

‘Besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw’:

*The Hess Brothers’ Anthology (1555)
and Its European Context**

RYSZARD J. WIECZOREK

Institute of Musicology, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

Email: ryszard.wieczorek@amu.edu.pl

**This paper is an English-language version of a text originally published in Polish as: Ryszard J. Wieczorek, “Besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw”: antologia braci Hess (1555) i jej europejski kontekst, in Anna Granat-Janki, ed., Tradycje śląskiej kultury muzycznej [Traditions of Silesian Music Culture], Vol. XIV (Wrocław, 2017), Part 1, 71–87.*

I owe my gratitude to the Foundation of the Lanckoroński Family of Brzezina for granting me a monthly scholarship which made it possible to conduct research at the British Library in London and collect the necessary materials.

Open Access. © 2023 Ryszard J. Wieczorek published by Sciendo.  This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 3.0 License.

ABSTRACT

The paper focuses on a comprehensive dance collection compiled by two Wrocław/Breslau town musicians (*Stadtpeifer*), the brothers Bartholomäus and Paul Hess. The anthology, partly preserved at Wrocław University Library, was published in 1555 at the Wrocław printing house of Crispin Scharffenberg and documents the transition of dance repertoire from the courtly realm to the private and public spheres, which was typical of the mid-sixteenth century. The Wrocław collection, scored for wind ensemble, contains 477 four- and five-part dances of German, Polish, French, and Italian provenance. The paper offers some new views on the repertoire from the collection. Particular attention has been given to the so-called Polish dances.

Keywords: Wrocław/Breslau, instrumental dance, *Stadtpeifer*, Hess brothers, Tablature of Joannis de Lublin

Owing to its role in the political and ecclesiastical life of Silesia, Wrocław/Breslau was a place where many traditions and cultures converged. The city's rulers, the clergy, merchants, and burghers maintained lively contacts with many centres throughout Europe, which resulted in wide-reaching cultural transfer, involving the assimilation and transformation of imported musical repertoires. The intensity, mechanisms, and determinants of this process cannot be fully assessed to-day since a vast proportion of source material has been lost. It is nevertheless beyond any doubt that secular polyphonic music was imported to Wrocław from numerous, frequently remote places. This is also true of instrumental ensemble dance music, which was originally passed down 'by the ear' in oral memory, and has left few traces in the source material. The scarcity of such records results not only from non-literary manner of transmission, but also from the initially low status of dance music and its performers, who had inherited their craft from itinerant minstrels or entertainers, thus – from people who typically could not read music.¹ While collections of *bicinia* and *ricercars* were printed and published in a relatively early period, interest in instrumental dances came at a rather later date, most likely because 'purely' instrumental music played a much greater role in music education and theory than dance arrangements.² With the passage of time, however,

the ability to play ensemble music without written notes (*contrappunto alla mente*) gained appreciation, and instrumental dance settings became a much sought-after type of merchandise. They lost their functional character and became a stylised variety of 'artistic' music.³ Thanks to being committed to written form, ensemble dance music could now reach virtually every place in Europe, which made it possible for such pieces to be played also in centres that had previously had no traditions in this respect. Despite the wide distribution of printed editions, however, the practice of performing dance music from memory continued late into the sixteenth century, as illustrated by a much-quoted 1584 letter from William V, Duke of Bavaria, concerning the obtention of music materials for his court orchestra.⁴

All the above-mentioned circumstances make the study of instrumental ensemble dance music difficult since the source base is exceptionally modest. With regard to printed editions, interest in this repertoire clearly grew in the late 1520s. Pierre Attaignant in Paris was the first to print a dance anthology (*Six gaillardes et six pavanes*, 1528). Encouraged by the commercial success of this publication, he later dedicated many further volumes to such music. Others followed in his footsteps: Tielman Susato (*Le sixiesme livre*, 1545) and Pierre Phalèse (*Libre primus leviorum carminum*, 1571) in the Netherlands,⁵ and Francesco Bendusi in Italy (*Opera nova de balli*, 1553).⁶ Until the publication of Giorgio Mainerio's *Il primo libro de balli* (1578),⁷ Bendusi's anthology was the only Italian print that featured such repertoire. England and Spain did not produce any printed volumes of ensemble dance music until the very last decades of the sixteenth century – which, naturally, does not mean that

³ Kämper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 157.

⁴ Wolfgang Boetticher, *Aus Orlando di Lassos Wirkungskreis. Neue archivalische Studien zur Münchener Musikgeschichte* (Kassel, 1963), 24.

⁵ Friedrich Blume, *Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Orchestersuite im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1925), *passim*; Howard M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600. A Bibliography* (Cambridge, 1965), *passim*.

⁶ *Opera nova de balli di Francesco Bendusi a quatro accomodati da cantare & sonare d'ogni sorte de stromenti* (Venezia, 1553).

⁷ *Il primo libro de balli a quatro voci, accomodati per cantar et sonar d'ogni sorte de instrumeti di Giorgio Mainerio Parmeggiano Maestro di Capella della S. Chiesa d'Aquilegia* (Venezia, 1578).

¹ For more on this European context, see Walter Salmen, *Der fahrende Musiker im europäischen Mittelalter (Die Musik im alten und neuen Europa, 4)* (Kassel, 1960), *passim*.

² Dietrich Kämper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien* (Köln–Wien, 1970), 156.

there was no demand for such repertoire being performed there.

