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# Isaac 500

Henricus Isaac (c.1450/5–1517)  
Composition – Reception – Interpretation

WIENER FORUM  
FÜR ÄLTERE MUSIKGESCHICHTE

Herausgegeben von Birgit Lodes

BAND 11

Stefan Gasch, Markus Grassl, August Valentin Rabe (Hg.)

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**INTERPRETATION**

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON  
STEFAN GASCH, MARKUS GRASSL  
UND AUGUST VALENTIN RABE

HOLLITZER



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## VORWORT

„Mir scheint [Isaac] gut geeignet Eurer Hoheit zu dienen, mehr als Josquin, denn er ist umgänglicher und wird häufiger neue Stücke schreiben.“ So lautet das oft zitierte Urteil von Gian de Artiganova, der 1502 im Auftrag von Ercole d’Este nach einem neuen Maestro di Capella für den Hof in Mantua Ausschau hielt. Der Herzog aber folgte bekanntlich dem Rat seines anderen Agenten Girolamo da Sestola, der ihm Josquin Desprez als „corona a la dita nostra chapela“ empfohlen hatte. Man könnte meinen, diese Einschätzung habe bis ins 20. Jahrhundert überlebt, denn obwohl die musikhistorische Bedeutung Henricus Isaacs von Beginn der neueren Musikgeschichtsschreibung an unbestritten war, stand er lange Zeit nicht in jenem Maß im Fokus der Forschung – und der musikalischen Praxis – wie andere franko-flämische Sänger-Komponisten des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, allen voran sein Zeitgenosse Josquin Desprez. Erst seit rund 20 Jahren beginnt sich die Forschung Henricus Isaac wieder intensiver anzunehmen. Mittlerweile sind Arbeiten zu einem breiten thematischen Spektrum vorgelegt worden, das von der Biographie und dem historischen bzw. kulturellen Umfeld über Quellen- und Überlieferungsfragen, Aspekte der Kompositionstechnik und des Schaffensprozesses bis hin zur Rezeption reicht.

Das 500. Todesjahr Henricus Isaacs 2017 war Anlass, in zwei Veranstaltungen, die von den Herausgebern dieses Bands gemeinsam mit Birgit Lodes organisiert wurden, einen weiteren Impuls für die vertiefte Auseinandersetzung mit Isaac zu geben: In Wien fand die internationale Tagung *Henricus Isaac: Composition – Reception – Interpretation* statt, die wenige Tage später in Prag von der Panel Session *Commemorating Henricus Isaac* im Rahmen der 45. *Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference* weitergeführt wurde. Der Großteil der in diesem Band versammelten Beiträge geht auf Vorträge zurück, die bei diesen Veranstaltungen gehalten wurden.

Am Anfang stehen zwei Texte zur Biographie Isaacs bzw. zu den institutionellen Rahmenbedingungen seines Wirkens. Nicole SCHWINDT und Giovanni ZAVONELLO machen plausibel, dass Augustein Schubinger eine Schlüsselrolle bei der Anwerbung Isaacs durch Maximilian I. gespielt haben könnte, Grantley McDONALD macht den engen Zusammenhang deutlich, der an der Kapelle



Maximilians zwischen deren internationalem Charakter, der Beziehung zu anderen Institutionen, der Wahrnehmung administrativer Aufgabe durch Kapellangehörige und dem System der Benefizienvergabe bestand. Darauf folgen mehrere Beiträge, die einzelne Quellen oder Quellenkorpora mit Musik Isaacs unter je verschiedener Perspektive in den Blick nehmen. Jessie Ann Owens kommt noch einmal auf das Autograph von Isaacs Sequenz *Sanctissime virginis votiva festa* zurück und aktualisiert im Lichte jüngster Forschungen die Erkenntnisse zur Authentizität der Aufzeichnung und die Einsichten, welche die Quelle in den Kompositionsprozess erlaubt. Das vor Kurzem entdeckte Brünner Chorbuch CZ-Bam 14/5, das zahlreiche Propriumsvertonungen Isaacs enthält, ist Gegenstand des Aufsatzes von David J. BURN und Ruth I. DEFORD, die das Verhältnis dieser Quelle zum *Choralis Constantinus* bestimmen und deren Bedeutung für die Erhellung der Rezeption von Isaacs Musik im weiteren 16. Jahrhundert herausstreichen. Eine Reihe von gedruckten Gradualia aus der Zeit um 1500 werden von David Merlin herangezogen, um durch einen exemplarischen Vergleich der in diesen Ausgaben überlieferten Choralfassungen mit den cantus firmi der *Missa de Beata Maria Virgine* 4vv (I), zur Klärung des komplexen Problems von Isaacs Choralvorlagen beizutragen. David FALLOWS diskutiert Autorenzuschreibungen in den beiden neu entdeckten Stimmbüchern Christian Egenolffs und bietet in einem weiteren Text eine Zusammenschau der Annotationen von Isaacs Kapellkollegen Lucas Wagenrieder in den beiden erhaltenen Exemplaren von Formschneiders *Trium vocum carmina*.

Mit einzelnen Kompositionen Isaacs beschäftigen sich die drei folgenden Studien. Blake WILSON geht den Spuren nach, die *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam* in Madrigalen von Costanzo Festa, Francesco Layolle und Philippe Verdelot hinterlassen hat, Eleanor HEDGER rückt die *Missa Comme femme desconfortée* in den Kontext der Marienverehrung und Klaus PIETSMANN entwickelt die These, wonach die Motette *Optime pastor* anlässlich des Empfangs des päpstlichen Nuntius am kaiserlichen Hof 1514 entstand.

Ein Tag des Wiener Symposiums war dem Korpus von *alternatim* zu realisierenden Chormessen gewidmet. Dieser für Isaac typische, durch die Forschung jedoch nur wenig bearbeitete Werkbestand sollte dabei nicht zuletzt unter aufführungspraktischen Gesichtspunkten behandelt werden. Den Referaten ging eine Aufführung der *Missa de Beata Maria Virgine*, 4vv (I), durch das Ensemble *Nusmido* voran. Mit dieser exemplarischen Erarbeitung einer der Chormessen Isaacs sollte zugleich ein Ausgangspunkt für eine diesen Teil des Symposiums abschließende, Wissenschaft und Aufführungspraxis in Austausch bringende Roundtable-Diskussion geliefert werden (siehe das Tagungsprogramm und die Anmerkungen zum Tagungskonzert am Ende des Buches).

Drei der Beiträge, die im Rahmen dieses Programmteils präsentiert wurden, behandeln Aspekte der alternatim-Praxis um 1500 und damit Voraussetzungen und Kontext von Isaacs Choralmassen. Vor dem Hintergrund der verstärkten, gerade auch am Hof Maximilians I. betriebenen Einbindung von Blasinstrumenten in die liturgische Musikpflege zeigt Markus GRASSL, dass und auf welche Weise auch Bläserensembles an der alternatim-Praxis beteiligt waren. Franz KÖRNDLE beleuchtet Orgeln und Orgelbau im Umfeld Maximilians I. und kann aus dem instrumentenhistorischen Befund Rückschlüsse auf die Verwendung von Orgeln in der Liturgie bzw. in der Kapelle Maximilians ziehen. Anhand verschiedener theoretischer wie praktischer Quellen zielt August Rabe auf die Rekonstruktion der konkreten musikalischen Gestalt des alternatim-Spiels auf der Orgel sowie der damit verbundenen ästhetischen Vorstellungen.

Ebenfalls der instrumentalmusikalischen Praxis widmet sich der Beitrag von Kateryna SCHÖNING, der den Umgang mit Kompositionen Isaacs in Lautentabulaturen untersucht und damit ein weiteres Schlaglicht auf die Rezeption von Isaacs Musik im 16. Jahrhundert wirft. Ausgehend von den Erfahrungen bei der Einstudierung und Aufführung von Isaacs *Missa de Beata Maria Virgine* mit dem Ensemble *Nusmido* erörtert schließlich dessen Leiter, Ivo Ignaz Berg, welche praktische Konsequenzen und performative Implikationen das Singen aus dem Chorbuch und der Mensuralnotation mit sich bringt.

Unser herzlicher Dank gilt Birgit Lodes für die Aufnahme des Bandes in die Reihe *Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte*; der Universität Wien und der Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien, die mit ihrer finanziellen Unterstützung das Symposium und die vorliegende Veröffentlichung überhaupt erst möglich gemacht haben; und schließlich Michael Hüttler und Sigrun Müller (Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag) für die stets angenehme und geduldige Zusammenarbeit bei der Herstellung des Buchs.

Die Herausgeber

Wien, im August 2019



## FOREWORD

‘To me, [Isaac] seems well suited to serve Your Lordship, more so than Josquin, because he is more companionable, and will compose new works more often.’ This is the oft-quoted verdict of Gian de Artiganova, who Ercole d’Este commissioned in 1502 to look for a new Maestro di Capella for the court in Mantua. As is well known, however, the Duke followed the advice of his other agent, Girolamo da Sestola, who had recommended Josquin Desprez as the ‘crown upon this chapel of ours’. It seems that this assessment survived into the 20th century, for although Henricus Isaac’s music-historical significance was undisputed from the beginning of the newer historiography of music, for a long time he remained less the focus of research – and musical practice – than other Franco-Flemish singer-composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, above all his contemporary Josquin Desprez. It is only in the last 20 years that musicology has begun to take a more serious interest in Henricus Isaac again. In that time, a broad thematic spectrum of work has been produced, ranging from biography and the historical and cultural environment to questions of sources and tradition, aspects of compositional technique and the creative process, and reception.

