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New Light on Two Canons by Adam Gumpelzhaimer

Adam Gumpelzhaimer (1559–1625) was a composer, music theorist, teacher, and a leading figure in the city of Augsburg. He published his music in single-composer editions and it was included in printed anthologies and music manuscripts. Most of his works consist of church compositions and comprise more than two hundred German, Greek, and Latin motets and over two hundred and seventy canons. Gumpelzhaimer's canons were written for performers and educational use and are variously scored for two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight voices. While most of them are easy to interpret, others are quite abstruse and some have been misunderstood. Until now, the literature about two of his most popular canons has overlooked an important Gumpelzhaimer source and modern editions have misrepresented elements of the works. Preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, this hitherto neglected source contains invaluable information about the two canons and sheds new light on how Gumpelzhaimer treated their music. Before studying the source and commenting on the new information which I have uncovered, more details are provided about Adam Gumpelzhaimer.[1]

[1] I am particularly grateful to Dr. Sabine Kurth of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Dr. Matthias Haupt of the Stadtarchiv Wasserburg am Inn, Dr. Christoph Nonnast of the Museum Wasserburg am Inn, Dr. Raymond Dittrich of the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Frau Ursula Korber of the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Mrs Małgorzata Krzos of the Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, the music curators of The British Library London, and the staff of other collections in which I have worked. Lastly, I am much indebted to the late Geoffrey Cichero for his support and advice.

This article refers to listings by RISM (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*) in: (1) RISM series A/I, which comprises vols. 1–9: Karlheinz Schlager et al. (eds.), *Einzeldrucke vor 1800* (Kassel, 1971–1981), vols. 11–13: Ilse Kindermann and Jürgen Kindermann (eds.), *Addenda et corrigenda* (Kassel, 1986, 1992, and 1998), vol. 14: Gertraut Haberkamp (ed.), *Addenda et corrigenda* (Kassel, 1999), and vol. 15: (no editor named), *Register der Verleger, Drucker und Stecher und Register der Orte* (Kassel, 2003); (2) RISM series B/I, which comprises vol. 1: François Lesure (ed.), *Recueils imprimés, XVI^e–XVII^e siècles* (Munich-Duisburg, 1960); (3) RISM series B/VI, which comprises vols. 1–2: François Lesure (ed.), *Écrits imprimés concernant la musique* (Munich-Duisburg, 1971); (4) RISM series B/VIII, which comprises vols. 1–2: Konrad Ameln, Markus Jenny and Walther Lipphardt (eds.), *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied: Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Melodien*, vol. 1, *Verzeichnis der Drucke* (Kassel, 1975), and vol. 2, *Verzeichnis der Drucke Register* (Kassel, 1980); and (5) *RISM Online Catalogue*, a database of selected early music editions and manuscripts. The abbreviations VD16 and VD17 used in this article refer to a database of selected printed editions published in German speaking countries, the *Verzeichnis der Drucke des 16./17. Jahrhunderts*.

Born in Trostberg in upper Bavaria in 1559, Adam Gumpelzhaimer stylized himself 'Adamus Gumpelzhaimerus Trospergius Boius' or 'A. G. T. B.', or used variants of the latter. He also signified his name with the epigram 'Altissimi Gratia Tantum Beat.', using it in various contexts such as in his music materials and portraits and he set it to music.[2]

Gumpelzhaimer received his musical training at the Benedictine Abbey of St Ulrich and St Afra in Augsburg, where he studied with Jodocus Entzenmüller. In April 1582, Gumpelzhaimer registered at the University of Ingolstadt, a major Jesuit institution. He appears to have obtained a master's degree, though specific details have yet to be uncovered. Earlier in 1581, he was appointed *Kantor* and preceptor at the Lutheran Church and School of St Anna Augsburg and served in these roles until his death in 1625.[3] Gumpelzhaimer was responsible for the musical activities of St Anna's Church and School, which encompassed organizing and teaching music classes, determining the music and performers used in its church, directing musicians during its services, arranging the purchase and binding of music materials and ensuring copies were available for performers,

[2] Adam Gumpelzhaimer used his epigram many times and selected examples follow. It appears: (1) on the title page of the Bassus partbook of his *Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum …* (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1625; RISM series A/I, G 5138; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17), see Plate 1; (2) in eight portraits of him, see Richard Charteris, 'A Survey of the Art Works Connected to Adam Gumpelzhaimer', *The Electronic British Library Journal*, forthcoming, Catalogue I, Portraits 6–8 and 11–15; and (3) in some of his music settings, including a bicinium which he published in all but the first edition of his music treatise *Compendium musicae*, a canon which he published in all but the first two editions of the same treatise as well as polyphonic works, such as the two cited in Appendix II. Information about his music treatise precedes Appendix I.

[3] For selected publications about Adam Gumpelzhaimer, see: Otto Mayr, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Augsburg, 1908), reprinted and enlarged as the introduction to Otto Mayr, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer: Ausgewählte Werke*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern, Jg. 10/2 (Leipzig, 1909); Werner Braun, 'Kompositionen von Adam Gumpelzhaimer im Florilegium Portense', *Die Musikforschung*, 33 (1980), 131–5; Richard Charteris, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer's Little-Known Score-Books in Berlin and Kraków*, Musicological Studies & Documents, 48 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1996); William E. Hettrick, Art. 'Gumpelzhaimer [Gumpeltzhaimer], Adam', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, ²2001), vol. 10, 582f. (re-issued in *Grove Music Online*); and Thomas Altmeyer, Art. 'Gumpelzhaimer, Gumpeltzhaimer, Adam', in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel, ²2002), Personenteil vol. 8, cols. 274–8 (re-issued in *MGG Online*).

training singers and instrumentalists, supervising assistants, maintaining the records of the *Kantorei* and developing what became under his administration a thriving music establishment. Adam Gumpelzhaimer was proud of his service at St Anna because near the end of his life he emphasized that he had worked there for forty-four years.[4] St Anna was founded in the thirteenth century as a Carmelite monastery and adopted the Lutheran faith in 1525 and since then it has been Lutheran, except for a period of Jesuit control between 1631 and 1649.[5]

In his last years, Gumpelzhaimer sold his private collection of music editions and manuscripts to St Anna. He made manuscript copies of works by himself and other composers, though sadly most of his autograph volumes are now lost. Fortunately, two of his score-books have survived, one each in Berlin and Kraków, and some of his partbooks and other items are preserved in Regensburg and elsewhere.[6] Gumpelzhaimer also collected a large amount of music for

4 In each of the last two publications produced before his death, Adam Gumpelzhaimer concluded his preface with an indication of the duration of his service at St Anna, 'Scholae Anneae 44. annos Collega'. See Adam Gumpelzhaimer's *Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum …* (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1625; RISM series A/I, G 5138; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17), signature [A 1]^{v}, and *Compendium musicae latino-germanicum …*, 8th edn. (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1625; RISM series A/I, G 5123; RISM series B/I, 1625^{13}; RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, p. 388; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17), signature [A 1]^{v}.

5 For a selection of works about the history of the Church and School of St Anna Augsburg, see: Karl Köberlin, *Geschichte des Hum. Gymnasiums bei St. Anna in Augsburg von 1531 bis 1931. Zur Vierhundertjahrfeier der Anstalt* (Augsburg, 1931); Wilhelm von Schiller, *Die St. Annakirche in Augsburg: Ein Beitrag zur Augsburger Kirchengeschichte* (Augsburg, 1938); Helmut Schmid and Johannes Rettenberger (eds.), *1531–1981: 450 Jahre Gymnasium bei Sankt Anna in Augsburg* (Friedberg, 1981); and Rolf Kiessling (ed.), *St Anna in Augsburg – Eine Kirche und ihre Gemeinde* (Augsburg, 2013).

6 Adam Gumpelzhaimer's extant manuscript score-books, which were mostly copied by him, consist of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. 40028, and Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, Mus. ms. 40027; see Charteris, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer's Little-Known Score-Books*. Gumpelzhaimer's Regensburg manuscript partbooks, which are all or mostly autograph, consist of Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Butsch 205–210, 237–240, 242–243 and 257a. For comments about these Regensburg materials, see: Richard Charteris and Gertraut Haberkamp, 'Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Butsch 205–210: A Little-Known Source of the Music of Giovanni Gabrieli and his Contemporaries', *Musica Disciplina*, 43 (1989), 195–249, and Gertraut Haberkamp, *Sammlung Proske: Manuskripte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus den Signaturen A. R., B, C, AN*, Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen, 14, vol. 1 of *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften* (Munich, 1989), 194–203, 223–7, 230–4 and 237. The music hand of Adam Gumpelzhaimer also appears in: (1) Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Tonkunst Schletterer 376–382, see Richard Charteris, 'A Rediscovered Collection of Music Purchased for St Anna, Augsburg, in June 1618', *Music & Letters*, 78 (1997), 487–501; (2) The British Library London, A.283., see Richard Charteris, 'A Late Renaissance Music Manuscript Unmasked', *The Electronic British Library Journal* (2006), article 3: 1–24, <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2006articles/article3.html>; (3) various *Stammbücher*, see Richard Charteris 'A Survey of the Art Works Connected to Adam Gumpelzhaimer', forthcoming, Catalogue III, Items 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 10 and 11; and (4) a number of other sources, such as an incomplete set of printed partbooks in Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Butsch 77–78, see Richard Charteris, 'Giovanni Gabrieli's *Sacrae symphoniae* (Venice, 1597): Some Rediscovered Partbooks with New Evidence about Performance Practice', in *Im Dienst der Quellen zur Musik: Festschrift Gertraut Haberkamp zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Paul Mai (Tutzing, 2002), 195–228.

St Anna and catalogued its music materials in a manuscript 'Inventarium' that he commenced in 1620. The 'Inventarium', which proves to be an incomplete record of the music once owned by St Anna, itemizes an extensive number of its music editions and manuscripts as well as items it acquired from Gumpelzhaimer's private library.[7]

During Gumpelzhaimer's employment at St Anna its music acquisitions were often stamped with a monogram. Although it appears in many of St Anna's music editions, others obtained by the institution during Gumpelzhaimer's tenure were never stamped with the monogram.[8] I have uncovered a large number

7 Three copies exist of the handwritten 'Inventarium' of St Anna's music library: two are catalogued at Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gesamtkirchenverwaltung Augsburg, Scholarchatsarchiv 63a and 63b; and the third is preserved at Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Evangelisches Wesensarchiv 1065. Gumpelzhaimer's hand only appears in Scholarchatsarchiv 63a and 63b; Evangelisches Wesensarchiv 1065 is incomplete and was copied later by others. In 63b, for example, Gumpelzhaimer copied the material on fols. 1^{r}–10^{r}, 12^{r}–35^{r}, 37^{v} (lower half), and 39^{v} (signature). Gumpelzhaimer sold music materials from his personal library to St Anna in 1621, 1622, 1624, and 1625; see Scholarchatsarchiv 63a and 63b, fols. 25^{r}–39^{v}. A transcription of the 'Inventarium' appears in Richard Schaal, *Das Inventar der Kantorei St Anna in Augsburg. Ein Beitrag zur protestantischen Musikpflege im 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert*, Catalogus musicus, 3 (Kassel, 1965).

