

# The Provenance of Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Mus. Ms. 2987: A Preliminary Study\*

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## Introduction

The scarcity of manuscript sources of French keyboard music in the 15th and 16th centuries has been a puzzle, making a remarkable contrast to the richness of the contemporary Italian and German sources: the *Faenza Codex* from Italy around 1400 and the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* from Germany around 1470 for earlier extensive examples.<sup>1)</sup> Little has been established so far as to why no such sources were preserved or intended to be preserved. Yvonne Rokseth suggests that manuscript tablatures for organ, if ever written down, were regarded not as works of art but merely as practical means, “sortes de guides-âne pour l’organiste peu doué,” and therefore were considered as not worth being preserved; in addition, musical tastes changed from one generation to another, and therefore such precedents were condemned rather than treasured.<sup>2)</sup> William Young recapitulates her explanation,

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\* This essay is dedicated to Prof. Alexander Silbiger, who conducted “Seminar in Renaissance Music” (Music 312S) at Duke University, Spring 1985, and gave me the seed for this study which I have stored for more than thirty years, far longer than I had expected. But it has still sprouted.

- 1) For a quick reference, see John Caldwell, “Source of Keyboard Music to 1660,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 17, pp. 717-33. Notable as well is that English sources are also in a comparable context to the French. A contrast is that a flood of keyboard intabulations were published by Pierre Attaingnant in 1531, seven volumes in succession.
- 2) *La musique d’orgue au XVe siècle et au début du XVIe* (Paris: E. Droz, 1930), p. 211.

referring to the improvisatory nature of the French organ music.<sup>3)</sup> Under such circumstances, Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Mus. Ms. 2987 (fols. 1-6) has remained as a candidate to fill in the lacuna since Willi Apel so proposed it in 1937.<sup>4)</sup> As Jessie Ann Owens demonstrates, the compositional procedure of musicians in the Renaissance period has been an imaginative topic; the provenance of a certain manuscript from the period has been as much as so, like a puzzle.<sup>5)</sup> The purpose of this study is, first, to summarize previous research on the manuscript, second, to review Apel's argument, and third, to suggest any further possibilities about its provenance.

## I. Description and Transmission of the Manuscript

Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Mus. Ms. 2987 is a heterogeneous collection, which consists of three paper fascicles and one single leaf. For each section, a different notational system is employed: old German keyboard tablature in Fasc. 1 (fols. 1-6); German lute tablature on the single leaf (fol. 7); French lute tablature in Fasc. 2 (fols. 8-11); and Italian lute tablature in Fasc. 3 (fols. 12-13). One may wonder, when first confronting these manuscripts, what the reason is for this diversity; how three different notational systems for the lute were brought together, especially with old German keyboard tablature in Fasc. 1.

The manuscript was first examined and catalogued in the later 19th century by Julius Joseph Maier, a librarian then at the *Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek* in Munich.<sup>6)</sup> Maier writes that the manuscript formerly

3) "Keyboard Music to 1600, II," *Musica Disciplina* 17 (1963): 163.

4) "Du nouveau sur la musique française pour orgue au XVIe siècle," *La revue musicales* 18 (1937): 96-108; esp. 102-104.

5) *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). See also Marie Louise Göllner, "On the Process of Lute Intabulation in the Sixteenth Century," in *Ars iocundissima, Festschrift für Kurt Dorfmüller zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Horst Leuchtmann and Robert Münster (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1984), pp. 83-96, esp. 83.

6) Julius Joseph Maier, *Die musikalischen Handschriften der Kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München I: Die Handschriften bis zum Ende des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1879). Maier established his own numbering; this manuscript is given

consisted of loose sheets and fascicles in different scribal hands.<sup>7)</sup> In fact, Marie Louise Göllner, who has compiled a new catalogue of the music manuscripts in the same library, reports that several manuscripts were handed down to the library as single leaves, and bound together, according to their sizes, around the middle of the 19th century.<sup>8)</sup> Göllner suggests that these manuscripts are most likely ("höchstwahrscheinlich") to have belonged to the collection of Johann Heinrich Herwart (1520-1583), councilor of Augsburg; after his death (in 1585-87) this collection was sold to Wilhelm V, Duke (*Herzog*) of Bavaria and became a basis of the court library (*Hofbibliothek*) founded in 1558.<sup>9)</sup> Ms. 2987 is one of these, although the exact date of binding is not known.<sup>10)</sup> The original unbound leaves were found in a choir book, Ms. 2750, which were deposited in the library in 1860 as property of the royal superintendent of music (*K. Hof-Musik-Intendenz*).<sup>11)</sup> The present Ms. 2986, which contains an Italian lute tablature and a four-part vocal score of the same piece by Orlando di Lasso, was found together with Ms. 2987, also unbound in this choir book.<sup>12)</sup> The binding, in any case,

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No. 255.

- 7) Ibid., p. 148.
- 8) Marie Louise Göllner, ed., *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Katalog der Musikhandschriften 2: Tablaturen und Stimmbücher bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: G. Henle, 1979), p. 9\* and Wolfgang Boetticher, ed., *Handschriften überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarren- tabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts in Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B/VII* (Munich: G. Henle, 1978).
- 9) See Göllner, ibid., p. 12\* and Marie Louise Martinez-Göllner, "Die Augsburger Bibliothek Herwart und ihre Lautentablaturen: Ein Musikbestand der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek aus dem 16. Jahrhundert," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 16 (1969): 29-30. Also see H. Colin Slim, "The Music Library of the Augsburg Patrician, Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520-1583)," *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1964-1977): 67-79; esp. 75-79.
- 10) The other such manuscripts are: Lute tablatures; MSS. 266, 267, 1511c, 1511d, and 2986; vocal parts, MSS. 1503 a-e, 1503h and 274a. See Martinez-Göllner, op. cit., 39.
- 11) Martinez-Göllner, ibid., p. 36, and Göllner, op. cit., p. 12\*. She credits this information to Maier.
- 12) Göllner, op. cit., p. 155. Also see Arthur J. Ness, "A Letter from Melchior Newsidler," in *Music and Context: Essays for John M. Ward*, ed. by Anne Dhu

seems to have been completed after 1860 and before Maier's cataloguing, that is, before 1879, the date of publication of his catalogue.

