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David J. Burn

Maximilian I's Musical Endowments*

Maximilian I's activities as a patron of the arts are legendary, and that is exactly what he wanted them to be. He deliberately shrouded them in promotional packaging that, if not entirely realistic, is nonetheless so attractive that it continues to shape and influence discussions of his patronage up to the present time.¹ Nonetheless, when one seeks to move beyond image-making surface-claims, then pinning down the precise details of this patronage and the reasons for it can be surprisingly difficult. As far as music is concerned, we know that Maximilian supported various chapels, as any monarch in his time did, but further details of the activities of these institutions must often be surmised from hypothesis.² We also know that he employed Heinrich Isaac as court composer. This was presumably, most importantly, to compose liturgical music: in particular, a series of chant-based mass ordinaries and a good deal of the mass propers now known collectively under the title of *Choralis Constantinus* (I will return to this latter category of compositions at the end of this essay).³ But Maximilian's direct role

* I initially conceived the present essay for the conference *Kaiser Maximilian I. und die Hofkultur seiner Zeit*, convened by the Oswald von Wolkenstein Society in Brixen in 2007. However, an international move and the beginning of my first permanent academic position prevented me from either completing the paper or presenting it there. I was therefore very grateful to Nicole Schwindt for her invitation to participate in troja's Maximilian quincentenary colloquium, which gave me the impetus to return to this topic and finally carry out research that I had long thought would be interesting.

1 On Maximilian's propagandistic use of visual imagery, see Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian. The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton, 2008).

2 The most extensive account of Maximilian's musical patronage is still Louise Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music* (Oxford, 1973). Grantley McDonald's forthcoming study of Maximilian's chapel promises to offer a major new contribution to the topic. In expectation of the latter, a part of the research that it will contain can be read at Grantley McDonald, "The court chapel of Maximilian I," *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich*, <https://musical-life.net/esays/court-chapel-maximilian-i> (30/12/2021).

3 Isaac's chant-based mass ordinaries systematically explore liturgical types and vocal scorings. See Martin Staehelin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*. Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft 28 (Bern, 1977). On Isaac's mass propers and their recipients, see David J. Burn, "The Mass-Propers Cycles of Henricus Isaac: Genesis, Transmission, and Authenticity" (D. Phil.

in this output is nowhere explicitly stated. Rather, it is primarily surmised from inference: Isaac composed the music, and we assume that he must have done that to fulfil someone's wishes or commission. Even accepting this, a great deal still remains undetermined and open to speculation, including the extent to which Maximilian specified exactly what Isaac was to do, and the extent to which the composer was free to shape the task in any way he thought best. We know that Maximilian employed other musicians as well from whom compositions survive – Ludwig Senfl and Adam Rener spring immediately to mind. In their cases too, it seems safe to assume that at least some of their surviving pieces were written for Maximilian. But again, any personal involvement of the emperor's can usually only be guessed at. Even music manuscripts that can be unquestionably associated with Maximilian personally, or with his court, are surprisingly scarce, which again makes it difficult to gain precise insight into the music that circulated at court and what this might tell us about its ruler's tastes.⁴

It is in this context that I offer the present essay, concerning musical endowments that can be associated with Maximilian. These endowments allow at least some of Maximilian's musical wishes to be explicitly seen. Or, to put it differently, they allow us to see him putting his musical money where his mouth is. In turn, the patterns that can be drawn from these endowments may then make it possible to add some extra context to the aspects of his musical patronage that remain less clear. What follows attempts to lay some groundwork for both of these issues.

Endowments and the Habsburgs

It is useful to begin with some definitions. First and most important is the term "endowment". I am using this term to refer to financially valuable gifts to the church, whether of money or of other assets, which were then earmarked to cover the costs attached to fulfilling a specific purpose or function. Such purposes and functions could include producing or buying books and art-works, founding

thesis, University of Oxford, 2002), online at <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:cc90b91f-1666-4a9b-8cdd-47627ac670b5> (30/12/2021); and, for an alternative viewpoint, David Rothenberg, "Isaac's Unfinished Imperial Cycle: A New Hypothesis," *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. David J. Burn and Stefan Gasch (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 125–40.