The 500th anniversary of Henricus Isaac’s death in 2017 gave further impetus to the desire to examine Isaac in more depth, which culminated in two events organised by the editors of this volume together with Birgit Lodes: the international conference *Henricus Isaac: Composition – Reception – Interpretation* in Vienna, followed a few days later by the panel session ‘Commemorating Henricus Isaac’ at the 45th *Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference* in Prague. Most of the contributions in this volume are based on talks given at these events.

The first two texts explore Isaac’s biography and the institutional framework of his work. Nicole SCHWINDT and Giovanni ZAVONELLO suggest that Augustein Schubinger might have played a key role in Maximilian I’s recruitment of Isaac; Grantley McDONALD makes clear the close connection that existed between the international character of Maximilian’s chapel, its relationship to other institutions, the administrative duties of its members and the system of benefit allocation. These are followed by several contributions that

bring different perspectives to bear on individual sources or source corpuses of Isaac's music. Jessie Ann OWENS returns to the autograph of Isaac's sequence *Sanctissime virginis votiva festa* and, in the light of recent research, updates the findings on the record's authenticity and the insights the source offers into Isaac's composition process. The recently discovered choirbook in Brno, CZ-Bam 14/5, which contains numerous Mass Proper settings by Isaac, is the subject of an essay by David J. BURN and Ruth I. DEFORD, who determine this source's relationship to the *Choralis Constantinus* and emphasise its significance for illuminating the reception of Isaac's music later in the sixteenth century. David MERLIN uses several printed gradualia from the period around 1500 to help clarify the complex problem of Isaac's chorale models by comparing the chorale versions handed down in these editions with the cantus firmi of the *Missa de Beata Maria Virgine* 4vv (i). David FALLOWS discusses author attributions on the basis of the two prints by Christian Egenolff and, in a further text, offers a synopsis of the annotations by Isaac's fellow musician Lucas Wagentriener in the two surviving copies of Hieronymus Formschneider's *Trium vocum carmina*.

The following three studies deal with individual Isaac compositions. Blake WILSON follows the traces left by *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam* in madrigals by Costanzo Festa, Francesco Layolle, and Philippe Verdelot; Eleanor HEDGER places the *Missa Comme femme desconfortée* in the context of Marian worship; and Klaus PIETSMANN develops the thesis that the motet *Optime pastor* was written for the reception of the papal nuncio at the imperial court in 1514.

One day of the Vienna Symposium was dedicated to the corpus of choral masses that are realised *alternatim*. This group of works, typical for Isaac, but little researched, was treated mainly from the point of view of performance practice. The papers were preceded by a performance of the *Missa de Beata Maria Virgine* 4vv (i), by the Ensemble *Nusmido*. This exemplary realisation of one of Isaac's choral masses was also intended to provide a starting point for a roundtable discussion that concluded this part of the symposium and brought theory and performance practice into profitable exchange (see the conference programme and the notes on the conference concert at the end of the book). Three of the contributions presented in this part of the programme dealt with aspects of *alternatim* practice around 1500 and thus the conditions and context of Isaac's plainchant masses. Against the background of the increased integration of wind instruments into liturgical music, especially at the court of Maximilian I, Markus GRASSL shows that wind ensembles were also involved in *alternatim* practice and describes how. Franz KÖRNDLE examines organs and organ building in the time of Maximilian I and draws conclusions from these historical findings about how organs were used in the liturgy and at Maximilian's

chapel. Based on various theoretical and practical sources, August RABE reconstructs the concrete musical form of *alternatim* playing on the organ and the associated aesthetic ideas.

Kateryna SCHÖNING's contribution is also devoted to instrumental musical practice. She investigates how Isaac's compositions are handled in lute tablatures and thus sheds further light on the reception of Isaac's music in the sixteenth century. Finally, based on the experience of rehearsing and performing Isaac's *Missa de Beata Maria Virgine* with the Ensemble *Nusmido*, its director, Ivo Ignaz BERG, discusses the practical consequences and performative implications of singing from the choir book and its mensural notation.

Our heartfelt thanks go to Birgit Lodes for including the volume in the series *Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte*; to the University of Vienna and the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, whose financial support made the symposium and this publication possible in the first place; and finally to Michael Hüttler and Sigrun Müller (Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag) for their ever warm and patient support during the production of the book.

The Editors

August 2019, Vienna.



## ISAAC, SCHUBINGER, AND MAXIMILIAN IN PISA – A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY?

As is well known, Heinrich Isaac was hired by Maximilian in Pisa in the autumn of 1496. The significance of this supreme acquisition was always clear, both for musicologists and historians of the Habsburg court. At times it even appears as the cornerstone of the foundation of the Vienna court chapel, since Isaac and his wife were directly sent to this city, where the King of the Romans had the members of his reorganized chapel gather. Yet it would be more difficult to argue that the ruler wished to have a composer of international reputation among his musicians, let alone that he was actively seeking such a personality at the time. 1496 was the first of three years marked by severe financial problems for the king. The campaign of Italy turned out to be so expensive that even the food for the court members at home was not always guaranteed. The campaign itself (July 5–November 18, 1496) suffered from insufficient financial resources from the beginning and ended in disaster.<sup>1</sup> It may seem strange that at the end of this depressing period Maximilian addressed the task of reorganizing his chapel, by then noticeably downsized and transferred from Augsburg to Vienna. Even stranger that right at this time, when he was ‘completely broke’ (*ganz ploss*) to the point that he could not provide for his wife,<sup>2</sup> he entered into negotiations with a Florence-based Flemish musician to join his musical institution. On November 13 in Pisa his chief secretary, Zyprian von Serntein, gave

\* The idea for this joint article was born during the Isaac conference in Zürich in March 2017, when Nicole Schwindt referred briefly to a citation of the document discussed below in Lorenz Böniger’s *Die deutsche Einwanderung nach Florenz im Spätmittelalter* (Leiden, 2006) and asked Giovanni Zanovello if he would be interested in further investigation. We are thankful to Daria Rose Foner (Columbia University) for access to the document, to Veronica Vestri (Florence) for her assistance with the transcription, and to Molly Covington (Indiana University) for her help editing the final text.

1 Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, ii (Vienna, 1975), 71–116.

2 For reference see [www.regesta-imperii.de](http://www.regesta-imperii.de) (= RI), vol. XIV, 2 n. 4486.



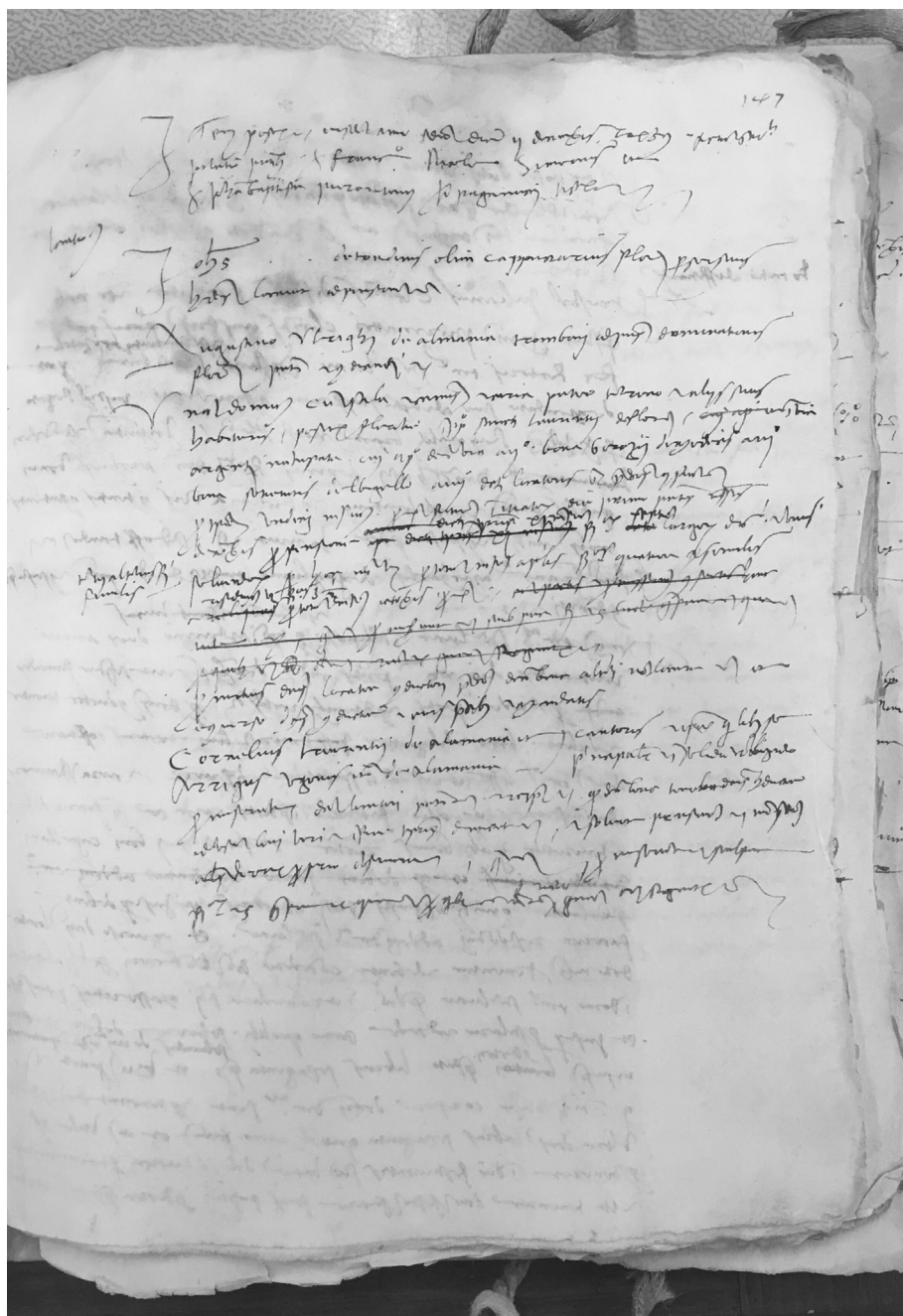


Fig. 1: Florence, Archivio di Stato, Notarile Antecosimiano 1972 (1489), fol. 147r