8 The monogram consists of the letters 'SANA' with a superscript indicator signifying 'S[ANCTA] AN[N]A'. The first scholar to connect the monogram to St Anna was Gertraut Haberkamp following her identification of it in early music editions in Regensburg. Initially, Gertraut Haberkamp suggested that the monogram belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of St Ulrich and St Afra in Augsburg; see her *Sammlung Proske: Manuskripte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus den Signaturen A. R., B, C, AN*, p. 223. Afterwards, however, she identified correctly that it belonged to St Anna in Augsburg; see Gertraut Haberkamp and Jochen Reutter, *Sammlung Proske: Manuskripte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts aus den Signaturen A. R., C, AN*, Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen, 14, vol. 2 of *Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg. Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften* (Munich, 1989), p. xxiv. Gertraut Haberkamp identified St Anna's monogram in the following music editions in the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg: Butsch 51 (RISM series A/I, P 2016 (1552) with music by Dominque Phinot); Butsch 79–80 (RISM series A/I, H 2323 (1591) with music by Hans Leo Hassler); Butsch 93 (RISM series A/I, G 2447 (1598) with music by Ruggiero Giovannelli); Butsch 102 (RISM series A/I, M 2362 (1595) with music by Claudio Merulo); Butsch 104 (RISM series A/I, P 738 (1589) with music by Giovanni

of editions with the monogram as well as others that once belonged to Gumpelzhaimer, though the great majority have yet to be revealed in print.[9] Gumpelzhaimer's work must have benefited enormously from the music materials at St Anna and in his private library.

Adam Gumpelzhaimer's most famous publication was his music treatise *Compendium musicae* … (Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1591; RISM series A/I, G 5116 and GG 5116; RISM series B/I, 1591[26]; RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, p. 387; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD16), which includes instructions on the rudiments of music.[10] Gumpelzhaimer's music treatise appeared in no fewer than thirteen editions issued between 1591 and 1681 and was used extensively in educational institutions and elsewhere.[11] It contains parallel versions of its text in Latin and German and includes many compositions by Gumpelzhaimer as well as pieces

Pierluigi Palestrina); Butsch 185–192 (RISM series A/I, S 1126 (1612) with music by Lambert de Sayve); Butsch 237–240 (RISM series B/I, 1587[14] with music by multiple composers); Butsch 244–247 (RISM series A/I, V 1397 (1620) with music by Lodovico Viadana); and Butsch 279a (RISM series A/I, G 1687 (1597) with music by Bartholomäus Gesius). A further edition at Butsch 9–10 cited by Haberkamp actually lacks the monogram; Bernstein's article mentioned below is similarly misdirected.

Largely using identifications made by other scholars, including Gertraut Haberkamp, Jane A. Bernstein cited thirty-seven music editions with the monogram in her 'Buyers and Collectors of Music Publications: Two Sixteenth-Century Music Libraries Recovered', in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts. Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings, Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music, 18 (Warren, Michigan, 1997), 21–33. Bernstein was unaware of a vast number of other music editions which I have uncovered with St Anna's monogram; see the next footnote.

9 Relevant details will be revealed in Richard Charteris, *An Annotated Catalogue of the Surviving Early Music Editions Once Owned by St Anna Augsburg and Adam Gumpelzhaimer*, in preparation. I have covered a small number of the extra materials with St Anna's monogram in: (1) Richard Charteris, 'A Rediscovered Collection of Music Purchased for St Anna Augsburg in June 1618'; (2) *idem*, 'An Early Seventeenth-Century Collection of Sacred Vocal Music and Its Augsburg Connections', *Notes*, 58 (2002), 511–35; (3) *idem*, 'Giovanni Gabrieli's *Sacrae symphoniae* (Venice, 1597)'; (4) *idem*, 'A Late Renaissance Music Manuscript Unmasked'; (5) *idem*, 'Some Early Music Editions in Brussels and Regensburg: Their Historical Connections Unveiled', *In Monte Artium. Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium*, 1 (2008), 23–55; (6) *idem*, 'A Neglected Anthology of Sacred Vocal Music Dating from the Sixteenth Century', *Music & Letters*, 90 (2009), 1–34; and (7) *idem*, 'Newly Identified Music Editions from the Private Library of Martin Luther', *In Monte Artium. Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium*, 6 (2013), 41–96.

10 Adam Gumpelzhaimer modelled his music treatise on Heinrich Faber's *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus* … (Braunschweig, 1548; RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, p. 301; VD16 ZV 28304; more editions followed) and on a German translation made by Christoph Rid, *Musica. Kurtzer innhalt der singkunst, auss Heinrich Fabri lateinischem Compendio musicae* … (Nuremberg, 1572, RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, p. 305; VD16 F 69; and several reprints).

11 The thirteen editions are cited in various locations, some of which comprise: (1) Otto Mayr, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer: Ausgewählte Werke*, pp. lxiif; (2) RISM series A/I, G 5116–G 5128;

by others such as Orlande de Lassus (1530/1532–1594). Gumpelzhaimer expanded the number of its works in his 1595, 1600, 1605, 1611, 1616, and 1618 editions, with the most substantial additions and other alterations occurring in the early editions. He also made significant changes in the last edition produced before his death in 1625. The posthumous editions of 1632, 1646, 1655, 1675, and 1681 were based on the 1625 edition even though their presentation varied.

The largest proportion of works in his music treatise comprise canons, most of which were composed by Gumpelzhaimer; his remaining canons are preserved in other sources and some have attracted little attention in the modern literature (see Appendix I). Composing canons required special skill and others sometimes found them perplexing. In certain cases, however, composers provided cryptic clues about how to interpret them, though at times they merely added to their mystery. A measure of how difficult some canons could be to decipher was illustrated by the singer, priest and writer Pedro Cerone (1566–1625) in his popular music treatise of 1613, *El Melopeo y maestro. Tractado de musica theorica y pratica* … (Naples: Juan Bautista Gargano and Lucrecio Nucci, 1613; RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, p. 216). Cerone's final chapter is devoted to forty-five musical enigmas by a variety of composers and he included comments and illustrations about how to interpret them.

It is quite possible that a number of Adam Gumpelzhaimer's contemporaries were confused by some of his canons, including the two studied in the present article: his six-voice *Crux Christi cum Titulo* ('Cross of Christ with a Tablet') and eight-voice *Quatuor Evangelistae* ('Four Evangelists'). Regardless of whether they caused any confusion, they were among his best known works and a major factor in their popularity was the captivating imagery in the early art works.

The earliest examples of Adam Gumpelzhaimer's two canons consist of three undated autograph copies. Although they lack a date, other evidence establishes that Gumpelzhaimer made the autographs in the early 1590s. They were created for private use and thus were not as well known as the printed copies that followed. Once Gumpelzhaimer had access to the printed versions there was less need for him to make handwritten copies. Gumpelzhaimer's autograph copies appear in two friendship volumes which originally belonged to Abel Prasch the Younger (1573–1630) and Paul Jenisch (1558–1647), both of whom knew the composer and lived in Augsburg for varying periods. During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, students, scholars and others collected contributions from friends and acquaintances which they stored in *Stammbücher* or *alba amicorum*. The contributions encompassed handwritten material, coats of arms,

(3) RISM series B/I, 1591[26], 1595[14], 1600[10], 1605[21], 1611[22], 1616[23], 1618[19], 1625[13], 1632[9], 1646[15], 1655[7], 1675[8] and 1681[6]; (4) RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, 387f.; and (5) *RISM Online Catalogue*.

drawings, music, engravings, woodcuts and other items. Adam Gumpelzhaimer's three autograph copies of his two canons are preserved respectively in:

(1) Abel Prasch the Younger's *Stammbuch*, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, 4° Cod. Aug. 270 (Cim. 67a), fol. 140^{r} (*c*.1591);
(2) Paul Jenisch's *Stammbuch*, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. Hist. 4° 299, fol. 106^{r} (*c*.1591–1592); and
(3) Paul Jenisch's *Stammbuch*, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. Hist. 4° 299, fol. 242^{v} (*c*.1593–1594).[12]

All of them feature a cross and four circles with stave lines, music material and text underlay, and each of them has a tablet at the top of the cross with stave lines and text but it lacks musical notes. The earliest autograph copy is the one located in Augsburg and contains time signatures in the tablet and on the beams of the cross, though it omits them from the circles; the other two autographs lack time signatures. The autograph sources also have repeat marks at the end of the tablet, the Augsburg copy has two and each of the Stuttgart copies has one.

The Augsburg and first Stuttgart copies name the composer and indicate the titles of the two canons, whereas the other Stuttgart autograph omits these details. Additional rubrics appear in the two Stuttgart copies, ones that were replicated in the art works examined shortly. Using paint and ink, Gumpelzhaimer illustrated the Augsburg and first Stuttgart autograph copies, including drawing other images, decorating some of the material and highlighting various items.

During Gumpelzhaimer's lifetime, the two canons were better known from their appearance in some elaborately crafted art works. Overall they consist of:

(1) an engraving produced in Augsburg in 1595 by Dominicus Custos (1560–1612);
(2) a woodcut made in 1604 by the Augsburg artist Alexander Mair (1559–*c*.1620);
(3) an engraving made in Augsburg in 1611 by Wolfgang Kilian (1581–1662); and

[12] A detailed study of Adam Gumpelzhaimer's autograph copies, together with reproductions, comments about dating and relevant references, appears in Charteris 'A Survey of the Art Works Connected to Adam Gumpelzhaimer', Catalogue III, Items 1–3. I have selected two relevant publications: for Item (1), see Folker Göthel, 'Gumpelzhaimers "Kreuz-Kanon" im Autograph', *Musik in Bayern*, 10 (1975), 22–5, which reproduces the image on p. [23]; and for Items (2) and (3), see Clytus Gottwald, 'Humanisten-Stammbücher als musikalische Quellen', in *Helmuth Osthoff zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Wilhelm Stauder, Ursula Aarburg and Peter Cahn (Tutzing, 1969), 89–104, which reproduces Item (2) on p. [99], Tafel 2.

