

A Late Renaissance Music Manuscript Unmasked

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The British Library makes considerable efforts to ensure that information about its new music manuscripts are made available to readers. The first point of reference is a folder located on the open shelves in the Rare Books and Music Reading Room. The folder encompasses purchases, bequests, donations, and loans, and items are progressively added to the online manuscripts catalogue. One of its sections, a 'Handlist of Music Manuscripts at Printed Pressmarks', comprises relevant listings in Augustus Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London, 1906–09; reprinted 1964–66), in Pamela J. Willetts, *Handlist of Music Manuscripts Acquired 1908–67* (London, 1970), pp. 86–98, and in a card index that was formerly located in the Music Room (British Museum), as well as materials discovered by individual scholars, which to date consist of Robin Alston, Nicolas J. Bell, and Andrew Wathey.¹ In addition, the Library also owns a number of incomplete early music editions that were subsequently supplied with their missing materials in manuscript. Some of the latter manuscripts attract brief mention with the descriptions of the editions in Lauren Ballie and Robert Balchin (eds.), *The Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library to 1980*, 62 vols (London, 1981–1987) and occasionally in the online catalogue.

I would like to express my gratitude to the music curators of the British Library, London (especially Dr Nicolas J. Bell), for their kind assistance during my work in the Library, for responding helpfully to my requests for information and photographic material, and for their constructive comments. In addition, I am grateful to other libraries where I have undertaken research for this article, including the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gesamtkirchenverwaltung Augsburg, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, and Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München.

¹ The folder, which is without a title and pressmark, is divided into six sections. In order of appearance, it contains: (1) MSS Mus. (this new range of numbers was introduced in 1996, when the music manuscripts were separated from the Department of Western Manuscripts; music manuscripts are no longer assigned Additional manuscript numbers); (2) Egerton MSS (which itemizes music materials purchased from the bequests of Francis Henry Egerton, the Eighth Earl of Bridgewater, and his cousin Charles Long, Baron Farnborough); (3) Tyson MSS (which covers manuscript materials that previously belonged to the musicologist and collector Alan Walker Tyson (1926–2000), ones that were presented to the British Library in 1998—see O. W. Neighbour, 'The Tyson Collection', *British Library Journal*, xxiv (1998), pp. 269–77); (4) Music Manuscripts at Printed Pressmarks (see the main text of the present article); (5) RPS MSS (Royal Philharmonic Society Archive, formerly Loans 4 and 48, which were purchased in 2002); and (6), Music Loans (among which there are items from the Madrigal Society of London).

Recently I came across some manuscript music included in the set of printed part-books at British Library A.283. Although its manuscript leaves are not mentioned in the folder or online catalogue, W. Barclay Squire, *Catalogue of Printed Music Published between 1487 and 1800 now in the British Museum*, 2 vols (London, 1912; vol. ii, p. 105), *The Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library to 1980* (vol. xxxviii, p. 198), and RISM series A I (vol. v, p. 459)² indicate that it includes manuscript material, though without providing further details. The manuscript works consist of motets composed in the sixteenth century, and I have established that they were copied by the prominent Augsburg figure, Adam Gumpelzhaimer (1559–1625). Before studying the source and its history, it would be appropriate to comment on Gumpelzhaimer.

Adam Gumpelzhaimer was born in 1559 in Trostberg in upper Bavaria, and during his career styled himself ‘Adamus Gumpelzhaimerus Trostbergensis [or ‘Trosberga’] Boius [or ‘Bavarus’]’, or merely as ‘A. G. T. B.’ (see fig. 1) or ‘A. G.’.³ He received his musical training at the Benedictine Abbey of St Ulrich and St Afra in Augsburg, one of his teachers being Jodocus Entzenmüller. In 1582, he registered at the University of Ingolstadt, a Jesuit institution, where he may have had dealings with members of the Fugger family (Gumpelzhaimer seems to have received a master’s degree, though it is unclear when and from where it was awarded). The year before, in 1581, Gumpelzhaimer was appointed *Kantor* and preceptor at the church and school of St Anna, Augsburg, positions he held until his death in 1625. Gumpelzhaimer’s responsibilities included teaching music in the school and overseeing performances there and in the church. He was a major contributor to Augsburg’s musical life and composed and published many vocal compositions. One of his most celebrated publications was the pedagogical work *Compendium musicae* . . . (Augsburg: Valentin Schönig, 1591; RISM series A I, G 5116), which included instruction in the

² The RISM (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*) references in this article are found in series A I and series B I. RISM series A I consists of vols i–ix: Karlheinz Schlager et al. (eds.), *Einzeldrucke vor 1800* (Kassel, 1971–1981), vols xi–xiii: Ilse Kindermann and Jürgen Kindermann (eds.), *Addenda et corrigenda* (Kassel, 1986, 1992, and 1998), vol. xiv: Gertraut Haberkamp (ed.), *Addenda et corrigenda* (Kassel, 1999), and vol. xv: (no editor named) *Register der Verleger, Drucker und Stecher und Register der Orte* (Kassel, 2003). RISM series B I refers to vol. i: François Lesure (ed.), *Recueils imprimés, XVI^e–XVII^e siècles* (Munich-Duisburg, 1960). The music materials are distinguished as follows: RISM series A I uses alphabetical letters followed by catalogue numbers for its *Einzeldrucke* (e.g., L 836); and RISM series B I uses publication years with superscript catalogue numbers for anthologies (e.g., 1570⁵).

³ For more on Gumpelzhaimer, see: Otto Mayr, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Augsburg, 1908), reprinted and enlarged as the introduction to Otto Mayr (ed.), *Adam Gumpelzhaimer: Ausgewählte Werke*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern, 19, Jg. x/2 (Leipzig, 1909); Louise E. Cuyler, ‘Musical Activity in Augsburg and its Annakirche, ca. 1470–1630’ in Johannes Riedel (ed.), *Cantors at the Crossroads: Essays on Church Music in Honor of Walter E. Buszín* (St Louis, Missouri, 1967), pp. 33–43; Richard Charteris, ‘Newly Discovered Works by Giovanni Gabrieli’, *Music & Letters*, lxxviii (1987), pp. 343–63, see esp. pp. 344–52; Richard Charteris and Gertraut Haberkamp, ‘Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Butsch 205–210: A Little-Known Source of the Music of Giovanni Gabrieli and his Contemporaries’, *Musica Disciplina*, xliii (1989), pp. 195–249, see esp. pp. 199, 207–9; Richard Charteris, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer’s Little-Known Score-Books in Berlin and Kraków*, *Musicological Studies & Documents*, 48 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1996), passim; William E. Hettrick, ‘Gumpelzhaimer [Gumpeltzhaimer], Adam’ in Laura Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>; and Thomas Altmeyer, ‘Gumpelzhaimer, Gumpeltzhaimer, Adam’ in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik* . . . , 26 vols (2nd edn, Kassel, 1994–), *Personenteil*, vol. viii (2002), cols 274–8.

rudiments of music. The book was modelled on Heinrich Faber's *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus* . . . (Braunschweig: s.n., 1548 and numerous editions until 1665), and on a 1572 German translation made by Christoph Rid.⁴ Gumpelzhaimer's book appeared in thirteen editions between 1591 and 1681, and contained parallel versions of its text in German and Latin as well as including many music examples, some by himself, but most by well-known composers such as Giammateo Asola, Hans Leo Hassler, Josquin des Prez, and Orlande de Lassus.⁵ Adam Gumpelzhaimer copied a considerable number of works by his contemporaries,⁶ and in his latter years sold many of his sources to St Anna, most of which have been lost.⁷ An engraving of Gumpelzhaimer, made in 1593 by the Augsburg artist Dominicus Custos (c. 1560–1612), appears in fig. 2. Fig. 3 contains an engraving of St Anna's school and courtyard and the city library (which moved to new premises in 1893) made in 1623 by the Augsburg artist Lukas Killian (1579–1637); some of these buildings were destroyed during the Second World War.

⁴ *Musica. Kurtzer innhalt der singkunst, auss Heinrich Fabri lateinischem Compendio musicae* . . . (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1572).

⁵ The thirteen editions are cited in *Adam Gumpelzhaimer: Ausgewählte Werke*, pp. lxii–lxiii.