If we examine the manuscript closer, the original independence of each fascicle is rather obvious in the following respects:

1. The format of Fascs. 1 (fols. 1-6) and 2 (fols. 8-11), 35,0 (height) cm × 23,5 (width) cm, is slightly different from that of fol. 7 (31,5 × 22,0) and Fasc. 3 (fols. 12-13), as described by Göllner and Boetticher.<sup>13)</sup>
2. The last page of Fascs. 1 and 2, that is, fols. 6v and 11v, and fol. 7v are left blank (actually, fol. 11 is entirely blank) and look more worn and stained than the other pages. This indicates that they used to be exposed as the outer pages. Moreover, each fascicle appears to have been folded in two before binding (see the horizontal line in the middle of each folio), as the last page outside and the first page inside (compare the difference of degrees of creases and their frictions between them, the less on the first page and more on the last page). This too indicates that each fascicle was originally independently folded. (See Plate 1, fol. 6r and Plate 2, fol. 6v, for example.)

3. No obvious scribal concordance can be identified among fascicles. Göllner suggests a similarity of hand between fol. 7 and Fasc. 2;<sup>14)</sup> Boetticher suggests the same between Fascs. 2 and 3.<sup>15)</sup> Though I have tried to identify any similarity, particularly in lettering and numerals of the notation, no

Shapiro ([Cambridge, MA.]: Department of Music, Harvard University, 1985), pp. 357-58 and 361.

- 13) See Göllner, op. cit., p. 156. Boetticher gives the size of Fascicle 1 as 34 × 23,5 cm. See Boetticher, op. cit.
- 14) Martinez-Göllner, op. cit., p. 40. She also identifies this hand as Scribe A of Mus. Ms. 266, fols. 1-16. See *ibid.*
- 15) See Boetticher, op. cit., p. 40. This could be Boetticher's misinterpretation of Martinez-Göllner's information because he specifies the scribe as B of Mus. Ms. 266, fols. 21-66, who, according to Martinez-Göllner, is the scribe of Ms. 2987, fol. 7 (the German lute tablature) and possibly ("möglicherweise," a word used by both cataloguers) fols. 8-10v., that is, Fasc. 2, as I cited above. Compare Martinez-Göllner, op. cit., p. 40 and Boetticher, op. cit. Maier suggested that fols. 7-10 were in H. H. Herwart's hand; Boetticher denies this. See Maier, op. cit., p. 148, and Boetticher, op. cit.

convincing one has been found. With regard to Fasc. 1, the scribe has not been identified among the other manuscripts in the library either. The titles for each of nine pieces, written at the beginning or at the end, are thought to be original: "quant ieu congneu a ma pensée" [Sandrin], "Martin [menait son pourceau" Janequin], "Vray dieu daymer" [Descaudain], "quant ung bien par longtemps" [Sandrin], "sy pou aymer" [Sandrin], "Moyns je la veux [plus m'en croist" Mittantier], "Sy mon malheur [m'y continue" Le Peletier], "Je ne puis bonnement' penser" [Sandrin], and "hors en yeux" [Anonyme].<sup>16)</sup> (See Plate 3, fol. 1r.) In this respect also, no concordance can be established except for that within each fascicle. Even within the same fascicle, however, the hand looks somewhat different piece to piece. (See Plate 4, fol. 9r; compare the first piece No. 14, "Grace et vertu" with the following ones.)

4. Fasc. 1 has a watermark of a "bear," while the others do not show any.<sup>17)</sup> This at least suggests that Fasc. 1 used to be independent from the others.

5. No specific composer is named in the manuscript except for two in Fasc. 3; MN [Melchior Neusidler, or Newsidler (1531-1590)] on fol. 12v and Constanzo Festa [c. 1490-1545] on fol. 13r.<sup>18)</sup> This again suggests a different origin of Fasc. 3. (See Plate 5, fol. 12v, "Finis Susanna Ung Jour MN" and Plate 6, fol. 13r, upper half, "per su [sic] hospiti boschi: / A · 4 · Voce di Constanzo Festa".)

16) See Maier, op. cit., p. 148, and Göllner, op. cit., p. 156. The foliation and numbering are modern. For the titles and composers, see Apel, op. cit., p. 98, which is subsequent to Maier's catalog.

17) Charles Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'un 1600* (Geneva: A. Jullien, 1907; Paris: A. Picard & fils, 1923); A Facsimile of the 1907 Edition [in 4 Vols.] with Supplementary Material Contributed by a Number of Scholars, ed. by Allen Stevenson (Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1968); for "Bear (Ours)," see vol. IV: Watermark Illustrations, Nos. 7878-16112; esp. 12270, 12272, 12306 and 12348 for those from Augsburg.

18) For "MN," see Ness, op. cit., pp. 357-38, and for a scribe of a piece on fol. 13r-13v (No. 37: "Per su [sic] hospiti boschi" by C. Festa) of Ms. 2987, see *ibid.*, p. 359, n. 19 and p. 361, n. 20.

