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Collecting Songs in Sixteenth-Century Magdeburg – the Case of Valentin Voigt

Sixteenth-century Meistersang was no more than an impoverished, decayed art-form that developed directly out of its fourteenth-century ancestor, Sangspruch-dichtung – or so Jacob Grimm believed in 1807.[1] German song had found its highest expression in the thirteenth century: "there was already an abundance of regulations and masters at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and fortunately direct sources of this practice have come down to us. … This was undoubtedly the origin and highest flowering of the art of the Meistersinger, when it dominated at the courts, was rewarded and practised by its benefactors, spreading in leaps and bounds".[2] Grimm detects an early on-set of decay in Meistersang in the fourteenth century as the poets turned their attention from the praise of their patrons to worldly concerns, but he is careful to nuance this assessment, explicitly excluding the exuberant richness of Frauenlob's songs.[3] The third and final phase of Meistersang, beginning in the fifteenth century, witnessed a shift of social milieu, from nobility to the working class, as well as a new preoccupation with religious topics. For Grimm, this watering down of the genre's original, panegyric core sealed its death warrant: "this restriction [to religious topics], surely far from general, should not be seen to derive from the principle of Meistersang itself, onto which it had been enforced and to which it was alien".[4]

1 Karl Stackmann proposed a clear terminological distinction between Meistersang and Sangspruchdichtung that is now commonly adopted; see Reinhard Hahn, "Der Meistergesang in der Geschichte der Germanistik", *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 4 (1983), pp. 450–462: p. 458. More recently, Horst Brunner introduced the term Spruchsang, foregrounding the repertoire's musical nature and making it terminologically analogous to Minnesang and Meistersang; see *Spruchsang. Die Melodien der Sangspruchdichter des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Horst Brunner and Karl-Günther Hartmann. Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 6 (Kassel, 2010).

2 Grimm's article was reprinted in: Jacob Grimm, "Übersicht der Meisterkunst von Anfang bis zu Ende", *Der deutsche Meistersang*, ed. Bert Nagel. Wege der Forschung 148 (Darmstadt, 1967), pp. 1–9: p. 5. All translations in this contribution are my own.

3 Ibid., p. 6.

4 Ibid., p. 8.

While Grimm's claims were not unanimously accepted by his contemporaries and stood in stark contrast to the positions voiced by other prominent Germanists such as Bernhard Joseph Docen and Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, his image of sixteenth-century Meistersang as decayed Sangspruch remained influential well into the twentieth century.[5] Only some thirty years ago did scholars begin to distinguish the early and late traditions of German song more consistently and rigidly: "the more prominent consideration of socio-historic aspects has made the differences between the Middle High German Spruchdichter – itinerant, professional poets who addressed a noble audience – and the Meistersinger of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries – settled citizens, who were organised in guilds and practised their art within their own social sphere in their spare time – become more apparent".[6]

Musicologists too have been selective in their attention to this repertoire. Unsurprisingly, they focussed largely on its melodies. Two related reasons make the corpus of Meistersang melodies attractive. Firstly, they survive in large number and are documented in several contemporary, notated sources.[7] This circumstance has enabled detailed studies of their musical grammar and afforded comparisons/periodisations of compositional styles, something which has been deemed impossible for the earlier layers of German song due to their problematic musical transmission. Both Eva Schumann and Horst Brunner have published substantial analytical studies which assess the musical design of Meistersang.[8]

Secondly, the Meistersinger frequently used melodies which they believed to go back to famous Spruchdichter of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries such as Walther von der Vogelweide and Frauenlob, most of which do not survive in contemporary sources. Thus, the Meistersang repertoire opens up to scholars the possibility of reclaiming some of these lost melodies; and, indeed, much has

5 B[ernhard] J[oseph] Docen, "Ueber den Unterschied und die gegenseitigen Verhältnisse der Minne- und Meistersänger: ein Beitrag zur Karakteristik der früheren Zeitalter der Deutschen Poesie", *Museum für altdeutsche Literatur und Kunst* 1 (1809), pp. 73–125; [Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen], "Die Kolmarische Sammlung von Minne- und Meisterliedern", *Museum für altdeutsche Literatur und Kunst* 2 (1811), pp. 146–225.

6 R. Hahn, Der Meistergesang (cf. fn. 1), p. 457.

7 See Horst Brunner, "Meistergesang", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2. ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 16 (London, 2001), pp. 294–300.

8 See Horst Brunner, *Die alten Meister. Studien zur Überlieferung und Rezeption der mittelhochdeutschen Sangspruchdichter im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 54 (Munich, 1975); Eva Schumann, *Stilwandel und Gestaltveränderung im Meistersang. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zur Musik der Meistersinger*. Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 3 (Göttingen, 1972).

been published on the "authenticity" of Meistersang melodies.[9] Today, however, this authenticity is generally questioned, providing a specifically musical point of attack against Grimm's assumption that Sangspruch and Meistersang constituted a cohesive, unified tradition.[10]

In contrast to this interest in the melodic grammar of Meistersang, the cultural meaning of these songs has been studied by musicologists only reluctantly. While there have been some publications on the changing notions of artistry and craftsmanship that underpin vernacular song, the reasons for the production of individual collections and their subsequent uses have rarely been the subject of enquiry.[11] A case in point is Valentin Voigt's Meistergesangbuch of 1558, now held at the Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Jena (D-Ju, MS El. f. 100; hereafter **V**).[12] Even though the manuscript contains 80 melodies in mensural notation and has been known to scholars since at least 1691, **V** has not received an in-depth consideration as a music book, nor has it been edited.[13]

9 See, for example, Ursula Aarburg, "Walthers Goldene Weise", *Die Musikforschung* 11 (1958), pp. 478–482; Ursula Aarburg, "Wort und Weise im Wiener Hofton", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 88 (1958), pp. 196–210.

10 Burkhard Kippenberg, "Minnesang", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2. ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 16 (London, 2001), pp. 721–730: p. 726.

11 See Sabine Obermaier, "Der Dichter als Handwerker – der Handwerker als Dichter. Autorkonzepte zwischen Sangspruchdichtung und Meistersang", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 119 (2000, Sonderheft), pp. 59–72. One notable exception is: Christoph Petzsch, *Die Kolmarer Liederhandschrift. Entstehung und Geschichte* (Munich, 1978). Another, recent collected edition expresses interest in the people involved in the making and consumption of manuscripts, but includes no contribution on German song: *Sources of Identity. Makers, Owners and Users of Music Sources before 1600*, ed. Tim Shephard and Lisa Colton (Turnhout, 2017).

12 **V** has been fully digitised and is available online: http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00019561.

13 The earliest discussions of **V** are: Wilhelm Ernst Tentzel, *Monatliche Unterredungen Einiger Guten* [!] *Freunde Von Allerhand Büchern und andern annemlichen Geschichten* 3 (Leipzig, 1691), pp. 930–943; Basilius Christian Bernhard Wiedeburg, *Ausführliche Nachricht von einigen alten teutschen poetischen Manuscripten aus dem dreyzehenden und vierzehenden Jahrhunderte welche in der Jenaischen akademischen Bibliothek aufbehalten werden* (Jena, 1754), pp. 140–148. Fritz Hülße and Paul Uhle claim that the source contains only 68 melodies: Fritz Hülße, "Meistersänger in der Stadt Magdeburg", *Geschichts-Blätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg. Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde des Herzogtums und Erzstifts Magdeburg* 21 (1886), pp. 59–71: p. 68; Paul Uhle, "Der Dramatiker und Meistersänger Valentin Voith aus Chemnitz", *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Chemnitzer Geschichte* 9 (1897), pp. 159–192: p. 182. Uhle duly references Hülße's article on **V** (p. 181) and relies heavily on the latter's work, often using very similar formulations.

Valentin Voigt and the Creation of his Songbook

Valentin Voigt is documented as a Ziesemeister, a tax official, in Magdeburg in 1541.[14] He describes himself as a Magdeburg citizen ("Bürger zu Magdeburg", fol. 2^{v}) at the end of the dedicatory preface to his songbook.[15] This evidence notwithstanding, Paul Uhle suggested that Voigt might originally have hailed from Chemnitz, though this background would not have prevented him from later acquiring citizen status in Magdeburg. The university archives at Wittenberg include a "Valentinus voydt de Kemnitz" among a list of those enrolled for a seminar held by the Erfurt theologian Jodocus Trutfetter in October 1507, and Uhle argued that this surname was more likely to be of Chemnitz than of Magdeburg origin; likewise, he noted linguistic traces in Voigt's songs (such as "brengen" instead of "bringen", or "kympt" instead of "kommt") that point to Chemnitz rather than Magdeburg.[16] Even if Voigt-the songbook author was born in Chemnitz, his collection of 1558 demonstrates great concern for the present situation of Voigt's new home, Magdeburg, as well as a strong connection with Wittenberg, the erstwhile seat of the Ernestine Electors.[17]

V consists of five main sections, three of which set passages of biblical text to pre-existent Töne, that is, Voigt fits these texts to fixed poetic patterns of rhyme scheme, metre, and melody. Measured against modern ideals of originality, Voigt's work (and that of other Meistersinger) falls short, providing one of the reasons why scholars have not sought to find meaning and expression in these songs.[18] Fritz Hülße, one of the earliest scholars to comment on Voigt's songs, ques-

14 Unfortunately, Uhle does not give the precise source of his claim, but refers generically to "a document [Aktenstück]": (P. Uhle, Der Dramatiker, ibid., p. 163). He seems to have taken this information from Fritz Hülße, who makes the same generic reference to an "Aktenstück" (F. Hülße, Meistersänger, ibid., p. 61). In other sources, Voigt spells his name "Voith" and this orthographical variant is found in some of the literature (e. g. Uhle 1897 and the digitised manuscript website). Nevertheless, "Voigt" is adopted here, as this is the spelling found in the songbook under disucssion (fol. 2v).

15 The quotations from **V** are adapted to modern German spelling where possible, but the original syntax and grammar are retained.

16 Karl Eduard Förstemann, *Album Academiae Vitebergensis: ab a. Ch. MIII usque ad a. MDLX* (Leipzig, 1841), pp. 24–25; P. Uhle, Der Dramatiker (cf. fn. 13), pp. 159–162.

17 See, in particular, the section "The Ernestines, Magdeburg, and **V**'s context" below.

18 Recent scholarship, however, has re-assessed the significance of citation in the early modern period. In relation to the Middle Ages, for example, Ardis Butterfield has argued that "citation … is always more than textual, or musical or visual: at its most serious, it acts as an allusion to eternity": Ardis Butterfield, "Introduction", *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 2: *Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Medieval Culture*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Giuliano Di Bacco (Liverpool, 2013), pp. 1–5: p. 5. The notion of borrowing pre-existent Töne as an "allusion to eternity" fits well with Voigt's concerns outlined in the present contribution.

tioned their artistic value: "as a poet, Valentin Voigt has only very little significance; most of his songs are almost entirely devoid of poetic esprit and talent, and his handling of the metre also reveals artistry of only minor and mechanical quality".[19] In Voigt's work, the lack of original forms is further exacerbated by poor artistic execution. Similarly, "the adaptation to the individual melodies of the various Meistersinger caused the poet no small degree of trouble" in his two sacred plays.[20]

In the 1558 songbook, Voigt sets to music the Book of Genesis, reflections on the Gospel readings for the Sundays of the liturgical year (and some select feast days), as well as the Psalter. The volume opens with a number of prefatory materials: a dedicatory preface in prose; a versified genealogy of the House of Saxony; and a praise of song. The Genesis settings and the cycle of Gospel readings/homilies ("Postill") are separated by a miscellany of individual song stanzas, furnished with mensural notation. The three biblical-liturgical sections, however, lack such explicit musical notation, as is typical of most song books of the period. With the exception of the notated songs, Voigt ascribes dates to most of his settings, and the collection includes indices for the notated songs, the Postil, and the Psalter (see Table 1).