(4) an undated engraving made in Cologne by Johann Bussemacher (d. before 1627).[13]

These four art works were issued as individual broadsheets. Using one at a time, three of them, those by Custos, Mair and Kilian, were also printed in thirteen of Gumpelzhaimer's music editions, comprising twelve editions of his *Compendium musicae* and one of his other editions. They are scattered throughout his editions printed in 1595, 1600, 1605, 1611, 1616, 1618, 1625 (two editions), 1632, 1646, 1655, 1675 and 1681.[14] All four art works include Gumpelzhaimer's two canons and contain striking pictorial material, though Wolfgang Kilian's 1611 engraving is larger than the others and differs in some respects as indicated soon.

The undated engraving made by Johann Bussemacher was probably the last of these four art works to be produced. Although his work is similar to the others, especially to those by Custos and Mair, its music is distorted by irregularities. In particular, the music in Bussemacher's work is marred by erroneous pitches, rests, and rhythmic notation, as well as superfluous notes and omissions. While the other three artists lived in Augsburg at the same time as Adam Gumpelzhaimer and probably consulted him while making their art works, Bussemacher was based elsewhere and likely had minimal, if any, dealings with Gumpelzhaimer while creating his version. Bussemacher may have used a defective template, though it is conceivable that he was less interested in, or knowledgeable about, the music.

One of the Gumpelzhaimer canons, the six-voice *Crux Christi cum Titulo*, appears without attribution on page 1130 in Pedro Cerone, *El Melopeo y maestro. Tractado de musica theorica y pratica* … (Naples: Juan Bautista Gargano and

[13] A study of these four art works, together with reproductions, information about all their known locations and relevant references, appears in Richard Charteris 'A Survey of the Art Works Connected to Adam Gumpelzhaimer', Catalogue II, Items 1–4. I have selected an existing publication with comments about, and a reproduction of, each image: for Item (1), see Dieter Gutknecht, *Musik als Bild. Allegorische 'Verbildlichungen' im 17. Jahrhundert*, Rombach Wissenschaften – Reihe Quellen zur Kunst, 21 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 2003), 36–42; for Item (2), see Wil Dekker, 'Ein Karfreitagsrätselkanon aus Adam Gumpelzhaimers *Compendium musicae* (1632)', *Die Musikforschung*, 27 (1974), 323–32; for Item (3), see Wolfgang Harms, Michael Schilling et al. (eds.), *Die Sammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel: Kommentierte Ausgabe*, Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, vol. 3 (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 48–9; and for Item (4), see Jeremy Adler and Ulrich Ernst, *Text als Figur: Visuelle Poesie von der Antike bis zur Moderne*, 2nd edn., Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek, 56 (Wolfenbüttel, 1987), 209f.

[14] After studying almost all the extant copies of the thirteen editions of Adam Gumpelzhaimer's *Compendium musicae*, I have discovered that some of them were issued in more than one impression. Details are revealed in Richard Charteris 'A Survey of the Art Works Connected to Adam Gumpelzhaimer' together with information about mistaken RISM listings and previously overlooked copies.

Lucrecio Nucci, 1613; RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, p. 216). Its music is similar to that in the art works by Custos, Mair and Kilian, though there are some notable differences. Unlike the latter three items, Cerone adds some time signatures, includes a handful of notes in the tablet, supplies extra text underlay and omits some accidentals. Cerone replicates the title and rubrics in the earlier examples, though he includes a rubric associated with the second canon despite omitting its music from his book.[15] The only other early source is the new one which will be examined shortly and contains both canons.

As a result of collating all the early handwritten and printed copies, I have discovered that Gumpelzhaimer revised the canons. His initial version of the music of the first canon, the *Crux Christi cum Titulo*, appears in the three autograph copies. Their musical material is virtually identical to that in the art works by Custos, Mair and Kilian. Each of the copies made by Bussemacher and Cerone stands alone on account of their distinctive variants. All of the latter sources are incomplete for they require musicians to match music and text in certain places and to add musical notation. The final and only complete version of the first canon is preserved in the new Gumpelzhaimer source, details of which are revealed shortly.

Turning to Gumpelzhaimer's second canon, the *Quatuor Evangelistae*, its first version is preserved in the Augsburg and first Stuttgart autograph sources. The next version appears in the second Stuttgart autograph copy and in the art works by Custos, Mair and Kilian, though Mair's copy includes a few variants. Compared to the first version, the second one contains a substantial number of revised notes and passages including exchanging most of the music in the two Cantus parts in bars 9–10 and in the equivalent Altus parts. The same canon in Bussemacher's art work stands alone because of its corrupt material. The final version is found in the new Gumpelzhaimer source which is examined soon.

One of the four printed art works with the two canons is relevant to the new Gumpelzhaimer source, namely the engraving made by Wolfgang Kilian (d. 1662) in Augsburg in 1611. Kilian was a member of a renowned Augsburg family which produced generations of artists. In 1588, following the death of his father the goldsmith Bartholomäus Kilian, Wolfgang's mother married the artist Dominicus Custos (d. 1612), who was born in Antwerp and moved to Augsburg in 1584. Besides being an engraver and draughtsman, Dominicus instructed others in his craft, including Wolfgang, his brother Lucas Kilian (1579–1637) and their half brother Raphael Custos (1590–1664).[16] All four artists created art works

[15] For more information about Cerone's copy of Gumpelzhaimer's canon, together with a reproduction, relevant references and other details, see Richard Charteris 'A Survey of the Art Works Connected to Adam Gumpelzhaimer', Catalogue II, Item 5.

[16] The Custos family produced at least four artists, all of whom were engravers, comprising Dominicus Custos and his three sons, David Custos, Jacob Custos and Raphael Custos. In comparison, the Kilian family produced close to twenty artists spanning the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries, many of them were engravers. For a selection of publications about various members of these families, see: (1) Ulrich Thieme, Felix Becker et al. (eds.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 37 vols. (Leipzig, 1907–1950; reprinted Zwickau, 1978), in particular entries by J. Ritter von Schlosser about the Custos family in vol. 8 (1913), 219f., and entries by Albert Hämmerle about the Kilian family in vol. 20 (1927), 288–305; (2) Albert Hämmerle, *Die Augsburger Künstlerfamilie Kilian* (Augsburg, 1922); and (3) F[riedrich]. W[ilhelm]. H[einrich]. Hollstein et al., *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700*, 85 vols. to date (Amsterdam, 1954–), in particular entries about the Custos family in vol. 6 (1959), 179–88, and entries about the Kilian family in vol. 16 (1975), 87–204, vol. 17 (1976), 5–165 and 169–200, and vol. 18 (1976), 5–87 and 89–208.

relating to Adam Gumpelzhaimer, some of which became well known during the period.[17]

Like many of his contemporaries, Adam Gumpelzhaimer usually described canons as 'fugas', though only generic titles are used in Kilian's engraving and in most of the other early sources. Five rubrics in Kilian's engraving, and in almost all the other early sources, offer clues about how the two canons should be performed: four relate to the six-voice canon, the *Crux Christi cum Titulo*, and one concerns the eight-voice canon, the *Quatuor Evangelistae*. Each of these rubrics is preceded by the label 'CANON'. Gumpelzhaimer and others used the latter word to denote a 'rule' or 'instruction'. Over time, however, 'canon' replaced 'fuga' as the preferred nomenclature for the art form.

Wolfgang Kilian's 1611 engraving is reproduced later in the present article. In summary, it depicts the Passion of Christ and shows:

(1) Christ praying in the Garden of Gethsemane on the Mount of Olives together with olive trees and three sleeping apostles, comprising Peter, who is holding a sword, James and John, one in the foreground and the other in the background (see the Vulgate, Gospel of St Matthew, chapter 26, verse 37);
(2) the angel comforting Christ while holding symbols of his suffering, a cross and a cup;
(3) two angels near the top on either side of the light emanating from God;
(4) part of the city of Jerusalem in the lower background as well as Judas, the soldiers and their garrison;
(5) crucifixion items in the lower foreground, a crown of thorns, a skull and nails;

[17] A study of the specific art works, together with reproductions and information about all their known locations and relevant references, appears in Richard Charteris 'A Survey of the Art Works Connected to Adam Gumpelzhaimer', Catalogue I, Portraits 1–8, Catalogue II, Items 1 and 3, Catalogue IV, Items 1–7, and Catalogue V, Items 1–11.

(6) a central cross and a *Titulo* which contain five-line staves and text underlay in addition to music on the beams and associated rubrics;
(7) four circles which contain music on five-line staves and text underlay in addition to an image in the centre of each circle and an associated rubric;
(8) the titles of both canons in the lower section:

‘CRVX CHRISTI CVM TITVLO. 6. | vocu[m]. |
QVATVOR EVANGELISTAE. 8. ’;

(9) a liturgical specification in the lower section, ‘M[atutinum].2.N[octurno].’, which indicates that the music was written for the Second Nocturn at Matins; and
(10) the name of the music composer in the lower section, ‘Autore. | A[damus]. G[umpelzhaimerus]. T[rospergius]. B[oius].’

The first canon in Kilian’s 1611 engraving, the *Crux Christi cum Titulo*, occupies the vertical and horizontal beams of the cross and its tablet at the top. Together they contain a six-voice composition for the Adoration of the Holy Cross on Good Friday: the singers of the upper two parts share a text taken from the Vulgate, Gospel of St John, chapter 19, verse 19, which refers to words Pontius Pilate had placed on Christ’s cross, ‘IESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDAEORVM’ (‘Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews’); and the text of the lower four parts is from the liturgy for Good Friday, ‘Ecce lignum Crucis in quo Salus mundi pependit, venite adoremus’ (‘Behold the wood of the cross on which hung the Saviour of the world, come let us worship’).[18]

Gumpelzhaimer’s rubrics with this canon emphasize religious aspects of the crucifixion and suggest how the work should be interpreted; each rubric is preceded by the word ‘CANON’ which denotes that an instruction follows. The rubric printed near the top of Kilian’s engraving and embedded in the light emanating from God consists of ‘CANON:’ and just below it ‘CLAMA NE CESSES’ (‘Cry, cease not’); the last words are from the Vulgate, Book of Isaiah, chapter 58, verse 1. An angel on each side faces the latter material as well as a tablet containing a clef and a music stave with a text for each of its two vocal parts, ones that

[18] In the first Stuttgart autograph copy (fol. 106ᵛ), Gumpelzhaimer concluded this canon with ‘Iësus Christus noster’ instead of ‘venite adoremus’ in order to make the work more suitable for Lutheran use.

are positioned an octave apart and lack musical notes. The placement of the text, which is cited in the previous paragraph, suggests that the top part should be sung at the pitch of e^2 and the lower part should be sung using e^1. Besides emphasizing the notion of incessantly crying for mercy, the rubric from Isaiah implies that performers should sing their material continuously.