⁶ As well as the previously unidentified source discussed in the present article, Gumpelzhaimer's music hand appears in: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. 40028 and Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, Mus. ms. 40027 (see Richard Charteris, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer's Little-Known Score-Books in Berlin and Kraków*; and Richard Charteris, 'New Motets by Hans Leo Hassler: Indications of Second Thoughts' in Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore, and Colleen Reardon (eds.), *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone*, Festschrift Series, 18 (Stuyvesant, New York, 1996), pp. 511–40); Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Tonkunst Schletterer 376–382 (see Richard Charteris, 'A Rediscovered Collection of Music Purchased for St Anna, Augsburg, in June 1618', *Music & Letters*, lxxviii (1997), pp. 487–501); Abel Prasz's *Stammbuch* at Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, 4^o Cod. Aug. 270 (f. 140r); another Abel Prasz *Stammbuch* at Bayerische Nationalmuseum München, Nr. 245 (p. 222; see Hans Buchheit, 'Aus dem Stammbuch des Abel Prasz' in Hubert Wilm (ed.), *Alte Kunstschatze aus Bayern. Festschrift zum 70jährigen Jubiläum des Münchener Altertumsvereins E. V. von 1864, 1934* . . . (Ulm-Donau, 1934), pp. 12–17); Simon Retter's *Stammbuch* at Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, IV 9 1/2 4^o 3 (f. 178r; see Franz Krautwurst, 'Widmungskanons in einem Humanistenstammbuch der Oettingen-Wallersteinschen Bibliothek der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg', *Jahrbuch der Universität Augsburg 1985* (Augsburg, 1986), pp. 152–9); Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Butsch 77–78 (Richard Charteris, 'Giovanni Gabrieli's *Sacrae symphoniae* (Venice, 1597): Some Rediscovered Part-Books with New Evidence about Performance Practice' in Paul Mai (ed.), *Im Dienst der Quellen zur Musik: Festschrift für Gertraut Haberkamp zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tutzing, 2002), pp. 195–228), Butsch 205–210 (see Richard Charteris and Gertraut Haberkamp, 'Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Butsch 205–210: A Little-Known Source of the Music of Giovanni Gabrieli and his Contemporaries', Butsch 237–240, 242–243, and 257a; and Paul Jenisch's *Stammbuch* at Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. Hist. 4^o 299 (f. 219v; see Clytus Gottwald, 'Humanisten-Stammbücher als musikalische Quellen' in Wilhelm Stauder, Ursula Aarburg, and Peter Cahn (eds.), *Helmuth Osthoff zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Tutzing, 1969), pp. 89–104).

⁷ An 'Inventarium' of St Anna's music library, which exists in three handwritten copies, was commenced by Gumpelzhaimer in 1620: two are in Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gesamtkirchenverwaltung Augsburg, Scholarchatsarchiv 63a and 63b; and the third is in Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Evangelisches Wesensarchiv 1065. Gumpelzhaimer's hand only appears in Scholarchatsarchiv 63a and 63b; Evangelisches Wesensarchiv 1065 was copied by others and is incomplete. In 63b, for example, Gumpelzhaimer copied the material on ff. 1r–10r, 12r–35r, 37v (lower half), and 39v (signature only). In 1621, 1622, 1624, and 1625, Gumpelzhaimer sold music materials from his personal library to St Anna; see Scholarchatsarchiv 63a and 63b, ff. 25r–39v, and *Adam Gumpelzhaimer: Ausgewählte Werke*, pp. xxxi–ii. A transcription of the inventory appears in Richard Schaal, *Das Inventar der Kantorei St Anna in Augsburg. Ein Beitrag zur protestantischen Musikpflege im 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert*, *Catalogus musicus*, iii (Kassel, 1965).

EDITION

British Library A.283 consists of four printed part-books, the title-pages of which are labelled ‘CANTVS’, ‘ALTVS’, ‘BASSVS’, and ‘QVINTVS’; the tenor part-book is lacking. The printed title-page of the ‘CANTVS’ part-book reads (fig. 4):

TIBVRTII MASSAINI | MVSICI CREMONENSIS | MOTECTORVM
| CVM QVINQVE, ET SEX VOCIBVS | *LIBER PRIMVS*. | Nunc
primum in lucem aeditus. | [printer’s mark] | VENETIIS, | Apud
Iosephum Guiglielmum. MDLXXVI.

This edition is cited in RISM series A I, where it is catalogued as M 1268. The only other copy mentioned by RISM consists of a complete set of part-books located in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, where it is catalogued at 4^o Mus.pr. 200, Beiband 4. A copy of the ‘QVINTVS’ part-book, which is not listed in RISM, is in Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, Mus. ant. pract. M 330.

All four part-books in the British Library are bound separately and stored in a slipcase. The slipcase is covered with purple buckram, which is quarter bound in purple leather and includes paper stickers with the current pressmark as well as gilt tooling and the label ‘MASSAINI. | MOTECTORUM | LIBER | PRIMUS’. In turn the slipcase is stored inside a modern grey box with the current pressmark inscribed on the spine. The part-books are covered with pink paper over thin boards, some of which are loose. The covers were added by the British Museum and measure 14.4 x 20.2 cm. The British Museum/British Library pressmark, ‘A | 283’, is printed on paper stickers affixed to the front cover of each part-book and is inscribed on the verso of each front fly-leaf.

The 1576 part-books were once bound with other editions, as indicated by their impressions of once adjacent tabs and green coloured fore edges. Early sets were often bound with leather or vellum tabs separating individual editions in order to identify their position in each volume and to assist with their access. In addition, the fore edges of early bound sets were sometimes coloured to reflect the preferences of individual owners and to identify their common location on library shelves. An illustration of the use of tabs and coloured fore edges is found in British Library K.2.b.11, which is a bound volume containing seven Bassus part-books, one each from the following editions:

1. PRIMVS | LIBER MODVLORVM, | QVATVOR ET QVINQVE VO-
| cum, (quos vulgus Motteta vocat) à quibusuis | celeberrimis
authoribus excerptus. | [part name]. | *Apud Iacobum Arbillium*. [s.l., s.a.;
RISM series B I, [1558]⁸];
2. SECVNDVS | LIBER MODVLORVM, | QVATVOR ET QVINQVE
VO- | cum, (quos vulgus Motteta vocat) à Clemente | non Papa
excellētissimo musico, excerptus. | [part name]. | *Apud Iacobum
Arbillium*. [s.l., s.a.; RISM series A I, C 2684 (undated)];
3. TERTIVS | LIBER MODVLORVM, | QVATVOR ET QVINQVE
VO- | cum, (quos vulgus Motteta vocat) à quibusuis | celeberrimis
authoribus excerptus. | [part name]. | *Michaelis Syluij*. | TYPIS. [s.l.,
s.a.; RISM series B I, [1559]⁴];
4. QVARTVS | LIBER MODVLORVM, | QVATVOR ET QVINQVE
VO- | cum, (quos vulgus Motteta vocat) à quibusuis | celeberrimis
authoribus excerptus. | [part name]. | *Michaelis Syluij*. | TYPIS. [s.l.,
s.a.; RISM series B I, [1559]⁵];

5. *QVINTVS* | LIBER MODVLORVM, QVINQVE | VOCVM (QVOS VVLGVS MOTETA VOCAT) | ab excellentissimo musico Clemente non Papa nunc pri- | mùm omni studio ac diligentia in lucem aedita. | [part name]. | *Ex Officina Simonis à Bosco*. | 1556 [s.l.; RISM series A I, C 2685];
6. *SEXTVS* | LIBER MODVLORVM, QVATVOR, | QVINQVE ET SEX VOCVM, (QVOS VVLGVS | Moteta vocat) à quibusuis celeberrimis authoribus excer- | ptus, & nunc primùm in lucem aeditus. | [part name]. | *Ex Officina Simonis à Bosco*. | 1556 [s.l.; RISM series B I, 1556¹⁰]; and
7. *SEPTIMVS* | LIBER MODVLORVM, QVATVOR, | QVINQVE ET SEX VOCVM, (QVOS VVLGVS | Moteta vocat) à quibusuis celeberrimis authoribus excer- | ptus, & nunc primùm in lucem aeditus. | [part name]. | *Ex Officina Simonis à Bosco*. | 1556 [s.l.; RISM series B I, 1556¹¹].

Until now it has not been realized that K.2.b.11 originally belonged to Adam Gumpelzhaimer, who inscribed: (1) ‘Constant Fl 1.’ in black ink on the front pastedown; and (2), ‘A[dam]. G[umpelzhaimer]. | 1597.’ and ‘Bibliopola 40 k. | Bibliopogo 20 k. | Constant 1 Fl.’ in red ink on the title-page of the first edition (see fig. 5). The previous inscriptions indicate that Gumpelzhaimer paid 40 Kreuzer for the editions and 20 Kreuzer for their binding and that the overall total was 1 Florin, and that he was in possession of the bound materials in 1597. These expenses would also have encompassed the purchase and binding of four other volumes with the remaining groups of part-books; each edition was published with five part-books. Indeed, I have discovered that Gumpelzhaimer’s ‘QVINTA PARS’ volume still survives, for it is preserved at Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Butsch 200–202 (the numeration in the Butsch series does not refer to part-books). The bindings of K.2.b.11 and Butsch 200–202 are identical, consisting of contemporary pigskin, and both contain the same editions in matching order. Like K.2.b.11, the title-page of the first edition in the Regensburg volume includes Gumpelzhaimer’s inscription in red ink, ‘A[dam]. G[umpelzhaimer]. 1597.’. Moreover, the fore edges of both volumes are sprinkled in bands of blue and red, and in both cases their individual part-books are separated by leather tabs. As such they are like many other bound sets which Gumpelzhaimer owned and then sold to St Anna in the 1620s, when they were cited in its ‘Inventarium’ accompanied by descriptions of their bindings, fore edges, and tabs.⁸

COMPOSERS AND MUSIC

As the title-page of the 1576 edition indicates, British Library A.283 contains music by Tiburzio Massaino (b. Cremona before 1550; d. Piacenza after 1608), though, as mentioned later, it also includes a motet by Ippolito Baccusi (b. Mantua c. 1550; d. Verona 1609). Massaino was a member of the Augustinian order and held positions, some as *maestro di cappella*, in Innsbruck, Lodi, Modena, Piacenza, Prague, Rome, Salò, and Salzburg. He published many books of madrigals, motets, masses, and other sacred vocal works, mostly in Venice. As new styles emerged around the turn of the century, Massaino embraced them in his own works, publishing:

⁸ See n. 7. However, some of Gumpelzhaimer’s music materials were never included in the ‘Inventarium’, such as the editions at K.2.b.11 and Butsch 200–202.

