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Author(s): Paweł Gancarczyk

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Paweł Gancarczyk

Local, International or Central European? Repertories of Mensural Polyphony in Fifteenth-Century Silesia

Fritz Feldmann, in his now classic *Musik und Musikpflege im mittelalterlichen Schlesien* (pub. 1938), lists and describes fifteen sources of polyphony originating from fifteenth-century Silesia.¹ These are records of simple polyphony ('organale Mehrstimmigkeit'), remnants of organ tablatures, and manuscripts containing mensural music. In the eighth and final chapter of his book, Feldmann focuses his attention on the two most important sources: the Głogów songbook ('Glogauer Liederbuch', PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40098) and the Wrocław codex ('Breslauer Mensuralcodex', PL-Wu RM 5892 [olim: Breslau 2016]), which represent a period of 'blossoming' ('Blütezeit') of medieval music culture in Silesia. A number of new sources have been discovered since Feldmann's days, and the majority of those known to him have been reinterpreted to a significant degree. There has been a change in the approach to many historical-musical phenomena, which are now discussed within a wider cultural and geographical context. However, although research has clearly made much progress, the main source base which was known to Feldmann and its general assessment have not changed: we can still refer to three types of sources of polyphony in Silesia, among which two manuscripts from the last quarter of the fifteenth century stand out, namely the Głogów songbook and the Wrocław codex.

The current state of the sources of polyphonic music in fifteenth-century Silesia is shown in the Table on p. 33f. The first group comprises manuscripts containing *musica mensurabilis*, and these will be the main subject of this paper. Apart from the Głogów songbook and the Wrocław codex, these are exclusively fragments, or single compositions in manuscripts containing non-musical material. In relation to Feldmann's list, we have an additional set of fragments from Göttingen (D-Gs XXX,1), rediscovered and described by Martin Staehelin; although their prove-

¹ Fritz Feldmann, *Musik und Musikpflege im mittelalterlichen Schlesien*, Darstellungen und Quellen zur schlesischen Geschichte 37, Breslau 1938.

nance is unclear, they do show strong associations with Silesia.² The Table also contains the following: (1) a fragment from the second quarter of the fifteenth century with two *cantiones* and a motet (PL-WRu XV Q 1066a);³ (2) the two-part sequence *Uterus virginens* in a gradual from Paczków (Patschkau; PL-WRk 31);⁴ (3) a fragment of a manuscript from c. 1480, preserved as wastepaper with the Wrocław codex (PL-Wu RM 5892a).⁵ In total, we are concerned with ten sources of mensural polyphony from fifteenth-century Silesia.

The second group of manuscripts comprises sources containing simple polyphony written in chant notation or chant notation with mensural elements. In the literature, this is known by many names; in a monograph devoted to sources of this kind preserved in Poland, I have described it as ‘chant polyphony’, referring to the term proposed by Mirosław Perz – *cantus planus multiplex*.⁶ This style of polyphony is displayed by single compositions in liturgical manuscripts, mainly Mass lessons: Christ’s genealogy (*Liber generationis*) and *Populus gentium* with the trope *Laudem deo dicam*. Chant polyphony, originating from simple, improvised organum, was not susceptible to rapid stylistic change, and compositions from fifteenth-century manuscripts are often similar to both earlier and later works. This group also includes a new source: a gradual from Żagań (Sagan) with an organal setting of the trope *Laudem deo dicam* (PL-WRu I F 387).⁷ Here we can point to a total of eight sources of chant polyphony in fifteenth-century Silesia, and one of them (the manuscript of Nicolaus de Cosel; PL-WRu I Q 466) also contains mensural compositions. The third group comprises three fragments of organ tablatures from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, which were already known to Fritz Feldmann. Recently, they have come to be seen in a new

2 Martin Staehelin, *Neues zu Werk und Leben von Petrus Wilhelmi. Fragmente des mittleren 15. Jahrhunderts mit Mensuralmusik im Nachlaß von Friedrich Ludwig*, Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 im deutschen Sprachgebiet 3, Göttingen 2001.

3 Paweł Gancarczyk, “A New Fragment of 15th-Century Polyphony in Silesia and the Tradition of the Central-European Repertory”, in: *The Musical Culture of Silesia before 1742. New Contexts – New Perspectives*, eds. Paweł Gancarczyk, Lenka Hlávková-Mráčková & Remigiusz Pośpiech, Frankfurt a.M. 2013, pp. 45–54.

4 Katarzyna Morawska, *The Middle Ages. Part 2: 1320–1500*, transl. John Comber, The History of Music in Poland I, Warsaw 2001, p. 238.

