsatisfying in musical terms. Moreover, Triller's instructions *de tempore* are ignored, and the hymn is to be performed on ordinary Sundays, with no further distinction.

The second reference to Triller's hymnbook occurs in the formulary devoted to the common prayer ('Vom gemeinen gebeth'), which should begin with singing 'the German song *Nimm von uns lieber Herr unser Sünd und Missetat* from Triller's hymnbook', followed by Martin Luther's German litany.<sup>10</sup> This reference is quite obscure: there is no such hymn in Triller's hymnbook, and this text incipit is not recorded in any of the standard Kirchenlied bibliographies. However, *Nimm von uns lieber Herr unser Sünd und Missetat* appears to have been commonly sung in Silesia in conjunction with litanies. Its text is printed in the *Ordnunge* for the *Türkenglocke* published in Wrocław in 1566,<sup>11</sup> and it also appears in a handwritten hymnbook probably copied in Wrocław

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<sup>9</sup> 'Der cantor soll einen sontag figuriren, den andern choral singen, nach der epistel einen deutschen gesang aus dem gesangbüchlein des herrn doctoris Lutheri, nach dem evangelio das Symbolum Nicaenum oder Athanasii, einen sontag latine, den andern sontag das Symbolum Athanasii deutsch, aus des Trilleri gesangbüchlei'. Quoted after Sehling 3, 446.

<sup>10</sup> 'Das gemeine gebeth soll mit den deutschen gesänglein: *Nim von uns lieber herr unser sünd und missethat* aus des Trilleri gesangbüchlein angefangen werden, darauf die teutsche litanei Lutheri [...]'. Quoted after Sehling 3, 446.

<sup>11</sup> 'Als bald man aber die geordnete Türkenglocke anfehlet zu leuten / hebt man an den Tract: *Aufer a nobis Domine*, & c. deutsch zu singen. Der lautet also. *Nim von uns lieber Herr / unser sünd und Missethat* [...] Oder den Tract: *Domine non scundum peccata nostra facias nobis*, & c. Lautet also *Herr handel nicht mit uns nach unsern sünden* [...]. Darnach singent man die Litania deutsch'. *Ordnunge so zu Breslaw inn den Pfarkirchen unter*

in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>12</sup> In both sources, this text is to be sung to the chant *Aufer a nobis*,<sup>13</sup> and it is followed by a litany. Triller's hymnbook does include a contrafactum of *Aufer a nobis* followed by a litany (hymns nos. 86–87), but its text reads *Ach Herr Jhesu wir armes volck*. Evidently, whoever compiled the 1592 church order did not cross-check the guidelines against an actual copy of Triller's hymnbook.

This analysis of the 1592 Brieg church order is not intended to deny its importance for the reception history of Triller's hymns: the inconsistencies notwithstanding, it does show that the hymnbook was still known to Silesian clerics. However, it seems that whoever drafted the church order did not devote much attention to Triller's publication. Nor does the peculiar musical content used by Triller seem to have played any role in the choice of the two hymns quoted in the text: the reference to no. 54b involves a psalm tone, the other (wrong) reference points to a very common chant. However, possibly in the wake of this official endorsement, Triller's hymnbook obviously was in use in Silesia at the turn of the sixteenth century, and its more characteristic hymns were also sung. PL-Wu SDM 93, a copy of the hymnbook now held by the University of Warsaw Library, provides fascinating evidence in this regard.

This copy was distributed with the 1559 title page *Ein Christlich Singebuch* and it bears countless handwritten annotations and corrections, most of which were made by one scribe. Interestingly, this scribe dated many of his interventions: several entries bear the date 1593,<sup>14</sup> while other fewer ones are dated 1603<sup>15</sup> and 1605.<sup>16</sup>

Arguably the same person who annotated the hymnbook also glued the front pastedown, a fragment of a page from what might have been a printed pamphlet or broadside in folio format.<sup>17</sup> Although I was unable to identify the original publication, this was

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*der Türckenglocken gehalten wird* (Wrocław: Crispin Scharffenberg 1566).

<sup>12</sup> D-B Slg Bohn Mus. MS 352. The title rubric reads '*Aufer a nobis Domine* verdeutscht und wird allzeit vor der Letanie gesungen'. Text incipit 'Nym von uns lieber herr unser sünd und missethat'. Cf. (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 316), no. 51. Note that this manuscript contains also hymns copied from Triller's hymnbook (see below). Right after this contrafactum of *Aufer a nobis* the scribe copied Valentin Triller's litany no. 87 *Herr Gott erbarm dich über uns*. Cf. (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 316), no. 52.

<sup>13</sup> *Aufer a nobis* carries different generic labels in the sources. The *Ordnunge* quoted above calls it a tract. The Courland church order of 1570 mentions *Nimm von uns lieber Herr unser Sünd und Missetat*, but it is defined as a litany. Cf. Sehling 5, 88. See also Zahn 8599.

<sup>14</sup> See (Chemotti 2019, 145–148).

<sup>15</sup> On the lower margin of PL-Wu SDM 93 fol. c3r.

<sup>16</sup> PL-Wu SDM 93, fol. T4r hymn no. 68 *Rein und besser ist Gottes wort*: 'Componirt 1605. den 6. November.'; PL-Wu SDM 93, fol. U2r hymn no. 69 *Der Herr Gott sey gepreiset*: 'Componirt. 1605. den 6. november.'; fol. C1r, hymn no. 5 *Als Maria die jungfraw rein*: 'Componirt den 7. december 1605.'; lower margin of PL-Wu SDM 93 fol. F1v: '1605. 19. Decemb.'

<sup>17</sup> I transcribe here the legible content of the pastedown: 'Ein Grablied Auf Die Christliche Beygrufft Des Durchlauchten Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herren / Herren Johannes Herzogen in Schlesien / zur Liegnitz und Brieg etc. Zu Trost der Durchlauchten Hochgebornen Fürstin und Frawen / Frawen Anna / Gebornen Herzogin zu Wir-

probably published in 1592, a date that can be inferred from its content, a funeral song for Duke Johann Georg, the second son of Georg II of Brieg. Johann Georg passed away on 6 July 1592<sup>18</sup> and the funeral song was probably published in the same year or soon afterwards. The types often match those used by Scharffenberg, so that it is possible that it was printed in Wrocław by Georg Baumann, who had acquired the Scharffenberg workshop in 1590.<sup>19</sup>

All these hints suggest that one person, probably an organist (judging from notational habits),<sup>20</sup> used Triller's hymnbook intensively from 1593 onwards,<sup>21</sup> which can be deduced from the dated handwritten entries and is compatible with the front pastedown. Moreover, the front pastedown suggests that PL-Wu SDM 93 was used in Silesia, most likely in one of the duchies of the dukes of Liegnitz-Brieg-Wohlau. In this regard, it should be noted that whoever cut and glued the pastedown did so with care, possibly because of a dynastic affiliation: he chose the upper part of the page, where the name of the dedicatees are visible (the departed Duke Johann Georg and his widow Anna von Württemberg), and he cut the lower part of the page in order to fit it to the oblong quarto format of the cover, but keeping legible two entire strophes of the funeral song.

All things considered, I think that the correspondence between the traces of use in PL-Wu SDM 93 (dates and front pastedown) and the promulgation of the Brieg church order of 1592 cannot be coincidental. It appears that Triller's hymnbook really was used in Silesia around 1600, and much more thoroughly than suggested by the inaccurate mention in the Brieg church order. In fact, many of the corrections and annotations on PL-Wu SDM 93 imply performance, and they also involve those hymns that rely on rather

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tenberg und Teck / Grävin zu Mümpelgart etc. Herzogin zur Liegnitz und Brieg etc. Nachgelassenen Christlichen Fürstlichen Wittib / So wol auch andern Erlauchten verwand [illegible] Personen. Hie lieg ich / bin geschlaffen ein / und ruhe nu gar sanfft und fein / mein Seel / wie ich sie Got befahl / in Seinen henden ohne qual / und aber in der Erd mein Leib / bis zu der Aufferstehung / bleib. Wie Du HERR Christ gegeben mir beid Leib und Seel / so hast sie Dir auch aus Genaden / mir zu Gutt / erlöset durch Dein tewres Blutt / welchst ist mein trost / verdienst allein / macht mich von allen sünden rein'.

<sup>18</sup> (Prokop 1999a).

<sup>19</sup> On Georg Baumann see (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 108).

<sup>20</sup> The scribe often resorts to German organ tablature to notate monodic hymns, certainly because this alphabetic notation takes up much less space than white mensural notation. See, for example, fol. E2r, where he manages to fit an alternative melody for hymn no. 12 *Wach auff liebe Christenheit* into the narrow blank space between the printed staff and the printed text. When more space is available, the scribe also uses white mensural notation, see, for example, the additional folios at the end of the hymnbook.

<sup>21</sup> On fol. [5v] of the added fascicle, the scribe wrote '1584' next to the handwritten hymn *Barmherziger, ewiger Gott, dir klag' ich* (DKL A381), which was copied from Johannes Leisentritt's hymnbook, as stated on a rubric on the upper margin ('Leisentrits gesangbuch'). This hymnbook was first published as *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* (Bautzen: Hans Wolrab 1567, RISM B/8 1567-05), and it indeed contains *Barmherziger, ewiger Gott, dir klag' ich*. Cf. (Wetzel and Heitmeyer 2013, 221-222). However, it is possible that the scribe relied on a copy of its expanded edition, the *Catholisch Gesangbuch* (Bautzen: Michael Wolrab 1584, RISM B/8 1584-05). If so, it is likely that the handwritten '1584' does not refer to the date of copying, but to the publication date of the printed source.

O Gott himlischer Vater gut/ gib vns auch gleich solchen mut/ durch Jesum  
 Christum gnediglich/ das wir annehmen stettiglich dein wort mit reinem glauben/do  
 durch wir rechte frömmigkeit erlangen/vnd in ewigkeit mit Maria dich loben.

Wol auff wol auff laß vns frölich singe, *versequiert uns der Herr Gott*  
 & ij Gott

In all likelihood, the polytextual hymn no. 48 *Komb güttiger unnd tewrer Got – Ein reicher milter Geist* (discussed in chapter 4.3) was also corrected to be performed: the scribe amended its text<sup>22</sup> and possibly its music.<sup>23</sup>

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Dein wort O Herr ist worden/vns armen menschen gleich / Das er mit seinem  
orden auffricht ein Geistlich reich/darinn er vns wolt weisen / dein vetterlichen mut/  
mit seinem fleische speisen vnd trencken mit dem blut.

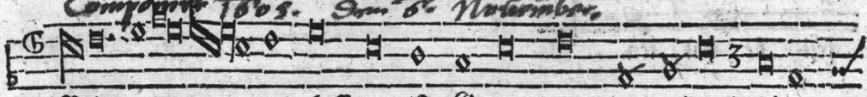
Dein wort die höchste warheit/also ins fleisch geborn / das helt die welt fur thor  
heit vnd bleibt inn deinem zorn/das macht das die ellenden durch natürlich ankunfft/  
sich lassen fürn vnd blenden/die fleischliche vernunfft.

Solch wort in deinem throne/obs schon die welt veracht/ist deinem volck ein kro-  
ne regirt sie tag vnd nacht/der es alhie thut meiden/verseumet vnd vernicht/der wird  
dort müssen leiden/sein zornig angesicht.

Got geb das wir nicht scherzen mit seinem thewren wort / Das wirs nemmen zu  
herzen wenn wirs haben gehort/das wir auch solchs beweisen / mit aller danckbarkeit  
vnd frölich mögen preisen den Herrn in ewigkeit.

**Ein Gesang von Gottes wort vor der  
predig oder darnach zusingen auff  
die noten Praelusiri elucenia.**

*Composit 1563. Am 8. November.*



Rein. vnd besser ist Gottes wort denn gold vnd edle  
Wo solch wort recht im Glauben hafft im herzen wol be-  
steine

*der gesang ist falsch.*

Plate 5: PL-Wu SDM 93, fol. T4r (no. 68 *Rein und besser ist Gottes wort*)

One last example worth mentioning is no. 68 *Rein und besser ist Gottes wort* (see Plate 5). The scribe probably rehearsed this three-part hymn and noticed some problems in the voice leading. At this stage he wrote on the lower margin that 'the song is wrong'.<sup>24</sup> Afterwards he must have spotted what he considered printing errors and corrected them by hand.<sup>25</sup> These corrections might already have been executed in 1593, since next to the previous hymn no. 67 the scribe noted 'on Ascension Day

2019, 64–65).

<sup>24</sup> PL-Wu SDM 93, fol. T4r: 'der gesang ist falsch'.

<sup>25</sup> The parallel octaves of bar 15 are avoided by correcting discantus bar 15,1–2 into Sb (d' e'); tenor bar 55 is corrected into Br (A); bassus bars 59–60 is corrected into L (G). Bar numbers according to the modern edition in (Chemotti 2019, 70–72).

1593 I have begun to correct the notes of the following songs',<sup>26</sup> thus probably including also no. 68 *Rein und besser ist Gottes wort*. Next to the printed title rubric, the scribe added also a handwritten annotation, 'Componirt 1605. den 6. November.' It is not entirely clear what 'componirt' means. Since there are no other changes in the hymn, the past participle might simply refer to the correction noted above (if so, these must have been made in 1605); alternatively, the scribe might have reworked the hymn more extensively, but the results were written down elsewhere.<sup>27</sup>

Be that as it may, the corrections and the annotations in PL-Wu SDM 93 suggest that no. 68 *Rein und besser ist Gottes wort* was heard in Silesia at the turn of the sixteenth century. Notably, its hymn tune is the Latin song *Praelustri elucetia*, which musicologists attribute to Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (1392–d. after 1452) because of the acrostic 'Petrus' in its Latin text.<sup>28</sup> Whether this attribution is reliable or not, the discantus-tenor framework of this song already appears in a fragment dated around 1465,<sup>29</sup> as I mentioned in chapter 4.3. When the scribe of PL-Wu SDM 93 performed and possibly reworked no. 68 *Rein und besser ist Gottes wort*, its music was already 150 years old.

The evidence regarding the active reception of Triller's hymns around 1600 is just one of the fascinating facets of PL-Wu SDM 93. In fact, this source merits a detailed study on its own terms: the anonymous scribe added rubrics, made cross references to other hymnbooks (including non-Lutheran hymnbooks, see footnote no. 21), corrected and reworked the printed hymns, copied substitute melodies, filled fourteen pages at the end of the hymnbook with additional hymns... His notational habits, his repertorial choices, the sources he had access to: these are all aspects still waiting for in-depth assessment, but this I must leave to future research.<sup>30</sup>

I do not know how long PL-Wu SDM 93 remained in use after being so intensively annotated around 1600. At some point it entered the library of the Carmelite monastery of Gross-Strenz,<sup>31</sup> but this must have happened much later, since the monastery was founded in 1676.<sup>32</sup> It is unclear whether the Carmelites ever sang from the hymnbook,

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<sup>26</sup> PL-Wu SDM 93, fol. T3r: '1593. am auffarts abend hab ich diese nachfolgenden gesengen angefangen in den noten zu emendiren'.

<sup>27</sup> There are instances where the scribe seems to allude to a more extensive reworking with 'componirt'. See, for example, PL-Wu SDM 93, fol. I2v (no. 133 *Nu lobet mit gesangen*). The scribe transposed Triller's tenor an octave higher, and he copied two alternative parts substituting Triller's discantus and bassus. Cf. (Chemotti 2019, 108, 147–148).

<sup>28</sup> (Černý 1993, 52–53, 106–107, 132–133) and (Gancarczyk 2017, 10–15).

<sup>29</sup> (Gancarczyk 2017, 6, 11).

<sup>30</sup> I have briefly dealt with PL-Wu SDM 93 in (Chemotti 2019, 10–11, 18, 103–109, 145–150).

<sup>31</sup> See the note of possession on the title page 'Carmeli Megastrientini'.

<sup>32</sup> (Galewski 2016, 111).



which probably remained in their library until the Prussian secularisation of monasteries in 1810. Afterwards, PL-Wu SDM 93 was brought to the Akademisches Institut für Kirchenmusik,<sup>33</sup> an institute established in Wrocław in 1815, and it was finally transferred to the University of Warsaw Library in 1952.<sup>34</sup>

All things considered, the Brieg church order of 1592 and the traces of use in PL-Wu SDM 93 speak for a reception of Triller's hymnbook in contexts not far from those envisaged by its editor, that is, for the practical needs of music making in Silesian Lutheran communities. If we consider the other extant copies, however, it emerges that the hymnbook also met with different and at times unexpected fates, even within the borders of Silesia.

Besides PL-Wu SDM 93, I am aware of six further copies of the hymnbook, now held by Polish and German libraries. Three were sold with the 1555 title page (PL-WRu 395219,<sup>35</sup> PL-WRu 51221,<sup>36</sup> and D-W H: Yv 1129.8° Helmst.<sup>37</sup>), while the others have the 1559 title page (PL-LEtpn TPNL S/25,<sup>38</sup> D-B Slg Wernigerode Hb 1796,<sup>39</sup> and

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<sup>33</sup> Stamp 'Akademisches Institut für Kirchenmusik' on the title page.

<sup>34</sup> See the stamps 'Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Warszawa'. With regard to the music collections from Silesia housed at PL-Wu see the short but informative introduction at <<https://www.buw.uw.edu.pl/en/special-collections/music-department/>>, accessed 23 July 2019.

<sup>35</sup> 1555 title page. This copy is complete but wrongly bound (gatherings B and C are inverted). The leather cover bears the monogram 'W S' and the date 1555. On fol. 1r 'Der Bibliothek der Kirche zu St. Maria Magdalena zu Breslau gehörig' and a note of possession 'Danielis Rapoldi'. On fol. 1v stamp 'Ex Bibl. ad aed. Mar. Magdal.' and stamp 'Bibl. Univ. Wrocław'. Available online at <<http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl>>, accessed 24 July 2019.

<sup>36</sup> Gathering A, fol. B1, fol. R4, fol. Y1, and gathering o are missing, so that it is impossible to identify the title page. However, the leather cover bears the title 'Schlesich Singebuch' with the date 1557, probably the year of the binding. Therefore, this copy probably had the 1555 title page.

<sup>37</sup> 1555 title page, complete copy. On fol. A1v stamp 'Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel'; on fol. A6v 'G V W G I H Z B V L 1566', abbreviated note of possession and device of Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1528–1589), dated 1566. Handwritten corrections of the musical text on fol. 11r/5 and fol. n3v/1. See below for details.

<sup>38</sup> 1559 title page, also catalogued as Rud. 5215. Note that secondary literature erroneously refers to this copy as PL-WRu Rud. 5215. Fols. K2, K3, K4, L1, and L2 are missing. On the front pastedown note of possession by Duke George Rudolf of Liegnitz (see below). On fol. A1v stamp 'Biblioteka Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Legnicy'. Available online at <<http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl>>, accessed 24 July 2019.

<sup>39</sup> 1559 title page, complete copy. On the fronte pastedown there is an ex libris of Count Christian Ernst zu Stolberg-Wernigerode (1691–1771). On fol. A1r, stamp 'Fürstlich-Stolberg-Wernigerödische Bibliothek'; on fol. A1v stamp 'öffentliche wissenschaftliche Bibliothek Berlin'. Available online at *Digitalisierte Sammlungen der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, <<http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de>>, accessed 25 July 2019. This copy has a handwritten pagination in Arabic numerals on the top corner of each page, substituting the rather impractical alphanumeric system of the print. The table of contents was consistently updated, with columns indicating the position of every item according to the new page numbering. The scribe did this with care, even noticing that one item was missing from the table of contents and adding it in the correct position on fol. A6v. Corrections and updates in the table of contents indisputably indicate use, but the rest of the hymnbook bears no other sign of it, not even corrections of obvious mistakes. Accordingly, I wonder whether this copy was ever used for music-making, or whether it simply served as a collection of religious poetry. Since I cannot reconstruct this copy's history before the eighteenth century, it is difficult even to formulate a hypothesis on this matter.

PL-Kj Berol. Mus. ant. pract. T 145<sup>40</sup>). Of these extant copies, three (PL-WRu 395219, PL-LEtpn TPNL S/25, and PL-WRu 51221) certainly belonged to Silesians or to Silesian institutions, and I will discuss them in more detail.

The first owner of PL-WRu 395219 was probably the 'W S' who had the book bound with his initials on the leather cover. This happened right after the book was published, since the leather cover bears the date 1555, likely the date of binding. Probably soon thereafter, the book came into the possession of the Daniel Rapold who inscribed his name on the title page. As I have suggested above, this could be the Daniel Rapold who was *Domsyndicus* of Wrocław Cathedral, an important humanist and historian (d. 1588). At a later stage, PL-WRu 395219 entered the library of the church of Saint Mary Magdalene in Wrocław. Although not as extensively as PL-Wu SDM 93, this copy does bear traces of usage,<sup>41</sup> some of which imply musical performance.<sup>42</sup>

PL-LEtpn TPNL S/25 had a very different fate connected to the local nobility. In an annotation dated Liegnitz 30 May 1625, Duke Georg Rudolf of Liegnitz<sup>43</sup> recorded that he received the hymnbook from 'August von Anhalt', probably Georg Rudolf's maternal uncle Augustus Prince of Anhalt-Plötzkau (1575–1653).<sup>44</sup> The prior history of this copy is unknown, but I rule out that it was much used, since there are very few annotations, and no corrections of any sort.<sup>45</sup> Nor was it used after 1625: Duke Georg Rudolf of

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<sup>40</sup> 1559 title page, fol. A3 missing. Leather cover with impression 'Christlich Singebuch' and the date 1562. Available online at the Jagiellonian Digital Library, <<http://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl>>, accessed 25 July 2019. Although nowadays held at the Jagiellonian Library, the early history of this copy is not connected with Kraków. In fact, the volume came into the possession of the Jagiellonian Library just after World War II as part of the collections of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin that were moved to Silesia in 1941. After the war, those collections found themselves in Polish territory and were transferred to Kraków. The Żagań partbooks followed a similar path, (Gancarczyk 2009, 27).

This copy bears very few signs of use at fols. L1r–v, M4v, X1r, b4v. It probably also served musicological research: on fol. k4v (hymn no. 131) there is a pencil annotation 'Schöffner 1513', referring to [Songs for 3–4 voices] (Mainz: Schöffner 1513), one of the sources of the hymn tune.

<sup>41</sup> See PL-WRu 395219 fols. F1v, F3r, g4r, M4r, X4v, M1v, o4r.

<sup>42</sup> See the added bar lines on fol. F1v, the correction of a clef on fol. F3r, the correction of a note on fol. M4r, the correction of a verse metre on fol. X4v.

<sup>43</sup> PL-LEtpn TPNL S/25, front pastedown: 'Dieses Buch ist F.G. des Herrn Vetter Fürsten Augusti von Anhalt gewesen, von dem ich auch solches bekommen. Gott gebe i.L. heutt undtbiss an das Ende der Welt alss wass Ihr Liebden dienstlich sein mag undt Endlich die Ewigkeit, geschrieben zu Liegnitz den 30 May Ao 1625. Georg Rudolf m. pp'. Quoted after the catalogue of the project *Bibliotheca Rudolphina*, available at <<http://www.rudolphina.pl>>, accessed 24 July 2019.

<sup>44</sup> (Siebigk 1875).

<sup>45</sup> There are three handwritten annotations in PL-LEtpn TPNL S/25, copied next to the title rubrics of hymns no. 75, 93, and 136 and indicating text incipits of alternative hymn tunes: no. 75 *Es sprach Christus des menschen Son* (illegible annotation on fol. X4r, probably an alternative hymn tune), no. 93 *O Herr Got mein die rach ist dein* (scribe added 'Durch adams fall ist gannz verterb' on fol. c3r), and no. 136 *Was hilfft es doch das man so hoch* (addition '[W]aß mein gott will' on fol. m1v). Furthermore, somebody wrote a *suspirium* in no. 30 *Kirieleison. Das leben an dem holtze starb* (fol. l3v). I would like to thank Ute Evers for her help in transcribing these handwritten inscriptions.

Liegnitz was a bibliophile, assembling an impressive library of thousands of volumes.<sup>46</sup> Thus it is likely that he kept Triller's hymnbook for the sake of collecting. He might also have been interested in it because it was connected to his dynasty: the dedicatee, Duke Georg II of Brieg, was none other than Georg Rudolf's grandfather.

PL-WRu 51221 is the last 'Silesian' copy that I wish to discuss in more detail, since it reveals one thread of the hymnbook's reception that its editor certainly did not expect. It does not bear an early note of possession, but it is likely that it remained in Silesia after leaving Scharffenberg's workshop, since it is still housed at Wrocław University Library. Moreover, I shall demonstrate that it was used by followers of a Christian denomination that was well rooted in the Silesian territory.

A few hymns are corrected and annotated by hand,<sup>47</sup> and one of these corrections reveals a fascinating scenario. It concerns hymn no. 97 *Wir wollen dich allein O Herr Gott loben*, one of Triller's penitential hymns. An unidentified hand (late sixteenth or seventeenth century, judging from the script) corrected the eighth strophe of this hymn, changing Triller's verse 'Er thut uns durch die Tauff new geberen' ('he gives us new birth through baptism') into 'Er thut uns durch seinen geist new geberen' ('he give us new birth through his spirit').<sup>48</sup> The same hand also added a comment on this correction, noting that 'not baptism but the Word of God gives us new birth in the Holy Spirit. The baptism that occurs in the Holy Spirit gives us new birth'.<sup>49</sup> Evidently, this scribe had reservations on the sacrament of baptism, and wanted to make clear that it is the spirit that gives new life to Christians, not the sacrament as such. This sounds very much like Schwenckfelder theology, according to which baptism is not necessary for salvation, but it is just an external sign that symbolises the internal, spiritual baptism.<sup>50</sup> Thus, the handwritten correction and annotation in PL-WRu 51221 strongly suggest that this copy was used by somebody who had Schwenckfelder theological leanings.