The meticulous indication of the Ton used for each song and the overlap between these unnotated texts with material in the notated section indicate that Voigt also viewed the unnotated songs as musical items. For example, Voigt versifies Genesis 17 using Walther von der Vogelweide's *Langer Ton* (fol. 32^{r}) – and almost exactly the same version of this text is underlaid to the music of this Ton in the notated section (fol. 100^{v}).

In the unnotated version, Voigt uses a horizontal, curved line with a dot below and above to indicate the end of each stanza segment (the two Stollen and the Abgesang). This sign may do no more than highlight the formal building blocks of the song, yet it is interesting to note that the use of two dots bears resemblance, at least conceptually, to the musical repeat sign of a vertical line surrounded by multiple pairs of dots on either side that Voigt's uses for his notated songs.

19 F. Hülße, Meistersänger (cf. fn. 13), p. 62. In his assessment of **V**, Wiedeburg considered the texts in the notated section to be among the best in the collection, although its contents were not as "worthy" as those of the famous Jena Songbook (D-Ju, MS El. f. 101; hereafter **J**): B.C.B. Wiedeburg, Ausführliche Nachricht (cf. fn. 13), pp. 3–4 and 144.

20 F. Hülße, Meistersänger (cf. fn. 13), p. 63. For a brief guide to Voigt's plays, see Hugo Holstein, *Dramen von Ackermann und Voith*. Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 170 (Tübingen, 1884), pp. 143–154.

#	Folios	Contents	Index	Notation	Explicit	Date "core"
1	1r–12r	Prefatory materials Dedication Genealogy Praise of Song	–	–	*Finis* (fol. 12r)	2 December 1557–8 March 1558
2	14r–86v	Genesis	–	–	*Ende des Buchs Genesis / Got sei Lob, Ehr, und Pr[e]is / Für sein ewig Gnad', / die er allein geben hat* (fol. 86v)	17 December 1543–11 January 1546
3	90r–145v	Individual songs	*Register der Meister Dohne / nach Ordnung des Alphabets* (fol. 80r–v)	80 songs	–	–
4a	186r–287v	Postil of Sundays	*Register der Postill in Gesangsweise und / wie man die Psalmen zu den Evangelien appli- / zieren und singen soll* (fol. 186r–v)	–	~~*Finis*~~ (fol. 287v)	21 April 1546–27 June 1547
4b	288v–309v	Postil of Feast Days	*Folgen die Evangelien von den Festen* (fol. 186v)		–	27 November 1552–1 November 1556
5	311r–457r	Psalter	*Register über den Psalter* (fol. 311r)	–	*Finis / Gott sei Lob, Ehr, und Preis* (fol. 457r)	19 December 1546–7 March 1551

Table 1: **V**'s contents

More generally, the high degree of formal attention that went into the versification of the texts is illustrated by Voigt's decision to indicate their poetic structure: the text-only versions are aligned in the right-hand margin with columns denoting the rhyme, number of syllables, and type of cadence for each line. The number of lines and number of stanzas of each song are indicated alongside

the introductory rubric.[21] The choice to count the number of syllables (rather than the number of stresses) can be explained if Voigt paid heed not only to the textual form, but to the pre-existent melody as well. If the new text was to fit the given melody neatly, it was crucial that the number of syllables was identical between the old and new texts: only then could each group of notes be fitted correctly to a new syllable. An identical metre alone would not guarantee a smooth match, as an individual foot may have a varying number of unstressed syllables. However, Voigt is interested in more than the formal aspects of his songs: the content of each Genesis chapter is summarised in the opening rubric, and this keyword or phrase is used as a catchword/phrase at the top of each subsequent folio (as is the case in the Postil and the Psalter). Not least, Voigt's decision to set the Book of Genesis as a whole, from chapter 1 to chapter 50, shows his concern for the textual content. Had this endeavour been solely about demonstrating his prowess as a poet, Voigt might have more usefully decided to order his Genesis settings by their Ton.

The use of Ton-authors in **V** suggests a purposeful selection rather than a haphazard gathering from random sources (see Table 2). Although the guiding rationale behind each individual Ton choice is difficult to prove, Voigt's recourse to Hans Sachs as his most frequently used Ton-author seems to be no coincidence: thirteen of Sachs's Töne, twelve of which are also transmitted with melody in the notated section, are used by Voigt for no fewer than 85 songs.

The second largest number of Töne in **V** is borrowed from another Nuremburg master, Hans Vogel. All twelve of Vogel's Töne in the collection are transmitted with their melody, forming the basis of 28 songs. This evidence supports Hülße's suggestion that Voigt modelled his work on a Nuremberg source: Hülße had observed that one of the notated songs ("*Nu höret zu und schweiget still*"; fol. 112^{v}) related humorous advice about bathing, given to the singer by an old man on the frozen Pegnitz, the river which flows through Nuremberg.[22] It is certainly possible that Voigt had contact with a Nuremberg source, yet it is also worth remembering that Sachs and Vogel were Voigt's contemporaries. He may equally well have come into contact with their Töne elsewhere, using them primarily because they had a strong currency in his own (Magdeburg) context. Moreover, only eight of the twelve "Nuremberg Masters" that Voigt lists in his preface are represented in his col-

21 In the case of Walther von der Vogelweide's *Langer Ton* on fol. 32r, Voigt miscounts the number of lines. Each stanza has 32 lines, not 34. He may have been misled in his count by the long melisma that opens the Ton and is set off with a fermata in the notated version. If he counted this melisma as a separate musical line, the Ton has 34 lines (given the repeat of the Stollen).

22 F. Hülße, Meistersänger (cf. fn. 13), p. 62.

Author	Ton	Number of appearances	Date range	Notation	Number of Töne [notated]
Albrecht Lesschen	Gesangsweise	2	13 July 1550–13 January 1551	–	1 [0]
Caspar Singer	Lieber Ton	n	–	124r	1 [1]
Der Ehrenbote	Frauenehrenton	4	3 October 1540–11 November 1551	–	2 [1]
	Spiegelton	n	–	137r	
Frauenlob	Blühender Ton	8 + n	16 June 1546–9 December 1550	94r	11 [10]
	Goldener Ton	n	–	140v	
	Grundweise	9	3 November 1548–3 March 1554	–	
	Grüner Ton	n	–	115r	
	Lai Ton	2 + n	5 August 1545	93v	
	Langer Ton	2 + n	21 September 1535–7 July 1554	114v	
	Radweise	1 + n	23 February 1535	106r	
	Überzarter Ton	2 + n	12 October 1544–25 September 1550	124v	
	Unbekannter Ton	1 + n	1 September 1544	122r	
	Würgendrüssel	n	–	136v	
	Zarter Ton	3 + n	13 March 1541–3 February 146	123v	
Fridel Baltzer	Friedensweise	n	–	118v	1 [1]
Fritz Kothner	Unser Frauen Ton	3	7 September 1544–1 May 1547	–	1 [0]
Fritz Zorn	Verborgener Ton	7 + n	7 May 1539–3 December 1550	117v	3 [3]
	Verhohlener Ton	8 + n	7 July 1541–7 March 1549	50r	
	Zugweise	17 + n	3 March 1543–28 February 1553	91r	
Hans Folz	Chorweise	2 + n	21 February 1541–24 August 1544	133v	5 [4]

	Freier Ton	14 + n	2 February 1544–3 January 1550	141v	
	Hoher Ton	n	–	103v	
	Langer Ton	1	20 August 1544	–	
	Schrankweise	1 + n	17 April 1558	113v	
Hans Sachs	Bewährter Ton	10 + n	7 June 1536–17 October 1550	94v	13 [12]
	Gesangweise	12 + n	17 December 1543–2 December 1557	108v	
	Goldener Ton	n	–	137v	
	Goldener Ton, der Alte	1 + n	21 September 1540	116r	
	Hohe Bergweise	n	–	116v	
	Klingender Ton[23]	15 + n	4 April 1541–1557	105v	
	Kurzer Ton	n	–	121v	
	Langer Ton[24]	11 + n	21 July 1543–13 December 1557	120v	
	Morgen Ton	n	–	119r	
	Neuer Ton	21 + n	25 October 1545[25]–2 February 1554	91v	
	Rosen Ton	n	–	139r	
	Sangweise	1	3 June 1547	–	
	Silberweise	2 + n	3 January 1541–4 October 1545	115v	
Hans Vogel	Engelweise	5 + n	17 March 1549–15 December 1550	127r	12 [12]
	Frischer Ton	2 + n	7 July 1552–18 September 1552	129r	
	Gefangener Ton	1 + n	29 April 1549	126r	
	Glasweise	3 + n	15 June 1546–27 April 1550	142v [incompl.]	

23 The rubric on fol. 314v corrects the ascription from the *Neuer Ton* to the *Klingender Ton*.
24 The rubric on fol. 283v corrects the ascription from the *Verborgener Ton* to the *Langer Ton*.
25 The setting of Genesis 29 in Hans Sachs's *Neuer Ton* is likely to have been written between 12 and 19 October 1544 but is not dated in the collection.

	Kurzer Ton	3 + n	15 April 1549–19 May 1550	132v	
	Lilienweise	1 + n	27 January 1551	127v	
	Rebenweise	n	–	131r	
	Schatzton	n	–	131v	
	Schwarzer Ton	n	–	128r	
	Strenger Ton	n	–	128v	
	Überlanger Ton	n	–	134v	
	Vogelweise	1 + n	19 May 1549	130r	
Hans von Gruningen	Kelberweise	1 + n	6 March 1544	97v	1 [1]
Hans von Mainz	Freudenweise	1 + n	21 September 1544	113r	1 [1]
Herman Ortel	Lai Ton	1 + n	30 November 1541–27 January 1549	98v	1 [1]
Herzog Ernst	Herzog-Ernst-Ton	6 + n	7 September 1538–5 December 1550	–143r [incomplete]	2 [2]
	Flamweise[26]	n	7 September 1538	143r	
Holzling	Holzlings Weise	3 + n	8 April 1548–9 June 1550	105r	1 [1]
Jurgk Scheidener[27]	Riesig-Freud Weise	4 + n	12 March 1542–27 February 1551	110r	1 [1]
Kanzler	Goldener Ton	1 + n	3 April 1547	95v	1 [1]
Konrad Nachtigall	(Ab)Geschiedener Ton[28]	6 + n	11 May 1540–7 April 1549	120r	6 [5]
	Geteilter Ton	5 + n	5 January 1546–3 September 1553	119v	
	Lai Ton	8 + n	26 February 1544–6 June 1550	99v	
	Langer Ton	4 + n	10 November 1555[29]	140r	

26 The *Flamweise* is listed among the Töne by Herzog Ernst on the basis of the rubric on fol. 272r which offers the *Flamweise* as an alternative to the *Herzog-Ernst-Ton*. However, both Töne have slightly different poetic structures and very different melodies.

27 Scheidener is named as the author of the *Riesig-Freud Weise* only in the rubric of fol. 29r, and his name does not appear in the index. Given that no other name is associated with the *Riesig-Freud Weise* in the collection, however, its ascription to Scheidener is not questioned here.