5 Paweł Gancarczyk, *Musica scripto. Kodeksy menzuralne II połowy XV wieku na wschodzie Europy Łacińskiej* [*Musica scripto. Mensural codices in Eastern Latin Europe in the second half of the fifteenth century*], Warsaw 2001, pp. 137, 141.

6 Paweł Gancarczyk, “Cantus planus multiplex. Chant Polyphony in Poland from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century”, in: *Notae musicae artis. Musical Notation in Polish Sources 11th–16th Century*, ed. Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, Cracow 2001, pp. 349–401.

7 Magdalena Kalita, “Analiza źródłoznawcza rękopisu muzycznego I.F.387 z Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu” [Analysis of the musical manuscript I.F.387 from the University Library in Wrocław], in: *Muzyka religijna w Polsce* 9, Warsaw 1988, pp. 11–138.

light, thanks to research into Central European treatises on keyboard music carried out by Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba.⁸

In this paper, I would like to examine the repertorial features of the Silesian sources of mensural polyphony from the fifteenth century. I will focus in particular on manuscripts from the first half of that century and on the Głogów songbook, leaving the Wrocław codex somewhat to one side. The object of my interest will thus be manuscripts which were most probably intended for private use, often associated with monastic centres (the Wrocław codex is regarded as a manuscript intended for institutional use, belonging to the category of ‘cathedral collections’⁹). In accordance with the latest findings, I will use the name *Żagań partbooks* (‘Saganer Stimmbücher’), instead of the name Głogów songbook (‘Glogauer Liederbuch’). The claim that this manuscript originated in Głogów was already questioned by Jaromír Černý,¹⁰ and numerous arguments have emerged recently in favour of linking it to the monastery of Canons Regular of St Augustine in Żagań.¹¹ Moreover, the inadequacy of the name ‘songbook’ (‘Liederbuch’) has been pointed out on a number of occasions in the literature,¹² hence the more objective, ‘technical’ term ‘partbooks’ (‘Stimmbücher’).

Even a cursory survey of the sources of mensural polyphony in Silesia suffices to reveal the existence of two chronological groups. In sources up to c. 1450, compositions are notated using full (black) mensural notation. In terms of genres, they are dominated by two-part *cantiones*, and the only known name of a composer is that of Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (b. 1392), who was active and popular only in Central Europe. In sources from the second half of the fifteenth century, composi-

8 Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, “Ars organisandi around 1430 and its Terminology”, in: *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters*, vol. 3, ed. Michael Bernhard, Munich 2001, pp. 367–423; eadem, “Early Keyboard Music in Sources from Prague and Silesia”, in: *The Musical Culture of Silesia before 1742* (see fn. 3), pp. 9–21.

9 Ryszard J. Wiczorek, *Musica figurata w Saksonii i na Śląsku u schyłku XV wieku. Studia nad repertuarem kodeksów menzuralnych Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494 i Warszawa 5892* [*Musica figurata in Saxony and Silesia at the end of the 15th century. Studies on the repertoire of the mensural codices Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494, and Warsaw 5892*], Poznań 2002; cf. also Reinhard Strohm, “European Cathedral Music and the Trent Codices”, in: *I Codici Musicali Trentini. Nuove scoperte e nuovi orientamenti della ricerca. Atti del Convegno internazionale. Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio 24 settembre 1994*, ed. Peter Wright, Trento 1996, pp. 15–29.

10 Jaromír Černý, “Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz – neznámý skladatel doby Dufayovy v českých pramenech” [Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz – an unknown composer of the age of Dufay in Czech sources], in: *Hudební věda* 12/3 (1975), p. 222.

11 Paweł Gancarczyk, “Abbot Martin Rinkenber and the Origins of the ‘Glogauer Liederbuch’”, in: *Early Music* 37/1 (2009), pp. 27–28.

12 Cf. Walter Salmen, “Glogauer Liederbuch”, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, vol. 5 (Kassel, 1956), col. 300; Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, “Auf den Spuren des Schreibers der Glogauer Handschrift (ca 1480)”, in: *Augsburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1990), p. 19.

tions are notated in void mensural notation. We find among them a greater variety of genres, while among the composers – familiar from the Żagań partbooks and the Wrocław codex – we find some of the most eminent fifteenth-century musicians: Guillaume du Fay, Antoine Busnoys, Alexander Agricola, Heinrich Isaac and Josquin Desprez. It would be easy to conclude that polyphonic music performed in Silesia during the first half of the fifteenth century was of a local character, and towards the end of the century it became more international. However, such simple labels do not reflect the true nature of the issues involved.