Further evidence in this regard comes from a much later source, *Neu=Eingerichtetes Gesang=Buch* (Germantown: Christoph Saur 1762),<sup>51</sup> a hymnbook published in Pennsylvania at the behest of a community of emigrated Schwenckfelders.<sup>52</sup> This col-

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<sup>46</sup> Eleven years later, in 1636, the duke's library (known as Bibliotheca Rudolphina) amounted to 5542 bound and 730 unbound volumes, (K.-P. Koch 2002).

<sup>47</sup> See fols. D4v, E1v-E2r, F3r, K3v, K4v, L2r, M2v-M3r, U2r-U3r, d4v.

<sup>48</sup> PL-WRu 51221 fol. d4r.

<sup>49</sup> PL-WRu 51221 fol. d4r: 'Nicht die tauffe sonder das Wort gottes wieder geberet vnß im hailigen geiste. Die tauffe die ijn Hailligen geist geschicht die geböret vnß new'. I would like to thank Ute Evers for her help in transcribing and interpreting this passage.

<sup>50</sup> (Weigelt 1973, 107-108).

<sup>51</sup> Germantown is now part of Philadelphia. Cf. (Weigelt 2007b, 201-202).

<sup>52</sup> On this hymnbook see (Evers 2007, 237-246). On the emigration of Schwenckfelders see (Weigelt 2007b, 199-213).

lection of hymns without musical notation is the first printed Schwenckfelder hymnbook ever, and it contains a few hymns from Triller's hymnbook. Among them also we find no. 97 *Wir wollen dich allein O Herr Gott loben*.<sup>53</sup> Surprisingly, the verse under discussion reads 'Er thut uns durch Seinen Geist neu gebähren', just like the handwritten correction in PL-WRu 51221.

This is indisputable proof that Silesian Schwenckfelders used PL-WRu 51221, confirming the hypothesis that they had sung from Triller's hymnbook long before the first documental evidence discussed so far in hymnological studies, all of which dates to the eighteenth century.<sup>54</sup> One wonders what Triller would have thought had he known that the very 'teachers of error' he tried to counter through the publication of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* used the very same publication for their own worship.

This scenario also throws further light on the current material conditions of PL-WRu 51221. The hymnbook is damaged: the first and last fascicles are missing (A and o), together with fols. B1, R4, Y1, and the upper portion of fol. Y2. All the missing pages from the hymnbook's main text (fascicles B–o) correspond to complete hymn texts, and it seems that they were deliberately removed. In this regard, the intervention on fols. Y1–Y2 is most telling. The removed portions correspond to the text of no. 75 *Es sprach Christus des menschen Son*, specifically strophes nos. 1–13 (fol. Y1r–v) and the last strophe no. 14 (upper portion of fol. Y2r). Whoever cut these two folios clearly wanted to extract the entire hymn: why bother to cut the upper part of fol. Y2, if not for the last strophe of the hymn?

Although it is not possible to date these excisions, I would argue that the person responsible was a Schwenckfelder, and that hymn no. 75 *Es sprach Christus des menschen Son* was removed in order not to discard it, but to collect its text. As a matter of fact, this hymn was included in the Schwenckfelder repertory, and it appears in the 1762 hymnbook quoted above.<sup>55</sup> The same circumstance explains the removal of another folio, R4, which contained no. 62 *Ich weiß ein Blümlein hüpsch und fein*, likewise printed in the Schwenckfelder collection.<sup>56</sup> It should be noted that the anonymous 'collector' who cut PL-WRu 51221 was only interested in Triller's texts: both nos. 62 and 75 are set polyphonically, but just the pages corresponding to their texts were removed. In tracing the relations between PL-WRu 51221 and the 1762 *Neu=Eingerichtetes Gesang=Buch* I am not assuming a direct link between the two sources (in the sense of antigraph–apograph). It cannot be denied, however, that PL-WRu 51221 was the copy (or one of the copies) of Triller's hymnbook through which Schwenckfelders constructed their own repertory.

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<sup>53</sup> *Neu=Eingerichtetes Gesang=Buch* (Germantown: Christoph Saur 1762), 448–449.

<sup>54</sup> (Evers 2007, 4, 39, 51–54, 171, 241).

<sup>55</sup> *Neu=Eingerichtetes Gesang=Buch* (Germantown: Christoph Saur 1762), 440–441.

<sup>56</sup> *Neu=Eingerichtetes Gesang=Buch* (Germantown: Christoph Saur 1762), 76–77.

It should be added that the other hymns removed from PL-WRu 51221 (nos. 1 and 142–145) do not appear in the Schwenckfelder hymnbooks:<sup>57</sup> either they fell off accidentally, or they simply never made it into any of the sources I was able to consult.<sup>58</sup> The latter hypothesis does not contradict the overall scenario sketched here: Schwenckfelders did not have an official and prescriptive corpus of hymns, so that repertorial choices were often taken individually.<sup>59</sup>

In addition to the interventions made by this hymn collector, I would argue that somebody (not necessarily the same person) purposely discarded fascicle A. This contained the hymnbook's front matter, and Schwenckfelders could easily have found it disturbing: Triller's words unmistakably reject spiritualist theology, while the coat of arms and dedication letter on the first opening of the hymnbook represent Duke Georg II of Brieg, who persecuted Schwenckfelders in all his territories.<sup>60</sup>

In sum, the evidence discussed so far mainly points at a regional reception of the hymnbook in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is unsurprising: the publication targeted this region specifically, and Scharffenberg's printing house likely relied on a local market to sell its products.<sup>61</sup> Even within the region for which it was produced, however, the 'object hymnbook' was subjected to different uses. It was a personal repository for professional musicians (PL-Wu SDM 93), who corrected and enlarged its contents, also revealing a certain dissatisfaction with the collection in the form prepared by Triller.<sup>62</sup> The book became also an item in the library of noble collectors (PL-LEtpn TPNL S/25), probably deprived of its practical function. Furthermore, it was used by religious communities for which it was certainly not intended (PL-WRu 51221). Thus, the reception histories sketched above once again reveal the difference between the purposes Valentin Triller imagined for his hymnbook and the actual, multifaceted, and unpredictable fates that it suffered after leaving the press. This proves, if proof were needed, that the paratexts must be read as their author's intentions rather than as evidence on how the book was used.

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<sup>57</sup> Note that hymn no. 142 *Tröstlich ist mir* contains a reference to baptism, but again this could have been easily corrected and adapted to Schwenckfelders' beliefs.

<sup>58</sup> It would be valuable to compare PL-WRu 51221 with the *Tägliches Gesang=Büchlein*, an eighteenth-century Silesian Schwenckfelder hymnbook attested in thirteen handwritten copies, all held in libraries in the United States. Cf. (Evers 2007, 170–172). Unfortunately, I had no access to these sources.

<sup>59</sup> (Evers 2007, 51).

<sup>60</sup> Admittedly, other hymns that are overtly anti-Schwenckfelder were left untouched (I am thinking especially of no. 136 *Was hilfft es doch das man so hoch*, see W IV 131), but they are in a less prominent position than fascicle A and might have passed unnoticed.

<sup>61</sup> Regarding the 'catchment areas' of printing houses in German-speaking territories, with particular reference to music prints, see (Kmetz 2010, 175–180).

<sup>62</sup> See, for example, the interventions in mensural signs in PL-Wu SDM 93, (Chemotti 2019, 18).

## 5.2 Triller's hymns beyond the hymnbook

As outlined in chapter 5.1, early modern users of Triller's hymnbook did not just read and sing from it. They actively intervened in its content, adding annotations and correcting hymns. Moreover, the hymnbook was treated as a source for the creation of new collections, extracting some of its hymns while discarding others. This was the aim of the anonymous Schwenckfelder who cut pages out of PL-WRu 51221, and a similar selective reliance on the hymnbook also emerges from other handwritten and printed collections that contain just some of its hymns. These sources reveal further channels of circulation of Triller's hymns, thus allowing us to sketch a broader reception history, within and beyond Silesia.

Anna Mańko-Matysiak has drawn attention to D-B Slg Bohn Mus. MS 352, a Lutheran handwritten hymnbook that contains fifty-one hymns by Triller besides ones by other authors, including Michael Weisse and Martin Luther.<sup>63</sup> The scribe probably used a printed copy of the hymnbook as an antigraph, since even the title rubrics are faithfully reproduced. With regard to repertory, it should be noted that he was particularly interested in Triller's contrafacta of chants: with few exceptions, he copied hymns that are based on sequences or office hymns. These were even grouped according to genre, irrespective of their ordering in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*,<sup>64</sup> implying that the scribe skimmed the hymnbook looking precisely for those hymns.

In light of its overall content, I would propose that D-B Slg Bohn Mus. MS 352 was primarily intended for liturgical use in a Lutheran church. If it was copied in Wrocław, as Mańko-Matysiak has argued,<sup>65</sup> it would be a precious evidence regarding the performance of Triller's hymns in the churches of Silesia's most important town, the preface to *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* notwithstanding.

Other collections show that Triller's hymns circulated and also made their way beyond Silesia.<sup>66</sup> Assessing this reception would require a detailed study of these sources

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<sup>63</sup> (Bohn 1890, 190–193), (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 71, 89–90, 314–322).

<sup>64</sup> See (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 314–317). Triller's hymns copied between nos. 9–23 are all sequences, those copied between nos. 24–39 are mostly office hymns.

<sup>65</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 71). Emil Bohn proposed c. 1560 as the manuscript's date (Bohn 1890, 190). It is not clear, however, on which basis such a precise dating was put forward, and I suspect that it was chosen because it was close to the publication of Triller's hymnbook.

<sup>66</sup> Besides the major collections discussed below, I have encountered other traces of Triller's hymns that still require evaluation. See, for instance, the manuscript D-Heid Cod. Pal. germ. 734. Fols. 79r–v contain six strophes (without notation) of Triller's no. 131 *Ach mein Got sprich mir freuntlich zu* (the complete text contains seven strophes). There is no title rubric with an indication of the source or hymn tune, the order of the strophes was changed, and there are several other variants. According to the online catalogue of the *Heidelberger historische Bestände*, the text was copied c. 1570 by a scribe writing in Mitteldeutsch. Available online at <<https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg734/0181>>, accessed 31 July 2019. The handwritten addition of a three-voice *Erstanden ist der Herre Christ* to a copy of *Ein hübsch Christlich gesang buchlen* (Ulm: Jakob Gruner 1541, RISM B/8 1541–03, vdm 1244) housed at D-W A: 5.1 Mus. would also be worth considering. I was unable to inspect this source in person, but according

as well as an evaluation of their relation to the printed hymnbook. In fact, the circulation of Triller's hymns is partially unrelated to the circulation of his hymnbook. This aspect exceeds the object of my research, but it is worth mentioning at least two important collections that document an early modern, non-Silesian reception of Triller's hymnbook. One of these in particular contributed greatly to the (anonymised) dissemination of Triller's hymns beyond *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*.

I am speaking of *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* (Bautzen: Hans Wolrab 1567), a Catholic hymnbook edited by Johannes Leisentrit, dean of Saint Peter in Bautzen and administrator of Upper and Lower Lusatia.<sup>67</sup> *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* contains several hymns from Triller's hymnbook, without any mention of the source or its editor.<sup>68</sup> Leisentrit sometimes adopted both text and music (albeit retaining just the cantus firmi of Triller's polyphonic models),<sup>69</sup> while at other times he adapted Triller's text to a different hymn tune. Since *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* contains over thirty texts originating from Triller's publication,<sup>70</sup> it seems very likely that Leisentrit owned a copy of it. He had been residing in Lusatia since 1551, and exchanges with the neighbouring Silesia must have been frequent.

Leisentrit's *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* was successful: it was reprinted in 1573<sup>71</sup> and 1584 (in an expanded edition)<sup>72</sup> and enjoyed wide recognition.<sup>73</sup> Through these publications, Triller's hymns entered other Catholic hymnbooks,<sup>74</sup> whose editors might have been unaware of their Lutheran author and their original source. For this reason, even within the borders of Silesia, it is not enough to identify a textual concordance with Triller's hymnbook to assume that the editors copied it from there.

Consider, for example, the abovementioned Catholic hymnbook *Catholische Kirchengesänge und geistlich Lieder* (Neisse: Johann Schubart 1625). This source, a quintessential expression of Jesuit culture in Silesia,<sup>75</sup> contains a handful of Triller's hymns.<sup>76</sup> In some

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to DKL it was copied from Triller's hymnbook (hymn no. 40). Cf. vdm 1244 and eg5d in DKL. Another source worth inspecting would be a seventeenth-century manuscript quoted in (Hartmann 1976, 202) as 'Liegnitz 15', which should contain a copy of no. 22 *Wir wollen singen heut für allen dingen* explicitly attributed to Triller.

<sup>67</sup> (Wetzel and Heitmeyer 2013, 3–15).

<sup>68</sup> (Wetzel and Heitmeyer 2013, 46).

<sup>69</sup> See, for instance, the example discussed in (Chemotti 2019, 8).

<sup>70</sup> Secondary literature usually refers to 39 hymns that Leisentrit would have copied from Triller's hymnbook. Cf. (Heitmeyer 1988, 97).

<sup>71</sup> Leisentrit Johannes, *Geistliche lieder und Psalmen* (Bautzen: Michael Wolrab 1573, RISM B/8 1573–02).

<sup>72</sup> Leisentrit Johannes, *Catholisch Gesangbuch* (Bautzen: Michael Wolrab 1584, RISM B/8 1584–05).

<sup>73</sup> On Leisentrit's hymnbook see (Heitmeyer 1988), (Lipphardt and Rathey 2003), and (Wetzel and Heitmeyer 2013).

<sup>74</sup> Cf. the example discussed in (Ameln 1966, 55).

<sup>75</sup> (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 210–217) and (Jež 2013).

<sup>76</sup> See the catalogue of the content in (Jež 2013, 27–34).



cases, however, these were certainly mediated via Leisentrit's publications.<sup>77</sup> Only a detailed comparison with all the editions of Leisentrit's hymnbooks (including other sources based on them) will show whether there is solid evidence for assuming that the editor of the Silesian *Catholische Kirchengesänge und geistlich Lieder* really had access to *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*, or whether other, possibly Catholic sources acted as a go-between.<sup>78</sup>

Lastly, some of Triller's hymns are also to be found in seventeenth-century Lutheran collections. I should mention at least Michael Praetorius' *Musae Sioniae*. Its parts 7 and 8 (published in 1609–1610)<sup>79</sup> contain twenty-one polyphonic re-elaborations of Triller's hymns (see Table 9).<sup>80</sup> Some texts are even explicitly attributed to Triller in the table of contents, suggesting that Praetorius had access to a copy of the hymnbook with its first two folios (the only folios on which Triller's name appears).

It should be noted that Praetorius' approach to Triller's hymns is quite consistent. He mostly borrowed texts and hymn tunes that were already set polyphonically. More than half belonged to the 'secular section' of *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*, and it is clear that Praetorius was particularly interested in the contrafacta of Tenorlieder. Nonetheless, he took only the texts and the monodic hymn tunes (corresponding to Triller's tenors), setting the latter as the top part and writing a new polyphony below it. On the whole, his procedure is not much different from that of the organist who reworked

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<sup>77</sup> See, for instance, *Preis sey Gott im höchsten throne* (fols. 51r–v). The text and the hymn tune (*Quem pastores laudavere*) are the same as Triller's hymn no. 9a. However, *Preis sey Got im höchsten throne* had already appeared as a free-standing hymn (contrary to Triller's hymnbook, where it is to be sung *alternatim* with hymn no. 9b) in Leisentrit's hymnbook, where each verse is delivered by a different choir. Cf. (Wetzel and Heitmeyer 2013, 26), no. 26. In Schubart's publication, the rubrics, the division in choirs, the performance practice, and the notation are clearly dependent on Leisentrit. Accordingly, considering Triller's *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* as the 'source' for the publication of this hymn in Schubart's *Catholische Kirchengesänge und geistlich Lieder* is misleading.

<sup>78</sup> Tomasz Jeż discussed one example of what he believes to be a direct transmission between Triller's hymnbook and Schubart's *Catholische Kirchengesänge und geistlich Lieder*, namely *Als wir warn beladen* (fols. 22v–23v), a contrafactum of *Ave hierarchia*. Cf. (Jeż 2013, 23). Text and hymn tune are the same as Triller's no. 3 *Als wir warn beladen*, but the same hymn is also present in Leisentrit's hymnbook (albeit in a slightly different variant). Cf. (Wetzel and Heitmeyer 2013, 101) no. 10. The version in the *Catholische Kirchengesänge und geistlich Lieder* is probably misprinted (see the last ligature of fol. 22v/4), and it displays further variants to Triller's (see the rests and the melody of the verse 'den waren Messiam'). All in all, it is difficult to trace relations regarding such a popular melody. The hypothesis that Triller's hymnbook might have been available to the editor of Schubart's print should not be discarded (some title rubrics, for instance, echo those in Triller's hymnbook), but further research is necessary.

<sup>79</sup> Michael Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae ... Siebender Theil* (Wolfenbüttel: Fürstliche Druckerei 1609, RISM B/1 1609–10) and *Musae Sioniae ... Achter Theil* (Wolfenbüttel: Fürstliche Druckerei 1610, RISM A/1 P 5357). Modern edition in (Blume 1939) and (Blume 1932).

<sup>80</sup> In the *Musae Sioniae* there is one further hymn that might be taken from Triller's hymnbook: *Wir wollen nun singen heut für allen* (*Musae Sioniae* VII, no. 105), modern edition (Blume 1939, 99). The text is the same as Triller's no. 22 *Wir wollen singen heut für allen dingen*, albeit with several variants. Moreover, Praetorius set this text to a different hymn tune and it is not clear whether he took it from Triller's hymnbook or from some other, undetected source.



some hymns in PL-Wu SDM 93.<sup>81</sup> Only in two cases did Praetorius borrow contrapuntal frameworks together with Triller's texts: *Ich weiß ein Blümlein hüpsch und fein* (discantus and tenor) and *Ach mein Got sprich mir freuntlich zu* (tenor transposed an octave higher, bassus with minor variants). The latter example is particularly fascinating, because it sheds lights on the circumstances that enabled the encounter between Praetorius and Triller's hymnbook.

As I highlighted in chapter 4.3, there is a printing error in the bassus bar 14,1 of Triller's no. 131 *Ach mein Got sprich mir freuntlich zu*. Musical example 13 compares this passage from Triller's hymnbook with Praetorius' reworking in *Musae Sioniae*.

Praetorius' correction of the bassus is relatively obvious, yet it differs from the 'original' reading of the model for this contrafactum (*Ein Maidlein (Magd, die) sagt mir freundlich zu*, see Musical example 7). Interestingly, however, I am aware of another source where this correction appears. It is a copy of Triller's hymnbook housed at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, D-W H: Yv 1129.8° Helmst. A scribe corrected this passage in exactly in the same way it appears in Praetorius' *Musae Sioniae*.<sup>82</sup>

This might seem a meaningless coincidence, but it reveals a fascinating possible scenario. I would argue that Praetorius used exactly this copy of the hymnbook as his source. In fact, D-W H: Yv 1129.8° Helmst. was acquired in 1566 by Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, becoming part of the ducal library in Wolfenbüttel.<sup>83</sup> From 1593 onwards, Praetorius served at the court of Julius' son, Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg.<sup>84</sup> It was during his Wolfenbüttel years that Praetorius published *Musae Sioniae*, and both its parts 7 and 8 were printed there at the Fürstliche Druckerei. How else could he have accessed a fifty-year-old Silesian print like *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, if not through the ducal library?

Against this background, it seems plausible that Praetorius himself was the scribe who corrected no. 131 *Ach mein Got sprich mir freuntlich zu* in D-W H: Yv 1129.8° Helmst.<sup>85</sup> In fact, this scenario is confirmed by a second correction in D-W H: Yv 1129.8° Helmst., pertaining to the hymn no. 140 *So schon von art*.

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<sup>81</sup> Compare, for instance, the reworking of Triller's no. 133 *Nu lobet mit gesangen* in PL-Wu SDM 93 with Praetorius' version of the same hymn. Modern editions in (Chemotti 2019, 108) and (Blume 1939, 142–143).

<sup>82</sup> D-W H: Yv 1129.8° Helmst., fol. 11r/5. See the reproduction of this folio in (Schwindt 2006, 61).

<sup>83</sup> Duke Julius' library constituted the basis of the Herzog August Library. For a short history of the Bibliotheca Julia and the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel see the *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände* (ed. Bernhard Fabian), online at <<http://fabian.sub.uni-goettingen.de>>, accessed 25 July 2019.

<sup>84</sup> (Forchert 2005).

<sup>85</sup> The correction in D-W H: Yv 1129.8° Helmst., fol. 11r/5 (a round semibreve leaning rightwards) seems compatible with Praetorius' hand. See e.g. his autograph in (Forchert 1962, 1569–1570).

Table 9: Triller's hymns in Michael Praetorius' *Musae Sioniae*

Triller's hymn and hymn tune	Polyphonic in Triller's hymnbook	Text incipit in <i>Musae Sioniae</i>	<i>Musae Sioniae</i>	Modern edition	Text attribution in <i>Musae Sioniae</i>
No. 19 ( <i>Aus fremden Landen komm' ich her</i> )	*	<i>Es kam ein Engel hell und klar</i>	VII, no. 227	(Blume 1939, 233–234)	
No. 59 ( <i>Wach auf, wach auf du Schöne</i> )	*	<i>Merck auff merck auff du schöne</i>	VIII, no. 141	(Blume 1932, 106)	
No. 61 ( <i>Von edler art auch rein und zart</i> )		<i>Von edler arth gantz schön und zart</i>	VIII, no. 140	(Blume 1932, 105)	
No. 62 (model unidentified)	*	<i>Ich weiß ein Blümlein hübsch und fein</i>	VII, no. 201	(Blume 1939, 201–202)	Val. Triller
No. 72 (model unidentified)	*	<i>Wir wollen alle singen dem Herrn</i>	VII, no. 229	(Blume 1939, 236)	
No. 75 ( <i>Ave fuit prima salus</i> )	*	<i>Es sprach Christus des Menschen Sohn</i>	VII, no. 221	(Blume 1939, 226–227)	Val. Triller
No. 78 (model unidentified)		<i>Zu dir erhebe ich meine Seel</i>	VII, no. 228	(Blume 1939, 234–235)	
No. 80 ( <i>Omnium sanctorum pia dictamina</i> )	*	<i>Nun laßt uns im Glauben</i>	VII, no. 143	(Blume 1939, 143–144)	Val. Triller
No. 81 ( <i>Die Frau von Himmel ruf' ich an</i> )	*	<i>Dich Gott von Himmel ruf ich an</i>	VII, no. 226	(Blume 1939, 232–233)	
No. 129 ( <i>Die Schrift gibt uns Weis' und Lehr</i> )		<i>Es war einmal ein reicher Mann</i>	VII, no. 196	(Blume 1939, 194–197)	Val. Triller

No. 131 ( <i>Ein Maidlein (Magd, die) sagt mir freundlich zu</i> )	*	Ach mein Gott sprich mir freundlich zu	VII, no. 220	(Blume 1939, 225–226)	Val. Triller
No. 132 ( <i>Von schwarz ist mir ein Kleid</i> )		Ganz schwartz heßlich jetzt lang sich hat	VII, no. 224	(Blume 1939, 230–231)	
No. 133 ( <i>Nun lobe, Linde lobe</i> )	*	Nun lobet mit Gesängen den Herren	VII, no. 142	(Blume 1939, 142–143)	Val. Triller
No. 134 ( <i>Viel Glück und Heil ist niemand feil</i> )		Viel Glück und Heyl ist jetzt wolfeil	VII, no. 144	(Blume 1939, 144–145)	Val. Triller
No. 137 ( <i>O werter Mund, von dir ist wund</i> )		O Wehrder Mund durch den mir kund	VII, no. 225	(Blume 1939, 231–232)	
No. 139 ( <i>Zart schöne Frau</i> )	*	O Mensch nun schau bedenck die Trew	VII, no. 145	(Blume 1939, 145–146)	Val. Triller
No. 140 ( <i>model unidentified</i> )	*	So schön von Art bistu gantz zart trew	VII, no. 146	(Blume 1939, 146–147)	Val. Triller
No. 141 ( <i>Auf dieser Erd' mein Herz begehrt</i> )	*	Auf dieser Erd hatt Christ sein Herd	VII, no. 223	(Blume 1939, 229)	
No. 142 ( <i>Tröstlicher Lieb'</i> )	*	Tröstlich ist mir der Schmuck und Zier	VII, no. 147	(Blume 1939, 147–148)	Val. Triller
No. 143 ( <i>Nach Lust hab' ich</i> )	*	Nach lust hab ich nun recht erkannd	VII, no. 148	(Blume 1939, 148–149)	Val. Triller
No. 145 ( <i>So wünsch' ich ihm/ihr ein gute Nacht zu hunderttausend Stunden</i> )	*	Nun wünschen wir zu guter Nacht	VIII, no. 294	(Blume 1932, 215–216)	

*Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*

12

Discantus

Tenor

Bassus

Denn mich an - ficht das ernst Ge - richt

*Musae Sioniae ... Siebender Theil*  
[Wolfenbüttel: Fürstliche Druckerei 1609]

Cantus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

Denn mich an - ficht das ernst Ge - richt

Musical example 13: Triller's no. 131 *Ach mein Got sprich mir freuntlich zu* bars 12–17 compared to Michael Praetorius' version in *Musae Sioniae ... Siebender Theil* (Wolfenbüttel: Fürstliche Druckerei 1609)

Musical example 14 compares bars 21–24 of Triller's hymn with the handwritten correction in the Wolfenbüttel copy,<sup>86</sup> while Musical example 15 shows Praetorius' reworking of the same passage. In his hymn, Praetorius borrowed only Triller's tenor, moving it to the cantus and slightly reworking its rhythm. However, the formula he used in the bassus to avoid hidden fifths with the cantus is identical to the correction in D–W H: Yv 1129.8° Helmst. Furthermore, the latter is executed in mensural notation combined with German organ tablature to clarify pitches, and the letters match Praetorius' handwriting.