Thus, from the above observations, we may conclude the following: the four sections of Ms. 2987, three fascicles and one folio, were originally independent from one another, but were handed down together and bound together. It seems to be, therefore, not sensible to pursue the provenance of this manuscript in its entirety, though we should not ignore the homogeneity of the repertory represented in this manuscript: intabulations of chansons and dances from around the middle of the 16th century.

## **II. Apel's Argument and Counter Argument**

Of the three fascicles and one single folio, Fasc. 1 stands out most; it has a watermark, but no scribal concordance has been identified or suggested so far, as discussed above, and it is intended for a different performance medium, the keyboard. (Harpsichord or clavichord are good possibilities in view of secular songs.) Even more striking, however, is its notational peculiarity, which gives a unique character and therefore a coherence to this fascicle. That is, the old German tablature employed in this fascicle appears to be influenced by French and possibly by Italian habits of notation.

Willi Apel, in his above-mentioned article “Du nouveau sur la musique française pour orgue au XVIe siècle,” discusses the notational peculiarities and points out the notable anomalies for old German organ tablature, as summarized in the following:

1. The treble uses a five-line staff, which no other German source employed except for Leonhard Kleber (c. 1495-1556). Konrad Paumann (c. 1410/15-1473), Hans Kotter (c. 1485-1541) and Hans Buchner (1483-1538) all used six lines, and in the *Buxheimer Orgelbuch* (c. 1470) and tablature of Adam Illeborgh (1448), six to eight lines were used. (See Plates 1 and 3.)

2. Except for No. 6 (Mittantier's “Moins je la veux,” fol. 4v), all pieces have a key signature of one flat in the upper staff. (Compare Plate 7, fol. 4v, with Plates 1 or 3.) This may indicate, according to Apel, a preference for the Lydian or transposed G-Dorian modes, which is not common in Germany. In German keyboard tablature, even when the piece is written in these modes, B-flat is indicated each time it appears in the treble staff.

3. More than one voice appears in the upper staff. (See Plates 1, 3, and 7.) No other contemporary example of this practice is found in old German keyboard tablature except for Hamburg, *Staatsarchiv*, ND VI 3225 (early 15th century), which, however, is too distant a manuscript to be compared with Ms. 2987, fols. 1-6.<sup>19)</sup>

4. The chromatic alteration in the treble staff is indicated by a dot underneath a note, not by a kind of St. Andrew's cross X or a downward stem with a diagonal dash, which is used in old German keyboard tablature. (See Plate 1, 6th system, 4th bar, for example, where a cadential motion reads "g-f#-g-f#-e-f#", with a dot under each "f".)

5. The white mensural notation, which is generally used for the vocal music in this period, is employed for the upper staff. This causes a discrepancy in note value between the upper staff and the lower, where is the equivalent to of the upper staff. (See Plate 1, 1st system, 6th bar, for example.) There is no other example of such simultaneity of the two systems in German keyboard tablature.

It is true, as Apel notes, that these characteristics are found in the French intabulations for the lute and keyboard by Attaingnant, who published the original vocal versions for all nine pieces in Ms. 2987, Fasc. 1 in the second quarter of the 16th century.<sup>20)</sup> Bonfils, the editor of the first modern transcription of Ms. 2987, Fasc. 1, follows the above interpretations and stylistic analysis of intabulation by Apel, and concludes that "[we are permitted] to consider the Munich manuscript, in some ways, as a complement of the Attaingnant publications."<sup>21)</sup>

But it is an undeniable fact that the manuscript is notated in the system

19) For a partial facsimile of Hamburg, *Staatsarchiv*, ND VI 3225, see Johannes Wolf, *Musikalische Schrifttafeln* (Bückeburg/Leipzig: C. F. W. Siegel, 1923), plate 8. There is no such instance found in this fascicle.

20) See RISM concordance in Göllner, op. cit., p. 156; and Jean Bonfils, ed., *Chansons françaises pour orgue (vers 1550)*, Le Pupitre 5 (Paris: Heugel & Cie, 1968), pp. iv-vi.

21) Ibid., p. vii (p. iii in French, and p. x in German).

of old German keyboard tablature, though with some deviations, and most of extant manuscripts notated in this system are found in the German-speaking countries (presently or formerly).<sup>22)</sup> No other musician would have employed this system than those educated or familiar with the system of old German keyboard tablature, though, of course, history always has exceptions.<sup>23)</sup> It is therefore quite reasonable that Johannes Wolf discussed this fascicle in his chapter on German keyboard tablature.<sup>24)</sup> This fact also seems to be the reason why Young appears not to be convinced with Apel's argument.<sup>25)</sup>

To the five points of Apel, summarized above, in fact, we can find counter evidence:

1. Kleber is not the only one who used five-lined staff in old German keyboard tablature. Apel is mistaken in writing that Buchner used the six-lined staff; he used the five-lined one in his *Fundamentum* (c. 1530). (See Plate 8 for Kleber and Plate 9 for Buchner.) St. Gall, *Stiftsbibliothek*, MS 530 (Fridolin Sicher Tablature, 1525) also employed it. (See Plate 10.) In regard to the printed sources, it is used in Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* of 1511 (see Plate 11) and in Martin Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis deudsche* of 1528 (see Plate 12).

2. Agricola, though in print, used the one flat signature, for example, in his *Musica instrumentalis deudsche* of 1528 (see Plate 13) to show how to translate a vocal notation into a keyboard tablature notation. This is not a true old German keyboard tablature, but does indicate that the transposed G-Dorian mode was possible in German keyboard music too; if not possible,

22) For a quick reference, see Caldwell, op. cit., pp. 724-28.

