

## Musical diplomacy in a divided city: the Lasso-Mayrhofer manuscripts

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Many exquisitely produced music manuscripts came into existence as lavish gifts. Carefully written, beautifully illuminated and filled with exclusive repertory, they helped to establish and maintain friendly relationships among the powerful in the medieval and early modern world. The functions of such gifts of music were ‘various and subtle, ranging from commemoration to serving the symbolic and diplomatic ends of the donor, and to fulfilling the practical needs of the recipient’.<sup>1</sup> Well-known examples include the so-called Medici Codex, which was probably a wedding present from Pope Leo X to his nephew Lorenzo II de Medici and Madeleine de la Tour d’Auvergne (herself a cousin of the French King Francis I), and the many music manuscripts originating around 1500 from the workshop of Petrus Alamire in the orbit of the Habsburg-Burgundian court.<sup>2</sup> The makers and commissioners of printed music soon woke up to the idea that a collection could be packaged as a gift to a dedicatee of high social standing. The title page of Cristóbal de Morales’s second book of masses (1544) shows the composer presenting the fruits of his labour to Pope Paul III, and a dedication copy of the second volume of Orlande de Lassus’s *Patrocinium musices* (1574) was handed over personally to Pope Gregory XIII by the composer,<sup>3</sup> who in turn seems to have been created a Knight of the Golden Spur.<sup>4</sup> Less tangible is the effect of Lassus’s gesture on the relationship between the papal and the Bavarian courts, but it demonstrates several fundamental aspects of what Rob Wegman has characterized as the musical ‘gift economy’:

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<sup>1</sup> T. Shephard, ‘Constructing identities in a music manuscript: The Medici Codex as a gift’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, lxiii (2019), pp.84–127, at p.84.

<sup>2</sup> See *The treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and art in Flemish court manuscripts, 1500–1535*, ed. H. Kellman (Ghent, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> Vatican Library, Capp.Sist.165. I wish to thank Dr Noel O’Regan for sharing his knowledge about the papal presentation copy: it is printed on high-quality paper and bound in brown leather, with the arms of Pope Gregory XIII on the front cover in fine gold tooling.

<sup>4</sup> There is no contemporary evidence for this honour, but Horst Leuchtman makes a persuasive case for it: H. Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso. Sein Leben. Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme der biographischen Einzelheiten* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp.173–5. See also J. A. Owens, ‘Lasso’s ritual reading of De Rore’s *Scarco di doglia*’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, x/1 (2018), pp.73–93, at p.80.

gifts are ‘tokens of friendship and goodwill’, they attest to the liberality and good taste of the donor (and their employer or patron), and they come with an ‘expectation of reciprocity’, which must however ‘avoid the appearance of a vulgar *quid pro quo*’.<sup>5</sup> Even after – or perhaps particularly after – printing had established itself as the most common medium for the dissemination of vocal music, manuscripts retained their cachet as prestigious presents, since they were lovingly hand-crafted and tailored to the expectations of an individual patron rather than an anonymous customer browsing music titles in the book shop.

Two examples of such presentation manuscripts were created by Ambrosius Mayrhofer (1530–1583), a Benedictine monk at the venerable St Emmeram monastery in Regensburg, who dedicated one manuscript to the city council of Regensburg in 1567 (now in Historisches Museum, Stadtarchiv Regensburg I.A.h. 15), and the other to Abbot Jakob Köplin of the Benedictine monastery of St Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg in 1568 (now in Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Tonkunst Schletterer 13 (olim Cim. 75)). The elaborate pen-work initials were written by Johannes Halwachs, who inked his name into an ornament on p.287 of the Regensburg manuscript, and the images on the title pages and the first opening of each manuscript are signed ‘MK’, usually identified as ‘Michael Kirchmaier’, ‘Kirmair’ or ‘Kirmer’, who was active in Regensburg as a draughtsman, painter and woodblock cutter.<sup>6</sup> The musical notation and the text underlay as well as the overall conception of the two volumes were the work of Mayrhofer, who signed the dedications. Motets, masses and Magnificats by Orlando de Lassus dominate the repertory of both manuscripts, and some previous commentators have interpreted this as evidence of the particular esteem and veneration in which Mayrhofer held the music of the Bavarian court chapel master.<sup>7</sup> While his taste surely played a role in the selection of the music, its presentation in two lavishly decorated manuscripts raises intriguing questions about the motivation of the scribe, the financial and institutional backing of the enterprise, and the possible reactions of those who received the gifts.

This article will argue that the repertory and illustrations of the Regensburg manuscript need to be understood in light of the complex political situation of this free imperial city. In 1542 the council of Regensburg had officially introduced Protestantism,

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<sup>5</sup> R. Wegman, ‘Musical offerings in the Renaissance’, *Early Music*, xxxiii (2005), pp.425–37, at pp.428–9.

<sup>6</sup> J. A. Endres, ‘Abt Ambrosius Mairhofer von St. Emmeram in seinem Verhältnis zur Kunst’, in *Studien aus Kunst und Geschichte: Friedrich Schneider zum siebzigsten Geburtstage gewidmet von seinen Freunden und Verehrern* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1906), pp.237–48, at p.242. A handful of woodcuts and a painting of the Trinity in the Museen der Stadt Regensburg are attributed to him.

<sup>7</sup> This explanation goes back to D. Mettenleiter, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Regensburg: Aus Archivalien und sonstigen Quellen bearbeitet* (Regensburg 1866), p.138.

towards which the majority of the population had been leaning. But the city also hosted an episcopal see (with its own territory), as well as several religious houses (among them St Emmeram) that were likewise independent imperial estates and thus exempt from civic jurisdiction; and it was surrounded by the Duchy of Bavaria, one of the staunchest agents of Catholic reform and re-conversion in the second half of the 16th century. In a situation rife with potential for juridical, political and religious conflict, music helped to ‘harmonize’ the relationship between the competing powers of city, monastery, bishop and duke.

### **Mayrhofer’s choirbook for St Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg**

Before we untangle the complex layers of meaning in the Regensburg manuscript, we should consider its sister work which offers easier access to the musical world of Mayrhofer and his fellow Benedictines. The Augsburg choirbook is dated 9 September 1568 and contains 24 Magnificats by Orlande de Lassus (for five, four and six voices in this order) which had been printed in Nuremberg by Theodor Gerlach in the preceding year. This was one of Lassus’s most successful publications, with reprints as well as handwritten copies (particularly of the less taxing four-part Magnificats) circulating well into the 17th century.<sup>8</sup> The Magnificats are preceded by two anonymous motets, the second of which, ‘Surgens Jesus’ (fols.8v–13r), can be identified as a five-part motet from Lassus’s *Cantiones sacrae* of 1562.<sup>9</sup> The S-initials are designed as dragons or fabulous snakes, some of them with human heads, now tarnished but originally heightened with silver; below the bassus on the left-hand side, a hunting scene has been inserted. The first motet, a four-part ‘Ave suprema Trinitas’ (fols.4v–8r), was confidently assigned to Lassus by Wolfgang Boetticher,<sup>10</sup> but a concordance with a set of partbooks from the Gymnasium Poeticum, the grammar school in Regensburg, attributes the motet to Michael Tonsor (before 1546–after 1606).<sup>11</sup> In 1568, the year of the dedication of the manuscript, Tonsor had just moved from the position of cantor at the Liebfrauenmünster in Ingolstadt to that of organist at the Georgskirche in Dinkelsbühl, and it is not clear when or how Mayrhofer might have met Tonsor or had access to this motet, which never circulated in

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<sup>8</sup> For a list of concordances see Orlande de Lassus, *Sämtliche Werke. Neue Reihe*, vol. 13: *Magnificat 1–24*, ed. J. Erb (Kassel, Basel, London, 1980), pp.xvii–xxxiii, and the database *Orlando di Lasso: Seine Werke in handschriftlicher Überlieferung* hosted by the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities: <https://lasso-handschriften.badw.de/metaopac/start.do?View=lasso> (last accessed 19 February 2019).

<sup>9</sup> For a catalogue, see C. Gottwald, *Die Musikhandschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg* (Wiesbaden, 1974), pp.99–102.

<sup>10</sup> W. Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit, 1532–1594: Repertoire-Untersuchungen zur Musik der Spätrenaissance*, vol.1 (Kassel, 1958), pp.851–2.

<sup>11</sup> Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Sammlung Proske, A.R. 883–886, no. 18 It is not identical with Tonsor’s seven-part canonic ‘Ave suprema Trinitas’, found in *Sacrae cantiones plane novae* (Nuremberg, 1574) and in Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Mu 1554.

print. A possible connection is provided by Caspar Macer, professor of rhetoric at Ingolstadt University from 1559 to 1564 and subsequently cathedral preacher and canon in Regensburg, who contributed to the choirbook a poem in praise of Mayrhofer's diligence and artistic skills, as well as expressing his hope that its music should resound in the sacred space (see Appendix 1).