<sup>86</sup> D–W H: Yv 1129.8° Helmst., fol. n3v/1.

*Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein*  
21

Discantus

Tenor

Bassus

- lich ich rhü - me dich

- lich ich rhü - me dich

- lich ich rhü - me dich

Corrections in D-W H: Yv 1129.8° Helmst.

Musical example 14: Triller's no. 140 *So schon von art* bars 21-24 and the handwritten corrections in D-W H: Yv 1129.8° Helmst.

*Musae Sioniae ... Siebender Theil*  
(Wolfenbüttel: Fürstliche Druckerei 1609)

16

Cantus

Altus

Tenor

Bass

ich rüh - me dich

ich rüh - me dich

ich rüh - me dich

ich rüh - me dich

Musical example 15: *So schon von art* bars 16-18 from Michael Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae ... Siebender Theil* (Wolfenbüttel: Fürstliche Druckerei 1609)

Thus, I would argue that Michael Praetorius not only used *Ein Schlesisch singebüchlein* as a source of religious poetry and hymn tunes, but he probably performed polyphony from it at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It should be noted, moreover, that his interest in the source also might have been stirred by his private Silesian connections: his father, Michael Schultheis, was a pastor and native of Bunzlau (Polish

Bolesławiec, c. 100 kilometres west of Wrocław),<sup>87</sup> who might well have been aware of Valentin Triller and his hymns.

Altogether, the sources discussed in this chapter show that Triller's hymnbook did impact on early modern hymnody, the initial difficulties notwithstanding. It crossed regional as well as confessional borders, a circulation that was enabled first and foremost by the printed medium. A collective look at the sources, however, calls for some distinctions regarding the fortune of Triller's hymns. First of all, it should be noted that the reception of Triller's polyphonic hymns was largely confined to the reception of the hymnbook itself, since they do not seem to have been copied much in other printed or handwritten collections (in conjunction with Triller's texts, evidently).<sup>88</sup> Moreover, the professional musicians who interacted with the polyphony published in the hymnbook around 1600 often seem to have found it unsatisfactory. The Silesian organist who owned PL-Wu SDM 93 certainly performed its polyphonic hymns, but in several instances he disregarded the printed parts and wrote down (and probably composed) new ones.<sup>89</sup> The changing aesthetics of polyphonic texture certainly influenced his judgement: just like Michael Praetorius in *Musae Sioniae*, the owner of PL-Wu SDM 93 moved the cantus firmi to the top part, while many of Triller's hymns had the cantus firmus in the tenor.<sup>90</sup> A detailed analysis of his corrections would reveal which other limitations he perceived in Triller's hymns.

While the polyphonic versions of Triller's hymns did not leave the hymnbook, Triller's texts enjoyed a long life independently of it, both in conjunction with the monodic hymn tunes assigned by Triller as well as with different music. This is attested by several sources, and many others would probably emerge if we were to carry out a detailed study on the matter. Through this dispersed and anonymised dissemination, Triller's hymns survived for centuries.

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<sup>87</sup> (Forchert 2005).

<sup>88</sup> I am aware of very few sources where Triller's texts are copied together with their corresponding polyphony. See the above-mentioned D-W A: 5.1 Mus. and D-B Slg Bohn Mus. MS 352. I was unable to consult the latter in person, but it seems that the two-part hymn no. 38 *Alle landt da Christ wird erkandt* was copied there with both parts. Cf. (Mańko-Matysiak 2005, 315) no. 32. The seventeenth-century manuscript 'Liegnitz 15' mentioned in (Hartmann 1976, 202) is supposed to contain a copy of the three-part hymn no. 22 *Wir wollen singen heut für allen dingen*.

<sup>89</sup> See the examples edited in (Chemotti 2019, 103–109)

<sup>90</sup> Cf. (Chemotti 2019, 5).

## Conclusions

### Musical pasts

After delving through the paratexts and contents of Valentin Triller's hymnbook, one simple yet essential fact should not be overlooked. First and foremost, *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* is a printed book that aimed to serve (and indeed served) a very practical purpose, giving its owners a repertory of vernacular hymns to accompany their religious life. To some early modern readers, *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* could have been 'just' this, a collection of hymns: it could be used without reflecting on its unusual title, without reading its dedication letter and preface, and without devoting much thought to its music repertory. Even shortly after the publication, the 'official reading' of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* illustrated in its paratexts was not the only viable one, as I have sketched in chapter 5. Nor was the book used only in the ways envisaged in its preface and title rubrics.

Thus it is evident that the paratexts do not cover all the meanings and functions the book could have acquired after leaving the press, nor are they a complete account of its sociocultural background. Nonetheless, they do open a window onto their author's world, offering a unique perspective on the issues Triller wanted his readers to be aware of. I have argued that his views on the musical past and his sense of regional identity (involving all the different nuances discussed in chapter 2) represent a fundamental frame of reference for understanding the publication and its contents. Triller's words reveal an evident relation between the past and regionalism, and he legitimates the musical past as a local musical past, opposing it to 'foreign' repertories. This is a very specific perspective, and I have argued that it accounts for the idiosyncratic repertory used by Triller, which is indeed quite different from other vernacular hymnbooks compiled around the same time. However, Triller's retrospective preferences also affect the contrafacta of successful Tenorlieder (as shown in chapter 4.3), something that cannot be explained solely by the rejection of foreign hymnic traditions, nor with the cultivation of repertories perceived as local.

If we look at *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* just from within the German Kirchenlied corpus, we risk missing one important aspect, namely its affinity with other sixteenth-century collections that transmit similar repertories. Limiting the discussion to polyphony, we cannot ignore the fact that many of the concordant sources listed in Appendix C were copied around the same time *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* was published, or even afterwards.<sup>1</sup> It seems that *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* was but one specific manifestation of more general cultural practices, albeit an unusually

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<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, CZ-TEm 2, an Utraquist manuscript copied in 1566, containing Czech contrafacta of *Praelus-tri elucientia* (model of no. 68), *Dorothea coronata* (model of no. 94), and *Veni sancte spiritus - Da gaudiorum* (model of no. 48).

self-reflective one. I think that it would appear less unusual if we had a more detailed knowledge of such practices, as well as a more diverse understanding of the 'type of historicity' of the different repertoires.

In this regard, it is worth considering other sources that, albeit quite different from Triller's hymnbook, transmit related repertoires with a comparably conscious retrospective attitude. A case in point is the abovementioned *Veteres ac pia cantiones praecipuorum anni festorum*, a collection of four-part settings edited by Christoph Hecyrus and published in Nuremberg in 1561. Martin Horyna has already pointed out a repertorial proximity between this collection, Triller's hymnbook, and Bohemian Utraquist manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> This is unsurprising, since Hecyrus was a native of Böhmisches Krumau (Czech Český Krumlov) and rector of the school in Budweis (Czech České Budějovice, Bohemia).<sup>3</sup>

Hecyrus' deliberate retrospectivity already manifests in the title 'old and pious songs' ('*veteres ac pia cantiones*'). One wonders whether the editor, who was a Catholic in a largely non-Catholic region, perceived a cogent relation between 'oldness' and 'piety'. Furthermore, the print was supplied with a Latin preface, revealing quite interesting views on its content. It is worth quoting its first two paragraphs in full:

In the gospel of John, Christ our Saviour said to His disciples: 'Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost'. We are instructed in this teaching not only so we are frugal and use correctly the gifts of God, and so that we can redistribute according to need the goods of which we have a surplus, donating them to those who need them, but also so that we do not despise that which can serve the glory of God, or the benefit of our neighbour, but share it candidly and equally among all.

Many songs attest that our ancestors were very dedicated to this, [songs] that they composed for the most important feasts, and they handed down to us almost by hand. Since I see that [these songs] are used rarely in schools, or are even set aside and despised because of negligence and pride, I thought that I would do something of value if I published these songs that I myself have collected with no little toil from various booklets during my long administration of the school. [I did this] not in order to obtain popular glory or reward by some private individual, but in particular to spread the praise and the glory of our Lord, in order to contribute honestly to the devotion of the students, providing relief during the study of letters.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> (Horyna 2003, 308).

<sup>3</sup> (Horyna and Lipphardt 2002).

<sup>4</sup> Hecyrus Christoph, *Veteres ac pia cantiones praecipuorum anni festorum* (Nuremberg: Johann Berg and Ulrich Neuber 1561), fol. a2r: 'Colligite, inquit Christus Servator noster discipulis suis apud Ioannem Evangelistam, quae superfluerunt fragmentorum, ne quid pereat. Quo quidem praecepto non solum docemur, ut frugales simus, ac donis Dei recte utamur, et qua nobis supersunt ad necessitatem reservemus, et alijs qui indigent distribuamus, sed etiam ut ea quae ad Dei optimi maximi laudem, vel ad proximorum nostrorum utilitatem spectant, non vilipendamus, sed omnibus ex aequo candide impartiamus. Huius rei maiores nostros studiosos fuisse testantur multa cantica, quae de praecipuis Anniversarijs festis composuerunt, et nobis quasi per manus tradiderunt. Que cum



Although Hecyrus is not explicit with regard to the values represented by the 'old and pious songs', he clearly considered them a heritage worth preserving. He begins the preface with a scriptural quotation of John 6:12, 'gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost',<sup>5</sup> quite a telling choice. This passage is taken from John's account of the feeding of the five thousand (John 6:1–14), when Jesus orders his disciples to collect the leftovers of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. Hecyrus uses it to evoke the moral responsibility not to vilify that which can serve the glory of God or the good of one's neighbour, also relating this duty to the preservation of music, implicitly referring to the compositions gathered in the print. The very fact that John 6:12 could be applied to collecting 'old and pious songs' gives a sense of the great value Hecyrus attributed to them. Moreover, the reference to the 'fragments' points to something that risks being lost, and indeed the editor is quite explicit on this point, noting that the repertory collected in the *Veteres ac piae cantiones* is falling out of use.

The similarities between Hecyrus' and Triller's words are evident: both attached some sort of value to the 'veteres cantiones' (or the 'alte gewöhnliche melodien'), and both saw the act of printing them as functional to their preservation. Nevertheless, the two collections are very different. *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* is a hymnbook containing exclusively vernacular hymns. By contrast, the *Veteres ac piae cantiones* is a school collection of polyphony in partbooks, predominantly in Latin but also including German versions in order to 'instruct in piety also the more ignorant who do not understand Latin yet'.<sup>6</sup> The editors' background is also different: Triller is the Lutheran pastor of a Silesian village, while Hecyrus is a Catholic school teacher and humanist from Bohemia. It is precisely these differences that are most meaningful, since they reveal that the engagement with a comparable musical past was a cultural phenomenon that went beyond Triller's hymnbook, and beyond Lutheran communities in Silesia.

Indeed, the cultivation of 'archaic' repertories has been often regarded as a defining feature of central European musical cultures, especially because of the aforementioned Bohemian Utraquist sources that transmit sacred polyphony in black mensural notation until the end of the sixteenth century and beyond.<sup>7</sup> I am not aware of any explicit statement by Utraquist scribes as to why they copied their older repertory,

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viderem iam rarius in Scolis usurpari, imo negligentia et fastu quodam abijci atque contemni, operae precium me facturum arbitrabar, si ea, quae ipse non parvo labore in mea diutina Scola administratione ex varijs libellis collegerem, in publicum darem, non captandae aurae popularis aut emolumenti alicuius privati gratia, sed ut imprimis Dei nostri laus et gloria propagaretur, Scolasticorum pietate et in studio literarum honeste recreationi consuleretur'.

<sup>5</sup> John 6:12, King James Version.

<sup>6</sup> '[...] sed etiam eas [cantiones] germanice reddidi, ut etiam rudiores, qui nondum latina intelligunt, in pietate instituerentur', Hecyrus Christoph, *Veteres ac piae cantiones praecipuorum anni festorum* (Nuremberg: Johann Berg and Ulrich Neuber 1561), fol. a2v.

<sup>7</sup> On this issue, see (Hlávková forthcoming) as well as (Černý 1990) and (Ward 2001).

and it is not possible to compare their agenda to Triller's, nor to assess the self-consciousness of their operation. It seems likely, however, that different communities had different reasons for preserving what they probably considered 'their own' musical past, and they must have legitimated such musical traditions in different ways.

Despite the differences, Triller's, Hecyrus' and the Utraquists' musical pasts share one common denominator: none of them is built on authoriality. True, a few hymn tunes printed in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* can be attributed to a 'composer',<sup>8</sup> but authors' names are not mentioned anywhere in the source, and I strongly doubt that Triller was aware of them. Even if he was, however, there is no reason to think that authoriality played any role in his reception of this music.<sup>9</sup> I would argue that this applies also to Hecyrus' collection and to the 'archaic' repertory in Utraquist manuscripts. I am not suggesting that this music was depersonalised or that its origins were relegated to a mythical past. Hecyrus, for instance, makes a clear reference to the forefathers who created the repertory and 'handed it down' to the following generations (see the quotation above). Nonetheless, the forefathers are nameless, and the negotiation of these musical pasts is ultimately different from the canonisation of venerable composers (or hymnodists, for that matter), which rested also on the authority of their names.<sup>10</sup>

Readers will have noticed that all the examples discussed so far pertain to sacred music. This is hardly surprising: be it in terms of continuity or of restitution, we are accustomed to musical cultures that value tradition where religion is concerned. However, this attitude alone does not account for all the retrospective choices visible in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, and the early modern cultivation of the musical past cannot be reduced to a manifestation of ritual traditionalism. In fact, similar tendencies are also evident with regard to music that had no immediate ritual or liturgical use. Consider, for example, the concordances of the hymn tunes in the secular section of *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* (Appendix C, nos. 131–142). It appears that Triller was not alone in treasuring decades-old polyphonic *Lieder*, as it is evident from printed and handwritten sources alike.<sup>11</sup> In some cases, the scribes were clearly aware of the age

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<sup>8</sup> *Praelustri elucentia* (no. 68) is attributed to Petrus Wilhemi de Grundecz, but as noted above this is a musicological attribution; *Ein Maidlein (Magd, die) sagt mir freundlich zu* (no. 131) is attributed to 'Machinger', i.e. Beatus Widmann, although Widmann was probably only responsible for the text of this *Lied*. Cf. (Schwindt 2018, 243–245); *Tröstlicher Lieb'* (no. 142) is attributed to Paul Hofhaimer. Some monodic tenors derive from attributed polyphony, see, for instance, Triller's hymn no. 136, from Ludwig Senfl's *Was wird es doch, des Wunders noch*.

<sup>9</sup> On a similar issue, see Nicole Schwindt's research with regard to the reception of polyphonic *Lieder*, (Schwindt 2012a, 226).

<sup>10</sup> The most obvious example is the canonisation of Josquin Desprez in German-speaking regions, see (Meyer 2016). On similar issues see also (van Orden 2014).

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, CH-Bu F X 17–20, copied by different scribes between 1545 and 1560. Scribe 1 carried out his work in Bavaria around 1545 and copied three settings that also appear in Triller's hymnbook: *Tröstlicher Lieb'* (model of no. 142), *Zart schöne Frau* (model of no. 139), and *Nie noch nimmer so ruht mein G'müt* (model of no. 138). Scribe 2, who copied *Ein Maidlein sagt mir freundlich zu* (model of no. 131), probably was the goldsmith

of the settings they were copying: see, for example, the rubric 'antiquum' appended to *Nie noch nimmer so ruht mein G'müt* (the model of Triller's no. 138) in Tschudi's Songbook, copied around 1540.<sup>12</sup> The mechanisms that led to the preservation of the Tenorlied repertory (and of its stylistic features) have been discussed repeatedly in secondary literature, highlighting the central role played by a sense of German linguistic and national identity.<sup>13</sup>

One prime example of this is Georg Forster's *Ein Außzug guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlin* (Nuremberg: Johann Petreius 1539), which shares few concordances with Triller's hymnbook.<sup>14</sup> In the preface printed in the tenor partbook, Forster justifies the publication of old polyphonic Lieder by 'good old German composers' ('alten rechten Teutschen Componisten') by highlighting their artistic qualities. He laments that many judge music by novelty and not by quality, so that the compositions of the old masters are replaced by 'nonsensical new compositions' ('ungereumbter newer Composition'). Once again, a printed collection is presented as a means of saving a repertory from falling into oblivion, a repertory defined by aesthetic qualities but also connoted in terms of identity (in this case, national and linguistic identity).<sup>15</sup>

Forster's preface is particularly relevant to our discussion because it negotiates a musical past by representing it as 'one's own past', also defined by the perception of alterity.<sup>16</sup> These strategies are likewise evident in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*, although it is obvious that the two collections are very different (the concordances notwithstanding). Just as I argued above with regard to Hecyrus' *Veteres ac piaae cantiones*, it is precisely these differences that are key to understanding *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*. Evidently, the sixteenth century witnessed a multifaceted interest in various sorts of 'old music', an interest based on different values and agendas. Also mapping similar occurrences beyond central Europe would certainly enable us to gain a more detailed understanding of such cultural practices, perhaps counteracting narratives of European

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Jakob Hagenbach (1532–1565), active in Basel. Cf. (Kmetz 1988, 278–295).

<sup>12</sup> CH-SGs MS 463. On the dating of this manuscript see (Loach 1970, 53–67).

<sup>13</sup> (Schwindt 2012b).

<sup>14</sup> Besides the 'polyphonic concordances' listed in Appendix C (nos. 131 and 142), see also the tenors nos. 136 and 145.

<sup>15</sup> *Ein Außzug guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlin* (Nuremberg: Johann Petreius 1539), fol. a2v: 'Wiewol mich aber vil guter freund / und liebhaber der edlen Music / solche Liedlin in truck zu geben gebeten / welchs ich mich offt und dick gewidert / und abgeschlagen / ursach / dieweil solch liedlin zum meysten teil etwas alt / darumb sie dann bey vilen (die nicht ob sie gut / sonder ob sie new sein fragen) möchten gering geacht werden/ Jedoch hab ich jnen solchs letzlich nit können abschlagen / Erstlich darumb / daz der alten rechten Teutschen Componisten lidlin / so schier (wann ichs sagen dörrft / nach laut des spruchworts) noch am besten sein / sampt iren Meistern / welche zum meisten theil mit der Music auffferzogen / umgangen / und ir leben damit beschlossen / gantz und gar vergessen / Und dargegen an ir statt / vil ungereumbter newer Composition gebraucht werden'. For a discussion of Forster's preface see (Schwindt 2013).

<sup>16</sup> (Schwindt 2013, 338–339).

music history that are biased towards a teleological and progressivist depiction of its development.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, it would be necessary to investigate the relation between the cultivation of musical pasts and similar trends in other areas of early modern culture.<sup>18</sup> It is unlikely that retrospective musical tastes were purely musical self-contained phenomena, and they may have gone hand in hand with a wider interest in the past conjured up by the music.

That being said, one wonders what made possible the encounter between Valentin Triller and his musical past, and what made him perceive a temporal distance between his times and the times in which his hymn tunes originated. Many of his antigraphs must have been manuscripts, which rarely have colophons indicating the exact date of copying. Thus it is unlikely that Triller was able to attach a precise date to the individual hymn tunes. His perception of 'oldness' must have been based on reading and hearing the music, possibly also its text. The materiality of the sources he had access to also could have contributed to it: books that look old because they are worn out or rely on outdated scripts and notations clearly point at the age of their content. Triller's personal memories may have played a central role in constructing his concept of the musical past. If he remembered music from his childhood or youth, he would have been aware of this music's 'minimum age' independently of the actual source he relied on.

Be that as it may, it seems unlikely that Triller knew precisely how old the 'old familiar melodies' were. This vague perception of a musical past was probably more the rule than the exception. In fact, in the several versions of the antiquity trope that I have encountered in hymnbooks and other sources, chronological references tend to be rather generic, betraying a lack of exact information on the matter. This is understandable: compositions that can be attached to an author (be it Jan Hus, Martin Luther, or Josquin Desprez) can be dated approximately, but a largely anonymous repertory does not offer any foothold in this regard. Thus we mostly encounter indefinite chronologies, sometimes referring to the ancestors who cultivated a specific repertory but without mentioning precise dates. For example, Valentin Triller and the editor of the *Wittenberger Gemeindegesangbuch* both speak of 'the old ones' ('alten'), while Cyriacus Spangenberg and Christoph Hecyrus recall 'our ancestors' (respectively 'unsern Vorfarn' and 'maiores nostros'). As noted in chapter 2.3, Protestant writers often discuss the musical past together with the age of the 'false doctrine', a very large

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<sup>17</sup> Deliberately retrospective collections were also published in countries whose sixteenth-century musical culture is usually seen as 'progressive'. Think, for instance, of Serafino Razzi's *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali da diversi eccell. e divoti autori, antichi e moderni composte* (Venice: Francesco Rampazzetto ad instantia degli heredi di Bernardo Giunti di Firenze 1563, RISM B/1 1563–06). The dedication letter, signed by Filippo Giunti in 1563, voices an awareness of the past in music, and presents the musical past as an expression of a lost model of pious monastic life.

<sup>18</sup> For instance, Lenka Hlávková has recently pointed out the fascinating correspondence between retrospective musical repertories in Utraquist communities and archaising tendencies in their religious art. See (Hlávková forthcoming).

time frame defined by the *terminus* of the Reformation. Even when they try to count years, authors use non-specific indications: according to Johannes Winnigstedt, the author of the *Mülenlied* simply lived 'many years ago',<sup>19</sup> while Nicolaus Florus claims that *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* was sung 'several centuries ago'.<sup>20</sup> Specific dates are almost completely absent.<sup>21</sup>

The vague notion of 'old' notwithstanding, sources like *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* allow us to deepen our knowledge of early modern music in general. In fact, they reveal a specific perspective on repertoires that would otherwise seem quite neutral. Consider, for instance, Triller's hymn no. 56 *O Herr Got vater won uns bey*, which uses the same hymn tune as Martin Luther's *Gott der Vater wohn uns bei*,<sup>22</sup> a clear-cut melody in fifth mode. Both Luther's hymn and its previous versions were very popular (judging from the multitude of extant sources), and I would assume that around 1550 *Gott der Vater wohn uns bei* was not perceived as anything odd. Yet Triller clearly regarded its melody as old (a 'alte Melodia', as stated in the title rubric). Against this background, is it not likely that other people regarded it (and heard it) as such? Notwithstanding their rootedness in everyday worship, it is worth considering the possibility that portions of the Kirchenlied repertory were regarded as old, possibly already sounding archaic to sixteenth-century listeners.

*Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* might seem a source of secondary importance, published in a region that traditional music history would see as peripheral, and edited by an obscure pastor. Admittedly, Wrocław was not Wittenberg, and Valentin Triller was not Martin Luther. Nor did *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* have an impact on European music history in any way comparable to that of other, more successful hymn collections. Nonetheless, music history is more complex than a series of great personalities and influential artworks, and the importance (in a broad sense) of musical sources

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<sup>19</sup> Winnigstedt Johannes, *Das alte gedicht welchs man nennet das Mülenlied* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter 1552), fol. A2r: 'Unter welchen ist auch gewest der Dichter dieses Mülenlieds / welcher vielleicht vor vielen jaren ist gewesen [...]'.  
<sup>20</sup> Florus Nicolaus, *Das uralte und Christliche Lobgesang, Ein Kindelein so Löbelich, etc.* (Strasbourg: Nikolaus Wiriot 1581), fol. A6r-A6v: 'Dieses schöne liebliche und Christliche Lied / von dem Newgebornen kindlein / dem lieben Jesulin / ist Eins auss den Alten Gesängen unser lieben Vorfahren / welches sie zweiffels on etliche hundert Jar her / auch ehe dann das Babstumb mit seiner falschen Lehr / und Abgötterey so grob überhand genommen / gesungen haben'.

<sup>21</sup> Discussing *Ein Kindelein so löbelich*, Johannes Gigas states that '110 years ago this little song was sung in Constantinople in Greece, and 40 years ago it was sung in Ofen in Hungary. What do they sing there now?' ('Für 110. jaren ist dis Liedlien zu Constantinopel in Griechenland / für 40. jaren zu Ofen in Ungern / noch gesungen worden / Was singt man itzt da?'), Gigas Johannes, *Des alten Christlichen Lieds, Ein Kindelein so löbelich, etc. kurtze erklärung* (Frankfurt an der Oder: Johann Eichorn 1564), fol. C1v. Clearly, the dates were chosen because of their symbolic value, referring to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the Battle of Mohács of 1526. Gigas implies that *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* is not sung anymore in those cities because they are under the control of the Turks.

<sup>22</sup> (Jenny 1985, 79–88, 236–237).

cannot be measured by canonised narratives. Even apparently insignificant collections can deepen our knowledge of early modern music, exposing mechanisms that would not be evident in other sources that seem artistically more significant. *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* is a case in point: it is a source offering great potential for scholars interested in the history of its peculiar hymn tunes as well as of vernacular hymnody in general. Furthermore, although many of its features require regional contextualisation, it offers insights on phenomena relevant to Central and indeed all of Europe.

The considerable amount of scholarly work already devoted to Triller's hymnbook notwithstanding, this source has still much to offer, and its multifaceted meanings should not be reduced solely to its backward-looking musical content. Triller's editorial endeavour was an amalgam of old and new, and I have argued that *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* answered to the immediate requirements of mid-sixteenth-century Silesia. Although the publication probably did not achieve all of its objectives, at least one of Valentin Triller's wishes has come true: the 'best old, familiar and fine melodies' are not forgotten, and thanks to *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein* they are still studied, performed, and recorded 'lest they should be entirely lost and all memory of them perish'.