(1) concertato motets in his *Musica per cantare con l'organo ad una, due e tre voci* . . . (Venice: Alessandro Raverii, 1607; RISM series A I, M 1286 and RISM series B I, 1607⁹), which were inspired by the pioneering works of Gabriele Fattorini and Lodovico Viadana;⁹ (2) polychoral motets in his *Sacri modulorum concentus 8. 9. 10. 12. 15. ac 16. vocum concinendi* . . . (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1606; RISM series A I, M 1285), which were influenced by the multiple choir works of Giovanni Gabrieli,¹⁰ whom Massaino may have met; and (3), polychoral instrumental canzonas, again displaying Gabrieli's influence, in the anthology *Canzoni per sonare con ogni sorte di stromenti a quattro, cinque, & otto, con il suo basso generale per l'organo* . . . (Venice: Alessandro Raverii, 1608; RISM series B I, 1608²⁴).

Ippolito Baccusi was almost as prolific as Massaino, composing and publishing masses, motets, and madrigals. Baccusi was trained in his native city of Mantua, where he was eventually employed as *maestro di cappella*. He also held brief appointments in Venice and Ravenna, and in the latter part of his career he became director of the choir at Verona Cathedral. Baccusi's contribution to the 1576 edition consists of a motet for six voices divided into prima and secunda pars, 'Quanti mercenari in domo' and 'Pater peccavi in coelum' (pp. 26–7). Until now its inclusion in the 1576 edition has escaped notice; for instance, the edition is not mentioned in the list of Baccusi's works in Robert Eitner's dictionaries, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* or *Grove Music Online*,¹¹ and nor is the composer named as a contributor to the edition in RISM. Previously the composition was only known from its appearance in Baccusi's first book of motets, *Motectorum cum quinque sex et octo vocibus liber primus* . . . (Venice: Heirs of Francisco Rampazetto, 1579; reprinted in 1580; RISM series A I, B 23 and B 24). This new information establishes that it was this composer's first motet to appear in print. Massaino's decision to include the motet in his 1576 edition is not too surprising, since the Italian theorist Lodovico Zacconi (1555–1627) indicated that Massaino met Baccusi in Venice and emulated the latter's compositional style. Zacconi also enlightened us that Baccusi, when he was in Mantua, modelled his musical style on that of Giaches de Wert.¹²

The table of contents in Massaino's 1576 edition cites thirty titles, some of which represent segments of composite works, such as the discrete listing of each section of Baccusi's motet mentioned above. Overall, the pieces are scored for a single choir of three, four, five or six voices and are written in the *stile antico* or polyphonic style as exemplified in works of Orlande de Lassus and Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina.¹³ The motets include settings of verses from the

⁹ Gabriele Fattorini, *I sacri concerti a due voci facili, & commodi da cantare, & sonare con l'organo* . . . (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1600; RISM series A I, F 129) and Lodovico Viadana, *Cento concerti ecclesiastici, a una, a due, a tre, & a quattro voci, con il basso continuo per sonar nell'organo* . . . (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1602, RISM series A I, V 1360).

¹⁰ Richard Charteris (ed.), *Giovanni Gabrieli: Opera omnia*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae, xii (the volumes published to date comprise iv–v and vii–xi: Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1991–2000; and rev. vii: Middleton, Wisconsin, 2003).

¹¹ Robert Eitner (with F. X. Haberl, A. Lagerberg and C. F. Pohl), *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1877; reprinted Hildesheim, 1963, 1977), p. 393; and Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 10 vols (Leipzig, 1900–1904; reprinted New York, 1947, and Graz, 1959), vol. i, pp. 257–8; Therese Bruggisser-Lanker, 'Baccusi, Ippolito' in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik* . . . , *Personenteil*, vol. i (1999), cols 1261–2; and Patricia Ann Myers, 'Baccusi, Ippolito' in *Grove Music Online*.

¹² Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica seconda parte. Divisa, e distinta in quattro libri* . . . (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1622; reprinted Bologna, 1983), p. 130: 'Hip- | polito Baccusi viuendo mi disse. Che stando egli per Molt'anni Maestro di Capella del Domo di Man- | toua, e praticando col sudetto Iaches Vuert, studiando ad emulatione, si venne in tutto e per tutto à | perfettionare. Et vltimamente Tiburtio Massaino stando in Venetia, e capitandoui il sudetto Hippo- | lito Baccusi che pur all' hora frequentana detti studij de Contrapunti, e sentendoli à far tante cose | esquisite come vi faceva, ci attese anch'egli si fattamente ch'appresso buoni Musici, n'acquistò anch'egli | non picciol nome'.

¹³ James Haar, 'Orlande [Roland] de Lassus [Orlando di Lasso]', *Grove Music Online*, and Lewis Lockwood, Noel O'Regan, and Jessie Ann Owens, 'Palestrina [Prenestino, etc.]', Giovanni Pierluigi da ['Giannetto'], *ibid.*

psalms, responsories, antiphons, introits, and a variant of a prayer by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (c. 951–c. 1029) beginning ‘O beata virgo Maria’. Although Massaino does not specify their use, the motets are suitable for parts of the Catholic liturgy, including Advent, Septuagesima, Lent, Easter, the Office of the Dead, the Holy Eucharist and the feast days of St Agnes, St Matthew, St Theodore, and the Blessed Virgin Mary.

During Gumpelzhaimer’s forty-four years of employment at Augsburg’s most important Lutheran establishment, the church and school of St Anna, he collected a large number of music editions both for his employer and for himself. Many of these editions were itemized in St Anna’s ‘Inventarium’. Despite the fact that a substantial quantity has disappeared, the surviving editions, now widely scattered among libraries in the northern hemisphere, are very considerable. This extraordinarily rich collection comprised almost equal amounts of secular and sacred music as well as some instrumental compositions. While all of this music was potentially suitable for use in St Anna’s school, the church itself would only have used pieces that were suitable for religious services. It may seem curious to learn that most of the sacred vocal pieces in the collection were written for the Catholic liturgy, comprising motets, masses, litanies, and other religious works. However, many of these pieces were also suitable for traditional Lutheran services, which used Latin motets and selected movements of the mass, as indicated in Martin Luther’s *Formula missae et communionis pro ecclesia Wittembergensi* (Wittenberg, 1523).¹⁴ It is unclear how Gumpelzhaimer responded to subsequent changes in the Lutheran liturgy, though even as late as the 1620s he was still collecting Catholic-oriented works and including them in his manuscript sources. His score-books now in Berlin and Kraków, for example, include: an anonymous ‘Ave Maria’ (a 4); Paolo Animuccia’s ‘Beata es Maria’ (a 6); Philippe de Monte’s ‘Assumpta est Maria’ (a 5); Horatio Vecchi’s ‘Duodecim stellae corona Mariae’ (a 6); Amante Franzoni’s set of seven *madrigali spirituali*, beginning ‘Io soffrirò, cor mio’ (a 3); and Cipriano de Rore’s setting of Petrarch’s poem in praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary, ‘Vergine bella’ (a 5), which is divided into eleven sections.¹⁵ Only one Marian motet, which is divided into six parts and scored for various combinations of voices, appears in the 1576 edition, Massaino’s ‘O beata virgo Maria’. This motet would not have been used in the church of St Anna unless Gumpelzhaimer had altered its text. Alterations of this kind were not unusual during this period, as illustrated in a contemporary manuscript where the text of Giovanni Gabrieli’s ‘O gloriosa virgo’ (a 12; C68) was converted to ‘O gloriose Jesu’ in order to render it suitable for Lutheran use.¹⁶ The fact that Gumpelzhaimer received his training at Catholic institutions must have encouraged his life-long interest in music composed for the Roman Catholic Church. It is quite probable that he was on cordial terms with Augsburg’s

¹⁴ For a study of religion and music in Augsburg, see Alexander J. Fisher, ‘Music in Counter-Reformation Augsburg: Musicians, Rituals, and Repertories in a Religiously Divided City’ (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 2001).

¹⁵ See n. 6 above.

¹⁶ Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, 2^o MS Mus. 51c [no. 1]; see Richard Charteris, *Giovanni Gabrieli (ca. 1555–1612): A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Guide to the Source Materials and Translations of his Vocal Texts*, Thematic Catalogue Series, xx (Stuyvesant, New York, 1996), pp. 121–3.

Catholics. Indeed, seventeen years after his appointment to St Anna, he purchased a set of St Ulrich and St Afra's part-books and retained the latter's identifying covers.¹⁷ It is significant in this respect that the texts of his own Latin sacred vocal works provide no evidence that he was interested in promoting sectarianism.

MANUSCRIPT

As indicated earlier, British Library A.283 includes manuscript music and until now it has not been realized that it was copied by Adam Gumpelzhaimer (see figs 5–10 for examples of his hand).¹⁸ The manuscript folios are bound with the 'CANTVS' part-book, where they occupy signatures [Ci–iv] and [Di–iv] and replace eight printed leaves that must have been missing at the time of acquisition, almost certainly as a result of a production oversight (occasional examples of publications lacking selected leaves or gatherings, ones that escaped inclusion at the time of their printing and binding, are as old as the book trade). Like their surrounding printed counterparts, the manuscript leaves measure 14.3 x 20.1 cm. and each one has a six-stave system measuring overall 12.1 x 18.5 cm. Each of the staves was ruled separately and has an average height of 1.2 cm.; the distance between the staves varies between 0.9 and 1.1 cm. The other three part-books at A.283 are completely intact and therefore required no manuscript material.

