I THE PARTBOOKS UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW LIBRARY, SDM 8–36: MADRIGALS AT VIADRINA UNIVERSITY, FRANKFURT AN DER ODER*

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PL-Wu SDM 8–36 is a set of six partbooks that combine five madrigal collections printed in Antwerp in the 1590s. The set consists of SDM 8–12 (canto), SDM 13–17 (alto), SDM 18–22 (tenore), SDM 23–27 (basso), SDM 28–32 (quinto), and SDM 33–36 (sesto).[1] For the sake of clarity, I will refer to the set simwply as PL-Wu SDM 8–36, identifying the individual partbooks by their appropriate part names rather than their signature.

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1 The signatures consist of number ranges because each edition in each partbook was provided with an independent signature of one number. Accordingly, each partbook is identified by consecutive numbers, one for each of the editions it contains. The sesto partbook contains only four editions (hence the signature SDM 33–36) because one of the editions (No. 4 in Table 1) features only madrigals for five voices.

Table 1 summarizes the contents of PL-Wu SDM 8–36, providing basic information about the individual editions it contains.

All five editions were published by Pierre Phalèse (the Younger) and Jean Bellère. The association between the two printers dates to 1570, when the Phalèse workshop was located in Leuven and was directed by Pierre Phalèse the Elder, the father of Pierre Phalèse. The latter inherited the workshop after his father's death (c. 1573–76) and relocated to Antwerp in 1581. There he continued to work in association with Bellère until Bellère's death in 1595, which explains why both printers' names appear on the title pages in PL-Wu SDM 8–36. Bellère owned an active printing workshop of his own, but he does not seem to have produced any music books independently of Phalèse or to have owned any music types. Accordingly, it is safe to assume that the actual production of these books took place in the Phalèse workshop, and that the association with Bellère concerned other aspects of the publishing business.[2] In any case, the editions gathered in PL-Wu SDM 8–36 were printed at a time when madrigals circulated intensely in the Low Countries. This phenomenon has attracted the attention of scholars working on the genre's reception history, and several scientific contributions explore Phalèse's publications featuring madrigals.[3]

I.1 THE MADRIGAL COLLECTIONS

Looking more closely at the editions contained in PL-Wu SDM 8–36, *Melodia olympica*, *Symphonia angelica*, and *Musica divina* (Nos. 1–3 in Table 1) are anthologies assembled at the initiative of Phalèse's workshop. With few exceptions, they are made up of madrigals that had already appeared in print in Italy (see Chapter 4). Accordingly, we can assume that, in most cases, the sources used to put together the anthologies were printed collections as well, although to date no philological assessment of the textual transmission of these madrigals has been carried out. Together with *Harmonia celeste*, a collection not present in PL-Wu SDM 8–36, these publications now go by the name of the "Antwerp

2 On the Phalèse and Bellère workshops see Bain and Vanhulst, "Phalèse family"; Bain, "Bellère"; Vanhulst, *Catalogue*; Gabriëls and Schreurs (eds.), *Petrus Phalesius*.

3 See Forney, "Antwerp's Role"; Hoekstra, "The Reception and Cultivation"; Piperno, "Il madrigale italiano"; Tsugami, "Anthologies of Italian Madrigals"; Lewis Hammond, "Collecting 'Italia' Abroad"; Lewis, "Pierre Phalèse as Music Editor"; Lewis Hammond, "Selling the Madrigal".

TABLE 1. The contents of PL-Wu SDM 8–36

NO.	EDITION	EDITOR	DEDICATEE	FOLS. (CANTO PARTBOOK)
1	*Melodia olympica* (Antwerp: Phalèse and Bellère, 1594), RISM 1594[7]	Peter Philips	Giulio Balbani, banker	36
2	*Symphonia angelica* (Antwerp: Phalèse and Bellère, 1594), RISM 1594[8]	Hubert Waelrant	Cornelio Pruenen, merchant, Antwerp city treasurer	36
3	*Musica divina* (Antwerp: Phalèse and Bellère, 1595), RISM 1595[4]	Pierre Phalèse	Giovanbattista di Bartolamei, jeweller	36
4	Luca Marenzio, *Madrigali a cinque voci* (Antwerp: Phalèse and Bellère, 1593), RISM M 572	Pierre Phalèse	Gherardo di Hornes, nobleman, governor of Mechelen	56
5	Luca Marenzio, *Madrigali a sei voci* (Antwerp: Phalèse and Bellère, 1594), RISM M 522	Pierre Phalèse	Edouardo, Ferdinando, and Consalvo Ximenez, merchants	56

anthologies".[4] They must have enjoyed considerable commercial success as they were all reprinted several times, becoming some of the most popular madrigal anthologies north of the Alps and a trademark of the Phalèse workshop.[5] Indeed, the editions bound in PL-Wu SDM 8–36 are all reprints of 1594/95: *Melodia olympica* had first appeared in 1591, *Symphonia angelica* in 1585, and *Musica divina* in 1583.[6] Going back to the basic bibliographical features listed in Table 1, we immediately notice the anthologies' considerable length, much longer than the average madrigal print produced by Italian presses, whose partbooks

4 The name was coined in Lewis Hammond, "Collecting 'Italia' Abroad". The fact that they were intended as a series is discussed in Lewis Hammond, "Selling the Madrigal", 225–27.

5 Susan Lewis Hammond noted that the Phalèse workshop published "a combined total of twenty-three editions of the four collections, which form the largest recurring body of Italian madrigals in the north". Lewis Hammond, "Selling the Madrigal", 227.

6 RISM 1591[10], RISM 1585[19], and RISM 1583[15] respectively.

were usually sixteen to twenty folios in length.[7] Likewise notable is the explicit mention of an editor in the prints' paratexts. In all three cases, this editor is a music professional, whether a composer like Peter Philips and Hubert Waelrant, or a music printer like Pierre Phalèse.[8] It is also striking that the name of the editor is foregrounded on the title page, not an obvious choice for a sixteenth-century anthology. (For transcriptions and translations of the paratexts see ▶ Appendix 4.) This even happens in *Musica divina*, where editor and printer are, in fact, the same person. The emphasis given to the editorial activity of an established professional seems to aim at underscoring the anthologies' curated character. Indeed, they claim to contain "the most excellent madrigals that are sung these days" ("i piu Eccellenti Madrigali che hoggidi si cantino"). This expression, which Phalèse must have borrowed from an Italian print he likely owned,[9] reappears on the title page of each edition of all the "Antwerp anthologies". It probably aimed to attract the interest of a broader public unable to independently navigate the repertory and thus interested in a selection whose quality was guaranteed by an authoritative compiler. Furthermore, the anthologies' title pages convey the idea of self-sufficiency: not only do they offer the best of the most popular madrigals, but they also advertise their different scorings, thus meeting the needs of different performers.

▶ p. 228

The last two editions bound in the partbooks (Nos. 4–5 in Table 1) also contain madrigals that had all previously been printed in Italy. Unlike Nos. 1–3, however, they are monographic collections devoted to the works of one composer only, Luca Marenzio.[10] This attests to the great popularity that Marenzio had achieved in the Low Countries, a popularity clearly based only on the circulation of his works, since the composer is not known to have spent any time in the region.[11] The two publications are collected editions of what Marenzio had originally published in ten separate books of madrigals, thus resulting, once again, in very lengthy collections. № 4 in Table 1 assembles Marenzio's books 1–5 for five voices, which had appeared in Venice between 1580 and 1585. № 5, by contrast,

7 See Lewis Hammond, "Pierre Phalèse as Music Editor", 96.
8 On editing Italian secular music, with a focus on German-speaking lands, see Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music*.
9 RISM 1576[5], as noted in Piperno, "Il madrigale italiano", 43.
10 An introductory study on the re-editions of Marenzio's madrigals is presented in Jeanneret, "'Dare in luce & con diligenza correggere'". See also Bizzarini, *Luca Marenzio*, 205–6.
11 The standard biography of the composer is Bizzarini, *Luca Marenzio*.

is devoted to Marenzio's books 1–5 for six voices, which were published in Venice between 1581 and 1591.[12] When reprinting books that had appeared elsewhere, printers would often omit the dedication letter altogether or, in some cases, reproduce the original one.[13] These collected editions of Marenzio, however, include new dedication letters signed by Phalèse himself (▶ Appendix 4). This suggests that the publisher regarded the two collections not as mindless reprints, but rather as new works able to stand on their own for which he wanted to take credit. The editorial activity is also advertised on the title pages, where we read that the madrigals have been "gathered in one corpus" as well as "published and corrected with every diligence" ("In un corpo ridotti. Nuovamente posti in luce, & con ogni diligentia corretti"). We can note also that the editor did not simply assemble the madrigals in the order in which they had appeared in the original prints, a solution that would have been perfectly viable. Instead, he devised a new order according to signature, cleffing, and final (see the tonal types in ▶ Appendix 3). Even though the madrigals are not properly ordered by mode, this choice reveals a careful editorial practice that merits further investigation.