The remaining rubrics with this canon are mostly taken from the Vulgate, Psalm 84, verses 11 and 12, and apply to the canonic material in the lower four parts of the composition. Their underlying theme relates to uniting heaven and earth as a result of Christ’s death on the cross. In the rubric just above the horizontal beam of the cross in Kilian’s engraving, Gumpelzhaimer supplies the word ‘CANON:’ inside the vertical beam and straddles it with ‘Iusticia et Pax’ on one side and ‘osculatae sunt’ on the other side; translated they are ‘Justice and Peace have kissed’ (further comments about this text appear in footnote 21). This rubric suggests that musicians should unite by moving from opposite directions. In practice, the music on the horizontal beam is sung from the left and right at the same time until they reach their respective opposite ends. This interpretation is made clear by Gumpelzhaimer’s placement of a C1 clef at each end of the beam and a tenuto mark with its first and last notes.

Further music for this canon appears on the vertical beam in Kilian’s engraving and is accompanied by two rubrics, each of which is preceded by the word ‘CANON’. Its first rubric, ‘Iusticia de caelo prospexit’ (‘Justice hath looked down from heaven’), reads from the top downwards; and the second rubric, ‘Veritas de terra orta est’ (‘Truth is sprung out of the earth’), reads from the bottom upwards; both derive from the Vulgate, Psalm 84, verse 12. Together they imply that musicians should approach each other by moving from opposite directions. Practically, the music on the vertical beam is sung from the top and bottom at the same time until they reach their respective opposite ends. Gumpelzhaimer reinforces the latter interpretation by placing an F3 clef at each end of the beam and a tenuto mark with its first and last notes. The work is a six-voice retrograde canon and the music on the two beams supplies the lower four parts.

The next canon in Kilian’s 1611 engraving, the *Quatuor Evangelistae*, appears in the four circles below the horizontal beam of the cross and surround part of the lower vertical beam. Their placement creates the impression of pleading to Christ, a sentiment made explicit in the two-line text at the foot of the cross: ‘Quem prece sollicito, seu Sol, seu Luna coruscet, | CHRISTE, fer auxilium, Cruce qui peccata luisti’ (‘Christ, whom I beseech with my prayer, whether the Sun or the Moon is shining, help me, you who have atoned for sins by the cross’).[19] Each circle includes an image in its centre representing one of the four

[19] I am grateful to Frances Meucke for this English translation.

evangelists, respectively a winged man or angel for St Matthew, a winged lion for St Mark, a winged bull for St Luke and an eagle for St John.[20] The music in each circle sets the same text using words uttered by one of the individuals crucified alongside Christ, thus making the work suitable for use on Good Friday. The text is taken from the Vulgate, Gospel of St Luke, chapter 23, verse 42, and reads: 'Domine memento mei cum veneris in regnum tuum' ('Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom').

This work is accompanied by a horizontal rubric in Kilian's engraving, one which appears between the circles and straddles each side of the vertical beam. Except for its first word, the text is taken from the Vulgate, Psalm 84, verse 11, and reads: 'CA: [vertical beam] NON: | MISERICORDIA ET VE: [vertical beam] RITAS OBVIAVERVNT SIBI' ('Canon: Mercy and Truth are met together').[21]

[20] Using images to represent the authors of the four Gospels is part of a longstanding tradition. The images were inspired by the Old Testament and other writings and varied over the centuries. The ones shown in the engravings and woodcut with Adam Gumpelzhaimer's canons are also found in other early materials, such as on the title pages of the Discantus, Altus and Bassus partbooks of Balthasar Resinarius, *Responsoriorum numero octoginta de tempore et festis iuxta seriem totius anni, Libri duo …* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1543; RISM series A/I, R 1196 and RR 1196; *RISM Online Catalogue*; VD16 R 1178). For a relevant reproduction, see Richard Charteris, 'A Collection of Georg Rhau's Music Editions and Some Previously Unnoticed Works', *The Electronic British Library Journal* (2017), article 1: 1–72, <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2017articles/article1.html>, see esp. p. 40, fig. 6.

[21] This rubric and one mentioned with the first canon collectively derive from Vulgate, Psalm 84, verse 11, 'Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi; justitia et pax osculatae sunt'. The latter verse was used as a canonic motto during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and it is investigated in Katelijne Schiltz, 'La storia di un'iscrizione canonica tra Cinquecento e inizio Seicento: Il caso di *Ad te, Domine, levavi animam meam* di Philippus de Monte (1574)', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 38 (2003), 227–56.
In Adam Gumpelzhaimer's case, he may have been inspired to quote from the verse because of its use as a canonic motto in various works, some of which can be connected to him as explained shortly. The earliest known use of the motto occurred in an anonymous textless canon published in *Motetti A …* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1502; RISM series B/I, 1502[1]; *RISM Online Catalogue*), sig. A 2[r]; see Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonne* (Oxford, 2005), 473–7, see esp. p. 474. Thereafter Ludwig Senfl (b. 1489–1491; d. 1543) used the motto in two of his canons which formed the first and third parts of a cruciform motet, respectively *Crux fidelis inter omnes* (Prima pars; a 4) and *O crux, ave, spes unica* (Tertia pars; a 4): the earliest source, with all parts, is a manuscript dating from 1527 in the Universitätsbibliothek München, 8° Cod. ms. 322–325, No. [19], and they also appeared in print, though individually, in broadsheets and other sources; see Stefan Gasch and Sonja Tröster, *Ludwig Senfl (c.1490–1543): A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works and Sources* (Turnhout, 2018), 296–8, forthcoming. Lastly, Philippe de Monte (1521–1603) used the motto in his canon *Ad te, Domine, levavi animam meam* (a 8) which was published in his *Sacrarum cantionum cum quinque vocibus quae vulgo motetta nuncupantur liber tertius …* (Venice: Heirs of Girolamo Scotto, 1574; RISM series A/I, M 3313 and MM 3313; *RISM Online Catalogue*), p. 31, the motto only appears in the Tenor partbook.

The text emphasizes the unification of 'Mercy' and 'Truth' and its division between both sides of the cross implies that the musicians should approach each other by moving from opposite directions. In practice the music in each circle is

Similarly, Gumpelzhaimer may have been motivated to use the canonic motto because of its mention in various music treatises, some of which include the music of one or other of the Senfl canons, see: (1) Sebald Heyden, *De arte canendi … libro duo …* (Nuremberg: Johann Petreius, 1540; RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, p. 412; VD16 H 3381); (2) Henrich Faber, *Ad musicam practicam introductio …* (Nuremberg: Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber, 1550; and many subsequent editions issued by various publishers between 1558 and 1617; RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, pp. 301–4; VD16 ZV 5670 and others); (3) Hermann Finck, *Practica musica …* (Wittenberg: Heirs of Georg Rhau, 1556; RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, p. 317; VD16 ZV 5843); and (4) Ambrosius Wilphlingseder, *Erotemata musica practicae …* (Nuremberg: Christoph Heussler, 1563; and a subsequent edition in 1581; RISM series B/VI, vol. 2, p. 893; not cited in VD16). All these treatises were once in Gumpelzhaimer's private library, for he sold them to St Anna Augsburg towards the end of his life and itemized them in St Anna's 'Inventarium'; see Scholarchatsarchiv 63b, respectively fols. 33[r] with (1), 33[v] with (3) and the 1581 edition of (4), and 34[r] with the 1571 edition of (2); information about the inventory appears in footnote 7.
In addition to the music treatises, Adam Gumpelzhaimer was almost certainly familiar with Senfl's canons in a set of two anthologies edited by Clemens Stephani (*c.*1530–1592), a poet, printer, bookseller and music editor: (1) *Suavissimae et iucundissimae harmoniae, octo, quinque et quatuor vocum, ex duabus vocibus …* (Nuremberg: Theodor Gerlach, 1567; RISM series B/I, 1567[1]; VD16 S 8908), which includes Senfl's *Crux fidelis inter omnes* (a 4); and (2) *Liber secundus. Suavissimarum et iucundissimarum harmoniarum: quinque et quatuor vocum, ex duabus vocibus …* (Nuremberg: Ulrich Neuber, 1568; RISM series B/I, 1568[8]; VD16 S 8909), which includes Senfl's *O crux, ave, spes unica* (a 4). Gumpelzhaimer paid close attention to these editions because he described them in some detail in St Anna's 'Inventarium', where he indicates that they were then part of a bound set in St Anna's music library; see Scholarchatsarchiv 63b, fol. 13[r]. More importantly, though, some partbooks from the original set are still extant. They include the Prima Vox and Altera Vox partbooks from both of Stephani's 1567 and 1568 editions and are now preserved at Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Butsch 54–55. Confirmation that Adam Gumpelzhaimer examined the editions appears on the title pages of the two 1567 partbooks, ones which originally began the bound set. For using black ink, Gumpelzhaimer inscribed their title pages with his name, using his epigram or initials, as well as details about their purchase using public funds. For more about the original set, as well as reproductions of the relevant title pages, see Richard Charteris, 'Some Early Music Editions in Brussels and Regensburg: Their Historical Connections Unveiled', see esp. figs. 3 and 4.
Adam Gumpelzhaimer must have been well acquainted with Philippe de Monte's canon, for it appears in Gumpelzhaimer's manuscript score book at Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, Mus. ms. 40027, pp. 454–9. Although Gumpelzhaimer copied the majority of its compositions, a number of them were copied by his assistants, including Monte's canon. Since Gumpelzhaimer would have instructed his assistants about the works they had to copy, and since he used the volume in the course of his work at St Anna, we can safely assume that Monte's canon was known to him. For more about Gumpelzhaimer's score book, see footnote 6.

sung from each end at the same time until they reach their respective opposite ends. This interpretation is underlined by Gumpelzhaimer's placement of a tenuto mark with the first and last notes in each circle, though the second tenuto mark is omitted from one circle and one other has two tenuto marks. Under normal circumstances one would expect a clef to be provided at both ends of each circle, but limited space only allowed for one at the beginning. This work is an eight-voice retrograde canon and the material in the four circles generates its eight parts.

Wolfgang Kilian's 1611 engraving varies in certain respects from the other early art works and some are singled out for mention here. Kilian positions one of the sleeping apostles in a dark area in the background, whereas in the art works produced by Custos, Mair and Bussemacher he is placed between the other two apostles in the foreground. This change enabled Kilian to give greater prominence to Christ and the angel comforting him by increasing their size. Additionally, Kilian increased the art work's dark clouds, in part by re-positioning the tree seen in the other examples above the angel ministering to Christ and by lowering the position of the moon. Moreover, Kilian depicted the city of Jerusalem and some of its buildings, whereas the other art works lack these images. The latter change caused Kilian to lower the position of Judas, the soldiers and their garrison and move them nearer to the cross.