Only a few manuscript sources provide us with instrumental dance settings. The oldest of these in German-speaking countries is MS Augsburg 142a, compiled in the early 1510s in the courtly circles of Maximilian I⁸ for the *Stadtpfeifer* ensemble and comprising mostly pieces of Italian provenance. This comes as no surprise, considering the fact that German instrumentalists were active in many cities of North Italy.⁹ Italian dance music seems to have met with enormous interest in the German cultural world, though detailed research still waits to be conducted. Though dance was an important aspect of Italian Renaissance culture, the number of sources from Italy containing instrumental ensemble settings is surprisingly small. Altogether, according to Caroline M. Cunningham, only eighty-two printed and handwritten Italian musical pieces of this type predate Giorgio Mainerio's edition of 1578.¹⁰ The most important of the manuscripts is British Museum Roy. App. 59–62, a codex from the mid-sixteenth century comprising more than forty four-part settings.¹¹ It should be remembered, however, that the surviving works constitute but a small fraction of the orally disseminated, living repertoire, which probably also included dances now only known from lute and organ tablatures.

Like every major city in Renaissance Europe, Wrocław had its official ensemble of *Stadtpfeifer*, which added splendour to important secular and religious ceremonies. The precise date of the ensemble's emergence cannot be established owing to the scarcity of sources, but we can safely assume that it came into being not later than in the last few decades of the fifteenth century. The earliest date in the sources is 1487, when the Wrocław city council gave a permission for lutenists, string and

wind instrument players ('Lautenschlager, Trometer, Pfeifer, Fidler') to establish their own fraternity. The Wrocław city council stipulated that the instrumentalists were to provide, apart from their customary duties, also appropriate musical settings for the liturgy during the carnival.¹² Interestingly, the council's order of the year 1500 forbade the *Stadtpfeifer* publicly to perform the latest dances such as the *Taubentanz*, *Zeuner[tanz]*, and *Schmoller[tanz]*, presumably because they were too liberal or frivolous in nature.¹³ It may be safely assumed that the Wrocław instrumentalists' activity was already quite intense in the early decades of the sixteenth century. No relevant records from that period have been preserved, though.

Of immense interest is the two-volume anthology of dance music published in 1555 by Wrocław printer Crispinus Scharfenberg, and compiled by the Hess brothers, Bartholomäus and Paul, 'salaried instrumentalists of the royal city of Wrocław' ('besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw'). The print, which provides ample material for the study of instrumental dance music in the first half of the sixteenth century, comprises more than 470 pieces for four-, five-, or six-part ensemble consisting of an otherwise unspecified complement of instruments. The first volume is introduced as containing 155 'German and Polish' dances,¹⁴ while the second brings 'Spanish, Italian, English,

8 Luise Jonas, *Das Augsburger Liederbuch: die Musikhandschrift 2 Codex 142a der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg; Edition und Kommentar* (Berliner musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, 21) (München–Salzburg, 1983).

9 On this subject, cf. Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages. Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge, 1992), *passim*.

10 Caroline M. Cunningham, 'Ensemble Dances in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy: Relationships with Villotte and Franco-Flemish Danceries', *Musica Disciplina*, 4 (1980), 159–204.

11 London, British Library, Roy. App. 59–62 (the manuscript also comprises a supplement containing three-part vocal Neapolitan). Cf. Michael Morrow, ed., *Italian Dances of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1978). More on the same source in Kämper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 159–166.

12 '[...] alle Jar eine schöne Messe am Donnerstage vor Fastnacht (St. Sempers Tag) daselbst zu St. Jakob zu singen, iglicher mit seinem Instrument, als er aufs beste mag'; from *Scriptores rerum silesiacarum oder Sammlung schlesischer Geschichtschreiber* (Breslau 1847), 3, 135; quoted after: Armin Brinzing, 'Europäische Tänze im Breslau des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology*, 4, Maciej Jabłoński and Jan Stęszewski, eds (Poznań, 2004), 34.

13 'Alleine zu Tänze schlagen, pfeifen oder Trommeter, die alten Tänze und keine neue Tänze, als Zeuner, Taubentanz, Schmoller und ander neue und ungewöhnliche Tänze'; cf. *Scriptores rerum silesiacarum...*, 205, quoted in Armin Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik im deutschsprachigen Raum des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1998), 208. Zeuner, one of the dances listed here, traditionally performed during the carnival, had already been banned thirty years earlier in Danzig (Gdańsk) and Königsberg (Królewiec) owing to the participation of masked, naked figures (Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 208).

14 *Etlicher gutter Teutscher und Polnischer Tentz / biss in die anderthalbhundert mit fünff und vier stimmen zugebrauchen / auff allerley Instrument dienstlich / mit sonderm vleis zusammen getragen / dermasen vor nie in Druck komen. Mit Römischer / Ungarischer / Böhmischer Kön. Maiestat etc. freiheit begnadet und begabet / innerhalb sechs jahren nicht nachzudrucken. Gedruckt zu Breslaw Durch Crispinum Scharffenberg. M.D.LV.*

and French' dance pieces.¹⁵ Scharfenberg's edition is of unique importance for at least three reasons. Firstly, it is the largest surviving anthology of European dance music explicitly scored for an instrumental ensemble. Secondly, it is the oldest collection of this type in Central Europe. Thirdly, it comprises multi-part settings of dances which were mostly transmitted in oral memory; the majority of those compositions are only otherwise known from lute or keyboard intavolations. Only the *altus* part-book has been preserved in Wrocław itself.¹⁶ However, in 1558 the city council of Augsburg purchased Scharfenberg's print for their own *Stadtpfeifer* ensemble, which makes it possible to analyse that collection today. The Augsburg source, however, only comprises four out of the original five part-books.¹⁷ The lack of the *discantus* makes it much harder to identify concordances for many of the dances in that edition, since in that period melody was mostly placed in the top part. The study of the collection is also made difficult by the absence of any author attributions and work titles; the dances are only identified by continuous numbering. What we already know about the character and provenance of that repertoire is mostly owing to the comprehensive, in-depth research of Armin Brinzing, which resulted in his 1998 monograph on sixteenth-century instrumental dance music in the German-speaking countries.¹⁸ Brinzing studied the Augsburg copies of the Wrocław part-books *in situ* and found no traces of their actual use for music performances, except for a few pitch corrections entered in hand, which may well have been added back at Scharfenberg's printing house as the editor's own errata. The source's excellent state of preservation can be explained by the fact that the *Stadtpfeifer* usually played from memory or from handwritten copies, which prevented the prints from undergoing the normal process of wear and tear. Brinzing's studies, preceded by the work of several earlier

authors,¹⁹ have made it possible to identify a large proportion of works contained in Scharfenberg's edition and more comprehensively to assess its significance, thus paving the way for further research into the sixteenth-century instrumental dance music practice.