23) See David Fallows, "15th-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments: A Summary, a Revision and a Suggestion," *The Lute Society Journal* 19 (1977): 7-33.

24) *Handbuch der Notationkunde II. Teil: Tonschriften der Neuzeit: Tabulaturen, Partituren, Generalbaß und Reformversuch* (Leipzig, 1919; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), p. 19.

25) William Young, "Keyboard Music to 1600, I," *Musica Disciplina* 16 (1962): 139, n. 40.

he would not have chosen the example.

3. Such examples, which show more than one voice in the upper staff, are found also in Italian manuscripts and prints, as will be discussed later. (See Plates 14, 15, and 16.) Therefore, this instance in Ms. 2987 does not necessarily indicate the French influence, for example, from the Attaingnant publication (see Plate 17), if it is not indigenous to German practice. Since the use in German tablature appears to be unique, it argues neither does it argue against French provenance.

4. Attaingnant also sometimes used “b (flat)” instead of “· (dot)” for chromatic alteration (see Plate 18). Thus, the use of “dot” in the upper staff is indicative of a French property as well as the use of “flat,” not necessary of a German one, though it is true that no traditional German sign for the alteration takes place in Ms. 2987, Fasc. 1.

5. This is rather a pseudo problem in notational appearance. The German musicians could have understood this discrepancy between the vocal notation and the instrumental intabulation, as is shown in the above-cited example from Agricola’s *Musica instrumentalis deudschen* (see Plates 12 and 13). The same situation is found in Attaingnant’s publication of songs with lute tablature too (see Plate 18). There is a discrepancy in the indication of note value between the vocal and instrumental parts. If the upper-staff notation of the “traditional” old German keyboard tablature is restored to the vocal one (this seems to be what was in the German organist’s mind), the result is the notation found in Ms. 2987, Fasc. 1, though it is unknowable whether or not this is what already happened to the notation of Ms. 2987, Fasc. 1. Again, the evidence does not favor either French or German provenance.

Thus, Apel’s argument about the French influence upon the notation of Ms. 2987, Fasc. 1 does not hold up. We cannot deny that the intabulator or the scribe of this fascicle might be familiar with those precedents in Germany, which are not necessarily of French origin.

Apel, in fact, recognizes that the notation alone never informs us whether the intabulation is French or German, though he at the same time asserts

that the script and certain details of the spelling prove to be German.<sup>26)</sup> Then he proceeds to the stylistic analysis of the intabulation, writing that only the characteristics of style of transcription can tell us about the provenance and nationality of this music.<sup>27)</sup> It is true that we find more chordal treatment, more of a French aspect (“Côté français”) than polyphonic one, that of a German (“Côté allemand”), according to Apel’s understanding. As an example for this, Apel cites a passage from Pierre Sandrin’s “Je ne puis bonnement penser,” the eighth piece of Fasc. 1 (fol. 5v).<sup>28)</sup> (See Plates 19 and 20.) But at the same time instances of polyphonic treatment are found in Mittantier’s “Moyns je la veux,” the sixth piece of the same Fasc.<sup>29)</sup> (See Plates 21 and 7.) Also in this respect, therefore, Apel’s argument is not very convincing. It seems to me that the intabulation basically reflects the original vocal texture, that is, generally the intabulation is chordal when the original is chordal, and it is polyphonic when the original is polyphonic.

### **III. Some Hypotheses**

Thus, the French influence upon Ms. 2987, Fasc. 1, as proposed by Apel, cannot be proven, though it cannot be ruled out. My hypothesis is, then, that an equally strong (or weak) case could be made for Italian influence too because, as I have already suggested, to Apel’s five points about the French influence, we can draw counter evidence from the contemporary Italian sources. For examples from the printed sources, in Andrea Antico’s *Frottole intabulate da sonare organi libro primo* (1518) and Antonio Gardane’s *Intavolatura nova dei varie sorte de balli .... libro primo* (1551), appeared the use of the five-lined upper staff (see Plate 14 for Antico, and Plate 15 for Gardane), the use of the one-flat signature (see Plate 15), more than one voice in the upper staff (see Plates 14 and 15), and the use of dots for

26) Apel, op. cit., p. 101.

27) Ibid.

28) Ibid., pp. 101-102, and Bonfils, op. cit., p. 37. Originally, this passage is found in fol. 5v, system 5, mm. 3-6.

29) Bonfils, ibid., p. 30. Originally, the passage is in fol. 4v, system 3, mm. 5-11.

accidentals (see Plates 14 and 15). And from the manuscript sources, the same four characteristics appear in Venice, *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*, ital. IV. 1227 (c. 1520).<sup>30)</sup> (See Plate 16.) Regarding the Apel's fifth point, Petrucci's publication shows us that in the intabulation is equivalent to in the vocal notation.<sup>31)</sup> If the intabulator of Ms. 2987, Fasc. 1 was familiar with such Italian sources, it is as equally possible that he was influenced by them as by the French sources. We must, then, consider the possibility of interaction between the French and Italian sources too. In fact, they share some notational characteristics as I have shown in connection with the German sources. Further study of their relationship may contribute to a historical view of the development of those notational characteristics and may solve the puzzling situation about the notation of Ms. 2987, Fasc. 1.