As mentioned earlier, the modern literature about the two canons has overlooked an important Gumpelzhaimer source of the works, one which I discovered some time ago. The source was made by Gumpelzhaimer himself and contains a score of the canons. His score includes invaluable information about the canons and sheds new light on how they were treated by the composer.

Adam Gumpelzhaimer's score is preserved in an edition which he issued in the last year of his life in 1625. Originally the edition comprised five separate partbooks, though only one partbook, a Bassus, has survived as well as the final leaf from one of the other partbooks. Besides his two canons, the partbook includes a single Bassus part for seventeen four- and five-voice German and Latin motets. Gumpelzhaimer probably included the score in each partbook of the original set in order to facilitate its use by the range of singers required to perform the canons. Further information about the 1625 edition appears in the Table below.

Adam Gumpelzhaimer's 1625 Edition

The RISM listings appear at the beginning of the reference sections below.

Shelfmark:
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus.pr. 3490, Beiband 4.
Composer:
Adam Gumpelzhaimer.
Title page:
Altissimi Gratia | Tantùm Beat. | BASSUS | [Decorative rule] | CONTRAPVNCTVS | qvatuor & qvinqve vocum, | *Compositus ab* | ADAMO GUMPELZHAIMERO | Trospergio, Bavaro. | [Printer's mark] | AUGUSTAE, | Typis Ioannis Udalrici Schoenigij. | [Rule] | *M. DC. XXV.*
Partbook:
Bassus.
Selected references:
RISM series A/I, G 5138.
Adam Adrio, Art. 'Gumpelzhaimer (Gumpeltzhaimer), Adam', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. Friedrich Blume, vol. 5 (Kassel, 1956), col. 1115.
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Katalog der Musikdrucke: BSB–Musik, 17 vols. (Munich, 1988–1990), vol. 6 (1989), p. 2440.
Thomas Altmeyer, Art. 'Gumpelzhaimer, Gumpeltzhaimer, Adam', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik.*, Personenteil vol. 8 (Kassel, ²2002), col. 274.
Selected electronic references:
RISM Online Catalogue.
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München Katalog.
MGG Online.
Commentary:
This Bassus partbook is the only complete partbook in existence; an inventory of its compositions appears in Appendix II, section II, and a reproduction of its title page appears in Plate 1. The references cited above overlook a solitary leaf from this 1625 edition. It originated from one of its other partbooks and it is preserved at Museum Wasserburg am Inn, Inv.-No. 8330; see Plate 2. Although it lacks an imprint, the verso of the leaf contains the exact same index and decorative material found on the equivalent leaf in the Bassus partbook. A portrait of Adam Gumpelzhaimer is printed on the recto of each of the relevant leaves in Munich and Wasserburg, though the images differ. It is not unusual for different portraits to be printed in individual copies of the same Gumpelzhaimer edition; for further details about these portraits, see Richard Charteris 'A Survey of the Art Works Connected to Adam Gumpelzhaimer', Catalogue I, Portraits 7 and 11. Adam Gumpelzhaimer's 1625 *Contrapunctus* edition is omitted from many reference works, for example it is not mentioned in RISM series B/VIII and VD17 and nor is it listed in the article on Gumpelzhaimer in *Grove Music Online* and its predecessors.

Years earlier Adam Gumpelzhaimer published a related edition though it lacked his two canons: *Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum …* (Augsburg: Valentin

Schönigk, 1595; RISM series A/I, G 5137; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD16). This edition was published with five partbooks and fortunately they are still extant.[22] Notwithstanding some revisions, all its works were reprinted in Gumpelzhaimer's 1625 *Contrapunctus* edition. Gumpelzhaimer added a further thirteen compositions to his 1625 edition, including his score of the two canons. The contents of his 1595 and 1625 editions are indicated in Appendix II and reveal how Gumpelzhaimer expanded the initial edition.

Adam Gumpelzhaimer printed Wolfgang Kilian's 1611 engraving of the two canons near the beginning of the Bassus partbook of his 1625 *Contrapunctus* edition; see Plate 3. Gumpelzhaimer viewed Kilian's engraving as an integral part of the 1625 edition because he listed its two canons in the printed index at the rear, where he allocated them a common number: 'I. Crux Christi cum titulo. voc. 6. | I. Qvatuor Evangelistae. [voc.] 8.' Since they are cited in the indexes of the Bassus partbook and of the Wasserburg leaf (see Plate 2), the engraving must have been included in each of the original partbooks. The two surviving indexes number the subsequent compositions II–XVIII and the same numbers appear with the music in the edition's only extant complete partbook, the Bassus.

Gumpelzhaimer's score of his two canons concludes the Bassus partbook. On this occasion, though, the works are unnumbered and there is no mention of them in the index. The score was probably added late in the production process and after the indexes were finalized. The score is printed on the penultimate leaf of the Bassus partbook: the first canon appears on signature [B 1]^{r} below a decorative rule separating it from the bass part of no. XVIII; and the second canon appears on its own on signature [B 1]^{v}. They are followed by the final leaf containing his portrait and the edition's index. The titles and labels in Gumpelzhaimer's score of the two canons comprise:

(1) First canon: *Resolutio Crucis Christi cum Titulo. | 6. vocum. Clama ne cesses* and 'Cano[n]' precedes a single stave with the upper two parts and 'Cantu[s]', 'Altus', 'Teno[r]' and 'Bass[us]' precede each of the lower four parts, which are printed on individual staves; and
(2) Second canon: *8. voc. Resolutio 4. Evangelistarum*, though on this occasion its eight staves are unlabelled.

I have edited these canons in Examples 1 and 2 and used the composer's titles shown above; though thereafter I use the titles in Kilian's 1611 engraving. My

[22] This 1595 edition survives in a complete set of five partbooks, Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus and Quinta Vox, in the Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków, Mus.ant.pract. G 1010. The only other extant partbook is a Cantus preserved in The British Library London at C.63.b.

edition is based on Adam Gumpelzhaimer's score of the two canons in the Bassus partbook of his *Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum* … (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1625; RISM series A/I, G 5138; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17). Gumpelzhaimer places the top two parts of the first canon on a single stave whereas I show them on individual staves. Part names omitted from the score are here supplied editorially in square brackets. Letters implied by conventional abbreviation signs in the original part names and text underlay are supplied in normal type in this edition without comment. The original clef, key signature, time signature and first note of each part are shown on the prefatory staves. In the main part of the edition, I have modernized some clefs and retained the original note values. Gumpelzhaimer supplies regular barlines in his score and they are retained in this edition; broken barlines are editorial. The text underlay is based on Gumpelzhaimer's score, though I have added syllabification and hyphens where required and converted some capital letters to lower-case ones. Original printed text and text implied by ditto marks are shown in normal type. Gumpelzhaimer omits the text underlay from certain parts in his score and it is here supplied editorially and printed in italics. There are no music variants.

As often occurs in Gumpelzhaimer's scores, text underlay only appears beneath the lowest voice. His score of the first canon comprises two groups of singers, each with a different text. Its first two voices occupy a single stave and text underlay is only placed below the lowest part; they use constant pitches an octave apart, share the same text and rhythmic notation and have a repeat mark at the end. The remaining four voices of this canon comprise canonic material and occupy individual staves and text underlay only appears beneath the lowest stave. In contrast, all the music in the second canon is part of the canonic structure and its score comprises eight voices on individual staves and all of them use the same text even though the text only appears in the lowest part.

The following discussion uses the expression 'canonic part' to signify a vocal part which is performed simultaneously from each end. For instance, in the first canon in Wolfgang Kilian's engraving in Plate 3, the *Crux Christi cum Titulo*, one canonic part appears on the horizontal beam of the cross and another is on the vertical beam; when sung from each end of the beam at the same time, each canonic part generates two vocal parts. The second canon in Kilian's engraving, the *Quatuor Evangelistae*, contains a single canonic part in each of its four circles and each one produces two vocal parts because they, too, are sung from opposite ends at the same time. Understandably, no beams or circles appear in Gumpelzhaimer's 1625 music score. Instead he uses staves arranged in descending pitch order.

Adam Gumpelzhaimer's score reveals that he divided each canonic part into two halves and placed each half on a separate stave and paired them together in the score. Gumpelzhaimer's arrangement of the material in this manner resulted in (1) the two canonic parts in the first canon, the *Crux Christi cum Titulo*, being divided into four halves and spreading them over the lower four staves of the score, and (2) the four canonic parts in the second canon, the *Quatuor Evangelistae*, being split into eight halves and distributing them over the eight staves of the score.

I have selected material in each canon to illustrate how Gumpelzhaimer treats the paired sets of staves in his 1625 score. In the first canon, the music I have chosen corresponds to that on the cross beam in Kilian's engraving. This canonic part is divided between the third and fourth staves in the edition of Gumpelzhaimer's score in Example 1: the third stave is devoted to the first half of the music on the engraving's cross beam reading from its left until the halfway point on semibreve c^2, whereas the fourth stave contains the second half of the music on the same cross beam reading backwards from its opposite end until the halfway point at semibreve a^1. Turning to the second canon, the music I have chosen matches that in the upper left-hand circle of Kilian's engraving. This canonic part is spread over the first and second staves in the edition of Gumpelzhaimer's score in Example 2: the top stave replicates the first half of the music in the engraving's circle reading forwards from its beginning until the halfway point on the semibreve rest, whereas the second stave contains the second half of the music in the same circle reading backwards from its opposite end until the halfway point at the same semibreve rest. At the end of each of these paired staves in the score of both Examples 1 and 2, Gumpelzhaimer supplies a custos mark and a picture of a hand with an index finger pointing to the adjacent stave in the set. All the canonic parts are treated in the same manner in Gumpelzhaimer's 1625 score.

Gumpelzhaimer's hand symbols and their index fingers designate the paired sets of staves in his score and the custos mark at the end of each stave in these paired stave sets corresponds to the musical note printed at both the beginning and end of its adjacent stave. The paired stave set on the first and second staves in Gumpelzhaimer's score in Example 2 will illustrate these points. The first stave of this set ends with a custos mark on e^2 and its subsequent hand symbol directs singers to the second stave where both its first and last notes match the pitch of the aforementioned custos mark. Likewise, the second stave of this set ends with a custos mark on g^2 and its subsequent hand symbol instructs singers to move to the first stave where its first and last notes correspond to the pitch of the relevant custos mark. Theoretically the custos marks permit two possible interpretations, though only one reflects Gumpelzhaimer's intentions.