¹⁷ This bound set is preserved at Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Tonkunst Schletterer 140–144, and comprises five volumes, lacking the Sextus which was present when the source was catalogued by Gumpelzhaimer. The set contains: (1) RISM series A I, C 4410 (1576; Thomas Crecquillon); (2) RISM series A I, K 452 (1574; Jacob de Kerle); (3) RISM series A I, K 989 (1571; Johannes Knöfel); (4) RISM series A I, L 844 (1571; Orlande de Lassus); (5) RISM series A I, L 846 (1571; Orlande de Lassus); (6) RISM series A I, L 854 (1572; Orlande de Lassus); (7) RISM series A I, L 861 (1573; Orlande de Lassus); (8) RISM series A I, L 871 (1573; Orlande de Lassus); (9) RISM series A I, L 898 (1576; Orlande de Lassus); (10) RISM series A I, L 899 (1576; Orlande de Lassus); (11) RISM series A I, S 2107 (1576 and 1577; Melchior Schramm); (12) RISM series A I, T 965 (1573 and 1574; Michael Tonsor); (13) RISM series A I, U 125 (1577; Alexander Utendal); and (14), RISM series A I, V 1130 (1573; Ivo de Vento). Gumpelzhaimer's inscriptions in this set include: 'Sumptu publico' ('at public expense'), his initials 'A. G. T. B.', and the date '1598', which appear individually or together on select title-pages of the Tenor and Bassus volumes; and the price and date of their acquisition on the front pastedowns of the Tenor and Bassus volumes (the one in the Tenor volume reads 'Constant Fl 7. Anno Domini 1598. Mense Julio'). He itemized the collection, together with a description of its current covers and the order of its editions, in St Anna's 'Inventarium' (for instance, see Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gesamtkirchenverwaltung Augsburg, Scholarchatsarchiv, 63b, f. 18v). The monogram of St Anna is not present in these volumes because their binding pre-dates the latter's purchase. See Richard Charteris, 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Collection of Sacred Vocal Music and its Augsburg Connections', *Notes*, lviii (2002), pp. 511–35, see esp. pp. 519–21 and n. 19.

¹⁸ For details of other music manuscript materials copied in whole or in part by Gumpelzhaimer, see n. 6. Other Gumpelzhaimer autograph documents include his copies of St Anna's 'Inventarium' (see n. 7), two letters in Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Reichsstadt, Musik de 1540–1632, I, Prod. 13 (variously dated 21 January 1614 and 29 May 1621), an inscription on the front pastedown of the British Library copy of his *Compendium musicae* . . . (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönig, 1616; RISM series A I, G 5121; see BL, K.2.c.1) indicating that he presented the book to (his son) Georg Gumpelzhaimer (b. 1595), and many other items that will be revealed at a later date. Photographic examples of his music and text hands appear in: Richard Charteris and Gertraut Haberkamp, 'Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Butsch 205–210: A Little-Known Source of the Music of Giovanni Gabrieli and his Contemporaries'; Richard Charteris, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer's Little-Known Score-Books in Berlin and Kraków*; Richard Charteris, 'New Motets by Hans Leo Hassler: Indications of Second Thoughts'; Richard Charteris, 'A Rediscovered Collection of Music Purchased for St Anna, Augsburg, in June 1618'; Richard Charteris, 'Giovanni Gabrieli's *Sacrae symphoniae* (Venice, 1597): Some Rediscovered Part-books with New Evidence about Performance Practice'; and Richard Charteris, 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Collection of Sacred Vocal Music and its Augsburg Connections'.

In addition to copying their music, Gumpelzhaimer numbered the manuscript pages 15–30[a] and added rubrics and text underlay (see figs 6 and 8). However, in some instances he merely provided initial words rather than supplying the complete text (see pp. 20–3), though he may have intended to add the missing words at a later date. The manuscript pieces are itemized in Table 1 and comprise motets by both Tiburzio Massaino and Hippolito Baccusi. Since this edition originally belonged to the Augsburg church of St Anna (see below), and since Gumpelzhaimer was not appointed there until 1581 we can be reasonably confident that he copied its manuscript material after he commenced his duties at the church. Although the watermark evidence provides no clues, because they only contain unidentified fragments,¹⁹ other indications are instructive.

The character of Gumpelzhaimer's calligraphy, which I have studied over some decades, strongly suggests that he copied A.283's manuscript music in the late sixteenth century. Its style is consistent with the earliest examples of his music hand, copied in the sixteenth century and found in *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg*, Butsch 237–240 (almost all of its pieces) and Butsch 205–210 (the first two works only). Each of these manuscripts consists of an incomplete set of five part-books: the former is missing a Tenor volume, and the latter lacks the Cantus volume of Choir I and the Bassus volumes of both Choirs I and II. While his sources share a number of common features, significantly the clearest corroboration of a sixteenth-century date for A.283's manuscript material is found in his oldest source, Butsch 237–240.

As I have commented elsewhere, Gumpelzhaimer used a variety of clef formations and his music notation and handwriting changed over time.²⁰ Some of the differences are the result of copying under pressure, when attention to detail was sacrificed for expediency (A.283 displays no evidence of having been copied in haste). Others, however, are the type of variations one sometimes notices among sources copied by other individual music hands of the period. In A.283's manuscript material, Gumpelzhaimer used two different treble clefs (or G clefs, as they are also known), both of which appear in Butsch 237–240. On pp. 15–18 and 25–7 of A.283 he used a relatively small G clef consisting of the letter 'C', which straddled the stave line signifying the pitch of g', and an adjacent, slightly lower figure similar to the letter 'y'. This particular clef was used throughout his career and examples from A.283 and Butsch 237–240 are illustrated in figs 6 and 7. His second treble clef, on the other hand, is significant since he only used it in the sixteenth century. In A.283 it is found on pp. 28–30 and resembles a lower-case 'g', which comprised a small circle (intersecting the stave line denoting the pitch of g') with a loop on its underside. Outside of A.283, Gumpelzhaimer's second G clef only appears in the material that he copied in the sixteenth century in Butsch 237–240 (compare the examples in figs 8 and 9).

Gumpelzhaimer's second clef was a partial precursor of his most frequent and expansive treble clef, the third one, which he used from the late sixteenth century onwards (see the upper four staves of fig. 10). This third version appears in the handful of his later additions to Butsch 237–240, and predominates in his score-books, *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, Mus. ms. 40028 (largely copied 1599–1603 and including later additions) and *Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków*, Mus. ms. 40027 (the copying of which commenced in 1624), and in his early seventeenth-century part-books, *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg*, Butsch 205–210, 242–243, and 257a. In his two surviving score-books, Gumpelzhaimer occasionally used the first and third clefs in the same piece, though on different staves (see Mus. ms. 40028, nos. [53] and [114], and Mus. ms. 40027, no. [27]). On other occasions he alternated their use between separate pieces or groups of works, employing a single version throughout each composition. One example of this

¹⁹ See pp. 17–18 and 25–26. The manuscript leaves also have seven vertical chainlines which are 3 cm. apart.

²⁰ Richard Charteris and Gertraut Haberkamp, 'Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Butsch 205–210: A Little-Known Source of the Music of Giovanni Gabrieli and his Contemporaries', p. 200.

alternation appears in Butsch 257a, a manuscript that originally belonged to a much larger, though no longer extant, Gumpelzhaimer source (as indicated by his numbering of its main work '254'). In this instance, he copied the Cantus part of Giovanni Gabrieli's eight-voice 'Gloria' (C138)²¹ using his third version of the treble clef, whereas in the following piece, Christian Erbach's four-voice 'Gloria', he used the first version (see fig. 10).

The style of Gumpelzhaimer's custos symbols, which conclude each stave and warn musicians about the pitch of the first note on the next stave, are another distinctive element of his music manuscripts. Those found in his earliest sources, most of Butsch 237–240, the first two works in Butsch 201–210 and throughout A.283, are characterized by a mordent-like device with an upward pen stroke followed by a hook (see figs 6, 7, 8, and 9). As his career progressed, his custos symbols became less studied and the hook was often omitted, as illustrated in fig. 10. Yet another feature that distinguishes his earliest sources from later ones is Gumpelzhaimer's treatment of quavers. Those in A.283, most of Butsch 237–240 and the first two works in Butsch 205–210 are characterized by flags with prominent hooked extensions, which appear with both isolated quavers and at the end of beamed ones (see those in the second, third and sixth staves of both figs 6 and 8, and in all but the first stave in fig. 9). By the end of the sixteenth century, the incidence of these extensions had diminished markedly and the shape of his flags had become quite varied (compare his early quavers in figs 6, 8 and 9 with the later ones in fig. 10).