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▶ p. 210

Coming back to the dedication letters accompanying the editions in PL-Wu SDM 8–36, we see that the dedicatees include merchants such as Giulio Balbani, Cornelio Pruenen (Pruynen), Giovanbattista di Bartolamei, and members of the Ximenez family. This feature is found in several other madrigal books from Antwerp, too, starting with the very first example of the genre, Orlando di Lasso's *Il primo libro dovesi contengono madrigali* (RISM L 756), which was dedicated to the Genoese financier Stefano Gentile.[14] The role of merchants, and in particularly of Italian ones, in the patronage of madrigal publications in the Low Countries has already attracted scholarly attention.[15] It invites speculation on the communities these collections targeted, suggesting an audience of businessmen very different from the academicians and courtiers usually invoked in discussions of the madrigal in Italy. This different audience has in turn been connected to the repertory we find in such madrigal collections, in particular in the anthologies, which indeed avoid the most

12 These books and their content are described in Cecchi, "List", 482–89 and 495–503.
13 See for instance Phalèse's reprint (RISM M 3817) of the first book of madrigals by Giovanni Battista Mosto (RISM M 3816), which also reproduces the original dedication letter signed by the composer.
14 Forney, "Orlando di Lasso's 'Opus 1'".
15 See in particular Hoekstra, "The Reception and Cultivation", 149–67 and 169–70.

radical compositional experiments and thus appear suited to the taste and abilities of educated amateurs. As Franco Piperno aptly puts it in an illuminating article on madrigal anthologies north of the Alps, the Italian madrigal outside Italy became

> a product easily accessible and widely consumed, for circles of Italians residing abroad (bankers, merchants, diplomats) and for Francophone, Anglophone, Germanophone, or Flemish environments, lovers of Italian madrigal music but distant [...] from the forges of stylistic and aesthetic madrigal research active in Italy.[16]

The present chapter will test this hypothesis, addressing the ownership of PL-Wu SDM 8–36 in the years immediately following the publication of the editions it contains. Before doing so, however, it is worth summarizing the recent history of the partbooks: understanding how they came to be kept at University of Warsaw Library, an institution whose tragic twentieth-century history heavily affected its holdings, is key to unveiling their early history.

I.2 PL-WU SDM 8–36 IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

PL-Wu SDM 8–36 is now housed at the Music Department (Polish Gabinet Zbiorów Muzycznych) of University of Warsaw Library.[17] This is, however, only the most recent institution to own the partbooks, as is evident from the different library markings that appear on their bindings and pages.

On the front pastedown of each partbook there is a printed paper sticker, depicting a crowned Virgin and Child, standing between two columns, accompanied by the caption "LIBER. BIBLIOTH. ACADEM. FRANCOF.", that is, "book of the library of the University of Frankfurt". This is the *ex libris* of the University of Frankfurt an der Oder, a Protestant institution also known as Viadrina University, based on the Latin name

16 "Un prodotto di largo consumo e di facile fruizione per circoli di italiani residenti all'estero (banchieri, mercanti, diplomatici) e per ambienti francofoni, angolofoni, germanofoni o fiamminghi amanti della musica madrigalistica italiana ma lontani [...] dalle fucine della ricercar stilistica ed estetica del madrigale attive in Italia [...]". Piperno, "Il madrigale Italiano", 47, translation mine.

17 See https://www.buw.uw.edu.pl/en/research/special-collections/music-department/, accessed 21 October 2023.

of the river Oder, Viadrus. It is impossible to date the *ex libris* precisely, but it must have been applied to the partbooks sometime before 1811, when the library ceased to exist as an autonomous institution. In that year, the University of Frankfurt an der Oder was closed and transferred to Wrocław to be merged with the university there, creating a new state institution, the Universitas Litterarum Vratislaviensis (also referred to as Viadrina Vratislaviensis, that is, "the Viadrina of Wrocław").[18] This was undertaken in an attempt to combat the administrative difficulties experienced by the universities in both Frankfurt and Wrocław, as well as in response to the competition from the newly founded university of Berlin.[19] The relocation of Viadrina University to Wrocław also entailed the move of the university library and archive, so that many of its musical sources became part of the Königliches Akademisches Institut für Kirchenmusik ("the Royal Academic Institute for Church Music", later known as the Musikalisches Institut or "Musical Institute"), an institute established at the new University of Wrocław in 1812.[20] This must have been the path taken by PL-Wu SDM 8–36, too: on the spine of each partbook we find the signature used by the Musikalisches Institut of Wrocław, a paper sticker with the handwritten abbreviation "Ad"—standing for "alte Drucke" (i.e., old prints)—followed by a number, in this case 187. This scenario is also confirmed by Ernst Kirsch's 1922 catalogue of the Musikalisches Institut, which indeed lists a music print with the signature "187" among the sources that came to Wrocław from Frankfurt an der Oder.[21]

After this relocation, PL-Wu SDM 8–36 remained in Wrocław up until the post-World War II period. The city came under Polish jurisdiction in 1945 and the collection of the former Musikalisches Institut was then administered by the Zakład Muzykologii, the local department of musicology.[22] A few years later, in 1952, the holdings of the Wrocław Department of Musicology were moved to Warsaw, and PL-Wu SDM 8–36

18 Naming this new university "Viadrina" aligned with both its institutional history and its geographic position, given that Wrocław, too, lies on the Oder River. This name is also used in library markings. See, e.g., the stamp "Ex Bibl. Univ. Viad. Vrat." (i.e., "from the library of Viadrina Vratislaviensis") on PL-Wu SDM 307.

19 On the history of Viadrina University in Frankfurt an der Oder see Mühlpfordt, "Die Oder-Universität 1506–1811"; Höhle, *Universität und Reformation*; Modrow, *Wonach in Frankfurt*; Blänkner, "Die alte Viadrina – Brandenburgische Landesuniversität"; Knefelkamp, "Die alte Viadrina (1506–1811)"; Jaser, "Die Viadrina um 1600"; Staats, "Viadrina".

20 Drożdżewska, "The Cataloguing", 23–24.

21 Kirsch, *Die Bibliothek des Musikalischen Instituts*, 7.

22 See Drożdżewska, "The Cataloguing", 30–31 and the literature quoted there.

became part of the collection of University of Warsaw Library.[23] It is at this stage that stickers with the stylized logo of University of Warsaw Library (BUW) were applied to the upper left corners of the partbooks' front pastedowns and the source was stamped in various places with the mark "Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Warszawa" ("University Library Warsaw"). Moreover, during the cataloguing process, pencil shelf marks were added on the first folio of the individual editions.

Taken together, the institutional markings on the source reveal the peregrinations of PL-Wu SDM 8–36, entangled within the complex history of central European libraries. Despite their current location, the early history of the partbooks appears not to be connected to Warsaw. How can we reconstruct their history and whereabouts between their printing in Antwerp in 1590s and their relocation from Frankfurt an der Oder to Wrocław in 1811? Fortunately, unlike many other early modern music prints, PL-Wu SDM 8–36 is still preserved together with its original binding, whose features shed light on its provenance and ownership. It shows that PL-Wu SDM 8–36 was assembled and used precisely in Frankfurt an der Oder, only a few years after the publication of the editions it contains.