When analysing the repertory of the sources from the first half of the fifteenth century, one is inevitably struck by its local features, represented by the works of the above-mentioned Petrus Wilhelmi, whose numerous compositions are preserved in two Silesian manuscripts from that period (PL-WRu I F 269 and D-Gs XXX,1). An important genre performed at that time was the *cantio*, a Latin strophic song with a refrain (‘versus’ and ‘repeticio’), generally intended for two voices and characterised by simple melodic writing and modal rhythm. As has been shown by Jaromír Černý, among the polyphonic *cantiones* we find two variants: (1) the *conductus* song, where the text is treated syllabically and the voices are homorhythmic, and (2) the cantilena song, with the discantus voice sung melismatically.¹³ These songs have their origin in Latin monodic repertory, familiar from Central European manuscripts, among them the ‘Neumarkter Cationale’ (PL-WRk 58). However, Silesian manuscripts from the first half of the fifteenth century contain other genres as well, and the origin of these is rather more complex. Interestingly, all these genres are described in Central European literature dealing with the theory of *musica mensurabilis*, including the Wrocław mensural treatise (PL-WRu IV Q 16, ‘Breslauer Mensuraltraktat’), which was written at that time.¹⁴ Furthermore, all of them are represented in the works of Petrus Wilhelmi.

We are talking here about the polytextual motet, the *rotulum* or circular canon, and such particular genres as the *katschetum* and the *trumpetum*. According to the definition in the Wrocław treatise, “katschetum est, quod habet tres choros in se cum tenore et suo contratenore”.¹⁵ This, then, is a form akin to the *caccia*, with the higher voices led in the canon against the melody of the tenor and – as per this definition – the contratenor.¹⁶ In the fragments from Göttingen (D-Gs XXX,1), there appears a four-part composition attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi,

13 Jaromír Černý, “Vicehlasé písně konduktového typu v českých pramenech 15. století” [Polyphonic songs in the *conductus* style in Czech sources of the 15th century], in: *Miscellanea musicologica* 31 (1984), pp. 44–47.

14 Cf. Johannes Wolf, “Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts”, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1918/19), pp. 329–345.

15 See *ibidem*, p. 336.

16 Jaromír Černý, “Ars nova v českých zemích”, in: [Ars nova in the Czech lands], *Complexus effectuum musicologiae studia Miroslao Perz septuagenario dedicata*, ed. Tomasz Jeż, Cracow 2003, p. 348.

Pantaleon eleon, next to the tenor of which we can decipher the comment: “tenor huius kazheti sine quo non cantantur discantus”.¹⁷ Although the contratenor is missing here, the structure of the work – with a canon of three higher voices – and the quoted inscription point unequivocally to the genre which it represents. In the same source, we also find Wilhelmi’s song *Preconia etroclita*, characterised by numerous repetitions of notes and frequently repeated leaps of a fifth in the tenor.¹⁸ Presumably this is the *trumpetum* or *stampetum* (*stampania*) familiar from the theory: according to one of the treatises, “trampetum et stampania potest habere duas aut tres partes declinantes frequenter ad quintam notam vel ad eius dyapason, id est ad octavam et ad modum tube vel lire”.¹⁹ In theoretical writings from this region, including the Wrocław treatise, we also find other genres, *rondellum*, *violetum* (*piroletum*) and *baladum*, which, in spite of their Latinised names, direct us to the music of the *ars nova* period. In fact, what is involved here is the Central European adaptation of fourteenth-century mensural theory, which had been spreading, according to a suggestion by Černý, from c. 1370 from the University of Prague.²⁰ Petrus Wilhelmi’s ‘local’ compositions may often be regarded as a musical illustration of this theory; a theory which was originally of a ‘supralocal’, international character.

The repertory known to us from the Silesian sources from the first half of the fifteenth century, the core of which comprised the triad of *cantiones*/motets/*rotula*, is quite familiar from Utraquist Bohemian manuscripts dated to the end of the fifteenth century at the earliest. As in Silesia, it is notated there using a quite simple variant of full mensural notation. This repertory is to be found in such manuscripts as the Speciálník codex (CZ-HK II A 7) and the Franus codex (CZ-HK II A 6), but in the context of polyphony from the turn of the sixteenth century it undoubtedly appears archaic. Before it became part of the repertory of the Czech Utraquists, however, it was known over a wider area, and as early as the first decades of the fifteenth century. This is indicated by its presence in a number of sources dated prior to c. 1450: (1) a student notebook from Cracow (PL-Kj 2464),²¹ as well as in the fragment PL-Kj 2188 from the same community;²² (2) two manuscripts from

17 Staehelin, *Neues zu Werk und Leben* (see fn. 2), pp. 78, 117.

18 See *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz. Magister Cracoviensis, Opera musica*, ed. Jaromír Černý, Cracow 1993, pp. 63–65.