The available data about the Hess brothers are fragmentary and grossly out of proportion with the historical significance of their anthology. Their homeland was in the Austrian Styria. Little is known about their early careers. However, we may assume that both Bartholomäus (1518–1585) and Paul (life dates unknown) received musical education at the court of King Ferdinand I Habsburg (emperor from 1558) in Prague, where not later than in 1527 a famous ensemble was established, led till 1545 by Arnold von Bruck, and later by another Franko-Flemish musician, Pieter Maessins.²⁰ Notably, sources also confirm the existence in Prague of a nine-piece ensemble of *tubicines*, whose members were exclusively Italians from 1527 onwards.²¹ It therefore seems very likely that the Hess brothers obtained materials for their ambitious publication from those musicians. Trombonist Stephan Mahu, who played in the Prague ensemble in 1530–1539 and was later promoted to the post of deputy Kapellmeister,²² may also have had instrumental dance arrangements at his disposal. The presence of a wind players' band at Ferdinand I's court had already been a long dynastic tradition, since a similar ensemble (comprising a chalumeau, a pommer, a cornett, a slide trumpet, and a trombone), led by the famous Augustein Schubiger, had operated at the Innsbruck court of Ferdinand's grandfather Maximilian I.²³ From 1549 or earlier, the Hess brothers were employed in Wrocław, but

15 *Viel Feiner Lieblicher Stucklein / Spanischer / Welscher / Englischer / Frantzösischer composition und tentz / Vber drey hundert / mit Sechsen / Fünffen / vnd Vieren / auff alle Instrument dienstlich/ mit sonderm fleis zusammen bracht / vor nie in druck kommen. Gedruck zu Breslaw / Durch Crispinum Scharffenberg [...] Datum Breslaw / An dem Heiligen Ostertag / des 1555 Jahrs.*

16 Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego [Wrocław University Library], sh. m. 50204 Muz.

17 Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, sh.m. Tonk. Schl. 241–244 (*Altus, Tenor, Bassus, Quinta [&] Sexta Vox*), <http://www.fischer-download.de/Search.aspx?BereichID=a7d29913-0bf9-4f5f-a8b3-e05e33aa5ecb#Ergebnisse>, accessed 10 Dec. 2023.

18 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*

19 The earliest list of the collection's contents was included in Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, 164–167. Cf. a summary of the state of research in Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 155.

20 Othmar Wessely, 'Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte von Pieter Maessins', in *Gestalt und Wirklichkeit: Festgabe für Ferdinand Weinhandl*, Robert Mühler and Johann Fischl, eds (Berlin, 1967), 437–451.

21 Markus Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.: Addenda und Corrigenda zur Kapelle', in *Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Tiroler Landesmuseen*, 5 (Innsbruck–Wien–Bozen, 2012), 31, 47.

22 Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 40.

23 Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages. Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge, 1992), *passim*; see also Keith Polk, 'Instrumental Music in the Urban Centres of Renaissance Germany', *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), 159–186.

remained in regular contact with the Habsburg court. An interesting context for their activities is the famous triumphal arch by Johann Twenger.²⁴ In 1569 Twenger – another migrant artist from the Austrian Styria – began a year-and-a-half-long apprenticeship in Prague, and from 1572 he is recorded in Breslau. During his stay in that latter city, he executed the project of a triumphal arch with a depiction of a wind band performing for the entry (*entrada*) of Emperor Rudolf II in Wrocław on 24 May 1577. The ensemble, which is presented playing in a high tower at the entrance to the palace, consists of a cornett, two sackbuts, two shawms, and a bass curtal. It seems very likely that Twenger may have known the Hess brothers and that his engraving shows their wind band honouring this important guest.

Apart from performing music, they built woodwind and brass instruments. Paul is known to have provided *Schreierpfeifen* ('etliche Geschrey Pfeiffen') to Ferdinand I's court in Prague. Bartholomäus, in turn, was commissioned in 1556 to make three pommers (*Brommerpfeifen*) for the Leipzig *Stadtpfeifer*, and in the last year of his life he built instruments for the Stuttgart court.²⁵ The Hess brothers' instruments were thus clearly widely used and highly valued. In 1553, Ferdinand I granted them a privilege that protected their woodwinds and brass instruments ('instrumenta von Holcz und Messen zum pfeiffen und plazen') from being copied or imitated. The privilege was then renewed in 1560 for another eight years.²⁶

The fame of the Hess brothers' ensemble must have reached far beyond Wrocław since in October 1548 the band was engaged to perform in the Saxon Torgau at the wedding of August von Sachsen and the Danish princess Anna. On that occasion, during the Lutheran service they played 'a splendid six-part piece on wind instruments' ('ein herlich stück sex vocum geblasen').²⁷ Historical

records clearly confirm that the ensemble consisted of six musicians. In the liturgical context, we may conjecture that (in accordance with quite well attested contemporary practice) the instrumentalists accompanied the choir *colla parte*.²⁸

That the Hess brothers' anthology was known in places quite remote from Wrocław is evident not only from the surviving Augsburg copy, but also from two sixteenth-century inventories: one listing the music collection of famous Augsburg banker and businessman Raimund Fugger Jr (1566), and the other – the possessions of Margrave Philip II of Baden-Baden's court ensemble (1582).²⁹ One of the volumes from the Wrocław edition, comprising European dances, found its way to the Danish court, as confirmed by exact copies of more than twenty pieces found in MS Copenhagen 1873, compiled in the circles of Christiana III's court orchestra.³⁰ These copies are the more valuable since they also include the now otherwise lost *discantus* part.