28 This Ton ist labelled interchangeably as "Geschiedener Ton" and "Abgeschiedener Ton".

	Sanfter Ton	1 + n	3 May 1546	114r	
	Starker Ton	2	3 May 1536	–	
Lenhart Nunnenbeck	Abgeschiedener Ton	6 + n	2 December 1540–7 April 1547	106v	1 [1]
Liban von Gengen	Jahrweise/Radweise	4	24 March 1539–7 October 1550	–	1 [0]
Lorenz von Wessel	Kurzer Ton	n	–	145r	3 [3]
	Verschlagener Ton [I]	n	–	143v	
	Verschlagener Ton II[30]	n	–	144v	
Marner	Goldener Ton	n	–	133r	2 [2]
	Langer Ton	8 + n	17 June 1539–13 August 1549	96v	
[Mats Bauer][31]	[Neuer Ton]			[lacuna]	–
Meienschein	Langer Ton	1 + n	5 February 1544	111v	1 [1]
Michel Lorenz	Blühweise	9 + n	25 March 1549–21 February 1551	125r	1 [1]
Monk of Salzburg	Chorweise	6 + n	7 June 1539–23 April 1550	97r	2 [2]
	Langer Ton	n	–	102r	
Mügeling	Hofton	1	10 July 1540	–	1 [0]
Muskatblut	"Muskatbluts Ton"	1	21 March 1539	–	1 [0]
Paul Ringsgewant	Versetzter Ton	12 + n	12 April 1544–21 December 1552	92v	1 [1]
Pfalz	Rohrweise	1[32] + n	14 August 1544	104r	1 [1]
Regenbogen	Blauer Ton/Ritterweise	2	21 November 1550	–	7 [3]
	Briefweise	2[33]	13 July 1539–19 June 1550	–	
	Goldener Ton	3 + n	11 July 1550	96r	
	Kurzer Ton	2	7 July 1550–29 December 1550	–	
	Langer Ton	7 + n	7 March 1536–16 June 1546	123r	
	Überlanger Ton	1 + n	24 June 1545	107r	

29 The *Langer Ton* is used only in the section of Feast Day Gospels and among the notated songs.
30 The two Töne that Voigt names "Verschlagener Ton" are not identical and constitute different Töne.
31 Mats Bauer is named only in the index of the notated section. His *Neuer Ton* is now missing from the collection.
32 The *Rohrweise* on fol. 36v is not ascribed to Pfalz but is identical to the Ton on fol. 104r.
33 The *Briefweise* on fol. 257v is not ascribed to Regenbogen but is identical to the Ton on fol. 407v.

	Zugton	3	3 August 1541–6 December 1548	–	
Romer	Gesangsweise	6 + n	7 July 1539–23 October 1544	103r	1 [1]
Schiller	Hofton	3	9 October 1538–11 December 1550	–	2 [0]
	Maiweise	1	7 July 1540	–	
Tannhäuser	Hofton	n	–	138r	1 [1]
Ulrich Esslinger	Langer Ton	1	8 August 1544	–	1 [0]
Vogelsang	Goldener Ton	7	12 February 1542–7 March 1547	–	1 [0]
Walther von der Vogelweide	Langer Ton	7 + n	23 August 1540–1 March 1551	100v	1 [1]
Wolf Büchner	Feuerweise	n	–	109r	1 [1]
Wolfram	Hohe Weise	2	25 October 1550–30 December 1550	–	3 [2]
	Kreuzton	n	–	138v	
	Langer Ton	6 + n	24 October 1540–3 June 1550	101v	
–	Euenteuerweise	n	–	112v	1 [1]
–	Osterweise	2 + n	5 September 1544	110v	1 [1]
–	Roter Zwinger	1	3 May 1544	–	1 [0]
–	Später Ton	1	7 May 1536	–	1 [0]
–	Unbekannter Ton[34]	2	3 September 1540	–	1 [0]
Total: 39 named poets[35]					102 [80][36]

Table 2: Authors and their Töne in V

34 This *Unbekannter Ton* does not match the poetic design of Frauenlob's Ton of the same name.

35 This count includes Mats Bauer, as he is named in the index, but excludes the five anonymous authors of the Töne listed at the end of this table.

36 This count includes only those Töne, complete or fragmentary, actually contained in the present state of the collection, so excludes Bauer's *Neuer Ton*.

lection.[37] If he based his work on a Nuremberg source, as Hülße suggests, then this might not have contained a comprehensive overview of the repertoire (meaning that Voigt must have obtained his longer list of Masters from another source), or he used it selectively.

The only other poet to be represented with a double-figure number of Töne in **V** is Frauenlob. Eleven of his Töne make their way into the collection (ten of which with melody), and they are used 38 times – constituting the second largest authorial presence in the volume. Having died in 1318, Frauenlob certainly did not count among Voigt's contemporaries, though he was commonly venerated as one of the "Zwölf Alte Meister" (Twelve Old Masters) who were believed to have laid the foundations of Meistersang.[38] Arguably, Frauenlob's significance for Voigt lay not with his historical role, but with the kind of poetry that he wrote. Frauenlob was closely associated with his praise of the Virgin Mary, as exemplified in his Marienleich, making him a particularly apt model for Voigt's settings of biblical texts.[39] Hans Sachs, likewise, was famed by contemporaries for his religious songs, making him a similarly resonant choice for religious songs.[40] Together, Sachs, Vogel, and Frauenlob make up almost half of the collection's repertoire of melodies (34 of 80), and provide the models for more than a third of the Töne (36 of 102) and the songs (148 of 418).

While many of the authors in **V** show some connection to Nuremberg, two poets most obviously fall outside this list: Matthias ("Mats") Bauer zu Magdeburg and Lorenz Wessel von Essen. The former appears only in the index that precedes the collection of notated songs, where he is listed as contributing his *Neuer Ton*. However, the folio containing this song is missing, so it is impossible to trace the text or melody which was sung to this Ton. Hülße identified Bauer

37 There are two alternate ways of reading Voigt's list. Either they include those twelve authors that follow his mention of the "Nuremberg Masters" (*Konrad Nachtigall*, *Fritz Zorn*, *Vogelgesang*, *Herman Ortel*, *Fritz Kothner*, Nikolaus Vogel, Sixtus Beckmesser, Augustin Moser, Hans Schwarz, *Ulrich Esslinger*, *Hans Folz*, and *Lenhart Nunnenbeck*), or they include those that are numbered according to the marginal rubric: 1. *Albrecht Lesch*, 2. *Kunz Vogelgesang* (counted twice), 3. *Der Ortel* (counted twice), 4. *Konrad Nachtigall*, 5. *Fritz Zorn*, 6. Sixtus Beckmesser, 7. *Fritz Kothner*, 8. Nikolaus Vogel, 9. Augustin Moser, 10. Hans Schwarz, 11. *Ulrich Esslinger*, and 12. *Hans Folz*. The authors that are found among **V**'s songs are indicated in italics.

38 For Frauenlob's reception by the Meistersinger, see H. Brunner, Die alten Meister (cf. fn. 8), p. 193.

39 Dagmar Hoffmann-Axthelm, "Doctor Frauenlobs Hohes Lied. Ein Autorenbild aus der Manessischen Liederhandschrift als Topos-Mosaik", *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 11 (1987), pp. 153–172: pp. 154–155.

40 For Sachs's success and his engagement with Martin Luther's ideals, see Eli Sobel, "Martin Luther and Hans Sachs", *The Martin Luther Quincentennial*, ed. Gerhard Dünnhaupt (Detroit, 1985), pp. 129–141.

Folio of notated section	Author	Ton	Folio reference in index
50v–51v	Hans Folz	Freier Ton	51
51v–[lacuna]	Hans Vogel	Glasweise	51
[lacuna]	[Matthias Bauer]	[Neuer Ton]	52
[lacuna]	[Herzog Ernst]	[Herzog-Ernst-Ton]	53
54r	[Herzog Ernst?]	Flamweise	–
54v–55v	Lorenz Wessel	Verschlagener Ton [I]	–
55v–56r	Lorenz Wessel	Verschlagener Ton [II]	–
56r–56v	Lorenz Wessel	Kurzer Ton	–

Table 3: The end of the notated section

with a Magdeburg Ratsherr of the same name, who held office between 1561 and 1562.[41] Conversely, Wessel's three songs which conclude **V**'s section of notated songs do not appear in the index. The last song to be included in the index is the *Herzog-Ernst-Ton* which followed Bauer's *Neuer Ton*; it precedes the anonymous *Flamweise*, but its opening is missing in the collection in its present state (see Table 3). Possibly, the last four notated songs – the three by Wessel and the anonymous *Flamweise* – might have been added after the index had been completed.[42] The fact that fols 146^{v}–147^{r} contain empty staves and that fols 147^{v}–155^{v} were prepared as if they were, at a later stage, to receive more music staves with notation suggests that Voigt might have purposefully left this section open-ended for new additions. Wessel is documented in Magdeburg in 1553 and it seems possible that Voigt was inspired directly by Wessel's presence in Magdeburg to use his various Töne for a number of new songs.[43] Voigt's choice of a model by Wessel for his song "*Zu Magdeburg*", which tells the story of a one-eyed soap-maker whose wife makes a cuckold of him, may therefore have seemed particularly appropriate: given his first-hand knowledge of Magdeburg, Wessel would have been able to give authentic witness to the frivolities of its citizens.[44]

41 F. Hülße, Meistersänger (cf. fn. 13), p. 71.

42 The rubric for the Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity (fol. 272r) suggests that the *Herzog-Ernst-Ton* and the *Flamweise* can be used interchangeably – although the versification patterns show some (minor) discrepancies at the end. Therefore, the latter Ton has been counted among Herzog Ernst's works in the present article.

43 For an overview of Wessel's "life and works", see Karl Mitterschiffthaler, "Meistersang in Oberösterreich", *Streifzüge. Beiträge zur oberösterreichischen Musikgeschichte* 1 (2007), Oberösterreichische Schriften zur Volksmusik 5, pp. 25–60: pp. 43–45.

44 Hülße printed the text of this song and used it as the basis for his critique of Voigt's poetic abilities: "it is obvious that one will not develop a high opinion of the poet after this single

In this context, it is noteworthy that the first two songs with Töne by Wessel set texts which Voigt presents with other Töne elsewhere in the collection: Genesis 3 is set to Hans Sachs's *Langer Ton*, and Acts 2 is elaborated in the Postil for Pentecost in the Monk of Salzburg's *Chorweise* (see Table 4). These settings are, fortunately, also included in the melody section and allow a direct comparison with Wessel's songs. The striking difference of these settings raises the possibility that Voigt took a liking to Wessel's melodies and decided to prepare new, alternative versions of the two texts which he had set at least ten years previously – according to his own dating, in 1543 and 1539 respectively. The notation of the Wessel songs appears to have been prepared in relative haste: no Ton is notated twice in the melody section, but Voigt's rubrics propose that his new Genesis and Pentecost settings are both in the *Verschlagener Ton* by Wessel.[45] A comparison between Wessel's two melodies, however, reveals that they do not represent the same Ton. Moreover, the first rubric follows Voigt's common habit of doubling a closing consonant "n" by adding an additional minim stroke ("vorschlagenn"), making it look like an "m". In the second rubric, he omitted the additional minim stroke and forgot the letter "a", which was later inserted in black ink. These two features support the notion that Voigt made a mistake here, and that one of the two Töne was not the "Verschlagener" Ton. The appearance of the notation gives the impression that Voigt wanted to add this song as quickly as possible, maybe in direct response to Wessel's presence in Magdeburg in 1553.

The claim that the omission of Wessel's songs from the index makes it plausible that this had been completed before 1553 is corroborated by further evidence. A comparison of the concordances of the notated section with the other settings shows that none of the notated melodies which repeat songs that are inscribed as text-only versions elsewhere in the manuscript are dated any later than 17 November 1550 (see Table 4). Together with the evidence of Wessel's songs, this observation suggests the following process for the composition of **V**: Voigt began with the Genesis settings in December 1543, completing it in January 1546. Shortly afterwards, between April 1546 and June 1547, he set out to complete his Postil of the Sundays, for which he had already written

example, even if the content itself needs to be judged on the basis of the special manner of the social circumstances prevalent at the time": F. Hülße, Meistersänger (cf. fn. 13), p. 70. The notion of "authenticity" used here relies on Philip Auslander's proposition that "authenticity is … established only with the shift of discursive norms and cultural determinants through citation"; see Eckhard Schumacher, "Performativität und Performance", *Performanz. Zwischen Sprachphilosophie und Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. Uwe Wirth (Frankfurt a. M., 2002), pp. 383–402: p. 401.