4 As observed at the beginning of Birgit Lodes, "Musikalische Huldigungsgeschenke für Maximilian I.," *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich*, <https://musical-life.net/essays/musikalische-huldigungsgeschenke-fur-maximilian-i> (30/12/2021); in a recent, as-yet unpublished paper, delivered at the 2019 International Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference in Basel, Lodes proposed that the manuscript Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Musica Folio I 47 was assembled out of fascicles from Maximilian's court.

chapels and altars, and, most importantly in late medieval cultural life, founding endowed votive services.⁵ This latter category is also most important for us, as it is in the context of such services that endowments and music can be linked.⁶

Endowed votive services are an increasingly prominent aspect of late medieval life, and vary greatly in character and specificity according to the means, needs, and wishes of the founder(s). At their simplest, they can be very modest, no more than a one-off, with a single priest speaking the words of the service. The other extreme, however, could be both frequent and exceptionally elaborate, as we will see in the examples discussed below. Such votive services are not primarily about music. Their primary function is memorial and salvific.⁷ The prayers that they contained benefitted both the living, who performed them, and the departed, whose time in purgatory was thought to be reducible as a result. But nonetheless, music was often involved in order to enhance the efficacy of the memorial or salvific functions. As such, endowed services offer a particularly useful locus for investigating musical production in conjunction with the tastes and wishes of the endower. As we will see, in the case of Maximilian, the surviving documents do not always specify all of the details that we might like to know. But, despite that, when read as a counterpart and complement to other surviving materials, they do offer some otherwise unavailable insights.

Maximilian was not the first of the Habsburgs to endow votive services, and nor would we expect him to have been. On the contrary, important patterns were already established by his ancestors, not only in terms of making endowments as such, but also to some extent with respect to the form and character that they took, and to the means by which they were supported. To give just one example that illustrates this point: In 1442, Maximilian's father, Emperor Frederick III,

5 I draw this definition from Reinhard Strohm, "Die Brügger Messenstiftung Marias von Burgund und ihre Bedeutung für die Habsburger," *Kaiser Maximilian I. (1459–1519) und die Hofkultur seiner Zeit*. Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft 17, ed. Sieglinde Hartmann and Freimut Löser (Wiesbaden, 2009), pp. 247–60: p. 250.

6 On the importance of votive masses to music, see Andrew Kirkman, "Personal Endowments: The Economic Engine of the 'Cyclic' Mass?," *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* 7 (2008), pp. 71–81. Reinhard Strohm discusses a number of important examples in his *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford, 1985; ²1990).

7 The literature on medieval and early modern endowments in general is large. Nonetheless, in the present context, the extensive work of Michael Borgolte and Benjamin Scheller deserves particular mention. See, in addition, R. Strohm, *Brügger Messenstiftung* (cf. fn. 5), esp. p. 251. I am also grateful to Grantley McDonald for sharing a pre-publication version of his article "Liturgical Foundations from the Court of Maximilian I and the Hope for Salvation," *Lutheran Music Culture: Ideals and Practices*, ed. Mattias Lundberg, Maria Schildt and Jonas Lundblad, Berlin 2021, pp. 69–80, which also deals with this topic.

founded an observance – probably a procession – in honour of the Holy Sacrament at the parish church of St. Nicholas in Hall-in-Tirol, an important commercial and mining town about 10 km north of Innsbruck, and the location of an extremely lucrative salt-works.⁸ He ordered that £ 8 per year were to be taken from the city's salt-works to maintain the observance. Two specific, and appropriate, texts were singled out to be sung as part of the endowment: the verse *Homo quidam fecit*, from a Corpus Christi responsory, or, alternatively, the Corpus Christi hymn *Pange lingua*. Furthermore, the makeup of the singing ensemble is specified: four choirboys, along with adults. Whether the ensemble was expected to sing in monophony or in polyphony is not mentioned. Probably at this stage they sang in plainchant. As will be seen below in the endowments connected with Maximilian, however, an ensemble with the makeup specified in the Hall-in-Tirol documents was able to sing polyphony, and, by the end of the fifteenth century, the church of St. Nicholas can be proven to have supported it.

One aspect of endowments that it is important to bear in mind is the length of time that they remained in observance. While in some cases, the length and frequency was predetermined, others were supposed to remain observed in perpetuity. Although religious and other disruptions have meant that endowments of the latter kind have not always withstood the passage of time as intended, many nonetheless had relatively considerable life-spans. For example, according to Walter Senn, Frederick III's 1442 endowment at Hall-in-Tirol did not disappear until the end of the seventeenth century.⁹ In this sense, for a ruler such as Maximilian, the endowments of his ancestors were not simply historical curiosities, but rather, living practices that extended the wishes and memories of his forebears beyond their deaths into the visible surroundings of those that followed them. As such, they were an obvious source of interest when it came to Maximilian's shaping of his own memorialisation.