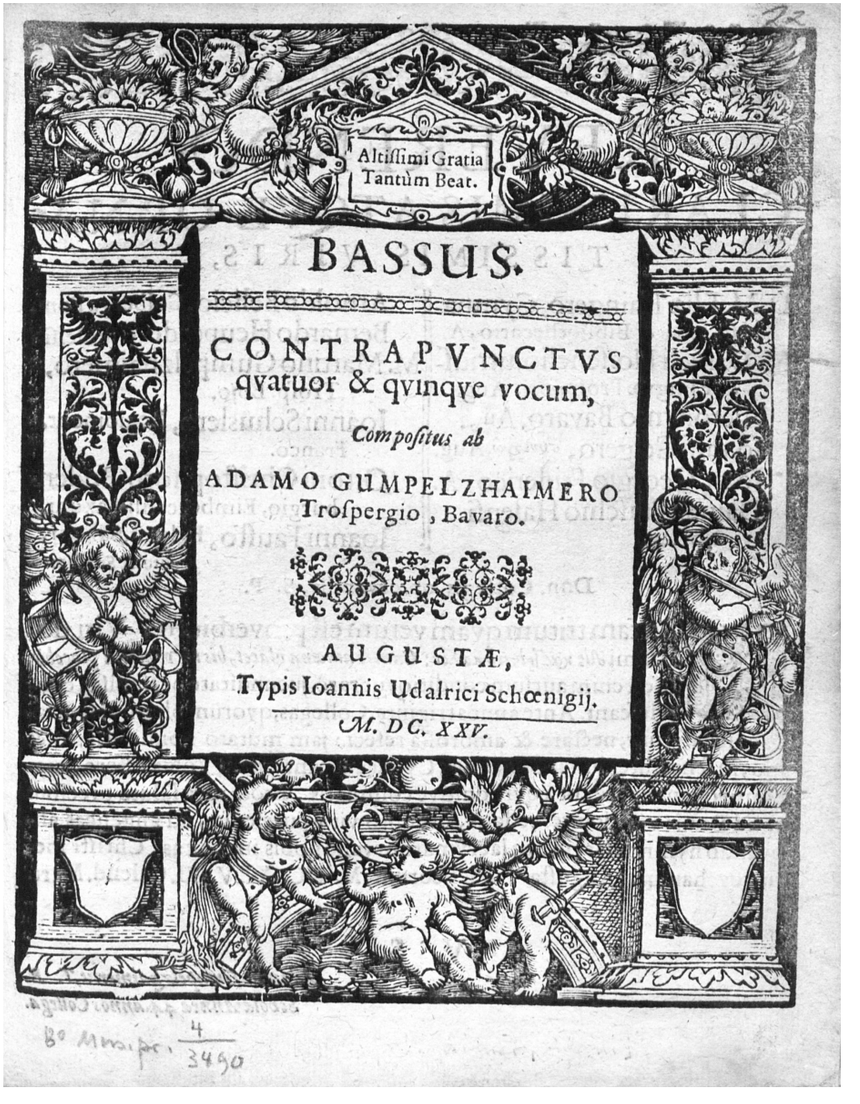
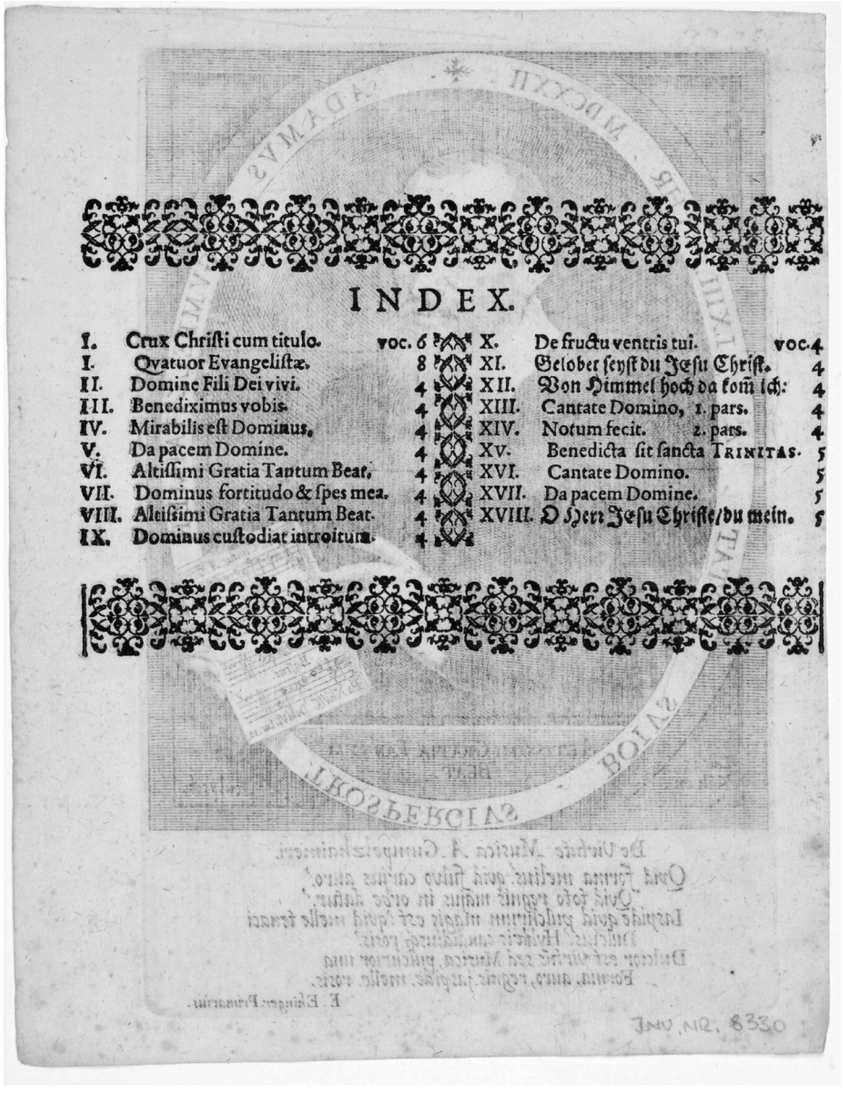


Plate 1. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus.pr. 3490, Beiband 4, Adam Gumpelzhaimer, Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum … *(Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1625; RISM series A/I, G 5138; RISM Online Catalogue; not cited in VD17), Bassus partbook, title page; reproduced with kind permission.*



INDEX.

I.	Crux Christi cum titulo.	voc. 6	X.	De fructu ventris tui.	voc.	4
I.	Qvatuor Evangeliſtæ.	8	XI.	Gelobet ſeyſt du Jeſu Chriſt.		4
II.	Domine Fili Dei vivi.	4	XII.	Von Himmel hoch da kom ich:		4
III.	Benedixímus vobis.	4	XIII.	Cantate Domino, 1. pars.		4
IV.	Mirabilis eſt Dominus.	4	XIV.	Notum fecit. 2. pars.		4
V.	Da pacem Domine.	4	XV.	Benedicta ſit ſancta TRINITAS.		5
VI.	Alteſſimi Gratia Tantum Beat.	4	XVI.	Cantate Domino.		5
VII.	Dominus fortitudo & ſpes mea.	4	XVII.	Da pacem Domine.		5
VIII.	Alteſſimi Gratia Tantum Beat.	4	XVIII.	O Herr Jeſu Chriſte/du mein.		5
IX.	Dominus cuſtodiat introitum.	4				

Plate 2. Museum Wasserburg am Inn, Inv.-No. 8330, [Adam Gumpelzhaimer, Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum … *(Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1625; RISM series A/I, G 5138; RISM Online Catalogue; not cited in VD17)], leaf from one of its unspecified partbooks, verso, 'INDEX'; an engraving by Lucas Kilian dated 1622 with a portrait of Adam Gumpelzhaimer is printed on its recto and is partly visible through the paper; reproduced with kind permission.*