The title and dedication of the Wrocław edition are only found in the tenor part-books. The dedication confirms the Hess brothers' close ties to the Austrian Habsburgs and demonstrates that they knew perfectly well how music life was organised at the Habsburg court. They dedicated the first volume to Ferdinand I's first-born son, the later Archduke Ferdinand II, and the second – to the latter's brother Maximilian (who would later become Emperor Maximilian II). Both Ferdinand I and his sons were interested in secular music. As young boys they took dance lessons, which included Italian dances. In later years, Ferdinand II maintained an Italian dance teacher, and Maximilian was reputedly a gifted dancer.³¹ Both volumes were signed for printing on the same day, which

haben die beiden Churfürsten die Braut vor den Bischoff und Altar bracht' (*Vorzeichnus was vor Chur und Fürsten etc. auff dem Herlichen Beylager und Freud des Hochlöblichen Fürsten Hernn Augusten Hertzogen zu Sachsen etc. mit der Durchlauchten Fürstin Freulein Anna etc. Kö. wurde zu Dennemarck etc. tochter / geschehen den siebenden tag Octobris Anno etc. XLVIII zu Torgow / gewesen*); quoted after Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 159.

24 Triumphal arch for Rudolph II's arrival into Wrocław on 24 May 1577, engraving by Johann Twenger (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Sammlung Druckgraphik-Zeichnungen, HB 325), <https://objektkatalog.gnm.de/wisshi/navigate/324985/view>, accessed 10 Dec. 2023.

25 William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index: a Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London, 1993), 174.

26 Waterhouse, 174. From the content of the privilege, we learn that the Hess brothers manufactured trumpets, trombones, chalumeaux, transverse flutes, crumhorns, cornetts, Rauschpfeife, Schweizerpfeife, and others.

27 'Nach gescheener Predigt haben der Königlichen Stat Breslaw Musici ein herlich stück sex vocum geblasen / Unter deß

28 Polk, *German Instrumental Music...*, 91–94; cf. also Victor Coelho and Keith Polk, *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture, 1420–1600: Players of Function and Fantasy* (Cambridge, 2016), *passim*.

29 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 161.

30 Brinzing, 283–284.

31 Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck* (Innsbruck, 1954), 48; Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 163.

testifies to the Wrocław musicians' well-thought-out diplomatic tactics and strategy. They were paying homage to both princes at the same time, which – considering the tensions that existed between the two – was very prudent and gave the Hess brothers a better chance for future favours. One of the possible traces of the brothers' links to the Habsburg court is *Königs Ferdinandus tantz* (no. 93 in Vol. 1), whose title (also known from two other sources)³² probably refers to Ferdinand I.

In the case of the Scharfenberg edition, the key question is how the Hess brothers used their sources and what their own contribution as music composers may have been. Brinzing demonstrates that dances set in the Wrocław anthology had already been in circulation for at least three decades, though the identification of concordances, and thus establishing provenance and dating, is by no means an easy task. The problem is less acute in Volume I, comprising 'German and Polish' dances, since the song tradition in German-speaking countries placed the melody in the tenor as the main part, which makes it possible to identify concordances among one- and two-part *Tenorlieder*. This becomes more problematic in Volume II, dedicated to 'Spanish, Italian, English, and French' dances, in which the source melody was placed in the top voice. For lack of the *discantus* part-book, their identification is therefore only possible in cases where other, complete copies of the same dances have been found.

Unlike the first, the second volume of the Wrocław edition includes, apart from the dedication, also a rather extensive preface, which the Hess brothers evidently deemed necessary, since the volume comprises works of foreign provenance ('Composition frembder landt art'). In the preface, they explain why their settings have no titles or texts and indicate that they are only meant to be performed instrumentally ('allein auff die instrument lieblich und dienstlich'). The lack of titles, combined with a declaration that the music is not exclusively meant for dance ('Auch sind solche stück von uns nit allein zum tantzen vermaint'), indicates, as Brinzing aptly observes,³³ that these settings could be used (apart from accompanying dances) also as 'pure' instrumental music, adding the much-needed splendour to the Wrocław patricians' municipal and family celebrations. The anthology thus represents the transition of dance

repertoire from the courtly to the private burgher environment, which was a characteristic phenomenon in the mid-sixteenth century.

Links between Scharfenberg's print and other European sources comprising dance music have not been fully established yet. Brinzing's list of concordances proves that French sources, and Pierre Attaignant's first editions of 1528 and 1530 in particular, were of the greatest importance. The Hess brothers took over as many as ten out of the twelve dances contained in the former, and twenty-two out of fifty-five – from the latter.³⁴ Other sources, unknown to us to-day, must also have been at their disposal, though, since the Wrocław anthology departs in some elements of contrapuntal structure from Attaignant's versions. Moreover, in the preface to Volume II the Hess brothers emphasise the need to execute full values for final notes in repetitions so that the regular rhythmic pulse (*mensur*) can be maintained. For this purpose, in several pieces they add a corresponding 'bar line'. Since Attaignant's edition contains none of these, it may be conjectured that, rather than drawing directly on the French prints (despite numerous concordances), the Hess brothers probably used (now unfortunately lost) Italian sources.³⁵ Concordances also indicate that the Wrocław musicians did not know Attaignant's later prints (those from the years 1547–1555). Presumably neither the city of Wrocław nor the Habsburg court were interested in the latest publications of this kind. As concerns English and Spanish works, it is difficult to confirm whether the Wrocław anthology actually includes any compositions of such provenance. Only a few of the confirmed concordances are intavolated versions originating in these two countries.³⁶ It is therefore quite likely that the 'English and Spanish dances' mentioned in the title of Scharfenberg's print were more of a sales gimmick, meant to boost the attractiveness of the collection, rather than an actual fact.