## APPENDIX A: Title pages, dedication letter, and preface of Valentin Triller's hymnbook

Appendix A/1–4 contains diplomatic transcriptions of the main paratexts of Valentin Triller's hymnbook, namely the two title pages with which the hymnbook was issued in 1555 and 1559 (Appendices A/1 and A/2), the dedication letter to Duke Georg II of Brieg (Appendix A/3), and the preface (Appendix A/4). The transcription is based on the first edition of the hymnbook, and the minimal changes occurring in the 1559 reprint of the dedication letter are listed in Appendix A/3.

Each document is transcribed as it appears in the source, also following its punctuation, lines, and syllabification. Vowels with the diacritic sign 'e' have been transcribed with an Umlaut (ä, ö, ü). The letter 'w' has always been retained, while the letter 'v' has been transcribed as 'v' or 'u' following the conventions of modern German. Abbreviations have been spelled out between angle brackets (<>), in order to make visible the differences in the 1559 reprint. For ease of reference, I have numbered the lines and included the foliation of the original source. An English translation of these paratexts is available in Appendix A/5.

### APPENDIX A/1: The 1555 title page

- 1 Ein Schlesich singebüchlein
- 2 aus Göttlicher schrift / von den fürnemsten
- 3 Festen des Jares / und sonst von andern gesungen und Psal=
- 4 men / gestelt auff viel alte gewöhnliche melodien / so zum
- 5 teil vorhin Lateinisch / zum teil Deutsch / mit Geistlichen
- 6 oder auch Weltlichen texten gesungen seind /
- 7 Durch
- 8 Valentinum Triller von Gora / Pfar=
- 9 herrn zu Pantenaw im Nimpschischen
- 10 Weichbilde.
- 11 Psalm. CL.
- 12 Alles was odem hat lobe den Herren.
- 13 Gedruckt zu Bresslaw / durch
- 14 Crispinum Scharffenberg.
- 15 1555.

### APPENDIX A/2: The 1559 title page

- 1 Ein Christlich Singebuch /
- 2 für Layen und Gelerten / Kinder und alten / daheim

3 und in Kirchen zu singen / Mit einer / zweien und dreien stim=  
4 men / von den furnemsten Festen des gantzes jares / auff viel  
5 alte gewöhnliche Melodien / so den alten bekant / und doch von  
6 wegen etlicher Abgöttischen Texten sind abgethan / zum  
7 teil auch aus reinem Latinischen Coral / new=  
8 lich zugericht /  
9 Durch  
10 Valentinum Triller von Gora / Pfar=  
11 herrn zu Pantenaw / im Nimpschischen  
12 Weichbilde.  
13 Psalm. CL.  
14 Alles was odem hat lobe den Herrn.  
15 Gedruckt zu Bresslaw / durch  
16 Chrispinum Scharffenberg.  
17 1559.

APPENDIX A/3: The dedication letter  
to Duke Georg II of Brieg

[fol. A2r]

1 Dem durchleuchtigen / hochgebornen Fürsten un<d> Herrn  
2 Herrn Georgen / Hertzogen in Schlesien / zur Ligenitz / Breig etc. mei=  
3 nem gnedigen Fürsten und Herren / wünsche ich Valentin Triller / ein  
4 armer diener des Göttlichen Worts zu Panthenaw / des Nymptschischen  
5 Weichbildes / von Gott dem allmechtigen / Gnad / fried / segen / und  
6 allerley wolfart / durch Christum Jhesum unsern geliebsten  
7 HErren / und einigen Heilandt / beinehben  
8 er bieten meiner schuldigen dienste /  
9 und trewer vorbit.  
10 Durchleuchtiger / hochgeborner Fürst und  
11 Herr / sintemal wir Menschen der Göttlichen Maiestet  
12 nichts zuschencken noch zugeben haben / den<n> unsere Leibe /  
13 ja uns selbs gantz und gar zum opffer / und darnoch das  
14 lob und den rhum seines heiligen Namens / welchs die  
15 heilige schrift nennet opffer des lobes / und kelber unser lippen / die wir jm  
16 auch teglich fur die manchfaltigen entpfangene<n> gutthaten / zu opffern un<d>  
17 zugeben schuldig sind / wie die heilige schrift offt vermanet. Und ob gleich  
18 ein jeder Christen mensch / solchs von sich selbs / und bey sich selbs allein /



[catchword at the bottom fol. A2r 'noch', corrected into 'nach' in the 1559 reprint]

[fol. A2v]

19 nach seiner andacht thun kündt / so ist dennoch die anleitung und anrei=  
20 tzung untereinander viel mehr darzu dienstlich / das nemlich ein gliedmas  
21 Christi das ander auffmuntert / und zum lob Gottes vermanet / und der  
22 Göttlichen gütigkeit / allmechtigkeit / weissheit / gerechtigkeit un<d> warheit  
23 erinnert / wie uns viel Psalmen / und sonderlich S. Paul darzu vermanen  
24 Auch uber das die edle kunst Musica / so wunderlich und wunsamlich von  
25 Gott geschaffen und gegeben / mit so manchfaltigen concordanten / und un=  
26 terschiedlichen tonis / das man jn damit loben / un<d> uns untereinander zum  
27 lobe Gottes / und zur andacht reitzen mögen / So hab ich auch mich unter  
28 standen / nach der gaben / mir von Gott verliehen / ein singebüchlein zuzu=  
29 richten / E. F. G. unterthanen / und sonst wer es bedarff / zu nutz un<d> ubung  
30 des Glaubens / und seiner andacht. Und sonderlich weil wir diener des  
31 Worts unter E. F. G. wonende / bey vielen hochverstendige<n> in verdacht  
32 sindt / als weren wir jrrige Lerer / welchs denn nicht allein uns / sondern  
33 auch E. F. G. nachrede bringen möcht / damit wir des argwans entle=  
34 diget / auch E. F. G. dieser sach halben nicht nachgeredt werde / das / nem=  
35 lich wir / als jrrige in E. F. G. Landen / foviret und geliete<n> würden / das al

[fol. A3r]

36 hie jederman sehen un<d> spüren mögen / das wir eine reine untadliche Christ  
37 liche lere handeln / der wir uns auch alle eintrechtig zuha<n>deln beflissen  
38 haben und nach bevlissen / und bekennen mit der gemeinen Christlichen  
39 Kirchen / das nur ein einiger Gott sey / noch dem wesen / aber dreyfaltig /  
40 nach den personen und emptern / das nemlich der Vater uns sündler und  
41 verdampfte menschen zu seligen / seinen Son offentlich in die Welt gegeben  
42 und aus Maria hat lassen geboren werden / und alle unsere sünde jm auff  
43 geleyet zu büssen. Und der Son durch die menscheit / so er angenommen / mit  
44 seinem leiden / sterben unnd auferstehung / die sünd und verdammnis von  
45 uns genomen / und also uns die gerechtigkeit erworben hat / Und der hei=  
46 lige Geist solchs alles / durchs ministerium spiritus oder Predigampt / mit  
47 dem Evangelio und sacramenten / publicieret / anbeut / und aussteilet / al=  
48 len so da glauben / und das niemand selig werden mag / er gleube den<n> dem  
49 Evangelio / so uns solchs alles lehret / wie der Herr sagt Marci am letz=  
50 ten / wer nicht gleubet (nemlich dem Evangelio / das ich itzt bevohlen hab

51 zu predigen) der wird verdampt werden. Und das ausserhalb der gleubi=  
 52 gen gemeine / welchs ist der leib / ja das allerliebste gemahl Christi / kein  
 [fol. A3v]  
 53 heil noch vergebung der sünden sey / von welchem allen dis büchlein auch  
 54 zeuget und singet. Wil derhalben solch singebüchlein E. F. G. als mei=  
 55 nem gnedigen Landsfürsten / zu förderst dediciret / und E. F. G. gelerten /  
 56 oder wer E. F. G. gefelt / zu iudiciren heimgestalt haben. Hiemit verley  
 57 der gütige Gott E. F. G. glückseliges / fridsames und langweriges regi=  
 58 ment / auch gesundtheit des leibes und der seelen / sampt E. F. G.  
 59 gemahl / und junger herschafft / wil meine arme ver=  
 60 weiste Weib und kinder hiemit untertheniglich  
 61 E. F. G. in gnedigen schutz bevholen  
 62 haben.

The following list records the changes introduced in the 1559 reprint of the dedication letter, indicating the line number and separating occurrences with ellipsis (...) and semicolons (;).

1 und; 2 Hertzogen ... Lignitz; 3 Herrn; 4 Diener ... worts ... Nympschischen; 7 Herrn ...  
 Heiland Beyneben; 8 endbietend ... dienste; 10 Hochgeborner; 12 zu schenken ... zu  
 geben ... denn ... leibe; 13 darnach; 15 Schrifft ... lobs; 16 entpfangenen ... und; 17 zu  
 geben ... Schrifft; 22 gütigkeit ... und; 23 S Paul; 23 vermanen.; 24 wunderlich; 26 und;  
 27 unter=; 28 Singbüchlein; 29 und; 31 Worts / ... hochverstendigen inn; 32 sind; 35  
 foviert ... gelitten ... al=

#### APPENDIX A/4: The preface to the Christian reader

[fol. A4r]

1 Vorrede zum Christlichen Leser.  
 2 Wle wol viel und manchfaltige schöne und Christliche gesen=  
 3 ge von gelertern und geschicktern denn ich bin / geticht et und vorhan=  
 4 den sind / so hab ich doch nicht woln unterlassen / auch diesen meinen  
 5 kleinen dienst zuerzeigen meinen Landsleuten / den Schlesiern / ange=  
 6 sehen etlicher guthertziger menschen vielfeltiges anregen / darzu mich  
 7 auch verursacht haben / viel auslendische ungewonete melodyen und  
 8 noten / so in andern etlichen Singbüchlein eingeschrieben / aber in un  
 9 sern Schlesischen orten und Kirchen unbekant / auch darzu derselbigen viel  
 (vielleicht

10 von den Druckern versehen) oft unrecht clavirt und notiret sind / das manchs  
schiefer  
11 gar keinen rechten tonum geben wil. Zum vornemsten hat mich verursacht /  
das mir  
12 zur zeit meiner gesenge / etwa bey sechsen / neben andern gedruckt /  
sind furkomen / so  
13 mir auch von etlichen zugemessen worden sind / als sey ich derselben auch  
ein tichter ge=  
14 wesen / welche mich doch zum teil fast tunckel ansehen / unnd dem rechten  
Christlichen  
15 syn verdecktig scheinen. Damit ich in diesem fall unverdacht / einen iedern  
meinen  
16 glauben frey an tag gebe / hab ich (sonderlich auch zu ehren unserm gütigen  
Gott / un<d>  
17 zu gutt den Christen) / so umb uns furnemlich auff den Dörffern wonen /  
und nicht al=  
18 weg andere schwerer noten und geticht zusingen vermögen) diese meine  
gesenge zusa=  
19 men getragen / und noch müglichem vleis / die vornemsten alten gewonlichsten  
feinen  
20 melodyen / so zuvor in unsern Schlesischen orten und gemeinen / bekandt /  
der etliche

[fol. A4v]

21 Lateinisch / etliche Deutsch ubers jar / und sonst gesungen / damit sie nicht  
gantz abgien  
22 gen / und jr gar vergessen würde / auff unser Deutsch zugericht / unnd die  
noten auff  
23 leichst und schlechst / als müglich / noch art der Musica hinzu gethan / auch  
derselbigen  
24 etliche mit ij. etliche mit iij. stimmen poliert / weil sie zum teil zuvor also  
gesungen sindt  
25 ob vielleicht jemand dieselbigen auch mit gehülffen also vermocht zusingen.  
Über das  
26 hab ich auch sonderliche bekante Weltliche melodyen / mit geistlichen texten  
zugericht /  
27 und hinzugesetzt / der man auch etliche wol in der Kirchen singen möcht.  
Darumb bit

28 ich gantz vleißig alle Christliche Leser / wollet diss mein Werck / so ich durch  
29 Göttliche Gnade unnd hülf furgenomen / fur gut annehmen  
30 und nicht fur einen furwitz ansehen / sondern den Herrn  
31 Gott bitten / er wols zum lob seines H. namens  
32 und zum nutz seiner h. Kirchen gelangen  
33 lassen.

APPENDIX A/5:  
The paratexts in English translation

English translation by Grantley McDonald.

The 1555 title page

A Silesian hymnbook, drawn from the Holy Scriptures, for the principal feasts of the year, and also from other songs and Psalms, set to many old familiar melodies, sung previously in either Latin or German, with sacred or secular texts, by Valentin Triller of Gora, pastor of Panthenau in the territory of Nimptsch. Psalm 150: Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord. Printed in Breslau by Crispin Scharffenberg, 1555.

The 1559 title page

A Christian song book for laymen and scholars, children and the elderly, to sing at home and in churches, for one, two and three voices, for the principal feasts of the whole year, set to many old and familiar melodies known to our ancestors but abolished because of their idolatrous texts, partly arranged anew from the pure Gregorian chants, by Valentin Triller of Gora, pastor of Panthenau in the territory of Nimptsch. Psalm 150: Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord. Printed at Breslau by Crispin Scharffenberg, 1559.

The dedication letter

Your Grace, high-born prince and lord, Lord Georg, Duke in Silesia of Liegnitz and Brieg, my gracious prince and lord! I, Valentine Triller, a poor servant of the Word of God at Panthenau in the territory of Nimptsch, wish you grace, peace, blessings and all prosperity from God Almighty, through Jesus Christ our dearest Lord and only Saviour, and offer moreover my bounden service and faithful prayer.

Your Grace, high-born prince and lord: since we humans have nothing to offer or give the divine majesty but our bodies, a whole and complete sacrifice of ourselves, and besides that the praise and glory of his holy name, which the holy Scriptures call a sacrifice of praise, and the calves of our lips, which we are obliged to give and offer him daily for the manifold acts of grace that we have received, as the holy Scriptures

often admonish us. And although every Christian person could do this by himself and alone, according to his devotion, nevertheless shared instruction and encouragement more effectively spurs the members of Christ's body to encourage their fellows to praise God and remember the divine goodness, omnipotence, wisdom, justice and truth, as many Psalms and especially St Paul remind us. Moreover, the noble art of music is so wonderfully and blissfully made and given by God, with such manifold concords and different tones, that one can praise him with it and fire our fellows to divine praise and devotion. Thus I have undertaken to use the gifts God has given me to compile a hymnbook for the use of Your Grace's subjects and of any others who can make use of it, for their utility and the exercise of their faith and devotion. Especially because we servants of the Word who live in Your Grace's lands are suspected by many highly educated people of being teachers of error—this accusation touches not only us, but has the potential to damage Your Grace's reputation—in order to clear ourselves of suspicion and protect Your Grace from the slander that you support and tolerate followers of false teaching in your territories, this book testifies to and sings of the following doctrines, so that everyone can see and perceive that we promulgate a pure and impeccably Christian doctrine, and that we have striven, and still strive to act in unity according to it. Along with the generality of Christian churches, we declare that there is only one God, that he is one in essence but a Trinity in persons and offices; that the Father revealed his Son to the world to redeem us damned sinners; that he suffered him to be born of Mary, and laid all our sins upon him for atonement; that the Son, by becoming human, took sin and damnation upon himself through his suffering, death and resurrection, and thus gained righteousness for us; through the *ministerium spiritus*, or the office of preaching, through the Gospel and the sacraments, the Holy Spirit publicises, offers and shares all this with believers; that no one may be saved unless he believes the Gospel, which teaches us all this, as the Lord says at the end of Mark's Gospel: whoever does not believe this, that is, the Gospel, which I have commanded you to preach, will be condemned; and that there is no salvation or forgiveness of sin outside the community of believers, which is the body of Christ, indeed his most beloved spouse. Therefore I wish to dedicate this hymnbook first of all to Your Grace, as my gracious lord, and to submit it to the judgement of Your Grace's scholars, or of whomsoever you choose. May merciful God grant Your Grace, his wife and their young lordships a blessed, peaceful and long rule, and both physical and spiritual health. I humbly commend my poor destitute wife and children to your protection.

The preface  
Preface to the Christian reader

Although many and varied beautiful and Christian songs are extant, written by more learned and more skilful writers than I, nevertheless I did not want to neglect also displaying this my small service to my fellow Silesians, considering the frequent encouragement of several good-hearted people. I was also prompted in this design by many unfamiliar foreign melodies and music written in certain other hymnbooks, but unknown in the localities and churches of our Silesia. Many of these, perhaps because of the negligence of printers, are often badly clefled and notated, so that many give no correct note. But my primary reason in doing this is because at the present time about six of my songs have appeared, issued alongside others that some have attributed to me as their author. However, those others seem in part quite obscure and repugnant to a correct Christian understanding. That I might in this matter freely and openly declare my beliefs to all people, I have collected these my songs, particularly to the honour of our gracious God, and for the benefit of the Christians who live about us, especially in the villages, who do not always know how to sing different, difficult notes and poems. I have, with all possible diligence, translated into German and set appropriately to music in the easiest and simplest way possible the best old, familiar and fine melodies that were formerly familiar in the localities and churches of our Silesia, some in Latin, and others in German, sung throughout the year or for other occasions, lest they should be entirely lost and all memory of them perish. I have adorned some with two voices, others with three, because some of them were sung in this way, in case some people might be able to sing them thus, with the help of others. Moreover, I have provided particularly well known secular melodies with added sacred texts, of which many may permissibly be sung in church. For this reason I ask all Christian readers with utmost urgency to accept in good part this my work, which I have undertaken through the grace of help of God, and not to consider it an impertinence. Rather, they should pray the Lord God that it might redound to the praise of his holy name and the utility of his holy Church.

## APPENDIX B: Catalogue of the hymns in Valentin Triller's hymnbook

Appendix B catalogues the 145 hymns of Valentin Triller's hymnbook. Each record contains:

Identification number: hymns are listed in order of their appearance in the source, and they are labelled with an ascending number that uniquely identifies each hymn. Bipartite hymns that are copied separately in the hymnbook have one identification number, and the single parts are distinguished with lower case letters (see, for instance, hymns nos. 9a and 9b).

Folio: the first folio of the setting. Note that the fourth folio of each fascicle is not numbered in the source.

Text incipit: in the case of polyphonic settings, I follow the spelling in the first part to appear in the source.

Edition (text only): this refers to the modern edition of the text in Philipp Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner 1874). The Roman numeral refers to the volume, followed by Wackernagel's identification number of each hymn.

Rubric: rubrics are included only if they contain substantial information concerning the hymn tune, content and function of the hymn, performance practice. I do not transcribe here rubrics that identify single parts (such as 'discantus', 'tenor' and the like). Rubrics usually appear before the hymn to which they refer, as title rubrics. Other relevant rubrics are recorded under 'Additional rubric'.

Model: the text incipit of the hymn tune used as the model for the contrafactum. Information not derived from the paratexts of the source is given in square brackets. Wherever possible, I refer to the hymn tunes as Valentin Triller knew them, thus indicating the text incipits he referenced in the paratexts. I normalised the spelling in order to facilitate their retrieval in DKL. When a hymn tune is not notated but just indicated in the title rubric, I record it as 'Model referenced'. When a hymn can be sung with different hymn tunes, I differentiate between those that are just referenced and those that are notated. When ascertainable, I indicate the genre of the hymn tune (in square brackets if it does not appear in the title rubric). Genre labels are intended to ease identification of the models (different hymn tunes have sometimes similar text incipits), and they do not aim at creating a scientific taxonomy of the repertory.

Notation and tonal type: notation, clefs, and finalis (pitch class in capital letter without differentiating between octaves).

References in DKL: references to the hymn tune or to Triller's contrafactum in *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied. Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Melodien* (Kassel: Bärenreiter 1975–2010). I use the standard DKL abbreviations. If necessary, I indicates the normalised text incipit recorded in DKL in square brackets.

## THE HYMNS IN VALENTIN TRILLER'S HYMNBOOK

### 1

Folio: B1r

Text incipit: Macht euch herzu o lieben Christen alle

Edition (text only): W IV 29

Rubric: Ein anreizung zum lob Gottes / das man Invitatorium nennet / sampt dem Venite exultemus / Auff alle zeit des jars bekweg zusingen

Model: Invitatory [Christum regem adoremus]

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 E

References in DKL: [Macht euch herzu, o liebe Christen alle] A232

### 2

Folio: B1v

Text incipit: Wol auff nu last uns singen all

Edition (text only): W IV 30

Rubric: Im Advent. Hymnus auff die melody Conditor alme.

Model: Hymn Conditor alme siderum

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F4 E

References in DKL: [Wohlauf, nun laßt uns singen all] D2,a; D2,a (AK) <> Eq20 (4)

### 3

Folio: B2v

Text incipit: Als wir warn beladen

Edition (text only): W IV 31

Rubric: Volget ein gesang auff die Melody / Ave hierarchia / mit iij. stimmen / wer da wil.

Model: [Cantio] Ave hierarchia

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 G4 F3 bF

References in DKL: [Als wir war(e)n beladen] Eg4,b; Eg4,b (2; AK) <> Eq22 (4)

### 4

Folio: B3v

Text incipit: Der Herr und ware Gott



Edition (text only): W IV 32

Rubric: Eine Prosa auff die melody Mittit ad virginem.

Model: Sequence Mittit ad virginem

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 bF

Reference in DKL: [Der Herr und wahre Gott] Eg5,a

## 5

Folio: C1r

Text incipit: Als Maria die jungfraw rein

Edition (text only): W IV 33

Rubric: Ein gesang auff ein alte melodia / Salve regina gloriae / im Advent / und auff alle fest Mariae zusingen / ij. stimmen [sic]

Model: [Cantio] Salve regina gloriae

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C3 C4 F4 bD

Reference in DKL: [Als Maria, die Jungfrau rein] A233; A233 (2; AK)

## 6

Folio: C2r

Text incipit: Wolauff last uns frölich singen

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Ein gesang auff ein alte melody / Martyr felix insignita / im Advent oder sonst ubers jar zusingen ij. stimmen.

Additional rubric: fol. C4r 'Wem es gefelt mag die iij. stim zu ij. singen wie folget / contra Tenor'

Model: [Cantio] Martir felix insignita

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C1 F4 C3 A

Reference in DKL: [Wohlauf, laßt uns fröhlich singen] A234

## 7

Folio: C4v

Text incipit: Kom Herr Got o du höchster hort

Edition (text only): W IV 34

Rubric: Auff Weinachten am Christabend auff die Melody Veni redemptor gentium.

Model: [Hymn] Veni redemptor gentium

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 F [4-line staff], the F2 clef at fol. C4v/1 is a printing error

Reference in DKL: [Komm, Herr Gott, o du höchster Hort] B55AC; D1,b; [Komm, Herre Gott, du höchster Hort] D1D (4)

## 8

Folio: C4v

Text incipit: O herr Gott vater wir singen dir

Edition (text only): W IV 35

Rubric: Ein gesang auff den thon / Efficax pax fax etc.

Model: [Cantio] Efficax pax fax

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C2 C4/C5 F3 D

Reference in DKL: A235

## 9a

Folio: D2v

Text incipit: Preis sey Got im höchsten throne

Edition (text only): W IV 36

Rubric: Ein gesang auff die melody / Quem Pastores laudavere / sampt dem Nunc angelorum etc.

Model: [Cantio] Quem pastores laudavere

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G3 bA

Reference in DKL: [Preis sei Gott im höchsten Throne] A236; A236 (2; AK); 236B (4); 236C,a (4)

## 9b

Folio: D3r

Text incipit: Es ist der Engel herrligkeit

Edition (text only): W IV 36

Rubric: Das Nunc angelorum gloria vordeutsch / mit drey stimmen.

Model: [Cantio] Nunc angelorum gloria

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 G3 F3 bC

Reference in DKL: [Es ist der Engel Herrlichkeit] Ee23A; Ee23A (2; AK); 23C,a (4)

## 10

Folio: D4v

Text incipit: Ein kind geboren zu Bethleem

Edition (text only): W IV 37

Rubric: Auff die melody / Puer natus in Bethleem.

Model: [Cantio] Puer natus in Bethlehem

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G3 C3 F4 bG

Reference in DKL: [Ein Kind geboren zu Bethlehem] A210,a; Eb43; 43,Tx1; 43A,a; 43B; 43B,Tx1-2; (verschiedene Weiterführungen; GGdM II 184-188) A210A,a (4) <> C82,a (3); 104 (4) <> Eb43 (2; AK); 43A,a (AK); 43A,a1 (AK); 43A,a2 (AK); 43B (2; AK); 43B,Tx2 (2; AK); 43Cn,a (2; AK); 43Cn,a1 (2; AK); 43D,a (2; AK); 43D,a1 (2; AK); 43D,a2 (AK);

43D,a3 (AK); 43E (3); 43G (4) <> Et2,a (4); 2A,a (4); 3,a (4); 3,a1 (4); 51,a (4), 52 (4) <> Ga5,b (3; AK)

## 11

Folio: E1v

Text incipit: Nu dancksaget Gott dem Vater

Edition (text only): W IV 38

Rubric: Die Prosa / Grates nunc omnes.

Model: Sequence Grates nunc omnes

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 G

Reference in DKL: [Nun danksaget Gott dem Vater] D15A,a

## 12

Folio: E2r

Text incipit: Wach auff liebe Christenheit

Edition (text only): W IV 39

Rubric: Auff die melody / In natali Domini. Drey Stimmen.

Model: [Cantio] In natali Domini

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G3 C3 F3 ♭G

Reference in DKL: [Wach auf, liebe Christenheit] A330; Eg100A; A330 (2; AK) <> Eg100A (AK)

## 13

Folio: E3r

Text incipit: Es ist ein kindlein uns geboren

Edition (text only): W IV 40

Rubric: Auff die Melody / Nobis est natus hodie.