I.3 THE BINDING

The six partbooks constituting PL-Wu SDM 8–36 are bound with blind-tooled half pigskin and manuscript waste painted in green, a style of binding that was popular in German-speaking lands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As an example, see the front cover of the canto partbook, ▶ p. 188 ▶ Fig. I.1. This binding style has recently attracted much attention, since the green pigment used to obscure the manuscript waste has been found to contain arsenic.[24] It is likely that during the binding the partbooks were also provided with parchment *tenacula*, little bookmarks protruding from the right margins to indicate the title pages of the five collections, with letters matching their titles.[25]

On the front covers, each partbook carries the part name—written in Italian and matching the part name that appears on the title pages of

23 The provenance of PL-Wu SDM 8–36 from the Wrocław Zakład Muzykologii is also confirmed in the 1970 catalogue of early music prints in University of Warsaw Library. See Mendysowa, *Katalog*, 273, 275, 277, 279, 288.

24 Delbey et al., "Poisonous books".

25 "O" for *Melodia olympica*, "A" for *Symphonia angelica*, "D" for *Musica divina*, and "M" for Marenzio.

the editions—as well as the year 1601, most likely the year of binding. Part names and dates were probably inscribed at the same time using letter stamps. What is more, on the front pastedown of each partbook there are different personal names, in Latin, followed by abbreviations. These are:

Canto: "Melchior a Rintorf M" (▶ Fig. I.2) ▶ p. 188
Alto: "Georgius ab Eichstedt P E" (▶ Fig. I.3) ▶ p. 188
Tenore: "Chrysostomus Pelargus S S" (▶ Fig. I.4) ▶ p. 188
Basso: "M Georgius Stampelius S P P" (▶ Fig. I.5) ▶ p. 189
Quinto: "Andreas [illegible family name and abbreviations]" (▶ Fig. I.6) ▶ p. 189
Sesto: "Henricus Pape Hamb" (▶ Fig. I.7) ▶ p. 189

Surprisingly, these are not successive owners of the set: the names were all inscribed at the same time, with the same set of letter stamps and black ink. The use of letter stamps suggests that the job was done by the binder, who must have had the necessary tools at his or her disposal. This must also have happened in 1601, since the colour of the ink and the script match the front covers. Thus, the binding, the inscriptions on the front covers, and the names on the front pastedowns were all realized at the same time. Furthermore, this indicates that the partbooks were likely bound for the individuals mentioned on the pastedowns. As I will detail below, all of them had direct connections to the Viadrina University in Frankfurt an der Oder. Given that the city was an important centre of book production, it is also likely that the partbooks were bound there, a hypothesis supported by the style of the bindings and by the manuscript waste used therein (see Chapter 2).

In order to reconstruct the exact social context for which PL-Wu SDM 8–36 was assembled, in the following I take a closer look at the inscriptions on the pastedowns, investigating the identities behind those names and the meanings of the abbreviations.

"M Georgius Stampelius S P P" (basso partbook)

Of the persons mentioned on the partbooks, Georgius Stampelius, the latinized version of Georg Stampel, is the one who left the most traces due to his activities as Lutheran theologian and pastor.[26] Stampel was born in 1561 in Salzwedel in the Altmark, into a family with some financial means. After studying at the universities in Wittenberg, Helmstedt, Tübingen, and Rostock, he matriculated in Frankfurt an der Oder in the summer semester of 1597,[27] gaining his master's degree on 9 October 1600. At the end of the same year, he was offered the position of professor of Hebrew at the same institution. This information helps us to decipher the abbreviations in the basso partbooks, which I interpret as follows: "M[agister] Georgius Stampelius S[oltquellensis] P[rofessor] P[ublicus]" (i.e., "Master Georg Stampel of Salzwedel, public professor"). Stampel was to remain at Viadrina University for the next eleven years, serving as dean of the philosophy faculty twice and as the rector of the university (1606–7). In 1610, Heinrich Brockes, mayor of Lübeck and a university friend of Stampel's, proposed him as the new pastor of St. Peter's Church in Lübeck. The appointment was at first opposed by other Lübeck officials because, after hearing Stampel preaching, they found him to be of "slight appearance" with a "delicate and feeble diction",[28] thus an unsuitable candidate for a position as pastor and preacher. These reservations notwithstanding, Brockes enforced Stampel's appointment, and the latter took up the position in Lübeck in 1611.[29] Two years later, Stampel was also appointed superintendent, an important office that involved the administration of the church at a regional level, remaining in charge there until his death in 1622.

Throughout his life, Stampel published widely on a variety of topics.[30] Giovanni Battista Doni, in his *De praestantia musicae veteris* (1647), mentions him alongside Michael Praetorius and Marin Mersenne as a

26 For a biographical overview see Noack and Splett, *Bio-Bibliographien*, 618–22.

27 The matriculation book records him as "Georgius Stampelius Soltquellensis", see Friedlaender (ed.), *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln*, 412.

28 See Starck, *Lubeca Lutherano-evangelica*, 581–82: "Die reiseten auch den 16 Novembr. 1610 ab / langeten zu Franckfurt an / hörten ihn predigen / allein weil sie ein geringes Ansehen / und kleinliche Sprache an ihm befunden / daß sie wegen des Pastorats mit ihm zu tractiren noch zur Zeit Bedenken getragen / kamen sie unverrichteter Sachen wiederumb heim / und berichteten nur so viel / daß Stampelius ein geschickter Mann / der ein gelehrte Predigt gethan / wäre / ausser / daß er eine feine / und schwächliche Ausrede hätte / und ward also dasmahl aus dieser Wahl nichts".

29 Noack and Splett, *Bio-Bibliographien*, 620.

30 See the works listed in Noack and Splett, *Bio-Bibliographien*, 622–28.

recent author on ancient musical instruments.[31] I have not been able to identify any publication by Stampel specifically on musical instruments, but given his philological training and knowledge of scriptural languages, it is not unlikely that he wrote on the topic. This text might have been lost or be hidden somewhere in one of his several publications.

"Chrysostomus Pelargus S S" (tenore partbook)

This name is recorded in the matriculation book of Viadrina University in the summer semester of 1584 as "Chrisosthomus Pelargus Swidnicensis".[32] We can thus surmise that Chrysostomus came from Schweidnitz (Lower Silesia), now Świdnica in Poland. This helps us to decipher the inscription in the partbooks, which must read "Chrysostomus Pelargus S[widnicensis] S[ilesius]", i.e., a Silesian from Schweidnitz. Note also that Pelargus is a humanist name modelled on the Greek "pelargós" (i.e., stork), a translation of the common German family name "Storch".

Chrysostomus was the brother of Christoph Pelargus (Christoph Storch), a prominent Lutheran theologian, professor at Viadrina University from 1586 until his death in 1633.[33] The relation between the two can be inferred from a publication commemorating Christoph's death. This features a Latin poem signed "by the pious hands of his [Christoph's] beloved brother Chrysostomus Pelargus" ("Piis manibus fratris sui charissimi Chrysostomus Pelargus Philochem"),[34] lamenting the sorrows of old age and the ill fate of outliving one's brothers.

The sources just discussed also offer circumstantial evidence allowing us to infer Chrysostomus's date of birth. Since he was still alive in 1633 and he must have been at least eighteen years old in 1584 (the minimum age for taking an oath at the matriculation ceremony),[35] he was probably born sometime around 1560. Thus, he was approximately the same age as Georg Stampel. Around 1600 he was still in Frankfurt an der Oder and still active among the intellectuals in the university's

31 Doni, *De praestantia musicae veteris*, 130.
32 Friedlaender (ed.), *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln*, 310.
33 See Noack and Splett, *Bio-Bibliographien*, 480–554.
34 Magirus, *Ad solenne funeris*, fol. F3^{v}.
35 Children could matriculate at Viadrina University, but the matriculation book records them using the expression "puer non iuravit" ("child, did not swear") or a variant of it. See Noack and Splett, *Bio-Bibliographien*, 98. The oath would then take place when they came of age. Judging from the dates recorded in the matriculation book, this usually occurred around the eighteenth year of age. See, e.g., the record regarding Georg Gutke, born in 1589, who matriculated in 1604 and took the oath in 1608 (Noack and Splett, *Bio-Bibliographien*, 221–22).

milieu. A publication celebrating the appointment of a Johann Krüger as poet laureate, which took place in Frankfurt an der Oder on 29 July 1602, features a Latin poem by Chrysostomus, alongside contributions by his brother Christoph and other authors connected to Viadrina University.[36]