19 See Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, “Mensural Treatises from the Manuscript WaN BOZ 61”, in: *Notae musicae artis* (see fn. 6), p. 508; cf. Wolf, *Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat* (see fn. 14), p. 336.

20 Černý, *Ars nova v českých zemích* (see fn. 16), p. 338.

21 *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500 (Facsimiles)*, ed. Mirosław Perz, *Antiquitates musicae in Polonia* 13, Graz & Warsaw 1973, pp. XXI–XXII, 15–35; *Collectio cantilenarum saeculi XV; rkp. Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej Kj 2464*, ed. Charles E. Brewer, Cracow 1990.

22 Charles E. Brewer, *The Introduction of the Ars nova into East Central Europe: A Study of Late Medieval Polish Sources*, Ph.D. dissertation, The City University of New York, New York 1984, pp. 359–360, 542.

Upper Hungary (now Slovakia), known as the ‘Trnava manuscript’ (H-Bn 243)²³ and ‘Spiš fragments’ (H-Bn 534);²⁴ (3) a fragment from Gdańsk (PL-GD-2I53a);²⁵ (4) the local part of the repertory of the St Emmeram codex, compiled in Vienna (D-Mbs Clm 14274).²⁶ All these sources – like the Silesian ones – were private manuscripts and were written in either university (and school?) or monastic communities. This clearly indicates that performing this kind of polyphony was not limited to Silesia but included all of Central Europe. Also, on the whole, it had little in common with the cathedral or court circles with which one can associate the later sources.

The interpretation of the Żagań partbooks, written during the period 1477–1482, is more problematic. That manuscript contains 292 compositions, many times more than all the Silesian sources from the first half of the fifteenth century combined. Identifying their genres is much more complex than might appear from the short description given in the Table. While we can distinguish three repertory groups among them, namely liturgical compositions from the *officium* cycle (antiphons, responsories, hymns), German songs and compositions without text, in fact we are dealing here with a much greater diversity of works. We also find polyphonic settings of sequences, mass lessons and Glorias, as well as *cantiones* and quodlibets.²⁷ There are more than forty chansons ‘hidden’ in the manuscript, transmitted without text, with Latin texts, with German titles, and sometimes with both a Latin text and a German title.²⁸ Significantly, seventy-three per cent of the compositions in the Żagań partbooks are preserved only there, without any concordances.²⁹ This means either that it is a manuscript in which a significant proportion of the repertory was created locally or that the losses of manuscripts

23 František Mužík, “Die Tyrnauer Handschrift (Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár c. l. m. 243)”, in: *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Philosophica et Historica* 2 (1965), pp. 5–44.

24 Benjamin Rajeczky, “Ein neuer Fund zur mehrstimmigen Praxis Ungarns im 15. Jahrhundert”, in: *Studia musicologica* 14 (1972), pp. 147–168.

25 Elżbieta Zwolińska, “Fragmente mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 15. Jahrhunderts aus dem Zisterzienserkloster in Oliwa”, in: *Musica Baltica. Danzig und die Musikkultur Europas*, Gdańsk 2000, pp. 53–60.

26 Cf. *cantiones* in the first layer of the codex (nos. 43, 46, 60, 70, 119), see *Der Mensuralcodex St. Emmeram: Faksimile der Handschrift Clm 14274 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München; Kommentar und Inventar von Ian Rumbold unter Mitarbeit von Peter Wright; Einführung von Martin Staehelin*, Elementa musicae 2, Wiesbaden 2006; cf. also Tom R. Ward, “A Central European Repertory in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274”, in: *Early Music History* 1 (1981), pp. 325–343.

27 Cf. *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, vols. 1–2, eds. Heribert Ringmann & Joseph Klapper, Das Erbe deutscher Musik 4, Kassel 1936, 8, Kassel 1937; *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, vols. 3–4, ed. Christian Väterlein, Das Erbe deutscher Musik 85–86, Kassel 1981.

28 Jaap van Benthem, “Die Saganer Stimmbücher (Das Glogauer Liederbuch): eine unbeachtete Quelle für Johannes Tourout?”, in: *The Musical Culture of Silesia* (see fn. 3), pp. 78–79.

29 Cf. list of concordances in: Gancarczyk, *Musica scripto* (see fn. 5), pp. 97–100.

from Silesia and Central Europe are so great as to make it impossible to assess this source properly. However, it is worthwhile asking ourselves: how was it possible for such an extensive and varied collection to be created in Żagań?