Gumpelzhaimer's fermata signs, which he used to specify the prolongation of final notes, provide further support of a sixteenth-century date for the copying of his manuscript material in A.283. From the late sixteenth century he used two different devices to indicate that final notes should be extended. Both are illustrated in the example of his later hand in fig. 10. The first device, seen at the end of the fourth stave, abounds throughout his later sources, and consisted of an angled version of the letter 'V' with a superscript dot. Gumpelzhaimer's placed this fermata sign beneath notes. The second example, at the end of the final stave, was quite traditional in shape, and comprised a solitary semi-circle with a dot. Although it was used relatively infrequently, Gumpelzhaimer placed the latter device either beneath or above his final notes, and at times he used it in conjunction with the first device on other staves in the same piece (such as Mus. ms. 40028, p. 63). In comparison his concluding fermata indications in A.283 consisted of two discreetly shaped semi-circles, each accompanied by a single dot, one above and the other below each final note (though he forgot to supply them on page 27). Significantly, this method of specifying the prolongation of his final notes is otherwise found only in his sixteenth-century materials in Butsch 237–240 and Butsch 205–210. Examples from A.283 appear in figs 6 and 8.

It is almost certain that Gumpelzhaimer copied the pieces in A. 283 from a printed exemplar. While it is possible that he could have used another manuscript copy, this proposition seems unlikely because copies of the printed edition are known to have been present in Augsburg. For example, he could have borrowed the printed copy that was owned by the Augsburg patrician and collector, Johann Heinrich Herwart (1520–83). Herwart's copy of the 1576 edition comprised all five part-books and remained in Augsburg until 1587 when it was sold to Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria.²² It is now preserved at Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 4^o Mus.pr. 200, Beiband 4. Alternatively, he could have

²¹ See Richard Charteris, *Giovanni Gabrieli (ca. 1555–1612): A Thematic Catalogue of his Music*, p. 209.

²² See the inventory of Herwart's music library compiled c. 1586–7, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cbm Cat. 115, page g. For further details about Herwart and his music collection, see: H. Colin Slim, 'The Music Library of the Augsburg Patrician, Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583)', *Annales musicologiques*, vii (1964–1977), pp. 67–109; Marie-Louise Martinez-Göllner, 'Die Augsburger Bibliothek Herwart und ihre Lautentabulaturen', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, xvi (1969), pp. 29–48; Arthur J. Ness, 'The Herwarth Lute Manuscripts at the Bavarian State Library, Munich: A Bibliographical Study with Emphasis on the Works of Marco Dall'Aquila and Melchior Newsidler', 2 vols (Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1984); JoAnn Taricani, 'A Renaissance Bibliophile as Musical Patron: The Evidence of the Herwart Sketchbooks', *Notes*, xlix (1992–1993), pp. 1357–89; and Richard Charteris, *Johann Georg von Werdenstein (1542–1608): A Major Collector of Early Music Prints*, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography, lxxxvii (Sterling Heights, Michigan, 2006).

borrowed the copy that belonged to his fellow Augsburg composer and church employee, Gregor Aichinger (1564/1565–1628). Still bearing his autograph signature, Aichinger’s copy of the edition has survived minus all but one of its original five part-books (see Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, Mus. ant. pract. M 330). Another possible supplier might have been a sixteenth-century Augsburg bookseller that sold large amounts of printed music (about which further comments appear below).

Table 1

Music copied by Adam Gumpelzhaimer in British Library, A.283, Cantus part-book

The motets are by Tiburzio Massaino unless otherwise indicated.

<i>Pages</i>	<i>Rubrics and Motet Titles</i>
15	Prima pars Cantus Rorate coeli desuper
16	Secunda pars Cantus Et iustitia oriatur simul
17	CANTVS Dum clamarem ad Dominum
18	Cantus Nos autem gloriari
19	Prima pars. Cum quinque vocibus. Cantus O beata virgo Maria
20	Secunda pars. Cum quatuor Vocibus. Cantus. Accipe tamen dignanter Virgo
21	Tertia pars Cum tribus Vocibus Cantus Admitte [piissima preces nostras] <i>Commentary:</i> The quarta pars, which was scored for four voices, is distributed among the other part-books.
22	Quinta pars cum quinque Vocibus Cantus. Sancta Maria [succurre miseris]
23	Vltima pars. cum sex vocibus. Cantus. Assiste parata votis poscentium
24	Cum sex vocibus. Cantus Emendemus in melius
25	Cantus. Ego autem sicut oliua
26	[Prima pars] Cum sex vocibus. Hyppoliti Baccusij. Cantus Quanti mercenarij in domo
27	[Ippolito Baccusi] Secunda pars. Cantus Pater peccau in coelum
28	Prima pars Cantus Quando nil superest
29	Sexta pars [i.e. the sixth vocal part] Quando nil superest
30[a]	Secunda pars Cantus Debeat interea quantum tibi

PROVENANCE

Originally the four part-books at A.283 belonged to St Anna, Augsburg, which was founded in the thirteenth century as a Carmelite Convent and became a Lutheran establishment in 1525, and, except for a short period of Catholic restitution in the mid seventeenth century, has remained so to this day.²³ Corroboration of their ownership appears on each title-page, where the monogram of St Anna is stamped in black. The monogram, which is illustrated in fig. 1, consists of ‘SANA’ together with a superscript indicator suggesting ‘S[ANCTA] AN[N]A’. It was first brought to the attention of scholars by Gertraut Haberkamp, who identified it in selected music editions in Regensburg.²⁴ Since then other music editions with the monogram have been uncovered, though to date the present edition has not been identified as one of them. The monogram was used throughout Gumpelzhaimer’s employment at St Anna, and it would be reasonable to assume that he was closely involved in decisions about the acquisition and original covering of the 1576 edition, especially since documentary materials connect him to the purchase and binding of other music editions for St Anna.²⁵ Notwithstanding the clear evidence that British Library A.283

²³ For more on the history of St Anna, see: Wilhelm von Schiller, *Die St. Annakirche in Augsburg: Ein Beitrag zur Augsburger Kirchengeschichte* (Augsburg, 1938); Horst Jesse, *Die Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Augsburg* (Pfaffenhofen, 1983); and Horst Jesse, ‘St Anna’ in Günther Grünsteudel, Günter Hägele, Rudolf Frankenberger, et al. (eds.), *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, 2nd edn (Augsburg, 1998), pp. 236–8.

²⁴ Gertraut Haberkamp, who concurs with this interpretation, originally suggested that the monogram belonged to the church of St Ulrich and St Afra in Augsburg; see *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, vol. i: Gertraut Haberkamp, *Sammlung Proseke: Manuskripte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus den Signaturen A.R., B, C, AN*, Kataloge bayerischer Musiksammlungen, xiv (Munich, 1989), p. 223. Later, however, she identified it with St Anna; see *ibid.*, vol. ii: Gertraut Haberkamp and Jochen Reutter, *Sammlung Proseke: Manuskripte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts aus den Signaturen A.R., C, AN* (Munich, 1989), p. xxiv. The Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg editions that Gertraut Haberkamp identified as being accompanied by St Anna’s monogram consist of: RISM series A I, P 2016 (1552; Dominique Phinot; Butsch 51); RISM series A I, H 2323 (1591; Hans Leo Hassler; Butsch 79–80); RISM series A I, G 2447 (1598; Ruggiero Giovannelli; Butsch 93); RISM series A I, M 2362 (1595; Claudio Merulo; Butsch 102); RISM series P 738 (1589; Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina; Butsch 104); RISM series A I, S 1126 (1612; Lambert de Sayve; Butsch 185–192); RISM series B I, 1587¹⁴ (Butsch 237–240); RISM series A I, V 1397 (1620; Lodovico Viadana; Butsch 244–247); and RISM series A I, G 1687 (1597; Bartholomäus Gesius; Butsch 279a). Further editions are cited in Richard Charteris, ‘Giovanni Gabrieli’s *Sacrae symphoniae* (Venice, 1597): Some Rediscovered Part-books with New Evidence about Performance Practice’. For further details, see Richard Charteris, ‘A Rediscovered Collection of Music Purchased for St Anna, Augsburg, in June 1618’; Richard Charteris, ‘An Early Seventeenth-Century Collection of Sacred Vocal Music and its Augsburg Connections’, and Richard Charteris, *Early Music Prints Once Owned by Adam Gumpelzhaimer and St Anna, Augsburg*, in preparation.