orders on behalf of his lord for the transfer of the newly engaged ‘Ysaagkh’, his wife, and the other chapel members to Vienna.<sup>3</sup> To be sure, at no time did a military defeat keep Maximilian from planning his future as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. In particular, he was hoping to be crowned by the pope in Rome and access a rank that would quite naturally oblige him to maintain a representative musical establishment. A singer and composer of international standing, acting as a beacon in an otherwise completely German chapel, would be the cherry on the cake. It is very hard to demonstrate that Maximilian had this kind of strategic foresight in musical matters, though it cannot be ruled out either. Regardless, the Fall of 1496 was hardly an appropriate moment to increase the royal staff. What happened in Pisa, where the king was residing since October 21<sup>4</sup> in the Medici palace? An archival document from Florence, that at first glance has nothing to do with the Pisan affair, might help explain this untimely hiring decision.

\*\*\*

Transcription:

[on the left:] Locatio

Item postea et cetera eisdem anno et indictione die II decembris 1489.

Actum in dicto |

palatio presentibus Francisco Nicole Simonis et |  
ser Ioanne Baptista Pierantonii de Paganuccis testibus.<sup>5</sup> |

Iohannes ... de Tondinis olim capsonarius florentinus pro se et suis |  
heredibus locavit ad pensionem |

Augustino Ulrighi de Almania tromboni ad presens dominationis |  
Florentie presenti et conducenti et cetera |

Vnam domum cum sala et cameris et curia, puteo interno et aliis suis |  
habituris positam Florentiae in populo Sancti Laurentii de Florentia in via |  
Argenti<sup>6</sup> nuncupata cui a primo dicta via, a secundo bona Gerozii de Medicis  
a tertio |

bona sotietatis del Bigallo a quarto dicti locatoris in predictis confinis |  
pro tempore undecim mensium proximorum futurorum initiatorum die primo  
presentis mensis infrascripti |

3 RI XIV, 2 n. 4487, 4488, 4489.

4 From October 29 to November 5 he was embarked for Livorno, from November 12 to 15 he stayed in Vico Pisano, on November 18 he left Pisa.

5 Paganucci, a public notary, was one of the witnesses to Isaac’s last testament in 1516; see Martin Staehelin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft II/28 (Berne, 1977), ii, 85. On Isaac’s testaments, see also Giovanni Zanovello, ‘Master Arigo Ysach, Our Brother: New Light on Isaac in Florence, 1502–17’, in *JM* 25 (2008), 297–303.

6 Isaac’s residence until 1513 was on the same street. Staehelin, *Die Messen*, ii, 71.

dexembris pro pensione dicti temporis XI mensium florenorum septem  
 largorum de grossis et |  
 solvendorum per hos menses per totum mensem aprilis florenos quattuor  
 similes residuos videlicet florenos  $3 \frac{1}{3}$  per totum mensem octobris |  
 mensibus infrascriptis; |  
 promictens dictus locator conductori predicto dicta bona alteri non locare  
 et cetera et e |  
 converso dictus conductor et visis presentibus et mandatis. |  
 Cornelius Laurentii de Alamania et } cantores et ipsius quilibet se |  
 Arrigus Ugonis de Alamania } principaliter et in solidum et cetera  
 obligando |  
 promiserunt dicto locatori petere et cetera excipere et cetera quod dicta bona  
 [...] dictus conductor |  
 adhibere boni, loci et cetera sive temporis denuntiet et cetera et solvere  
 pensionem et cetera ad |  
 pretium alias predictum proprio de sermone et cetera promiserunt [...]

# Translation:

[on the left:] Rent  
 Item afterwards etc. the same year and indiction, day 2 of December 1489.  
 Drawn in the said |  
 palace, in the presence of ser Francesco of Nicola of Simone and |  
 ser Giovanni Battista of Pierantonio Paganucci as witnesses.  
 Giovanni ... Tondini, former banker, on his behalf and on behalf of his |  
 heirs leased for a rent |  
 to Augustin of Ulrich from Alemania, trombone player, currently present and  
 residing in the territory |  
 of Florence etc. |  
 One house with hall and rooms and courtyard, an internal well, and its other |  
 annexes, located in Florence, in the parish of San Lorenzo in via |  
 dell'Argento delimited in the first place by the said street, then by the property  
 of Gerozio de' Medici, then by |  
 the property of the society of the Bigallo, and finally by the [property of the]  
 said landlord in the aforementioned boundary |  
 for the time of the next eleven months, beginning on the first day of the  
 present month of December |  
 inscribed above for a rent of said 11 months of seven large florins and |  
 to be paid for those months for the whole month of April four similar florins,  
 that is  $3 \frac{1}{2}$  for the whole month of October |  
 [to be paid] for the months mentioned above |  
 Said landlord promises not to lease the said property to others etc. and for his |  
 part the tenant has considered the present scripture and rules. |  
 Cornelio di Lorenzo from Alamania and } singers and each pledging for  
 himself |  
 Arrigo d'Ugo from Alamania } and offering a full guarantee |  
 of repayment, promised to the said landlord to request etc. etc. that said tenant |

will use the property, the place etc. and observe the rental period etc. and will pay the rent etc |  
according to the amount registered elsewhere according to the contract etc.  
promised.

\*\*\*

Three musicians active in the environment of Lorenzo de' Medici are involved in this rental contract from December 1489: the instrumentalist Augustin Schubinger as tenant and the singers Cornelio di Lorenzo and Heinrich Isaac as his warrantors. They all are generically referred to as 'German' ('de almania' or 'de alamania'), though Schubinger was born in (today south-German) Augsburg, Cornelio di Lorenzo in (today Belgian) Antwerp,<sup>7</sup> Isaac or Arrigus<sup>8</sup> Ugonis – was Flemish, too. The background to this seemingly cumbersome covenant is the fact that the German immigrants in Florence did not have their own bank there, which would serve as an institutional guarantor for payment to the landlord, Giovanni Tondini. Instead two *fideiussores* had to act as guarantors. This explanation is given by the historian Lorenz Böniger, who first mentioned this contract as typical of the solidarity practiced within the German community in Florence.<sup>9</sup> However, it is remarkable that two singers vouched for the instrumentalist, not Schubinger's nearest fellows, the (mostly German) members of the wind band.

Augustin Schubinger, famous scion of a splendid family of German civic musicians – father Ulrich sr. and four sons Michel, Augustin, Ulrich jr., and Anton – came to Florence in order to replace the just-deceased 'Magister Johannes'. He was recommended by his brother Michel who belonged to the Ferrarese court *pifferi* and assured Lorenzo il Magnifico in a 1489 letter from Modena that his brother would be willing and able to join the Florentine

7 For information on 'Cornelio di Lorenzo d'Anversa' in Florence (active from 1483 as soprano in the friary of Santissima Annunziata, as well from 1484 to 1490 at S. Giovanni) see Frank D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 16th Century', in *JAMS* 14 (1961), 307–58.

8 Each newly arrived foreigner immediately had to replace his name by a standardized name not necessarily relating to his former name. Thus there were hundreds of persons called 'Arrigho': L. Böniger, *Die deutsche Einwanderung* (see p. 1, n. \*), 11.

9 Ibid., 127. Independently, L. Böniger, living in Florence, pointed John Nádas to this contract, when he was preparing his article 'Some New Documentary Evidence Regarding Heinrich Isaac's Career in Florence', in *Firenze e la musica: Fonti, protagonisti, commitment. Scritti in ricordo di Maria Adelaide Bartoli Becherini*, ed. Cecilia Bacherini, Giacomo Sciommeri and Agostino Ziino (Rome, 2014), 45–64, at 47 n. 3. Without knowing who 'a certain Augustino Ulrighi de Alamania, trombone' was, he could not realize the implications of this document and did not pursue the constellation.

band as trombonist.<sup>10</sup> Before that appointment, Augustin was in the service of Maximilian's father, Emperor Frederick III, where he had moved at the beginning of 1487 from his employment with the town of Augsburg.<sup>11</sup> Although he was an excellent lutenist as well, his core competence was as a player of shawm, trombone, and cornetto. As such, he must have been constantly in contact with Isaac, who composed music potentially suitable for the Florentine *pifferi*.