Finally, I would like to compare Ms. 2987, fol. 1v containing an intabulation of Clément Janequin's "Martin [menait son pourceau]," with Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Mus. Ms. 9437, fol. 12v, containing an intabulation of Pierre Certon's "Que n'est alle aupres de moy."<sup>32)</sup> (See Plate 22 for Janequin, and Plate 23 for Certon.) Ms. 9437 is thought to have originated in northern Italy around 1550, consisting of various kinds of pieces by different hands, such as mass movements, chansons, and ricercares, in Italian keyboard score.<sup>33)</sup> The hands and the number of lines

30) The number of lines in the upper staff varies in this manuscript; for example, see No. 10 "La cara cossa" (there is no pagination or foliation in this manuscript) which has six lines in the upper staff. Silbiger points out that in Italian sources the number of lines varies five to eight whereas in the French sources it never exceeds five. Alexander Silbiger, *Italian Manuscripts of 17th Century Keyboard Music* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), p. 20. He also suggests that for the date of the manuscript 1520 should "be taken as an earliest limit" and c. 1540 be the most likely. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

31) See Wolf, *Handbuch*, pp. 52-53, 60, and 64.

32) Certon is not named in the manuscript but identified by Göllner. See Göllner, op. cit., p. 197. A transcription of "Martin menoit" is in Bonfils, op. cit., pp. 5-12, and that of "Que nest elle aupres de moy" is in Marie Louise Göllner, *Eine neue Quelle zur italienischen Orgelmusik des Cinquecento, Münchner Editionen zur Musikgeschichte*, Bd. III (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1980), pp. 79-81.

33) See Göllner, *Bayerische Staatbibliothek Katalog*, pp. 196-98.

are different, but if the lower staff of Ms. 9437 is replaced with German letters, its appearance would be similar to that of Ms. 2987; especially, the beaming of *fusae* in the upper staff is characteristic to both manuscripts.<sup>34)</sup>

In summary, Ms. 2987, Fasc. 1, is most likely to have been written by a German-educated musician or scribe who was familiar with French or Italian sources, or possibly both. And as Silbiger hypothesizes, if such manuscripts are most likely to have been used privately between teachers and pupils or among amateurs and beginners, and therefore not intended for a public use, then their format, contents, and distributions could be sporadic and unsystematic; somehow the history's fickleness intervened in their transmission.<sup>35)</sup> Also, as Fallows maintains, "the relationship between organ and lute must have been quite close,"<sup>36)</sup> as the two instruments are not so foreign as we tend to think from a modern point of view, and the medium to carry their contents could be mingled or interchanged in a particular case, a historically important point to be reminded in the history of keyboard and lute repertoire.<sup>37)</sup>

(I am grateful for Mr. Nobuaki Tanaka's assistance in preparing music notes and plates for this essay. Mr. Tanaka is currently a doctoral student at University of Music, Würzburg, Germany, specializing in Franz Benda studies. I am also grateful for Prof. Paul Wadden's linguistic advice. Dr. Wadden teaches English language and literature at Juntendo University, Faculty of International Liberal Arts, Tokyo, Japan.)

34) The beaming, in fact, is impossible in print by the movable type that Attaignant employed. See Plate 17.

35) Silbiger, op. cit., p. 75.

36) Fallows, op. cit., pp. 7 and 33.

37) In J. S. Bach's career, when the use of lute was declining, his acquaintance with a well-known virtuoso lutenist active at that time, Sylvius Leopold Weiss (1686-1750), stimulated a composition for keyboard in the style of lute music, "Prelude in E-flat major" (BWV 876) of the *Well-tempered Clavier*, Book II, for instance. See David Ledbetter, *Bach's Well-tempered Clavier: The 48 Preludes and Fugues* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 28-31 and 269-70.

Plate 1: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 2987, fol. 6r.



Plate 2: Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Mus. Ms. 2987, fol. 6v.