²⁵ There is a considerable amount of evidence about Gumpelzhaimer’s management of St Anna’s music collection, including confirmation of his involvement in the purchase and binding of music editions for St Anna and himself. While much of the information has yet to be revealed in the literature, previously I have commented on a few relevant documents. One instance is Gumpelzhaimer’s September 1608 inventory at Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. autogr. theor. Gumpelzhaimer [*sic*], which concerns seventeen music editions that he purchased for St Anna. In the inventory, Gumpelzhaimer recorded their titles and purchase prices, and described the nature and cost of their binding. At the time of their binding, they were stamped in black ink with St Anna’s monogram. Originally the editions were together in a bound set, but they are now bound individually and divided between the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz and the Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków (see Richard Charteris, ‘An Early Seventeenth-Century Collection of Sacred Vocal Music and its Augsburg Connections’).

was owned by St Anna, the edition is not listed in the church's 'Inventarium'. As such it joins many other music editions that escaped mention in the 'Inventarium' despite containing unmistakable proof of the church's ownership.²⁶

Throughout Gumpelzhaimer's employment at St Anna, Augsburg was a leading centre for the sale of printed books. Of the booksellers in Augsburg during this period, only two, the firms of Kaspar Flurschütz and Georg Willer, are known to have sold substantial quantities of music. Kaspar Flurschütz (b. before 1590; d. 1633) was trained by Georg Willer, and subsequently established his own business. Seven of his sale catalogues with music, published between 1613 and 1628, are known.²⁷ Although Flurschütz's catalogues include many Italian music editions, there is no reason to believe that he sold the 1576 edition to St Anna, not least because its manuscript music pre-dates the establishment of Flurschütz's business in 1611. The firm of Georg Willer, on the other hand, was Augsburg's most important bookseller during the second half of the sixteenth century and the initial decades of the seventeenth century. It was founded around 1548 by Georg Willer senior (1514–93), who was a prominent participant in book fairs at Frankfurt am Main, publishing regular catalogues for these events from 1564. After 1593, the business was operated by his sons Elias Willer (active 1594–1611) and Georg Willer junior (active 1594–c. 1632). During the firm's long history, a large number of music editions were itemized in its sale catalogues.²⁸ The most extensive listings, comprising 356 music titles, are found in a sale catalogue published in 1622 by Georg Willer junior.²⁹ The latter document reveals that Willer sold music editions published in Austria, France, Germany, the Low Countries, and Italy. The majority of these editions were devoted to sacred vocal music, including polychoral compositions, which were much admired at St Anna. As a group, the Willer firm's catalogues are a testament to its lively involvement in the European book trade,³⁰ and in the light of its important role, it is almost certain that this firm supplied St Anna with most of its early music editions, including the present source.

²⁶ Drawing largely on identifications made by other scholars, including Gertraut Haberkamp, thirty-seven music editions with the monogram were cited in Jane A. Bernstein, 'Buyers and Collectors of Music Publications: Two Sixteenth-Century Music Libraries Recovered' in Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (eds.), *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts. Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music, xviii (Michigan, 1997), pp. 21–33. The list in Bernstein's article proves to be only a small fraction of the extant music editions with St Anna's monogram. A vast number of additional sources with the monogram will be revealed in Richard Charteris, *Early Music Prints Once Owned by Adam Gumpelzhaimer and St Anna, Augsburg*, in preparation. Some of the extra items are discussed in: Richard Charteris, 'A Rediscovered Collection of Music Purchased for St Anna, Augsburg, in June 1618'; Richard Charteris, 'Giovanni Gabrieli's *Sacrae symphoniae* (Venice, 1597): Some Rediscovered Part-books with New Evidence about Performance Practice'; Richard Charteris, 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Collection of Sacred Vocal Music and its Augsburg Connections'.

²⁷ Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ant. theor. F 115(1–7). A transcription appears in Richard Schaal, *Die Kataloge des Augsburger Musikalien-Händlers Kaspar Flurschütz, 1613–1628* (Wilhelmshaven, 1974).

²⁸ Some of the sale catalogues appear in Bernhard Fabian (ed.), *Die Messkataloge Georg Willers, Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 5 vols (Hildesheim, 1972–2001).

²⁹ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/4 Cat. 45, Beiband 12: *Catalogus librorum musicalium variorum auctorum omnium nationum tam Italarum quam Germanorum, tam recentium quam veterum, quos Lector venales reperiet apud Georgium Willerum Bibliopol. Augustae* (Augsburg: David Francken, 1622). A transcription appears in Richard Schaal, 'Georg Willers Augsburger Musikalien-Lagerkatalog von 1622', *Die Musikforschung*, xvi (1963), pp. 127–39.

³⁰ For more on the Augsburg book trade, including the firm of Georg Willer, see Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Dokumentation: Augsburger Buchdrucker und Verleger', *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 1205–340.

An inventory of St Anna's music library prepared in 1697 listed instruments and editions purchased during the late seventeenth century, and mentioned that the collection included earlier music materials, though without identifying the specific items.³¹ It is very likely that the 1576 edition was still in the library in 1697. Indeed, St Anna's disposal of the edition probably occurred in the 1840s, when a copy was sold by the Augsburg bookseller and antiquarian August Fidelis Butsch (1805–79); Butsch operated his business from 1840 to 1872 and sold a large quantity of music in the 1840s and 1850s.³² The reference to the Massaino edition appeared on p. 27 of *Catalog einer Sammlung seltener Notendrucke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, und einer Anzahl neuerer Musikwerke, zu haben in der Birett'schen Antiquariats-Buchhandlung F. Butsch in Augsburg 1846*: 'Massaini, Tiburtii, mus. Cremon., Motector. e 5 et 6. lib. I. Ed. I. Venet., Jos. Guiglielmo, [1]576 . . . Tenor deest'.³³ Butsch's description exactly matches the edition at British Library A.283, which lacks the tenor part-book, as indicated in the quotation from the catalogue and in a matching pencilled comment on the title-page of the Cantus part-book ('Tenor | deest', see fig. 4). The next information we have about these part-books indicates that they were in the custody of Adolph Asher & Co., since the latter business, which was based in Berlin between 1830 and 1933 (with an office in London), sold it to the British Museum in 1862. The edition arrived in the British Museum on 19 July 1862 as a red date stamp in each part-book verifies,³⁴ and it was subsequently assigned its present pressmark, A.283.³⁵ Although someone else may have owned the source between its listing by Butsch in Augsburg in 1846 and its acquisition by Adolph Asher & Co., it is possible that no intermediary owner was involved and that the lapse of time was due to commercial factors. If items did not sell after their first announcement, then booksellers retained them, in some cases for long periods, until a buyer was found. Occasionally booksellers relisted such items in subsequent catalogues, but often they remained on their shelves until they were able to interest individual collectors or book dealers in taking the materials (since many of Butsch's sale catalogues have been lost it is impossible to be certain whether he relisted the 1576 edition). Moreover, even when it came into the hands of Adolph Asher & Co. it may have been some years before this firm cited it for sale, since booksellers of the time frequently deferred listing items until sufficient

³¹ Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Evangelisches Wesensarchiv 1061a, vol. i, no. 11.

³² Only a handful of Butsch's sale catalogues with music have survived. For a discussion of their music items, some of which were purchased by Carl Proske (1794–1861), see Gertraut Haberkamp, 'Signaturengruppe B (Sammlung Butsch)' in *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, vol. ii, pp. xxii–xxvi.

³³ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus. th. 3902. See also Erich Carlsohn, 'Fidelis Butsch & Sohn. Die Antiquare von Augsburg', *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel, Frankfurter Ausgabe*, xv (1959), pp. 1938–40.

³⁴ Confirmation of the British Museum purchase appears in an invoice dated 7 April 1862 (BL, DH5/16), where the part-books are described as 'Massaini (Tiburt.) Motecti cum | quinque & sex vocibus 4 [parts]'. A red stamp, which is labelled 'BRITISH MUSEUM' and contains the British coat of arms, is found near the beginning of all four part-books; the library used this book stamp between the 1830s and the 1920s.

³⁵ The edition concerned is cited with this pressmark in W. Barclay Squire, *Catalogue of Printed Music Published between 1487 and 1800 now in the British Museum*, vol. ii, p. 105.

materials were available in the same subject area. This was almost certainly the case with the 1862 Asher sale, since the sale catalogue, which has disappeared, contained over 1,000 music items and included ones that he obtained from widely divergent locations.³⁶

CONCLUSION

While we shall never know the extent to which Gumpelzhaimer used the motets in British Library A.283, it is very probable that some of its pieces were studied or performed at St Anna. The mere fact that Gumpelzhaimer felt compelled to locate a copy of the Cantus part-book's missing pieces, make manuscript copies, and incorporate them into the edition suggests that he was interested in more than just correcting a production oversight. Certainly, most of the pieces in the 1576 edition were suitable for Lutheran use, and one could well imagine the quality of some of its settings, such as 'Ave verum corpus' and 'Triumpharunt sancti martires', appealing to Gumpelzhaimer. The scoring of Massaino's and Baccusi's motets, which are written for small numbers of voices, would have increased their usefulness when performers were in short supply or reduced forces were required for parts of Lutheran services. It is clear from Gumpelzhaimer's manuscript sources that he was involved in performances of such works, just as they show his frequent use of polychoral compositions.

The numbers of surviving sources with music copied by Adam Gumpelzhaimer are relatively few compared to the items that St Anna purchased from him shortly before his death. Consequently, any discoveries of music copied by him are significant, and even more so if, as is the case with British Library A.283, the edition with which it is bound bears St Anna's monogram and is not recorded in its 'Inventarium'. This new addition to his music manuscripts joins a select group of other Gumpelzhaimer sources in Augsburg and Regensburg that are bound with printed music accompanied by St Anna's monogram.³⁷ It is to be hoped that further manuscript sources of his will emerge once the full extent of St Anna's editions have been identified. Meanwhile, we can be grateful that the British Library source enhances our knowledge of Gumpelzhaimer's activities as a collector and copyist and sheds light on his contribution to St Anna's musical life.

³⁶ Copies of the sale catalogues issued and owned by Adolph Asher & Co. were destroyed in fires at its offices in Berlin and London. Except for a halt in activities during the Second World War, the business has been based in the Netherlands since 1933. Some of the firm's early catalogues have survived in libraries, though many, such as the one that contained the 1576 edition, are missing. Further details about the relevant sale will appear in an article that I am preparing. One of the suppliers for this sale was the Munich Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek as disclosed in Richard Charteris, *Johann Georg von Werdenstein (1542–1608): A Major Collector of Early Music Prints*. For information about the founder of the business, see David Paisey, 'Adolphus Asher (1800–1853): Berlin Bookseller, Anglophile, and Friend to Panizzi', *British Library Journal*, xxiii (1997), pp. 131–53.