After the death of Lorenzo il Magnifico in 1492, the subsequent decline of Florentine musical life, and the definitive dissolution of all chapels and ensembles in April 1493, Schubinger returned to his native country no later than 1493 or 1494.<sup>12</sup> In 1495 he is well documented as 'des Ku Mt Trumbetter' ('trumpeter of His Majesty the King').<sup>13</sup> This time – Frederick III had died in 1493 – he had joined the Habsburg court musicians, recently reorganized. Until 1494, Maximilian had been gradually replacing the members of his Burgundian chapel<sup>14</sup> with German musicians – incorporating newly recruited singers and instrumentalists along with performers from the late Emperor's chapel. From then on, Schubinger was one of Maximilian's and his court's dearest instrumentalists, highly esteemed as a virtuoso of the fashionable cornetto along with the trombonist Hans Steudl in the service of the chapel, and appreciated as lutenist at table and in the chamber. Augustin may have wished to return to an Italian court, or perhaps rulers such as the Mantuan Marquis were interested in engaging him: Erasmo Brascha, the Milanese ambassador

- 10 Archivio di Stato, Firenze, MAP, XLI, 158. See Enrico Barfucci, *Lorenzo de' Medici e la società artistica del suo tempo* (Florence, 1964), 101; Bianca Becherini, 'Relazioni di musici fiamminghi con la corte dei Medici', in *Rinascita* 4 (1941), 84–112: 106–8. For general information on the family see Keith Polk, 'The Schubingers of Augsburg: Innovation in Renaissance Instrumental Music', in *Quaestiones in musica. Festschrift für Franz Krautwurst*, ed. Friedhelm Brusniak (Tutzing, 1989), 495–503; id., 'Augustein Schubinger and the Zinck: Innovation in Performance Practice', in *Historic Brass Society Journal* 1 (1989), 83–92.
- 11 Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, Baumeisterbücher, 80 (1487), fol. 65<sup>r</sup>: 'Augustin Schubinger busauner [...] Rt. ij vß für 3 wochen antzal der quattember vnd ist daruff abgeschiden zu vnnserm Herren dem Ro. Kayser vnd vff seiner Kayserlichen gnaden schreiben seins dinsts erlassen. Samstag vor Iudica [March 31]'. One year later he got a separate gratification: 'Item ij fl Augustin Kayzers Busaner Samstag vor Reminiscere [March 1]': *ibid.* 81 (1488), fol. 16<sup>r</sup>.
- 12 Schubinger last appears in the Florentine accounts in 1493: Keith Polk, 'Civic Patronage and Instrumental Ensembles in Renaissance Florence', in *Augsburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1986), 51–68, at 68 (after Archivio di Stato, Firenze, CCCamp., fol. 305<sup>v</sup>). The accounts of 1494 are not complete, in the surviving parts, however, his name does not show up any longer within musicians: *ibid.*, 59 n. 23.
- 13 Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, Baumeisterbücher, 89 (1495), fol. 17<sup>r</sup>, dated Saturday before 'Mathie appostoli', i.e. February 21.
- 14 Last payments to singers with French names were settled in 1494. See Honey Meconi, *Pierre de La Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian court* (Oxford, 2003), 27.

at the Habsburg court, warmly recommended to Francesco Gonzaga the German lute player ‘virtuoso Augustino’ who, as he wrote, was much beloved by the whole court and who much delighted Maximilian.<sup>15</sup> However, Schubinger stayed at the Habsburg court as one of its most prominent musicians, with only an absence in 1500–6, when he was ‘lent’ by Maximilian to his son Philip the Fair in Brussels and Mechelen. In his double function as cornetto and lute player, he also undertook travels to Spain and back to Innsbruck and Augsburg with Philip’s Burgundian chapel, where he may have met again his Florentine colleague Alexander Agricola.

No evidence indicates that Schubinger had accompanied Maximilian on the campaign to Italy in 1496. However, precisely because of his ‘economic’ dual function and in view of his Italian experience, it cannot be excluded that he would have been a fitting candidate for participation in a reduced music ensemble during the travel. Hence the very reasonable hypothesis that Schubinger may have arranged the encounter of Maximilian and Isaac in Pisa, about 80 kilometres from Florence. Given our knowledge of habitual networks of musicians, we can assume that after his departure from Florence he had remained in contact (at least sporadically) with musicians who stayed behind in the town, including his former colleague Isaac, who was still resident there but presumably unemployed. It would have been by all means possible for Schubinger to inform Isaac about the king’s on-going musical reorganization and his travel to Italy. If Schubinger was not himself present in Pisa, one might imagine that written contacts with Isaac may have taken place beforehand. Or perhaps it was the other way around, and it was Isaac who approached Schubinger. Whoever took the initiative Schubinger would be an excellent advocate to convince Maximilian of Isaac’s outstanding quality and to make clear that hiring this singer-composer was an opportunity not to be missed. By so doing, Schubinger would have been able to kill two birds with one stone: he (re)gained a colleague who would likely continue to compose brilliant instrumental pieces, and he could repay an old debt – the support he received when Isaac had signed an act of guarantee on his behalf, when Schubinger had just arrived in Florence.

Without doubt Maximilian was a music lover, and unquestionably he recognized the necessity to establish a representative court music, but to engage at a financially inauspicious time a singer who was not a priest and could not be funded through a benefice was far from a matter of course in 1496. It might have been his own wish to acquire a superb Flemish singer-composer who

15 Letter from Innsbruck, January 31, 1500: Archivio di Stato, Mantua, AGonz, E/VI/3, busta 544, n. 1 (see RI XIV, 3,1 n. 9792). Instead, in 1502 Ulrich Schubinger jr. changed position from the Augsburg civic ensemble to the Mantuan court.

would have been able – maybe as the one and only in the chapel – to ensure the guidance to the boys in Vienna ‘auf brabantisch zu discantieren’<sup>16</sup> (‘to sing polyphonically in the manner of Brabant’) and thus to pursue his still present Burgundian ambitions. Perhaps he needed to be encouraged to seize such an opportunity. In the end, we may never know if Maximilian himself was aware of the fact that Isaac was a renowned composer, or if he had to be told so. In any case it is not a far-fetched assumption that someone acted as a competent advisor.

16 RI XIV,2 n. 6446a: instruction by King Maximilian’s treasurer Balthasar Wolf to the Viennese administrator Hans Harrasser on July 20, 1498.

Grantley McDonald

## THE CHAPEL OF MAXIMILIAN I: PATRONAGE AND MOBILITY IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT

The woodcuts from Burgkmair's *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian*, familiar from countless reproductions, are routinely interpreted as a more-or-less realistic representation of the various divisions of Maximilian's court, including his court music. However, the fact that the first woodcut in the series illustrates a naked herald riding a gryphon should caution us not to take this series of images at face value. This is a highly constructed, artificial vision of Maximilian's court, designed according to a plan devised by Maximilian himself. It is no more reliable a reflection of the structures of Maximilian's court than are the fictional epics *Weißkunig* and *Theuerdank* accurate accounts of Maximilian's biography.

But despite its artificiality, the *Triumphal Procession* accurately reflects the international nature of Maximilian's court and its music. Maximilian I, son of an Austrian archduke and a Portuguese princess, husband successively to an archduchess of Burgundy and a princess of Milan, was heir to a broadly European culture, which nevertheless contained significant local variations. The float depicting his Burgundian wedding depicts trumpets and drums in Austrian colours. After them follow the 'Burgundian pipers' in Burgundian livery, playing shawms and *Rauschpfeifen*. A little later the imperial trumpets enter. The identification of various musical groups with national or political entities reflects the confluence of several international musical streams within Maximilian's chapel. In this chapter I would like to explore the international character of Maximilian's chapel. This internationalism was the direct result of two characteristics of such institutions: the opportunities they offered for career development, and the consequent possibilities for mobility.

### Patronage and career development

When Maximilian married Mary of Burgundy in 1477, he inherited one of the premier musical institutions in Europe, the Burgundian chapel. This deeply



hierarchical body comprised several ranks, including *porteur d'orgues* (organ carrier), *fourier* (quartermaster), *petit sommelier*, *sommelier*, *clerc*, *chapelain*, and *premier chapelain*. A 1469 ordinance lays out the structure of the chapel and the tasks assigned to each office.<sup>1</sup> Besides the chaplains of the high mass, who provided music, the chaplains of the low mass led the spoken services. Each rank was paid at different rates: 4 *sous* a day for the organ carrier, 8 a day for a *sommelier*, 9 for a clerk, 12 for a chaplain, and 24 for the first chaplain, who assumed administrative control over the entire chapel. The *escroes* (daily pay records of the court) list the members of the chapel in order of seniority. Normally members of the chapel moved smoothly up the ranks, though reorganisations of the roll, or the entry of highly desirable singers such as Jean Cordier, could momentarily disturb the steady ascent of their colleagues. Aside from the daily payments for attending the chapel, Maximilian regularly gave *ex gratia* payments to members of his court, including the chapel, for example to cover their expenses.

Singers in holy orders were attracted or promoted with the promise of benefices, that is, endowed positions in a parish, collegiate church or monastery, which derived income from an investment made as part of its foundation.<sup>2</sup> The benefices held ranged from chaplaincies endowed with only modest incomes, to more lucrative canonries, to highly profitable dignities such as cantor or dean. Nicolas Brugheman, chaplain of the low mass in Maximilian's Burgundian chapel, was even a bishop, albeit merely of a titular see, Selymbria (now Silivri, Turkey). Members of Maximilian's chapel engaged in a vigorous exchange of benefices, and often held multiple benefices, sometimes even in the same church. When the incumbent of a benefice was present at court or resident in a concurrently held benefice, the liturgical services demanded by these foundations were provided by a vicar. Several important collegiate churches appear repeatedly in the lists of benefices held by members of the Burgundian chapel: St Gudule in Brussels, St Waudru in Mons, St Donatian in Bruges, St Peter in Lille, and St Vincent in Soignies.

The Duke of Burgundy held the right to present candidates to certain benefices, including some very lucrative ones. Singers in the duke's chapel could use court networks to ensure that they were presented for the most attractive benefices. Thus within the Burgundian chapel, there existed several ways in

1 See David Fallows, 'Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474', in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), 109–59.