Italian records played a major role, as the above-discussed findings have confirmed, even though most likely only a small fraction of the sources available in that period have survived to our day. The only Italian print that predates the Hess brothers' collection is Francesco

32 Namely, Neusidler's lute tablature of 1549 (*Königs Ferdinandus tantz*) and Joannis de Lublin's organ tablature ([*Chorea*] *Ferdinandi*).

33 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 266.

34 Brinzing, 281.

35 Brinzing, 267.

36 Brinzing (*Studien zur instrumentalen...*) found only three dances from the Wrocław edition that correspond to mid-sixteenth-century English handwritten intavolations, plus one dance setting that can be found in Alonso Mudarra's collection of intavolated pieces for vihuela (Seville, 1546).

Bendusi's already mentioned edition of 1553,³⁷ possibly compiled for the needs of Verona's Accademia Filarmonica. This collection is noteworthy for a number of reasons. None of the two dozen works contained therein has any composer attribution. The title page actually indicates that they were all written by Bendusi himself. As in the later publication by Giorgio Mainerio, we only have a general statement that Bendusi's settings can be performed on 'all types of instruments' ('accomodati da cantare & sonare d'ogni sorte de stromenti'). Nevertheless, what is meant here is almost certainly a set of wind instruments as used by the Italian *pifferi*.³⁸ According to Kämper,³⁹ the titles of individual pieces betray the use of the Venetian dialect, which suggests that the whole collection may be of Venetian provenance. Some of these titles refer to pieces of weaponry used by Italian soldiers. These settings may thus have functioned as intermedia for comedies on military subjects staged in Venice.

Bendusi's anthology stands out among other Italian sources containing instrumental ensemble music in that it contains no settings of dance melodies, even though it features bass ostinato typical of dance repertoire (*passamezzo antico*, *romanesca*, *folia*). Those small-scale pieces seem to have been composed from scratch without using any precomposed material. On the other hand, though, considering the scale of source loss, we cannot exclude the possibility that Bendusi drew on the melodies from some now lost collections. Even if those works are not derived from any pre-existent melodic models, they still demonstrate many qualities of Italian dance music from that period. Unlike French music, they feature a very simple harmonic language with frequent use of the *passamezzo antico* pattern, mostly duple time, and extremely regular rhythms. In some pieces (as in nos. 13 *Incognita* and 19: *Bandera*), there is an alternation between duple and triple time, which suggests that they were meant for listening rather than dancing or that they required a special choreographic technique (see example 1).

All of Bendusi's works (except for *Fusta*) were included in the Hess brothers' anthology, in the final section of its second volume. They were not, however, copied mechanically. As in the case of some pieces from Attaignant's Parisian prints, seven (out of twenty-three) of Bendusi's compositions were transposed a fourth or a fifth lower, and repeated sections were replaced with repetition marks.⁴⁰ For reasons unknown to us, the original sequence of these pieces was altered and twice interrupted by the insertion of dances from Attaignant's edition.

Apart from the Hess brothers' anthology, Bendusi's works were not borrowed into any other European source – which comes as a surprise, considering the great popularity of Italian dances at that time. Bendusi's edition was nevertheless known in the German cultural world. An inventory of the property of Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583), a wealthy Augsburg merchant, proves that he purchased this print, and that (along with Attaignant's early ensemble dance publications) it became part of this patrician's impressive music collection.⁴¹

As many as sixteen pieces from the first volume of the Hess brothers' anthology, comprising 'German and Polish dances', can also be found in the form of organ intavolations in the tablature of Joannis de Lublin.⁴² Their presence in that manuscript suggests that some (now lost) collections of dance music must have circulated in Lesser Poland at the time of its compilation (1537–1548), and that the Hess brothers likewise had access to those sources. Two main types of German dances have commonly been distinguished: *Tanz (Allemande)* and *Hoftanz*. The latter constituted the core of the *Stadtpfeifer* repertoire and was sometimes actually referred to as the *Stadtpfeifer Tanz*.⁴³ In agreement with contemporary practice, such dances were grouped into pairs contrasted in texture, tempo, time signature, and choreography. The first of such 'double dances', the *Vortanz*, was in duple

37 Modern edition: Francesco Bendusi, *Opera Nova De Balli, 1553: For Four Instruments*, Bernard Thomas, ed. (London, 1974).

38 On this subject, see e.g. Victor Ravizza, *Das instrumentale Ensemble von 1400–1550 in Italien: Wandel eines Klangbildes* (Bern, 1970), *passim*; Lorenz Welker, 'Bläserensembles der Renaissance', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 14 (1990), 249–270; Patrick Tröster, *Das Alta-Ensemble und seine Instrumente von der Spätgotik bis zur Hochrenaissance (1300–1550). Eine musikikonografische Studie* (Tübingen, 2001), *passim*; Coelho, Polk, *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture*, *passim*.

39 Kämper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 173–174.

40 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 278.

41 Colin H. Slim, 'The Music Library of the Augsburg Patrician, Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583)', *Annales Musicologiques*, 7 (1964–1977), 67–109.

42 Tablature of Joannes of Lublin, Kraków, The Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU) and the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), MS 1716. Nos. 27, 48, 50, 52, 82, 93, 95, 96, 97, 103, 119, 120, 121, 132, 142, and 153; nine of these (with reconstructed top part) were printed in Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, vol. 2.