³⁷ Those revealed in the literature to date comprise Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Tonkunst Schletterer 376–382, and Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Butsch 77–78, 205–210 and 237–240.

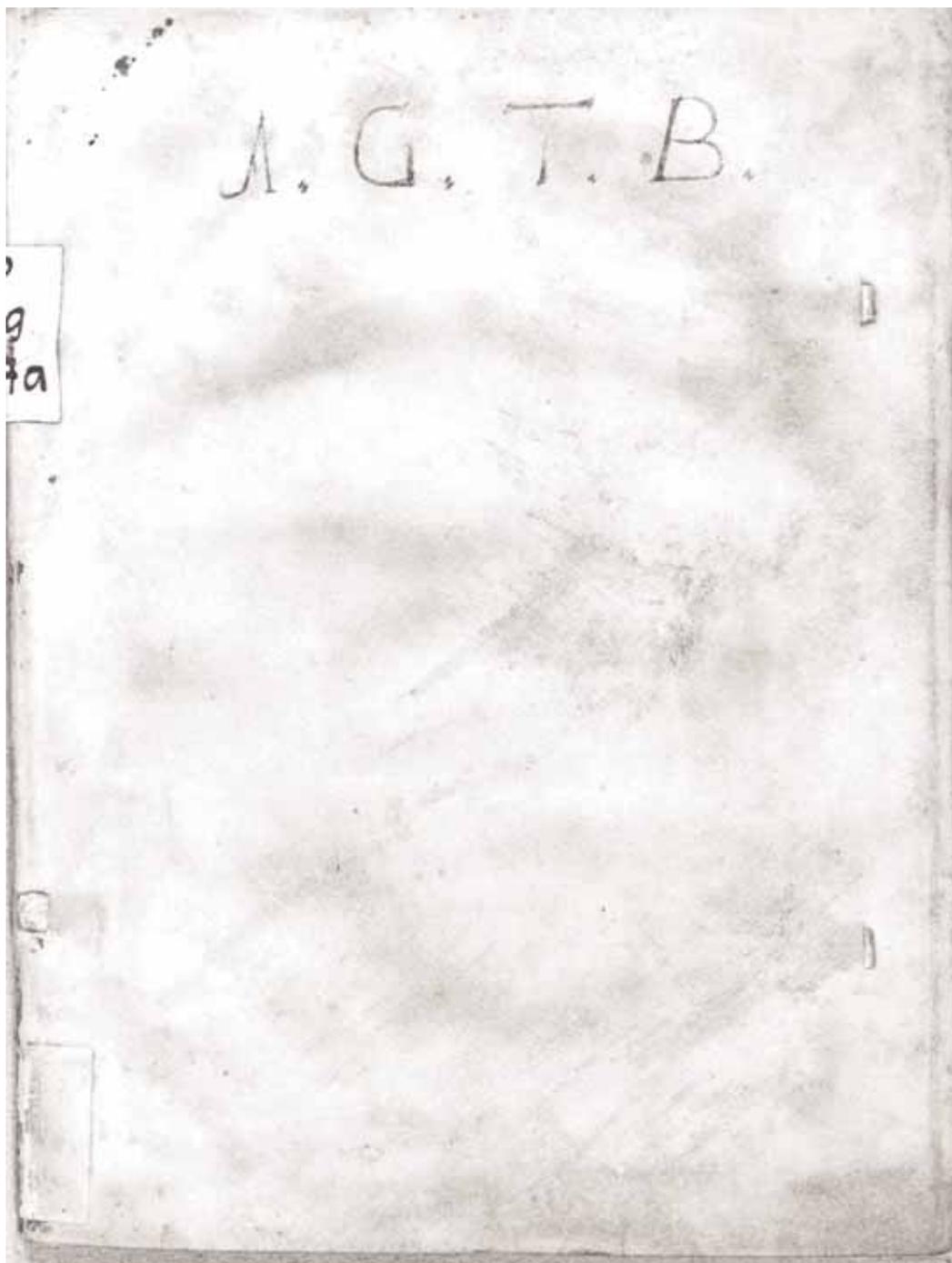


Fig. 1. Adam Gumpelzhaimer's monogram on the front cover of *Forma, Wie vom heyligen Tauff, vnnnd dem heyligen Sacrament des Leibs vnnnd Blüts Christi ...* (Augsburg: Valentin Schöning, 1555; Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, 4° Aug. 397a).

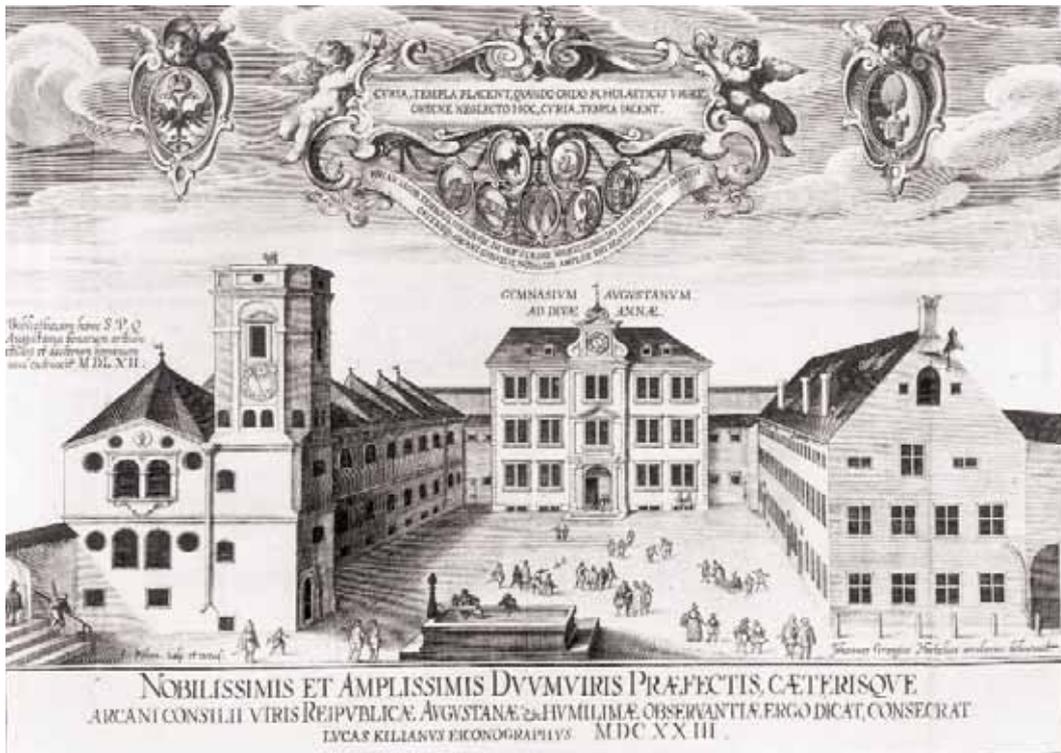


Fig. 3. Lukas Killian's engraving of St Anna's school and courtyard adjoined by Augsburg's city library (Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Graph 23/36, 1).

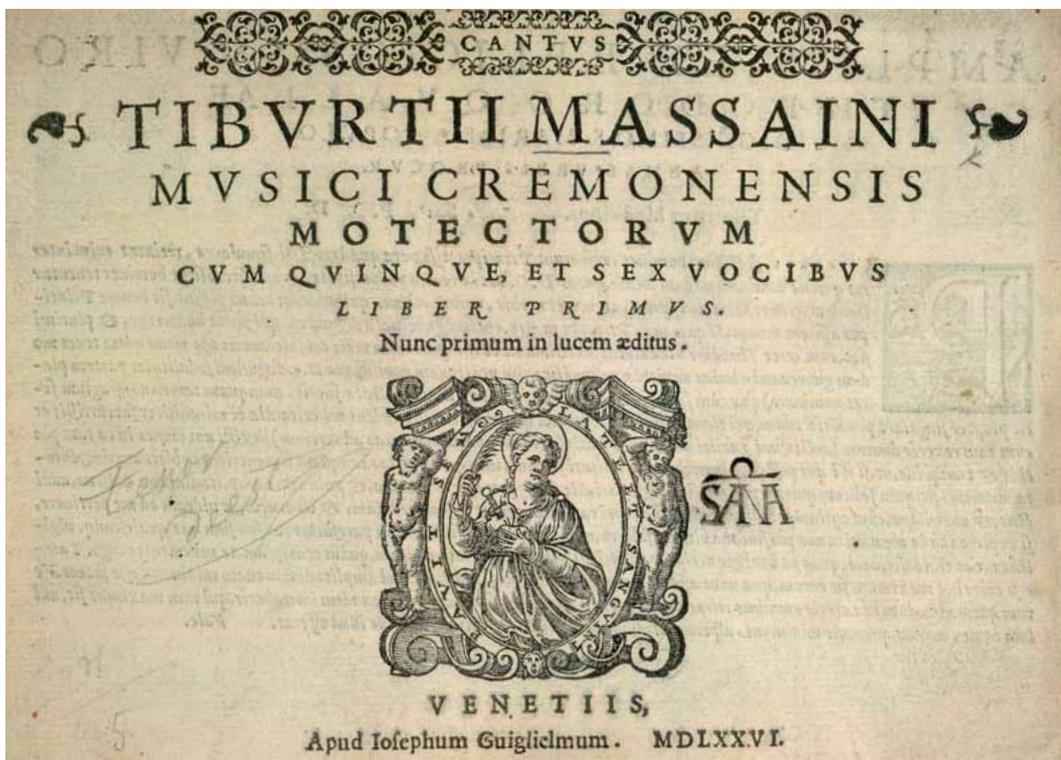


Fig. 4. The title-page of the Cantus part-book (BL, A.283).