45 The only possible exception is the *Goldener Ton* by Hans Sachs, though Voigt distinguishes between an old (fol. 116v) and a new version (fol. 137v) of this Ton. Their different versification patterns support the notion that these are two distinct Töne.

Incipit	Folio	Author	Ton	Text-only	Date
Mose beschreibet uns ganz klar	94v	Hans Sachs	Bewährter Ton	28r	6 May 1544
Am achtzehnt' uns beschreibet klar	96v	Marner	Langer Ton	267r	7 April 1547
Sankt Lukas schreibet in Actis	97r	Monk of Salzburg	Chorweise	249v	7 June 1539
Mose am elften Genesis schreibt klar	97v	Hans von Gruningen	Kälberweise	25r	6 March 1544
Mose am zwölften schreibet klar	98v	Herman Ortel	Lai Ton	25v	6 March 1544
Es schreibt Mose	99v	Konrad Nachtigall	Lai Ton	23r	26 February 1544
Mose am siebenzehnten beschreibet klar	100v	Walther von der Vogelweide	Langer Ton	32r	9 July 1544
David am sechsundneunzigsten fein	101v	Wolfram	Langer Ton	405r	3 June 1550
Mose beschreibt am achtzehenten Genesis	103r	Romer	Gesangsweise	34r	1 August 1544
Mose schreibt klar	104r	Pfaltz	Rohrweise	36v	14 August 1544
Mose am sechsundzwanzigisten klare	105v	Hans Sachs	Klingender Ton	46r	17 September 1544
Lukas uns meld't	106r	Frauenlob	Radweise	215r	23 February 1535
Mose beschreibet	106v	Lenhart von Nunnenbeck	Abgeschiedener Ton	24r	1 March 1544
Mose beschreibet Genesi	108v	Hans Sachs	Gesangsweise	15r	17 December 1543
Das vierzehente Genesis	110r	Jurgk Scheidener	Riesig-Freud Weise	29r	20 May 1544
Mose am dreiundzwanzigisten klare	110v	–	Osterweise	42r	5 September 1544
Mose beschreibet am achten fein	111v	Meienschein	Langer Ton	21r	5 February 1544
Am zwanzigsten Matthäus uns schreibet ganz klar	114v	Frauenlob	Langer Ton	211r	21 September 1535
David am achtzigisten klar	117v	Fritz Zorn	Verborgener Ton	389r	21 April 1550
Mose beschreibt uns klare	120v	Hans Sachs	Langer Ton	15v	19 December 1543
Am zweiundzwanzig' klare	122v	Frauenlob	Unbekannter Ton	41r	1 September 1544
Am fünfundzwanzigisten feine	123r	Regenbogen	Langer Ton	45r	9 September 1544
Matthäus am fünfzehnten sein	123r	Frauenlob	Zarter Ton	222r	12 March 1541

Mose schreibt fein	124r	Frauenlob	Überzarter Ton	47v	12 October 1544
David am einund-vierzig' spricht	141r	Fritz Zorn	Verhohlener Ton	350v	7 March 1549
David am zweiund-dreissig' klar	141r	Hans Folz	Freier Ton	339v	27 December 1548
An dem dreiund-achtzig' David spricht	142r	Hans Vogel	Glasweise	391r	27 April 1550
Behütet dich vor ungefell [last line]	143r	[Herzog Ernst]	[Herzog-Ernst-Ton]	433r	17 November 1550

Table 4: Notated songs with matching text-only settings

individual songs and some mini-cycles before 1546.[46] In December 1546, he additionally began work on his Psalter, which occupied him until March 1551. No songs in **V** are dated between March 1551 and 27 November 1552, after which date Voigt seems to have taken up work on the Feast Day Postil in earnest (again, a number of individual settings had been composed earlier). This gap of one-and-a-half years would have given Voigt ample time to prepare the section of notated songs, completed in Autumn of 1552 – before Lorenz Wessel is documented in Magdeburg. Only four of the Töne used for the Feast Days are not found in the notated section: Liban von Gengen's *Radweise*, Vogelgesang's *Goldener Ton*, Frauenlob's *Grundweise*, and Nachtigall's *Starker Ton*. Of these, only the song based on Frauenlob's model is dated after 1552 (the potential completion of the notated section), suggesting that Voigt consciously used for the new songs in this section only such Töne which he had already included in his notated section.[47]

There are further instances which support the notion that Voigt's choice of Ton or author was not random, or guided exclusively by concerns of how easy it might have been to fit a text to a particular poetic model. As suggested in the case of Sachs and Vogel, the popularity of an author or a Ton might have played as much of a role as its technical features.[48] Similarly, common associations with

46 The Postil of Sundays ends with the rubric "Finis", which is underscored with a straight line (fol. 287v). Voigt does not use a straight underline for any of the other explicits (fols 12r, 86v, 457r), suggesting that it might constitute a crossing-out rather than an underline. If so, this crossing out would suggest that Voigt had not originally intended to include settings for the feast days. The additional heading for the feast days in the index supports this hypothesis (fol. 186v).

47 There are no dates for Gengen's and Vogelsang's Töne, though both are dated to before 1552 elsewhere in the collection. Nachtigall's Ton is dated to 1536, so would have predated the preparation of the notated section.

48 A further indicator of Hans Vogel's popularity is that his Töne account for seven of the moralistic, humorous songs in the notated section, four of which find no other use in **V**.

a poet may have impacted Voigt's decisions. For example, the Postil for Candlemas ("am Tage Purificationis Marie"; Luke 2:25–32) is set to a Ton by Frauenlob who was famed in particular for his praise of the Virgin Mary.[49] Consequently, the choice of his *Radweise* for a Marian feast seems particularly appropriate. Similarly, Frauenlob's *Grundweise* is used for the feast of the Visitation; and his *Zarter Ton* is adopted for the Gospel on the Second Sunday of Lent (Matthew 15:21–28), which tells of the Canaanite woman who comes to Jesus, seeking healing for her daughter. In all three cases, Frauenlob's Ton is associated with a female protagonist. Yet Frauenlob's models were not used exclusively for texts relating to women, nor were Marian texts set solely to Töne by this poet. The parable of the workers in the vineyard, for instance, uses Frauenlob's *Langer Ton* even though it does not speak of women (Matthew 22).

The feast of the Annunciation uses Vogelsang's *Goldener Ton* rather than a model by Frauenlob. Nevertheless, the use of this author for the Annunciation Gospel is meaningful in itself. In addition to the potential physical association between the (winged) angel Gabriel and "birdsong" (Vogelsang), there is another hermeneutic layer at play here. The common iconographical representation of the Holy Spirit was the dove, which often instils its message with golden rays.[50] Vogelsang's *Goldener Ton* thus recalls Mary's over-shadowing by the Holy Spirit and suggests that the recipient of the Gospel through this particular Ton is being similarly infused by the Holy Spirit. In a similarly associative way, Voigt chose to versify Martin Luther's *Predigt von den Engeln* (sermon about angels) with a Ton by the fifteenth-century Nuremberg master Konrad Nachtigall (nightingale). This choice would have resonated with anyone who knew Hans Sachs's poem *Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall* of 1523, which allegorised Luther as a nightingale proclaiming the dawn of a new day. Given the frequency of such hermeneutic connections, it is plausible to argue that Voigt made deliberate use of the possibilities for creating meanings that were afforded by his choice of Ton – without, however, being confined to such modes of meaning.

49 See fn. 39.

50 Voigt may have known depictions of the Annunciation similar to that by the so-called Meister des Hildesheimer Johannesaltars at the collegiate church of St. Johann vor dem Dammtor (Hildesheim, c. 1520) or the image now at Hevensen (Göttingen, c. 1494), given that the art scene of the Brandenburg area (including Magdeburg) was predominated by artists from Thuringia and Lower Saxony in this period; see Sven Lüken, *Die Verkündigung an Maria im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert. Historische und kunsthistorische Untersuchungen*. Rekonstruktion der Künste 2 (Göttingen, 2000), p. 110. Lüken's study includes images of these two Annunciation scenes, which show a dove descending on Mary through a ray of light that is sent by God and brings with it Christ, clinging to his Cross (see pp. 512–513).

In the dedicatory preface to **V**, Voigt outlines in detail his rationale for setting to music biblical texts and explains his decision to collect together these songs in writing. The preface in its entirety was translated into modern German by Hülße, but it has not yet been translated into English, which makes it necessary to provide extensive quotations from Voigt's text here.[51] Following the Fall of Man in Paradise, "God comforted and raised up the people with his word and promise so that they would be strengthened in their heart and conscience, and would obtain eternal life" ("also hat er auch den Menschen fort nach seinem Fall, damit er nicht gar vertrübe, durch sein Wort und Verheißung wieder getröstet und aufgerichtet, damit er in seinem Herzen und Gewissen gestärkt und zum ewigen Leben erhalten würde"). Given their weakness and sinfulness, however, mankind were prone to straying from God's ordained path; therefore, "so that they may live in glad servitude until their allotted time, God gave into the world through Jubal a noble, blessed gift – beautiful music" ("Damit … der Mensch … bis zu seiner bestimmten Zeit in fröhlicher Ergebung Leben mochte, hat Gott fort durch den Jubal die edle holdselige Gabe, die schöne Musica, auf die Welt gegeben"). As with the patriarchs, prophets, and kings, "so in the days of Emperor Otto I, 960 years after the birth of Christ, God gave birth to the much-to-be praised and blessed art of German Meistersang" ("Also hat auch Gott bei Kaiser Otto dem Ersten nach Christi Geburt neunhundertsechzig Jahr die hochlöbliche und holdselige Kunst des deutschen Meistergesangs an Tag geben").[52]

Voigt demonstrates his rootedness in this same tradition by providing a long list of singers who continued this art, including two groups which he rubricises as "the twelve old masters" and "the twelve masters of Nuremberg", culminating with "the widely renowned German poet Hans Sachs and his current singers at Nuremberg" ("den weitberühmten deutschen Poeten Hans Sachs samt seinen jetzigen Singern zu Nürnberg"). During the course of history, however, the poets had eventually been lured into the service of the devil and the "ungodly blasphemy of the papacy" ("abgöttische Lästerung des Papsttums"). Without naming Martin Luther explicitly, Voigt credits him with saving Meistersang, and his contemporary society in general, from this fallacy by drawing renewed attention to God's word: "but now, in these our noble, grace-filled days in which the Holy Gospel is proclaimed, righteous song-schools sing God's

51 F. Hülße, Meistersänger (cf. fn. 13), pp. 65–67. Tentzel's 1691 description of **V** includes a transcription of the preface (as well as the index of Töne and a transcription of Marner's *Langer Ton*): W.E. Tentzel, Monatliche Unterredungen (cf. fn. 13), pp. 931–935.

52 For a discussion of the presence of Otto I in origin narratives of Meistersang, see H. Brunner, Die alten Meister (cf. fn. 8), pp. 26–27.

praises through nothing but those things that are in accordance with the Holy Bible and the New Testament.[53] Thus – undoubtedly brought about by God's own will – it is intended that God's word should be brought to light also in this blessed art, so that the ungrateful world may have no reason to excuse itself. For this reason, I too turned to such art in my old age and, with the help of God, brought together this book in my spare time" ("Aber jetzt zu unser gnadenreichen edlen Zeit der Offenbarung des Heiligen Evangeli singt man auf den rechten Singschulen Gott zu Lob, Ehr, und Preis nichts anderes, denn das der Heiligen Biblischen Schrift Alt und Neu Testament gemäß ist. Und ist ohne Zweifel aus Gottes Rat sonderlichen also versehen, dass man Gottes Wort auch in solcher holdseligen Kunst an Tag bringen sollte, damit keine Entschuldigung von der undankbaren Welt vorzuwenden wäre. Aus solcher Ursache habe ich mich auch zu solcher Kunst in meinem Alter begeben und bei meiner abgestohlener Weil dieses Buch vermittels göttlicher Hilfe zusammenbracht").