The initials of 'Ave suprema Trinitas' reflect the motet's Trinitarian theme (illustration 1): the cantus initial on fol.4v depicts the creation of Eve from Adam's rib; below, the bassus shows the baptism of Jesus (signed 'MK' and with the coat-of-arms of St Emmeram at the top). On the facing page (fol.5r) the altus voice opens with a nativity scene, and the tenor's initial has a throne of mercy, with God the Father cradling the prone body of Jesus and the dove of the Holy Spirit hovering above them. In the wide margins Kirchmaier gave free rein to his imagination and painted carefully observed, naturalistic birds, and each page has four little cherubs, two of whom are playing musical instruments or singing, while two others support the arms of the Empire, a double-headed eagle, and the crossed keys of Regensburg.

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The crossed keys might suggest that the manuscript – or at least its elaborate opening – was originally intended for an institution in Regensburg, but the dedication addresses Abbot Jakob Köplin (1524–1600, abbot since 1548) of St Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg (see Latin text and translation in Appendix 1). Extended paratexts are relatively unusual in music manuscripts, which were normally 'given directly from one person or institution or another' and did not require the public-facing explanations usually found in printed books.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless Mayrhofer's dedication is modelled on the conventions established for printed music: it calls Köplin his graceful patron and expresses gratitude for the kindness and benevolence Köplin showed when Mayrhofer stayed in Augsburg. The dedication does not mention the purpose of his visit, but it is conceivable that Mayrhofer was an observer at the Imperial Diet of 1566 or the Synod of the Diocese of Augsburg held in Dillingen in 1567, or he may have advised Köplin in legal matters pertaining to the disputed imperial status of St Ulrich and Afra.<sup>13</sup> The greater part of the dedication offers a vigorous defence of polyphonic

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<sup>12</sup> T. Schmidt, 'Dedicating music manuscripts: on function and form of paratexts in 15th- and 16th-century sources', in *Cui dono lepidum novum libellum? Dedicating Latin works and motets in the 16th century*, ed. I. Bossuyt (Leuven, 2008), pp.81–108, at p.87.

<sup>13</sup> The conflict between the abbey and the *Hochstift* of Augsburg (the episcopal territory) came to a head when Emperor Rudolf II acknowledged the free imperial status of St Ulrich and Afra and its exemption from episcopal taxation and jurisdiction in 1577, a claim which was strenuously contested by the bishops of Augsburg until

church music. Mayrhofer first draws on the authority of St Gregory, St Ambrose and other church fathers, then invokes the Bible in enumerating the lectors, singers, musicians ('Symphonistae') and even composers ('Componistae') who perform the holy offices. Those who do not value church music or neglect it are told to depart (literally 'go away and fare well'), while those who are long-standing practitioners of the 'cantum ecclesiasticum' – probably meaning the Benedictines in particular – should continue to love, promote and maintain it. He reasons that devotion in the Divine Office is not impeded by a variety of voices, as many had timidly argued, but rather is enhanced. This seems a direct response to post-Tridentine attempts to curb the use of elaborate church music, including the injunctions at the Synod of Augsburg in 1567 that the organist should not disturb the prayers of the devout with wanton sounds or untimely music ('ne sacras preces et audientium pietatem impediatur lasciva modulatio, neque musica intempestiva').<sup>14</sup> After a brief exhortation to avoid the changeable ways of the heretics, Mayrhofer launches into a spirited paraphrase of Psalm 150 and concludes with a resounding call to raise every voice with the celestial choirs in everlasting praise of God the Creator and Redeemer.

Mayrhofer also extols the abbot and monastic community for having embraced divine music ('symphoniam'), but in 1568 the practice of polyphony was still in its infancy at St Ulrich and Afra. The impressive series of choirbooks containing liturgical music, copied by the monk Johannes Dreher and his collaborators, was not begun until 1568/69, and only a printed edition of Diego Ortiz's hymns (1565) and a manuscript appendix to Jacobus de Kerle's *Preces speciales* (1562/1565) predate Mayrhofer's gift. It is thus possible that the beautiful manuscript was not only a friendly gesture from one Benedictine to another but also a catalyst for the cultivation of polyphonic music at St Ulrich and Afra,<sup>15</sup> which became a centre of Catholic sacred music in Augsburg and beyond in the later decades of the 16th century.

### **Music at St Emmeram, Regensburg, in Mayrhofer's time**

If evidence for the cultivation of polyphonic music at St Ulrich and Afra in the 1560s is sketchy, it is virtually non-existent for Mayrhofer's own monastery of St Emmeram in

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1643. See W. Liebhart, *Die Reichsabtei Sankt Ulrich und Afra zu Augsburg. Studien zu Besitz und Herrschaft (1006-1803)* (Munich, 1982).

<sup>14</sup> J. A. Steiner, *Synodi Diocesis Augustanae Quotquot Invenire Potuerunt* (Mindelheim, 1766), vol. 2, p.419. See also D. Crook, 'The sacred and the secular in post-Tridentine church music: De Rore, Lasso, and the Magnificat *Da le belle contrade*', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, x/1 (2018), pp.45–72, particularly pp.57–59.

<sup>15</sup> T. Rimek, *Das mehrstimmige Repertoire der Benediktinerabtei St. Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg (1549–1632)*, (Stuttgart, 2015), pp.76–7.

Regensburg. Sources are more forthcoming for the 15th century, although it is highly questionable whether the famous St Emmeram Codex, compiled by the monastery's schoolteacher Hermann Pötzlinger, was ever used in a liturgical or pedagogical context.<sup>16</sup> Abbot Johann Tegernpeck (abbot 1471–1493) had an organ built, but in 1476 the monks told him to dismiss his private organist. Furthermore, they instructed the organist to replace graduals and offertories with 'honest but not secular songs' (if at all), and figural music should be restricted to the patronal feast of St Emmeram, while the pupils of the monastery school were encouraged to sing when entering and leaving the church on high feast days such as Christmas or Corpus Christi.<sup>17</sup> The monastery school, which provided the choirboys, continued into the 16th century, when a new building was erected. So did the tradition of hiring organists rather than training the monks to play: a certain Hans Freymuet, organist at St Emmeram, became a citizen of Regensburg in 1551.<sup>18</sup> However, by this time the number of monks had reached its nadir, despite the monastery's robust economic position. While there had been 27 in 1501, by 1561 the number had dropped to nine, and it took until 1599 until it recovered to a stable 18.<sup>19</sup> With the city of Regensburg and its hinterland turning to Protestantism, recruitment stalled from the 1530s onwards, and several newly professed monks left after a few years. This raises the question of whether the liturgy was chanted or just read in the 1550s and 1560s. A printed breviary of 1571, issued by Abbot Blasius Baumgartner (abbot 1561–1575), attests to a renewed interest in the liturgical traditions of St Emmeram, and the involvement of an organist is mentioned both in the preface and at processions.<sup>20</sup> The liturgical rejuvenation did not go unnoticed: on the occasion of the 1574 visitation the papal nuncio Felician Ninguarda praised the monks of St Emmeram as 'ornaments of Catholicism in absolving the divine office as well as through their lifestyle'.<sup>21</sup> According to the 19th-century music historian Dominikus Mettenleiter, the monastery owned musical works by Orlande de Lassus and his contemporaries, and in 1604 P. Christophorus

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<sup>16</sup> I. Rumbold and P. Wright, *Hermann Pötzlinger's music book: the St Emmeram codex and its contexts* (Woodbridge, 2009).

<sup>17</sup> W. Ziegler, *Das Benediktinerkloster St. Emmeram zu Regensburg in der Reformationszeit* (Kallmünz, 1970), pp.30–34 and 258–9.

<sup>18</sup> R.W. Sterl, *Musiker und Musikpflege in Regensburg bis um 1600* (Munich, 1971), p.64.

<sup>19</sup> Ziegler, *Das Benediktinerkloster St. Emmeram*, p.168.

<sup>20</sup> *Breviarum Monasterii Sancti Emmerami, Episcopi & Martyris, in vrbe Ratispona, ordinis Diui Benedicti, nuper in eodem Monasterio accuratissimè castigatum. Pars Aestiualis. Anno M.D. LXXI.* (Munich, 1571). It is telling that the breviary was printed by Adam Berg, the court printer of the Bavarian Dukes.

<sup>21</sup> 'illius civitatis catholicis ornamento sunt tum in divinis officijs obeundus tum etiam in bene vivendo'. K. Schellhass, 'Akten über die Reformtätigkeit Felician Ninguarda's in Baiern und Oesterreich 1572–1577', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 2 (Rome, 1899), pp.41–155, at p.62.

Engelbre(ch)t died as ‘chori rector et moderator ad S. Emeram’,<sup>22</sup> which indicates that by the end of the 16th century the responsibility for polyphonic church music had shifted from the monastery’s employees to the monks themselves, a trend that can be observed in many other religious houses.