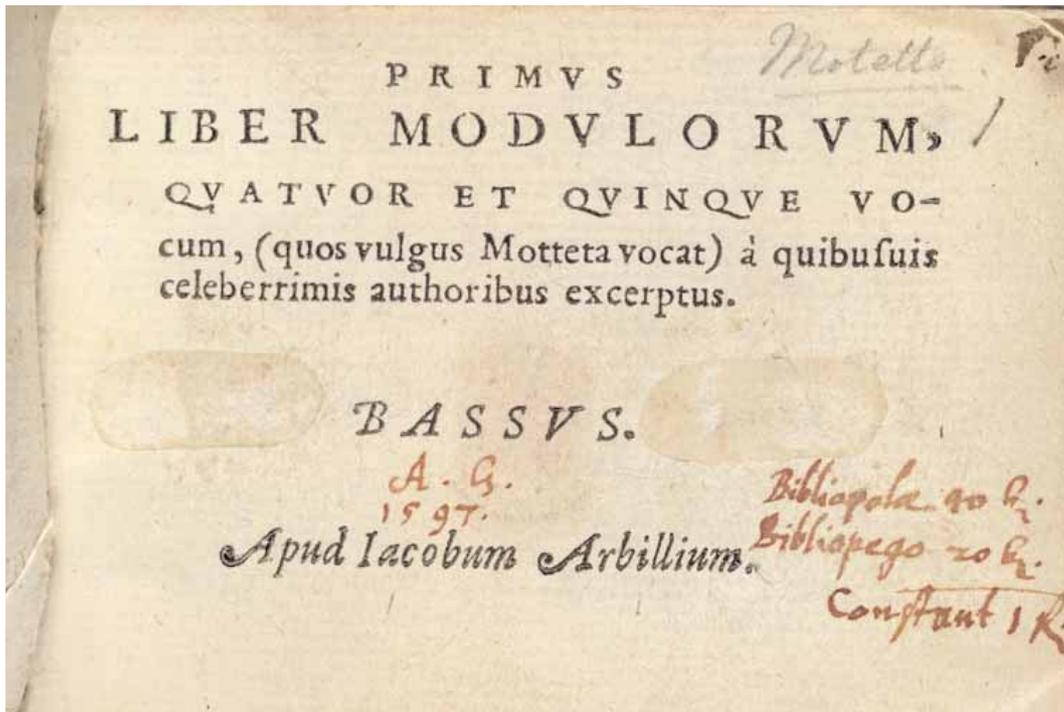


Fig. 5. Adam Gumpelzhaimer's inscriptions on the title-page of the first edition (BL, K.2.b.11).

Prima pars 15 Cantus.

Rora te caeli desuper Rora te caeli
rorate caeli rorate caeli de super et nubes plu
ant iustum et nubes plu ant iustum Aperiatur ter
ra Aperiatur terra et germinet Aperiatur terra et
germinet saluato rem, et germinet Saluatorem, et
germinet saluatorem et germinet saluato rem.

Fig. 6. Manuscript material copied by Adam Gumpelzhaimer (BL, A.283, Cantus part-book, p. 15).

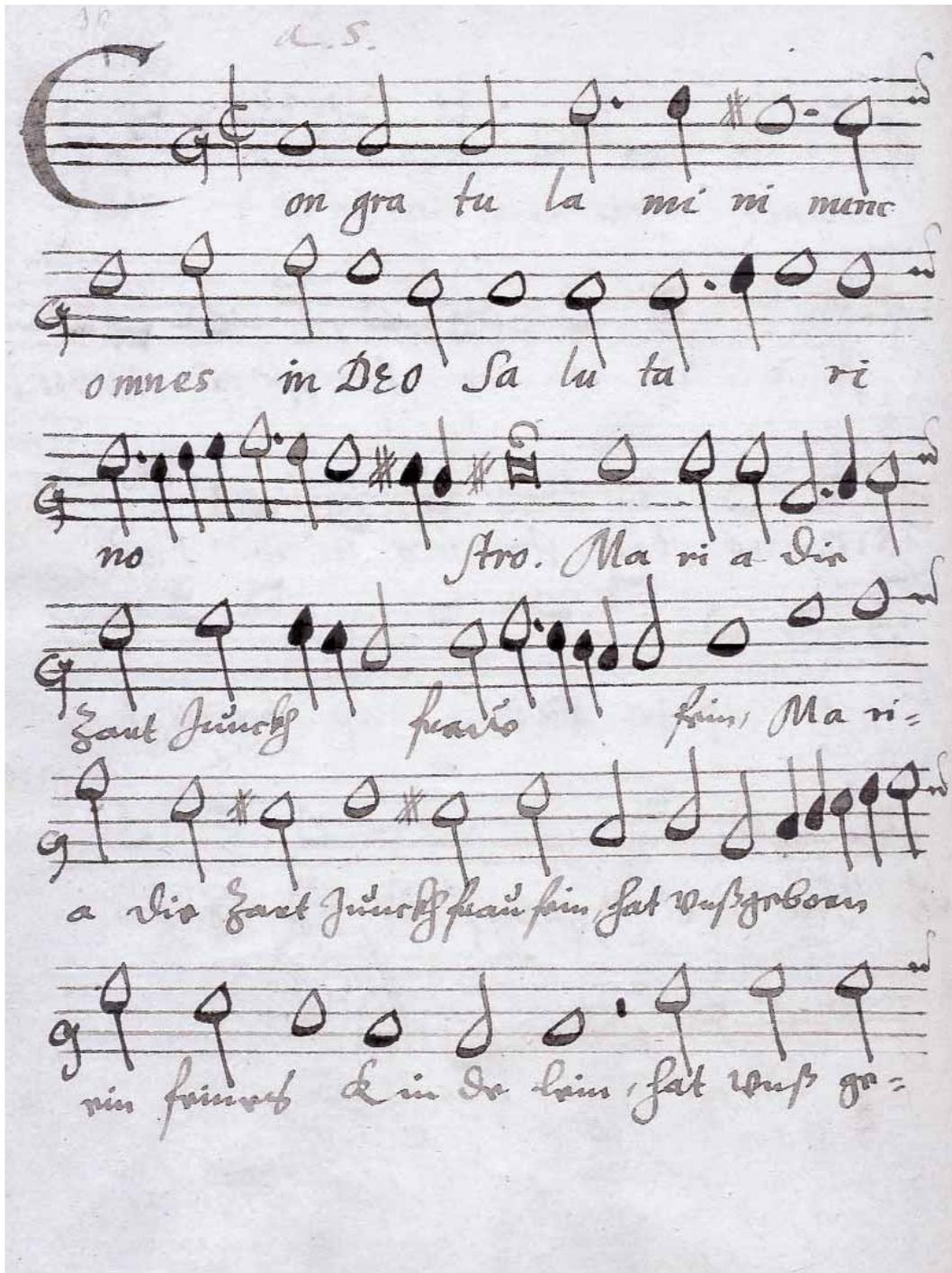


Fig. 7. Manuscript material copied by Adam Gumpelzhaimer (Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Butsch 237–240, ‘DISCANTVS’ part-book, beginning of no. [36]).



Fig. 8. Manuscript material copied by Adam Gumpelzhaimer (BL, A.283, Cantus part-book, p. 30).

61 a. b. Leonhardo Lechnero.

In convertendo Dominus captivitatem Sion,
facti sumus sicut consolati, tunc repletum est gau-
dium os nostrum, et lingua nostra et lingua no-
stra exultatione. magnificavit Dñs face-
re nobiscum, facti sumus glæe tan tes, converte-
re convertere Do mine, ca ptivi tatem no =

Fig. 9. Manuscript material copied by Adam Gumpelzhaimer (Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Butsch 237–240, 'DISCANTVS' part-book, beginning of no. [61]).

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. At the top, the word "Cantus." is written in a decorative script. The music is written on five staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the notes. The first system of music includes the lyrics "et nunc et nunc et sem - per et in secula". The second system includes "seculorum, A - men, in secu -". The third system includes "la seculorum, Amen, in secula, secu -". The fourth system includes "lorum, Amen." and the signature "Christianus Erbacher d. f.". The fifth system includes "lori - a Patri et Fi - lio et Spiritui san -". The sixth system includes "cto, Sicut erat in princi - pio et nunc et". The seventh system includes "nunc et sem - per et in secu - la seculo - rum Amen,". The eighth system includes "et in secula" followed by a double bar line and "et in secula seculorum Amen.".

Fig. 10. Manuscript material copied by Adam Gumpelzhaimer (Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Butsch 257a, 'Cantus' part-book, f. 4v).