The salvation and religious gratification obtained by setting scripture to music does not in itself justify collecting together these songs in a book, for Voigt could have prepared these songs purely for the purpose of performance at a song-school, without committing them to paper. Reading through to the end of Voigt's above sentence, however, explains Voigt's decision to put his settings into writing: "with the help of God, [I] brought together this book in my spare time with the sole purpose of passing on such a book to my sons" ("habe ich … vermittels göttlicher Hilfe dieses Buch zusammenbracht, keiner anderen Ursache, solch Buch meinen Söhnen zu erben"). Voigt was concerned not only with his own salvation, but that of his descendants. Yet, in order to be numbered among the singers who had furthered God's "blessed art", he needed to leave a testimony of his endeavours. God, however, had other plans: according to Voigt, his two sons died ten years before he wrote his dedication.

The dedicatory letter is dated by Voigt to the "Tuesday after Reminiscere Sunday" (the Second Sunday in Lent) of 1558. Assuming that Voigt was accurate, his sons would have died in 1548. Hülße noted that the black death was raging in Magdeburg in 1548 and that Voigt's sons had fallen victim to this plague.[54] On 21 July 1548, Voigt set Psalm 91, in which the Psalmist assures himself that God will deliver those who trust in him from all sickness.

53 For a discussion of the concept of song-schools, see ibid., pp. 15–22.

54 Hülße does not, however, provide any evidence for this claim. Presumably, he also took Voigt's own dating to be accurate: F. Hülße, Meistersänger (cf. fn. 13), p. 61. There was a bout of the pestilence in Magdeburg which began on 19 July 1548 and lasted until the end of the year and killed 2668 people, so Voigt's settings for "the time of the pestilence" were certainly timely,

The opening rubric distils the relevance of the Psalm for Voigt's present, calling for it "to be sung in the time of pestilence" ("Zur Zeit der Pestilenz zu singen"). On the same day, Voigt also set the preceding Psalm. Speaking of the fleetingness of human life, Psalm 90 calls for God's mercy despite mankind's sinfulness.[55] Strikingly, Voigt not only used the same Ton for his setting of these two texts (Hans Sachs's *Neuer Ton*), but he appended to each of them an exegetical stanza, drawing out from both the message of consolation and emphasising the salvific features of death: "such [death] is good for the Christian, as we are taught constantly by it to seek God's mercy" ("doch solches ist gut den Christen sein / dass wir dadurch auch werden stets gelehret / dass wir suchen Gottes Gnade auserkoren"); and "God will save the believer from the snares of the Devil's dissimulation and scheming" ("Gott den gläubigen Menschen wird / retten vom Strick des Teufels Trug und List").

The dating of these two Psalms to July 1548 stresses their special importance: Voigt prepared the bulk of his complete setting of the Psalter between 1546 and 1551. The earliest date is given for Psalm 2 (19 December 1546), and the latest of these dates is found with Psalm 147 (7 March 1551). Most of the intervening Psalms were written in order, but a number of Psalms are conspicuous because they fall outside of this chronology, among them Psalms 90 and 91 (see Table 5). On 7 July 1548, Voigt had reached Psalm 17 and he continued with Psalm 18 one month later. There must have been a reason for him to skip forward to Psalms 90 and 91 in July, and the death of his sons provides a likely explanation. It would be a worthwhile endeavour for future research to seek similar explanations for the other lapses in chronology, but for the present purposes it will suffice to note that, as with his choice of Ton-authors, Voigt was – at times – deliberate with the dating for his individual settings.

The Postil cycle shows a similar compositional process. Again, Voigt prepared these settings in order: it is possible to trace a chronological trajectory from 21 April 1546 to 27 June 1547, which overlaps with the period in which Voigt began to set the Psalter. The conceptual link between these two sections is apparent in the index to the Postil: Voigt indicates "how one should apply and sing the Psalms to the Gospels", listing for all but the Twenty-Sixth and Twenty-Seventh Sunday after Trinity which Psalms are to be matched with a given Postil. It seems, however, that the Psalms were collected elsewhere, because the

whether or not his own sons died in this year; see *Chronik der Stadt Magdeburg* (Magdeburg 1831–1832), p. 644 (Heft 8).

55 Hülße does not make any comment about Psalm 90, revealing his disinterest in the content of the individual settings.

Folio	Psalm	Date
317v	6	3 April 1548
318r	7	8 August 1546
319r	8	8 April 1548
335r	26	23 November 1548
456r	27	17 April 1558
336r	28	25 November 1548
338v	31	11 December 1548
339v	32	27 December 1548
341r	33	21 December 1548
342r	34	25 December 1548
343r	35	29 December 1548
344v	36	2 December 1540
345v	37	7 January 1549
358v	50	29 April 1549
359v	51	7 November 1547
360v	52	3 September 1540
361r	53	7 May 1549
362r	55	19 May 1549
363r	56	1 May 1547
364r	57	7 April 1547
364v	59	23 June 1549
365v	58	26 May 1549
366v	60	1 July 1549
384v	78	13 April 1550
387r	79	9 October 1541
388r	79	25 January 1547
389r	80	21 April 1550
394r	86	11 May 1550
395r	87	19 May 1550
396r	88	12 March 1542
397r	89	13 May 1550
399r	90	21 July 1548
400r	91	21 July 1548
401r	92	1 June 1550
402r	93	1 June 1550
402v	94	3 January 1549
404r	95	11 Sepember 1536
405r	96	3 June 1550
411v	103	15 July 1550
412v	104	25 September 1550
414r	105	24 October 1540
415r	106	7 September 1550
417r	107	13 September 1550
419r	108	27 September 1550
419v	109	7 November 1540
420v	110	30 September 1550
426r	117	25 October 1550
426v	118	7 May 1540
427v	119	11 November 1551
432v	120	16 November 1550
436v	126	27 November 1550
437r	127	15 December 1550
438r	128	5 December 1550
438v	129	7 December 1550
439r	130	9 December 1550
440r	131	11 December 1550
440v	132	13 December 1550
442r	133	29 December 1550
445v	138	15 January 1551
446v	139	[no date]
447v	142	7 July 1540
448v	143	27 January 1551
450v	144	27 February 1551
451v	145	1 March 1551
452v	146	6 February 1547
543v	147	7 March 1551
454v	148/ 149/ 150	30 November 1541

Table 5: Psalm sets with incoherent chronological order

index includes folio references only for the Gospel reflections, but not for the Psalms. The latest addition to the Feast Day Postil is the reflection on John 15:17–25 for the Apostles Simon and Jude, which Voigt prepared on 1 November 1556. By this time, the Psalter settings had already been composed; however, Voigt may not yet have compiled them into a book, which would explain why Voigt makes reference to the Psalms, but does not include folio numbers.[56] Nevertheless, Voigt labels the group of Psalms for the First Sunday of Advent "Psalms of Christ's Kingdom" ("Vom Königreich Christi") in both indices, and several of the Psalm-sets suggested for individual Sundays match the groupings in the index of Psalms, supporting the notion that the two volumes were to be used together, even if they had not been composed at the same time.[57]

Although Voigt produced the majority of Sunday readings in just over a year, there are many individual settings that he wrote before beginning to join the Gospel settings together to form a liturgical cycle. Among these is the earliest song in the entire collection: the setting for Candlemas in Frauenlob's *Radweise*, dated to 23 February 1535. Following a number of further, individual settings in 1535 and 1536, Voigt began his first "mini-cycle" in 1539 (see Table 6): Judica Sunday [the Fifth Sunday in Lent, Passion Sunday] (21 March), the First Sunday in Lent (24 March), Easter (17 April), the Sixth Sunday after Easter (7 May), Pentecost (7 June), the Sixth Sunday after Trinity (17 June), the First Sunday after Trinity (7 July), and the Fifth Sunday after Trinity (13 July). In 1539, Judica Sunday fell on 23 March, two days after Voigt had prepared his setting.[58] As the beginning of Passiontide, Judica Sunday would have been an apt moment to begin a cycle of Gospel settings. If so, Voigt might have decided subsequently to set the text for the First Sunday in Lent as the beginning of the penitential season proper. Alternately, one might wonder whether Voigt mistakenly noted March instead of February: the First Sunday in Lent in 1539 fell on 23 February, so 24 February would have, perhaps, been an even more likely day for Voigt to have reflected on this particular Gospel

56 With the exception of Psalm 27; see the discussion in the following section.

57 The settings for the four Sundays in Advent which open the Postil (fols 188r–191r) each include a reference to the Psalms which "belong" ("gehören") to them, further supporting the notion that Voigt had conceived these two sections of his collection to belong together. The stubs that are attached to the folios containing the settings of the first Postil (fol. 188r) and the first Psalm (fol. 314r) – as well as to the first notated song (fol. 91r, now lost) and the opening of Genesis (fol. 14r, also no longer extant) – would have also aided users in flicking back and forth between the sections.

58 The dates in the present discussion are based on: Hermann Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Hannover, ^{9}1948). Grotefend's work is also accessible online: http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/gaeste//Grotefend/kopf.htm

Year	Date in V	Purpose	Author	Ton	Folio	Actual date
1539	21 March	Judica (Lent 5)	Muskatblut	Muskatbluts Ton	226v	23 March
	24 March	Invocabit (Lent 1)	Liban von Gengen	Radweise/Jahrweise	218v	23 February
	17 April	Easter	Regenbogen	Langer Ton	233v	6 April
	7 May	Easter 6	Fritz Zorn	Verborgener Ton	248r	18 May
	7 June	Pentecost	Monk of Salzburg	Chorweise	249v	25 May
	17 June	Trinity 6	Marner	Langer Ton	259r	13 July
	7 July	Trinity 1	Romer	Gesangsweise	252v	8 June
	13 July	Trinity 5	–	Briefweise	257v	6 July
1541	30 January	Candlemas	Hans Sachs	Silberweise	216v	2 February
	21 February	Sexagesima	Hans Folz	Chorweise	213v	21 February
	7 March	Easter 1	Romer	Gesangsweise	240r	24 April
	13 March	Reminiscere	Frauenlob	Zarter Ton	222r	13 March
	4 April	Easter	Hans Sachs	Bewährter Ton	235v	17 April
	4 April	Easter Tuesday	Hans Sachs	Klingender Ton	239r	19 April
	7 July	Whitmonday	Fritz Zorn	Verhohlener Ton	250v	6 June
	3 August	Trinity 13	Regenbogen	Zugton	268v	11 September

Table 6: Voigt's first mini-cycles of 1539 and 1541

passage.[59] While none of the other settings dated to 1539 appear to coincide with the feasts which they cover, they were written within the proximity thereof: Easter was on 6 April and Pentecost on 25 May. It is noticeable that three of these songs were prepared on the same day, the seventh, in three consecutive months. Possibly, this particular day held some significance for Voigt.

In addition to his first mini-cycle of 1539, Voigt prepared a second in 1541 (see Table 6). This one included settings for Sexagesima, Candlemas, Reminiscere, Easter, Easter Tuesday, the Sunday after Easter, Whitmonday, and the Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity. This time, Voigt prepared the setting for Candlemas a few days *before* the feast – on 30 January – and wrote his settings for Sexagesima and Reminiscere on those very Sundays. He wrote his setting for Easter within Passiontide, and his versification of the Whitmonday Gospel one month late, but again on 7 July.[60] In 1539, Voigt had used a "concordance of the four Evan-

59 If we allow for mistakes in Voigt's dates, then we might also consider the possibility that he wrote the setting for the Sixth Sunday after Trinity on 17 July, not 17 June.

60 Dating his Easter setting to 7 April (not 7 March) and his Whitmonday song to 7 June (not 7 July) would make them fit into the liturgical calendar of 1541 more plausibly. However, one

gelists" ("aus den Konkordanzien der vier Evangelisten") for Easter Sunday; in 1541, he used the account from John 22; and in 1543, on the day before Letare Sunday, he prepared one final setting for Easter Sunday, this time based on Mark 16.