According to the latest research, the partbooks may have been written by Martin Rinckenberg, the abbot of the Żagań monastery.³⁰ Even if he did not copy them personally, he was certainly directly involved in their compilation, as is indicated by a whole series of details relating to the abbot's biography, the history of the monastery and the repertory included in the manuscript. Rinckenberg came from Silesia and was educated at the University of Leipzig, where in 1441 he was awarded the degree of master of liberal arts. He linked his career to the Piasts of Oleśnica (Oels), to whom he became related through the marriage of his sister to Prince Conrad X the White (the Younger). He was secretary to Bishop Conrad, who came from that family, he was a canon at the collegiate church of the Holy Cross in Wrocław, and in 1452 he entered the order of Canons Regular. In 1468 – not without the support of Prince Henry XI of Żagań – Rinckenberg became abbot of the Żagań monastery, one of the most important and most influential monastic centres in Silesia. He became famous for his love of books, mensural music, medicine, pharmacy and hunting, but his activities were curtailed in 1482 when he became partially paralysed. As a university student in Leipzig, a canon in Wrocław and a relative of the Piasts of Oleśnica, he undoubtedly had the opportunity to become familiar with polyphonic music. However, that does not fully explain the extensive and interesting repertory of the Żagań partbooks.

Besides the local, Silesian works, and the obvious German and Czech-Polish contexts, it seems that two court centres rather more distant from Silesia exerted an important influence on this repertory. The first of these was the court of Mathias Corvinus in Buda, where Beatrice of Naples resided from December 1476. We know about the intellectual and artistic splendour of that court, if only from the king's interest in the Italian Renaissance; thanks to Beatrice, that interest was expanded to include Neapolitan aspects. At the time the Żagań partbooks were compiled, Silesia was a dominion of the king of Hungary, who ruled there from 1469, a fact which left its mark on the culture of that region. Suffice it to mention that the famous Mellon chansonnier (US-NH 91), Beatrice's private manuscript, written probably under the supervision of Johannes Tinctoris during the years 1475–1476, found its way to Silesia in unclear circumstances (this is indicated by evidence from the early seventeenth century).³¹ Among the concordances of the Żagań partbooks – obviously, we are talking here mainly about the chansons – we find sources connected with Naples. Apart from the Mellon chansonnier (with

30 Gancarczyk, Abbot Martin Rinckenberg (see fn. 11), passim.

31 Leeman L. Perkins, "The Mellon Chansonnier as a Central European Source", in: *Musica antiqua Europae Orientalis. Acta scientifica*, vol. 6, Bydgoszcz 1982, pp. 651–667.

eight concordances), we should mention the Seville chansonnier (E-Sco 5-I-43), compiled at approximately the same time as the Silesian manuscript, with which it shares twenty-three compositions. Particularly striking are the works preserved only in Żagań and Naples (there are two such cases)³² and those for which the sources from these two centres are clearly the oldest.³³ It is also worth mentioning that the Seville chansonnier contains three compositions with German titles which are known from the Żagań partbooks. One of them – *O herzens trost* – has been preserved (although in different versions) exclusively in these two manuscripts, whilst the other two – *Der fochß schwantcz* and *Nicht lasz mich hart entgelten* – exist in only one other source.³⁴ Also significant is the presence in the partbooks of Tinctoris' motet *Virgo dei throno digna*, which he composed for his pupil, the future queen of Hungary, Beatrice.³⁵

Another centre which might have had significant influence on the repertory of the Żagań partbooks is the court of Emperor Frederick III. Evidence of such links is provided not only by the number of concordances with sources written within the court's circle of influence, such as Trent codices (I-TRbc 89 and 91) and the Strahov codex (CZ-Ps D.G.IV.47), but also by the character of those links. Out of the sixteen compositions common to the Żagań partbooks and Trent 91, as many as fourteen are unique works, not known from other sources. In addition, seven of these compositions – all of them are Marian antiphons – are copied one after the other in gathering VIII of the Trent manuscript, dated to the mid 1470s. It is also worth noting that the oldest source for a number of chansons from the Żagań partbooks is the manuscript Trent 89, dated to the early 1460s.³⁶ This suggests the Habsburg court as a potential intermediary in the transmission of the chanson repertory to Central Europe. In 1460, during the reign of Frederick III, there were eight Franco-Flemish cantors active at the Habsburg court: Johannes Blidenberg, Johannes de Bubay alias de Viseto, Egidius Garin, Michael de Lay, Johannes Oliverii alias de Marbasio, Nicolas Mayoul, Arnoldus Pickart and Johannes Tourout.³⁷ This last composer contributed to the culture

32 See David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, Oxford 1999, pp. 146 (*Enfermé suis je en la tour*) and 474 (*O herzens trost*).