However, for the late 1560s, when Mayrhofer compiled his choirbooks, concrete evidence for the cultivation of polyphonic music at St Emmeram is still scarce – as it is at St Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg. This raises the possibility that it was Mayrhofer himself who brought musical expertise to the monastery, although we do not know where he received the training that enabled him to plan and copy two large-scale manuscripts of polyphonic music. We know from records of his death on 21 August 1583 at age 53 that he must have been born in 1530.<sup>23</sup> In 1550 he took religious vows at St Emmeram, together with four other young men who – with one exception – all remained faithful to their profession.<sup>24</sup> This was during the Augsburg Interim (1548–1552) when Emperor Charles V, after the victory against the Protestant Schmalkaldic League, issued a decree that reintroduced Catholic practices and beliefs in Protestant areas as an interim measure until a universal religious compromise could be reached. The imperial city of Regensburg was dependent on the goodwill and support of its imperial overlord, and thus the city council had to submit to the decree despite popular resistance, which meant that all Protestant pastors but two were banished from the city, and the Neupfarrkirche, which had been the home of the Lutheran services since 1542, was closed in 1551 for a year.<sup>25</sup> Thus Mayrhofer entered St Emmeram at a point when, thanks to the intervention of imperial politics, the old faith suddenly seemed to have a future once more, which might explain the flurry of professions in 1550. In the short dedication of the Regensburg choirbook to the city council, Mayrhofer describes Regensburg as his native place (‘quam Dominus mihi patriam esse voluit’).<sup>26</sup> This suggests he could have received his education at the cathedral school or at St Emmeram itself, if his family was subject to one of the city’s Catholic institutions and thus obliged to comply with the old faith. Alternatively he might have visited the Gymnasium Poeticum, where musical training played an important role in the curriculum. Protestant ideas had made themselves felt at the city grammar school from

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<sup>22</sup> Necrologue of Kaisheim Abbey, Staatsarchiv Augsburg, Reichsstift Kaisheim, Archivum spirituale, Amtsbücher 6, fol.24r.

<sup>23</sup> Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, KL Regensburg St. Emmeram 40: *Liber copialis monasterii Sti. Emerami*, vol.5: *Acta ab abbate Conrado usque ad abbatem Hieronymum Weiß (1459–1609)*, fol. 234r.

<sup>24</sup> Ziegler, *Das Benediktinerkloster St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, p.210.

<sup>25</sup> T. Fuchs, ‘Die Konsolidierung der evangelischen Kirche in der Reichsstadt Regensburg bis 1577’, in *1542–1992: 450 Jahre Evangelische Kirche in Regensburg* (Regensburg, 1993), pp.286–9, at p.287.

<sup>26</sup> Regensburg, Historisches Museum, Stadtarchiv Regensburg, I.A.h. 15, p.1.

the 1530s onwards,<sup>27</sup> although in 1551 the headmaster, Nikolaus Agricola, stressed that the school was attended by the sons of (Catholic) Bavarian nobles and episcopal councillors.<sup>28</sup> Because the name Mayrhofer was relatively widespread in the Regensburg area, it has not been possible to trace his family or discern their religious beliefs. In any case it makes little sense to speak of confessional identities in the first half of the 16th century, before the Peace of Augsburg (1555) ushered in a period of differentiation and consolidation.<sup>29</sup>

In 1560 Mayrhofer was sacristan of St Emmeram, and in this capacity he wrote a manuscript that details its treasures (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14900) as well as a history of the monastery, including illustrations of now lost paintings and a catalogue of inscriptions (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. II. 284).<sup>30</sup> In 1575 he was elected abbot; during his abbacy the massive bell tower and an ornamental fountain in the outer courtyard were built. The former is decorated with a relief showing Mayrhofer kneeling at the foot of the cross; the latter displays a statue of an emperor and the crests of the seven Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, underscoring St Emmeram's status as an imperial abbey.<sup>31</sup> During the final years of his life Mayrhofer suffered a stroke, and from June 1581 onwards he was assisted by a coadjutor, his successor Hieronymus Weiss.

The monastery's chronicles praise Mayrhofer for his zeal for the Catholic cause, his piety, prudence, soundness, generosity and patronage of the muses ('Hic singularo Catholicae Fidei Zelo, pietate, prudential, virtuate, vitae integritate, munificentia, & Musarum Patrocinio celebris').<sup>32</sup> The peculiar expression 'Musarum Patrocinio' perhaps alludes to the fact that Mayrhofer was the dedicatee of the fifth volume of Orlande de Lassus's *Patrocinium musices* series (1575), which contains ten Magnificats. Lassus's dedication mentions the abbot's fondness for this type of music – perhaps the composer knew about Mayrhofer's Magnificat manuscript for Augsburg – and his generous support for those who study it diligently ('te hoc genere Musices oblectari plurimum, & illos, qui in hoc disciplinae studio diligenter elaborant,

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<sup>27</sup> R.W. Sterl, 'Das Gymnasium poeticum, die Praezeptoren und die Alumen. Zur Schulmusikgeschichte Regensburgs im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Musik in Bayern*, lv (1998), pp.5–32.

<sup>28</sup> H. Schwarz, 'Die Reformation in Regensburg bis zur Konkordienformel', in *1542–1992: 450 Jahre Evangelische Kirche in Regensburg* (Regensburg, 1993), pp.59–70, at pp.67–8.

<sup>29</sup> K. Unterburger, 'Regensburg und das unverfälschte Evangelium. Konfessionelle Identitätsbildung im Reformationszeitalter', in *Michael Ostendorfer und die Reformation in Regensburg*, ed. C. Wagner, D. E. Delarue (Regensburg, 2017), pp.17–33.

<sup>30</sup> F. Mütterich, 'Zur Geschichte von St. Emmeram in Regensburg im 16. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxi (1967), pp.157–64. The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek has a copy of the Brussels manuscript without illustrations (Clm 14970).

<sup>31</sup> See M. Piendl, 'St. Emmeram in Regensburg. Die Baugeschichte seiner Klostergebäude', in *Beiträge zur Baugeschichte des Reichsstiftes St. Emmeram und des fürstlichen Hauses in Regensburg*, ed. M. Piendl (Kallmünz, 1986), pp.133–364, at pp.186–8.

<sup>32</sup> J. B. Kraus, *Bibliotheca Principalis Ecclesiae Et Monasterii Ord. S. Benedicti Ad S. Emmeramum Episc. Et Martyr. Ratisbonae. Pars II* (Regensburg, 1748), p.466.



benevolentia singulari prosequi’).<sup>33</sup> Such compliments should not necessarily be understood, as they were by Mettenleiter, as evidence of the standards of music-making at St Emmeram;<sup>34</sup> abbots could be patrons of music without encouraging sung or instrumental polyphony in their own institutions. Nor does the dedication necessarily indicate a friendship between Lassus and Mayrhofer, as Wolfgang Boetticher speculates.<sup>35</sup> Rather, the dedication might articulate the relationship between the Regensburg monastery and the Dukes of Bavaria, as explored in the following section. For now, it should be concluded that our knowledge of music-making at St Emmeram remains limited, despite the fact that a member of the monastic community prepared two large-scale music manuscripts there in the 1560s.

### **Between St Emmeram and the Bavarian court**

The monastery at St Emmeram had a close relationship with the Bavarian Dukes, particularly Duke Wilhelm, who underwrote Lassus’s *Patrocinium* project, and whose love of music as well as his constant financial struggles were well known at the Regensburg monastery. In a letter of 2 May 1567, Wilhelm thanked Abbot Blasius for sending him a musical instrument; in 1569 he requested a loan of money and received the considerable sum of 1,000 florins, which several years later Abbot Ambrosius had to remind him to pay back.<sup>36</sup> The exchange of artwork and artists also benefitted the monastery: the master builder who directed the construction of the new tower during Mayrhofer’s abbacy was the Munich court mason, and the stones were delivered from Bavarian quarries, apparently at a favourable rate.<sup>37</sup> Beyond such personal connections, the monastery and the Bavarian dukes were close political allies in the early modern era, notwithstanding a temporary cooling of the relationship in the 1540s. For the dukes, St Emmeram provided a useful base in the imperial city, particularly after Regensburg had joined the Protestant imperial estates, and they stayed at the monastery whenever they visited the city. The monastery, on the other hand, not only relied on the backing of the biggest Catholic power in the South, should the relationship with its Protestant host city turn sour, but it needed Bavarian support for its day-to-day business. Practically all the estates of St Emmeram were in Bavarian territory, meaning that the dukes held the protective lordship and the rights of jurisdiction over the peasants. However, they were not

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<sup>33</sup> Lassus, *Sämtliche Werke Neue Reihe*, vol. 13: *Magnificat 1–24*, pp.xxvii–xxviii.

<sup>34</sup> Mettenleiter, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Regensburg*, p.138.

<sup>35</sup> Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit*, p.437,

<sup>36</sup> Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, KL Regensburg St. Emmeram 64, correspondence of the Bavarian Dukes with St Emmeram, particularly fascicles I (greetings and gifts) and II (loans and debts).