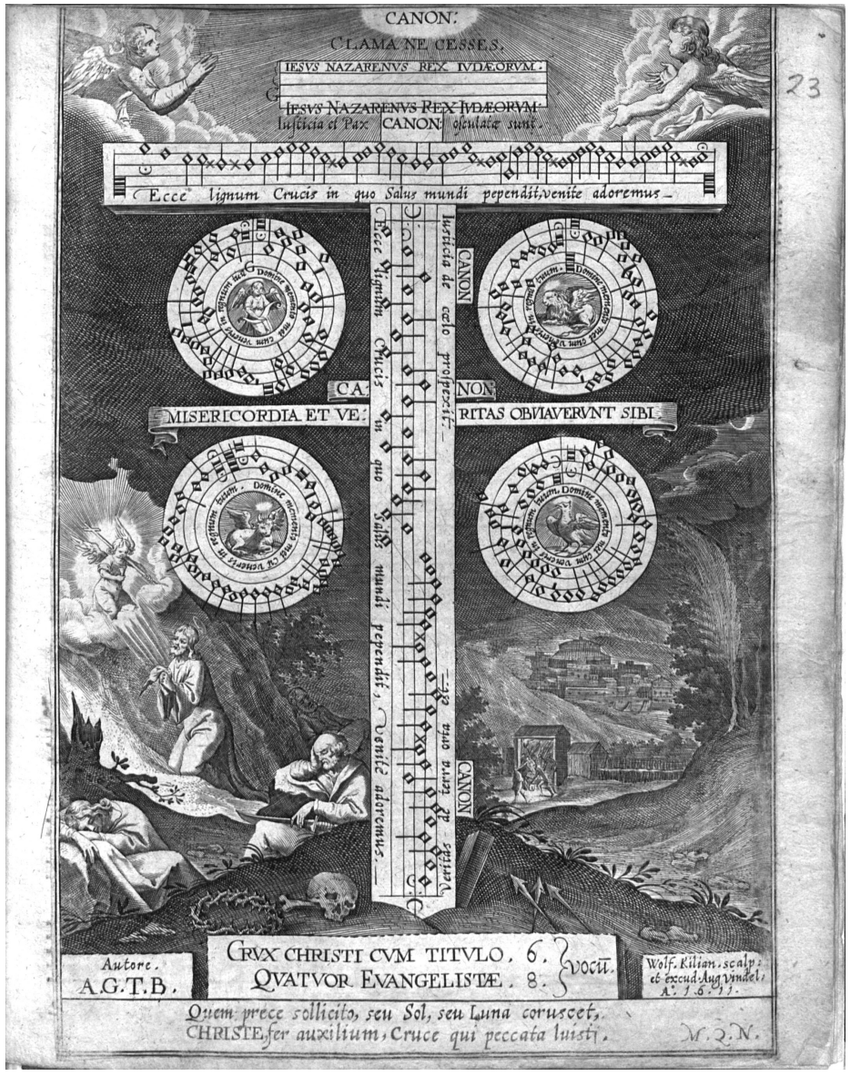
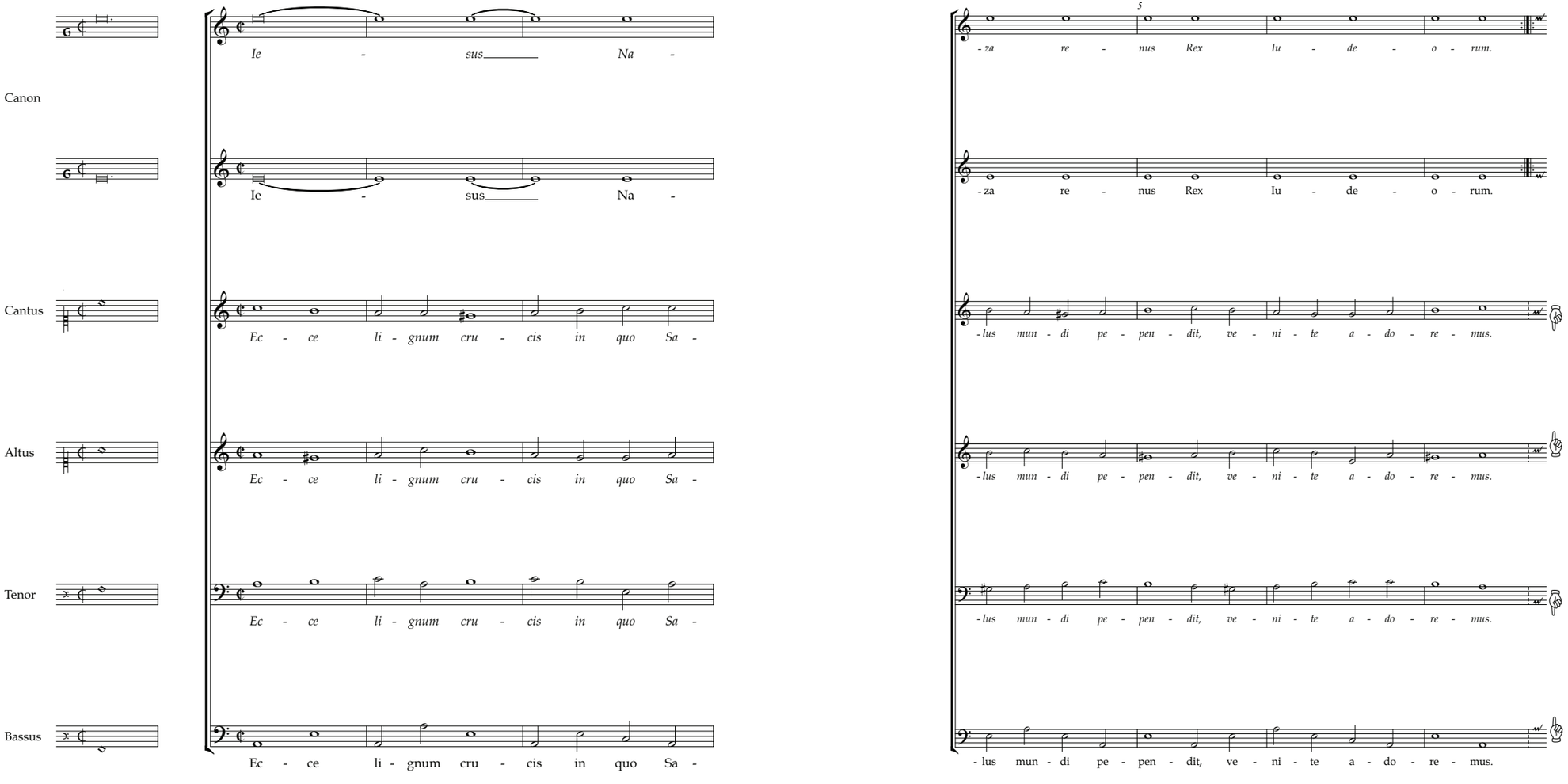


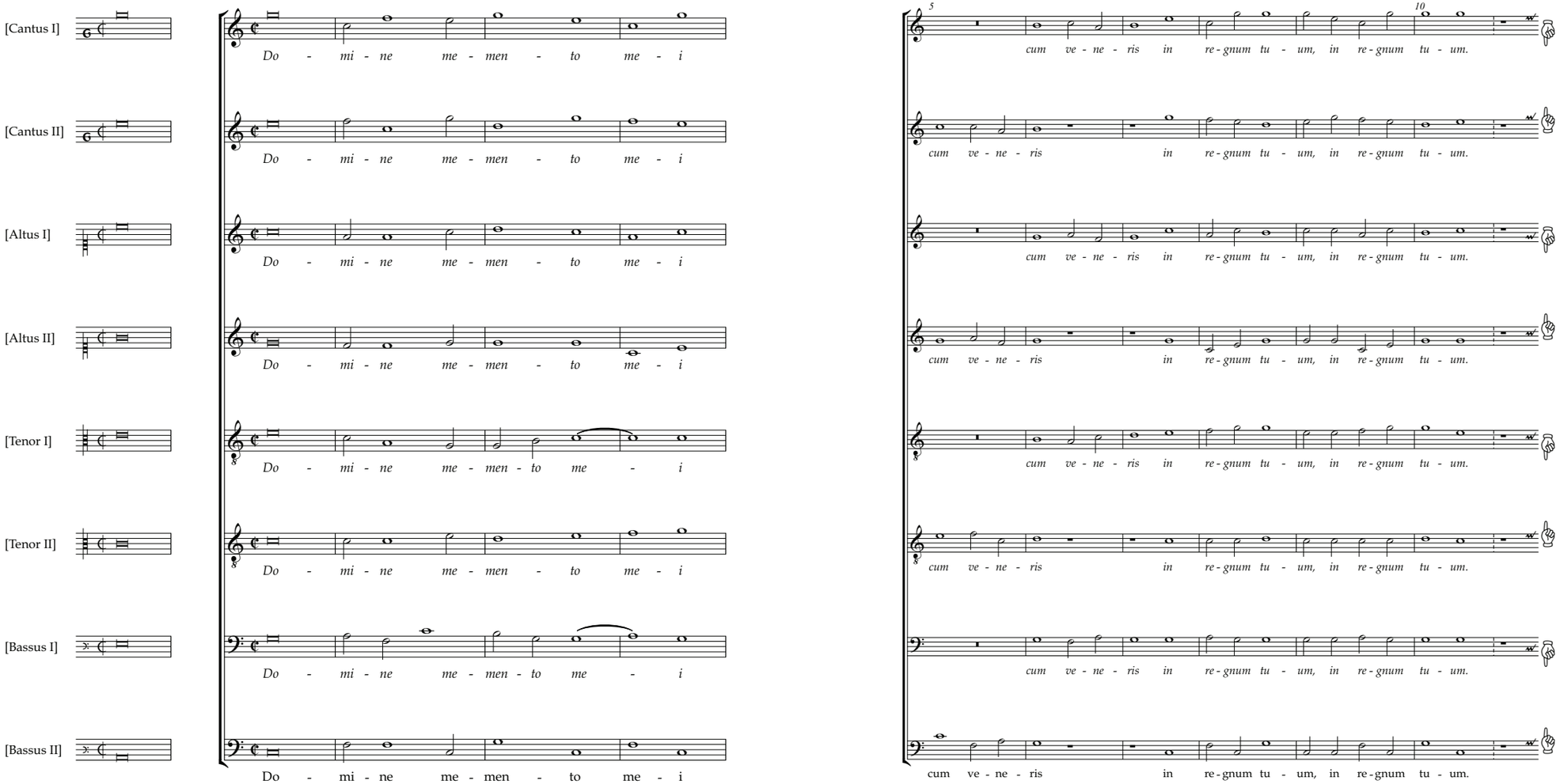
Plate 3. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus.pr. 3490, Beiband 4, Adam Gumpelzhaimer, Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum … *(Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1625; RISM series A/I, G 5138; RISM Online Catalogue; not cited in VD17), Bassus partbook, signature [A 2]', engraving by Wolfgang Kilian dated 1611 with two canons by Adam Gumpelzhaimer; reproduced with kind permission.*

Adam Gumpelzhaimer
Resolutio Crucis Christi cum Titulo.
6. vocum. Clama ne cesses.



Example 1. Adam Gumpelzhaimer's score of his Resolutio Crucis Christi cum Titulo. 6. vocum. Clama ne cesses.

Adam Gumpelzhaimer
8. voc. Resolutio 4. Evangelistarum.



Example 2. Adam Gumpelzhaimer's score of his 8. voc. Resolutio 4. Evangelistarum.

The first interpretation involves using the score to produce a retrograde canon of each work consistent with their portrayal in Kilian's engraving and its precursors. In these circumstances, all the parts with hand symbols in the score would have to be performed in a forwards direction from left to right and when they reach the end, the custos marks would have to be treated as applying to the end notes on their next staves and the music there would have to be performed in a backwards direction from right to left. Applying the latter approach to the score, however, would be impractical, for singers would have to avoid instinctively moving in the wrong direction when trying to sing backwards. The same applies to the text underlay in the score because it only reads from left to right and the prospect of singers having to juggle performing their second halves backwards while working out what text to use would challenge the most accomplished musicians.[23] A possible solution would be to make manuscript copies in which the music was rearranged so all of it moved in a forwards direction and text underlay was supplied throughout. Obliging musicians to make manuscript copies, however, would be incompatible with the purpose of the edition. For Gumpelzhaimer's 1625 edition was designed for performers and consequently needed to be as complete as possible. In view of the previous points, it would make little sense to believe that Gumpelzhaimer had the above method in mind when he made his score.

Rather the score confirms that Gumpelzhaimer wanted singers to use a different approach, one that has previously been unnoticed in the literature about these two canons. Applying it requires the music on all the staves with hand symbols to be performed in a forwards direction and the custos marks at the end of the staves to apply to the beginning of the music on their respective adjacent staves and continue in a forwards direction. Using the score in this manner enables ongoing movement from stave to stave in each set until a moderator terminates the process. Significantly, this approach treats the score as complete and makes it suitable for singers.

Oher evidence establishes that Gumpelzhaimer was thinking of this method when he made his score. Custos marks are used extensively in printed and manuscript sources of the period and signify that musicians should move to the beginning of their next staves. Exactly the same occurs in Gumpelzhaimer's autograph scores and printed editions and there is every reason to believe that he wanted

[23] The canons in the early art works are presented differently, though singers would still find them unsuitable for performance. The first canon in the early art works is in table book format though it is incomplete. Using the early art works to perform the second canon would be difficult because some singers would still have to sing backwards and somehow apply the text underlay.

the custos marks in his 1625 score of the two canons to be treated in precisely the same manner. Moreover, Gumpelzhaimer's two uppermost parts in the first canon are explicit; see Example 1. For in his score, Gumpelzhaimer concludes each of these top two parts with a repeat sign and a custos mark, which instruct the singers to return to the first note at the beginning of their respective staves and continue singing forwards. Since Gumpelzhaimer directs the musicians to perform all the music in these top two parts in a forwards direction, we can be reasonably confident that he wanted all the music in his score to be performed in the same direction.