"Georgius ab Eichstedt P E" (alto partbook)

Basic biographical information on Georgius ab Eichstedt can be found in a theological treatise dedicated to him, the *Disputationes Theologicae* published in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1603. The author is none other than abovementioned Christoph Pelargus, then professor of theology at Viadrina University as well as general superintendent of Brandenburg. The dedication letter tells us that Georg was a nobleman of the house of Eichstedt: the salutation addresses him by the honorary title of "eques Pomeranus" ("Pomeranian knight") as well as that of heir to Klempenow, a fief in Pomerania. This sheds light on the abbreviation in PL-Wu SDM 8–36, which must read "P[omeranus] E[ques]". Furthermore, we learn that Georg was still relatively young in 1603 (he is twice addressed as a "juvenis", a young man), had scholarly interests, and was on friendly terms with Christoph Pelargus. The latter declares himself as a "friend and companion" ("amicus" and "convictor") and offers the book as a token of their friendship and keepsake of their conversations.[37]

The identification of further biographical information on Georg von Eichstedt is complicated by inconsistencies in the primary and secondary sources. Carl August Ludwig von Eickstedt's *Familienbuch* (1860) records a Georg von Eichstedt born in 1584 in Rothenklempenow who studied in Frankfurt an der Oder between 1600 and 1607 and there befriended Christoph Pelargus.[38] This seems to be the same Georg of PL-Wu SDM 8–36, but the matriculation book of Viadrina University does not record anyone with that name in or around 1600. In the summer semester of 1595, the matriculation book records a "Georgius Christophorus ab Eichstad. nobilis",[39] but this Georg cannot have been born in 1584, since, as discussed above, an eleven-year-old would not have been able to take the matriculation oath. Be that as it may, the Georg von

36 *Carmina Gratulatoria*; Chrysostomus's poem is at fol. A2^{v}. On the laureation of poets see Flood, *Poets Laureate*, xlvii–cclv.
37 See the dedication letter in Pelargus, *Disputationes Theologicae*, fol. [A1]^{v}–[A4]^{r}.
38 Von Eickstedt, *Familienbuch*, 174–78.
39 Friedlaender (ed.), *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln*, 397.

Eichstedt whose name appears on the alto partbook of PL-Wu SDM 8–36 was a young nobleman with scholarly interests, well integrated into the intellectual circles of Viadrina University, albeit probably still a student.

"Melchior a Rintorf M" (canto partbook)

A "Melchior a Rintorff aus Iden, nobilis Marchicus" matriculated at Viadrina University in the winter semester of 1600.[40] Thus Melchior a Rintorf was also a nobleman, like Georg von Eichstedt, and he came from Iden in the Altmark.[41] This suggests that the abbreviation "M" must be interpreted as "M[archicus]", but no other information on him is available.[42]

"Henricus Pape Hamb" (sesto partbook)

A "Heinricus Pape Hamburgensis" matriculated in the summer semester of the same year.[43] He seems to have been a student of Georg Stampel: the printer Andreas Eichorn published a public disputation between Stampel and Pape held in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1601.[44] Stampel acted as president of the disputation, proposing the topics of discussion, while Pape was the respondent.[45] According to nineteenth-century historians, Pape obtained his master's degree in 1601 and went on to follow a church career in his hometown of Hamburg, becoming pastor of St. Georg and preacher at the Hospital of St. Hiob until his death in 1629.[46]

"Andreas" (quinto partbook)

Finally, a word on the quinto partbook. As I detail below, the inscriptions on canto, alto, and quinto are scraped off. The first two are still legible, but this is not the case with the quinto. Close inspection reveals the first name "Andreas" followed by a seven-letter family name and a two-letter abbreviation, interspersed with ornamental signs akin to the ones appearing on the other partbooks. Although countless names could match these criteria, one good candidate seems to be the "Andreas Götze

40 Friedlaender (ed.), *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln*, 446.
41 Rohrlach, *Historisches Ortslexikon*, 1006–13.
42 He might be the Melchior von Rintorf who later became a member of the chapter of the Liebfrauenkirche in Halberstadt. See the inscriptions from that institution catalogued in *Deutsche Inschriften Online*, institution "DI 86, Halberstadt (Stadt)", objects Nos. 242, 243, and 265 (www.inschriften.net, accessed 26 October 2023).
43 Friedlaender (ed.), *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln*, 443.
44 Stampel and Pape, *Veritatis eique oppositae falsitatis*.
45 On early modern disputations see Friedenthal, Marti, and Seidel (eds.), *Early Modern Disputations and Dissertations*.
46 Janssen, *Ausführliche Nachrichten*, 140; Schröder, *Lexikon*, 645.

Soldquellensis Marchicus" who is recorded in Viadrina University's matriculation book precisely in the year 1601.[47] This Andreas Götze was a fellow countryman of Georg Stampel—they both came from Salzwedel in the Altmark—and might have been related to Barbara Götze, whom Stampel married in 1601.[48] Götze's name could have been inscribed in the latinized form "Andreas Gotzius S[oltquellensis] M[archicus]", a reconstruction that seems compatible with the remaining traces of ink.

I.4 THE MEANING OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The identification of the individuals mentioned in PL-Wu SDM 8–36 reinforces the connection between the partbooks and Viadrina University in Frankfurt an der Oder. At the time the books were bound, Georg Stampel was a professor at that university, while the other three—Georg von Eichstedt, Melchior von Rintorf, and Heinrich Pape—were most likely still students. The same applies to the "Andreas" mentioned in the quinto partbook, if the identification as Andreas Götze proposed above is correct. Finally, even though he does not seem to have had an official affiliation with the university around 1601, Chrysostomus Pelargus certainly had close ties with it, both as an alumnus as well as the brother of one of its most prominent professors.

It thus seems clear that Viadrina University was the link between these individuals. Nevertheless, the meaning of the inscriptions is less obvious than might appear at first glance. The presence of different marks of ownership in early modern music sources is not uncommon, but they usually refer to successive owners. The entering of different but complementary names on the partbooks of one and the same set is, to the best of my knowledge, a unique occurrence. The very concept of a "mark of ownership" seems misplaced for the inscriptions in PL-Wu SDM 8–36. Partbooks function exclusively when kept together, and there is no evidence of musicians deliberately owning only one partbook of a set, since without the others it would be useless. Indeed, the very history of PL-Wu SDM 8–36 proves this assumption: albeit arguably intended for the different people mentioned on its pastedowns, it was kept together as a set in Frankfurt an der Oder, even when some members of the group

47 Friedlaender (ed.), *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln*, 448.
48 Noack and Splett, *Bio-Bibliographien*, 622.

left town. Thus, the names on the partbooks only make sense together, and indeed their coherent visual appearance reinforces this impression. It should be noted, however, that all the names could have been written on all pastedowns, and indeed it is not uncommon to find marks of ownership repeated verbatim on each partbook of a set, including lengthy ones. Thus, PL-Wu SDM 8–36 clearly also establishes a relationship between individual names and the partbooks. The exact meaning of this relationship is difficult to ascertain, however. If we assume that the inscriptions indicate performers, it is tempting to identify a connection between the vocal ranges of the individuals and the respective partbooks. In other words, we could argue that Georg Stampel, whose name appears on the basso partbook, sang the bass. Although judging by the years of matriculation the voices of all the people involved must have broken, the upper parts could have been sung in falsetto, a practice that is well documented for all-male ensembles.[49]

This hypothesis is not without its problems. The quinto and sesto partbooks include parts with a considerable variety of clefs, from F4 to G2, which cannot be convincingly linked to one performer only. It is true that this problem ceases to exist if we postulate an instrumental performance, but even so the fact remains that the sesto partbook contains far fewer madrigals than the other partbooks. Accordingly, it seems unlikely that Heinrich Pape, whose name appears on the sesto, performed exclusively from that book. Considering these inconsistencies, it seems plausible that the inscriptions in fact had a symbolic function, the set of partbooks representing a group of friends and/or colleagues who made music together. The distribution of their names across the different partbooks might have been inspired by the layout itself rather than by a strict division of roles in performance. It is also possible that the relation between names and partbooks had little to do with vocal ranges but rather represented the status and/or age of the individuals within the group. A symbolic relationship between age and partbook is also attested in other sources from German-speaking lands. Consider, for example, the verses that appear on the title pages of Georg Forster's *Frische teutsche Liedlein* (Nuremberg; J. Petreius, 1539, RISM 1539[27]), where the discantus is entrusted to boys and girls ("Ir Kneblin und ir Meidlein"),

49 Metcalfe, "Clefs, Pitch, and Transposition", 328.

the alto to young persons ("Jung gsellen"), the tenor to men ("Mennern"), and the bass to men "of a certain age" ("wer ein bstanden alter hat").[50] Against this background, it might not be a coincidence that the name of Georg Stampel, the professor and the only one titled "magister" in his inscription, was inscribed on the basso partbook. By the same token, the name of the other mature man, Chrysostomus Pelargus, appears on the tenore partbook, while the names of the arguably younger members of the group, the students, appear on the generally higher parts.