Voigt treats Christmas with similar breadth (see Table 7). He provides two undated settings for Christmas ("Am [heiligen] Christtage", Luke 2). The first is relatively short, taking up three stanzas in the Monk of Salzburg's *Chorweise*. The second is much more extensive, with a total of seven stanzas in Nachtigall's *Sanfter Ton*. Rather than providing a presentation of the Gospel text with short exegesis, as in the first setting, Voigt uses this song as the opportunity for a more thorough explanation of the Gospel text. The setting that follows is hailed as "the second sermon on the birth of Christ", emphasising the exegetical interest of the previous setting. The three additional Christmas songs which open with this "second sermon" focus their attention on the episode of the shepherds (Luke 2:8–14). Voigt retells the narrative of the shepherds' exhortation by the angels, before presenting in the second setting a detailed exegesis of the angels' song itself (Luke 2:14) – again making reference to birdsong for the message of the angels, Nachtigall's *Lai Ton*, as in the case of Annunciation Gospel. The final Christmas setting picks up the narrative thread and continues the story with the shepherd's veneration of the Christ-child and their return home (Luke 2:15–20). These three settings are the first in the Postil to be dated: written on 21, 23, and 25 April 1546, they are the first in Voigt's attempt to complete his Postil.[61] These dates are significant, for they fall in Holy Week of 1546 – Wednesday, Good Friday, and Easter Sunday – once more revealing Voigt's theological, hermeneutic attentiveness. His act of composition aptly connects the Incarnation with Christ's Passion and Resurrection.

The decision to include the dates of composition in his collection suggests that Voigt was keen to preserve this level of meaning for his users. Even if they could not remember that Easter had been on exactly these dates in 1546, a date in April might easily have triggered an association with the Easter feast. The fact that Voigt was still able to provide these dates – as much as two decades after a song's composition – makes it likely that he had originally kept the songs on individual song sheets ("Liederblätter") or smaller fascicles and that he had noted

should be cautious with assuming mistakes in Voigt's dates, as there may have been a reason for composing these songs "out-of-season", as can be shown in the case of some of the Psalms (see above).

61 It is certainly possible that Voigt wrote the preceding, undated Christmas settings (and those for the Sundays in Advent) during the same period, but in absence of datings, this consideration must remain speculation.

Folio	Rubric	Gospel	Author	Ton	Date	Feast
191r	Evangelium am heiligen Christ-tage	Luke 2:1–7	Monk of Salzburg	Chorweise	–	–
192r	Evangelium am Christtage	Luke 2:1–14	Nachtigall	Sanfter Ton	–	–
194r	Die 2. Predigt von der Geburt Christi	Luke 2:8–14	Lenhart Nunnenbeck	Abgeschiedener Ton	21 April 1546	Wednesday of Holy Week
194v	Von der Geburt Christi, der Engel Lob-gesang	Luke 2:14	Nachtigall	Lai Ton	23 April 1546	Good Friday
195v	Von der Geburt Christi, die Hirten Predigt	Luke 2:15–20	Konrad Nachtigall	Geschiedener Ton	25 April 1546	Easter

Table 7: Voigt's settings for Christmas Day

the date of composition because he deemed them important in the constitution of a song's meaning. Such a collection of *Liederblätter* fits well with Voigt's claim that he had intended to pass on his work to his sons. That the original compositional context of songs still held meaning for Voigt many years later can be gleaned from his notation of Psalm 90. Voigt begins the final, explanatory stanza: "in this Psalm, Moses [sic!] teaches us clearly". If one assumes that Voigt had written this setting as a response to his sons' death during the plague of 1548, mistaking Moses for David appears less of a *simple* oversight than a sign of Voigt's straying concentration and reminiscing.

The Ernestines, Magdeburg, and V's context

Not only Voigt's own, personal circumstances left their trace in **V**. Following the death of his sons, he needed to find a new purpose for his collection that was now in progress: "because God the Almighty took these, my adult sons into his eternal kingdom ten years ago – according to his Fatherly will – I am concerned that my efforts will pass away and be removed from my heirs". Consequently, Voigt made sure to choose for his collection new dedicatees who would guarantee its conservation. Hoping that they would "accept it mercifully, and store it in [their] Christian library so that one may obtain [erhohlen] for oneself its songs in the future", Voigt offered the book to the three sons of the former Ernestine Elector Johann Friedrich I of Saxony: Johann Friedrich II, Johann Wilhelm, and Johann Friedrich III. In addition to the tone of sub-

mission that is to be expected from dedication letters – addressing the dedicatees as "Your Princely Graces" and describing himself as "humble and obedient", for example – Voigt included a number of other features in his book to make it of interest to the Ernestine princes. The dedication is followed by a versified genealogy of the House of Saxony in three parts, set to Hans Sachs's *Klingender Ton*, *Gesangweise*, and *Langer Ton*, prepared by Voigt at the end of 1557. The genealogy culminates in a eulogy of Elector Johann Friedrich, who had suffered "fear, sadness, accusation, and sorrow" ("Angst, Trübsal, Anfechtung, und Not") in the name of his faith. Voigt re-imagines the Elector's exhortation to his three sons on his death bed, pleading that they "stay faithful to God's word and are not moved by any corrupt distortion of God's word" ("dass sie bei Gottes Wort beständig bleiben, zu keiner korrupten Verfälschung göttlichen Wortes ganz nichts bewegen lassen"). Voigt poignantly reminds them that "his praise-worthy sons earnestly promised the father to truly keep it [God's word]" ("haben sein löblich Söhne dem Vater angelobt hart, solches zu halten schöne").

The genealogy is therefore not only intended to offer to the Ernestine princes something of interest, but pressures them into accepting Voigt's gift graciously: after all, they had promised their father to defend the Gospel, and this volume presented to them a setting of the Bible in Meistersang – itself God's gift to mankind. Moreover, in his historical overview of Meistersang, Voigt reminded the princes that it had been one of their own ancestors, Otto I, who had been gifted the art of German song; and the final item among Voigt's opening materials, the "praise of song", stresses that music alone among the arts has eternal value: "song is eternally with God; know that every other art decays, music alone remains for ever" ("Der Gesang bei Gott ewig ist / all ander Kunst vergeht, das wisst, / allein Gesang der bleibt alfrist").

The formulation "allein Gesang der bleibt alfrist" resonates with the inscription "verbum domini manet in aeternum", which Voigt imposed at the top of the first folio, preceding his dedicatory letter. This device had been the motto of the Schmalkaldic League, led by Elector Johann Friedrich. It serves as another reminder to the princes of their duty to protect the word of God, and especially its musical guises. In addition to these more or less subtle attempts to curry the princes' favour, Voigt brings home his point with the date of his dedication. He signed the letter to the princes on "Tuesday after Reminscere 1558". The Second Sunday in Lent takes its name from the opening words of the introit, "Reminiscere miserationum tuarum", derived from Psalm 25. Voigt plays with his readers' knowledge of this intertext: Psalm 25 speaks of the Psalmist's trust in God's loving mercy and kindness, which offer him refuge. By including a

reference to "Reminiscere" – rather than providing a numerical date – Voigt exhorts the princes' own grace and mercy towards him, holding before them the example of God's mercy.

However, Voigt's choice to dedicate his volume to the Ernestine princes requires further explanation, as this branch of the House of Wettin had only recently fallen from power. In 1547, Elector Johann Friedrich had lost the Battle of Mühlberg to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. From his imprisonment by the Emperor, Johann Friedrich issued the capitulation to his Cousin Moritz of Saxony, resigning the title of Elector and much of his ducal territories to the Albertine branch of the Wettin family. Although Johann Friedrich was freed from prison in 1552 – as Voigt notes, "happy and healthy" ("fröhlich und gesund") – he died in 1554 and the Ernestines were subsequently unable to reclaim their former Electoral title which had passed to Moritz's younger brother Augustus in 1553.[62]

Voigt decided to dedicate his volume to the Ernestines even though the Albertines (who were also Protestants) held the Electorate and might have been more likely to protect his efforts for posterity. A number of interconnected reasons can be posited for his decision. If Voigt-the songbook author was indeed identical with the Valentinus Voydt found in the records of Wittenberg university, he would have been educated at the institution founded by Johann Friedrich's older brother Friedrich III, giving him a reason to develop an affinity for the ruling Ernestine family and their city. Even if Voigt-the songbook author was not identical to Valentinus Voydt, however, he maintained a strong connection with this city as his two sons studied there in 1542 and 1546, during Johann Friedrich's reign as Elector.[63]

Secondly, this connection with Wittenberg, whether direct or indirect, would have made Voigt familiar with the teachings of Martin Luther, who studied at Wittenberg from 1508 and held the university's chair in theology since 1512. Following Luther's death in 1546, the Protestant movement split into two main parties: those who stood with Luther's reforming companion Philipp Melanchthon and were willing to make some concessions to Lutheran doctrine; and those who sought to defend Luther's teachings against all opposition, the so-called Gnesio-Lutherans, who initially gathered around the theologian Matthias

62 For concise presentations of the Schmalkaldic War and its consequences, see Harm Klueting, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter 1525–1648* (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 125–133; and Volker Leppin, *Die Reformation* (Darmstadt, 2013), pp. 111–119.

63 The names of Voigt's sons Johannes and Jakob are found in the university's matriculation register, see P. Uhle, Der Dramatiker (cf. fn. 13), p. 163.

Flacius. This latter group had made their headquarters in Magdeburg, which they themselves apostrophised as "Herrgotts Kanzlei", the Lord's Chancery.[64]

Made probable through his connections to Wittenberg and his domicile in Magdeburg, Voigt's veneration of Luther and his Ernestine protectors is apparent in his songbook. Most obvious among the evidence is the setting of Luther's sermon for St Michael and All Angels, which is one of the first pieces that Voigt prepared, on 3 May 1536. While it is not impossible that Voigt heard this sermon in person, it seems more likely that he used its printed version as the model for his song. Magdeburg was a central hub for the reception of Luther's writings, so it is possible that Voigt might have obtained a copy of this print in his home town.[65] Luther's sermon was published in print in Wittenberg in 1531, and Voigt's rubric "Im Starken Nachtigal Von den Lieben Engelen auß der Predigk doctoris Marti" closely resembles the title of the sermon print: *Ein Predigt von den lieben Engeln / Durch Doct. Martin Luther / gepredigt an Sanct Michels tag / uber das Evangelion / Matthei am xviij*. Moreover, Voigt's "Lob des Gesangs" was arguably also inspired directly by Luther's own poem in praise of music.[66]

The collection opens with the motto of the Schmalkaldic League, which was headed by Johann Friedrich; and in his preface, Voigt describes his own times as "noble, grace-filled" because of the revelation ["Offenbarung"] of the Gospel – that is to say, because of Luther's translation and exegesis of the Bible. Voigt characterises his two settings of Psalm 79 as "against the enemies of the Christians, against the Turks and the Pope" ("Wider die Feinde der Christen, den Türken, und Papst").[67] The latter of these was written in January 1547, at the

64 For a detailed study of Magdeburg as "Herrgott's Kanzlei", see Thomas Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation: Magdeburgs "Herrgotts Kanzlei" (1548–1551/2)*. Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 123 (Tübingen, 2003).

65 "It goes without saying that Magdeburg was also a preferred market for Reformation thought that had been printed in Wittenberg; only the manifold economic and other communicative relationships with Wittenberg can explain that the Protestant message achieved an early and sustained impact in Magdeburg – which had developed a flourishing printing industry only in the course of the late 1520s –, the Empire's sole city of this size to have witnessed this impact", ibid., pp. 20–21.

66 See Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music. Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2007), p. 81.