43 Otto Gombosi, 'Der Hoftanz', *Acta Musicologica*, 7 (1935), 119–129.

13. Incognita 13

The image shows a photograph of a page from a historical music manuscript. The page is numbered '13' in the top right corner. The title '13. Incognita' is written in the top left. The music is written on four staves, two for the treble clef and two for the bass clef. The time signature is 3/2. The key signature has one flat. The notation includes various note values and rests. The piece ends with a double bar line and repeat signs on the final measure.

Example 1. [Francesco Bendusi], *Incognita*. *Opera nova de balli di Francesco Bendusi a quatro accomodati da cantare & sonare d'ogni sorte de stromenti* (Antonio Gardano: Venezia, 1553), no 13. Photograph from: Francesco Bendusi, *Opera Nova De Balli, 1553: For Four Instruments*, Bernard Thomas, ed. (London, 1974), 13.

time, with two rather than one breve as the basic metrical unit ('the great measure') and frequent alternation of 3+3 and 2+2+2 groupings in the rhythmic pattern. The second piece, the *Nachtanz*, was usually derived from the first as its transformation in triple time (*proportio tripla*, frequently referred to in German sources as *Proporz* or *Tripla*). Its entire structural model was taken over from the preceding dance, with only minor changes.⁴⁴ Since the tempo accelerated in the *Nachtanz*, musical motion in the individual parts underwent simplification, and, as a result, the contrapuntal writing typically condensed into a simple homorhythmic structure. This, then, is the dominant dance form in the first volume of the Wrocław print. Many of those dances draw on melodies from various German *Liederbücher*, but there are also borrowings from radically different types of repertoire. One of Brinzing's main contributions to the study of this anthology was the discovery that its first volume, too, contains a significant number of French chansons as well as Italian pavaues and madrigals.⁴⁵ Notable among the former is the inclusion of Claudin de Sermisy's famous *Tant que vivray* (no. 88) among dances of German provenance. Other 'alien' elements include Antonio Rotta's dance *Rocha 'l'fuso* (no. 5, also found as an intavolation in Joannis de Lublin's tablature⁴⁶) and Costanzo Festa's madrigal *Quanto ritrovo la mia pastorella* (no. 131). The latter recurs (with a newly supplemented *quinta vox* part) in the second volume of the Wrocław collection, that is, the one dedicated to 'Spanish, Italian, English, and French' dances (as no. 94). Most of the non-German pieces in Volume I are pavaues, which seem to have been widely known in the German-speaking lands long before the Hess brothers' publication, most likely thanks to Attaingnant's early prints.

The 'Polish dances', as they are referred to in the title, are a separate issue. It is now common knowledge that in the mid-sixteenth century the Polish dance repertoire had no distinctive metrical and rhythmic qualities.⁴⁷

For this reason, it seems impossible to establish what proportion of the repertoire in the Wrocław anthology is indeed Polish. In concordances, the titles of individual dances frequently differ depending on the source. For instance, no. 64, a setting of one of the most popular German dances known as *Benzenauer* (of which we have at least twenty-three lute and organ intavolations), is referred to in other German sources either as an 'Italian' dance (*Welscher tantz*) or as a 'Polish' piece (*Der polnisch*). Three other examples are noteworthy.⁴⁸ No. 52 in the Hess brothers' anthology is also known from Joannis de Lublin's tablature, where it was entered under the title *Zaklalam się Tharnem ad unum [saltum]*. Its principal melody, however, unfolding in the top part, can be found in many settings of Italian, French, and English provenance, which leads us to the conclusion that the Cracow intavolation is one of a Polish-language *contrafactum* of some European dance rather than a Polish piece. Dance no. 82 appears twice in Joannis de Lublin as an intavolation titled *Conradus*. Its tenor part was also incorporated into an anonymous piece titled *Des königs von Polen tantz*, found in the German Ulm 236 manuscript. Since, however, there are five other sources for the *Bruder Conrad* melody in sources from German-speaking countries, one must conclude that this dance is not of Polish provenance, either. Similarly, for no. 132 in the Wrocław anthology we have two intavolations in Joannis de Lublin, one titled *Poznania* and the other – *Italica*. However, the piece is actually an anonymous pavane (*La scarpa mi fa mal*) known from Attaingnant's print of 1530, a later German manuscript (Basel F.X.22–24 – where it is entered as *Paduaner*), and several lute intavolations. Despite its Polish title in the Cracow tablature, the dance is thus undoubtedly of Italian origin. In the Hess brothers' publication, it is presented within a 'double dance', presumably taken from a now lost Italian source in which these two were combined into a *paduana-saltarello* pair typical of that tradition. To sum up, the multiplicity of titles found in the sources has led to much confusion in the study of 'Polish dances', and significantly more caution needs to be exercised in this area than was exhibited by Adolf Chybiński in his edition.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, that latter publication also

⁴⁴ Cf. Daniel Heartz, 'Hoftanz and Basse Dance', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 19 (1) (1966), 13–36; Richard Hudson, *The Allemande, the Balletto, and the Tanz*, 1: *The History*, 2: *The Music* (Cambridge, 1986), *passim*.

⁴⁵ Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 235.

⁴⁶ Barbara Brzezińska, *Repertuar polskich tabulatur organowych z pierwszej połowy XVI wieku [The Contents of Polish Organ Tablatures from the First Half of the Sixteenth Century]* (Kraków, 1987), 135.

⁴⁷ Ewa Dahlig-Turek, „Rytmy polskie” w muzyce XVI–XIX wieku. *Studium morfologiczne [‘Polish Rhythms’ in Music between the Sixteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries: A Morphological Study]*

(Warszawa, 2006), 81ff. (more bibliographical references can be found in that publication).