Regardless of whether the distribution of the names represents register or status or neither of the two, the careful way in which the partbooks were inscribed strengthens the hypothesis that the inscriptions served a symbolic and commemorative function. We are not dealing with hasty notes of possession on a title page here, but rather with carefully executed inscriptions, written in a consistent manner and epigraphic in character, including ornamental elements and titles. These features, along with the academic context and the graphic representation of a social and intellectual network on the pages of a book, bear some resemblance to the tradition of the *liber amicorum*. The *liber amicorum* (i.e., book of friends) is a particular type of diary, very popular among central European students and academics in the early modern period, which documented, through the handwritten annotations of friends and colleagues, the intellectual relationships established by the owner.[51] Unlike a *liber amicorum*, however, PL-Wu SDM 8–36 was not inscribed by multiple people in their own hand, but likely by one person only: the binder, using letter stamps. Moreover, nothing suggests that the partbooks belonged to one specific person who regarded it as a personal keepsake.

I.5 INTENDED FUNCTION AND SIGNS OF USE

Having considered the inscriptions in PL-Wu SDM 8–36 and their possible meanings, we can now turn to the intended function of the partbooks in relation to the context for which they were bound. Recent research on book history has warned against the unreflecting use of concepts of

50 I would like to thank Sonja Tröster for drawing my attention to this source.

51 The literature on the *liber amicorum* is vast. For an introduction and bibliographic references see the *Repertorium Alborum Amicorum* (https://raa.gf-franken.de/de/startseite.html). For the musicological relevance of the *liber amicorum* see Dessì, "The Musical Training".

readership, arguing that "readership" is "too narrow to embrace the totality of the relationship between books and people".[52] This applies to music sources as well: not all owners are readers and not all readers are performers. There are several examples of music books gathered as collectors' items without any intention of immediate performance, or music books that were kept in environments where their chances of being used were minimal. PL-Wu SDM 8–36, however, was assembled for practical purposes and was intended for a context in which actual music making was likely.

First of all, while some historical partbooks assemble disparate editions acquired over a longer period, PL-Wu SDM 8–36 is clearly the product of a unified project. As observed earlier, it only contains editions of Italian-texted madrigals produced at one printing workshop between 1593 and 1595. Given the relative proximity between the print dates of the different editions in PL-Wu SDM 8–36, it is probable that they were all purchased at the same time, sometime between 1595 and 1601. In this regard, the abovementioned absence of *Harmonia celeste* is striking, considering that it had been reissued in 1593 and Phalèse marketed his four "Antwerp anthologies" as a series.[53] It is possible, however, that *Harmonia celeste* was not available, or that the purchaser was simply not interested in acquiring the entire series. The binder clearly was unaware of the serial nature of Phalèse's anthologies: they are bound according to date of printing rather than the order in which they were originally published, although this order is evident from Gheesdalius's poem "In commendationem Quadrigæ Musicalis" reproduced in *Melodia olympica*, which lists them in the order *Musica divina*, *Harmonia celeste*, *Symphonia angelica*, and *Melodia olympica* (▶ Appendix 4).

▶ p. 228

The absence of *Harmonia celeste* notwithstanding, the five editions included in PL-Wu SDM 8–36 reveal a specific interest in a particular music genre that cannot be the product of mere chance. It seems certain, moreover, that the partbooks were assembled with the intention of being used by the people whose names appear on the bindings—after all, the inscriptions on the front covers and front pastedowns were written at the same time. All of this reveals the intention behind the creation

52 Pearson, *Book Ownership*, 16.
53 RISM 1593[4].

of PL-Wu SDM 8–36; whether and to what extent the source was used for actual music performances after being bound is another issue. The annotations and corrections in the partbooks are not conclusive in this regard. The few emendations are most likely the result of proofreading in the printing workshop rather than corrections introduced by performers, since they appear in all extant copies of the editions I was able to consult.[54] There are barlines highlighting units of breves drawn for several madrigals, and most of these same madrigals are ticked off in the table of contents. All these markings, however, are in pencil and probably indicate a transcription made by a modern scholar or musician, a hypothesis in line with the fact that the books were kept at musicological institutions in Wrocław and Warsaw from the nineteenth century onwards.

Potential indicators of early use are damage to the bookmarks and a few ink markings in the table of contents. As mentioned above, probably at the time of binding the partbooks were provided with *tenacula*. Most of these have come off, leaving a tear in the paper corresponding to their original position, suggesting that they were used repeatedly to leaf through the books. In fact, the only bookmarks to survive in each partbook are the ones corresponding to the first collection *Melodia olympica*, which need not have been used much since the first collection is easily found simply by lifting the front covers.[55] The few ink markings in the tables of content of the canto partbook are intriguing, too: the titles of nine madrigals—not identical to those barred and ticked in pencil—are underlined.[56] It is truly tempting to speculate that we have before us the selection made by a user in the early seventeenth century, especially because the underlining singles out popular settings of innocent love poetry like Palestrina's *Vestiva i colli* as well as of overtly erotic

54 See, for instance, *Musica divina*, canto partbook, fol. 23^{v}, upper margin (correction of "a 5" to "a 6"); Marenzio, *Madrigali a sei voci*, canto partbook, fol. 29 [*recte* 28]^{v}, fifth stave (correction of the mensuration sign); Marenzio, *Madrigali a sei voci*, alto partbook, fol. 49^{r}, first stave (correction with cancel slip).

55 Bookmarks still appear on the following editions (relevant partbooks in parentheses): *Melodia olympica* (C, A, T, B, Q, S), *Symphonia angelica* (Q, S), *Musica divina* (Q, S), Marenzio, *Madrigali a cinque voci* (C, A), Marenzio, *Madrigali a sei voci* (C, T, Q, S).

56 In the table of contents of *Melodia olympica*: Giovanni Croce, *Tirsi morir volea*. In the table of contents of *Musica Divina*: *Già fu chi m'ebbe cara e volentieri* (by Palestrina, but anonymous in the source) and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina's *Vestiva i colli e le campagne intorno*. In the table of contents of Marenzio's *Madrigali a cinque voci*: *Dolorosi martir fieri tormenti*, *Spuntavan già per far il mondo adorno*, and *Tirsi morir volea*. In the table of contents of Marenzio's *Madrigali a sei voci*: *Cantai già lieto il mio libero stato*, *Leggiadre ninfe e pastorelli amanti*, and *Occhi sereni e chiari*.

texts like Croce's and Marenzio's *Tirsi morir volea*.[57] It is impossible to date the underlining in the tables of contents, however, and it is equally uncertain when the bookmarks were damaged. Accordingly, such signs of use offer no real evidence of whether and how the partbooks were used in the years immediately following the binding. Nor should the lack of evident annotations by early performers be regarded as proof that the partbooks were not employed for performance: the musical text is fairly reliable and many of the madrigals can be performed just as they appear in the prints. Admittedly, there are mistakes in the verbal texts, but it seems unlikely that these would have bothered a group of German-speaking amateur musicians. Thus, the material conditions of the source itself offer no real evidence regarding its early use. Nonetheless, some hypotheses can be formulated by situating the partbooks in the wider context of the music sources that once belonged to Viadrina University in Frankfurt an der Oder.