<sup>37</sup> M. Piendl, ‘Fontes monasterii s. Emmerami Ratisbonensis. Bau- und kunstgeschichtliche Quellen’, in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des ehemaligen Reichsstiftes St. Emmeram in Regensburg*, ed. M. Piendl, pp.1–184, at pp.113–22.

the liege lords of the free imperial monastery, which could thus operate with a degree of independence not available to the mediated abbeyes (those that were estates of the country rather than sovereigns in their own right) within the Bavarian territory.

The repertory of the Regensburg choirbook further demonstrates the close links between Munich and St Emmeram (see list of contents in Appendix 2). As in its sister source in Augsburg, the main body of works by Lassus (here comprising eleven motets and three masses) is preceded by a programmatic motet by a different composer, in this case ‘Fratres ego enim accepi’ by Jacquet de Mantua, which had first been published in 1538.<sup>38</sup> Lassus’s motets were likewise available in print, either in the hugely successful *Sacrae cantiones* (Nuremberg, 1562), which Mayrhofer may already have used for the Augsburg manuscript, or in two books of motets published in 1565 and 1566 respectively by the competing Venetian music printers Scotto (*Quinque et sex vocibus perornatae sacrae cantiones*) and Gardano (*Sacrae cantiones liber secundus*).<sup>39</sup> The situation is different for the masses. The first, Lassus’s expansive *Missa super Susanne un jour* was published in Leuven in 1570; it is not transmitted in any of the choirbooks from the Munich court and the earliest extant source appears to be a set of manuscript partbooks dated 22 June 1563.<sup>40</sup> Today they are held in the Proske collection of the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek in Regensburg (A.R. 1018), but despite their ‘Antiquitates Ratisbonenses’ shelfmark, nothing connects them with 16th-century Regensburg.<sup>41</sup> Thus Mayrhofer’s copy of the *Missa super Susanne* might well have been the first exemplar of the piece to reach the city.

For the other two masses, the succinct *Missa super Veni in hortum meum* and *Missa super Entre vous filles*, Mayrhofer’s choirbook of 1567 is possibly the earliest extant copy of these works, depending on when exactly the Munich court chapel manuscript Mus.Ms.51 (dated 1565 to 1570 in the catalogue of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek<sup>42</sup>) was written. The two masses circulated together in manuscript copies until they were published in an edition by

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<sup>38</sup> A transcription of the index as well as a list of contents (using Boetticher’s sigla and predating the *Complete motets* edition), is offered in R.W. Sterl, ‘Die Regensburger Lasso-Kodifikationen Ambrosius II. Mayrhofer’s’, *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige*, lxxvii (1966), pp.198–202.

<sup>39</sup> For the relationship between the Scotto and Gardano prints see P. Bergquist, ‘Introduction’, in Orlande de Lassus: *The complete motets*, vol.5 (Madison, WI, 1997), pp.xi–xx, at p.xii.

<sup>40</sup> Orlande de Lassus, *Sämtliche Werke Neue Reihe*, vol.4: *Messen 10–17. Messen des Druckes Paris 1577*, ed. S. Hermelink (Kassel, 1964), pp.x–xv.

<sup>41</sup> The catalogue of the Proske collection names ‘Süddeutschland?’ as the provenance; the repertory points somewhat to a Protestant institution. See G. Haberkamp, *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften* vol.1: *Sammlung Proske. Manuskripte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus den Signaturen A.R., B, C, AN* (Munich, 1989), p.189.

<sup>42</sup> M. Bente et al., *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Katalog der Musikhandschriften 1: Chorbücher und Handschriften in chorbuchartiger Notierung* (Munich, 1989), pp.176–8.

Lassus's pupil Leonhard Lechner in Nuremberg in 1581.<sup>43</sup> Thus Mayrhofer gave the recipients of his choirbook exclusive access to two (or three) masses by the most esteemed composer of the day: the significance of the gesture would not have been lost on the city council of Regensburg. It may be that Mayrhofer received these musical works directly from the Bavarian court chapel, which was probably in Regensburg in the spring of 1567,<sup>44</sup> when the Imperial Diet met at Regensburg between 10 April and 12 May. As Emperor Maximilian II could not attend himself, Duke Albrecht of Bavaria chaired the proceedings, and the Bavarian entourage stayed at St Emmeram, from where the opening procession to the cathedral set out on the first day.<sup>45</sup> Whether Mayrhofer and Lassus used this opportunity to strike or affirm a personal friendship is impossible to know, but it is not inconceivable that musicians of the ducal chapel would have reciprocated for hosting the Bavarian party with musical performances in St Emmeram's church and a gift of newly composed music. The choirbook, which shortly afterwards was created to preserve these masses, is the visually most striking material witness of the close political, administrative and cultural ties between the monastery of St Emmeram and the Bavarian court.

### **St Emmeram and the Regensburg city council**

What were Mayrhofer's motives for offering the highly exclusive repertory of Lassus masses to the city council of Regensburg? The creation of a lavishly decorated choirbook, which involved a collaboration with at least three other artists (illuminator Michael Kirchmaier, draughtsman Johannes Halwachs and a bookbinder), was not just an expression of his private fondness for music, as historian Walter Ziegler has assumed.<sup>46</sup> Such an undertaking required considerable time and expenditure for the materials and the collaborators and would have been impossible without the backing of Abbot Blasius Baumgartner and the monastic community. The illuminated title page, shown in Illustration 2, demonstrates the 'official' character of the choirbook. Above a text box containing the names of composer and scribe, God the Father is seated on a throne, surrounded by putti and cherubs; below, two angels hold a crown and the arms of the Empire and Regensburg (both are also shown on the high-quality vellum binding). Around the borders are arranged the crests of the 16 members of the inner council, the most powerful men of the city. Unlike the Augsburg manuscript, there is no

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<sup>43</sup> B. Eichner, 'The woman at the well: divine and earthly love in Orlando di Lasso's parody masses', *Revue belge de musicology*, lxxii (2018), pp.31–5, at pp.37–9.

<sup>44</sup> Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso*, p.49.

<sup>45</sup> W. Wagner, A. Strohmeyer, and J. Leeb, *Deutsche Reichstagsakten. Reichsversammlungen 1556–1662: Der Reichstag zu Regensburg 1567 und der Reichskreistag zu Erfurt 1567* (Munich, 2007), pp.42–5.

<sup>46</sup> Ziegler, *Das Benediktinerkloster St. Emmeram*, p.177.

prefatory text to shed further light on Mayrhofer's motives or expectations, but on the first numbered page he wrote: 'May he [God] keep you together with the entire city of Regensburg (which God wanted to be my native place), that it may forever be happy and safe.

Regensburg, in St Emmeram's monastery, 8 September 1567' ('Seruet uos, uno totam Vrben Ratisponensem (quam Dominus mihi Patriam esse voluit) semper beatam et incolumen[.] Ratispone in Cenobio Sancti Emmerami ex Die viij. Septemb. Anno 1.5.6.7.').

[insert illus.2 near here, full page width]

The heartfelt wish not only reflects Mayrhofer's personal stance, but also the interdependence of city and monastery: a good neighbourly relationship was vital for both to prosper. St Emmeram, whose size rivalled that of many small medieval towns, was located within the 10th-century city walls and also the greatest owner of houses and property in Regensburg. As in many other cities, the council repeatedly attempted to subject the clerics living within its boundaries to civic taxation, which temporarily soured the relationship in the early decades of the 16th century. For most other potential causes of conflict—such as the right of asylum, the jurisdiction over clerics or the joint administration of endowments—the monastery and city avoided an escalation.<sup>47</sup> In disputes with the bishop of Regensburg, St Emmeram usually sided with the city, and this alignment held true after the official introduction of the Reformation in 1542. Even after the Interim, the city councillors continued to attend feast-day services at St Emmeram, to the chagrin of the decisively Protestant superintendent Nikolaus Gallus (active 1552–1570).<sup>48</sup> The council also continued to exercise its formal office of protecting the monastery, with which it had been tasked by the medieval emperors, and at the abbot's elections in 1535, 1561 and 1575 respectively several burghers officially observed the proceedings. If this protective capacity might have handed the city a pretext to bring the monastery under its jurisdiction, it shied away from even attempting it, and when this legal conundrum created tensions in the early 17th century, a purely formal solution was found: the city politely offered its help at the election of a new abbot, and the monastery politely declined.<sup>49</sup> In fact, its location within the city walls guaranteed the free imperial status of the monastery; had it been located outside on Bavarian territory, it would eventually have been subsumed by the Duchy.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Ziegler, *Das Benediktinerkloster St. Emmeram*, pp.155–6.

<sup>48</sup> Ziegler, *Das Benediktinerkloster St. Emmeram*, p.92.

<sup>49</sup> Ziegler, *Das Benediktinerkloster St. Emmeram*, pp.156–7.