2 Further, see Barbara Haggh, 'Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music', in *AML* 68 (1996), 87–128.

which singers could advance their careers: both within the chapel, by steadily rising in rank and pay; and by using their proximity to the ruler to compete for the most lucrative benefices. By using the promise of presentation to benefices of a certain financial value and prestige, Maximilian could attract and retain many of the musicians he wanted, and establish himself as the prime mover of the entire system of patronage. For example, in 1513 he presented his choir-master Georgius Slatkonias as bishop of the diocese of Vienna, founded at the instigation of his father Friedrich III. This was not an unprecedented move, but merely represented one extreme of the normal system of imperial patronage of ecclesiastical offices.

Some members of the chapel resided in their benefices until summoned for special occasions. For example, in April 1510 the singer Sixt Rantzmoser returned to his parish at St Georgen im Attergau.<sup>3</sup> Thus the forty-odd singers listed as members of Maximilian's chapel at the end of his life probably never sang all together.<sup>4</sup> The woodcut of the chapel from the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian* shows a group of about eight men and eight boys, with trombone and cornetto presumably doubling two of the vocal parts. With all the necessary caveats for the employment of visual representations of musical phenomena, this number of singers seems about the maximum that could physically gather around a choirbook without impeding visibility. A woodcut attributed to Hans Weiditz shows an even smaller number of singers performing in a mass attended by Maximilian.<sup>5</sup>

## Choirboys

There is almost no evidence for the presence of choirboys in the Burgundian chapel. However, boys played an important role in Maximilian's Austrian chapel. These boys came from diverse backgrounds, both geographically and socially. Five of the seven boys sent to Vienna in 1498 under the direction of Slatkonias came from various places in Austria: two from Krems, one from Bruck an der Leitha, one from Gmunden and one from Ybbs. Two were from

3 Vienna, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (FHKA), AHK SB Gedenkbuch [GB] 17, fol. 349<sup>r</sup> (377<sup>r</sup>); Othmar Wessely, 'Archivalische Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des maximilianischen Hofes', in *StMw* 23 (1956), 79–134, at 121.

4 Vienna, FHKA, SUS HS 46 (= GB 19/1), Registratur De Anno 1519 bis 1520, fols. 7<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>r</sup>, ed. in Adolf Kocirz, 'Die Auflösung der Hofmusikkapelle nach dem Tod Kaiser Maximilians I.', in *ZfMw* 13 (1930/31), 531–40.

5 Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Inv. Nr. 1949/416; London, British Museum, 1922,0610.36. Reproduced in Erich Egg (ed.), *Ausstellung Maximilian I. Innsbruck* (Innsbruck, 1969), p. 107, Nr. 403, Abb. 74 and on p. 188 in this volume.

the Low Countries: Bernhard from Bergen probably either Bergen op Zoom, where Obrecht had been choirmaster, or Mons and Adam Rener, from Liège.<sup>6</sup>

Little is known about the ways in which boys from such disparate backgrounds were recruited. It has been suggested that the poor man who travelled from Zurich to present his musically gifted son before the court in July 1498 may have been the father of Ludwig Senfl.<sup>7</sup> Other boys were the sons of men employed by the court, or of aristocrats whose status gave them easy access to the king or emperor; Michael Hämerl was probably the son of Wolfgang Hämerl, a member of Maximilian's chancery;<sup>8</sup> Maximilian Fuchs, a student of Hofhaimer, was the son of the governor of Stain;<sup>9</sup> Erasmus vom Thurn, whose voice broke in 1514, was a member of a prominent aristocratic family, and later served in various important administrative roles in the Duchy of Carniola (present-day Slovenia) under Ferdinand I.<sup>10</sup>

When the choirboys' voices broke, they were either dismissed from the court with a payment, or – if they showed promise – they received an initial stipend for two or three years to study at university, usually at Vienna. Sometimes this stipend was extended by a further year or two. This was probably one of the sweeteners through which Maximilian hoped to attract talented boys to his court.

Once they had completed their studies, some former choirboys took holy orders. For example, Hans Türkhamer, whose voice broke in 1508 and who subsequently maintained contact with Senfl, is recorded between 1522 and 1535 as the vicar of Nicolaus Leopold in the parish of Garmisch, in the Bavarian Alps.<sup>11</sup>

6 Vienna, FHKA, GB I, fol. 83<sup>v</sup>, ed. in Hertha Schweiger, 'Archivalische Notizen zur Hofkantorei Maximilians I.', in *ZfMw* 14 (1931/32), 363–374, at 365.

7 Vienna, FHKA, GB 4, fol. 111<sup>r</sup> (fol. 135<sup>r</sup>); Wessely *Archivalische Beiträge* (see n. 3), 83; Stefan Gasch, 'Capellani, Cantores und Singerknaben – Zur geistlichen Hofmusik der Habsburger im 15. Jahrhundert', in *Die Wiener Hofburg im Mittelalter. Von der Kastellburg bis zu den Anfängen der Kaiserresidenz*, ed. Mario Schwarz, Veröffentlichungen zur Bau- und Funktionsgeschichte der Wiener Hofburg 1 (Vienna, 2015), 356–71, at 368f.

8 Othmar Wessely, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der maximilianischen Hofkapelle', in *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 92 (1955), 370–88, at 376.

9 Vienna, FHKA, GB 9, fol. 115<sup>r-v</sup> (fol. 136<sup>r-v</sup>).

10 Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), RK Reichsregisterbuch (rrb) QQ, fol. 112<sup>v</sup>; Vienna, FHKA, GB 52, fols. 23<sup>v</sup>–24<sup>r</sup>, 27<sup>r-v</sup> (30 Jan 1541), fols. 263<sup>v</sup>–264<sup>r</sup> (12 November 1541); FHKA AHK HFÖ Akten 3 (1532–1535), fasc. 1534, fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>r</sup>–32<sup>v</sup>, 64<sup>r</sup>–71<sup>v</sup>, fasc. 1535, fols. 21<sup>r</sup>–25<sup>v</sup>.

11 Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Klosterliteralien Habach, Faszikel 1 (Nr. 1), 181, transcr. Martin Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des Reformationzeitalters* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 308f.; cf. Johann Baptist Prechtel, *Chronik der ehemals bischöflich freisingischen Grafschaft Werdenfels in Oberbayern* (Augsburg, 1850), 157f.

Others pursued careers as singers, often at another court. Benedict Zuckenranft and Adam Rener, trained as boys in Maximilian's chapel, later served in the chapel of Friedrich the Wise, Elector of Saxony, as singer and composer respectively. In this way, the musical style and repertoire of Maximilian's chapel was transferred elsewhere.

Strong ties existed between the court of Maximilian and that of Friedrich the Wise of Saxony, a close ally. These links also extended to their musical personnel. For example, Henricus Isaac received gifts of cloth from Friedrich while the elector was present at or near Maximilian's court in late 1497 and 1498.<sup>12</sup> Paul Hofhaimer visited Friedrich's court several times, and trained young organists in Friedrich's service, both at Torgau and at Innsbruck. Eberhard Senft, a prominent member of Maximilian's chapel whose duties were more clerical than musical, but who celebrated mass for many important imperial events, also had strong ties to Friedrich the Wise. Senft travelled to the Saxon court several times, and Friedrich presented him for a benefice at St George's collegiate church in Altenburg, an institution closely associated with the electoral house.<sup>13</sup> Senft sent Friedrich a dispatch from the imperial diet at Trier in 1512, describing the exposition of the Holy Robe of Christ.<sup>14</sup> In 1519, Senft submitted a report to Friedrich on the imperial election at the diet at Frankfurt.<sup>15</sup> Senft, a member of Maximilian's chapel, thus represented an important link between the imperial and Saxon courts.

There is reason to believe that Senft also circulated music by members of Maximilian's chapel. Amongst his other benefices, Senft was also dean of St James' church, Bamberg. Lorenz Beheim, a canon at another church in Bamberg, St Stephen's, was a keen music lover. A personal association between

- 12 Jürgen Heidrich, 'Heinrich Isaac in Torgau?', in *Heinrich Isaac und Paul Hofhaimer im Umfeld von Kaiser Maximilian*, ed. Walter Salmen, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 16 (Innsbruck, 1997), 155–68.
- 13 Altenburg, Thüringisches Staatsarchiv, Landesregierung 4212a, 11<sup>r</sup>–14<sup>v</sup>, at 11<sup>r</sup>; cf. Julius Löbe, 'Statuta Collegii in Castro Aldenburg anno dni millesimo quadringentesimo tredecimo facta', in *Mittheilungen der Geschichts- und Alterthumsforschenden Gesellschaft des Osterlandes zu Altenburg* 2 (1848), 363–82, at 378.
- 14 Weimar, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Reg. E 58, fols. 84<sup>r</sup>–85<sup>v</sup>; cf. Reinhard Seyboth, 'Politik und religiöse Propaganda. Die Erhebung des Heiligen Rockes durch Kaiser Maximilian I. im Rahmen des Trierer Reichstags 1512', in, "Nur wenig verwundern und nachgedenkens": Die "Reichstagsakten – Mittlere Reihe" in Edition und Forschung, ed. Eike Wolgast, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 92 (Göttingen, 2015), 87–108, at 108.
- 15 Dresden, Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Bestand 10024, Loc. 10670/70/05, ed. in *Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Jüngere Reihe. Erster Band. Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Karl V. Erster Band*, ed. August Kluckhohn (Gotha, 1893), 1, 837f.

Senft and Beheim is documented from 1516, but may have been of longer standing.<sup>16</sup> In 1506, Beheim sent his friend Willibald Pirckheimer a packet of music that included pieces by at least three musicians in Habsburg service: Agricola's *Cecus non iudicat de coloribus*, a basse danse by Augustein Schubinger, and Isaac's *A la battaglia*, which Beheim found particularly good.<sup>17</sup> It is plausible that Senft, travelling regularly between the imperial court and Bamberg, was Beheim's source for these pieces.