I.6 PL-WU SDM 8–36 IN THE CONTEXT OF VIADRINA UNIVERSITY'S LIBRARY

At the Music Department at the University of Warsaw Library there are thirty-four collections of music prints that came to Warsaw from the library of Viadrina University, Frankfurt an der Oder.[58] Although a detailed study of this corpus must be left to future research, its dimensions and the presence of several unmistakable signs of use suggest an active musical practice in and around Viadrina University around 1600.[59] This was the case despite the lack of official music lessons at the university[60]—a fact in line with the situation in other academic institutions in Central Europe, where music was often taught and practiced informally rather than as part of an official curriculum.[61]

57 For a discussion of the poem *Vestiva i colli e le campagne intorno* see Chapter 6. On *Tirsi morir volea* see Macy, "Speaking of Sex", 15–18.
58 See the appendix to Chemotti, "Writing names in music books".
59 No recent research has been conducted on music at Viadrina University, Frankfurt an der Oder, but the survey found in the 1942 monograph Grimm, *Meister der Renaissancemusik* remains useful.
60 Grimm, *Meister der Renaissancemusik*, 117–18 and Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege*, 62.
61 Groote, "Transmission and Adaptation", 59–61.

TABLE 2. Music prints from Viadrina University belonging to people close to the owners of PL-Wu SDM 8–36

NO.	SIGNATURE	CONTENT	OWNERSHIP
1	PL-Wu SDM 294–95	Bartholomäeus Gesius, *Geistliche Deutsche Lieder* (Frankfurt an der Oder: J. Hartmann, 1601), RISM G 1690	Gifted by Bartholomäeus Gesius to Christoph Pelargus
2	PL-Wu SDM 85	Jacobus Gallus (Handl), *Tomus primus operis musici cantionum* (Prague: G. Nigrinus, 1586), RISM H 1980; *Secundus tomus musici operis* (Prague: G. Nigrinus, 1587), RISM H 1981; *Tertius tomus musici operis* (Prague: G. Nigrinus, 1587), RISM H 1982	Jacob Staius senior. Gifted to Christoph Pelargus in 1601
3	PL-Wu SDM 92 / 92a	Orlando di Lasso, *Orlandi Lassi musici praestantissimi fasciculi* (Nuremberg: K. Gerlach, 1582), RISM L 937; *Selectissimae cantiones* (Nuremberg: K. Gerlach, 1587), RISM L 976; *Altera pars selectissimarum cantionum* (Nuremberg: K. Gerlach, 1587), RISM L 977	Dedication by Daniel Pelargus to his brother Christoph Pelargus, dated 1591
4	PL-Wu SDM 83 / 1527	Orlando di Lasso, *Primus liber modulorum* (Paris: A. Le Roy and R. Ballard, 1571), RISM L 845; *Secundus liber modulorum* (Paris: A. Le Roy and R. Ballard, 1571), RISM L 847; *Moduli quinis vocibus* (Paris: A. Le Roy and R. Ballard, 1571), RISM L 843; *Livre de chansons nouvelles* (Paris: A. Le Roy and R. Ballard, 1571), RISM L 848	Valentin Becker. Later gifted to his son Gottfried Becker

Table 2 lists four sources that are of particular interest for the contextualization of PL-Wu SDM 8–36.[62] As evident from marks of ownership and annotations, these sources belonged to persons linked by bonds of friendship or kinship with some of the individuals mentioned on the partbooks that form the subject of this chapter. № 1 in Table 2, a collection of German hymns arranged for four or five parts, was gifted by the author, Bartholomäeus Gesius, to Christoph Pelargus, the brother of Chrysostomus Pelargus. Gesius had studied at Viadrina University and became cantor of the Marienkirche of Frankfurt an der Oder in 1593,

62 These and other sources are discussed in detail in Chemotti, "Writing names in music books".

a post he held until his death in 1613.[63] As such, he must have been a professional point of reference for music making at Viadrina University, since the Marienkirche also served as the university church.[64] № 2, a set of eight partbooks with motets by Jacobus Gallus (Handl), belonged to Jacob Staius senior (1550–1606), a notary, poet, and musician active in Frankfurt an der Oder,[65] himself a student at Viadrina University in the 1560s.[66] Staius gifted the books to Christoph Pelargus on Palm Sunday 1601 "as a memento of himself and his family", as stated in a lengthy handwritten dedication on the back of each title page.[67] № 3 is a set of six partbooks with motets by Orlando di Lasso. The tenor partbook contains a handwritten dedication to Christoph Pelargus by his brother Daniel Pelargus, dated 1591, probably on the occasion of the latter's departure from Frankfurt an der Oder.[68] Finally, № 4 is a set of five partbooks with motets and chansons by Lasso. It belonged to Valentin Becker (latinized as Valentinus Pistorius, 1559–1607), a church official in Frankfurt an der Oder, first deacon in the Unterkirche (1583–85) and later deacon and archdeacon of the Marienkirche.[69] Sometime before his death, he gifted the partbooks to his son Gottfried Becker.[70] Christoph Pelargus and Georg Stampel had close links to the Becker family—see, for instance, the funeral orations they published for the death of Valentin Becker's wife Hedwig (d. 1602).[71]

Taken together, these prints from Viadrina University not only indicate that musical sources were collected and given as gifts, but also suggest the existence of a group of amateur musicians linked to the university. The three brothers Daniel, Christoph, and Chrysostomus Pelargus all owned music books and must therefore have performed music. Christoph's love of singing is also remembered in his funeral oration

63 Waczkat, "Gesius".
64 Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege*, 62–63, especially n. 103.
65 On Staius see the biographical sketch in his funeral oration, published in Stampel, *Magnificus academiae Francofurtanae rector*, and signed "C. P.", arguably Christoph Pelargus. See also Wilcken, *Zullichiographia*, 29 and 36, and Flood, *Poets Laureate*, vol. 4, 1977.
66 The matriculation book records him in the summer semester 1565 as "Jacobus Stau Zolchensis" (later corrected to "Staius"). See Friedlaender (ed.), *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln*, 185.
67 See for instance the Cantus partbook of PL-Wu SDM 85: "M. Jacobus Stajus Senior, caussarum patronis, et in Camera Spirensi Immatriculatus Notarius, dedit in sui et suorum memoriam, Dominica Palmarum Anno regnantis gratiae 1601."
68 In 1591 Daniel Pelargus completed his studies at Viadrina University and it is likely that he left to take up a position at a school in Landsberg. See Krausen, *Literati Svidnicenses*, 83.
69 Beckmann, *Kurtze Beschreibung*, 61.
70 As evident from several annotations. See Grimm, *Meister der Renaissancemusik*, 113–14.
71 See Noack and Splett, *Bio-Bibliographien*, 623, and Wenzel, *Von grosser Krafft und Nutz*.

and thus must have been a well-known trait of his.[72] Moreover, given the connections with the Marienkirche, these amateurs were certainly in contact with its chapel master, the aforementioned Bartholomäeus Gesius, and its musicians.[73] It is therefore certain that PL-Wu SDM 8–36 was created for an academic context in which music was practiced on a regular basis, despite the absence of formal teaching in this regard. This is hardly surprising: considering the role of schoolboys in providing music for liturgical celebrations, music education was commonly provided in Latin schools in German-speaking lands.[74] It is therefore likely that there were individuals with the interest and skills to read and perform complex polyphonic music among the students and staff of higher education institutions such as Viadrina University.

1.7 A *CONVIVIUM MUSICUM*?

Against the background sketched above, it is not unlikely that the six people inscribed in the six partbooks of PL-Wu SDM 8–36 constituted an association of music-loving individuals akin to the so-called *convivium* or *collegium musicum*, a more or less formalized group of people during whose gatherings music was performed by the members themselves.[75] *Convivia musica* were relatively common in central European towns around 1600, although very few traces of them survive because of their non-institutionalized character.[76] Moreover, the existence of a *convivium musicum* behind PL-Wu SDM 8–36 is in line both with the stability of the musical meetings suggested by the inscriptions on the partbooks and with the connection to an academic institution. It is also worth noting that a musical association of this kind had already existed in Frankfurt an der Oder in the first half of the sixteenth century, centred around the figure of Jodocus Willich (d. 1552), a humanist, physician, and musician who studied and taught at Viadrina University.[77] Willich is credited

72 Ebert, *Christianum moriendi artificium*, fol. B3^{r}.

73 Note for instance that in 1604, both Christoph Pelargus and Georg Stampel signed the *liber amicorum* of Gottfried Wagner (1583–1643), who was then a student in Frankfurt an der Oder and later became the cantor of St. Elisabeth's Church in Wrocław; see the *Repertorium Album Amicorum*, https://raa.gf-franken.de/de/suche-nach-stammbuechern.html?permaLink=1604_wagner (accessed 1 March 2024). It is probable that during his studies, Wagner sang at the Marienkirche. See Chemotti, "Writing names in music books". Thanks to Tomasz Jeż for drawing my attention to this source.