67 Luther had headed his hymn "*Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort*" with an almost identical phrase (*Ein Kinderlied zu singen wider die zwei Erzfeinde Christi und seiner heiligen Kirche, den Papst, und Türken*) in Joseph Klug's 1544 Wittenberg print of the *Geistliche Lieder*; see Andreas Marti, "193 Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort", *Liederkunde zum Evangelischen Gesangbuch*, Heft 21, ed. Martin Evang and Ilsabe Seibt (Göttingen, 2015), pp. 3–8: p. 3. I am grateful to Christian Leitmeir for pointing me to this additional link between Voigt and Luther.

height of the Schmalkaldic War, few months before the battle of Mühlberg.[68] His setting of Psalm 74, which is similarly headed "against the Turks and the Pope" is dated to January 1550, when Elector Moritz besieged Magdeburg in order to enforce the so-called Augsburg Interim, which Emperor Charles V had forced into law in June 1548 and which the city was refusing to accept. The rubric for Psalm 94, "to be sung against the enemies of the Gospel" is dated to January 1549, outside of the orderly progression of the Psalm cycle (see Table 5). Given its even more open-ended attack against "anti-Evangelists", it fits squarely into the context of 1549. Psalm 80 demonstrates Voigt's Gnesio-Lutheran ideals even more explicitly: in his exegesis of this Psalm – rubricised "against the enemies and the factionary nature [Rottengeist] of the church" – he condemns the Adiaphorists for lending their vote to the "Godless Interim".[69]

Despite not having been composed consecutively throughout, Voigt's Psalm-cycle notates the individual settings in their proper, biblical order. The one exception to this rule is Psalm 27, which is placed at the very end.[70] A rubric follows Psalm 26, instructing users to "search for Psalm 27 at the end of this Psalter", demonstrating that Voigt was aware of his omission. Possibly, he even placed this Psalm at the very end deliberately, in order to give it special prominence.[71] Indeed, Psalm 27 is set off from the preceding Psalms: it begins at the top of fol. 456^{r} rather than at the bottom of fol. 455^{v} which would have offered sufficient space for the first verses of this Psalm. Moreover, Voigt notated the explicit – "Finis / Gott sei Lob, Ehr, und Preis" – only after Psalm 27, not after Psalm 150. The rubric for Psalm 27 ("to be sung against the enemies of the Gospel in this time") stresses the text's relevance for the present and thereby constitutes an appropriate conclusion to the volume, one that Voigt seems to have written even after his dedicatory letter, dated 17 April 1558.

Not least, the Psalm's opening words, "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear", pre-empts the words imprinted on the rear binding of the collection. The leather binding features within its central rhomboid ornament the date 1558 and the words: "PM [Paulum] / Si Deus pro / nobis / quis contra / nos / Roman VIII". St Paul's assertion that God will

68 Both settings of Psalm 79 fall outside of the expected chronology of Psalms (see Table 5).

69 Given the explicit mention of the Adiaphorists and the Psalm's dating (21 April 1550), it is likely that Voigt is referring here to the Leipzig Interim, rather than the earlier Ausgburg Interim.

70 The order of Psalms 58 and 59 is inverted, but this appears to have been an unintentional mistake given that Voigt noted in the margins that they should be re-ordered (fols 364, 365v).

71 Psalm 27 is not listed in the index, making it likely that Voigt completed the index before adding this final setting. However, this observation also raises the possibility that Voigt might initially have forgotten to set Psalm 27, rather than his misplacement being a deliberate decision.

protect his people from all enemies fits squarely with Magdeburg's (and the Ernestines') role as outsiders in the 1550s, but Voigt's recourse to St Paul's Letter to the Romans is significant in itself. This text played a central role in Luther's development of his doctrine of faith and, in his 1522 introduction to it, he argued that "the Epistle is the true core of the New Testament and the most righteous Gospel; it is worthy not only to be memorised word for word by a Christian, but to be used day by day as if it were the daily bread of souls".[72] The rear cover thus constitutes a final example that demonstrates the impact of Magdeburg's unsettled political and religious situation on **V**, as well as Voigt's indebtedness to Luther.

As these numerous examples demonstrate, Voigt was firmly rooted in the Gnesio-Lutheran milieu of Magdeburg which sought to defend Lutheran doctrines against the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, against the Pope, and against the followers of Melanchthon. It is this context which made the Ernestine family, the erstwhile protectors of Luther, an ideal dedicatee for his songbook.

While Voigt's personal connections with Wittenberg and his residence in Magdeburg suggest why he considered the Ernestine princes suitable dedicatees, these factors do not explain sufficiently why he thought that they might be interested in such a gift. Given his sons' (and possibly his own) studies at the University of Wittenberg, Voigt would have been aware of the Electoral library. With the capitulation of Wittenberg in 1547, this library was transferred to Weimar, and from here it was moved to Jena, where it was subsumed into the holdings of the University of Jena. The plans for this university had been developed by Johann Friedrich and put into reality by his sons; and the institution was granted full rights by the Emperor – now Ferdinand I – in February 1558.[73] In his dedication, Voigt expresses his wish that the princes would store his collection in their "Christian library", underlining his knowledge of the Electoral library. His hope that one "may obtain for oneself its songs in the future" indicates that Voigt may also have been aware of the library's growing number of users through its connection with the newly founded university in Jena. He may have even known that the Electoral library had had in its possession another large-scale, fourteenth-century songbook since at least 1543:

72 For a study of Luther's understanding of the Letter to the Romans (including the quotation from his introduction), see Walter Grundmann, *Der Römerbrief des Apostels Paulus und seine Auslegung durch Martin Luther* (Weimar, 1964), pp. 140–152.

73 For the early history of the University of Jena, see *Alma mater Jenensis. Geschichte der Universität Jena*, ed. Siegfried Schmidt, Ludwig Elm and Günter Steiger (Weimar, 1983), pp. 16–38.

the famous Jena Songbook (D-Ju, MS El. f. 101; **J**).[74] It is to Voigt's possible contact with **J** that the concluding section turns its attention, re-assessing whether – as Grimm and others claimed – Meistersang and fourteenth-century Sangspruch formed a continuous tradition.

Voigt and the Jena Songbook?

J is first listed in the catalogues of the Electoral library that document the years 1543–1546. Although it is not present in the previous catalogue of 1536–1540, Christoph Fasbender has proposed that the manuscript may have come to the attention of the library officials as early as 1536, though more likely between 1538 and 1541. He speculates how **J** may have come to the library and whether it may have been sequestered from one of the many monasteries that were being dissolved at the time.[75] **J** does not seem to have been present in Wittenberg in 1507 when Voigt may have been studying there, but it was in the Electoral library, at the very latest, when his second son studied there in 1546.[76] If the songbook had indeed come from a monastery that was being dissolved, Voigt might even have been involved in his role as a tax official.

In this context, it is important to take note of **V**'s original pastedowns that were carefully separated during the collection's restauration by Hans Heiland in 1958 – four hundred years after the completion of the collection.[77] These two folios contain the (incomplete) sequences for St Elisabeth of Hungary/Thuringia and St Catherine of Alexandria with square notation.[78] It seems likely that these

74 The most recent scholarship on this manuscript is gathered together in *Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift'. Codex – Geschichte – Umfeld*, ed. Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle (Berlin, 2010). For an earlier, comprehensive study of **J**, see in particular Erdmute Pickerodt-Uthleb, *Die Jenaer Liederhandschrift. Metrische und musikalische Untersuchungen*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 99 (Göppingen, 1975). **J** has now also been fully digitised: http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00008190.

75 Christoph Fasbender, "Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift' und ihr Umfeld im 16. Jahrhundert – Mit einem Rückblick auf das 15. Jahrhundert", Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift' (cf. fn. 74), pp. 163–179 .

76 Before Fasbender's newer research, ibid., Burghart Wachinger, "Der Anfang der Jenaer Liederhandschrift", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 110 (1981), pp. 299–306: p. 303, had suggested that the two codices of German song listed in the Wittenberg library catalogue of 1437 might have later been joined into a single volume, what is now **J**. Earlier, Carl Georg Brandis, "Zur Entstehung und Geschichte der Jenaer Liederhandschrift", *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 21 (1929), pp. 108–111: p. 111, had proposed that none of the songbooks in the 1437 catalogue were related to **J**, but that there must have been many more small-scale collections that needed to be bound together.

77 Details about the restauration are included in the online version of **V**, on p. 15.

78 The pastedowns are included as pp. 9/10 and 13/14 of the digital images of **V**.

folios also came from a monastic liturgical book that was no longer in use. According to *Analecta hymnica*, only three other manuscripts have the stanza "Concrepet organicis" in third position in the sequence for St Catherine.[79] Two of these sources do not contain the sequence for St Elisabeth, and one of these also has other variants that are not found in the pastedowns of **V**.[80] Thus, the remaining manuscript is a Cistercian Missal from Zwettl (A-Z, MS 229 [hereafter, **Z**]). In the sequence for St Elisabeth, **V** shares two of **Z**'s three variants and features one variant not found in **Z**, overall offering fairly concordant versions of both sequences. It would be worth comparing **Z**'s musical notation with that of the pastedowns in **V**, in order to confirm their similarity. **Z** is a Cistercian Missal dating from the fourteenth century, with additions from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[81] If the sequences in **V**'s pastedowns are indeed concordant with **Z**, they too may have been of Cistercian provenance. This hypothesis, in turn, would support a close link with **J**, for Franz Körndle has tentatively placed the songbook in a Cistercian milieu on the basis of its music notation.[82] If Voigt obtained his pastedowns from the holdings of a Cistercian house, he may have also come into contact with **J** in the same way. Of course, these connections are, for the time being, no more than speculation and require further research. Nevertheless, the inclusion of musical notation in **V**, which is very unusual for collections of Meistersang, may also have been inspired by the notation on these pastedowns – or by the notation in **J**.

The earliest tangible date that **J** is likely to have been present in Wittenberg is 1536. Wolfgang Schreiber supplied a new binding for the manuscript, and 1536 is the earliest date that he is documented in the service of the Wittenberg library.[83] Voigt's first two settings thus fall into the closer context of **J**'s rebinding: they date to February and September 1535, and both are based on Töne by Frauenlob, who has a prominent position within **J**. With 84 stanzas,

79 Clemens Blume, *Liturgische Prosen zweiter Epoche auf Feste der Heiligen*. Analecta Hmynica Medii Aevi 55 (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 229–231. The pastedowns have not yet been dated, but they appear to pre-date Voigt's collection significantly, justifying a search for concordances in *Analecta Hymnica*, which is limited to medieval sources.

80 Ibid., pp. 140–142.

81 The sequence for St Elisabeth is notated on fol. 123v; that for St Catherine is contained in the inserted paper section, on fol. 183v. Charlotte Ziegler ascribes both items to the same scribal hand ('g') which she tentatively dates to the second half of the fourteenth century. Charlotte Ziegler and Joachim Rössl, *Zisterzienserstift Zwettl. Katalog der Handschriften des Mittelalters*, vol. 3 (Vienna, 1997), pp. 69–73.

82 Franz Körndle, "Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift' und das Basler Fragment: Aspekte notenschriftlicher Traditionen", Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift' (cf. fn. 74), pp. 121–135.

83 C.G. Brandis, Zur Entstehung (cf. fn. 76), p. 108. For a critical reassessment of **J**'s presence in Wittenberg, see C. Fasbender, Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift' (cf. fn. 75).