### Diversity of skills within the chapel

Many of the adult singers in Maximilian's Burgundian and Austrian chapels possessed other skills that made them useful in the imperial administration, either in the chancery or in their benefices. Of the singers in his Burgundian chapel, Pierre du Wez and Fernande Boutins were doctors of law, while Nicolas Mayoul held a licentiate in canon law. In 1495, Maximilian personally bestowed on Georg Hafner, a singer in his Austrian chapel, the degree of doctor of civil law.<sup>18</sup> The Johannes Angerer who was professor of canon law at the University of Vienna until 1520 was possibly identical with the man of the same name who served in Maximilian's chapel in the last years of his reign.<sup>19</sup>

The presence of lawyers within the chapel was useful for regulating the traffic of benefices, the fuel that kept the whole machine running. For example, in 1515, Maximilian presented Lucas Wagenrieder, 'head singer' (*cantor principalis*) of the imperial chapel, for the benefice of St Sigismund at Kaltern (Caldaro). The deed was drawn up by Gregor Valentinianus, another singer in the imperial chapel, who was also a notary public.<sup>20</sup> Such documents suggest that members of the chapel, when not providing liturgical services, were occupied in the administration of the chapel, probably from the imperial chancery.

Such skills, perhaps acquired even quite young, could also be useful in other branches of the court structure, or in outposts that reported to the court. Conrad Fuchs, mentioned as a choirboy in 1498, appeared as a paymaster (*Zahlschreiber*)

16 Bamberg, Staatsarchiv, Hochstift und Domkapitel Bamberg, Urkunde 826.

17 Willibald Pirckheimer, *Briefwechsel*, ed. E. Reicke, J. Pfanner, D. Wuttke, and H. Scheible (Munich, 1940–), 1, 371; see also Christian Meyer, 'Musique et danse a Nuremberg au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *RMI* 67 (1981), 61–8.

18 Vienna, HHStA, rrb GG, fol. 97<sup>r</sup> (RI XIV,1 n. 2656).

19 Vienna, HHStA, OMeA SR 181/3, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>; Vienna, FHKA, SUS HS 46 (= GB 19/1), fols. 69<sup>v</sup>, 144<sup>r</sup>.

20 Trent, Archivio di Stato, Archivio del Principato Vescovile, Sezione Latina, caps 46, n. 51. This is the only document I know in which Wagenrieder is described as *cantor principalis*.

in the imperial administration from 1506 onwards.<sup>21</sup> In 1518, Maximilian requested that his chancery in the Tyrol should find a position for Hans Hämerl, who had learned to write from his brother Sebastian. Both boys, and some of their brothers – who probably included Michael – had served both in the chapel and in the chancery.<sup>22</sup> Matthias Plöchl, recorded as a choirboy in Maximilian's chapel in 1501,<sup>23</sup> appeared between 1514 and 1517 as paymaster and as castellan of Struden.<sup>24</sup> Caspar Strasser, mentioned as a choirboy in 1514,<sup>25</sup> later served as a provincial administrator (*Landschreiber*) in the government of Ferdinand I.<sup>26</sup>

Maximilian presented several members of his Austrian chapel to parish benefices in villages around Austria and southern Germany. In several cases, these chaplains, familiar with the processes of imperial administration, were the first to bring the financial accounts of the parishes into rational order: one could mention Sixt Rantzmoser in Schrobenhausen, near Augsburg,<sup>27</sup> or Thomas Krieger at Tulln, near Vienna.<sup>28</sup> The chaplain Valentin Hongher, parish priest of Friedlach, near Klagenfurt, drew up the first *urbarium* (register of fiefdom) in the area.<sup>29</sup> Maximilian's chaplains, far from simply providing liturgical and pastoral services to the local population, either in person or through a vicar, were thus instrumental in tightening the nets of feudal control and financial rationality.

When an emperor died, his court was customarily dissolved.<sup>30</sup> The surviving documentation relating to the dissolution of Maximilian's court tells us

21 Vienna, FHKA, GB 4, fol. 13<sup>r</sup> (fol. 37<sup>r</sup>); Vienna, FHKA, GB 15, fol. 26a (fol. 27<sup>v</sup>).

22 Vienna, HHStA, Maximiliana 37 (alt 31a), fol. 151<sup>r-v</sup>.

23 Vienna, FHKA, GB 9, fol. 128<sup>r</sup> (fol. 149<sup>v</sup>).

24 Vienna, HHStA, rrb QQ, fols. 112<sup>v</sup>–113<sup>r</sup> (7 May 1514); rrb QQ, fols. 244<sup>v</sup>–245<sup>v</sup>, fol. 247<sup>v</sup> (5 September 1514); rrb Y, fol. 22<sup>r</sup> (22 January 1515); rrb Z, fol. 204<sup>v</sup>–205<sup>r</sup> (18 November 1516); rrb Z, fol. 205<sup>r</sup> (25 November 1516); rrb Z, fol. 205<sup>v</sup> (28 November 1516); rrb Z, fol. 213<sup>r-v</sup> (10 December 1516); rrb AA, fols. 86<sup>v</sup>–87<sup>r</sup> (28 July 1517); rrb AA, fol. 87<sup>r</sup> (28 July 1517); rrb AA, fol. 93<sup>v</sup> (15 August 1517); rrb AA, fol. 187<sup>r</sup> (24 October 1517).

25 Vienna, HHStA rrb QQ, fol. 112<sup>v</sup> (9 May 1514); Vienna, HHStA, rrb BB, fol. 367<sup>v</sup> (14 July 1518).

26 Vienna, FHKA, GB 49, 398r; Wessely, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte' (see n. 7), 387; Vienna, FHKA, NÖK Akten 6 (1527), fol. 740<sup>r-v</sup>; St Pölten, NOELA Landrechtsurk. 181 (2 September 1544); Vienna, FHKA, GB 50, fol. 39; Vienna, FHKA, NÖK Akten 10 (06.1530–12.1530), fols. 585<sup>r</sup>–589<sup>v</sup>; fols. 675<sup>r</sup>–680<sup>v</sup>; Vienna, FHKA, GB 53, fol. 76<sup>v</sup> (3 June 1541); Vienna, FHKA, AHK NÖK, Bücher 13 (ER 1545), fol. 108<sup>r</sup> (18 April), fol. 139<sup>r</sup> (16 May), fol. 149<sup>r</sup> (29 May), fol. 151<sup>r</sup> (2 June); Vienna, FHKA, AHK NÖK, Bücher 14 (ER 1546), fol. 170<sup>v</sup> (28 May).

27 Georg August Reischl, *Vom Gotteshaus Sankt Jakob, seinen Pfarrherren und Tochterkirchen* (Erolzheim, 1956), 45–7.

28 St Pölten, Diözesanarchiv, I/03-05/02:Tulln-St. Stefan B-03 (HD 26/21-34), fols. 140<sup>r</sup>–141<sup>v</sup>.

29 Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, Urbar 602.

30 See Koczirz, 'Auflösung der Hofmusikkapelle' (see n. 4).

much about the skills on which the members of his chapel had to fall back. Two singers, Christoph Langkusch and Conrad Gross, were absorbed into the chapel of Ferdinand I, and both were presented for benefices at St Stephen's in Vienna. Another, Primus Juras, joined the imperial chancery as engrosser and secretary of the salt works of Gmunden. Clerics who held benefices were sent back to them until something else came along. The boys were all provided with the customary three years' stipend for university study. Some of the trumpeters were kept on at Innsbruck, while most of the other instrumentalists moved on to positions at other courts, such as Hofhaimer, who was employed by Matthäus Lang, Maximilian's former secretary and now archbishop of Salzburg. Some singers, such as Ludwig Senfl and Lucas Wagenrieder, moved on to the Bavarian court. While uncontrollable career events such as the death of an employer and patron were deeply unsettling for members of their chapel, their ability to find work elsewhere testifies to the versatility of the skills they had acquired while working at the heart of Maximilian's court.<sup>31</sup>

### International mobility

Paweł Gancarczyk's recent article on the singers in the court chapel of Friedrich III, Maximilian's father, highlighted the international character of that body.<sup>32</sup> In the late 1460s, the emperor's chapel contained a relatively stable body of singers, including the following names, as Gancarczyk identifies:

***Johannes Blidenberg***

***Johannes de Bubay***

*Antonius Primi de Chaphoreto (Kharfrey) (organist)*

**Arnold Dure [Fleran]**

***Egidius Garin***

*Stefan Hemperger*

Johannes Höflinger

***Johannes Oliverii de Marbasio***

**Andreas Mayoul**

***Nicolas Mayoul the Elder***

***Arnold Picart***

31 Schwindt, Nicole, „Fünf Freunde. Bekannte und unbekannte Nachrichten zu Senfls Kollegen“, in *Senfl-Studien* 3, ed. Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster, Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 9 (Vienna, 2018), 1–17.

32 Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Johannes Tourout and the Imperial *Hofkantorei* ca. 1460', in *Hudební věda* 50 (2013), 239–58. See also Gasch, 'Capellani, Cantores und Singerknaben' (see n. 7), 359–62.

Johannes Schreidur

Caspar Tretzler

Mathias Wigel

Of these fourteen individuals, nine (those marked in *italics*) were already present in Friedrich's chapel in the early 1460s. This body already contains a strongly international component. More than half the singers in this list (those marked in **bold**) were from France or the Low Countries. These two aspects – stability and internationalism – would also characterise the chapel of Friedrich's son and successor Maximilian. Indeed, some singers, such as Johannes de Bubay and Nicolas Mayoul, whom Maximilian would have heard on an almost daily basis as a boy in Wiener Neustadt, remained in his service after his father's death in 1493.