74 The classic study on the topic is Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege*.

75 Platen, "Convivium musicum" and Platen, "Collegium musicum".

76 An exception is the *convivium musicum* of Görlitz: see the old but very thorough discussion of its members and activities in Gondolatsch, "Das Convivium musicum" and Gondolatsch, "Der Personenkreis".

77 Miller, "Willich".

with founding a *convivium musicum* together with "not a few good and learned men, professors, doctors, masters, and honourable citizens not devoid of culture, who delighted in honourable banquets and gatherings, and loved pleasant, useful, and erudite conversation".[78] To the meetings and conversations among the diners,

> music was added, now vocal with three, four, or more voices, now instrumental: for both pipes and other musical instruments were used. Hence, it was also agreed that this banquet would be called "musical" due to its primary purpose and end, because it was established for mutual merriment and goodwill, even though it could be called "philosophical" in part, because various serious and useful matters, often drawn from the depths of philosophy, were discussed as part of it.[79]

It is uncertain whether the learned citizens of Frankfurt an der Oder hosted musical gatherings around 1600 in continuity with those organized by Willich half a century earlier. What is certain, however, is that the memory of Willich's *convivium musicum* was still present at Viadrina University long after his death. Willich's biography, featuring an entire chapter on his *convivium* from which the above quotations are taken, was written by Matthäus Host (1509–87), a professor of Greek at the university. Host was the father-in-law of the abovementioned Valentin Becker, who edited the text and had it printed in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1607.[80] As mentioned above, Becker was an amateur musician himself and owned PL-Wu SDM 83 / 1527, with motets and chansons by Lasso. On the altus partbook of this set, moreover, someone inscribed the popular Latin motto "Nympha, calix, pietas, Musica noster amor" ("nymphs, cup, piety, music, this is what we love"),[81] which, incidentally, is in line

78 "…non pauci boni & docti viri, Professores, Doctores, Magistri, & honesti cives non ἄμουσοι: qui honestis convivijs & congressibus delectabantur; amabant suaves, utiles, & eruditas confabulationes." Host, *Narratio*, fol. F3^{v}.

79 "…addebatur Musica, nunc vocalis trium, quatuor, aut plurium vocu[m], nunc instrumentalis: adhibebantur enim & fistulae & alia instrumenta Musica. Unde quoq[ue] hoc convivium a praecipuo argumento & fine, quod hilaritatis mutuaq[ue] benevolentiae gratia institutum fuit, Musicum vocari placuit: licet & Philosophicum ex parte dici posset, quod de varijs, serijs, & utilibus rebus, quae ex intima saepe Philosophia depromebatur, in eodem disputaretur." Host, *Narratio*, fol. [F4]^{v}.

80 On the role of Valentin Becker see Host, *Narratio*, title page and dedication, fol. [A1]^{v}.

81 PL-Wu SDM 83 / 1527, altus partbook, front pastedown. It is not clear who inscribed this motto. A comparison with the mark of ownership "M. Valentinus Becker" on the front pastedown of the quintus partbooks is inconclusive in this regard.

with the joyful music making implied by a *convivium musicum*.[82] All of this shows that the idea of a musical association of learned citizens, gathering around the dining table, must have been well rooted in the environment to which the owners of PL-Wu SDM 8–36 belonged.

Finally, the contents of PL-Wu SDM 8–36 align well with what we know of the musical tastes of another central European *convivium*, that of Elbing (Royal Prussia, now Elbląg in Poland). The earliest archival source documenting its existence, dated 1627, relates to the borrowing of a collection of madrigals by Orazio Vecchi for the needs of the association.[83] Vecchi's madrigals are represented in both PL-Wu SDM 8–36 and other partbooks originating in the library of Viadrina University.[84] Moreover, as Agnieszka Leszczyńska has argued, other sources of Italian secular music in the now dispersed library of the Marian church in Elbing probably formed part of the repertory of the local *convivium*. Among these, we can note Phalèse's *Melodia olympica* and the two collected editions of Marenzio's madrigals for five and six voices,[85] all of which also appear in PL-Wu SDM 8–36.

I.8 THE PARTBOOKS AFTER USE

At a certain point PL-Wu SDM 8–36 must have been deposited in the library of Viadrina University. The partbooks are not listed in the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Francofurtanae*, a 1706 inventory of Viadrina University Library edited by Johann Christoph Bekmann that also lists musical sources.[86] This does not mean, however, that the partbooks became part of the university library's holdings only after that date. Part of Viadrina's music collection was kept in the university church, the abovementioned Marienkirche, where practical music books were more likely to be used.[87] These sources were not catalogued by

82 In this regard, see the page of an *album amicorum* by the painter David Brentel, dated 1590, which portrays what could be a *convivium musicum*—people making music around a table on which partbooks, loaves of bread, and a cup are visible—accompanied precisely by the motto in question. Reproduced in Salmen, "Geselliges Musizieren", 322.

83 Leszczyńska, "Thannenwald", 110.

84 PL-Wu SDM 74–75, containing Vecchi's *Canzonette a quattro voci* (Nuremberg: T. Gerlach, 1593, RISM V 1029) and *piu e diversi madrigali e canzonette* (Nuremberg: T. Gerlach, 1594, RISM V 1047). These partbooks were clearly used: the setting *Cicirlanda che comanda* (No. 23 in RISM V 1047) contains the handwritten Latin contrafactum *Virgo blanda ac veneranda*. On this contrafactum see Jeż, *Madrygał w Europie północno-wschodniej*, 109–10.

85 Leszczyńska, "Thannenwald", 111.

86 Bekmann, *Catalogus*.

87 Grimm, *Meister der Renaissancemusik*, 116.

Bekmann and it is thus likely that PL-Wu SDM 8–36 was among them.[88] When and how the partbooks joined the collection at the Marienkirche is not clear, however. They might have been kept there even while in use and simply remained there, abandoned, once they no longer attracted any interest. Alternatively, Chrysostomus or Christoph Pelargus might have been involved. Christoph's books were bequeathed to the university church after his death in 1633.[89] PL-Wu SDM 8–36 may well have been among them or may have followed the same path after the death of Chrysostomus, which must have happened only few years later.

The incomplete removal of names from the pastedowns also remains a mystery. As mentioned earlier, the name on the quinto partbook, which I tentatively reconstructed as Andreas Gotzius, was carefully scraped with the evident aim of erasing it. A similar procedure was also applied to the canto and alto partbooks, although the names on these, Melchior a Rintorf and Georgius ab Eichstedt, remain legible with some difficulty. It is curious that only three out of six names were erased. It is possible that whoever started to remove them realized the difficulty of doing a clean job (the interventions in the canto and alto partbooks are not elegantly done). But it could also be that whoever did this wanted not simply to restore the set of partbooks to their pristine state, but rather to remove precisely those three names. It is difficult, however, to identify the exact reason for this. It seems unlikely that the erased names were those of individuals who did not continue to attend the musical gatherings because they left Frankfurt an der Oder: Georg von Eichstedt was apparently still in town in 1603, as evidenced by the letter in the aforementioned print dedicated to him by Christoph Pelargus. In that same year, Heinrich Pape is instead documented in Hamburg,[90] but his name was not erased from the partbook. Whether Andreas, Melchior, and Georg simply gave up making music with their colleagues, or something occurred that led to the decision to remove their names, remains unclear. It is also not possible to date the scraping interventions, which could have occurred many years later for unknown reasons.

88 The secular nature of PL-Wu SDM 8–36 is not incompatible with this hypothesis: numerous collections of Italian secular music were preserved in religious institutions. Compare Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music*, 175–77.
89 Noack and Splett, *Bio-Bibliographien*, 485.
90 Janssen, *Ausführliche Nachrichten*, 140.