Author	Ton	J	V (notated)	Comments
Frauenlob	Langer Ton	[lacuna–] 103r–106v	114v	notation in **J** missing, on lacuna
	Flugton	106v	–	
	Grüner Ton	108r	115r	
	Zarter Ton	110v	123v	
	Lai Ton	–	093v	
	Blühender Ton	–	094v	
	Radweise	–	106v	
	Unbekannter Ton	–	122r	
	Überzarter Ton	–	124v	
	Würgendrüssel	–	136v	
	Goldener Ton	–	140r	
	Grundweise	–	–	text-only in **V**

Table 8: Frauenlob's Töne in **J** and **V**

Frauenlob's songs constitute the fourth largest oeuvre in this manuscript.[84] It is surrounded by lacunae on either side, so may well have been even more substantial when Voigt came into contact with the songbook. The stanza that opens the Frauenlob corpus in its present state uses the *Langer Ton* – one of the two Töne that Voigt used for his settings of 1535 – but lacks its musical notation. Two of the other Frauenlob Töne in **J** are also found in **V**: the *Grüner Ton* and the *Zarter Ton*. The *Flugton*, however, is missing from Voigt's collection, and his nine remaining Frauenlob songs have no concordance with the extant collection in **J** (see Table 8). A comparison of the two concordant Töne with melodies shows that these bear little resemblance. On the surface, this evidence appears to contradict the assumption that Voigt had access to **J**, but considered more carefully, it demonstrates only that he did not copy his Töne directly from this songbook.[85] It is no hindrance to the notion that Voigt might have been inspired by his contact with **J** to prepare his own, notated collection of songs, and that the prominent position of Frauenlob within this old source might have encouraged him to begin his own collection with this poet.

Whether or not Voigt had access to **J**, and whether or not he used it as a model for **V**, it is fruitful to juxtapose the two collections in order to assess their

84 Only Der Meisner (127), Meister Rumelant (102), and Wolfram (91) have more stanzas to their name in **J**. Der Meisner (20), Meister Rumelant (10), Bruder Werner (6), and Meister Alexander (6) have more Töne attributed to them than Frauenlob (4). If all of the songs in **J**'s "Wizlav"-corpus are by the same author, then this author also has more Töne to his name (18). However, it should be remembered that the Frauenlob corpus in **J** is incomplete.

85 Instead, Voigt may have used several sources, including **J** as well as other songbooks, possibly from Nuremberg; cf. fn. 22.

differing aesthetic concepts. In his comparative discussion of sixteenth-century sermons and Meistersongs, Volker Mertens determined three aspects which characterise the performativity or, put more crudely, the purpose of such songs to varying degrees: their "communicative", "ritual-cultural", and "ostentatively assimilating" functions ("kommunikativ", "rituell-kulturell", "demonstrativ-aneignend").[86] In Meistersang, Mertens suggests, the communicative aspect is the least important; conversely, "the composition of a Meistersong requires … a continual and intensive engagement with the words and their meanings. … In this respect, songs provide 'revelation and wise counsel' – first and foremost, for the singers themselves".[87]

All three functions can be detected in **V**. Voigt's exegetical treatment of the Bible texts, his summation of their contents in the rubrics, his application of pre-existent Töne, and his overt demonstration of these versification patterns in the manuscript show him to be digesting and absorbing their content. At the same time, Voigt is adamant that these messages reach his future audiences. Contradicting Mertens's assertion that Meistersang is intended primarily for their author's own salvation, not that of their recipients, Voigt repeatedly emphasises this communal aspect by including the audience in his songs and addressing them from a didactic vantage point: thus, many of his songs begin with a variation of the formula "X teaches us clearly …".

In the case of a fifteenth-century Jewish prayer book that was possibly compiled in Worms (GB-Ob, MS Opp. 776; the *Oppenheimer Siddur*), Suzanne Wijsman observed a similar fusion between "the perspectives of producer and audience".[88] **V** certainly has a strong interest in appropriating the Biblical texts to Voigt's own situation, but the collection does so by drawing the audience into Voigt's own concerns and without detracting from the songs' communicative messages. Mertens's claim that in Meistersang "the element of proclamation is less pronounced than in sermons" seems not to apply to Voigt's collection.[89] Even though Voigt's audience is, admittedly, rather small and select

86 Volker Mertens, "Meistergesang und Predigt. Formen der Performanz als Legitimationsstrategien im späten Mittelalter", *Sangspruchtradition. Aufführung – Geltungsstrategien – Spannungsfelder*, ed. Margreth Egidi, Volker Mertens and Nine Miedema. Kultur, Wissenschaft, Literatur: Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung 5 (Frankfurt am Main, 2004), pp. 125–142: pp. 136–137.

87 Ibid., p. 136.

88 Suzanne Wijsman, "Silent Sounds. Musical Iconography in a Fifteenth-Century Jewish Prayer Book", *Resounding Images. Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly. Studies in the Visual Culture of the Middle Ages 9 (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 313–333: p. 313.

89 V. Mertens, Meistergesang (cf. fn. 86), p. 136.

given the manuscript format of **V**, he may have had in mind a broader audience when thinking of the collection's future use in the Electoral library.

J, in contrast, shows a less appropriating approach to its material. The manuscript's stanzas are ordered by the authors of their Töne. Doing so allows the compilers to document compositional relationships between individual songs: among the stanzas for Frauenlob's *Langer Ton*, the scribe included a rubric to indicate that the following stanzas were not by Frauenlob but by Rumslant (fol. 104^{v}), enacting an imaginary debate between the two authors.[90] Yet the ordering by Ton-author also limits the creation of new meanings by linking together previously unrelated materials. Instead, the compilers seem more concerned to compile all information available and to present it in orderly manner. The volume seeks to be up-to-date by adding the latest stanzas by Frauenlob in the lower margins. Similarly, the collection's partly geographic, partly hierarchical ordering suggests an awareness of and interest in the songs' history.[91] This performative category of the "historical" nuances, expands, and breaks down Mertens's notion of communicative function, which "aims at mediation, information, and instruction. … It assumes an asymmetry of information or education between speaker/singer [and one might add, compiler] and listener".[92] **J** may also be understood from a "ritual-cultural" perspective, especially if one imagines it as a book *for* performance.[93] Thus, the gathering together of a historical corpus might have been intended to establish a collective heritage in the same way that the "first readers" of the troubadours can be seen to have been motivated by an antiquarian interest.[94] Similarly, the reconstruction of feuds, imagined or real, between individual singers by ordering the stanzas according to their Töne may have "aimed at the constitution of an experience of community and of a communal spirit, using well-known contents and forms. … The condition is a commonly shared level of education and experience".[95]

90 Burghart Wachinger has discussed poetic duelling in Sangspruch comprehensively. For Wachinger's comments on the Frauenlob stanzas in **J**, see his *Sängerkrieg. Untersuchungen zur Spruchdichtung des 13. Jahrhunderts*. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 42 (Munich, 1973), pp. 188–232.

91 B. Wachinger, Der Anfang (cf. fn. 76), p. 302.

92 V. Mertens, Meistergesang (cf. fn. 86), p. 139.

93 For a discussion of **J**'s potential use in performance, see Christoph März and Lorenz Welker "Überlegungen zur Funktion und zu den musikalischen Formungen der 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift'", *Sangspruchdichtung: Gattungskonstitution und Gattungsinterferenzen im europäischen Kontext*, ed. Dorothea Klein, Trude Ehlert and Elisabeth Schmid (Tübingen, 2007), pp. 129–152.

94 John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères. The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 7–48.

95 V. Mertens, Meistergesang (cf. fn. 86), pp. 139–140.

J's striking size of 56 cm x 41 cm and its inclusion of square notation might equally support the notion of its authoritative status. The manuscript's mise-en-page is reminiscent of large-scale liturgical manuscripts, making it plausible that **J** was intended to function as a vessel for collective identity and tradition.[96] In this way, the collection can be seen to function in a public frame, as opposed to the more narrowly defined, private frame of **V**.[97] As is common for other late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century collections of vernacular song, **J** does not foreground the act of compiling and potential repurposing of its repertoire, for example by including explanatory or instructive rubrics, or a dedication. There is also no clear sense of the audience for this collection; it remains unspecific and anonymous – at least to an external observer. **V**, in contrast, has a parti-cularly strong sense of individual, personalised meanings and intentions: Voigt's guiding, authorial presence can be felt throughout the volume and his col-lection is explicitly directed towards an audience, bearing a specific purpose.

It would be platitudinous to caution against the application of such broad, anachronistic categorisations to historical sources. Yet **J** poses a particular problem in assessing its intent, authorship, and audience. We lack the manuscript's opening which may well have contained an explicit statement of purpose; the current manuscript might have been formed by collating together several smaller tomes, or have itself included additional volumes. In short, our knowledge of **J**'s context – of its performativity – is too limited to sustain secured judgement.[98] As Mertens himself notes, "a precise knowledge of the relevant performance contexts – that is, a socio-cultural ['kulturwissenschaftlich'] perspective – is necessary in every case" in order to determine the various performative functions and their interdependence.[99] The various factors discussed

96 Lorenz Welker, "Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift' im Kontext großformatiger liturgischer Bücher des 14. Jahrhunderts aus dem deutschen Sprachraum", Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift' (cf. fn. 74), pp. 137–147.

97 Voigt addressed a more public audience with his printed dramas (see fn. 20) and printed collection of songs, the *Geistliche Ringeltentze. Aus der heiligen Schrifft, Vor die Jugent* (Magdeburg: Hans Walther, 1550); see Fritz Hülße, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Magdeburg", *Geschichts-Blätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg. Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde des Herzogtums und Erzstifts Magdeburg* 17 (1882), pp. 211–242: pp. 240–241; and Philipp Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 434–435.

98 The notion of performativity provides an interesting critical lens for a study of **V** as it "might permit more nuanced understandings of the relations between what have been blandly, confidently distinguished as 'text' and 'context'". Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Introduction: Performativity and Performance", *Performativity and Performance*, ed. by idem (New York, 1995), pp. 1–18: p. 15.

99 V. Mertens, Meistergesang (cf. fn. 86), p. 141.

here are nevertheless indicative, albeit not certain proof, of the differing aesthetic conceptions of these two songbooks. Mertens's categories are useful in uncovering these differences, but they are not to be seen as a comprehensive, closed system of evaluating such sources, as the difficulty of subsuming into them **J**'s "historicising" aspects makes clear. Indeed, the selection bias in choosing (just) these two specific manuscripts in order to assess the relationship between Sangspruch and Meistersang traditions as a whole is blatantly apparent, and consequently the present discussion does not intend to claim that either Grimm or his critics were correct in their assumptions.

Its methodological caveats notwithstanding, the present contribution underlines the fruitfulness of socio-historic enquiries, as outlined by Hahn, and has illustrated that these considerations need to include detailed studies of individual sources and their compositional processes.[100] As historians of medieval and early modern song, we should not take for granted *that* somebody collected songs at a given moment in history and then attempt to establish broad lines of tradition from one collection to the next. Instead, it is vital to consider *why* these songs were composed and collected in the first place. Such pleas may seem redundant and belated in the wake of the so-called performative turn and postmodern scholarly concerns, but musicologists have been slow to apply these questions to sources of early (German) vernacular song.

These traditions can reveal much about the use of music in these periods – about its role in "everyday life". Providing an edition of **V**, for example, would lay the foundation for a critical study which might seek out traces of further songbooks from Magdeburg and Wittenberg, or a search for archival sources that document Voigt's work as a tax official. **J**'s meanings and functions likewise remain relatively unexplored, even though the edited volume by Jens Haustein and Franz Körndle goes some way in considering the manuscript through its language, context, music-palaeographical and codicological features.[101] We would do well to heed Voigt's call and "obtain for [ourselves]" songs from these books and contemplate their meanings, rather ignoring their aesthetic ideals in favour of their value as mere historical data – and it is hoped that the present essay will encourage further research into Voigt and his Magdeburg songbook along these lines.

100 See fn. 6.

101 Die 'Jenaer Liederhandschrift' (cf. fn. 74). Vincent Rzepka, *Sangspruch als "cultural performance". Zur kulturellen Performativität der Sangspruchdichtung an Beispielen Walthers von der Vogelweide* (Berlin, 2011), p. 12, for example, has also observed this interest in the "performativity" of Sangspruch.