⁴⁸ For details concerning these settings, see Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, *passim*.

⁴⁹ Chybiński wrote in the preface to his edition of dances from the tablature of Joannis de Lublin: 'on the basis of titles and

presents a claim that still holds true: 'such "wandering" [musical] phrases, undoubtedly looking back to the Middle Ages, already constituted common property after 1500. In whole or in part, they remained part of musical practice for many long centuries.'⁵⁰

The last problem that should briefly be addressed here is the question of the Hess brothers' contribution to the composition of the dances comprised in their anthology. The title page of the first volume advertises these dance settings as suitable for a four- or five-part ensemble. As Brinzing's research demonstrates, all the available concordances are four-part (and sometimes even three-part) settings, which suggests that the fifth part was likely supplemented by the Hess brothers themselves. Notably, however, that added part (*vagant*) frequently generates mistakes in contrapuntal structure. For instance, though the *tenor* and *bassus* parts move in concert, there is no analogous coordination with the *altus*, which results in dissonant clashes or in parallel fifths and octaves. One may interpret these errors in a twofold manner: Either the Hess brothers did not have sufficient training as composers, or the notation reflects some traces of oral-memorial transmission. The rests that occur at some points in the added part can only be read (as Brinzing suggests) as attempts to avoid errors of this type. One should assume, therefore, that the Wrocław *Stadt Pfeifer* possessed at least some rudimentary knowledge of composition technique.

Analysis of the *vagant* part also provides insights into one of the key aspects of sixteenth-century performance practice, namely – the use of accidentals (*subsemitonia modi*), which, according to the Hess brothers' preface, was at odds with German musical habits ('wider den gebrauch deutscher Musica'). The study of the then lute and viola intavolations, however, does not confirm this claim. On the contrary, raising the leading note appears

to have been the norm.⁵¹ A comparison of the Wrocław versions with the corresponding intavolations in Joannis de Lublin leads to a similar conclusion. These works contain numerous instances of clashes between altered notes and non-altered ones in the added *vagant* part.⁵² Either the instrumentalists of that day (possibly the Hess brothers alone) really ignored accidentals, or this might be yet another trace of oral-memorial practice.

In their preface to the second volume, the Hess brothers explain that though they added a fifth and sixth part to many of the settings, these extra musical lines may be omitted without any detriment to the music ('mügen auch wider ausgelassen werden'). In their words, the supplemented parts were intended to ensure fullness of sound ('wegen vollkommenheit') and make it possible to extend the ensemble when needed ('wegen viler gesellschaft'). The brothers also note that, in case a given piece is executed by a four-part ensemble, the bass part ought to be transposed an octave higher than notated ('so sol derselbe Bass entgegen ein octava höher als claviert genommen werden'), as indicated graphically in the print. Every such indication of added parts helps present-day scholars to define the Hess brothers' personal contributions to the music comprised in the anthology. The six-part settings with one (twenty-one pieces) or two (sixty pieces) added parts make for extremely interesting research material. The added lines are rather restless in terms of rhythm and abound in large leaps.⁵³ This makes them stand out from the other, generally calmly unfolding parts, which closely resemble the voice-leading found in vocal works from that period. Despite the above-mentioned contrapuntal clashes, these added parts significantly enliven the music and enrich the sound, adding a peculiar kind of attractiveness to the Wrocław print.

To sum up, the anthology compiled by the Hess brothers, 'salaried instrumentalists of the royal city of Wrocław', definitely deserves further multidirectional studies. Importantly, the hitherto findings have allowed us to expand our understanding of the then ensemble dance music, providing insights into the composition techniques and instrumental performance practice in that period, and, most significantly, into the process of the absorption and transformation of music repertoires in Renaissance Europe.

inscriptions found above some of the dances and dance songs, we may already conclude that they are of Polish provenance. This concerns at least eight numbers: 1. No. 14, *Jeszcze Marcinie* [Still, Martin]; 2. No. 22, *Zakłólam się cierniem* [I've Pricked Myself with a Thorn]; 3. No. 33, *Szewczyk idzie po ulicy szydełko nosząc* [A Shoemaker Is Walking Down the Street, Carrying a Crochet Hook]; 4. No. 8, *Poznanie* [...] [of Poznań]; 5. No. 9, *Poznanie*; 6. No. 23, *Poznanie*; 7. No. 24, *Poznanie*; 8. No. 31, *Hajducki* [type of dance]. Cf. Adolf Chybiński, ed., *36 tańców z tabulatury organowej Jana z Lublina (na klawesyn lub fortepian)* [Thirty-Six Dances from the Organ Tablature of Joannis de Lublin (for Harpsichord or Piano)] edited. from manuscript (Kraków, 1948), vi.

50 Chybiński, ed., *36 tańców*..., vii.

51 Robert Toft, *Aural Images of Lost Traditions: Sharps and Flats in the Sixteenth Century* (Toronto, 1992), *passim*.

52 Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen*..., 220–222.

53 Brinzing, 269ff.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- [Bendusi] *Opera nova de balli di Francesco Bendusi a quatro accomodati da cantare & sonare d'ogni sorte de stromenti* (Venezia, 1553) (modern edition: Bendusi, Francesco, *Opera Nova De Balli, 1553: For Four Instruments*, Bernard Thomas, ed., (London, 1974).
- [Hess] *Etlicher gutter Teutscher und Polnischer Tentz / biss in die anderthalbhundert mit fünff und vier stimmen zugebrauchen / auff allerley Instrument dienstlich / mit sonderm vleis zusammen getragen / dermasen vor nie in Druck komen. Mit Römischer / Ungarischer / Böhmischer Kön. Maiestat etc. freiheit begnadet und begabet / innerhalb sechs jahren nicht nachzudrucken. Gedruckt zu Breslaw Durch Crispinum Scharffenberg. M.D.LV.*
- [Hess] *Viel Feiner Lieblicher Stucklein / Spanischer / Welscher / Englischer / Frantzösischer composition und tentz / Vber drey hundert / mit Sechsen / Fünffen / vnd Vieren / auff alle Instrument dienstlich / mit sonderm fleis zusammen bracht / vor nie in druck kommen. Gedruckt zu Breslaw / Durch Crispinum Scharffenberg [...] Datum Breslaw / An dem Heiligen Ostertag / des 1555 Jahrs.*
- [Mainerio] *Il primo libro de balli a quatro voci, accomodati per cantar et sonar d'ogni sorte de instromenti di Giorgio Mainerio Parmeggiano Maestro di Capella della S. Chiesa d'Aquilegia* (Venezia, 1578).