<sup>50</sup> None of the wealthy and influential abbeys within the Bavarian territory (such as Tegernsee or Benediktbeuern) was a free imperial abbey. Only outside the Duchy (and on the fringes of modern Bavaria) could abbeys attain and assert their juridical and territorial independence. See Sarah Hadry, 'Reichsstifte in Schwaben', published 13 November 2008; in: *Historisches Lexikon Bayerns*, [http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Reichsstifte in Schwaben](http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Reichsstifte%20in%20Schwaben) (accessed 13 September 2019).

As confessional boundaries began to harden, religiously motivated quarrels added to the usual frictions between two political powers in a confined space, such as brawls between the pupils of the *Gymnasium Poeticum* and the monastery school, or an intrusive investigation of the city council into the lifestyle of clerics (including Catholic priests) living with a ‘concubine’. Nevertheless neither the politically cautious city council (which had to maintain the goodwill of the emperors) nor the change-averse monastery (which saw no reason to jeopardize local alliances with pre-emptive Counter-Reformation zeal) wanted to rock the boat too much. The monastery’s conciliatory stance in 1550, when the city wanted to build a new water supply across the land of St Emmeram, is a good example of the practical constraints that ensured a peaceful coexistence.<sup>51</sup> Mayrhofer’s dedication of the sumptuous Regensburg choirbook, so conspicuously ‘branded’ with the insignia of the city and its political elites, was thus a manifestation of the continued good-neighbour relationship between monastery and city, with the added personal dimension that the scribe himself hailed from Regensburg. No record survives of a gift in return or a reward for Mayrhofer,<sup>52</sup> but if the choirbook fulfilled a carefully considered diplomatic role in the relationship between city and monastery, and the Abbot and Benedictines of St Emmeram were the ‘real’ donors, a financial remuneration might have appeared tactless and inappropriate.

### **The Regensburg choirbook and the city’s musical and liturgical practices**

It now remains to place the choirbook within the context of the practices of a religiously divided city. In addition to the considerable symbolic and monetary value of a presentation manuscript, such a gift of music could also serve a practical function by reminding the recipients of the donor’s good intentions every time the music was performed. Scholars of previous generations often doubted that Latin-texted music would have been used in Protestant services,<sup>53</sup> but the liturgy of Lutheran Regensburg was extremely conservative. The first Protestant Vespers and Eucharist were celebrated at the Neupfarrkirche on 14 and 15 October 1542, but except for taking communion under both kinds (i.e. with both consecrated bread and wine, a crucial doctrine for Protestant reformers), the ritual had barely changed. Even under the more decisively Protestant church ordinance of 1553, the Mass Ordinary and Propers continued to be sung in Latin by the pupils of the *Gymnasium Poeticum*, supported

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<sup>51</sup> Ziegler, *Das Benediktinerkloster St. Emmeram*, p.84.

<sup>52</sup> I wish to thank Dr Thomas Engelke (Staatsarchiv Augsburg), Günther Handel (Amt für Archiv und Denkmalpflege Regensburg) and Prof. Dr Harriet Rudolph (University Regensburg) for supporting my attempts to locate the city council protocols, which appear to be lost for the relevant period.

<sup>53</sup> For example, Raimund W. Sterl claims the choirbook could at best have had ‘Liebhaberwert’ (value for connoisseurs): ‘Die Regensburger Lasso-Kodifikationen’, p.202.

by adult singers and an organist, and the congregation only slowly and hesitantly embraced German hymns.<sup>54</sup> The polyphonic repertory preserved today in the Proske collection in Regensburg attests to the conservative taste of the Regensburg authorities. Cantor Erasmus Zollner (1546–c.1579) collected liturgical polyphony from the early 1570s onwards and had the music bound into volumes according to the liturgical requirements of the church year. For example, he included Jacquet of Mantua’s motet ‘Fratres ego enim accepi’ in a collection of partbooks for Sunday communion services during Lent, which also features pre-Reformation ‘classics’ such as Josquin’s ‘Pange lingua’ and Eucharist-themed pieces by composers working in Catholic institutions, such as Jacob Vaet’s ‘Ave salus mundi’ and Jacobus de Kerle’s ‘Ad coenam agni’ (Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Sammlung Proske A.R. 863–870). ‘Fratres ego enim accepi’ returns in one of Zollner’s choirbooks with overlapping repertory for the same season (Proske A.R. 844–848). As these sources and others demonstrate, even Latin chant was still used in Vespers services, and several choirbooks and partbooks contain settings of the Latin Mass Ordinary. In 1548 and 1560 respectively two cantors at the Gymnasium Poeticum, Johann Stengel (active 1544–1553) and Johannes Buchmayer (active 1556–1566), dedicated manuscript choirbooks with polyphonic Mass Ordinaries to the city council of Regensburg, creating a precedent for Mayrhofer’s gift.<sup>55</sup> Regensburg’s continuing use of Latin polyphony and chant conforms with the picture of 16th-century Lutheran practices established by recent scholarship for the centre of the Reformation at Wittenberg,<sup>56</sup> and it is in line with liturgical and musical practices in other (bi-confessional) cities in Southern Germany.

Lassus’s masses remained in use in Regensburg until at least the end of the 16th century; a set of workaday partbooks, also prepared by Zollner in the late 1570s, contain all three masses found in the Mayrhofer choirbook (albeit abridged to Kyrie–Sanctus–Agnus) alongside works by earlier generations of composers including Clemens non Papa, Thomas Crequillon and even Heinrich Isaac (Proske A.R. 894–907).<sup>57</sup> The motets preceding the three masses in the Mayrhofer choirbook, based mainly on psalms and other biblical texts, would have been perceived as confessionally neutral and suitable for any devotional, educational or recreational context. But even if the choirbook itself, as a prestigious gift to the council, had

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<sup>54</sup> R.W. Sterl, ‘Evangelische Kirchenmusik’, in *Musikgeschichte Regensburgs*, ed. T. Emmerig (Regensburg, 2006), pp.98–130, at p.108.

<sup>55</sup> Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Sammlung Proske C 99 and C 100 respectively. See B. Eichner, ‘Musikalisches Mit- und Gegeneinander in Regensburg im 16. Jahrhundert’, in *Michael Ostendorfer und die Reformation in Regensburg*, pp.479–97, at pp.491–2.

<sup>56</sup> S. Menzel, ‘Ain herlich Ampt in figuris’: sacred polyphony at St. Marien in Wittenberg 1543/44’, *Early Music* xlv (2017), pp.545–57.

<sup>57</sup> The textual relationship between the Mayrhofer choirbook and the Zollner partbooks is not conclusive.

not immediately been put to use in the city's grammar school,<sup>58</sup> it would have provided up-to-date repertory for the main Protestant church, the Neupfarrkirche. The gift also came at an auspicious moment: Nikolaus Agricola's first school regulations of 1555 had already dedicated four hours per week to music lessons, and his successor Hieronymus Osius specified in his version of 1567 that on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday the final lesson of the day should be dedicated to music theory and practice, while on Saturday the pupils were required to rehearse the music for the Sunday services.<sup>59</sup> The demanding repertory in the latest polyphonic fashion might have presented an aspirational challenge to the student choir.

[insert illus.3 near here, page in landscape [oblong] format, image across full page width]

The illuminations of the first opening link the choirbook even more closely to the musical practices at the Gymnasium Poeticum and the liturgy of the Neupfarrkirche. In keeping with the Pauline text of Jacquet's two-part motet 'Fratres ego enim accepi / Similiter et calicem', which quotes the Words of Institution, the four historiated initials gloss the topic of Jesus's sacrifice and the Eucharist. As Illustration 3 shows, on the top left (cantus) Jesus sits at the Last Supper with his disciples; on the bottom left (bassus) two priests administer the communion under both kinds; on the top right (altus) the crucified Jesus is depicted between Mary and John; and on the bottom right (tenor) an angel interrupts the sacrifice of Isaac by staying Abraham's raised hand. The vertical alignment thus draws parallels between the Gospel and current liturgical practice on the one hand, and, more traditionally, between the Old and the New Testaments on the other. The iconography of the communion is clearly influenced by the altarpiece which the Regensburg painter Michael Ostendorfer created for the Neupfarrkirche between 1554 and 1555, one of the most impressive examples of early Lutheran iconography outside the Wittenberg-Cranach orbit (Illustration 4). The central altar panel depicts in the upper half the risen Jesus among the apostles, as he sends them into the world to preach the Gospel. In the lower half a richly attired contemporary congregation listens to a preacher on a pulpit, while on the right-hand side another priest absolves a man after confession.<sup>60</sup> The side panels align biblical events and contemporary teaching. On the

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<sup>58</sup> Annotations in an 18th-century hand indicate that by then the choirbook was used for (singing?) exams.

<sup>59</sup> R.W. Sterl, 'Magister Hieronymus Osius und seine Schulordnung (1567) – Neues zur Schul- und Musikgeschichte Regensburgs im Reformationsjahrhundert', *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, 124 (1984), pp.365–70.