Model: [Cantio] Nobis est natus hodie

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G3 C4 F4 ♭G

Reference in DKL: [Es ist ein Kindlein uns geboren, vor andern auserkorn] Eg12B; Eg12,d (AK); 12B (2; AK)

## 14

Folio: E4r

Text incipit: Das wort ist fleisch worden

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Responsorium / Verbum caro factum est.

Model: Responsoy Verbum caro factum est

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 G

Reference in DKL: [Das Wort ist Fleisch worden] Eg130AAC

## 15

Folio: F1r

Text incipit: Nu feyret alle Christen leuth

Edition (text only): W IV 41

Rubric: Ein Hymnus auff die noten / A solis ortus cardine.

Model: Hymn A solis ortus cardine

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 E

Reference in DKL: [Nun feiert, alle Christenleut'] D4,f; D4,f (AK)

## 16

Folio: F2r

Text incipit: Rein und theur ist die geburt

Edition (text only): W IV 42

Rubric: Auff die noten / Resonet in laudibus.

Model referenced: [Cantio?] Resonet in laudibus

Notation and tonal type: Just text

Reference in DKL: None

## 17

Folio: F2r

Text incipit: Aller ehren und herrligkeit

Edition (text only): W IV 43

Rubric: Auff die noten / Psallat clerus de Virgine.

Model referenced: Psallat clerus de virgine

Notation and tonal type: Just text

Reference in DKL: None

## 18

Folio: F2r

Text incipit: Inn einem süssen thon

Edition (text only): W IV 44

Rubric: Auff die noten / In dulci iubilo / mit iij. stimmen.

Model: [Cantio] In dulci iubilo

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G3 C4 F4 bF [fol. F3r/3 err clef]

Reference in DKL: [In einem süssen Ton] Ee12,b

## 19

Folio: F3v

Text incipit: Es kam ein Engel hell und klar

Edition (text only): W IV 45

Rubric: Auff die noten / Aus frembden landen kom ich her / mit dreyen stimmen.  
Model: Aus fremden Landen komm' ich her  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 G3 F4 bF  
Reference in DKL: Ee18B; Ei1,c; Ee18B (AK); 22F (3) <> Ei1,c (2; AK)

## 20

Folio: G1r  
Text incipit: Da Jesus Christ Marie kind  
Edition (text only): W IV 46  
Rubric: Auff's Fest Purificationis / auff die nota Ex legis observantia.  
Model: [Cantio] Ex legis observantia  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G3 F4 bF  
Reference in DKL: [Da Jesus Christ, Mariae Kind] A237; A237 (AK)

## 21

Folio: G2r  
Text incipit: Singet lob und preis mit schalle  
Edition (text only): W IV 47  
Rubric: Folgen gesenge beim Abendmal / Hymnus auff die noten Pange lingua.  
Model: Hymn Pange lingua  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 E  
Reference in DKL: [Singet Lob und Preis mit Schalle] Ea14,e; Ea14,e (2)

## 22

Folio: G3r  
Text incipit: Wir wollen singen heut für allen dingen  
Edition (text only): W IV 48  
Rubric: Ein ander Hymnus auff die noten / Anna coelestis / iij. stimmig zusingen.  
Model: [Hymn?] Anna coelestis  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C2 C4 F4 D  
Reference in DKL: [Wir wollen singen heut für allen Dingen] A238

## 23

Folio: G4r  
Text incipit: Jesus Christus unser seligkeit der ist unser Herr Got  
Edition (text only): W IV 49  
Rubric: Ein ander gesang beim Abendmal / mit zween stimmen.  
Model: [Cantio Jesus Christus nostra salus]  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C2 C4 D [4-line staves]  
Reference in DKL: [Jesus Christus, unser Seligkeit, der ist] B14D

## 24

Folio: H1r

Text incipit: Ich wil hertzlich lobesingen

Edition (text only): W IV 50

Rubric: Folget eine Prosa vom Sacrament auff die noten / Lauda Sion salvatorem / aus dem iij. Psalm.

Model: Sequence Lauda Sion salvatorem

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4/C3 G

Reference in DKL: [Ich will herzlich lobesingen] Eg75,a

## 25

Folio: H3r

Text incipit: Last uns alle frölich loben

Edition (text only): W IV 51

Rubric: Ein ander Prosa auff die noten / O beata beatorum.

Model: Sequence O beata beatorum

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 E

Reference in DKL: [Laßt uns alle fröhlich loben] A239; A239 (2; AK)

## 26

Folio: H4r

Text incipit: Lob ehr unnd danck sey dir du König

Edition (text only): W IV 52

Rubric: Am Palm Sonntag auff die noten Gloria laus.

Model: [Hymn] Gloria laus et honor tibi

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 D

Reference in DKL: [Lob, Ehr' und Dank sei dir, du König] Ef5A; Ef5A (AK)

## 27

Folio: H4v

Text incipit: Gros und heilig uber allen

Edition (text only): W IV 53

Rubric: Vom leiden Christi / Hymnus auff die noten / Crux fidelis.

Model: Hymn Crux fidelis

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 D

Reference in DKL: [Groß und heilig über allen ist Jesus] Ef8,a; Ef8,a (2; AK)

## 28

Folio: I1v

Text incipit: Felschlich und arg betrogen ist

Edition (text only): W IV 54

Rubric: Ein ander Hymnus auff die noten Vexilla regis.

Model: Hymn Vexilla regis

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 ♭D

Reference in DKL: [Fälschlich und arg betrogen ist] D6,c; D6,c (AK)

## 29

Folio: l2r

Text incipit: Wach auff vom schlaff der sünden dein

Edition (text only): W IV 55

Rubric: Ein gesang von wolthaten Gottes und leiden Christ / auff die noten / Homo tristis esto / man künds auch singen auff Kindelein so löbelich.

Model referenced: Ein Kindelein so löbelich

Model notated: Homo tristis esto

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation with mensural elements, F3 D

Reference in DKL: [Wach auf vom Schlaf der Sünden dein] Ef6A

## 30

Folio: l3r

Text incipit: Kirieleison. Das leben an dem holtze starb

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Das Vita in ligno moritur Deutsch.

Additional rubric: Rubrics indicating the division between 'Pueri', 'Cantor', and 'Chorus'

Model: [Litany] Vita in ligno moritur

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation with mensural elements, F4 E

Reference in DKL: [Kyrieleison. Das Leben an dem Holze starb] A240; A240 (2; AK)

## 31a

Folio: l4r

Text incipit: Herr Christe schöpffer aller Welt dein sterben

Edition (text only): W IV 56

Rubric: Folget ein hymnus auff die noten / Rex Christe factor omnium.

Additional rubric: fol. l4r 'Lob un danck etc. wie hernach folget.'

Model: Hymn Rex Christe factor omnium

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C3 ♭C

Reference in DKL: [Herr Christe, Schöpfer aller Welt, dein Sterben] D5,c; a159 (4) <> D5,c (2; AK)

## 31b

Folio: l4v

Text incipit: Lob und danck wir sagen dir Christe Gotes son

Edition (text only): W IV 57

Rubric: Auff die noten / Laus tibi Christe / oder O du armer Judas.

Model: Refrain of the preceding hymn (n° 31a)

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C3 ♭C

Reference in DKL: [Lob und Dank wir sagen dir, Christe, Gottes Sohn] Ef7D; a159 (4)

<> Ef7D (2; AK)

Rubric fol. K1r: Folgen gesenge auff das Osterliche Feyer.

## 32

Folio: K1v

Text incipit: Wie die wagen Herrn und Regenten

Edition (text only): none

Rubric: Auff die noten / Vidi aquam / an stat des Introitus.

Model: [Antiphon] Vidi aquam egredietem and its psalm verse

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C3 G [4-line staff]

Reference in DKL: None

## 33a

Folio: K2r

Text incipit: Alle welt frewet sich

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Auff die noten / Salve festa dies.

Model: [Hymn] Salve festa dies

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 E

Reference in DKL: [Alle Welt freuet sich] D11B

## 33b

Folio: K2v

Text incipit: Ey wie reich und trew ist

Edition (text only): W IV 58

Rubric: Auff die noten / Ecce renascentis.

Model: [Hymn] Verse of the preceding hymn

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 E

Reference in DKL: D11B

## 34

Folio: K2v

Text incipit: Also heilig ist der tag

Edition (text only): W IV 59

Rubric: Auff die noten / Also heilig ist der tag.

Model referenced: Also heilig ist der Tag



Notation and tonal type: Just text  
Reference in DKL: None

### 35

Folio: K3r  
Text incipit: Nu seid auff jr lieben Christen  
Edition (text only): None  
Rubric: Eine Prosa auff die noten Victimae Pascali laudes.  
Model: Sequence Victimae paschali laudes  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 D  
Reference in DKL: [Nun seid auf, ihr lieben Christen] D16,c

### 36

Folio: K3v  
Text incipit: Nu lobet jr Christen alle  
Edition (text only): W IV 60  
Rubric: Ein ander Prosa auff die noten / Victimae Pascali laudes.  
Model referenced: Sequence Victimae paschali laudes [see no. 35 Nu seid auff jr lieben Christen]  
Notation and tonal type: Just text  
Reference in DKL: None

### 37

Folio: K4r  
Text incipit: Christ ist erstanden von des Todes banden  
Edition (text only): W IV 61  
Rubric: Folget der gesang / Christ ist erstanden.  
Model referenced: [Leis] Christ ist erstanden  
Notation and tonal type: Just text  
Reference in DKL: None

### 38

Folio: K4r  
Text incipit: Alle landt da Christ wird erkandt  
Edition (text only): W IV 62  
Rubric: Auff die noten / Alle Dei filius. mit zweien stimmen.  
Model: Alle Dei filius  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 F3 F  
Reference in DKL: [Alle Land, da Christ wird erkannt] D10B

### 39

Folio: L1r

Text incipit: Singet fröhlich alle gleich

Edition (text only): W IV 63

Rubric: Volget ein Gesang auff die noten Cedit hyems eminus.

Model: [Cantio] Cedit hyems eminus

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G3 F3 C

Reference in DKL: [Singet fröhlich alle gleich] A346; Eg61B; A346 (2; AK) <> Eg61B (AK)

### 40

Folio: L1v

Text incipit: Erstanden ist der Herre Christ

Edition (text only): W IV 64

Rubric: Auff die noten / Surrexit Christus Hodie.

Model: Surrexit Christus hodie

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G2 [4-line staff] C3 [4-line staff] F3 ♭F

Reference in DKL: [Erstanden ist der Herre Christ, der aller Welt ein Tröster ist] Eg27A; Eg27A (AK)

### 41

Folio: L2v

Text incipit: Christus der Herr Got des vatern

Edition (text only): W IV 65

Rubric: Hymnus auff die Ostern zur Vesper zeit auff die noten / Vita Sanctorum.

Model: Hymn Vita sanctorum decus angelorum

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F2 D [4-line staff]

Reference in DKL: [Christus, der Herr Gott, des Vaters] D9,a

### 42

Folio: L3v

Text incipit: Erstanden ist uns Jhesus Christ die gnad

Edition (text only): W IV 66

Rubric: Ein Gesang von der auferstehung auff ein alte gewonliche Melody mit drey stimmen.

Model: [Leis] [Christ ist erstanden?]

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 C2 F4 D

Reference in DKL: [Erstanden ist uns Jesus Christ, die Gnad'] C18C

### 43

Folio: M1r

Text incipit: Der lentz ist uns des jares erste quartir

Edition (text only): W IV 67

Rubric: Ein gesang vom Lentz / welchs man auch sonst zu aller zeit des Evangelii singen mag drey stimmig ad aequales:

Model: [Du Lenze gut, des Jahres teuerste Quarte]

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 F4 C4 E

Reference in DKL: [Der Lenz ist uns des Jahres erste Quartier] A241

## 44

Folio: M3v

Text incipit: Fest und hoch auff dem thron

Edition (text only): W IV 68

Rubric: Auffs Fest der Himelfart Hymnus auff die noten Festum nunc celebre.

Model: Hymn Festum nunc celebre

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F2 G [in the source the *finalis* is h, but it is clearly a printing error]

Reference in DKL: [Fest und hoch auf dem Thron] B13,a; B13BN,a (2; AK)

## 45

Folio: M4v

Text incipit: Jhesus Christus Gottes Son ist Fleisch worden

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Volget ein Prosa von der Himelfart auff die noten Rex omnipotens.

Model: Sequence Rex omnipotens

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 G

Reference in DKL: [Jesus Christus, Gottes Sohn, ist Fleisch worden] Eh11A

## 46

Folio: N2r

Text incipit: Komb du tröster O Heiliger Geist erfül die hertzen

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Geseng auff Pfingsten / die Antiphona Veni sancte Spiritus / drey Vers /

Model: Antiphon Veni sancte spiritus

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 G

Reference in DKL: [Komm, du Tröster, o Heiliger Geist, erfüll die Herzen] D18F

## 47

Folio: N2v

Text incipit: Der heilige Geist und warer Got [D err 'heilge Giest']

Edition (text only): W IV 69

Rubric: Ein Gesang auff die noten / Spiritus Sancti gratia / mit drey stimmen.

Model: [Cantio] Spiritus sancti gratia

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C2 C4 F3 D  
Reference in DKL: [Der Heil(i)ge Geist und wahrer Gott] A242; 242A; A242 (AK); A242A (2; AK)

## 48

Folio: N4r

Text incipit: Komb göttiger unnd tewrer Got – Ein reicher milter Geist

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Ein Gesang auff ein alte Melody mit drey stimmen / Da gaudiorum praemia.  
[print has err 'gaudiorm']

Additional rubric: fol. N4v 'Volget der ander Discant / man mag disen Discant oben in der Octava singen.'

Model: [Motet] Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, F3 F3 F5 A

Reference in DKL: [Komm, göttiger und treuer Gott, Heiliger Geist] A243

## 49

Folio: O2r

Text incipit: Komb Got Schöpffer heiliger geist Dieweil

Edition (text only): W IV 70

Rubric: Volget ein hymnus zur Vesperzeit / auff die noten / Veni Creator Spiritus.

Model: Hymn Veni creator spiritus

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C3 G

Reference in DKL: [Komm, Gott Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist, dieweil] D14,c

## 50

Folio: O2v

Text incipit: Komb herr Got heiliger Geist

Edition (text only): W IV 71

Rubric: Ein Prosa vom Heiligen Geist.

Model: Sequence [Veni sancte spiritus et emitte]

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 D

Reference in DKL: [Komm, Herr Gott, Heiliger Geist] D17,a

## 51

Folio: O3v

Text incipit: Gebenedeiet sey inn aller welt

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Auffs Fest Trinitatis und andere Sontag hernach / Introitus auff Benedicta sit.

Model: Introit Benedicta sit sancta trinitas

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 G

Reference in DKL: None, but cf. Eg160

## 52b

Folio: O4r

Text incipit: Gelobet sey der Herr und Got unser vater

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Ein ander Vers auff die Sontag ubers Jahr.

Model: Alternative verse of the preceding introit, see n° 51 Gebenedeiet sey inn aller welt

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 G

Reference in DKL: None

## 53

Folio: O4r

Text incipit: O Göttliche Dreyfaltigkeit O einige selbststendigkeit

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Ein Kurtze Prosa von der heiligen Dreyfaltigkeit.

Model: [Last four verses of the sequence *Benedicta semper sancta sit trinitas*]

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 D

Reference in DKL: [O göttliche Dreifaltigkeit, o einige Selbständigkeit] Eg45C; Eg45C (AK)

## 54a

Folio: P1r

Text incipit: Lob ehr und preis unnd herrligkeit

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Ein Antiphon auff das Symbolum Athanasij Quicumque vult salvus esse. zu psallieren / welchs verdeutscht hinach folget.

Model: Antiphon [*Gloria tibi trinitas*].

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 bD. The antiphon is followed by a psalm-tone termination (a a g f g a g)

Reference in DKL: [Lob, Ehr' und Preis und Herrlichkeit] A244; A244 (AK)

## 54b

Folio: P1v

Text incipit: Ein jder mensch der da selig werden wil

Edition (text only): W IV 72

Rubric: Der Glaube Athanasij durch aus auff xj Syllaben gestellt.

Model: Psalm tone for the preceding antiphon, see n° 54a Lob ehr und preis unnd herrligkeit

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 G

Reference in DKL: [Ein jeder Mensch, der da selig werden will] A245; 354; 355; A354 (2; AK); 355 (2; AK)

## 55

Folio: P3v

Text incipit: Der Herr unnd Got von ewigkeit

Edition (text only): W IV 73

Rubric: Ein Hymnus auff die noten O lux Beata trinitas / oder auff die so folget.

Model referenced: Hymn O lux beata trinitas

Model notated: Hymn [Verbum supernum prodiens or Ad cenam agni providi, cf. Anmerkungen in DKL Eg59]

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 G

Reference in DKL: [Der Herr und Gott von Ewigkeit] Eg40B,a; 59,a; Eg40B,a (2; AK)

## 56

Folio: P4r

Text incipit: O Herr Got vater won uns bey

Edition (text only): W IV 74

Rubric: Ein Gebet zur Heyligen Dreyfaltigkeit auff die alte Melodia / Got der Vater won uns bey.

Model: Got der Vater won uns bey

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation with mensural elements, C3, the C4 clef at fol. P4r/2 is a printing error. Note also that the hymn tune is incomplete, the notes for verses 7-14 of the first strophe are missing. Cf. DKL Ec17 (Variantenapparat).

Reference in DKL: [O Herr Gott Vater wohn uns bei] Ec17,a; Ec17CN,b (2; AK); 17D (3)

## 57

Folio: P4v

Text incipit: Von der Christlichen gemeine

Edition (text only): W IV 75

Rubric: Folget von der kirchwey oder kirchmes. Hymnus auff die noten / Urbs beata.

Model: Hymn Urbs beata Jerusalem

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3/F2 E

Reference in DKL: [Von der christlichen Gemeinde] Ef3,b; Ef3,b (2; AK)

## 58

Folio: Q1v

Text incipit: Gros ist Got unser Herre

Edition (text only): W IV 76

Rubric: Der xxxviii. Psalm / auff die noten Nunc Festum celebremus / Von dem Tempel Gottes.

Model: [Cantio] Nunc festum celebremus

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C2 F4 bA

Reference in DKL: [Groß ist Gott, unser Herre] A246

## 59

Folio: Q3r

Text incipit: Merck auff merck auff du schöne

Edition (text only): W IV 77

Rubric: Ein ander Gesang von Christo und seiner heiligen Gemeine / auff eine alte Tage weis / mit drey stimmen.

Model: Tageweise [Wach auf, wach auf du Schöne]

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 C2 F4 bF

Reference in DKL: [Merk auf, merk auf, du Schöne] A247; A247 (AK)

## 60

Folio: R1r

Text incipit: Wir wollen den Herrn Gott preisen

Edition (text only): W IV 78

Rubric: Eine Prosa vom rechten Israel / auff die noten / Stabat mater dolorosa.

Model: Sequence Stabat mater dolorosa

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F2 bF

Reference in DKL: [Wir wollen den Herrn Gott preisen] A248

## 61

Folio: R2v

Text incipit: Von edler art gantz schön und zart

Edition (text only): W IV 79

Rubric: Ein Gesang von der heyiligen Kirchen und Christo jrem Breutgam

Model: [Lied] [Von edler art auch rein und zart]

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 bF

Reference in DKL: [Von edler Art ganz schön und zart] C42,a; 42A; C42A (2; AK)

## 62

Folio: R3r

Text incipit: Ich weiß ein Blümlein hüpsch und fein

Edition (text only): W IV 80

Rubric: Ein Gesang auff ein alte Melody / von Christo der edlen Bluhmen. Esaie xj.

Model: unidentified

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G2 C3 F4 A

Reference in DKL: [Ich weiß ein Blümlein hübsch und fein] A249; A249 (AK); 835C,a (4); 835F (4)

## 63

Folio: R4v

Text incipit: O der süßen gnaden gros

Edition (text only): W IV 81

Rubric: Auff die Fest Mariae / Ein Prosa / auff ein alte Melody / Uterus Virgineus.

Model: Sequence Uterus virgineus

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, F3 D

Reference in DKL: [O der süßen Gnaden groß] A239B; 250; A239B (2; AK)

## 64

Folio: S2v

Text incipit: Da Got seinen Sohn wolt senden

Edition (text only): W IV 82

Rubric: Auff die Fest Johannis des Teuffers und der Aposteln eine Prosa auff die noten / Spe mercedis et coronae.

Model: Sequence Spe mercedis

Notation and tonal type: German Gothic notation, F3 D

Reference in DKL: [Da Gott seinen Sohn wollt' senden] A251

## 65

Folio: S3v

Text incipit: Christus inn diese welt ist kommen

Edition (text only): W IV 83

Rubric: Ein Gesang von der Sünderin Luc. vij. auff die noten Felici peccatrici.

Model: [Cantio] Felici peccatrici

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G4 F4 C4 bD

Reference in DKL: [Christus in diese Welt is kommen] A399; Eg73B; A399 (2)

## 66

Folio: S4v

Text incipit: Als Jhesus Christus unser hoher Priester unnd König

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Von der verklerung Christi ein Prosa auff die noten Laus tibi Christe qui es creator.

Model: Sequence Laus tibi Christe

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 bC

Reference in DKL: [Als Jesus Christus, unser hoher Priester und König] A252; A252 (2; AK)

## 67

Folio: T3r

Text incipit: O Got wir wollen preisen



Edition (text only): W IV 84

Rubric: Folgen Gemeine Gesenge ubers gantze Jahr zu singen / Erstlich von Gottes wort / auff die noten / In Dorotheae Festo.

Model: [Cantio] In Dorotheae festo

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G3 F4 ♭A [4-line staff]

Reference in DKL: [O Gott, wir wollen preisen] A253; A253 (2; AK); 253A (3)

## 68

Folio: T4r

Text incipit: Rein und besser ist Gottes wort

Edition (text only): W IV 85

Rubric: Ein Gesang von Gottes wort vor der predig oder darnach zusingen auff die noten Praelustri elucentia.

Model: [Cantio] Praelustri elucentia

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G4 F4 F4 ♭G

Reference in DKL: [Rein und besser ist Gottes Wort] A254

## 69

Folio: U2r

Text incipit: Der Herr Gott sey gepreiset

Edition (text only): W IV 86

Rubric: Ein ander Gesang vor oder nach der Predig auff die noten des alten meye / mit drey stimmen.

Model: Unidentified

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G3 C4 F4 ♭F

Reference in DKL: [Der Herr Gott sei gepreiset] A255

## 70

Folio: U3r

Text incipit: Nu dancket Got aus hertzen grundt

Edition (text only): W IV 87

Rubric: Ein ander Gesang nach Göttlichem ampt zum Beschlus und Segen / Auff die Noten / O süsßer Vater.

Model: O süßer Vater, see also no. 74

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 ♭F

Reference in DKL: [Nun danket Gott aus Herzen Grund] A256

## 71

Folio: U3v

Text incipit: Es war einmal ein grosser Herr

Edition (text only): W IV 88

Rubric: Von dem Evangelio Luce xiiij. auff die Noten / Von Sieben Worten Christi.

Model: Von sieben Worten Christi am Kreuz [Da iesus crist am krewtz stayndt]

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation with mensural elements, C4 E

Reference in DKL: [Es war einmal ein großer Herr] A369; Ek7,a; A369 (2; AK)

## 72

Folio: U4v

Text incipit: Wir wollen aller singen dem Herrn von ewigkeit

Edition (text only): W IV 89

Rubric: Ein Gesang auff die Weise des neuen Rosenkrantzs mit drey stimmen.

Model: Unidentified

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G2 [4-line staff] C3 [4-line staff]

F4 bG

Reference in DKL: [Wir wollen alle singen] A257; [Wir wollen alle singen dem Herrn von Ewigkeit] A257 (AK)

## 73

Folio: X2r

Text incipit: Ey Got Vatter aller Gnaden

Edition (text only): W IV 90

Rubric: Folget ein Gesang von der Erbsünde Auff die Noten Deitatis flagrans stella.

Model: [Cantio] Deitatis flagrans stella

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C1 F4 F4 bA

Reference in DKL: [Ei, Gott Vater aller Gnaden] A258

## 74

Folio: X3v

Text incipit: O süßer Vatter Herre Got

Edition (text only): W IV 91

Rubric: Folget ein Gesang auff ein alte Melody /

Model: [O süßer Vater], see also no. 70

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 bF

Reference in DKL: [O süßer Vater, Herre Gott] A256; 256,a: Synopse VI,2a (s. auch Konkordanz EdK-GGdm) (verschiedene Fgn) A256A (2); 256C (3); 256E (4); 930 (3) s. auch Süßer Vater, Herre Gott: A256B (2); 256C (3; AK); 256D (3)

## 75

Folio: X4r

Text incipit: Es sprach Christus des menschen Son

Edition (text only): W IV 92

Rubric: Von etlichen Tröstlichen Worten Christi / und sonderlich von seinem Gebet Johann. am xvij. Auff ein alte Melody / Ave fuit Prima salus.

Model: Ave fuit prima salus

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 G3 F4 D

Reference in DKL: [Es sprach Christus, des Menschen Sohn] Eg65,a; Eg65K,a (4)

## 76

Folio: Y2r

Text incipit: Herr Got dein gwalt

Edition (text only): W IV 93

Rubric: Ein gesang von der gewalt und gütte Gottes auff ein gewönliche Melodia / mit iij. Stimmen.

Model: Unidentified

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C3 G3 F4 bG

Reference in DKL: [Herr Gott, dein G'walt] A259

## 77

Folio: Y3r

Text incipit: Der Herr Gott ist mein trewer hirt

Edition (text only): W IV 94

Rubric: Nu folgen etliche Psalmen Davids / Erstlich der xxij. Psalm / auff die noten / Nu frewt euch lieben Christen gemein. oder Aus tieffer not.