8 Eduard von Lichnowsky, *Geschichte des Hauses Habsburg*, vol. 7: *Kaiser Friedrich III. und sein Sohn Maximilian 1457–1477* (Vienna, 1843), p. ccil, doc. no. 320b; cited also in Walter Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben einer süddeutschen Kleinstadt. Musik, Schule und Theater der Stadt Hall in Tirol in der Zeit vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck, 1938), p. 42, with a faulty reference to Lichnowsky. Frederick founded similar observances in Graz and Meran. For a broader context, see Reinhard Strohm, "Music and urban culture in Austria: comparing profiles," *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, ed. Fiona Kisby (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 14–27, with mention of Frederick's Corpus Christi procession endowments at p. 17.

9 W. Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben*, *ibid.*, p. 42. The Reformation was a major caesura as far as many endowments were concerned, though it by no means brought all of them to an end. As far as the present topic is concerned, the Reformation obviously had no impact on Maximilian, who died as it was beginning.

Turning to Maximilian, as far as I know, there is no general overview of the foundations that he endowed.¹⁰ Nor have I been able to compile one. For what follows, I will restrict myself to two votive mass foundations that are known in existing literature: the endowment for the memorial of Mary of Burgundy in Bruges in 1482; and the endowment in the so-called Waldauf chapel in Hall-in-Tirol. Although both of these have been previously discussed from various angles, I think nonetheless that a number of points have remained unobserved up to now, in particular when the two endowments are compared to each other and placed against other aspects of Maximilian's patronage of sacred music.

Mary of Burgundy, 1482¹¹

As is well known, Maximilian's first wife, Mary of Burgundy, died in 1482 at the tragically early age of twenty-five as a result of a hunting accident, leaving her young husband devastated. On her deathbed she gave detailed instructions for her burial in Bruges, at the church of Our Lady, a church that she had patronised during her brief reign as duchess of Burgundy (1477–82). Her wishes included founding an anniversary and two daily votive masses at the church, in her own memory.¹² One of the daily masses was to include polyphony ("cum nota et cantu").¹³ By the time of Mary's death, endowed memorial masses, including ones that specified polyphony, were not unusual in the Bruges church of Our Lady (or in other major churches in Bruges), whether founded by the ruling family or other members of the nobility and bourgeoisie.¹⁴ What is notable, however, is the combination of polyphony with daily frequency. This marked out Mary's wishes as unusual and particularly lavish in character, befitting her high-ranking status.

Mary herself, of course, was not able to personally oversee the implementation of her endowment. It remained to the executors of her estate to make the necessary preparations for the foundation according to her wishes. And that they

10 E. v. Lichnowsky, *Geschichte* (cf. fn. 8), though old, remains useful in the extensive documentation that it provides, but it stops in 1493, the year of Frederick III's death. Hermann Wiesflecker's monumental *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, 5 vols. (Munich, 1971–86) devotes no specific attention to them.

11 The following section is heavily indebted to R. Strohm, *Brügger Messenstiftung* (cf. fn. 5).

12 The relevant primary documents are cited in E. v. Lichnowsky, *Geschichte* (cf. fn. 8), vol. 8: *Kaiser Friedrich III. und sein Sohn Maximilian, 1477–1493*, pp. dccxxxii–dccxxxvii, and with extracts in R. Strohm, *Brügger Messenstiftung* (cf. fn. 5), p. 249. Along with Mary's will, two further documents (from 1483 and 1495) not only legally ratify the endowment, but also confirm that polyphony was intended; see *ibid.*, p. 254 and 256.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 250.

14 Some examples are given in *ibid.*, p. 252; see also R. Strohm, *Music* (cf. fn. 6).

accordingly did, formalising the memorial masses legally in a document dated 28 October 1483, around a year-and-a-half after Mary's death.¹⁵ The document is made up in the name of Mary's son Philip the Fair, as her rightful heir to the Burgundian Netherlands. However, he can have had little to do with it in reality, given that he was only five years old at the time. Rather, the details were determined by Philip's father, Maximilian, who served as regent during Philip's minority. The endowment provision was confirmed in 1495, when Philip had come of age and could confirm that he supported the arrangements that his father had made.