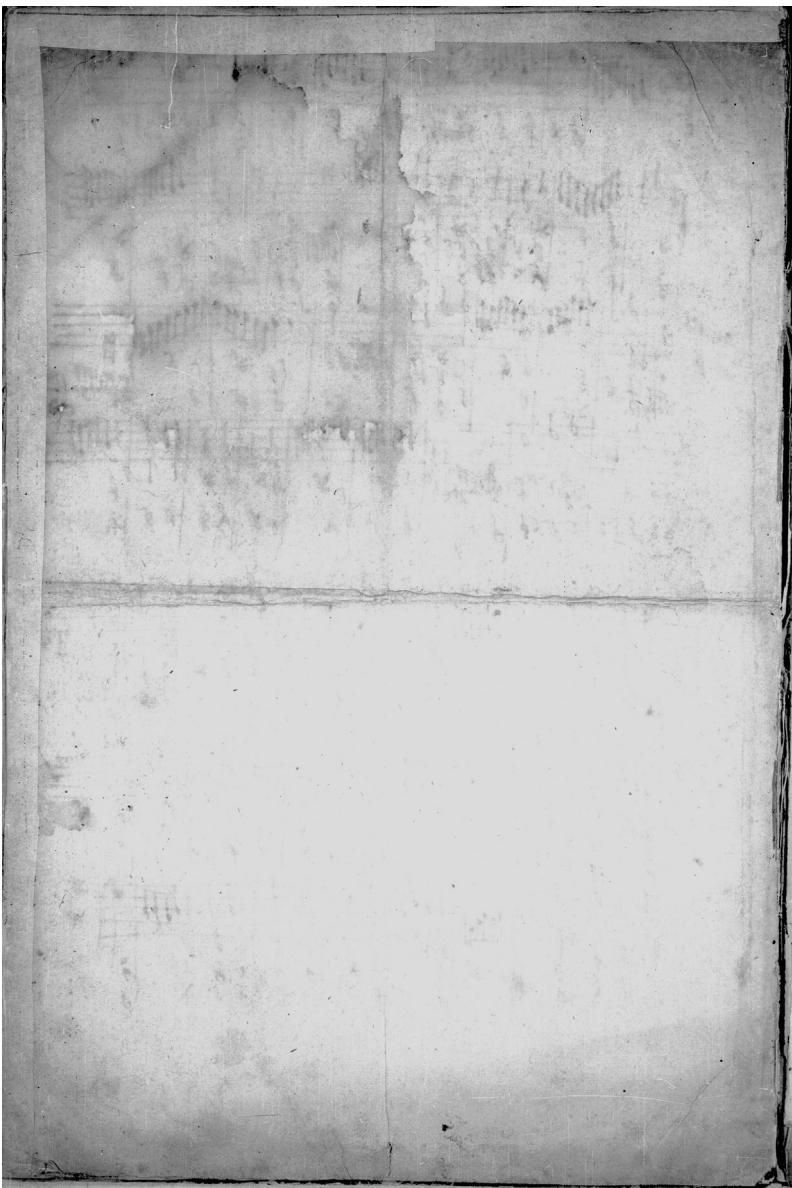


Plate 3: Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Mus. Ms. 2987, fol. 1r.

Plate 4: Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Mus. Ms. 2987, fol. 9r.



Plate 5: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 2987, fol. 12v.



Plate 6: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 2987, fol. 13r.



Plate 7: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 2987, fol. 4v.



Plate 8: Berlin, Preußische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 40026, fol. 158v, reproduced from Johannes Wolf, *Musikalische Schrifttafeln* (Bückeburg and Leipzig: C. F. W. Siegel, 1923), plate 16.

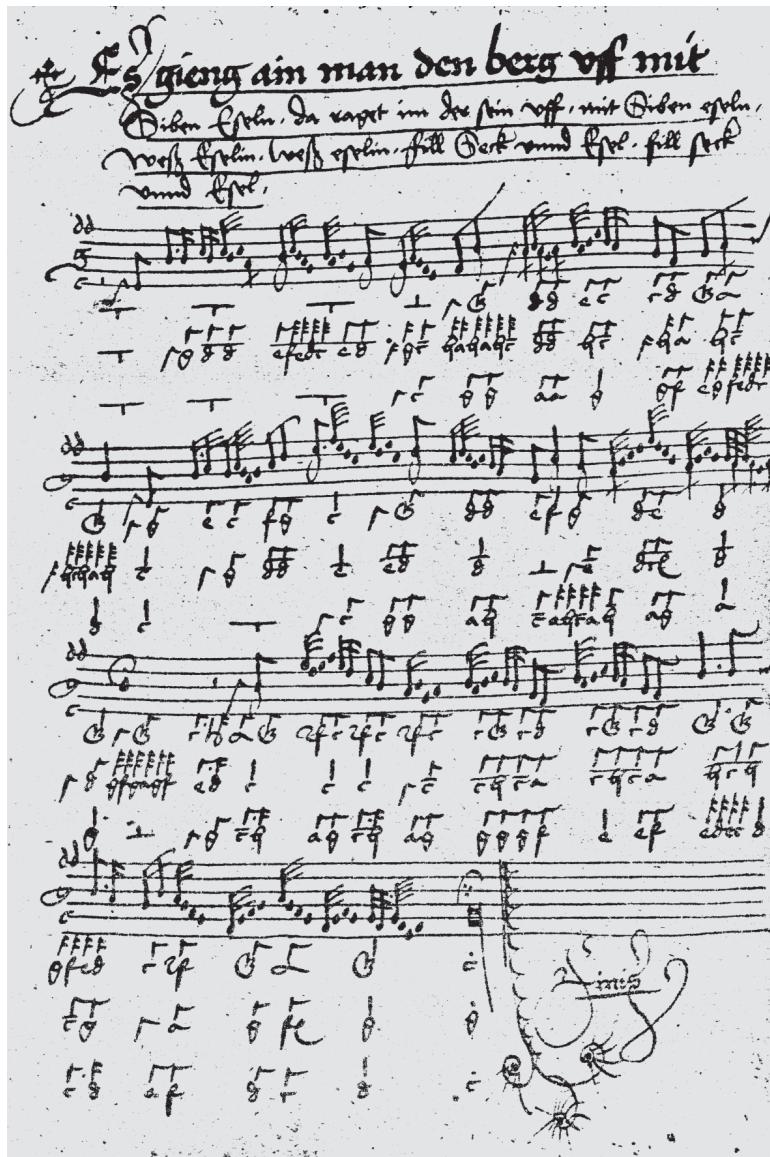


Plate 9: Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. S284, fol. 17r, reproduced from Jost Harro Schmidt, ed., *Hans Buchner, Sämtliche Orgelwerke, Zweiter Teil: Fundamentum und Kompositionen der Handschrift Zürich S 284, Das Erbe Deutscher Musik 55* (Frankfurt: Henry Litolff, 1974), p. VII.



Plate 10: St. Gallen, *Stiftsbibliothek*, MS 530 ("Fridolin Sicher Tablature"), fol. 132r, reproduced from: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0530/132r> (accessed on Oct. 22, 2021).