Additional rubric: fol. Y3v 'Man möcht auch diesen Psalmen beim Abentmal singen.'

Model referenced: Aus tiefer Not

Model notated: Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gemein

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation with mensural elements, C4 G

Reference in DKL: [Der Herr Gott ist mein treuer Hirt] B15,f; Eq19 (3)

## 78

Folio: Y4r

Text incipit: Zu dir erheb ich meine seel

Edition (text only): W IV 95

Rubric: Der xxiiij. Psalm / Ad te domine levavi animam meam.

Model: Unidentified

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation with mensural elements, F2 bF [4-line staff, b just on fol. Y4r/1]

Reference in DKL: [Zu dir erheb' ich meine Seel'] A260; A260 (AK)

## 79

Folio: Z1r

Text incipit: Der Mensch ist recht selig und from

Edition (text only): W IV 96

Rubric: Der xxxij. Psalm / auff die noten / Praelustri / wie oben / rein und besser.

Model referenced: [Cantio] Praelustri elucentia [see no. 68 Rein und besser ist Gottes wort]

Notation and tonal type: Just text

Reference in DKL: A366; A366 (2; AK)

## 80

Folio: Z1v

Text incipit: Nu last uns im glauben

Edition (text only): W IV 97

Rubric: Der Cxiiij. Psalm / auff die noten / Omnium sanctorum / mit iij. stimmen.

Model: [Cantio] Omnium sanctorum pia dictamina

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G3 C4 F3 G

Reference in DKL: [Nun laßt uns im Glauben] A261; 365; A261 (AK); 365 (2; AK)

## 81

Folio: Z2v

Text incipit: Dich Gott von Himel ruff ich an

Edition (text only): W IV 98

Rubric: Der Cxxix. Psalm / De profundis / auff die alte melody / Die Fraw von Himel ruff ich an.

Model: Die Frau von Himmel ruf' ich an

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C3 G2 F4 G

Reference in DKL: [Dich, Gott vom Himmel, ruf' ich an] B6,b; B6,b (AK)

## 82

Folio: Z4r

Text incipit: Gottes namen solt jhr loben

Edition (text only): W IV 99

Rubric: Der Cxxxv. Psalm / auff die alte Melody Juste iudex Jesu Christe / mit iij. stimmen / Man mags auch singen auff den Hymnus / Pange lingua.

Model referenced: Hymn Pange lingua

Model notated: Hymn Juste iudex Jesu Christe

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 G3 F4 D

Reference in DKL: [Gottes Namen sollt ihr loben] A262; 364; A364 (2; AK)

## 83

Folio: a1v

Text incipit: O meine seele lobe Gott

Edition (text only): W IV 100

Rubric: Der Cxlvj. Psalm Lauda anima mea / auff die noten / Nicolai solennia.  
Model: [Benedicamus] Nicolai solemnia sua preces familia  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C3 F3 F2 [4-line staff] C  
Reference in DKL: [O meine Seele, lobe Gott] A263

## 84

Folio: a2r  
Text incipit: Mein hertz im herrn gantz frölich ist  
Edition (text only): W IV 101  
Rubric: Ein gesang oder dancksagung Annae Samuelis Mutter .j. Reg. ij. auff die noten / Zu dir erhebe ich etc. wie oben / oder wie folget  
Model referenced: N° 78 Zu dir erhebe ich meine seel  
Model notated: Unidentified, see also no. 92 and no. 98  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 D  
Reference in DKL: [Mein Herz im Herrn ganz fröhlich ist] A264

## 85

Folio: a3r  
Text incipit: Gottes weissheit hoch und breit  
Edition (text only): W IV 102  
Rubric: Ein gesang von der weissheit Gottes / auf die Melody / Patris sapientia.  
Model: Patris sapientia  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 C1 F4 E  
Reference in DKL: [Gottes Weisheit, hoch und breit] B7,d

## 86

Folio: b1r  
Text incipit: Ach Herr Jhesu wir armes volck  
Edition (text only): None  
Rubric: Folgen Gesenge zur zeit der not / des kommers oder auch des Creutzes und verfolgung. Erstlich auff die noten Auffen a nobis.  
Model: [Tract?] Aufer a nobis  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 E  
Reference in DKL: None

## 87

Folio: b1v  
Text incipit: Herr Gott erbarm dich uber uns  
Edition (text only): None  
Rubric: Gebet für allerley gebrechen / welchs man Lytanien nennet / auff die Osterlichen noten gestellet.

Model: Unidentified

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C3 D [4-line staff]

Reference in DKL: None

## 88

Folio: b4r

Text incipit: Verley uns frieden gnediglich Herr Gott

Edition (text only): W IV 103

Rubric: Umb ein zeitlichen Friede.

Model: [Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich]

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 D

Reference in DKL: [Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich] D1A,Tx2 (vers. Folgenstrn. und Strn.-Zahlen) a92 (3); d26 (3); eb37 (3) <> A850 (3) <> D1A (2; AK); 1A,Tx1 (2; AK); 1A,Tx3 (2; AK); 1A $\alpha$  (2; AK); 1A $\alpha$ ,Tx1 (2; AK); <> Ee21,Tx3 (2; AK) <> Eh21 (2; AK)

## 89

Folio: b4v

Text incipit: O Herr Gott du höchster könig du Gott Abraham

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Ein gemein suffragium / auff die noten / Domine rex / umb tegliche narunge / zeitlichen frieden / und gnedig gewitter zubitten.

Model: [Antiphon] Domine rex Deus Abraham

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F4 D

Reference in DKL: [O Herr Gott, du höchster König] Ef13A; [O Herr Gott, du höchster König, du Gott Abraham] Af13A (AK)

## 90

Folio: c1r

Text incipit: O du ewiger Gott zurstöre die macht

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Ein gesang wider die Feinde der heiligen Christlichen Kirchen / auff die noten / Contere Domine etc.

Model: Contere Domine

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 E

Reference in DKL: None

## 91

Folio: c1v

Text incipit: Aus grosser angst und tieffer not

Edition (text only): W IV 104

Rubric: Ein gesang wider die Türcken / und andere Heidnische Tyrannen / auf die

noten / Ach Gott von Himel sihe darein.

Model: [Psalmlied] Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation with mensural elements, F3 E [4-line staff]

Reference in DKL: [Aus großer Angst und tiefer Not] Ea5,e

## 92

Folio: c2v

Text incipit: O Gott Vater im höchsten thron es frewet

Edition (text only): W IV 105

Rubric: Der xx. Psalm / wider die Feinde Christi / auff die noten / Zu dir erhebe ich meine Seel / oder wie folget.

Model referenced: N° 78 Zu dir erhebe ich meine seel

Model notated: Unidentified, see also no. 84 and no. 98

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 D

Reference in DKL: [O Gott Vater im höchsten Thron, es freuet] A264,a; 363; A363 (2; AK)

## 93

Folio: c3r

Text incipit: O Herr Got mein die rach ist dein

Edition (text only): W IV 106

Rubric: Der xcij. Psalm / wieder die Gottlosen / Frechen verführer der Menschen / und vortediger des Sathans regiments / auff iij. stimmen.

Model: Unidentified

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 G3 F4 A

Reference in DKL: [O Herr Gott mein, die Rach' ist dein] A265

## 94

Folio: c4v

Text incipit: Wer da sitzt unter dem schatten

Edition (text only): W IV 107

Rubric: Der xc. Psalm / auff die noten / Dorothea coronata / mit iij. stimmen.

Model: [Cantio] Dorothea coronata

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, G3 C4 F4 bF

Reference in DKL: [Wer da sitzt unter dem Schatten] A266

## 95

Folio: d2r

Text incipit: O Herre Gott und Vater mein

Edition (text only): W IV 108

Rubric: Der Cxl. Psalm / Eripe me Domine / auff die noten des alten Vater unsers / wieder die Feinde der Warheit.

Model: Vater unser

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 A

Reference in DKL: [O Herre Gott und Vater mein] A267

## 96

Folio: d2v

Text incipit: Es sprach Jesus zu jener zeit

Edition (text only): W IV 109

Rubric: Ein gesang aus dem Evangelio /Johan.xij. vom Creutz / auff die noten / Ave sponsa Trinitatis / mit ij. stimmen.

Model: [Cantio] Ave sponsa trinitatis

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C1 F4 F

Reference in DKL: [Es sprach Jesus zu jener Zeit] A268; A268 (2; AK)

## 97

Folio: d3v

Text incipit: Wir wollen dich allein O Herr Gott loben

Edition (text only): W IV 110

Rubric: Ein ander gesang vom Creutze / auff die noten des alten Rosenkrantz zur zeit der verfolgung.

Model: Unidentified

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C3 bG

Reference in DKL: [Wir wollen dich allein, o Herr Gott, loben] A269

## 98

Folio: d4v

Text incipit: Singet dem Herrn ein newes liedt du gantzes landt

Edition (text only): W IV 111

Rubric: Der xcvj. Psalm / Cantate Domino etc. auff die noten / Zu dir erhebe ich etc. oder auff diese so volgen.

Model referenced: N° 78 Zu dir erhebe ich meine seel

Model notated: Unidentified, see also no. 84 and no. 92

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 D

Reference in DKL: [Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied, du ganzes Land] A264,b

## 99

Folio: e1v

Text incipit: Unglück sampt seinem bösen heer [fol. e1v err 'setnem' instead of 'seinem']

Edition (text only): W IV 112

Rubric: Ein tröstlich gesang / auff die noten / Mag ich unglück nicht widerstan.

Model: Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahn



Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 A

Reference in DKL: [Unglück samt seinem bösen Heer] B33A,a; B33A,a (2; AK)

## 100

Folio: e2r

Text incipit: Dich Herr Got wir loben Herr wir dancken dir im glauben

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Der gesang Ambrosij / Te Deum laudamus.

Model: Hymn Te Deum laudamus

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation with mensural elements, F2 E

Reference in DKL: [Dich, Herr Gott, wir loben, Herr, wir danken dir im Glauben] D7D

## 101

Folio: f1r

Text incipit: Verley Herr Gott deine hülff und gnad

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Folgen geseng beim ampt der Messe ubers jar zusingen / Erstlich auff die noten / Gaudemaus omnes.

Model: [Introit] Gaudeamus omnes in Domino

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F2 D [4-line staff]

Reference in DKL: None

## 102

Folio: f1v

Text incipit: O Herr Got du brun der gütte (incipit Gloria: Lob ehr und preis sey Gott dem Herrn in der höhe)

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Das Kirieleison / Fons bonitatis / sampt dem Englischen gesange / Gloria in excelsis Deo.

Model: Kyrie eleison [Melnicki 48, Kyrie Fons bonitatis] – Gloria in excelsis Deo [LU ad libitum I]

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation with mensural elements, Kyrie C4 E – Gloria C3/C4 G

Reference in DKL: None, but cf. Eg7 and D23

## 103

Folio: f3v

Text incipit: Herr Got Vater du ewiger brun

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Das Osterliche Kirieleison.

Additional rubric: fol. f4r 'Das Et in terra pax / singe man wie oben notiert auff Kirie

fons bonitatis.' see n° 102 Lob ehr und preis sey Gott dem Herrn in der höhe  
Model: Kyrie-Gloria, Kyrie [similar to Melnicki 39, Kyrie Lux et origo] – Gloria see n° 102  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, Kyrie C4 G  
Reference in DKL: None, but cf. B48

## 104

Folio: f4r  
Text incipit: Der alle Himel erd und meer hat formiret  
Edition (text only): W IV 113  
Rubric: Eine gemeine Prosa uber das Jar zusingen auff die noten / Letabundus exultet.  
Model: Sequence Letabundus exultet  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 bF  
Reference in DKL: [Der alle Himmel, Erd' und Meer hat formieret] A270

## 105

Folio: g1r  
Text incipit: O Herr Gott im höchsten throne  
Edition (text only): W IV 114  
Rubric: Ein kleine kurtze Prosa ubers jar zusingen auff die noten / Rex regum dives etc.  
Model: Sequence Rex regum dives  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C3 C  
Reference in DKL: [O Herr Gott im höchsten Throne] A271

## 106

Folio: g1v  
Text incipit: Heilig Heilig Heilig ist der Herr  
Edition (text only): None  
Rubric: Das Sanctus sumum.  
Model: Sanctus [similar to Thannabaur 185]  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F2 D  
Reference in DKL: None

## 107

Folio: g1v  
Text incipit: Heilig Heilig Heilig ist der Herr  
Edition (text only): None  
Rubric: Ein ander Sanctus auff alle Sontag oder sonst teglich  
Model: Sanctus [Thannabaur 34]  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C3 F [5- and 4-line staff]  
Reference in DKL: None

## 108

Folio: g2r

Text incipit: Gesegne uns Gott der Vater mit seinem Göttlichen segnen

Edition (text only): W IV 115

Rubric: Zum beschlus der Messen / auff die noten / Ite Missa est.

Model: Ite missa est [originally Kyrie melody, see DKL]

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 G

Reference in DKL: [Gesegne uns Gott der Vater mit seinem göttlichen Segen] Eg51A,a

## 109

Folio: g2v

Text incipit: Es woll uns Got der vater durch Christum segnen

Edition (text only): W IV 116

Rubric: Volget auff das Osterliche / Ite Missa est.

Model: Ite missa est [originally Kyrie melody, see DKL]

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F4 C

Reference in DKL: [Es woll' uns Gott der Vater durch Christum segnen] B48D

## 110

Folio: g2v

Text incipit: Tracht am ersten nach dem Reich Gottes

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Volgen etliche Antiphonae auff Psalmen zusingen in der Vesper.

Model: Antiphon

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 D

Reference in DKL: None

## 111

Folio: g3r

Text incipit: Also hat Gott die Welt geliebet

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: None

Model: Antiphon

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 D

Reference in DKL: None

## 112

Folio: g3r

Text incipit: Das Gesetze ist durch Mosen gegeben

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: None

Model: Antiphon  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 E  
Reference in DKL: None

### 113

Folio: g3v  
Text incipit: Himel und Erde werden vergehen  
Edition (text only): None  
Rubric: None  
Model: Antiphon  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 E  
Reference in DKL: None

### 114

Folio: g3v  
Text incipit: Singet und spilet dem herrn Got  
Edition (text only): None  
Rubric: None  
Model: Antiphon  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 bF  
Reference in DKL: None

### 115

Folio: g3v  
Text incipit: Das ist das ewige leben  
Edition (text only): None  
Rubric: Volgen Antiphonae auff's Magnificat oder Benedictus.  
Model: Antiphon  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 F  
Reference in DKL: None

### 116

Folio: g4r  
Text incipit: Gelobet sey Gott in ewigkeit  
Edition (text only): None  
Rubric: None  
Model: Antiphon  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 G  
Reference in DKL: None

## 117

Folio: g4r

Text incipit: Weil die Welt durch jre weissheit

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: None

Model: Antiphon

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 D

Reference in DKL: None

## 118

Folio: g4v

Text incipit: Von auffgang der Sonnen

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: None

Model: Antiphon

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F2 E

Reference in DKL: None

## 119

Folio: g4v

Text incipit: O Gott Vater im Himelreich

Edition (text only): W IV 117

Rubric: Folgen gemeine Hymni / Erstlich auff die noten Fit porta Christi etc.

Model: Hymn Fit porta Christi pervia

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 G

Reference in DKL: [O Gott Vater im Himmelreich] A272; 391; [O Gott Vater im Himmelreich, der du allmächtig] A 272 (2; AK); 391 (2; AK)

## 120

Folio: h1r

Text incipit: Herr Gott Vater wir preisen dich

Edition (text only): W IV 118

Rubric: Ein ander auff die noten / Lucis creator.

Model: [Hymn] Lucis creator optime

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F2 E [4-line staff]

Reference in DKL: [Herr Gott Vater, wir preisen dich] Eg69,a

## 121

Folio: h1v

Text incipit: Nu singet lob mit innigkeit

Edition (text only): W IV 119

Rubric: Ein ander Hymnus / auff die noten / Telluris ingens conditor.  
Model: Hymn Telluris ingens conditor  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 D  
Reference in DKL: [Nun singet Lob mit Innigkeit] A273; 390; A390 (2; AK)

## 122

Folio: h2r  
Text incipit: Gar nichts schedlichs noch verdamlichs ist  
Edition (text only): W IV 120  
Rubric: An stat der Responsorien aus dem Capittel Rom. viij. auff die noten von Sanct Hedwigis Carnis nube iam detecta mit ij. stimmen  
Model: Carnis nube iam detecta (repetenda of the responsory Margarita solo tecta), and trope?  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation with mensural elements, F2 F3 D [fol. h2v/3 err clef]  
Reference in DKL: [Gar nichts Schädlich's noch Verdammlich's ist] A274

## 123

Folio: h4r  
Text incipit: Gebenedeyen wir mit andechtigkeit  
Edition (text only): None  
Rubric: Folgen zwe Benedicamus noch der Vesper / oder sonst noch den Emptern.  
Model: Benedicamus  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F4 D  
Reference in DKL: [Gebenedeien wir mit Andächtigkeit] A275; A275 (AK)

## 124

Folio: h4v  
Text incipit: Gebenedeien wir aller den Herren Got  
Edition (text only): None  
Rubric: Auff Weinachten und Ostern.  
Model: Benedicamus  
Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, F3 D  
Reference in DKL: [Gebenedeien wir alle den Herren Gott] A276

## 125

Folio: h4v  
Text incipit: O Mensch bedenck zu dieser frist  
Edition (text only): W IV 121  
Rubric: Folgen gesenge bey dem Begrebnis der Todten auff die noten Ach Gott von Himel / oder / Aus tieffer not.

Model referenced: Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein [see n° 91 Aus grosser angst und tieffer not]

Model referenced: Aus tiefer Not

Notation and tonal type: Just text

Reference in DKL: None

## 126

Folio: i1r

Text incipit: O Mensch hör ein geheimnis gros

Edition (text only): W IV 122

Rubric: Ein ander gesang beim Begrebnus.

Model: Unidentified

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation with mensural elements, F4 D

Reference in DKL: [O Mensch, hör ein Geheimnis groß] A277

## 127

Folio: i2r

Text incipit: Der Mensch aus Erdt geschaffen ward

Edition (text only): W IV 123

Rubric: Ein lied vom Ehestand auff die noten / Ave sponsa Trinitatis / wie oben Es sprach Jesus etc.

Model referenced: [Cantio] Ave sponsa trinitatis [see n° 96 Es sprach Jesus zu jener zeit]

Notation and tonal type: Just text

Reference in DKL: None

## 128

Folio: i2v

Text incipit: Gott hat den mensch fur allen

Edition (text only): None

Rubric: Ein Lied von unzüchtigem leben und hurerey / auff die noten / In Dorotheae festo / wie oben / O Gott wir wollen preisen / oder auff den thon / Wol auff jr frome Christen / frewt euch und jubiliert etc. wie folget mit iij Stimmen.

Model referenced: [Cantio] In Dorotheae festo [see n° 67 O Got wir wollen preisen]

Model notated: Wol auff jr frome Christen [this textual incipit with this melody is not recorded in DKL, but the melody corresponds to Wohlauf, ihr deutschen Christen, DKL B55]

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 C2 F4 bD

Reference in DKL: [Gott hat den Mensch vor allen] B55,a; A253A (3)

## 129

Folio: i4r

Text incipit: Es war ein mal ein reicher man der nicht

Edition (text only): W IV 124

Rubric: Folgen gesenge auff Weltliche melody / Erstlich vom reichen manne und Lazaro / Luce xvj. auff ein alte melody des Meistergesangs / Die Schrifft gibt uns weiss und leer.

Model: [Herzog Ernst-Ton] Die Schrifft gibt uns Weis' und Lehr'

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C5 E

Reference in DKL: [Es war einmal ein reicher Mann, der nicht] A278; A278 (AK)

## 130

Folio: k2v

Text incipit: Es lag sehr kranck Lazarus zu Bethanian

Edition (text only): W IV 125

Rubric: Von dem verstorbenen Lazaro Johan xj. auff die weise des Meistergesangs / Wer pfennige hat / der ist zu Rom ein guter man / zu Cöln etc.

Model: Wer Pfennige hat, ist zu Rom ein guter Mann

Notation and tonal type: German gothic notation, C4 E [4-line staff]

Reference in DKL: [Es lag sehr krank Lazarus zu Bethanian] A279

## 131

Folio: k4v

Text incipit: Ach mein Got sprich mir freuntlich zu

Edition (text only): W IV 126

Rubric: Ein klage des alten Adams / auff eine alte weltliche Melody / auff iij. stimmen.

Model: [Lied] [Ein Maidlein (Magd, die) sagt mir freundlich zu]

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 G3 F4 E [4-line staff]

Reference in DKL: [Ach mein Gott, sprich mir freundlich zu] A280; A280 (AK)

## 132

Folio: l1v

Text incipit: Gantz schwartz heßlich jetz lang sich hat

Edition (text only): W IV 127

Rubric: Ein ander klaglied auff die noten / Von schwartz ist mir ein kleid etc. die andern stimmen findet man sonst.

Model: [Lied] Von schwarz ist mir ein Kleid

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 bG

Reference in DKL: [Ganz schwarz hässlich jetzt lang sich hat] A281; A281 (AK)



### 133

Folio: I2v

Text incipit: Nu lobet mit gesangen

Edition (text only): W IV 128

Rubric: Ein gesang auff die weise / Nu laube Lindlein laube / mit iij. stimmen.

Model: [Lied] Nun lobe, Linde lobe

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C3 [4-line staff] G3 F4 G

Reference in DKL: [Nun lobet mit Gesangen] A282; A282 (AK)

### 134

Folio: I3v

Text incipit: Viel glück und heil ist jetz wolfeil

Edition (text only): W IV 129

Rubric: Ein Gesang vom rechten und höchsten Glück / in gemeiner nota.

Model: [Lied] [Viel Glück und Heil ist niemand feil]

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4/C3 bG

Reference in DKL: [Viel Glück und Heil ist jetzt wohlfeil] A283; A283 (AK)

### 135

Folio: I4v

Text incipit: Viel glück und heil hat sich zum teil

Edition (text only): W IV 130

Rubric: Ein anders auff den itzigen thon / von der vorgeleichung der diener des Worts / aus dem Cxxxij. Psalm.

Model referenced: [Lied] [Viel Glück und Heil ist niemand feil, see n° 134 Viel glück und heil ist jetz wolfeil]

Notation and tonal type: Just text

Reference in DKL: None

### 136

Folio: m1v

Text incipit: Was hilfft es doch das man so hoch

Edition (text only): W IV 131

Rubric: Ein gesang wider die verechter des ministerij und der Sacrament / auff die noten / Was wird es doch / etc.

Model: [Lied] Was wird es doch, des Wunders noch

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C3 bC

Reference in DKL: [Was hilft es doch, daß man so hoch] A284

### 137

Folio: m3r

Text incipit: O werder mundt durch den mir kundt

Edition (text only): W IV 132

Rubric: Ein ander gesang auff ein alte melody / O werder mundt.

Model: [Lied] O werter Mund, von dir ist wund

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 C1 F4 D

Reference in DKL: [O werter Mund, durch den mir kund] A285; A285 (AK)

### 138

Folio: m4v

Text incipit: Nie noch nimmer hab ich erkandt

Edition (text only): W IV 133

Rubric: Ein ander Gesang auff ein alte weise / Nie noch nimmer etc.

Model: [Lied] Nie noch nimmer so ruht mein G'müt

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C3 G3 F4 G

Reference in DKL: [Nie noch nimmer hab' ich erkannt] A286

### 139

Folio: n1v

Text incipit: O Mensch nu schaw bedenck die traw

Edition (text only): W IV 134

Rubric: Ein Gesang auff die alte weise / Zart schöne Fraw.

Model: [Lied] Zart schöne Frau

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C3 G3 F4 bG

Reference in DKL: [O Mensch, nun schau] A287; A287 (AK)

### 140

Folio: n2v

Text incipit: So schon von art

Edition (text only): W IV 135

Rubric: Ein gesang auff ein alte Melody

Model: Unidentified

Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 G4 F4 bF

Reference in DKL: [So schön von Art] A288; A288 (AK)

### 141

Folio: n3v

Text incipit: Auf dieser erd hat Christ sein herd

Edition (text only): W IV 136

Rubric: Ein gesang / Auff ein alte weise / Auff dieser erdt.  
Model: [Lied] Auf dieser Erd' mein Herz begehrt  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C3 G3 F4/F3 bC  
Reference in DKL: [Auf dieser Erd' hast Christ sein Herd'] A289; A289 (AK)

## 142

Folio: o1r  
Text incipit: Tröstlich ist mir  
Edition (text only): W IV 137  
Rubric: Ein gesang auff die noten / Tröstlicher lieb etc.  
Model: [Lied] Tröstlicher Lieb'  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 C1 F4 bG  
Reference in DKL: [Tröstlich ist mir] A290; A290 (AK)

## 143

Folio: o1v  
Text incipit: Nach lust hab ich nu recht erkant  
Edition (text only): W IV 138  
Rubric: Ein gesang auff ein alte Weltliche weise.  
Model: [Lied] [Nach Lust hab' ich]  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 G3 F4 bG  
Reference in DKL: [Nach Lust hab' ich nun recht erkannt] A291; A291 (AK)

## 144

Folio: o2v  
Text incipit: Ein seuffer der mus leiden viel  
Edition (text only): None  
Rubric: Ein gesang wieder das laster der Seufferey / und unchristlichem Schlemmen.  
Model: Unidentified  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C5 C2 F4 A  
Reference in DKL: [Ein Säuffer, der muß leiden viel] A292; A609 (3)

## 145

Folio: o4r  
Text incipit: Nu wünschen wir zu gutter nacht  
Edition (text only): W IV 139  
Rubric: Ein gesang zum abscheidt der Collation / auff die gemeine weise / So wünsch ich jr etc.  
Model: [Lied] So wünsch' ich ihm/ihr ein gute Nacht zu hunderttausend Stunden  
Notation and tonal type: White mensural notation, C4 A  
Reference in DKL: [Nu wünschen wir zu guter Nacht] A293; A293 (AK)

## APPENDIX C: Concordances of Valentin Triller's polyphonic hymns

Appendix C lists the concordances of Triller's polyphonic models. I regard as a concordance settings that share at least a discantus-tenor framework with Triller's polyphonic hymns, irrespective of notation, transposition, additional parts, and variants in the musical text. I did not list cognate settings nor settings that share just the cantus firmus, even if there are further clear intertextual relations (see chapter 4.3 for details).