Bubay is sometimes described with the alias Visetus, which suggests that he was from Visé, near Liège. Bubay joined Friedrich's chapel in about 1461, and is mentioned regularly amongst Friedrich's other singers over the next decade. He was presented for several benefices by both Friedrich and Maximilian. In 1495, he was involved in a complex transfer of a benefice in the parish of St Martin in Aich, in the diocese of Aquileia (now Dob, Slovenia). Bubay resigned this benefice in favour of a certain Michael de Igg, in exchange for a pension.<sup>33</sup> In order to accept this benefice, Igg resigned a canonry at the cathedral of Laibach (Ljubljana). Maximilian then promised the benefice in Aich to another singer in his chapel, Georgius Slatkonja, 'as soon as it should happen to fall absent, through the resignation or death of the present incumbent.'<sup>34</sup> On 26 July 1495, Maximilian had promised to present Slatkonja with the first vacant benefice worth up to 200 florins a year.<sup>35</sup> The exchange of benefices involving Bubay seems to have been triggered by this promise. Maximilian's secretary Pietro Bonomo then wrote to another secretary in the imperial chancery, asking him to do all possible to assist Slatkonja.<sup>36</sup>

This everyday exchange of rights in canon law momentarily pulls back the curtain to permit us to see the economic cogs and counterweights that drove the singers' wagon in Maximilian's *Triumphal Procession*. Firstly, it is clear that Maximilian involved himself personally in assigning benefices to members of his court chapel, as well as to other clerics throughout the empire. This is attested amply by the two long lists of *primariae preces* made out after his

33 Vienna, HHStA, rrb JJ, fol. 244<sup>r</sup>.

34 Vienna, HHStA, rrb JJ, fol. 244<sup>v</sup>.

35 Vienna, HHStA, rrb JJ, fol. 172<sup>r</sup>.

36 Vienna, HHStA, rrb JJ, fol. 244<sup>v</sup>.



coronation as King of the Romans in 1486, and as Emperor Elect in 1508. (Such *preces* were promises of presentation to a benefice, usually made around the time of a coronation.)<sup>37</sup> Secondly, Maximilian finely calculated the value of the benefices he chose to collate, in order to leave room for promotion, and to attract the right individuals with a sufficiently attractive offer. This exchange also introduces us for the first time to Georg Slatkonja, an individual who would play an important role in the realisation of Maximilian's musical intentions as leader of his court chapel, as composer, and finally as bishop of Vienna. Slatkonja was an important contact for Isaac as well, as author of ceremonial texts such as *Virgo prudentissima* and *Optime pastor*, and as one of those who negotiated the commissioning of the *Choralis Constantinus*.<sup>38</sup> Fourthly, this transaction shows that territories such as Slovenia (the historical Crain), which have stood somewhat on the margins of modern western musicology, actually formed part of a political and cultural unit held together by Habsburg rule. Several members of Maximilian's chapel besides Slatkonja – including Gregor Valentinianus, Erhard Almauer, Primus Juras, and Peter Seebacher, later bishop of Ljubljana – came from this area or occupied benefices there.

The other singer from Friedrich's chapel who enjoyed a career in the service of three dukes of Burgundy – Charles, Maximilian and Philip – and two emperors – Friedrich and Maximilian – was Nicolas Mayoul the Elder.<sup>39</sup> Mayoul is documented in the chapel of Friedrich III from 1460 until 1470. He is also mentioned as a prebendary at St Gudule's in Brussels in 1465. Since the documentation of Friedrich's court has not yet been examined exhaustively, it is not known when Mayoul left Friedrich's chapel. He reappears in the Burgundian chapel of Maximilian in 1480, as a chaplain of the low mass. Before long, Maximilian had entrusted Mayoul with the task of reorganising his chapel. Molinet's account of this reorganisation includes verbal formulas that suggest that he was drawing on a real document which is yet to be located: 'Considering the praiseworthy morals, knowledge and agreeable services rendered to him for several years by Nicole Mayoul, a native of Hesdin and provost of

37 Leo Santifaller, 'Die Preces primariae Maximilians I. auf Grund der Maximilianischen Registerbücher des Wiener Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchivs', in *Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundertjährigen Bestandes des Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs*, ed. Leo Santifaller (Vienna, 1949), 578–661.

38 Victoria Panagl, *Lateinische Huldigungsmotetten für Angehörige des Hauses Habsburg: Vertonte Gelegenheitsdichtung im Rahmen neulateinischer Herrscherpanegyrik* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004), 59–73; Joachim Jacoby, 'Zeitpunkt und Wortwahl: der Bericht Alberto Pios da Carpi über die Übergabe einer Motette Heinrich Isaacs an Papst Leo X', in *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 52 (2011), 265–82. On *Optime pastor* see also the paper by Klaus Pietschmann in this volume.

39 Most recently, see Gasch, 'Capellani, Cantores und Singerknaben' (see n. 7), 364.

Namur, Maximilian gave him the position of first chaplain, since he was deeply experienced in music, a reverend person and very appropriate for this task.<sup>40</sup> Mayoul is first listed as *premier chapelain* on the Burgundian payroll in 1487. He followed after Maximilian when he moved his court to Innsbruck, and is listed as 'rector of the chapel of His Majesty, King of the Romans' at Innsbruck in 1492.<sup>41</sup> In 1493, he was involved in securing an important relic, a piece of the true cross, for the foundation of Florian Waldauf at Hall in Tirol.<sup>42</sup> This mission indicates Mayoul's importance in the court and the extent of Maximilian's trust in his capabilities beyond the purely musical. Mayoul returned to the Low Countries to serve as *premier chapelain* in the chapel of Philip the Fair, where he served until shortly before his death in January 1506. Mayoul's career, lasting some forty-five years in the service of the Habsburg chapel, testifies to the tremendous loyalty felt by many of its members, and contrasts with the higher turnover of singers witnessed in many other courts.

Maximilian's reorganisation of the Burgundian chapel combined both musical and political elements. After the unexpected death of Mary of Burgundy in 1482, Maximilian experienced tremendous resistance from the estates and cities of the Low Countries, and struggled to exert his power and authority there. In 1483 and 1484, his chapel was drastically reduced, from twenty-four members in 1482 to seven at the end of 1483. Once he had brought Flanders and Ghent under his control, Maximilian decided to meet with his father Friedrich. To make a strong impression, he restocked his chapel. According to the chronicler Molinet, Maximilian searched for 'the most experienced musicians, having the most harmonious and well proportioned voices that it was possible to find.' After appointing Nicole Mayoul as *premier chapelain*, to supervise both the administration and musical direction of the chapel, he employed 'a tenorist called Cordier, a former member of the chapels of Naples and Milan who, both for his expert knowledge and for his new way of singing, was more highly recommended than all others.' Maximilian also appointed Rogier de Lignoquercu, a canon of Cambrai, 'a countertenor who sang very well, a very elegant person who had a harmonious voice, who had served for a long time

40 *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, ed. Georges Doutrepoint and Omer Jodogne (Brussels, 1935), 1, 470: '[...] considerans les loables meurs, sciences et agreables services que lui avoit plusieurs ans fait sire Nichole Mayoul, natif de Hesdin, prevot de Namur, il lui donna estat de premier chapellain, car il estoit assez fondé en la musique, reverend personage et fort convenable à ce faire.'

41 Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, oö Kammerraitbuch 32 (1492), fol. 30<sup>r</sup>; Franz Waldner, 'Nachrichten über die Musikpflege am Hofe zu Innsbruck nach archivalischen Aufzeichnungen. 1. Unter Kaiser Maximilian I. von 1510–1519', annexed to *MfM* 29 (1897) and 30 (1898), 14.

42 Hall in Tirol, Stadtarchiv, Urkunde 1493 VII 10.

in the papal chapel,' Pierre du Wez, Jacques Buckel, Pasquin Loys, and Jean Lauwier of Valenciennes, 'and others who had previously been in the service of the king of Hungary,' who were 'received and placed on the payroll of the said chapel; some were counted as chaplains, the rest as clerks or *sommeliers*. United together, they furnished a very good chapel that was highly honoured and praised by the princes of Germany.'<sup>43</sup>

Some of Molinet's comments are supported by the administrative records of the chapel, which indeed includes these singers, and by documentation from the cathedral of Cambrai. On 16 August 1485, the chapter nominated Johannes Jorlandi as interim master of the vicars at Cambrai in place of Rogier de Lignoquercu, who was absent and was not expected to return for some time.<sup>44</sup> On 5 September 1485, Galiffre and Michault, minor vicars at Cambrai, whom Maximilian had invited to join his chapel, received permission from the cathedral chapter to join his chapel without losing their positions at Cambrai. They were to report within six weeks whether Maximilian required them to reside at his court.<sup>45</sup>

Certain details about Molinet's account are intriguing. Molinet tells us that some of the singers appointed to Maximilian's chapel in 1485 were previously in the service of Matthias Corvinus of Hungary. It is possible that Molinet's report here is garbled. One of the singers who appeared in Habsburg service at this time is called Valentin Hongher. His name might suggest that he was Hungarian; in any case he spoke enough German to serve later as a parish priest in Friedlach in Carinthia, as we saw. Another explanation is possible. When Corvinus conquered Vienna in June 1485, Friedrich III and his court left for Wiener Neustadt; when that city fell in August 1487, Friedrich moved his court to Linz. Several singers from Friedrich's chapel – including Johannes Blidenburg, Johannes Bubay, Nicole Mayoul and Hongher – later served Maximilian. It is possible that some of those appointed to Maximilian's Burgundian chapel in 1485–6 left Vienna when Corvinus invaded. In 1486, a group of seven singers, including Alexander Agricola, arrived in Hungary.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps they replaced those who left Vienna. This suggestion can only remain a hypothesis until further information about the personnel of Matthias Corvinus' chapel becomes known.<sup>47</sup>

43 *Chroniques de Jean Molinet* (see n. 40), 1:470.