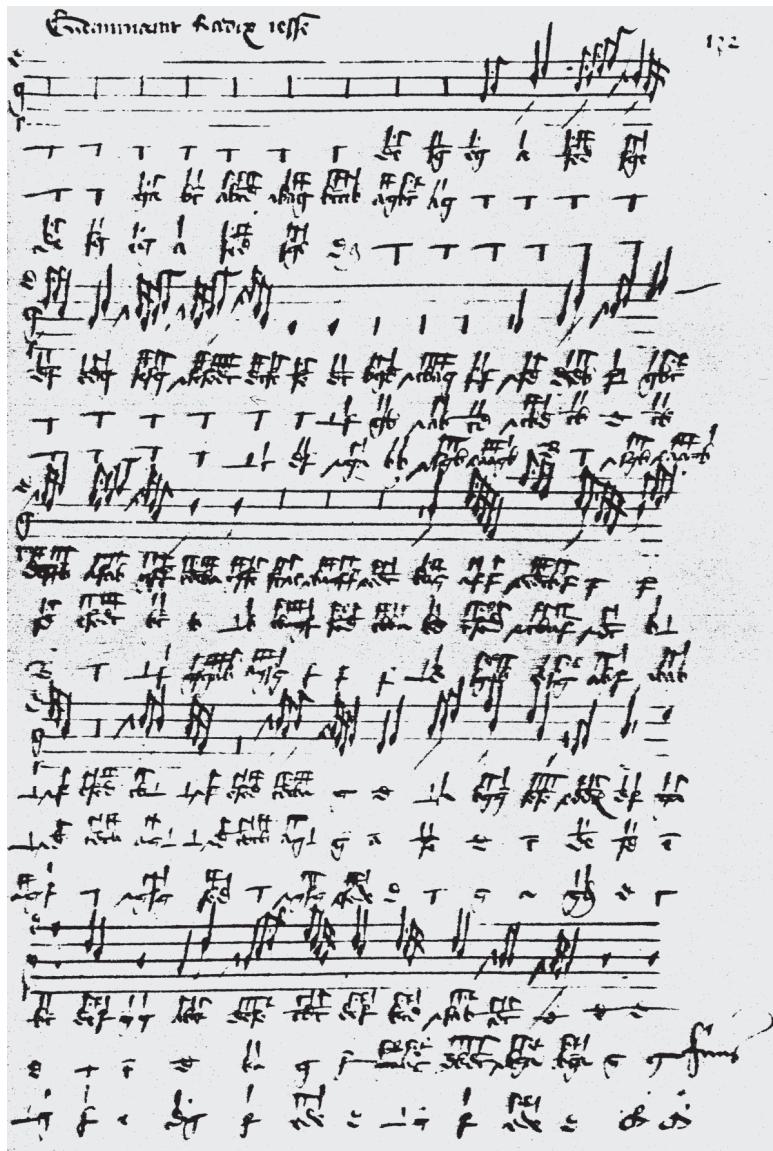


Plate 11: Sebastian Virdung, *Musica Getutscht 1511*, Sig. Iv [Keyboard intabulation of "O haylige onbeflechte zart iunck frauschafft marie (O holy, immaculate, tender virginity of Mary)", reproduced from Beth Bullard, trans. and ed., *Musica Getutscht: A Treatise on Musical Instruments (1511) by Sebastian Virdung*, Cambridge Musical Text and Monograph (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 147.

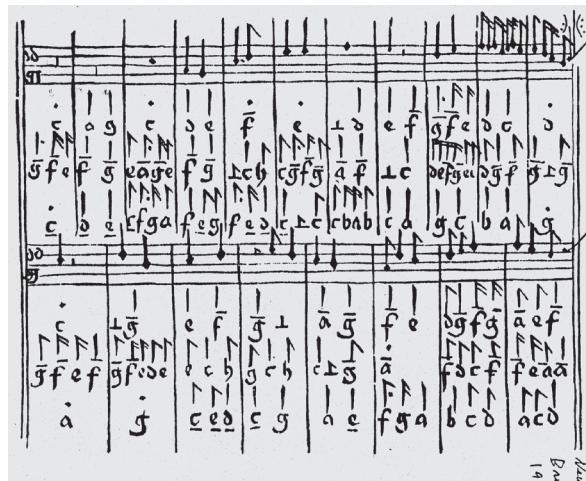


Plate 12: Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsche*, Wittenberg 1528 und 1545, Publikationen aelterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke Band XX (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1896; New York: Broude Brothers, 1966), foldout, p. 2.

**Die art der Composition.**

**Die art der Orgelischen tab.**

Plate 13: Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsche*, Wittenberg 1528 und 1545, Publikationen aelterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke Band XX (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1896; New York: Broude Brothers, 1966), foldout, p. 3.

Wie ein *ygliche* stymme für sich besonderlich / aus den Noten des gesangs /  
vnn die buchstaben verwandelt vnd abgesetzt wird.

Plate 14: Andrea Antico, *Frottole intabulate da sonare organi libro primo* (Venice, 1518; Bologna: Forni Editore Bologna, 1970), fol. 33r.

Plate 15: Antonio Gardane, *Intabolatura nova di varie sorte de balli da sonare per arpichordi, claviciembali, spinette, & manachordi ... libro primo.* (Venice, 1551; Bologna: Forni Editore Bologna, 1971), No. 14.

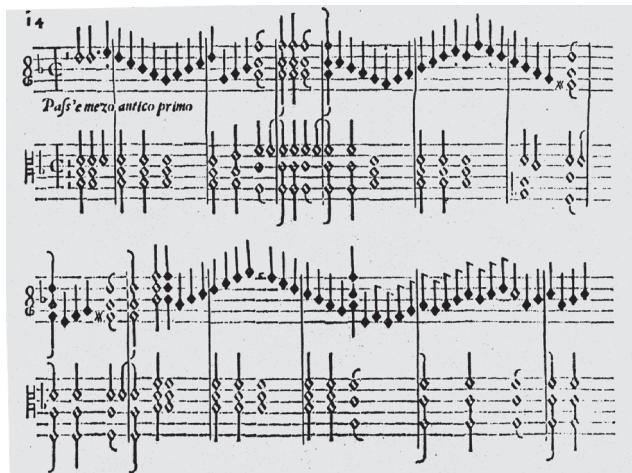


Plate 16: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marziana, ital. iv. 1227, end of No. 18 and beginning of No. 19.