The 1483 foundation document describes the financial aspects of the endowment in considerable detail. As Strohm has analysed these extensively, they do not need to be repeated here. What is important to note in the present context is that the total sum of money involved was truly astronomical: £ 813 *parisis* per year.¹⁶ Mary's endowment consisted of three elements: an anniversary, on 27 March; a daily mass in honour of the Virgin Mary, as Mary's patron saint; and a daily Requiem mass. The last of these items, the Requiem mass, was spoken, rather than sung (the tradition of the polyphonic Requiem was just beginning at the time of Mary's death, but remained exceptional). This service accounted for about 13 % of the annual endowment expenditure.

The anniversary and the daily Marian mass involved polyphony. The anniversary (which included an alms-distribution) cost about the same as the entire year's daily Requiems, that is, another around 13 % of the annual expenditure. The remaining 74 % of the endowment's huge price-tag paid for the daily polyphonic Marian mass. The musical character of this mass varied according to the day on which it was celebrated. It always included polyphony. But on Sundays and feast days, the organ was added as well.¹⁷ The financial outlay covered both material necessities (candles, wine, clothing), as well as stipends to the necessary personnel (celebrants, choirboys, choirmaster, and organist). Interestingly, the specified ensemble, of three canons and four choirboys, is exactly the same as Frederick III had instituted in Hall-in-Tirol in the 1440s.

Although the staggering expense of this endowment as a whole, and of its daily polyphonic masses in particular, was doubtless a reflection of both Mary of Burgundy's status and the esteem in which Maximilian held her, the investment

15 The foundation document, now kept at the State Archive in Bruges (call-number ch. 1330), is reproduced and transcribed in R. Strohm, *Brügger Messenstiftung* (cf. fn. 5), p. 254–55.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 257, with breakdown of how this money was to be spent. By way of comparison, R. Strohm, *Music* (cf. fn. 6), p. viii, notes that £ 18 5 s per year would have provided an individual with an acceptable living standard; the succentor and organist at Bruges's church of St. James received annual salaries of £ 18 and £ 24 respectively in 1462 (*ibid.*, p. 57).

17 R. Strohm, *Brügger Messenstiftung* (cf. fn. 5), p. 258.

was not entirely disinterested or selfless on the part of Mary's surviving family: The endowment was meant not only for the soul of the departed Mary, but also for her ancestors and descendants. In that sense, Maximilian, and especially Philip, were providing for their own salvation as well. One final component of the foundation should not be overlooked: The anniversary mass involved the distribution of alms. This demonstration of Habsburg generosity to their subjects simultaneously fulfilled both a spiritual, charitable function as well as a public-political one that helped to legitimise the Habsburgs as good and honorable rulers equal to their Burgundian predecessors. Although it was Mary who had determined the foundation's details (essentially following traditional lines), Maximilian's and Philip's willingness to realise her wishes by providing the foundation with the finances necessary to support it shows their belief in its effectiveness in all its aspects.

Florian Waldauf and St. Nicholas's church in Hall-in-Tirol

The Burgundian foundation can usefully be compared to a later foundation that Maximilian was involved in, this time in his German territories. This foundation was associated with a chapel in the same parish church of St. Nicholas in Hall-in-Tirol already mentioned above. As with the just-discussed case of Mary of Burgundy, the instigator here too was not Maximilian. Rather, it was his secretary, counsellor, favourite, and confidant, Florian Waldauf (c. 1450–1510).¹⁸

Both the background to and the genesis of this foundation were not straightforward, and require some explaining.¹⁹ From 1483, Waldauf had been in the

18 The documentation surrounding this endowment is exceptional. Yet, until recently, it had received very little attention in musicological literature. The main details are given in W. Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben* (cf. fn. 8), pp. 43–51; the archivist-historian Heinz Moser published a very comprehensive study of the relevant documents: *Waldaufstiftung Hall in Tirol. Urkunden aus den Jahren 1490–1856*. *Tiroler Geschichtsquellen* 44 (Innsbruck, 2000), available at www.tirol.gv.at/kunst-kultur/landesarchiv/publikationen/geschichtsquellen/ (30/12/2021). An accessible overview, based closely on Moser, is Grantley McDonald, "The Waldauf foundation at St. Nicholas' Church, Hall in Tirol," *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich*, <https://musical-life.net/essays/waldauf-foundation-st-nicholas-church-hall-tirol> (30/12/2021). I am very grateful to Grantley McDonald for alerting me to his article, and for providing me with a copy before its publication.