I.9 CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of PL-Wu SDM 8–36 allows us to contextualize it in Frankfurt an der Oder around 1600. The source appears to be a perfect example of the reception of the madrigal north of the Alps, as sketched in the study by Piperno quoted above. Indeed, we are dealing with a German-speaking environment interested in the Italian madrigal—as evidenced in the consistent nature of the collection, dedicated exclusively to this genre—but "distant" from the centres of production and innovation of the madrigal in Italy. This distance is not just geographical, but also has implications for the collection's content: the amateur musicians who used PL-Wu SDM 8–36 had a mediated image of the genre—mediated, in this case, by the selection made by the Antwerp-based editor and printer Pierre Phalèse. In turn, Phalèse's selection, too, was mediated by the networks active between Antwerp and Italy. This disjunction, if one can call it such, also affects the chronology of the repertory in PL-Wu SDM 8–36 (▶ Appendix 3). The most recent madrigals were first published in 1591,[91] the oldest in 1542,[92] with an average first publication date around 1580, that is, about twenty years prior to the binding of PL-Wu SDM 8–36.

▶ p. 210

If PL-Wu SDM 8–36 seems late compared to the first editions of the madrigals it contains, it is absolutely current when placed within the context of madrigal circulation north of the Alps. Circulation intensified from around 1580 onwards and remained consistent until the beginning of the following century. This trend can be observed both in the activities of printers[93] and in private and institutional collections.[94] Moreover, the reprints of madrigal anthologies with similarly backward-looking content show that the repertory remained current, notwithstanding the developments in the madrigal genre taking place in Italy and elsewhere.[95] This is also true with regard to the very collections bound in PL-Wu SDM 8–36: the last reprints of *Melodia olympica*,

91 See the madrigals that first appeared in the first edition of *Melodia Olympica* (RISM 1591^{10}) or in Marenzio's fifth book of madrigals for six voices (RISM 1591^{21}).

92 See the madrigals by Domenico Maria Ferrabosco, Jacque du Pont, and Jacques Arcadelt (Appendix 3, Nos. 111, 116, and 122), which appeared in RISM 1542^{17}.

93 See the overview in Piperno, "Il madrigale Italiano", 21–23. Specifically on the German-speaking regions see Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music*.

94 See for instance the music library of Georg Knoff in Gdańsk (Morell, "Georg Knoff" and Gancarczyk, "Georg Knoff's Collection") or the 1613 inventory of the court music collection of Kassel (Zulauf, "Beiträge").

95 It should be noted, however, that in Italy, too, the madrigal maintains a relationship with its own history, as evidenced by the reprints of classics such as Arcadelt's first book of madrigals (1539, RISM A 1314) up until the mid-seventeenth century. See Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 5.

Symphonia angelica, and *Musica divina* were issued by the heirs of Phalèse in 1630, 1629, and 1634 respectively. Evidently, there was still an interest in this kind of music.[96] Thus, PL-Wu SDM 8–36 is no idiosyncrasy, and can be fully situated within the fascination for the madrigal evident in different European regions in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

At this point, it is useful to remember that a single source such as PL-Wu SDM 8–36, however interesting it may be, does not have the quantitative relevance of new editions of madrigals printed in hundreds of copies. Nevertheless, the qualitative study of an individual collection allows us to move beyond the generic characterization of the consumer of the Italian madrigal north of the Alps that we get from studying the activities of printing workshops. PL-Wu SDM 8–36 reveals the specific profiles of intellectuals and students in and around a central European university of Lutheran confession, not the first context that comes to mind when reflecting on the circulation of the Italian-texted madrigal. Furthermore, this is a context that might have gone unnoticed if dissemination and ownership had been ignored. Judging solely from the point of view of print production, Frankfurt an der Oder might appear immune to the Italian-influenced madrigal fashion, perhaps even somewhat resistant to it. Although it was a place of significant printing activity, no madrigal collections seem to have been produced there.[97] The only indication of any interest in madrigals is found in lute tablatures, which contain examples of madrigal intabulations alongside other genres.[98] These are a completely different kind of reception phenomena, however, because the music is deprived of its text except for the incipit. Even in a place with very active printing workshops such as Frankfurt an der Oder, the history of printing and the history of circulation and ownership tell different stories and should therefore be considered alongside each other.

96 Note also that Phalèse's anthologies *Musica divina* and *Harmonia celeste* still feature in the 1659 inventory of the library of Thomas Selle (1599–1663), a cantor in Hamburg. See Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music*, 172–73.

97 See the sources listed in *RePIM* (*Repertorio della Poesia Italiana in Musica*, *1500–1700*), https://repim.itatti.harvard.edu/.

98 See Benedictus de Drusina's *Tabulatura* (Frankfurt an der Oder: J. Eichorn, 1556, RISM 1556[32]) and *Tabulatura* (Frankfurt an der Oder: J. Eichorn, 1573, RISM N 531); Matthäus Waissel's *Tabulatura* (Frankfurt an der Oder: J. Eichorn, 1573, RISM W 75); Gregor Krengel's *Tabulatura nova* (Frankfurt an der Oder: A. Eichorn, 1584, RISM 1584[14]). On lute publications in Frankfurt an der Oder see Jost, Ottenberg, and Schieck (eds.), *Das Frankfurter Musikleben*, 98–108.

PL-Wu SDM 8–36 is also worthy of interest regarding the circulation of madrigal collections produced in Antwerp. Although the collections themselves have been studied extensively, their reception beyond the Low Countries has received little attention, except for the relationship between Phalèse's prints and the English madrigal.[99] In this regard, one wonders whether the use of PL-Wu SDM 8–36 in Frankfurt an der Oder is indicative of stable contacts with the Low Countries or is rather a matter of chance. Around 1600, those interested in Italian madrigals had access not only to Italian books shipped northward but also to editions produced in Germany, making the presence of Phalèse collections in Frankfurt an der Oder at least curious. It is also worth noting that there are no other volumes printed in the Low Countries among the remaining musical prints from Viadrina University, while there is no shortage of ones produced in German cities, most notably Nuremberg. Further light will only be shed on the matter by a thorough investigation of distribution networks, historical inventories, and extant copies, an endeavour that could substantiate the role played by Antwerp in the international fascination for the madrigal, not only as a passive recipient, but as an active agent.[100]

Finally, much of the allure of PL-Wu SDM 8–36 lies in its material features, which reveal not only its context of use, but also its sociable character. While the reading of an ordinary book is often not just an individual, but also a private activity, a set of partbooks, just like any other book of vocal polyphony, creates a space for interaction between people, regardless of the presence of an audience.[101] And yet, this inherently interpersonal character notwithstanding, the sociability of polyphonic music rarely left written traces on the leaves of its sources. In a way, the tendency of partbooks to have a single owner can seem well-nigh paradoxical, considering that, exceptions aside, it always takes more than

99 A relation between the two was put forward in Kerman, "Elizabethan Anthologies". On a copy of Phalèse's edition of Marenzio's madrigals annotated by an English user, see Altschuler and Jansen, "Musica Transalpina", 23–27.

100 Fundamental work on the distribution of Antwerp music prints has been carried out focusing on the Officina Plantiniana, especially by Henri Vanhulst and Louisa Hunter-Bradley; see e.g. Vanhulst, "Suppliers and Clients"; Hunter-Bradley, "The Officina Plantiniana"; and Hunter-Bradley, "Christopher Plantin as Publisher". Since Plantin often acted as an intermediary for other local printers, this research occasionally also revealed fascinating details about the sale of Phalèse's and Bellère's madrigal collections; see e.g. Hunter-Bradley, "The Officina Plantiniana", 290, 299 n. 54.

101 On the sociability of music books see Wistreich, "Music Books".

one person to use those books.[102] PL-Wu SDM 8–36, in compelling us to reflect on this aspect and on the sociable space generated by the music book, is as fascinating as it is unique.

102 The practice of reading from multiple partbooks is well attested but regarded as extraordinary. See, for instance, the incredulous description of Tarquinia Molza (1542–1617) playing and singing from two partbooks simultaneously. Durante and Martellotti, *Cronistoria*, 135–36.