Each table contains a header line referring to Triller's hymn, including its identification number, text incipit, number of parts, part names and clefs, system, final, and hymn tune (as it is referenced in the title rubric, without normalising the spelling). Each concordance record lists:

Source: prints and manuscripts are listed separately, following a chronological order (in some cases just approximate, since not every source has been dated precisely).

Text incipit: text incipit as it appears in the source. Czech contrafacta are transcribed both diplomatically as well as with normalised spelling in square brackets, in order to facilitate their retrieval in modern bibliographies.

Parts and relation to Triller: cleffing of each part. Different parts are listed in a column, in the order as they appear in the source (or following the standard D A T B order in the case of partbooks). Alternative clefs within one part are separated by a slash ('/'). I specify also the relation to Triller's contrafactum as well as transpositions. For instance, the abbreviation 'C4 = T fourth higher' means that the part notated with C4 clef matches Triller's tenor, but it is notated a fourth higher. Occasionally I use the sign '≈' to indicate that two parts are related although they exhibit major divergences.

System and final: this records system and final, in order to highlight transpositions of the same composition. If no final appears, it means that I consulted the source just through incipit catalogues (bibliographic references are recorded under 'Annotations').

Annotations: basic information concerning notation, mensural signs, note values, rubrics, etc., always taking Triller's hymnbook as the point of comparison. Thus, for instance, 'halved note values' means that the source relies on note values that are the a half of those used by Triller. I record here also other general information that does not fit in any of the preceding categories.

No. 6 *Wolauß last uns frölich singen* – 3 parts, [Discantus] C1; [Tenor] F4; Contratenor C3, ♯A.  
Model in title rubric: 'Martyr felix insignita'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
CZ-HKm II A 7, 263v	Martir Christi insignitus/insignita	C4/C3 = D fifth lower C4 = T fourth higher	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. Modern edition in Appendix D/2
D-Z 17.8.39, 32r-34r	Martir felix insignita – Instat vere precibus	G3 = D fourth higher F2 = T fourth higher	♯D	White mensural notation, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with perfect prolation), halved values. Rubric 'Sequitur Introitus de festo eiusdem [S. Barbara]'
CZ-CHRM 12580, 332v	Martir Christi insignitus/insignita	C4/C3 = D fifth lower C4 = T fourth higher	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values

No. 8 *O herr Gott vater wir singen dir* – 3 parts, Discant C2; Tenor C4/C5; Bass F3, ♯D.  
Model in title rubric: 'Efficax pax fax'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
D-Z 17.8.39, 61v-63v	Efficax pax fax	C2 = D C4 = T C4 = B	♯D	White mensural notation, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with imperfect prolation), halved values
D-Mbs Clm 11943, 85v-86r	Efficax pax fax	C3 = D fifth lower F4 = T fifth lower F4 = B fifth lower	♭G	White mensural notation, halved values. The three parts have different mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> and imperfect <i>tempus</i> ), but they all use the same note values, and the differences in the mensural signs seem to have no real meaning. Rubric fols. 85v-86r 'Hymnus in Summi dei laudem'. Modern edition in Appendix D/3

No. 10 *Ein kind geborn zu Bethlehem* – 3 parts, Discantus G3; Tenor C3; Bassus F4, ♭G.  
Model in title rubric 'Puer natus in Bethlehem'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
Lucas Lossius, <i>Psalmodia</i> , Nuremberg: Hayn 1553 (RISM B/8 1553–10)	Puer natus in Bethlehem – Ein kind geborn zu Bethlehem	C4 = D octave lower C4 = T	♭G	Böker-Heil 52.1. White mensural notation, same mensural sign (3), same note values. Modern edition in DKL Eb43A
Lucas Lossius, <i>Psalmodia</i> , Wittenberg: Rhaus Erben 1561 (RISM B/8 1561–20)	Puer natus in Bethlehem – Ein kind geborn zu Bethlehem	C4 = D octave lower C4 = T	♭G	Böker-Heil 65.1. White mensural notation, same mensural sign (3), same note values. Modern edition in DKL Eb43A
Christoph Hecyrus (Schweher), <i>Veteres ac pia cantiones praecipuorum anni festorum</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1561 (RISM A/1 S 2474)	Puer natus in Bethlehem	G3 = D C3 C3 = T F4 ≈ B	♭G	White mensural notation, mensural sign (perfect <i>tempus</i> and '3'), same note values. Rubric 'In natali Christi' in each partbook
Lucas Lossius, <i>Psalmodia</i> , Wittenberg: Schwertel 1569 (RISM B/8 1569–24)	Puer natus in Bethlehem – Ein kind geborn zu Bethlehem	C4 = D octave lower C4 = T	♭G	Böker-Heil 83.1. White mensural notation, same mensural sign (3), same note values. Modern edition in DKL Eb43A
<i>Libellus elementarius</i> , Prague: per Gitzinum 1569	Puer natus in Bethlehem – Ein kind geborn zu Bethlehem	G3 = D C3 = T C3 F3 ≈ B	♭G	White mensural notation, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> and '3'), same note values

Leonhard Paminger, <i>Primus tomus ecclesiasticarum cantionum</i> , Nuremberg: Gerlach 1573 (RISM A/1 P 828)	Puer natus in Bethlehem – Ein kind geboren zu Bethlehem	C1 = D C3 C4 = T F3 ≈ B	♭G	Böker–Heil 91.4. White mensural notation, mensural sings (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> and 3), same note values. Rubric 'De nativitate Christi'. This collection contains also another five-voice version of this song, with the same tenor and a basses similar to the four-part version. Cf. Böker–Heil 91.5
Wolfgang Figulus, <i>Vetera nova carmina</i> , Frankfurt an der Oder: Eichorn 1575 (RISM A/1 F 722)	Puer natus in Bethlehem – Ein kind geboren zu Bethlehem	G3 = D C3 C3 = T F4 ≈ B	♭G	Böker–Heil 94.19. White mensural notation, mensural signs (perfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> and 3), same note values
D-Rtt Freie Künste Musik 76 Abth. II, 102v	Puer natus in Bethlehem unde gaudet – Ein kind geboren zu Bethlehem	G3 = D C2 C3 = T F3 ≈ B	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker–Heil 207.14. White mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values
D-D MS Mus. 1/E/24	Ein kindt geboren zu Bethlehem – Puer natus in Bethlehem unde gaudet	C1 = D C3 C3 = T F4 = B	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker–Heil 140.7. White mensural notation, mensural sings (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> and 3), same note values
D-D MS Grimma 51	Ein kind gebohren zu Bethlehem – Puer natus in Bethlehem unde gaudet	C3 C3 = T F4 ≈ B	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker–Heil 141.16. White mensural notation, mensural sings (perfect <i>tempus</i> and '3'), same note values. Attributed to 'Volfgang Figulus'. Probably same version as Wolfgang Figulus, <i>Vetera nova carmina</i> , Frankfurt an der Oder: Eichorn 1575

D-Rp A. R. 855	Ein kind geboren zu bethlehem – Puer natus in bethlehem unde gaudet	C1 = D C3 C4 = T F3 ≈ B	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 1978. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> and '3'), same note values. Attributed to 'L. Paminger'. Probably same version as Leonhard Paminger, <i>Primus tonus ecclesiasticarum cantionum</i> , Nuremberg: Gerlach 1573
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No. 12 *Wach auff liebe Christenheit* – 3 parts, Discantus G3; Tenor C3; Bassus F3, ♭G.  
Model in title rubric 'In natali Domini'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
I-Bc Q.15, 217v–218r	In natali domini	C1 C2 = D fourth lower C4 F3 = T fourth lower	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs. Diplomatic transcription in (Diederichs 1986, 325–326). Modern edition in (Bloxam 1992, 43–45)
I-TRbc 87, 219r	In natale domini	C2 = D fourth lower C4 = T fourth lower C4	♯D	White mensural notation, no mensural signs. Diplomatic transcription in (Diederichs 1986, 327–328)
I-Bu MS 2216, 57v	In natali domini	C1 = D fourth lower C4/F2 = T fourth lower	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs. Diplomatic transcription in (Diederichs 1986, 324)
I-PAVu MS Aldini 361, 9v–10r	In natali domini	C2 = D fourth lower F2 = T fourth lower	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs. Modern edition in (Cattin 1968, 15)
CZ-TRE A 4, 388v–389v	In natali domini	3 parts including D and T, both a fourth lower	♯D	Clefs corrupted, white mensural notation, no mensural signs



CZ-HKm II A 7, 235v	In natali domini	C2 = D fourth lower C4 = T fourth lower C4	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs
CZ-HKm II A 6, 298r-298v	In natali domini	C2 = D fourth lower C4 = T fourth lower C4	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs
CZ-KUm 88/85, 189v-190r	In natali domini	C2/C1 = D fourth lower [C4] = T fourth lower	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs. T notated with erroneous C5 clef
CZ-KUm 88/85, 255v-256v	In hac die	C2 = D fourth lower [C4] = T fourth lower	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, corrupted
CZ-CHRM 12580, 269v	In natali domini	C2 = D fourth lower C4 = T fourth lower C4	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs

No. 13 *Es ist ein kindlein uns geboren* – 3 parts, Discantus G3; Tenor C4; Bassus F4, ♯G.  
Model in title rubric: 'Nobis est natus hodie'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
CZ-HKm II A 6, 268r-268v	Nobis est natus hodie	2 parts ([C2] and C2), including materials from both D and T	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural sign. Top part notated with erroneous C5 clef
CZ-Pm XIII A 2, 180v-181r	Nobis est natus hodie	C3 = D fourth lower C5 ≈ T fourth lower	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural sign
CZ-KUm 88/85, 195v-196r	Nobis est natus hodie	C3 = D fourth lower F4 ≈ T fourth lower	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural sign

CZ-CHRM 12580, 270v	Nobis est natus hodie	C3 = D fourth lower C4 ≈ T fourth lower	♯D	Black mensural notation, no mensural sign
Christoph Hecyrus (Schweher), <i>Veteres ac pia canticones praecipuorum anni festorum</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1561 (RISM S 2474)	Nobis est natus hodie	G2 = D C3 C3 = T F4 ≈ B	♭G	White mensural notation, same mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Rubric 'In natali Christi' in each partbook

No. 22 *Wir wollen singen heut für allen dingen* – 3 parts, Discant C2; Tenor C4; Bassus F4, ♯D.  
Model in title rubric: 'Anna coelestis'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
D-B MS Mus. 40021, 250v–251r	Regiae stirpis	C1 = D fourth higher C4 = T fourth higher F4 ≈ B	♭G	White mensural notation. Modern edition in (Gerber 1949, Notenbeilage)
D-Z 78,2, 16v–17r	En tibi carmen	C1 = D fourth higher C3 C3 = T fourth higher F4 ≈ B	♭G	Modern edition in (Hartmann 1976), no. 8
Manuscript addition to Gregor Breitkopf, <i>De stricta divi Hieronymi vita carmen Sapphicum</i> Leipzig: Thanner 1504 (VD16 B 7407, copy in D-Mu 0014/W 4 Pl.at. rec. 57)	Untexted	C4 C4	♭G	The two voices exchange materials corresponding to D and T of Triller's contrafactum. White mensural nota- tion, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tem- pus diminutum</i> ), values are generally halved, but this setting has different metric characteristics. A rubric iden- tifies it as a 'Melodia carminum su- per quodlibet sapphicon', i.e. a model for singing Sapphic stanzas. Modern edition in (Hartmann 1976), no. 7

No. 39 *Singet frölich alle gleich* – 2 parts, [Discantus] G3; [Tenor] F3, ♯C.  
Model in title rubric: 'Cedit hyems eminus'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
CZ-Pa Vyš 376, 91v-92r	Cedit yemps eminus	[C3] = D fifth lower [C3] = T fourth higher	♯F	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, doubled values
CZ-HKm II A 6, 274v-275r	Cedit yemps eminus	C3 = D fifth lower [C3/C4] = T fourth higher	♯F	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs. Wrong clefs and some notes misplaced by a third
CZ-KUm 88/85, 227r-227v	Cedit yemps eminus	[C3] = D fifth lower [C3] = T fourth higher	♯F	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs
CZ-KUm 88/85, 266v-267v	Cedit yemps eminus	[C3] = D fifth lower [C3] = T fourth higher	♯F	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs

No. 40 *Erstanden ist der Herre Christ* – 3 parts,  
Discant G2 [4-line staff]; Tenor C3 [4-line staff]; Bassus F3, ♭F.  
Model in title rubric: 'Surrexit Christus Hodie'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40098	Surrexit Christus hodie	C1 = D C3 = T C5, some similarities with B	♯F	White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempous</i> with perfect prolation), halved values. Modern edition in (Ringmann and Klaper 1937, 16)

No. 47 *Der heilige Geist und warer Got* – 3 parts, Discant C2; Tenor C4; Bassus F3, ♯A.  
Model in title rubric: 'Spiritus Sancti gratia'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
D-Mbs Clm 5023, 48v-49r	Spiritus sancti gratia / Der hailig gaist mit seiner gnad	C2 ≈ D C3 ≈ T	♯A	White mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values, binary metre. The lower part ('Tenor') has a wrong clef and it does not coordinate correctly with the upper part

No. 48 *Komb güttiger unnd tewrer Got* – *Ein reicher miltter Geist* – 3 parts, Discant [I] F3; Discant [II] F3; [Tenor] F5, ♯A. Model in title rubric: 'Da gaudiorum praemia'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
CZ-HK II A 7, 252r	Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum	C3 = D II fifth higher C3 = D I fifth higher C4 = T fifth higher	♯E	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. Modern edition in (Černý, Eben et al. 2005, 226-228) and Appendix D/1
CZ-HKm II A 6, 335v-336r	Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum	C3 = D II fifth higher C4 = D I fifth higher C4 = T fifth higher	♯E	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. The ternary section 'Da nobis Christe' is labelled 'repetitio'
CZ-Pnm XIII A 2, 368v-369r	Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum	C3 = D II fifth higher C3 = D I fifth higher C4 = T fifth higher	♯E	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. The ternary section 'Da nobis Christe' is labelled 'repetitio'
CZ-KUm 88/85, 317v-318r	Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum	C3 = D II fifth higher C3 = D I fifth higher C4 = T fifth higher	♯E	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values

CZ-CH 12580, 324v	Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum	C3 = D II fifth higher C3 = D I fifth higher C4 = T fifth higher	hE	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values
CZ-KLm 403, 473v–474r	Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum	C4/C3/C2 = D II fifth higher F3 = T fifth higher C3/C4 = D I fifth higher	hE	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. The section of the manuscript in which this setting is copied is defined 'Cantilene de Spiritu sancto'
CZ-Pu 59 R 5116, 652–653	Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum	[C3] = D II fifth higher [C3] = D I fifth higher [C4] = T fifth higher	hE	Black mensural notation, no clefs, no mensural signs, halved values
CZ-VO, 223v–225r	Zawitay k nám swaty dusse [Zavítej k nám svatý Duše]	C3 = D II fifth higher C3/C4 = D I fifth higher F3 = T fifth higher	hE	Black mensural notation, halved values. The ternary section is notated with mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with perfect prolation)
CZ-TEm 2, 206v–208r	Zawitay k nám swaty Dusse [Zavítej k nám svatý Duše]	C3 = D II fifth higher C3 = D I fifth higher F3 = T fifth higher	hE	Black mensural notation, halved values. The ternary section is notated with mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with perfect prolation)

No. 58 *Gros ist Got unser Herre* – 2 parts, [Discantus] C2; [Tenor] F4, ♭A.  
Model in title rubric: 'Nunc Festum celebremus'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
CZ-HKm II A 6, 289v–290v	Nunc festum celebremus	C4 ≈ D fifth higher C4 ≈ T fifth higher	♯E	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values
D-Z 17.8.39, 234v	Nunc festum celebremus – Unica	G2/G3 = D fifth higher C4 = T fifth higher	♯E	White mensural notation, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with imperfect prolation), halved values

No. 65 *Christus inn diese welt ist kommen* – 3 parts, Discantus G4; Bassus F4; Tenor C4, ♭D.  
Model in title rubric: 'Felici peccatrici'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
Christoph Hecyrus (Schweher), <i>Veteres ac pia cantiones praecipuorum anni festorum</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1561 (RISM S 2474)	Foelcem peccatricem	C1 = D C4 C4 = T F4 = B	♭D	White mensural notation, same mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Rubric 'In feriis. D. Magdalenae.' in each partbook
CZ-HKm MS II A 6, 351r	Felici peccatrici	[C3] = D fourth lower [F4] = T fourth lower [F4] = B fourth lower	♯[A]	White mensural notation, no mensural signs. Custodes at the end of each part indicate a kind of 'circular repetition', where the last note corresponds to the first note of the song. Modern edition in (Černý 2006, 180–181)

CZ-KUm 88/85, 117v–118r	Felici amatrici	3 parts, corrupted, close to CZ-HKm MS II A 6, 351r		Black mensural notation, no mensural signs
CZ-KUm 88/85, 291v–292r	Felici peccatrici	3 parts, corrupted, close to CZ-HKm MS II A 6, 351r		Black mensural notation, no mensural signs

No. 68 *Rein und besser ist Gottes wort* – 3 parts, [Discantus] G4; Tenor F4; Bassus F4, ♮G.  
Model in title rubric: 'Praelustri elucientia'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
Christoph Hecyrus (Schweher), <i>Veteres ac pia cantiones praecipuorum anni festorum</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1561 (RISM S 2474)	Praellustri excellentia	G2 = D fifth higher G3 C4 = T fifth higher F4	♮D	White mensural notation, same mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> , but no proportions in the course of the piece), halved values. Rubric 'In festo assumptionis Mariae'. Modern edition in (Horyna 2003, 322–323)
SK-Bu Inc. 318, 2v	Prelustri elucencia	[C4] = D fourth lower C4 = T fifth higher	♮D	White mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. Modern edition in (Gancarczyk 2017, 19–20)
CZ-HKm II A 7, 283r	Prelustri elucencia	C4 = D fourth lower C4 = T fifth higher	♮D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. Modern edition in (Černý 1993, 52–53 and 132)
CZ-Pu 59 R 5116, 667	Prelustri elucencia	[C4] = D fourth lower [D4?] = T fifth higher	♮D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values

CZ-HKm II A 6, 285v–286v	Prelustri elucencia	C3/C4 = D fourth lower C4 = T fifth higher	♩D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. Rubric fol. 285v 'De assuncione beate virginis'
CZ-Pn XIII A 2, 376v	Prelustri elucencia	C4 = D fourth lower C4 = T fifth higher	♩D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values
D-Z 17.8.39, 207r–207v	Prelustri elucencia	D4 = D fifth higher C4 = T fifth higher	♩D	White mensural notation, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with perfect prolation), halved values. Rubric fol. 207r 'Introitus de assumptione B. V.:'. Modern edition in (Černý 1993, 106 and 132)
CZ-CH 12580, 291v	Prelustri elucencia	C4 = D fourth lower C4 = T fifth higher	♩D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values
CZ-KLm 403, 445v–446r	Prelustri elucencia	C3/C4 = D fourth lower C4 = T fifth higher	♩D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. Rubric fols. 445v–446r 'Cantilene Assumptionis Marie'
CZ-VO, 161v–163r	Przećistá panno Marya [Přećistá panno Maria]	C3/C4 = D fourth lower C3/C4 = T fifth higher	♩D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. Rubric 'O panně Marygi'. Modern edition in (Černý 1993, 107 and 132–133)
CZ-VO, 163v–165r	Ay przissel czas wssii wzaczności [Aj přišel čas vši vzaczności]	C3/C4 = D fourth lower C3/C4 = T fifth higher	♩D	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. Rubric fol. 164r 'w Adwent' and fol. 165r 'o wielenii páně'. Modern edition in (Černý 1993, 107 and 132–133)



D-Mbs Clm 11943, 83v-84v	Praelustri eluentia	G2 = D fifth higher C4 = T fifth higher	♯D	White mensural notation, mensural signs, halved values. Rubric fols. 83v-84r 'Hymnus in Assumptione Dei pere virginis Mariae'. Modern edition in (Černý 1993, 106, 132)
CZ-TEm 2, 53v-55r	Přečista panno Marya [Přečistá panno Maria]	C3/C4/F3 = D fourth higher C3/C4 = T fifth higher	♯D	Black mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with imperfect prolation), halved values. Modern edition in (Černý 1993, 107 and 132-133)
CZ-Pam 7847, 86v-88r	Aj přišel čas vší vzácnosti			This source was not inspected in person. Cf. the critical apparatus in (Černý 1993, 132-133)
CZ-Pam 7847, 88v-90r	Předivnou milostí obdařena			This source was not inspected in person. Cf. the critical apparatus in (Černý 1993, 132-133)
CZ-HKm II A 14, 519v-521r	Přečistá panno Maria	C3 = D fourth lower C4 = T fifth higher	♯D	White mensural notation, mensural signs, halved values. Modern edition in (Černý 1993, 107 and 132-133)
PL-Nm (lost)		4 parts		Quoted in (Feldmann 1937)

No. 73 *Ey Got Vatter aller Gnaden* – 3 parts, Discantus C1; Tenor F4; Bassus F4, ♭A.  
Model in title rubric: 'Deitatis flagrans stella'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
PL-WRk 58, 110v-111r	Deitatis flagrans stella	C3 = D fourth lower F2/C4 = T fifth higher	♯E	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs. Modern edition in (Schmitz 1936, 395)
D-Z 17.8.39, 9v-10v	Deitatis flagrans stella – Virgo in quam post et ante – Dignitate sic sequimur	G2 = D fifth higher C4 = T fifth higher F2 = B fifth higher	♯E	White mensural notation, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with imperfect prolation). This setting has a concluding ternary section not present in <i>Ein Schlesich singebüchlein</i>
D-Mbs CIm 11943, 82v-83r	Deitatis flagrans stella	C4 = T fifth higher G2 = D fifth higher	♯E	White mensural notation, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> with imperfect prolation). This setting has a concluding ternary section not present in <i>Ein Schlesich singebüchlein</i>

No. 80 *Nu last uns im glauben* – 3 parts, Discantus G3; Tenor C4; Bassus F3, ♯G.  
Model in title rubric: 'Omnium sanctorum'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
Christoph Hecyrus (Schweher), <i>Veteres ac pia cantiones praecipuorum anni festorum</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1561 (RISM S 2474)	Omnium sanctorum pia dictamina	G3 = D C3 C4 = T F4 = B	♯G	White mensural notation, same mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same values. Rubric 'In feriis omnium sanctorum'

No. 85 *Gottes weisheit hoch und breit* – 3 parts, Tenor C4; Discantus C1; Bassus F4, ♯E.  
Model in title rubric: 'Patris sapientia'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
CZ-HKm II A 7, 101v-102r	Tu qui cuncta imperas	C1 = D F4 = B C3 C4 = T	♯E	White mensural notation, same mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
D-LEu 1494, 61v	Patris sapientia	C1 = D C3 C4 = T F4 = B	♯E	White mensural notation, same mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Modern edition in (Gerber 1956, 70)

No. 94 *Wer da sitzt unter dem schatten* – 3 parts, Discant G3; Tenor C4; Bassus F4, ♯E.  
Model in title rubric: 'Dorothea coronata'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
D-TRs 322/1994, 214r	Katherina coronata	[C3] = D fourth lower F3 = T fourth lower	♯C	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values
CZ-HKm II A 6, 276r	Resurgenti nazareno	C3 = D fourth lower C2/C3 = T fifth higher	♯C	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. Concluding R. <i>Jesu pye rex glorie</i> non present in <i>Ein Schlesich singebüchlein</i>
CZ-KUm 88/85, 216v-217r	Dorothea coronata	[C3] = D fourth lower [F3] = T fourth lower	♯C	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. Concluding R. <i>Preciosa martir Christi</i> non present in <i>Ein Schlesich singebüchlein</i>

CZ-KUm 88/85, 236v-237r	Resurgent nazareno	[C3] = D fourth lower [F3] = T fourth lower	♯C	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. Concluding R. non present in <i>Ein Schlesich singebüchlein</i>
CZ-CHRM 12580, 277v	Resurgent nazareno	C3 = D fourth lower C5 = T fourth lower	♯C	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values. Concluding R. non present in <i>Ein Schlesich singebüchlein</i>
CZ-VO, 215v-216r	Radugic se Krystu panu [Radujic se Kristu pánu]	C3 = D fourth lower F3 = T fourth lower	♯C	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values
CZ-VO, 220v-221r	Krali věkův Dusse swaty [Králi věkův, Duše svatý]	C3 = D fourth lower F3 = T fourth lower	♯C	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values
CZ-Pm I A 17, 174v-176r	Krystus Geziss nazaretský [Kristus Ježíš Nazaretský]	[C3] = D fourth lower [C2] = T fifth higher	♯C	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values
CZ-TEm 2, 169v-170r	Wzkrijssenemu Krystu Panu [Vzk říšenému Kristu Pánu]	C2 = D F3 = T F4	♭F	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values
CZ-TEm 2, 205v-206r	Krali věkův Otče swaty [Krali věkův Otče svatý]	C3 = D fourth lower F3 = T fourth lower	♯C	Black mensural notation, no mensural signs, halved values
CZ-Pu XVII A 3, 293v-294r	Radugic se Krystu pán [Radujic se Kristu pánu]	C3 = D fourth lower F3 = T fourth lower	♯C	Black mensural notation, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with perfect prolation), halved values
CZ-Pu XVII A 41, 246v-247v	Krystus gežíss nazaretský [Kristus Ježíš Nazaretský]	C3 = D fourth lower F3 = T fourth lower	♯C	Black mensural notation, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with perfect prolation), halved values

CZ-Pu XVII A 41, 280r–280v	Krali věkův Otcže swatý [Králi věkův Otcže swatý]	C3 = D fourth lower F3 = T fourth lower	♯C	Black mensural notation, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with perfect prolation), halved values
CZ-Pu XVII A 53a, 408v–409v	Radugič se Krystu pánu [Radujič se Kristu pánu]	C3 = D fourth lower F3 = T fourth lower	♯C	Black mensural notation, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with perfect prolation), halved values
CZ-Pu XVII A 53a, 471v–472r	Králi wěkuow Otcže Swaty [Králi věkův Otcže swatý]	C3 = D fourth lower F3 = T fourth lower	♯C	Black mensural notation, mensural sign (3), halved values

No. 96 *Es sprach Jesus zu jener zeit* – 2 parts, Discant C1; Tenor F4, ♯F.  
Model in title rubric: 'Ave sponsa Trinitatis'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
D-Z 178.39, 111r–111v	Ave sponsa trinitatis – O Jungfrau zartlich – Rosas mitte notario in dense – In deynes frides gertelein – Nos scolares et studentes – Dich lobet stett der gelarten schar	G3 = D C3 = T octave higher F3	♯F	White mensural notation, mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus</i> with perfect prolation), halved values. Rubric 'De sancta Dorothea Introitus'

No. 131 *Ach mein Got sprich mir freuntlich zu* – 3 parts, Tenor C4; Discantus G3; Bassus F4, ♯E.  
Model not mentioned in the title rubric.