19 The following paragraph draws extensively on H. Moser, *Waldaufstiftung* (cf. fn. 18). For much of the circumstantial detail, Moser in turn draws on Waldauf's *Heiltumbuch* (Reliquary Book), a manuscript prepared under Waldauf's supervision, c. 1508–09, to document the circumstances behind his Hall-in-Tirol foundation and how he acquired its associated relic-collection. The manuscript is illustrated with numerous pasted-in woodcuts, commissioned from Hans Burgkmair, and was probably intended for publication, though Waldauf's death prevented that from occurring. The manuscript is preserved in the parish archive at Hall-in-Tirol. For a modern transcription, including the illustrations, see Josef Garber, "Das Haller Heiltumbuch mit den Unika-Holzschnitten Hans Burgkmairs des Älteren," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des*

service of Maximilian's uncle Sigismund, duke of Tirol. He developed a close relationship with Maximilian, however, after he had helped free him from imprisonment in Bruges in 1488. Waldauf was with Maximilian in 1489 on a perilous boat journey, during which the vessel struck ice. He pledged that if he survived, he would establish a foundation in thanksgiving.²⁰ In addition, he promised to start a relic-collection and establish an attached preaching position with two chaplains. Fortunately, he did survive, and thereafter accordingly began to fulfil his promise. According to Waldauf's own account in his Reliquary Book, he developed the details of the foundation in consultation with a number of theologians as well as with Maximilian.²¹ In that sense, it is fair to view the foundation as not only carried out with Maximilian's approval, but also to have involved his direct input. As such, it reflects Maximilian's ideas of what such a foundation should consist of.

In 1494, Waldauf sought to provide financial support for the foundation by moving one of his family's existing endowments, an anniversary and mass in perpetuity for the soul of his wife's grandfather, from its original base in the town of Schwaz, 20 km further along the Inn, to Hall-in-Tirol, and then expand on it. The choice of Hall-in-Tirol was quite understandable given its proximity to Waldauf's castle, at Rettenberg, and its significance as one of the largest and most prosperous towns in the Inn valley (the town had increased further in wealth and importance from 1477, when Duke Sigismund of Tirol moved his mint there from Meran, in order to be closer to the rich silver deposits that had recently been discovered nearby).²²

By the time Waldauf moved the Schwaz endowment, he had already not only chosen St. Nicholas as the place for his foundation, but also begun constructing a purpose-built chapel for it on the north side of the church. Alongside providing a venue for the endowed services that were at the core of the foundation, the

Allerböchsten Kaiserhauses 32 (1915), p. 2: "Quellen zur Geschichte der kaiserlichen Haussammlungen und der Kunstbestrebungen des Allerdurchlauchtigsten Erzhauses," pp. i-clxxvii. On its art-historical aspects, see Ashley West, "Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531) and the visualization of knowledge" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2006), pp. 166–96, and eadem, "Hans Burgkmair the Elder's Woodcuts for the Hall-in-Tyrol Heiltumsbuch: Tradition, Authenticity, and Artistic Authority," *Forum Hall in Tirol. Neues zur Geschichte der Stadt*, ed. Alexander Zanenco and Romedio Schmitz-Esser (Hall-in-Tirol, 2008), pp. 254–77.

20 Endowing a foundation in gratitude for surviving a potential shipwreck had a well-established precedent by the fifteenth century: The Ste.-Chapelle in Dijon originated under the same circumstances. I thank David Fiala for bringing this to my attention. As the first seat of the Order of the Golden Fleece and the private chapel of the dukes of Burgundy, the Dijon Ste.-Chapelle was well-known at Maximilian's court. Waldauf clearly hoped that his foundation would become an Austrian sainte-chapelle, so the parallel was probably intentional.

21 See the literature cited in fn. 19, and H. Moser, Waldaufstiftung (cf. fn. 18), p. 22.

22 See A. West, Hans Burgkmair (cf. fn. 19), pp. 171–72.

chapel was also intended to house Waldauf's relic-collection, which ultimately grew to become one of the largest of its kind at the time. The chapel was richly decorated in silver and gold, and separated from the rest of the church by a wrought iron gate that still survives.

The development of the Waldauf foundation, with its various elements including services, architecture, relics, and preachers thus took place in a number of stages. These culminated in 1501 in an elaborate document that summarised all previous steps.²³ In the present context, three of the aspects discussed in that document are of relevance: the services; their musical components; and the involvement of Maximilian in them.