33 See ibidem, pp. 178 (*Helas le bon temps* by Tinctoris or Compère), 323 (*Pour tant se mon valoir* by Caron) and 472 (*Nicht lasz mich hart entgelten*). For *Pour tant se mon valoir* cf. <http://personalpages.manchester.ac.uk/staff/david.fallows/appendix.pdf> (05.02.2015).

34 See ibidem, p. 79 (*Aime qui voudra / Der fochß schwantcz*) and above (fn. 32 and fn. 33).

35 Jaap van Benthem, "Concerning Johannes Tinctoris and the Preparation of the Princess's Chansonnier", in: *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 32 (1982), pp. 24–29.

36 Cf. Gancarczyk, *Musica scripto* (see fn. 5), pp. 97–100. Trent codices dated after: Peter Wright, "Johannes Wiser's Paper and the Copying of his Manuscripts", in *I Codici Musicali Trentini* (see fn. 9), pp. 31–53.

37 Paweł Gancarczyk, "Johannes Tourout and Imperial Hofkantorei ca 1460", in: *Hudební věda* 50/3–4 (2013), pp. 239–257.

of Central Europe many compositions familiar from the Trent manuscripts (I-TRbc 88, 89 and 91), Hartmann Schedel's songbook (D-Mbs Cgm 810) and the Bohemian sources (CZ-Ps D.G.IV.47 and CZ-HK II A 7); moreover, two of them are also found in the Žagaň partbooks (*Advocata libera* and *Recordare virgo mater*). According to the research of Jaap van Benthem, editor of the complete works of Tourout, some of these compositions are Latin contrafacta of chansons.³⁸ Recently, Benthem attributed to Tourout a third composition from the Žagaň partbooks: a *rondeau* copied without a text (no. 191), most probably composed to Alain Chartier's poem *Joye me fuit et Desespoir me chace*.³⁹ Let us add that, at the beginning of 1469, the German cantors of Emperor Frederick III included one Johannes Schreidur, a cleric from the diocese of Wrocław.⁴⁰

It should be noted that the repertory of the Žagaň partbooks does not show any tangible links with the repertory of the Silesian manuscripts from the first half of the fifteenth century; it is as if, after *c.* 1450, together with the change of notation, some important upheaval took place in the musical culture of Silesia. The only distinct link between these sources is the figure of Petrus Wilhelmi, whose isorhythmic motet *Probitate eminentem / Ploditanda exarare* found its way into Rinkenbergs's collection (which, incidentally, became the point of departure for the erroneous identification of Wilhelmi as the scribe of that manuscript⁴¹). The absence of these links is all the more puzzling in view of the fact that when Martin Rinkenbergs was a student, and during his career in the service of Bishop Conrad, two-part *cantiones*, polytextual motets and *rotula* were still being composed in abundance. Perhaps new inspirations came with the period of stabilisation after the Hussite Wars and the occidentalisation of Central European courts, particularly in Buda and Wiener Neustadt.

However, there is one significant element which links the repertories of mensural polyphony in fifteenth-century Silesia. The music of the first half of the century, although it seems so very local (almost provincial), referred to the old tradition rooted in the reception of the *ars nova* style. The music of the Žagaň partbooks – partly local, partly belonging to the international repertory – was in fact part of the common repertory typical of many regions of Central Europe. The reason for this is that the reception of the chanson – which underwent so many important modifications that we may well question whether it is always the same genre – took place both in the German-speaking countries (D-Mbs Clm 14274, D-Mbs

38 Jaap van Benthem, "Rescued by Transplantation. An Unorthodox Approach to 'Lost' Chansons by Johannes Tourout in Polyphonic Sources in Bohemia", in: *Hudební věda* 50/3-4 (2013), pp. 221-238; cf. as well *Johannes Tourout. Attributed and Attributable Compositions in 15th-century Sources from Central Europe*, ed. Jaap van Benthem, 5 vols., Utrecht 2015-.