<sup>60</sup> Individual rather than collective confession was mandatory in Protestant Regensburg. See D. Rimsl, 'Michael Ostendorfers Retabel für die Regensburger Neupfarrkirche', in *Michael Ostendorfer und die Reformation in Regensburg*, pp.245–53, at p.248.

left-hand side, the circumcision of Jesus at the top leads to his baptism in the Jordan below, while at the bottom a baby is christened by a contemporary preacher. On the right-hand side Jesus celebrates Passover with his disciples and is shown, below, at the Last Supper, while the bottom panel depicts a contemporary Protestant communion under both kinds. Each panel thus demonstrates the superseding of an Old Testament ritual (circumcision and Passover) with the New Testament (the baptism in the Jordan and the Last Supper) and its continuation in the Protestant teachings of the two sacraments.<sup>61</sup> The altarpiece thus has a strongly didactic character, and its message will have been reinforced by the fact that Ostendorfer's paintings developed the iconographic language of his woodcuts illustrating Nikolaus Gallus's catechisms of 1546/47 and 1554.

[insert illus.4 near here, full page width]

The prominent depiction of a Protestant Eucharist in the choirbook has puzzled previous commentators. Both Joseph Anton Endres and Raimund W. Sterl suggest that this was an independent decision of the painter Michael Kirchmaier,<sup>62</sup> which seems unlikely given the close control that Mayrhofer must have exercised over the whole project. More to the point is their observation that communion under both kinds was a special concession to Bavarian Catholics in the 1560s.<sup>63</sup> Demands for religious change—whether a full-blown Protestant Reformation or a reform of the old faith—had become more outspoken in Bavaria during the 1550s, particularly in larger towns and those areas bordering on Protestant territories. The representatives of the estates petitioned Duke Albrecht for well-trained and married priests, the abolition of fasting, and for communion under both kinds (the so-called *Kelchbewegung*).<sup>64</sup> In 1556 Albrecht decreed that the last-named practice would be permitted until a universal religious solution could be achieved in the future. He did not intend to cede ground to Protestant theology but wanted to play for time until his plans for a thorough reform of the religious conditions in Bavaria had come to fruition. At first the bishops of the Archdiocese of Salzburg refused to comply, partly because they resented the interference of a secular ruler; they also strongly resisted Albrecht's stringent programme of church visitations. The Duke then petitioned the Council of Trent which referred the decision to Pope Pius IV,

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<sup>61</sup> D.E. Delarue, 'Michael Ostendorfer im Dienst der Regensburger Reformation: Drei Holzschnittzyklen und ein Altarretabel, 1456–1558', in *Michael Ostendorfer und die Reformation in Regensburg*, pp.201–43, at pp.230–31.

<sup>62</sup> Endres, 'Abt Ambrosius Mairhofer von St. Emmeram', p.213; Sterl, 'Die Regensburger Lasso-Kodifikationen Ambrosius II. Mayrhofers', p.200, footnote 8.

<sup>63</sup> Repeated in R.W. Sterl, 'Nr. 151. Chorbuch des Emmeramer Konventualen Ambrosius Mairhofer [!], 1567', in *1542–1992: 450 Jahre Evangelische Kirche in Regensburg*, pp.361–2, at p.361.

<sup>64</sup> W. Ziegler, 'Reformation und Gegenreformation 1517–1648: Altbayern', in *Handbuch der Bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 3: *Von der Glaubensspaltung bis zur Säkularisation*, ed. W. Brandmüller (St Ottilien, 1993), pp.1–64, at p.35.



who in 1565 conceded communion under both kinds due to the special circumstances in Bavaria. The new ritual was not publicized widely, however, and was celebrated only where there was explicit demand or a danger that communicants would otherwise defect to neighbouring Protestant churches; priests were exhorted to impress on their congregations that taking the host alone was just as valid.<sup>65</sup> Regensburg and its Bavarian hinterland would have been just such an area where the visual blurring of a (Catholic) Eucharist under both kinds, or a ritually conservative Protestant communion, might have expressed hope for a religious middle way. It is worth noting that Kirchmaier's illuminations in Mayrhofer's choirbook carefully balance the confessional clues: as Illustration 5 shows, the depiction of the contemporary communion service faces an image of the sacrifice of Isaac, thus drawing attention to the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, a central Catholic doctrine. The male communicant receiving the host from a Protestant pastor is clad in a long white gown with stole and almost looks like a canon;<sup>66</sup> opposite, a burgher woman drinks from the chalice. An altarpiece with a central crucifixion and St Paul (with the sword) and St Peter (with the keys) in the side panels forms the backdrop; both apostles became increasingly aligned with the Protestant and Catholic confessions respectively, but St Peter's crossed keys were also the arms of Regensburg. Finally, the liturgical book on the altar is a Missal opened at the canon page (the page with the text 'Te igitur') depicting a crucifixion, whereas the book in Ostendorfer's painting shows only text and thus looks more like a Lutheran order of service (*Agenda*). A similar ambiguity pervades the initial motet in Mayrhofer's choirbook, namely Jacquet of Mantua's 'Fratres ego enim accepi', with its opening address exhorting the citizens of Regensburg to brotherliness: this motet was written by a composer in the employ of one of the staunchest advocates of the Counter-Reformation, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, yet it sets words about the consecration of both bread and wine in the Last Supper, and it enjoyed considerable popularity in German Protestant schools.

[insert illus.5 near here, half page width]

## Conclusion

Mayrhofer's musical gift to the city council of Regensburg projected a carefully calibrated message that stressed common ground rather than highlighting religious difference between

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<sup>65</sup> A. Knöpfler, *Die Kelchbewegung in Bayern unter Herzog Albrecht V: Ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1891), pp.143–4.

<sup>66</sup> I wish to thank Prof. Dr Manfred Heim (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich) for his help in interpreting the liturgical vestments worn by the priests in this image.

the Benedictine monastery and the Protestant city. It would be anachronistic to ascribe a modern sense of religious tolerance, which hardly existed in the early modern era, to either party. But in a city like Regensburg, where several imperial estates—city, bishop, monasteries, nunneries—had not just to function alongside each other but to collaborate on a daily basis, it made good sense not to take religious difference to extremes. In this respect it is remarkable that Mayrhofer included a modified quotation from the apocryphal biblical book Ecclesiasticus (or Jesus Syrach), chapter 32, beneath the list of contents: ‘Ne impediās Musicam, et ubi canitur ne sermones fundas aut importune disputes. Conventus enim Musicorum in Conuiuio est sicut Carbunculi gemma in auro. Et sicut Smaragdus in auro decet ita decet in suauī vino melo Musicorum.’ (‘Do not hinder the music, and where there is singing do not pour out sermons or unsuitably launch into disputes. Harmonious music at a feast is like a red gem set in gold. And as an emerald in gold is a good thing, the melodies of musicians go well with sweet wine.’). Mayrhofer thus apparently called for (religious) disputes to be silent while music resounds, and in the case of his choirbook specifically the sweet harmonies of Lassus’s motets and masses are invoked to suspend religious dissension.

However, even in 1567 this message was already being overtaken by the political realities. Duke Albrecht had started a vigorous process of ecclesiastical visitations throughout Bavaria to identify misbehaving clerics and aberrant teachings.<sup>67</sup> His reform programme gained traction after several Protestant-leaning lordships in Bavaria had been re-converted to Catholicism, and any concessions to inter-religious communion became obsolete. A new religious council was instituted to combat Lutheranism in Bavaria and to propel religious reform, and in 1571 the Duke revoked the permission to take communion under both kinds.<sup>68</sup> At the same time the formation of decidedly Protestant and Catholic identities in Regensburg gathered momentum.<sup>69</sup> After harsh disputes between the followers of the Wittenberg and Melancthonian strands of Protestantism, the city emerged as a stronghold of orthodox Lutheranism and a place of refuge for exiled Protestants from Austria. Within its walls the forces of the Counter-Reformation likewise gained ground through the personal intervention of papal nuncios, reformed administrators of the episcopal see and the highly controversial arrival of the Jesuits in 1586 at the instigation of Duke Wilhelm V.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps even Mayrhofer

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<sup>67</sup> The reports are published in A. Landersdorfer, *Das Bistum Freising in der bayerischen Visitation des Jahres 1560* (St. Ottilien, 1986), and P. Mai, *Das Bistum Regensburg in der bayerischen Visitation von 1559* (Regensburg, 1993). Since St Emmeram was an imperial estate, it was exempt from the Bavarian visitation.

<sup>68</sup> H. Jesse, ‘Die Religionsmandate der bayerischen Herzöge und die Kelchbewegung während der Reformation 1522–1580’, *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte*, 28 (1994), pp.252–73, at pp.270–71.

<sup>69</sup> Unterburger, ‘Regensburg und das unverfälschte Evangelium’, pp.32–3.