Waldauf's foundation clearly captured Maximilian's imagination. Indeed, in 1497 he sought to give his role in it a more formal footing.²⁴ He sought to expand it yet further, and provided it with additional funds. At least four non-mutually exclusive reasons can be proposed for this. First, he had been a participant in the boat-incident that had caused the foundation to come into existence. As such, he had as much reason as Waldauf to express his gratitude. Second, as already mentioned, the structure of the foundation was worked out from an early stage in consultation with him. He had an ongoing intellectual stake in it in any case. Third, Maximilian had contributed, or facilitated the acquisition of, some of the relics in the relic-collection, and may have wanted a 'return' on this material provision. And fourth, by 1497, the foundation was clearly extraordinarily successful, in particular through its relic-collection, which, though yet to move to the chapel built to house it, was already attracting considerable attention.²⁵ The combination of these factors made claiming a part of the foundation for the Habsburgs a very attractive opportunity. Additionally, Waldauf himself may have actively sought Maximilian's formal support: Not only did this lend a welcome extra imprimatur of legitimacy to the enterprise, but also offered practical advantages such as guaranteed safe passage for pilgrims.²⁶

Maximilian's involvement proceeded in two stages. First, in April 1497, he diverted income from property at Ambras to pay for an oil lamp to burn in perpetuity in the chapel, and for a daily *Salve regina*. Second, and more importantly, in December of the same year (perhaps not coincidentally, on St. Nicholas's day,

23 The document is translated (from Latin into German) in H. Moser, *Waldaufstiftung* (cf. fn. 18), p. 96–102.

24 The relevant documentation is transcribed in W. Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben* (cf. fn. 8), pp. 595–96.

25 The relics were moved in 1501. See A. West, Hans Burgkmair (cf. fn. 19), p. 176.

26 Maximilian's involvement is repeatedly emphasized in Waldauf's Reliquary Book; legitimacy and authenticity were particular concerns of Waldauf's. A useful survey of the details is given in A. West, Hans Burgkmair (cf. fn. 19), p. 177–79.

the patronal festival of the St. Nicholas church), he increased his contribution, diverting money from the salt-works of Hall-in-Tirol itself (as Frederick III before him had done for the Corpus Christi procession) to pay for an expansion specifically of the musical provision. It may also not be coincidental that he had appointed Heinrich Isaac as his court-composer at the end of the previous year: The salvific functions of music must have been prominently on his mind at the time. Two musical functions in particular were earmarked. First, Maximilian specified that the foundation should have a “famous and skillful organist” (“ainen beruembten geschickten organisten zu der orgl”).²⁷ And, second, money was also assigned to a schoolmaster, teaching assistants, acolytes, and the choirboys, who were all supposed to sing in polyphony. The total cost was £ 8 6 Kreuzer per week, making a total of around £ 426 *perner* a year. In return, Maximilian claimed a share in the endowment’s salvific and memorial power, both for himself, and for his wife Bianca Maria Sforza, whom he had married at Hall-in-Tirol in 1493. The expense was considerable. But at the same time, it was thought worthwhile enough, in 1503, for Philip the Fair to ratify the Habsburgs’ involvement.²⁸

The provision of money specifically for polyphony, and also for an organist, is in many ways comparable to the earlier endowment for Mary of Burgundy. But the Hall-in-Tirol foundation goes beyond that of Mary in the extent and frequency with which it employs them. Maximilian’s 1497 document emphasises that polyphony was to be sung not only on Sundays and feast-days, but throughout the week, and not just at mass, but also at vespers. The Waldauf/Maximilian foundation included not only an anniversary but also a daily cycle that comprised not only a mass, but other items as well. The central importance of polyphony is clear from the frequency with which it is mentioned: In the course of relatively few lines, the relevant term, “in mensuris”, appears no less than seven times.²⁹ Clearly, Maximilian was not content with just any music. It had to be of excellent quality, polyphonic, and performed in abundance.

A *Salve regina* was to be sung daily before the high mass. The choice of the *Salve regina* agrees with the models provided by similar endowments elsewhere in Maximilian’s territories. For example, a *Salve* service had been founded in Innsbruck in 1449 by Wigelos Gradner (it is unclear whether this involved polyphony).³⁰ And in the Low Countries, Maximilian cannot have avoided coming

27 See the document transcription in W. Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben* (cf. fn. 8), p. 595.

28 G. McDonald, *The Waldauf foundation* (cf. fn. 18).

29 See again the transcription in W. Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben* (cf. fn. 8), pp. 595–96.

30 Karl Schadelbauer, *Das Calendarium Wernheri als tirolische Chronik*, *Studien zur Geschichte des Stiftes Wilten I* (Innsbruck, 1932), p. 24.

into contact with the *Salve* or *Lof* service, which had become a regular feature of urban musical life in cities such as Bruges.³¹ Waldauf's Reliquary Book specifies, further, that the *Salve* was to be followed by a Marian sequence or antiphon in polyphony and with organ. The mass too was followed with additional items: the offertory *Recordare virgo mater*, except on Fridays, when the antiphon for peace *Da pacem domine* was sung. Also on Fridays, after vespers, a Marian responsory was sung, along with the antiphon *Gaude Dei genitrix*. Finally, on Mondays throughout the year, a mass for the dead was to be sung by a chaplain and four choristers.