44 Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale ms 1061, fol. 226<sup>r</sup>. I am indebted to the late Alejandro Planchart for kindly sharing his materials from Cambrai.

45 Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale ms 1061, fol. 229<sup>v</sup>.

46 Modena, Archivio di Stato, Camera Ducale, Ungheria, b. 1; Modena, Archivio di Stato, Archivi per materia, Musica e Musicista, b.1; I am indebted to Bonnie Blackburn for this detail (personal communication).

47 Little has been published since Ludwig Fökövi, 'Musik und musikalische Verhältnisse am Hofe von Matthias Corvinus', *Kmfj* 15 (1900), 1–16, except Péter Király, 'Un séjour de Josquin des Prés à la cour de Hongrie?', *Revue de Musicologie* 78 (1992), 145–150; and idem,

Certainly, in the years immediately following, there is some evidence of attempts to exchange musical personnel between Maximilian's court and that of Corvinus. On 26 September 1489, Beltrando Constabili, co-administrator of the bishopric of Esztergom pending the majority of Ippolito d'Este, wrote from Corvinus' court at Buda, to ask Ercole I d'Este to convince Sigismund of the Tyrol to relinquish his organist Paul Hofhaimer.<sup>48</sup> Beatrice d'Este followed up this letter two days later.<sup>49</sup> In subsequent letters, Constabili expressed his hope that Johannes Martini might prevail upon Hofhaimer.<sup>50</sup> On 20 November 1489, Beatrice asked Ercole to persist in the matter.<sup>51</sup> He replied on 24 December. Martini had informed Ercole that Hofhaimer was now in the service of Maximilian, who was in the process of assuming power in the Tyrol from his uncle Sigismund. Ercole doubted whether Hofhaimer could be persuaded to jump ship.<sup>52</sup> On 8 January 1490, Beatrice wrote to Maximilian to confirm that the composer and singer Jacobus Barbireau, whom Maximilian had sent to discuss a peace treaty between Corvinus and the Habsburgs, had arrived in Buda. Beatrice promised to look after him for the few days he was due to stay. It is possible that part of Barbireau's brief was to inform Beatrice firmly that Hofhaimer's services were not up for discussion.

During his time in the Burgundian Netherlands, Maximilian's chapel was staffed by singers from the Low Countries and Northern France. When he returned to Austria in 1489/90, he wished to bring something of this performance tradition to Austria, perhaps in order to update the style of singing practised by the older generation of Netherlanders employed by his father. In November 1496, Maximilian sent a group of singers, both boys and men, including Isaac, to provide music for the daily liturgy at the castle chapel (*Burgkapelle*) at Vienna, following the death of Matthias Corvinus and the departure

'Die Musik am ungarischen Königshof in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts von der Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg bis zu Mathias Corvinus', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 44 (2003), 29–45.

48 Modena, Archivio di Stato, Amb. Ung. b.2/19/4/5, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, ed. Iván Nagy and Albert Nyáry, *Magyar Diplomacziái Emlékek: Mátyás Király Korából 1458–1490*, Monumenta Hungariae Historica IV (Budapest, 1878), 400–401f., n° 71.

49 Modena, Archivio di Stato, Carteggio Principi Esteri 1623, b.2/3,2,11, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar Diplomacziái Emlékek*, 89, n° 64.

50 Modena, Archivio di Stato, Amb. Ung. b.2/19/4/7, fol. 11<sup>r</sup>; Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar Diplomacziái Emlékek*, 396, n° 69.

51 Modena, Archivio di Stato, Carteggio Principi Esteri 1623, b.2/3,2,12, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar Diplomacziái Emlékek*, 105f., n° 74.

52 Modena, Archivio di Stato, CPE Minute b.1644/1,2,9, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; Nagy and Nyáry, *Magyar Diplomacziái Emlékek*, 117f., n° 83.

of his court and garrison.<sup>53</sup> In July 1498, Maximilian more formally laid out the duties of this group of singers, specifying that the boys were to learn to ‘discant in the manner of Brabant’.<sup>54</sup> Two of the six or seven boys assigned to the group, Adam Renner and Bernhard of Mons, came from the Low Countries. In June 1500, both boys were sent to study in the Low Countries, presumably at Leuven. By 1502, Renner was back at Maximilian’s court, where he was employed as a composer. As mentioned above, in 1507 he was appointed as composer at the court of Friedrich the Wise of Saxony, who regularly borrowed other musicians in Maximilian’s service, notably Hofhaimer. Such exchanges of personnel spread the musical styles and tastes cultivated at the imperial court to other centres. A similar musical exchange occurred when the cathedral chapter of Constance commissioned Isaac to write polyphonic propers for the major feasts in 1508.

Maximilian understood the power of music to impress, and his chapel regularly travelled with him around the empire. Chroniclers often noted the appearance of his chapel at state occasions such as the imperial diet, and payments and gratuities to his musicians are recorded in the accounts of the cities, courts and ecclesiastical foundations which they visited along their progress. Maximilian deployed music in ceremonial entries and appearances at meetings of international dignitaries. Every account of the music performed at the double wedding at Vienna in 1515, one of the climaxes of the summit meeting between Maximilian and the Kings of Poland and Bohemia, remarks upon the quality of the singing and the organ playing. In his autobiography, Sigismund von Herberstein describes the reception of a Muscovite delegation at Hall in Tirol on 27 March 1518: ‘The chapel sang at half voice, which they found delightful to hear.’<sup>55</sup> Maximilian also placed his musicians at the disposal of his allies. For example, five of Maximilian’s trumpeters participated in the triumphal entry of Massimiliano Sforza into Milan on 29 December 1512.<sup>56</sup>

53 See Grantley McDonald, ‘Isaac as a member of the court chapel of Maximilian I’, forthcoming.

54 Vienna, FHKA, AHK SB GB 1 (IV), fol. 83<sup>v</sup> (190). On the problematic depiction of this event as the ‘birth’ of the Wiener Sängerknaben, see Gasch, ‘Capellani, Cantores und Sängerknaben’ (see n. 7), 257.

55 Vienna, HHStA, Hs Rot 11, fols. 61<sup>v</sup>–62<sup>r</sup>, ed. Th. G. von Karajan in *Fontes rerum Austriacum, Scriptores I* (Vienna, 1855), 132. Reinhard Strohm has suggested to me that the description ‘mit halber Stim’ probably corresponds to the common liturgical rubric *submissa voce*, that is, in an undertone.

56 *Hernach Volgt | wie der Durchlechtig Hochge | born Furst vn[d] herr herr Maximi | lian Sfortza Hertzog zu May= | land zu Maylandt eingezog[e]n vn[d] | entpfange[n] ist am Neunvndzweyn= | tzigisten tag Dece[m]bris Anno &c. | Tausent Funffhundert vnd drey | tzechen* (Landshut: Johann Weißenburger, 1514 [VD16 W 2517]), sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

## Conclusion

Just as Maximilian's empire stretched from the North Sea to northern Italy, his court chapel united musical elements from across Europe. Within his chapel, there was room for promotion inside the structure of the institution, as well as opportunities to cross over to related institutions, notably the imperial chancery and the University of Vienna. The close links between the imperial court and other courts, notably that of Electoral Saxony, allowed for exchanges of personnel and probably also of musical materials. Proximity to the ruler also represented a certain advantage when clerics aimed to improve their circumstances by angling for benefices that were better paid or more convenient. The skills that choirboys learned within the chapel and the contacts they made at court could be advantageous if they decided not to take up orders or continue life as a musician, but wished to pursue a career in the administration of the empire. The imperial chapel, far from simply providing the solemn or jubilant soundtrack to state ceremonial, thus represented an important nodal point in the training, networking and interchange of the educated and ruling classes of the empire.



Jessie Ann Owens\*

## REVISITING ISAAC'S AUTOGRAPHS

Isaac's setting of the sequence for St Katherine, *Sanctissime virginis votiva festa*, offers an opportunity to evaluate the composer's creative process from two different perspectives: the evidence afforded by a surviving autograph manuscript, and the evidence that can be gleaned from the music itself. In *Composers at Work*, and the 1994 essay on Isaac that was incorporated in the book as a case study, I focused to a large extent on the autograph evidence, though questions of musical structure inevitably played a role in interpreting that evidence.<sup>1</sup> In the more than two decades since my work first appeared, the investigation of various aspects of creative process, including, for example, the role of memory and memorial archives, improvisation techniques and instruction in improvisation, and the unwritten rules and procedures that lie behind contrapuntal procedures such as fuga, has undergone a remarkable development. Isaac's sequence setting, as a rare example of a composition that survives in a complete version in the composer's hand, allows us to compare these two approaches: one that interprets the autograph evidence of composing and revising, and one that draws on the musical content of the finished composition. What can the autograph tell us that might not be evident in the music, and what does the music tell us that might not be evident in the autograph?

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1 Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (New York, 1997), 258–90; ead., 'An Isaac Autograph', in *Music of the German Renaissance*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge, 1994), 27–53. For a discussion of my work in the context of musicological debates, see Nicholas Cook, *Music as Creative Practice* (Oxford, 2018), 75–81.