39 Benthem, *Die Saganer Stimmbücher* (see fn. 28), passim.

40 Gancarczyk, *Johannes Tourout* (see fn. 37), pp. 243-244.

41 Hoffmann-Erbrecht, *Auf den Spuren* (see fn. 12), passim.

Cgm 810, I-TRbc 89) and in Bohemia (CZ-Ps D.G.IV. 47, CZ-HK II A 7).⁴² We also find examples of this in Poland (Du Fay's chanson *Bon jour bon mois* in the Krasieński codex, PL-Wn III.8054, c. 1440) and in northern Hungary (Caron's chanson *Helas que pourra devenir* in the 'Kassa/Kaschau fragments', SK-BRu Inc. 318-I, c. 1465).⁴³ These are always compositions with a foreign text or with no text, sometimes musically deformed, with their formal structure blurred. The so-called international repertory (including chansons) holds an equal place in the musical culture of Central Europe to the local repertory; they should not be presented as opposing phenomena, since in fact they are complementary. This is especially true when works which are apparently 'local' acquire an 'international' dimension; Petrus Wilhelmi's canon *Presulem ephebeatum*, used by Heinrich Isaac in his newly discovered mass, can serve as an example here,⁴⁴ as can the presence in the Seville chansonnier of German-language repertory known primarily in Žagań.

In view of the above remarks, the inevitable conclusion is that it is unjustified to regard Silesia as a separate category in the history of fifteenth-century mensural music, not only because of the many gaps in the source documentation, but perhaps above all because this province was part of a larger cultural region. When we analyse the repertory contained in Silesian sources of mensural music, it is easy to see its numerous links – merely outlined in this text – to the repertory found in other provinces and countries which are geographically close to it. In spite of the established conceptual paradigm, informed by twentieth-century political history, this does not concern just those provinces and countries which are often regarded in German or British literature as part of 'Eastern Europe' or – equally ahistorically and imprecisely – 'East-Central Europe' ('Ostmitteleuropa', 'östliches Mitteleuropa'). Unlike the borders established in Tehran (1943) and Yalta (1945), the boundaries of stylistic and repertorial influences pervading the music written and performed in fifteenth-century Silesia (and this applies also to the music of

42 Cf. Martin Kirnbauer, *Hartmann Schedel und sein 'Liederbuch'. Studien zu einer spätmittelalterlichen Musikhandschrift (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cgm 810) und ihrem Kontext*, Bern 2001, pp. 147–210; Lenka Hlávková-Mráčková, "Cantio, Lied or Chanson? The Strahov Codex as a 15th-century Song Treasury", in: *Hudební věda* 50 (2013) no. 3–4, pp. 259–270; Jitka Petrusová, *Kodex Speciálník v kontextu soudobé světské tvorby* [The Speciálník codex and secular polyphony of its time], M.A. thesis, Ústav hudební vědy, Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Prague 1996.

43 Fallows, *A Catalogue* (see fn. 32), pp. 101 (*Bon jour bon mois*) and 181 (*Helas que pourra devenir*). For details see Marcin Majchrowski, "Powiązania 'Alleluia' przypisywanego Mikołajowi Radomskiemu z chanson 'Bon jour, bon mois' Guillaume'a Dufaya" [Relationships between an *Alleluia* ascribed to Mikołaj Radomski and the chanson *Bon jour, bon mois* by Guillaume Dufay], in: *Muzyka* 39/2 (1994), pp. 87–88; Gancarczyk, *Musica scripto* (see fn. 5), pp. 155–167.

44 *Heinrich Isaac (ca 1450–1517): Missa Presulem ephebeatum*, ed. Martin Horyna, Prague 2002; David J. Burn, "Heinrich Isaac and His Recently Discovered *Missa Presulem ephebeatum*", in: *Recevez ce mien petit labour? Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Ignace Bossuyt*, eds. Mark Delaere & Pieter Bergé, Leuven 2008, pp. 49–60.

southern Poland, Bohemia or northern Hungary) follow a somewhat blurred path, encompassing also such lands as Austria, Tyrol, Saxony and Bavaria. And thus, to answer the question posed in the title of my paper, the repertories of mensural polyphony in fifteenth-century Silesia are neither local (i.e. Silesian) nor international – they are just Central European.⁴⁵