Maximilian's endowments and musical production

What can be said more specifically about the music used in these endowments? Unfortunately, not as much as we would like. In the case of Mary of Burgundy, there is no reason to suppose that the endowment was linked to specific compositions. Probably the singers were left to choose any Marian mass that they considered appropriate. Such open-endedness need not indicate a lack of concern. It is equally possible to view it as a deliberate tactic. As mentioned above, the envisioned life-span of an endowment could be considerable, and so such open-endedness would allow the services to move with the musical times, and allow them to incorporate and use new works as they became available.

Something similar may have applied in Hall-in-Tirol too, though there the situation is a little different from the Mary of Burgundy foundation. The Bruges church of Our Lady possessed an extensive music collection, and had leading composers in service. It was located in one of the most vibrant cities in Europe at the time, and could draw on neighbouring institutions as well as a constant traffic of people and music from across Europe. Hall-in-Tirol, on the other hand, though not exactly provincial, had nothing like the same support-network or in-house composers to draw on. In that sense, Maximilian's provision could not take it for granted that, once the personnel was there, they would have the necessary music to sing. It is a pity that Maximilian does not also specify that he would provide the endowment with music-books as well. But presumably the close contacts with the imperial court, both through Maximilian as well as through Waldauf, provided access to the imperial music collection and musicians. Through those contacts, the necessary music could have been acquired.

31 R. Strohm, *Music* (cf. fn. 6), passim; Robert Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet* (Cambridge, 2012), ch. 5 also offers some useful additional context.

Maximilian's organist Paul Hofhaimer appears in the Hall-in-Tirol records.³² Though this was on an occasional basis, it demonstrates that such sharing of resources was possible. Hofhaimer's two surviving independent organ pieces, a *Salve regina* and a *Recordare*, resonate provocatively enough with the Waldauf foundation's musical specifications to have led Grantley McDonald to propose that they may have been intended for Hall-in-Tirol.³³ The idea is intriguing, but a number of caveats should nonetheless be borne in mind. First, as mentioned above, the items specified in the Waldauf foundation are not in themselves distinctive, but rather widespread. There are many possible endowments that had use of a *Salve* or a *Recordare*. Second, neither piece is very elaborate or complex. Any organist deserving the description of "beruembten" or "geschikten" would be capable of improvising equivalent music without needing to have it composed. And third, in relation to the *Salve regina*, Hofhaimer's organ versets are difficult to combine with standard polyphonic *alternatim* settings, which usually treat the same verses. An alternation with chant is suggested, but this would contradict the foundation's specifications of sung polyphony. Of course, it is possible that the reality in Hall-in-Tirol was less grand than Maximilian's endowment document hoped.

Finally, in the light of what Maximilian's endowments reveal about his musical concerns, it is possible to add some new context to his grandest musical project, the mass propers produced by his court composer Heinrich Isaac that were gathered in the collection known as the *Choralis Constantinus*. Here is not the place for an extensive historical discussion of this collection, but some brief background details are necessary to understand the proposal that will follow.³⁴ In 1550 and 1555, the Nuremberg printer Hieronymus Formschneider published a three-volume collection of Isaac's polyphonic mass proper settings.³⁵ Both Maximilian and Isaac were long dead by that point: The collection is in some ways a post-humous memorial to them both. The *Constantinus* of the title refers to the city of Constance. It is known that that city commissioned some mass propers from Isaac in 1508 and that he delivered them a year later.³⁶ But various aspects of Formschneider's print and its background sources nonetheless make it clear that it contains more than simply the music that Isaac composed for Constance

32 W. Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben* (cf. fn. 8), p. 598, doc. 11.

33 G. McDonald, *The Waldauf foundation* (cf. fn. 18).

34 See fn. 3 for relevant literature on Isaac's mass propers.

35 RISM I 89–91. High-resolution digital images of all three volumes of the print are viewable online through the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