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
[Songs for 3–4 voices], Mainz: Schöffner 1513 (vdm 13)	Ejn magt die sagt mir früntlich zu	C1 = D C4 C4 = T F4 = B	♯E	Böker–Heil 2.4. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), halved values. Attribution to 'Malchinger'. Modern edition in (Geering and Altwegg 1961, 29)

<i>Ein Außzug guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlin</i> , Nuremberg: Petreius 1539 (vdm 48)	Ejn meidlein sagt mir freundlich zu	C1 = D fourth higher C3 C3 = T fourth higher F3 = B fourth higher	♭D	Böker-Heil 22.25. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), halved values. Modern edition in (Gudewill and Heiske 1942, 34–35)
<i>Ein Ausszug guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlein</i> , Nuremberg: Petreius 1543 (vdm 1025)	Ejn meidlein sagt mir freundtlich zu	C1 = D fourth higher C3 C3 = T fourth higher F3 = B fourth higher	♭D	Böker-Heil 29.25. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), halved values. Attribution to 'Machinger'. Modern edition in (Gudewill and Heiske 1942, 34–35)
<i>Ein Außbund schöner teutscher Liedlein</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1549 (vdm 1130)	Ejn meidlin sagt mir freundtlich zu	C1 = D fourth higher C3 C3 = T fourth higher F3 = B fourth higher	♭D	Böker-Heil 38.25. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), halved values. Modern edition in (Gudewill and Heiske 1942, 34–35)
<i>Ein Außbund schöner teutscher Liedlein</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1551 (vdm 1516) [incomplete]				This source was not inspected in person. Not catalogued in Böker-Heil
<i>Ein Außbund schöner teutscher Liedlein</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1552 (RISM B/1 1552–27)	Ejn meidlein sagt mir freundlich zu	C1 = D fourth higher C3 C3 = T fourth higher F3 = B fourth higher	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 47.25. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), halved values. Attribution to 'Machinger'
<i>Ein Außbund schöner teutscher Liedlein</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1560 (RISM B/1 1560–25)	Ejn meidlin sagt mir freundtlich zu	C1 = D fourth higher C3 C3 = T fourth higher F3 = B fourth higher	♭D	Böker-Heil 62.25. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), halved values. Attribution to 'Machinger'. Modern edition in (Gudewill and Heiske 1942, 34–35)

D-W Cod. Guelf. 292 [incomplete]	Ain meidlin sagt mir fruntlich zu	C4	<b>h</b>	This source, a single Altus partbook, was not inspected in person. The incipit reproduced in Böker-Heil 236.41 is probably misprinted. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), halved values. Probably same version as [Songs for 3–4 voices], Mainz: Schöffler 1513 (vdm 13)
CH-Bu F X 17-20	Ein medlin sagt mir fruntlich zu	C1 = D fourth higher C3 C3 = T fourth higher F3 = B fourth higher	<b>b</b>	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 117.68. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), halved values. Probably same version as <i>Ein Außzug guter alter und newer deutscher Liedlin</i> , Nuremberg: Johann Petreius 1539 (vdm 48) and reprints
CH-Bu F X 21 [incomplete]	Ein magt die sagt mir fruntlich zu	C4 = T	<b>h</b>	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 118.88. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), halved values. Probably same version as [Songs for 3–4 voices], Mainz: Schöffler 1513 (vdm 13)
CH-Bu F X 25-26 [incomplete]	Ein meitlin spricht mir frindlich zu	C3 C3 = T fourth higher	<b>b</b>	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 120.27. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), halved values. Probably same version as <i>Ein Außzug guter alter und newer deutscher Liedlin</i> , Nuremberg: Johann Petreius 1539 (vdm 48) and reprints

No. 137 *O werder mundt durch den mir kundt* – 3 parts, Tenor C4; Discantus C1; Bassus F4, ♯D.  
Model in title rubric: 'O werder mundt'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
<i>Fünfundszibzig hübsche Lieder</i> , Cologne: von Aich [1514–1515 c.] (vdm 17)	O werder mundt von dyr ist wundt	C2 = D C4 C4 = T F4 = B	♯D	Böker-Heil 5.16. White mensural notation, same mensural signs, same note values. Modern edition in (Bernoulli and Moser 1930, 36–37) and (Slim 1981, 148–161)
B-Tv 94 and B-Br IV.90 [incomplete]	O waerde mont	C2 = D C4 = T	♯D	White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Modern edition in (Slim 1981, 148–161)
GB-Lbl Add. MS 31922, 46v–47r	Ough warder mount	C2 = D C4 C4 = T F4 = B	♯D	White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus</i> ), same note values. Modern edition in (Slim 1981, 148–161)
CH-Bu F X 5–9 [incomplete]	Ach werder mund	C2 = D	♯	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 115.2. White mensural notation, no mensural signs, same note values
CH-Bu F X 21 [incomplete]	O werder mund	C4 = T	♯	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 118.11. White mensural notation, same mensural signs, same note values
CH-SGs MS 463 [incomplete]	Ach werder mund	C2 = D C4	♯D	Böker-Heil 214.57. White mensural notation, same mensural signs, same note values. Modal label 'Dorius idest primus'
CH-Bu F IX 59–62	O werder mundt	C2 = D C4 C4 = T F4 = B	♯	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 113.69. White mensural notation, same mensural signs, same note values



No. 138 *Nie noch nimmer hab ich erkandt* – 3 parts, Tenor C3; Discant G3; Bassus F4, ♯G.  
Model in title rubric: 'Nie noch nimmer'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
[Sixty-eight songs], [Augsburg]: [Öglin] [c. 1512–1513] (vdm 14) [incomplete]	Nje noch nymmer	C1 = D	♯G	Böker-Heil 3.11. Only the discantus partbook of this print is extant. White mensural notation, same mensural sign (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
<i>Fünfundsiebzig hübsche Lieder</i> , Cologne: von Aich [c. 1514–1515] (vdm 17)	Nje noch nimmer so ruwt mein gmüt	C1 = D C3 C4 = T F4 = B	♯G	Böker-Heil 5.3. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Modern edition in (Bernoulli and Moser 1930, 13)
<i>Gassenhawerlin</i> , Frankfurt am Main: Christian Egenolff 1535 (vdm 21) [incomplete]	Nje noch nimmer so ruwt mein gmüt	C3 C4 = T F4 = B	♯G	Böker-Heil 10.30. No extant copies of the discantus partbook. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
<i>Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin</i> , [Frankfurt am Main]: [Egenolff] [1552] (vdm 24) [incomplete]	Nje noch nimmer ruwt mir mein gmüt	G3 = D C3 F4 = B	♯G	No extant copies of the tenor partbook. This source was also catalogued as RISM [1535]/13 (Böker-Heil 13.30). White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
CH-Bu F X 10 [incomplete]	Nie noch niemer end min gmüt	F4 = B	♯	This source was not inspected in person. I relied on Böker-Heil 116.27. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
CH-SGs MS 463 [incomplete]	Nie noch niemer verruwet min gmüt	C1 = D C3	♯	Böker-Heil 214.176. White mensural notation, no mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Labelled 'antiquum' in table of contents. Modal assignment 'Misolydus, idest septimus, imperfectus tonus'

CH-Bu F X 17-20	Nie noch nimmer	C1 = D C3 C3 = T F4 = B	h	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 117.25. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
D-B MS Mus. 40194 [incomplete]	Nie noch nimmer	C4 = T	h	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 125.6. White mensural notation, no mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
PL-Trm J. 4 <sup>o</sup> 29-32	Nie noch niemmer	C1 = D C3 C4 = T F4 = B	h	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 220.65. White mensural notation, no mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
CH-Bu F IX 59-62	Nie noch nimer	C1 = D C3 C4 = T F4 = B	h	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 113.68. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values

No. 139 *O Mensch nu schaw bedenck die traw* – 3 parts, Tenor C3; Discantus G3; Bassus F4, hG.  
Model in title rubric: 'Zart schöne Fraw'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
[Songs for 3-4 voices], Mainz: Schöffel 1513 (vdm 13)	Zart schöne fraw gedenck unn schaw	C1 = D C3 C4 = T F4 = B	hG	Böker-Heil 2.47. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Modern edition in (Hasse and Tübingen 1934, 18-19)
<i>Gassenhawerlin</i> , Frankfurt am Main: Egenolff 1535 (vdm 21) [incomplete]	Zart schöne fraw gedenck unn schaw	C4 C4 = T F4 = B	hG	Böker-Heil 10.26. No extant copies of the Discantus partbook. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values

Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin, [Frankfurt am Main]: [Egenolff [1552] (vdm 24) [incomplete]	Zart schöne frau gedenck unn schaw	C1 = D C3 F4 = B	♭G	Böker-Heil 13.26. No extant copies of the tenor partbook. This source was also catalogued as RISM [1535]/13 (Böker-Heil 13). White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
D-W Cod. Guelf. 292	Zart schöne frau	C3	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 236.9. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
D-ISL Fragments from binding of incunabulum IV 36 F124 [incomplete]	Zart schone frau	F4 = B	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 165.89. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
D-B MS Mus. 40193 [incomplete]	Zarth schone frau gedenck und schaw	C4 = T	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 124.9. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
CH-Bu F X 17-20	Zart schöne frau	C1 = D C3 C4 = T F4 = B	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 117.12. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
D-B MS Mus. 40194 [incomplete]	Zarth schone frau gedenck und schaw	C3 = T	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 125.5. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values

D-HRD 9822 [incomplete]	Zart schon	C1 = D F4 = B	$\flat$	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 163.2. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
D-Rp A. R. 940/941	Zart schöne frau gedenckh unn schau	C1 = D C3 C4 = T F4 = B	$\flat$	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 201.306. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
D-USch MS 236 A-D	Zart schene frau gedenck und schau	C1 = D C3 C4 = T F4 = B	$\flat G$	Böker-Heil 229.25. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values

No. 141 *Auf dieser erd hat Christ sein herd* – 3 parts, Tenor C3; Discant G3; Bassus F4/F3,  $\flat C$ .  
Model in title rubric: 'Auf dieser erdt'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
[Sixty-eight songs], [Augsburg]: [Oglin] [c. 1512–1513] (vdm 14) [incomplete]	Auff diser erd	C1 = D	$\flat C$	Böker-Heil 3.36. Only the discantus partbook of this print is extant. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> and '3'), same note values
CH-SGs MS 463 [incomplete]	Uff diser erd min hertz begert	C1 = D C3	$\flat C$	Böker-Heil 214.71. White mensural notation, mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Modern edition in (Loach 1970, 109–110). Modal label 'Ionicus'

No. 142 *Tröstlich ist mir* – 3 parts, Tenor C4; Discantus C1; Bassus F4, ♭G.  
Model in title rubric: 'Tröstlicher lieb'

Source	Text incipit	Parts and relation to Triller	System and final	Annotations
<i>Aus sonderer künstlicher Art</i> , Augsburg: Öglin 1512 (vdm 11)	Tröstlicher lieb staetz ich mich yeb	C1 = D C3 C4 = T F4 = B	♭G	Böker-Heil 1.8. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
[Thirty-six songs], Mainz: Schöffner 1517 (vdm 16) [incomplete]	Tröstlicher lieb ich mich stet ieb	C1 = D	♭G	Böker-Heil 4.30. Only the discantus partbook of this print is extant. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
<i>Gassenhawerlin</i> , Frankfurt am Main: Egenolff 1535 (vdm 21) [incomplete]	Tröstlicher lieb ich mich stet ieb	C3 C4 = T F4 = B	♭G	Böker-Heil 10.20. No extant copies of the discantus partbook. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
<i>Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin</i> , [Frankfurt am Main]: [Egenolff] [1552] (vdm 24) [incomplete]	Tröstlicher lieb ich mich stet ieb	G3 = D C3 F4 = B	♭G	No extant copies of the tenor partbook. This source was also catalogued as RISM [1535]/13 (Böker-Heil 13.20). White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
<i>Ein Außzug guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlin</i> , Nuremberg: Petreus 1539 (vdm 48)	Tröstlicher lieb stetz ich mich yeb	C1 = D C3 C3 = T F4 = B	♭G	Böker-Heil 22.123. Attributed to 'Paulus Hoffmeyner'. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Modern edition in (Gudewill and Heiske 1942, 173–174)

<i>Ein Auszug guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlein</i> , Nuremberg: Petreius 1543 (vdm 1025)	Tröstlicher lieb setztz ich mich yeb	C1 = D C3 C3 = T F4 = B	♮G	Böker-Heil 29.123. Attributed to 'Paulus Hoffhamer'. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Modern edition in (Gudewill and Heiske 1942, 173–174)
<i>Ein Außbund schöner teutscher Liedlein</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1549 (vdm 1130)	Tröstlicher lieb setztz ich mich jeb	C1 = D C3 C3 = T F4 = B	♮G	Böker-Heil 38.123. Attributed to 'Paulus Hoffheymer'. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Modern edition in (Gudewill and Heiske 1942, 173–174)
<i>Ein Außbund schöner teutscher Liedlein</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1551 (vdm 1516) [incomplete]				This source was not inspected in person. Not catalogued in Böker-Heil
<i>Ein Außbund schöner teutscher Liedlein</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1552 (RISM 1552/27)	Tröstlicher lieb setztz ich mich yeb	C1 = D C3 C3 = T F4 = B	♮	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 47.123. Attributed to 'Paulus Hoffamer'. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
<i>Ein Außbund schöner teutscher Liedlein</i> , Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber 1560 (RISM 1560/25)	Tröstlicher lieb	C1 = D C3 C3 = T F4 = B	♮G	Böker-Heil 62.123. Attributed to 'Paulus Hoffheymer'. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Modern edition in (Gudewill and Heiske 1942, 173–174)
D-Mbs Mus. MS 3155	Tröstlicher lieb staetz ich mich	C1 = D C3 F4 = B C4 = T	♮G	White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values. Note the layout of this source: the parts were copied consecutively in one partbook

CH-Bu F X 21 [incomplete]	Tröstlicher lieb ich mich stecz jeb	C4 = T	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 118.18. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
CH-Bu F X 17-20	Tröstlicher lieb	G3 = D C3 C4 = T F4 = B	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 117.11. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
D-B MS Mus. 40193 [incomplete]	Tröstlicher lieb ich mich stets jeb	C4 = T	♭	This source was not inspected in person, I relied on Böker-Heil 124.8. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
D-Mbs Mus. MS 1501	Tröstlicher lieb	C1 = D C3 C3 = T F4 = B	♭G	Böker-Heil 183.23. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values
D-Usch MS 236 A-D	Trostlicher lib	C1 = D C3 C4 = T F4 = B	♭G	Böker-Heil 229.22. White mensural notation, same mensural signs (imperfect <i>tempus diminutum</i> ), same note values

# INDEX OF TEXT INCIPITS QUOTED IN APPENDIX B AND APPENDIX C

The alphabetical list makes it possible to locate the contrafacta and hymn tunes recorded in the Catalogue (Appendix B). I have also listed normalised text incipits of settings listed in the Concordances of the polyphonic hymns (Appendix C).

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APPENDIX D/1:  
*Veni sancte spiritus – Da gaudiorum* in Utraquist sources

[Discantus I]  Ve - - - - -

[Discantus II]  Da gau - di - o - rum pre - mi - a da gra - ci - a - rum mu - ne - ra

[Tenor]  Ve - - - - -

6 [D I]  - - - ni san - - - - cte

[D II]  dis - sol - ve li - tis vin - cu - la a - strin - ge pa - cis fe - de - ra

[T]  - - - ni san - - - - cte

12 [D I]  spi - ri - tus spi - - - - ri - tus

[D II]  Ve - ni san - cte spi - ri - tus

[T]  spi - ri - tus spi - - - - ri - tus

18 [D I]  san - cte spi - ri - tus

[D II]  san - cte spi - ri - tus

[T]  san - cte spi - ri - tus

Da no - bis Chri - ste car - men mo - du -  
ut cum e - lec - tis si - mus in - ce -



24

[D I] 8 -lan - ti - bus con - iun - ge le - tis re - gni se - di - bus  
-les - ti - bus con - sor - tes an - ge - lo - rum ci - vi - bus

[D II] 8 -lan - ti - bus con - iun - ge le - tis re - gni se - di - bus  
-les - ti - bus con - sor - tes an - ge - lo - rum ci - vi - bus

[T] 8 -lan - ti - bus con - iun - ge le - tis re - gni se - di - bus  
-les - ti - bus con - sor - tes an - ge - lo - rum ci - vi - bus

Main source for the edition: CZ-HK II A 7, 252r

Cleffing: C3 C3 C4

Mensural signs: none

Notes to the edition: bar 25,3 L sig. cong.; bar 28 L

Notes to the text underlay: D I, D II and T entirely texted

### Variants and errors in other Utraquist sources

CZ-HK II A 6, 335v–336r: cleffing C3 C4 C4; bars 21–28 labelled as 'R[epetiti]o'; the repetition of bars 21–28 is written out; da capo from bar 1 indicated after bar 28. Bars 19–20 Br sig. cong.; bar 21,1 no [M]; bar 24, 3 Br sig. cong.; bar 28 Br sig. cong.

CZ-Pnm XIII A 2, 368v–369r: bars 21–28 labelled as 'R[epetiti]o'; the repetition of bars 21–28 is written out in D II and T; da capo from bar 1 indicated after bar 28. D II bar 11,3 M corrected into Sb; D II bar 15,1 Br corrected into Sb; D I bar 18,3–4 Sb Sb (error); D I bar 25,1 no [M]; T bar 27,3–4 Sb M.

CZ-KUm 88/85, 317v–318r: D II bar 8,4 c' corrected into d'; D I bar 15,2 d' (error); D I D II T bars 19–20 Br; bar 21,1 no [M]; D I bar 24,3 Br with cephalicus; D II T bar 24,3 Br; bar 25,1 no [M]; T bar 27,3–4 Sb M.

CZ-CH 12580, 324v: the repetition of bars 21–28 is written out in D I; just text incipits in bars 21–28 of D II and T. D I bar 7, 4 Br corrected into Sb; bar 21,1 no [M] (also in the written out repetition of these bars); bar 24,3 Sb sig. cong. (also in the written out repetition of these bars); bar 25,1 no [M] (also in the written out repetition of these bars); D I bar 27,3–4 M Sb (also in the written out repetition of these bars).

CZ-KLm CS KL 403, 473v–474r: cleffing C4/C3/C2 F3 C3/C4; the repetition of bars 21–28 is written out in D II. Bar 21,1 no [M] (also in the written out repetition of these

bars); bar 21,2 and 25,2 followed by a *punctus perfectionis*; bar 24,3 Br sig. cong. (also in the written out repetition of these bars); bar 25,1 no [M] (also in the written out repetition of these bars).

CZ-Pu 59 R 5116, 652–653: T bars 19–20 Br; bar 21,1 no [M]; D II bar 21,2–22 Sb M Sb M (error?); bar 24,3 Br; bar 25,1 no [M]; D II bar 26,1 M corrected into Sb; T bar 27,3–4 Sb M.

CZ-VO, 223v–225r: the text is the Czech contrafactum *Zavítej k nám svatý Duše*; the repetition of bars 21–28 is written out; bar 21 mensural sign imperfect *tempus* and major prolation. D I bar 2,3 M; D I bar 2,4 missing; D I bar 3 M M M M; T bar 6 no ligature; D II bar 7 no ligature; D I bar 11 M M Sb; D I bar 15 ligature Sb Sb; D I bar 17 no ligature; T bar 17 Sb Sb; bar 21,1 no [M]; bar 24,3 *bipunctum*; bar 25,1 no [M]; T bar 27,3–4 Sb M (in the repetition M Sb).

CZ-TEm 2, 206v–208r: the text is the Czech contrafactum *Zavítej k nám svatý Duše*; the repetition of bars 21–28 is written out; bar 21 mensural sign imperfect *tempus* and major prolation. D I bar 2,3 M; D I bar 2,4 missing; D I bar 3 M M M M; T bar 6 no ligature; D II bar 7 no ligature; D I bar 11 M M Sb; D II bar 12 missing (error); T bar 14 missing (error); D I bar 15 ligature Sb Sb; D I bar 17 no ligature; T bar 17 Sb Sb; bars 19–20 *tristropa*; bar 21,1 [M M]; bar 24,3 *bipunctum* (also in the written out repetition); bar 25,1 no [M]; bar 28 *tristropa* (also in the written out repetition).

APPENDIX D/2:  
*Martir Christi insignitus/insignita* in Utraquist sources

[Discantus]

8 Mar - tir

[Tenor]

6

[D]

8 Mar - tir Chri - sti in - si - gni - tus De - i - cis ful - go - ri - bus

[T]

12

[D]

8 ful - go - ri - bus Cas - ti - ta - te pre - po - si -

[T]

Cas - ti - ta - te

18

[D]

8 - tus pre - po - si - tus sum - mis ac ho - no - ri - bus ho -

[T]

25

[D]

8 - no - ri - bus Nunc lau - da can - tu dul - ci - ter vo -

[T]

Nunc lau - da

31

[D] 8-cem dans su - a - vi - ter De - i pa - tris fi - li - um cas - ti - ta - tis li - li -

[T]

37

[D] - um qui dig - num si - bi fa - mu - lum fa - mu -

[T]

43

[D] - lum sanc - tum e - le - git mar - ti - rem mar - ti - rem.

[T]

Main source for the edition: CZ-HK II A 7, 263V

Cleffing: C4/C3 C4

Mensural signs: none

Notes to the edition: T bars 1-3 ligature Br Br L; D bar 12,7 Sb; D bar 25,7 Sb; D bar 46,7 Sb

Notes to the text underlay: just D entirely texted

Variants and errors in CZ-CHRM 12580, 332v: T bars 1-3 Br Br Br (no ligature); D bar 11,3 Sb M; T bar 12 ligature Sb Sb; D bar 12 M (a h c' d' c') Sm (h c'); D bar 17,5-6 Sm Sm; T bar 25 ligature Sb Sb; D bar 34,3 (f'); T bar 39,2 (e).

APPENDIX D/3:  
*Efficax pax fax*

Excellens  
vox

Media  
vox

Vox  
g:

9

Ex.  
vox

M.  
vox

Vox  
g:

17

Ex.  
vox

M.  
vox

Vox  
g:

25

Ex.  
vox

M.  
vox

Vox  
g:

34

Ex. vox

M. vox

Vox g:

42

Ex. vox

M. vox

Vox g:

50

Ex. vox

M. vox

Vox g:

Source for the edition: D-Mbs Clm 11943, 85v–86r

Cleffing: C3 F4 F4

Mensural signs: the Excellens vox carries the mensural sign imperfect *tempus diminutum*, while the two other parts are notated in imperfect *tempus*. This divergence, however, has no proportional meaning, and it is probably a scribal error.

Notes to the edition: the C3 clef at fol. 85v/3 is wrong, should be F4; Media vox bar 21 missing (error); Vox gravis bar 52 M M M M (error).

Notes to the text underlay: the parts are untexted. The text *Efficax pax fax* (AH 20, 214) is copied on the lower margin.

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Alle Maria

ein alte melodia/ Salve regina  
duent/ ...  
singen/ ...  
Z...  
w rein...  
Gott  
keit inn seinem rat / ist jr die botschaffe komen,  
ch/ durch Gabriel der zu jr sprach/ begrüßet seistu frome  
Discant.  
Bassus

In 1555, Valentin Triller, the Lutheran pastor of a small village in Lower Silesia, published a hymnbook entitled *Ein Schlesich [sic] singebüchlein*, printed at the workshop of Crispin Scharffenberg in Wrocław. The hymnbook contains a peculiar and markedly retrospective repertory, and it is a fundamental source for understanding sixteenth-century Silesian musical culture. The present book discusses the hymnbook's paratexts, contents, and reception history, revealing the political, religious, and musical instances that prompted Valentin Triller's editorial endeavour. Analysis of selected polyphonic hymns serves to address the reasons behind the survival of 'archaic' repertoires (a phenomenon also found in other central European regions), their circulation across borders and confessions, and their role in shaping religious and regional identities.



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