<sup>70</sup> K. Hausberger, *Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* (Regensburg, 1989), vol. 1, p.326.

reconsidered his conciliatory stance, if he actually ever had embraced such a position: in the dedication of the Augsburg choirbook, where he addressed a co-religious and fellow Benedictine, he condemned the ‘schismatic errors’, and after his death he was remembered as having been zealous for the Catholic cause (‘singularo Catholicae Fidei Zelo’). His Regensburg choirbook of 1567, in contrast, bears witness to the harmonizing function that music could play in a confessionally divided city or, on a larger scale, even a confessionally divided Empire. But it also demonstrates that this window of opportunity for such cross-confessional toleration was rapidly shrinking in the second half of the 16th century.

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#### Captions for illustrations

- 1 Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Tonkunst Schletterer 13, fol. 4v–5r. Michael Tonsor, ‘Ave suprema Trinitas’
- 2 Regensburg, Historisches Museum, Stadtarchiv, I.A.h. 15, p.1 (title page)
- 3 Regensburg, Historisches Museum, Stadtarchiv, I.A.h. 15, pp.4–5. Jacquet de Mantua, ‘Fratres ego enim accepi’
- 4 Michael Ostendorfer, altar retable for the Neupfarrkirche Regensburg, 1555. Museen der Stadt Regensburg, photograph Peter Ferstl
- 5 Regensburg, Historisches Museum, Stadtarchiv, I.A.h. 15, p.4. Bassus initial showing the communion under both kinds

## Abstract

Gifts of music manuscripts continued to serve an important diplomatic function well into the 16th century. This article investigates the production, content and function of two choirbooks prepared by the Benedictine monk Ambrosius Mayrhofer of St Emmeram in Regensburg, which mainly contain sacred music by Orlande de Lassus. They were dedicated to Abbot Jakob Köplin of St Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg (1568) and the city council of Regensburg (1567) respectively. The programmatic opening motet and accompanying illuminations of the Regensburg choirbook suggest it functioned as a politically motivated gift that helped to ‘harmonize’ the frictions within a city divided by ancient rights and new religious allegiances: Regensburg was a free imperial city with a predominantly Protestant population and council, but also harboured an episcopal see and several nunneries and monasteries (among them St Emmeram), with the Catholic Dukes of Bavaria as close and powerful neighbours. Mayrhofer’s music manuscript projects a conciliatory message that was particularly timely in the late 1560s, when the permission of Eucharistic communion under both kinds (with consecrated bread and wine) offered a short-lived hope of religious compromise.

Keywords: choirbook; presentation manuscript; musical diplomacy; confessionalization; Holy Roman Empire; Benedictines; Regensburg; Augsburg; Orlande de Lassus

## APPENDIX 1

### **Ambrosius Mayrhofer's dedication of the Magnificat manuscript Augsburg, Tonkunst Schletter 13, to Abbot Jacob Köplin of St Ulrich and Afra, Augsburg**

[Abbreviations and ligatures have been resolved.]

Reuerendo in Christo Patri, ac Domino, Domino / Jacobo Köplein [sic], Praesuli, et Abbati ad S. / Vdalricum, Augustae, dignissimo etc. / Domino, et Patrono suo gratioso, / Perpetuoque amore Colendo.

S.D.P. / Frater Ambrosius Maierhofer, Caenobita ad S. / Emmeramum Ratisponae.

Certo certius est, Reuerende in / Christo Pater, in cultu diuino rebusque / Ecclesiasticis dextre / pieque perficiendis multum semper valuisse sanctarum Can/tionum frequens exertitium. / Hinc visuntur in sacris templis / passim tot Organa musicalia, / tot consonantes Campanae, tot Choralis, vt vocant, Musicae immensa / volumina, a Diuo Gregorio, Diuo Ambrosio, / alijsque sanctis Patribus soluta, ligata, et rythmica [sic] oratione, / notulisque suauissimam harmoniam designantibus pijssime / studiosissimeque congesta, et Christianae posteritati relicta, et / consecrata. Visuntur et audiuntur, diesque noctesque Lectores, / Psalmistae, Cantores, Succentores, Concentores, Leuite, Compo[1r-v]nistae, Symphonistae, et Sacerdotes, quorum cantandi officium / in vtroque Bibliorum sacrorum Instrumento est euidenter / expressum. Legat quis Exodum, librosque Regum, videbit / passim quanto studio Moses, Dauid, alijque Deo deuoti Domino / Laudes decantandas ordinauerint. In Nouo Testamento / exemplo nobis sint, Zachariae, Symeonis, ac Deiparae Vir/ginis Cantica. In Apocalypsi quoties queso Citharistantium / Cantantiumque Voces auditae sunt. Abeant ergo, et valeant / qui sacros Hymnos, qui omnem Cantum Ecclesiasticum, / vel omnino rejiciunt vel saltem floctifaciunt [sic]: nos, qui of/ficijs praesumus Ecclesiasticis inveteratum, et nunquam satis / laudatum Vsum in Choro canendi, siue hac, siue illa Mu/sica, amabimus, promouebimus, / retinebimusque. Nam de/uotae preces in Diuinis officijs vsque adeo non impediuntur / Varietate Vocum, vt multi temere arguunt, sed exornantur potius / ; quia, vt Vates canit, Astitit regina a dextris tuis / circumdata [sic] varietate.<sup>1</sup> Euitemus modo Haereticorum va/rietatem, et indesinentem mutabilitatem, quae novos semper / et horribiles parit schismatis errores. Introeamus potius / iuxta Psalmistae Dauidis exhortationem, Portas Domini / in confessione:<sup>2</sup> introeamus, inquam, atria eius, in Hymnis, / et confiteamur illi: eructent labia nostra Hymnum, in / Hymnis benedicamus Dominum: psallamus spiritu, psal/lamus et mente. Laudemus Dominum in sono tubae,<sup>3</sup> Lau/demus eum in psalterio et Cythara, laudemus eum / modis / omnibus, quibus possimus. Videlicet, in Tympano, et Choro, [1v-2r] tanquam in suauissima modulatione. Laudemus eum in chor/dis et organo vt nos, licet remotissimum propter peccata ab eo / simus tamen exaudire possit. Laudemus, inquam, Deum in / Cymbalis benesonantibus, et in Cymbalis iubilationis, / atque Honoris. Summatim Vox omnis, lingua omnis, spiritus / omnis, sit uel planus, uel figuratus, laudet, et agnoscat Dominum / Creatorem, et Redemptorem suum: donec Caelestibus Choris in/serti, cum omnibus Sanctis Angelis, et electis Dei, concinamus / Carmen sine fine perduraturum. Amen.

Accipias quaeso, Reuerenda Dominatio, et paternitas Vestra, / hunc laborem meum qualemcunque [sic], ad laudem tamen Prae/potentis Dei insumptum, animo clementi et paterno; / Optime enim noui, satisque superque habeo prospectum quanto/pere Amplitudo

<sup>1</sup> Psalm 44: 9 (Vulgate), also responsory verse for the Feast of the Assumption of Mary.

<sup>2</sup> Psalm 99: 4 (Vulgate).

<sup>3</sup> Psalm 150.

uestra, non solum, sed et eiusdem Laudatissi/mus; idemque Religiosissimus Conuentus, diuinam et uere / Celestem amplectantur Symphoniam; Recordor quoque, imo / in animum meum quotidie reuoco eam beneuolentiam; et / benignissimi animi promptitudinem, quam mihi, / dum elapso nuper anno Augustae aliquandiu commorabar, Reue/renda Dominatio uestra paterne exhibuit. Bona uoluntas / mea suppleat, quod operi deest. Ne, ego non potui aliter amo/ris, et // reuerentiae meae, erga Amplitudinem uestram inditia / proferre, quam in transmittendis hoc tempore a me conscript/tis hisce sacris Cantionibus. Transmittam preciosiora si De/us uires suppeditauerit, qui Celsitudinem uestram diu felici/terque custodiat. Datae Ratisponae e Cella nostra Emeriana, / Anno. M.D. lxciiij. Die viiiij Septembris.

Casparus Macer D. Pio Cantori S.

Nascitur in rerum natura quodque labori,

Constat pigritia turpius esse nihil,

Juppiter [sic] ipse etiam stabili moderamine regnat,

Cunctaque uult certas semper habere uices.

Desidiam fugiens hinc Maierhoferus inertem

Artifici pinxit Cantica Dia manu.

Hinc igitur cura suaues depromere Cantus;

Tu, quae Cantandi turba cacumen adis

Hinc deprome sacram sacra ad concimina [conanima?] uocem,

Deprome hinc numeros, Carmina, plectra, modos.

Adueniantque tuis modulis pia numina Caeli,

Inque sacro resonent Cantica sacra tholo.

## Translation

To the Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, the Lord Jacob Köplin, prelate [the word usually means 'bishop'] and Abbot of St Ulrich's, Augsburg, his most worthy lord and gracious patron, to be loved with everlasting love. Greetings from Father Ambrosius Mayrhofer, monk of St Emmeram's, Regensburg.