Sources of polyphony in Silesia, 1400–1500

No.	Siglum	Date	Contents	Remarks
<i>Mensural polyphony</i>				
1 (=12)	PL-WRu I Q 466	1416–1421	Credos	mensural polyphony on fols. 25v–27v; doubtful provenance
2	PL-WRu I Q 132	c. 1423	cantio, rotulum	polyphony on fols. 1v–3r
3	PL-WRu I F 269	c. 1430	cantiones, rotulum / Petrus Wilhelmi	fragments (2 fols.)
4	PL-WRu IV Q 223	c. 1440	textless pieces (cantiones?)	fragments (2 fols.)
5	PL-WRu XV Q 1066a	1425–1450	motet, cantiones	fragments (1 fol.)
6	D-Gs XXX,1	c. 1450	cantiones, motets, mass sections / Petrus Wilhelmi	fragments (30 fols.)
7	PL-WRk 31	1450–1500	sequence	polyphony on fols. 313v–314v
8	PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40092	1477–1482	office sections (antiphons, responsories, hymns), sequences, German songs, textless pieces, quodlibets / Busnoys, Caron, Du Fay, Ghizeghem, Tourout <i>et al.</i>	‘Żagań partbooks’, ‘Saganer Stimmbücher’ (<i>olim</i> ‘Glogauer Liederbuch’)
9	PL-Wu RM 5892a	c. 1480	motets	fragment (1 fol.), wastepaper in the Wrocław codex
10	PL-Wu RM 5892	c. 1495–1500	mass cycles, motets, magnificats, hymns, textless pieces / Adam von Fulda, Agricola, Ghiselin, Isaac, Josquin, Weerbeke <i>et al.</i>	‘Wrocław codex’, ‘Breslauer Mensuralcodex’

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Chant polyphony (cantus planus multiplex)

11	PL-WRu R 506	1403	Mass lesson	lost
12	PL-WRu I Q 466 (=I)	1416–1421	Mass lesson	chant polyphony on fols. 24r–25v; doubtful provenance
13	PL-WRu R 505	1426	Mass lesson	polyphony on fols. 224v–227v
14	PL-WRu I F 387	1441–1469	Mass lesson	polyphony on fols. 276v–277r
15	PL-WRu R 3067	1442–1468	antiphony	polyphony on fol. 1v
16	PL-WRk 58	1474	Mass lesson	polyphony on fols. 57v–61r
17	PL-WRu I O 110	1481	invitatory	polyphony on fol. 121v
18	PL-WRu I F 386	c. 1500	Mass lesson	polyphony on fols. 364v–365r

Tablatures

19	PL-WRu I Q 438a	c. 1425	organ tablature	fragment (1 fol.)
20	PL-Wn 2082	c. 1430	organ tablature	fragment (1 fol.)
21	PL-WRu I F 687a	c. 1450	organ tablature	fragments (5 fols.)

List of sources

- CZ-HK II A 6 – Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, MS II A 6 (‘Franus codex’)
 CZ-HK II A 7 – Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, MS II A 7 (‘Speciálník codex’)
 CZ-Ps D.G.IV.47 – Prague, Strahovská knihovna, Klašteř premonstrátů na Strahově, MS D.G.IV.47 (‘Strahov codex’)
 D-Gs XXX,1 – Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Abteilung für Handschriften und Seltene Drucke, Nachlaß Ludwig XXX,1
 D-Mbs Cgm 810 – Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 810 (*olim* Mus. 3232, ‘Schedel songbook’)
 D-Mbs Clm 14274 – Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274 (‘St Emmeram codex’)
 E-Sco 5-I-43 – Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, MS 5-I-43, of which 42 folios are now in Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, nouv. acq. fr. 4379, fols. 1–42 (‘Seville chansonnier’)
 H-Bn 243 – Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. lat. 243 (‘Trnava manuscript’)
 H-Bn 534 – Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. lat. 534 (‘Spiš fragments’)

- I-TRbc 88 – Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, MS 1375 (*olim* 88)
- I-TRbc 89 – Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, MS 1376 (*olim* 89)
- I-TRbc 91 – Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, MS 1378 (*olim* 91)
- PL-GD 2153a – Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, MS 2153a
- PL-Kj 2188 – Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS 2188
- PL-Kj 2464 – Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS 2464
- PL-Kj Mus. ms. 40098 – Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (*olim* Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek), Mus. ms. 40098 (‘Żagań partbooks’, *olim* ‘Glogauer Liederbuch’)
- PL-Wu RM 5892 – Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Gabinet Zbiorów Muzycznych, RM 5892 (*olim* Mf. 2016)
- PL-Wu RM 5892a – wastepaper of PL-Wu RM 5892
- PL-Wn III.8054 – Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS III.8054 (*olim* Kras 52)
- PL-Wn 2082 – Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Zakład Zbiorów Muzycznych, MS 2082 (*olim* Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I Qu 42)
- PL-WRk 31 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Kapitulna, MS 31
- PL-WRk 58 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Kapitulna, MS 58 (‘Neumarkter Cantionale’)
- PL-WRu I F 269 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I F 269
- PL-WRu I F 386 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I F 386
- PL-WRu I F 387 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I F 387
- PL-WRu I F 687a – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I F 687a
- PL-WRu I O 110 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I O 110
- PL-WRu I Q 132 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I Q 132
- PL-WRu I Q 438a – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I Q 438a
- PL-WRu I Q 466 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I Q 466
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- PL-WRu R 505 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS R 505
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