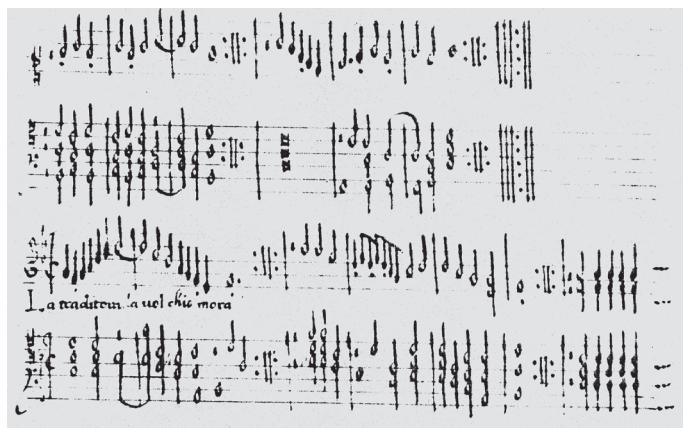


Plate 17: P. Attaingnant, *Vingt et cinq chansons musicales* (Paris, 1531), fol. 54r-54v, reproduced from Eduard Bernoulli, ed. *Chansons und Tänze: Pariser Tabulaturdrucke für Tasteninstrumenten aus dem Jahre 1530 von Pierre Attaingnant* (Munich: Carl Kuhn, 1914), pp. 27-28.



Plate 18: Berlin, Preußischer Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ant, theor. F 100, fols. 42v-43r, reproduced from Johannes Wolf, *Musikalische Schrifttafeln* (Bückeburg and Leipzig: C. F. W. Siegel, 1923), plate 61.

*Fortune à die couru sur moy. 22.*

fortissimo

Forte

mezzo-forte

mezzo-piano

piano

pianissimo

Plate 19: Jean Bonfils, ed., *Chansons françaises pour orgue (vers 1550)*, *Le Pupitre 5* (Paris: Heugel & Cie, 1968), p. 37.



Plate 21: Jean Bonfils, ed., *Chansons françaises pour orgue (vers 1550)*. *Le Pupitre 5* (Paris: Heugel & Cie, 1968), p. 30.



Plate 20: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 2987, fol. 5v.



Plate 22: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 2987, fol. 1v.



Plate 23: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 9437, fol. 12v.



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## 要旨

### バイエルン州立図書館（音楽部門）蔵、Mus. Ms. 2987の来歴： その予備的研究

15-16世紀のフランスでは、他の地域、例えばイタリア、ドイツに比べて、鍵盤楽器用楽譜の写本が少ないことが謎であった。その原因として、フランスではオルガン奏者の手引きとしてのタブラチュア譜（特定の楽器用楽譜）が重用されなかつたこと、また、即興演奏が重視された結果、楽譜は本来残すべきものと考えられなかつたことが、Y. ロックセトによつて指摘されている。本研究が扱う写本には、3つの小分冊と1枚の紙が綴じられており、声楽曲の楽器用編曲やダンスなどの器楽曲が含まれている。各部分で異なる記譜法が使われていることが特徴で、ドイツ・オルガン譜（フォリオ1-6）、ドイツ・リュート譜（フォリオ7）、フランス・リュート譜（フォリオ8-11）、イタリア・リュート譜（フォリオ12-13）が用いられている。この写本（特に第1小分冊）は、かつてW. アペルによつて、上記のフランスの空白を埋めるものとしての可能性が示唆されていた。この図書館の音楽部門の目録を作成したM. L. ゲルナーによれば、これらの筆写譜は、初めはバラバラのまま合唱用楽譜集（現Ms. 2750）の中に、別のイタリア・リュート譜と4声の声楽譜からなる写本（現Ms. 2986）と共に挟み込まれていたらしいが、19世紀後半のどこかの時点で一つの写本（現Ms. 2987）として綴じられたと思われ、元々は、アウグスブルク市参事会員であったJ. H. ヘルヴァルト（1520-1583）が蒐集し、その死後（1585-87年）にバイエルン侯ヴィルヘルム5世に売却され、宫廷図書館の所蔵となつたらしい。各部分については、寸法が若干異なること、筆写者の一致がないこと、第1小分冊の用紙のみ透かし模様（熊）があること、特定の作曲家の既存の出版楽譜集に関係がないことなどから、元は別の出自であったと考えられる。アペルは、この第1小分冊について

の様々な独自の特徴を列挙して、フランスとイタリアの影響がある可能性を示唆しているが、筆者の予備調査では、その根拠の全てが覆されている。結論として、この筆写譜は、フランスあるいはイタリアの作法にも通じた、ドイツで訓練を受けた音楽家あるいは筆写者によって作成された楽譜（タブラチュア）であると考えられる。いずれにせよ、この時代の作曲の過程について依然として完全に解明されていない点（どのように下書きやスケッチをしたのかなど）があるように、こうした筆写譜の成立、特に声楽曲を特定の楽器のために編曲した楽譜の制作（intabulation）について未知の領域があることは、音楽史研究上、興味深い「空白」であるといえよう。