It more certain than certain, Reverend Father in Christ, that in the able performance of divine service and matters ecclesiastical, the frequent exercise of sacred music has always been of great value. That is why everywhere in churches are seen so many musical organs, so many consonant bells, so many immense volumes of choral music, as it called, most piously and zealously compiled by St Gregory, St Ambrose, and other holy fathers in prose, metre, and rhythmic poetry, and notes signifying the sweetest harmony, and left and dedicated to Christian posterity. Day and night lectors, psalmists, cantors, succentors, singers, deacons, composers and instrumentalists can be seen and heard, as well as priests, whose duty to sing is plainly expressed in both Testaments of the Holy Bible. If one reads Exodus, or the books of the Kings, one will see everywhere with how much zeal Moses, David and others devoted to God have ordained that praise should be sung to God. In the New Testament we have as examples the canticles of Zacharias, Simeon and the Virgin Mary. Pray, how many times are the sounds of harpists and singers heard in the Book of Revelations. Let them depart who either reject utterly or at any rate set little store by and do not even practise sacred hymns and church music, farewell to them; we who preside over the functions of the church shall love, promote and retain the long-established and never enough praised custom of singing in choir, whether with this music or with that [whether in plainchant or polyphony]. For devout prayers in the divine office are so far from being hampered by a variety of voices, as many rashly argue, but rather embellished; because, as the Prophet says, the Queen stood on thy right hand, surrounded with variety. Let us but avoid the variety and endless changeability of the heretics, which always brings forth new and horrible schismatic errors. Rather, let us enter the gates of the Lord, as in the exhortation of the psalmist David, with praise: I say, let us enter his courts with hymns, and give glory to him: let our lips utter a hymn, and with hymns let us bless the Lord: let us sing psalms with the spirit, and let us sing psalms with our mind. Let us praise the Lord with the sound of the trumpet, let us praise him with psaltery and harp, let us praise him in any way we can, to wit, with timbrel and choir as with sweetest melodies. Let us praise him with strings and organs so that he can still hear us, though we are far remote from Him because of our sins. Let us praise God, I say, on high-sounding cymbals, and with the cymbals of joy and honour. In short, let every voice, every tongue, every breath, whether plain or figural, praise and acknowledge the Lord as its creator and redeemer: until we shall be brought into the celestial choirs and sing with all the holy angels and God's elect the never-ending song. Amen.

Please accept, reverend Lord and fatherly authority, this my labour, such as it is, but undertaken to the praise of Almighty God, with a benign and fatherly spirit; I know very well and have seen enough and plenty how much not only your Highness but also your most praiseworthy and religious convent embrace divine and truly celestial music. I also remember, or rather daily recall that goodwill and readiness of yours which your reverend Lordship showed towards me in fatherly manner when I stayed last year in Augsburg. My goodwill shall supply what my work lacks. But I cannot offer another token of my love and gratitude towards your Highness, than in transmitting these sacred pieces which I have written at this time. I will send you more precious ones if God will supply me strength; may he at all times happily guard your Excellency. Given in Regensburg in our monastery St Emmeram, in the year of our Lord 1568, 9 September.

Caspar Macer greets the pious singer.

Everything in nature is born for toil,  
and it is a fact that nothing is uglier than sloth.  
Jupiter himself reigns with stable governance,  
and wishes all things always to have regular changes.  
Therefore Mayrhofer, fleeing inert idleness,  
has painted sacred pieces with skilful hand.  
Therefore take care to produce sweet songs from this [book].  
You throng, who approach the summit of singing,  
bring forth from here a sacred sound to the sacred strivings,  
bring forth from here rhythms, songs, plectrums, melodies.  
May the celestial powers come to your pious strains,  
and sacred songs resound in the sacred dome.



APPENDIX 2

Contents of Regensburg, Stadtarchiv, Mus.I.A.h. 15

Pages	Composer	Title	Scoring	Contemporary publication(s)	Modern edition	Text / liturgical function
14–17	Jacquet de Mantua	Fratres ego enim accepi II. Similiter et calicem	CATB	<i>Liber cantus vocum quatuor</i> (Ferrara 1538); also <i>Evangelia dominicorum et festorum dierum</i> (Nuremberg, 1555), vol.3; <i>Thesaurus musicus</i> (Nuremberg 1565)	CMM 54/4: 35–40	1 Corinthians 11: 23–25 (Epistle for Corpus Christi)
18–45	Orlande de Lassus	Lauda Jerusalem Dominum II. Velociter currit sermo eius III. Emittet verbum suum IV. Non fecit taliter	CCATBB	<i>Quinque et sex vocibus perornatae sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice 1565), <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice, 1566)	<i>Complete motets</i> 5: 80–95	Psalms 147
46–59	Orlande de Lassus	Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore II. In Domino laudabitur	CATTB	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Nuremberg, 1562)	<i>Complete motets</i> 2: 167–175	Psalms 33: 1–2 (Gradual for 12th Sunday after Pentecost)
60–75	Orlande de Lassus	Exaudi Domine vocem II. Ne avertas faciem tuam	CATTB	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Nuremberg, 1562)	<i>Complete motets</i> 2: 55–64	Psalms 26: 12–15
76–81	Orlande de Lassus	Heu quantus dolor	CATTB	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Nuremberg, 1562)	<i>Complete motets</i> 2: 40–43	humanist text in elegiac distichs
82–93	Orlande de Lassus	Quam magnificata sunt II. Beatus homo	CCATTB	<i>Thesaurus musicus</i> (Nuremberg, 1564), <i>Quinque et sex vocibus perornatae sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice 1565), <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice, 1566)	<i>Complete motets</i> 3: 89–99	Psalms 91: 5–6, Psalm 93: 12
94–99	Orlande de	Deus noster refugium	CATTB	<i>Modulorum secundum volumen</i>	<i>Complete</i>	Psalms 45: 1

	Lassus			(Paris, 1565), <i>Quinque et sex vocibus perornatae sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice 1565), <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice, 1566)	<i>motets</i> 4: 112–115	
100–111	Orlande de Lassus	Deus canticum novum II. Quia delectasti me	CATTB	<i>Quinque et sex vocibus perornatae sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice 1565), <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice, 1566)	<i>Complete motets</i> 5 : 35–40	Psalm 143: 9 (responsory for 4th Sunday after Easter), Psalm 91: 4
112–119	Orlande de Lassus	Quid prodest stulto	CATTB	<i>Quatriesiesme livre des chansons</i> (Antwerp, 1564), <i>Quinque et sex vocibus perornatae sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice 1565), <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice, 1566)	<i>Complete motets</i> 17, 79–82	Proverbs 17: 16, 20; Ecclesiastes 1: 2
120–131	Orlande de Lassus	Concupiscendo concupiscit	CCATTB	<i>Quinque et sex vocibus perornatae sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice 1565), <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice, 1566)	<i>Complete motets</i> 5, 72–79	Paraphrase of Psalm 51: 15 and 144: 1
132–147	Orlande de Lassus	Cantate Domino canticum novum II. Viderunt omnes termini terrae	CCATB	<i>Quinque et sex vocibus perornatae sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice 1565), <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Venice, 1566)	<i>Complete motets</i> 5, 23–29	Psalm 97: 1–6
148–155	Orlande de Lassus	Angelus ad pastores ait	CATTB	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (Nuremberg 1562)	<i>Complete motets</i> 2, 50–54	Paraphrase of Luke 2: 10–11 (Christmas)
160–229	Orlande de Lassus	Missa super Susanne un jour	CATTB	<i>Praestantissimorum Divinae Musices Auctorum Missae Decem</i> (Leuven, 1570)	<i>Sämtliche Werke Neue Reihe</i> 4, 121–154	
232–283	Orlande de Lassus	Missa super Veni in hortum meum	CATTB	<i>Liber missarum</i> (Nuremberg, 1581)	<i>Sämtliche Werke Neue Reihe</i> 5, 185–212	
288–343	Orlande de Lassus	Missa super Entre vous filles	CATTB	<i>Liber missarum</i> (Nuremberg, 1581)	<i>Sämtliche Werke Neue</i>	

					<i>Reihe 5, 159– 182</i>	
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Eichner, Musical Diplomacy in a divided city - Images



Fig. 1: Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Tonkunst Schletterer 13, fol. 4v–5r. Michael Tonsor, ‘Ave suprema Trinitas’



Fig. 2: Regensburg, Historisches Museum, Stadtarchiv, I.A.h. 15, p.1 (title page)





Fig. 3: Regensburg, Historisches Museum, Stadtarchiv, I.A.h. 15, pp.4–5. Jacquet de Mantua, 'Fratres ego enim accipi'



Fig. 4: Michael Ostendorfer, altar retable for the Neupfarrkirche Regensburg, 1555. Museen der Stadt Regensburg, photograph Peter Ferstl



Fig. 5: Regensburg, Historisches Museum, Stadtarchiv, I.A.h. 15, p.4. Bassus initial showing the communion under both kinds