Secondary Sources

- Blume, Friedrich, *Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Orchestersuite im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1925).
- Boetticher, Wolfgang, *Aus Orlando di Lassos Wirkungskreis. Neue archivalische Studien zur Münchener Musikgeschichte* (Kassel, 1963).
- Brinzing, Armin, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik im deutschsprachigen Raum des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1998).
- Brinzing, Armin, *Europäische Tänze im Breslau des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology*, 4, Maciej Jabłoński and Jan Stęszewski, eds (Poznań, 2004).
- Brown, Howard M., *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600. A Bibliography* (Cambridge, 1965).
- Brzezińska, Barbara, *Repertuar polskich tabulatur organowych z pierwszej połowy XVI wieku* (Kraków, 1987).
- Chybiński, Adolf, ed., *36 tańców z tabulatury organowej Jana z Lublina (na klawesyn lub fortepian)*, edited from manuscript (Kraków, 1948).
- Coelho, Victor, and Keith Polk, *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture, 1420–1600: Players of Function and Fantasy* (Cambridge, 2016).
- Cunningham, Caroline M., 'Ensemble Dances in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy: Relationships with Villotte and Franco-Flemish Danceries', *Musica Disciplina*, 4 (1980).
- Dahlig-Turek, Ewa, *„Rytmy polskie” w muzyce XVI–XIX wieku. Studium morfologiczne* (Warszawa, 2006).
- Gombosi, Otto, 'Der Hoftanz', *Acta Musicologica*, 7 (1935).
- Grassl, Markus, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.: Addenda und Corrigenda zur Kapelle', in *Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Tiroler Landesmuseen*, 5, Wolfgang Meighörner, ed. (Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen, 2012).
- Heartz, Daniel, 'Hoftanz and Basse Dance', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 19 (1) (1966).
- Hudson, Richard, *The Allemande, the Balletto, and the Tanz*, 1: *The History*, 2: *The Music* (Cambridge, 1986).
- Morrow, Michael, ed., *Italian Dances of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1978).
- Jonas, Luise, *Das Augsburger Liederbuch: die Musikhandschrift 2 Codex 142a der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg: Edition und Kommentar* (Berliner musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, 21) (München–Salzburg, 1983).
- Kämper, Dietrich, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien* (Köln–Wien, 1970).
- Polk, Keith, 'Instrumental Music in the Urban Centres of Renaissance Germany', *Early Music History*, 7 (1987).
- Polk, Keith, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages. Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge, 1992).
- Ravizza, Victor, *Das instrumentale Ensemble von 1400–1550 in Italien: Wandel eines Klangbildes* (Bern, 1970).
- Salmen, Walter, *Der fahrende Musiker im europäischen Mittelalter (Die Musik im alten und neuen Europa*, 4) (Kassel, 1960).
- Senn, Walter, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck* (Innsbruck, 1954).
- Slim, Colin H., 'The Music Library of the Augsburg Patrician, Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583)', *Annales Musicologiques*, 7 (1964–1977).
- Toft, Robert, *Aural Images of Lost Traditions: Sharps and Flats in the Sixteenth Century* (Toronto, 1992).

- Tröster, Patrick, *Das Alta-Ensemble und seine Instrumente von der Spätgotik bis zur Hochrenaissance (1300–1550). Eine musikikonografische Studie* (Tübingen, 2001).
- Waterhouse, William, *The New Langwill Index: a Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London, 1993).
- Welker, Lorenz, 'Bläserensembles der Renaissance', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 14 (1990).
- Wessely, Othmar, 'Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte von Pieter Maessins', in *Gestalt und Wirklichkeit: Festgabe für Ferdinand Weinhandl*, Robert Mühler and Johann Fischl, eds (Berlin, 1967).

Ryszard J. Wieczorek is Professor of Musicology at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. He obtained his PhD on the basis of a dissertation on sixteenth-century Italian musical thought and his postdoctoral degree on the basis of a book on the repertoire of three mensural codices from Silesia and Saxony from the end of the fifteenth century. His research areas encompass the history of Polish, Italian, and German music of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries as well as problems of organology. He is the author of three books: „*Ut cantus consonet verbis*”. *Związki muzyki ze słowem we włoskiej refleksji muzycznej XVI wieku* ['*Ut cantus consonet verbis*. Word-and-Music Relations in Sixteenth-Century Italian Musical Thought'] (1995), „*Musica figurata*” w Saksonii i na Śląsku u schyłku XV wieku. *Studia nad repertuarem kodeksów menzuralnych Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494 i Warszawa 5892* ['*Musica figurata* in Late Fifteenth-Century Saxony and Silesia. Studies in the Repertoire of Mensural Codices: Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494, and Warsaw 5892'] (2002), and *Patronat muzyczny w renesansowych Włoszech, 1470–1527. Mediolan, Ferrara, Mantua, Florencja, Rzym* [*Musical Patronage in Renaissance Italy, 1470–1527. Milan, Ferrara, Mantua, Florence, Rome*] (2013).