36 See David J. Burn, "What Did Isaac Write for Constance?," *Journal of Musicology* 20 (2003), pp. 45–72.

alone.³⁷ The assumption then is that what did not belong to Constance was composed for the imperial chapel.³⁸ This is more or less widely accepted in principle, though there remains some debate over the details of how Formschneider's collection should be divided up. Yet, however it is done, it is clear that Maximilian's part of Isaac's monumental mass proper output involved the bulk of the music in the *Choralis* print, and was intended to provide polyphony comprehensively for masses throughout the year.³⁹

Isaac's extravagant mass proper output is often viewed simply as an anomaly, a view exacerbated by the long time-lag between Isaac's death and publication. When the music is contextualised at all, then it is usually compared to Maximilian's visual artistic projects, such as the *Triumphzug* and the *Weißkunig*.⁴⁰ But, in the light of Maximilian's previous engagement with endowments, stretching back to his early years in Flanders, the mass propers can be seen neither to have emerged from nowhere, nor to have been intended as a musical counterpart to works in other media. Rather, Isaac's mass propers comprise the end-point of a logical evolution in Maximilian's engagement with music for salvific purposes. Already with Mary of Burgundy, there was a double-emphasis: on polyphony; and on daily celebration, including the organ. Maximilian's role in the Waldauf endowment emphasised those same two elements, and expanded them to include not just a single daily mass, but other services as well. The Waldauf foundation in particular stresses the importance of polyphony not just on special occasions, but throughout the week. This in turn can then be considered a prototype or testing ground for the mass proper-project that Isaac undertook for Maximilian. Isaac must have begun this latter project shortly after his appointment as court composer in 1496, and around the time that Maximilian formalised his affiliation with the Waldauf foundation. It pre-occupied him until his retirement in 1512, and

37 For details, see *ibid.*

38 Occasional attempts have been made to propose further recipients, such as Augsburg, in addition to Constance and the imperial chapel. However, these have not moved beyond the stage of unsupported hypothesis.

39 For some useful background, see Stefan Gasch, "Heinrich Isaac im Dienst von Maximilians kirchlich-staatlichen Zeremonien," *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich*, <https://musical-life.net/essays/heinrich-isaac-im-dienst-von-maximilians-kirchlich-staatlichen-zeremonien> (30/12/2021).

40 See Reinhard Strohm and Emma Kempson, "Isaac [Ysaak, Ysac, Yzac], Henricus [Heinrich; Arrigo d'Ugo; Arrigo Tedesco]," Grove Music Online, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000051790, following Martin Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls. Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte der Reformationszeit* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 105. The idea of a connection between Isaac's mass propers and Maximilian's projects in the visual arts was rejected in Gerhard-Rudolf Pätzig, "Liturgische Grundlagen und handschriftliche Überlieferung von Heinrich Isaacs 'Choralis Constantinus'," (Diss., Tübingen, 1956).

perhaps even up to his death in 1517, and trumped all of its predecessors: Not only was it polyphony, but distinctive and different polyphony for the majority of the church year.⁴¹

By this, I do not mean to suggest that any of the non-Constance *Choralis* mass propers were composed *for* the Waldauf foundation. The available evidence points to them being intended for the imperial chapel. It is probably no coincidence that, in 1498, shortly after formalising his role in the Waldauf foundation, Maximilian put his own chapel into order.⁴² A court chapel was in a sense a very elaborate endowed foundation, one of whose functions was the salvation of the souls of the ruler and his family. In that light, it is actually quite logical that inspiration for the structure and character of the chapel's service-music should be drawn from endowments.

As stated at the beginning, the present essay does not attempt a comprehensive treatment of Maximilian's endowments that involve music. Such a thorough survey would undoubtedly be extremely valuable, and I hope that the remarks offered above will serve as an impetus for it to be undertaken in the future. Nonetheless, given the geographical and chronological complementarity of the two endowments that I have dealt with, it seems likely to me that the broad lines that they reveal will be reinforced, rather than refuted, with additional research.

41 On the point at which Isaac stopped working on his imperial propers, see D. Burn, *Mass-Propers Cycles* (cf. fn. 3), pp. 61–65.

42 G. McDonald, *Court chapel* (cf. fn. 2); and also Grantley McDonald, "The Chapel of Maximilian I: Patronage and Mobility in a European Context," *Henricus Isaac (c. 1450/5–1517). Composition, Reception, Interpretation*. Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 11, ed. Stefan Gasch, Markus Grassl, and August V. Rabe (Vienna, 2019), pp. 9–23. McDonald has questioned the extent to which this marks the beginning of a new foundation, and argued, rather, that it represents a consolidation after a period of disruption.