Gumpelzhaimer's two canons have been published in four modern editions. The first edition was produced by Otto Mayr in 1909 and was based on Wolfgang Kilian's 1611 engraving and includes both canons.[24] The next edition was made by Eberhard Bonitz and published in 1963, though it only contains the first canon and was based on an engraving.[25] A further edition was published in 1974 by Wil Dekker and contains both canons and was based on Alexander Mair's 1604 woodcut.[26] The fourth and last edition was produced by Katelijne Schiltz and published in 2015, it contains both canons and appears to have been based on the 1611 engraving by Wolfgang Kilian.[27] These modern editions treat the works as retrograde canons and the scholars who made them were unaware of Gumpelzhaimer's 1625 score and its new evidence.

The modern editions mentioned above misrepresent elements of the works. This is especially apparent in the first canon, the *Crux Christi cum Titulo*. In the relevant art works, the top two parts of the first canon are spread over one stave

[24] Otto Mayr, *Adam Gumpelzhaimer: Ausgewählte Werke*, pp. 4–6, Nos. III and IV; for a reproduction of Kilian's engraving and relevant comments see pp. viii, xliii and lxvii.

[25] *Adam Gumpelzhaimer (1559–1625): Herr Jesu Christ, wahr Mensch und Gott*; *O elend Menschenkind*; *Ecce lignum Crucis. Gregor Aichinger (1564–1628): O Domine Jesu Christe*, ed. Eberhard Bonitz, Die Chorstunde, vols. 53–54 (Tübingen, 1963), 21of. Bonitz indicates that his edition of Gumpelzhaimer's canon was based on an engraving in the first edition of Adam Gumpelzhaimer's *Compendium musicae …* (Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1591; RISM series A/I, G 5116 and GG 5116; RISM series B/I, 1591[26]; RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, p. 387; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD16). However, the canon was never included in Gumpelzhaimer's 1591 edition. The work made its first appearance in the second edition of 1595, copies of which include the engraving made by Dominicus Custos dated 1595.

[26] Wil Dekker, 'Ein Karfreitagsrätselkanon', 323–32; for a relevant reproduction, see p. 324; both canons are edited on pp. 327–31.

[27] Katelijne Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2015), 322–4; a copy of Wolfgang Kilian's 1611 engraving appears on page 320. On page 319, note 98, Schiltz comments on Otto Mayr's 1909 edition of the second canon and indicates that Mayr 'mistakenly interprets the clef of the two upper voices as c1'. In fact Mayr interprets Gumpelzhaimer's clef and the music of these two parts correctly: Mayr uses a G clef on the lowest stave line exactly as Gumpelzhaimer does in Kilian's engraving.

and their pitches, an octave apart, are implied by the position of the text, and their music material is unspecified. Consequently when Otto Mayr produced the first modern edition in 1909, he supplied his own version of the musical and rhythmic notation in these two parts and set them to a single statement of the text. Bonitz and Schiltz copied Mayr's speculative notation and single use of the text. Dekker also stated the text once, though he made no attempt to interpret the rhythmic notation. Gumpelzhaimer's 1625 score, on the other hand, supplies the actual musical and rhythmic notation in the top two parts and it differs markedly from that in the four modern editions. In addition, Gumpelzhaimer's score repeats the text and music whereas the modern editions only state their text and speculative musical notation once.

Furthermore, the modern editions misrepresent the text underlay in the lower four parts of the first canon. In the early art works, the text underlay is stated once and it is loosely spread over each part. The same occurs in the modern editions, which make extensive use of melismas in order to extend the text for the duration of the music. Gumpelzhaimer's 1625 score, on the other hand, treats the text differently because he repeats the complete text in each of these four parts and makes no use of melismas. The musical structure necessitates using the text twice and no doubt if more space had been available in the early art works, they, too, would have repeated the text.

In contrast and in one respect, the modern editions of the second canon, the *Quatuor Evangelistae*, differ from the early art works and do so correctly. For the text underlay with this canon is only stated once in each circle in the early art works even though the music suggests that two statements are needed. Doubtless the text would have appeared twice if more space had been available and if the circles had been larger, but in their existing format the early art works barely have enough space for their sole statements. Taking his cue from Gumpelzhaimer's music, Otto Mayr underlaid the text twice in each part in his edition, and Dekker and Schiltz followed Mayr's example in their editions. The matter is settled in Gumpelzhaimer's 1625 score, for the composer confirms that the text has to be used twice in each part.

Despite the above comments, the modern editions misrepresent some aspects of the second canon. A few musical notes in some of the modern editions differ from those in Gumpelzhaimer's score, though they largely reflect the material in the art works used as their templates. The text underlay is another area of difference. For in almost all cases in Gumpelzhaimer's 1625 score, the composer assigns each note to a dedicated syllable, whereas in some places in the modern editions, the editors spread selected syllables over more than one note and use melismas.

* * *

Adam Gumpelzhaimer's 1625 score represents an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of his two canons, not least because it reveals that he treated their music differently.[28] For instead of presenting them as retrograde canons as occurs in the earlier sources, Gumpelzhaimer reorganized their music and turned them into perpetual canons. It is tempting to wonder whether Gumpelzhaimer considered treating them as perpetual canons decades earlier because the first and most prominent rubric in virtually all the early sources of the two canons is 'Clama ne cesses' ('Cry, cease not'). Although his rubric indicates that the two upper parts in the first canon need to be sung continuously, Gumpelzhaimer might have intended it to apply to all the music of both canons. Whatever the actual situation, Gumpelzhaimer clearly viewed the instruction as significant because it is the only one he chose to retain and print in his 1625 score which illuminates his revised treatment of the works.

Gumpelzhaimer most probably added his score to his 1625 edition because he wanted to make musicians aware of his revised method of performing the two canons and preserve his final thoughts about the compositions. Certainly, by the time his score was published towards the end of his life, he wanted to help musicians understand the works and ensure that they treated them as perpetual canons.

[28] Adam Gumpelzhaimer revised other canons he composed, some of which are cited in Appendix I.

Appendices

The following italicized abbreviations are used in Appendices I and II to refer to editions by Adam Gumpelzhaimer.

Compendium musicae
Adam Gumpelzhaimer's music treatise was published in thirteen editions issued in 1591, 1595, 1600, 1605, 1611, 1616, 1618, 1625, 1632, 1646, 1655, 1675, and 1681. Four editions attract specific comment.

Compendium musicae 1595
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Compendium musicae latino-germanicum* …, 2nd edn. (Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1595; RISM series A/I, G 5117 and GG 5117; RISM series B/I, 1595[14]; RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, p. 387; *RISM Online Catalogue*; VD16 G 4114), and relevant subsequent editions.

Compendium musicae 1600
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Compendium musicae latino-germanicum* …, 3rd edn. (Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1600; RISM series A/I, G 5118 and GG 5118; RISM series B/I, 1600[10]; RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, p. 387; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD16), and relevant subsequent editions.

Compendium musicae 1611
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Compendium musicae latino-germanicum* …, 5th edn. (Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1611; RISM series A/I, G 5120; RISM series B/I, 1611[22]; RISM series B/VI, p. 388; *RISM Online Catalogue*; VD17 1:644976R), and relevant subsequent editions.

Compendium musicae 1625
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Compendium musicae latino-germanicum* …, 8th edn. (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1625; RISM series A/I, G 5123; RISM series B/I, 1625[13]; RISM series B/VI, vol. 1, p. 388; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17), and relevant subsequent editions.

Contrapunctus 1595
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum* … (Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1595; RISM series A/I, G 5137; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD16).

Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Lustgärtlins, Teutsch und Lateinischer Geistlicher Lieder, Erster Theil* … (Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1611; RISM series A/I, G 5130; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17).

Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1611
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Lustgärtlins, Teutsch und Lateinischer Geistlicher Lieder, Ander Theil* … (Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1611; RISM series A/I, G 5132; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17).

Sacrorum Liber Secundus 1614
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Sacrorum concentuum octonis vocibus modulandorum cum duplici Basso ad Organorum usum … Liber secundus …* (Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1614; RISM series A/I, G 5143; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17).

Partitio Sacrorum Liber Secundus 1614
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Partitio sacrorum concentuum octonis vocibus modulandorum, cum duplici Basso ad Organorum usum … Liber secundus …* (Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1614; RISM series A/I, G 5143; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17).

Weihenacht 1618
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Zwai schöne Weihenacht Lieder, von der Geburt unsers lieben Herrn und Hailands Jesu Christi …* (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1618; RISM series A/I, G 5147 and GG 5147; RISM series B/VIII, 1618[11]; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17).

Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1619
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Lustgärtlins, Teutsch und Lateinischer Geistlicher Lieder, Erster Theil …* (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1619; RISM series A/I, G 5131; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17).

Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Lustgärtlins, Teutsch und Lateinischer Geistlicher Lieder, Ander Theil …* (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1619; RISM series A/I, G 5133; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17).

Wurtzgärtlins Erster Theil 1619
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Wurtzgärtlins, Teütsch und Lateinischer Geistlich-*

er Lieder, Erster Theil, nach Art der Welschen Canzonen, mit vier Stimmen … (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1619; RISM series A/I, G 5135; RISM series B/VIII, 1619[13]; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17).

Wurtzgärtlins Ander Theil 1619
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Wurtzgärtlins, Teütsch und Lateinischer Geistlicher Lieder, Ander Theil, Mit vier Stimmen …* (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1619; RISM series A/I, G 5136; RISM series B/VIII, 1619[13]; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17).

Contrapunctus 1625
Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum …* (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1625; RISM series A/I, G 5138; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17).

Appendix I

Incidental Canons by Adam Gumpelzhaimer

Most of Adam Gumpelzhaimer's canons were published in his music treatise *Compendium musicae*. The remainder are mainly preserved in autograph sources and in other editions he produced. This appendix only covers the incidental canons in his other editions. These canons have been largely ignored in the musicological literature in part because the early music editions treat them as incidental works and omit them from their indexes. Some of the canons are incorporated into the art work on individual title pages and others occupy otherwise unused spaces in certain editions.[29] *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611* and *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1611* survive incompletely: copies of their Cantus partbooks are preserved in various locations, but the sole copies of their Tenor and Bassus partbooks in Dresden have been so comprehensively damaged that nothing can be determined from them. Nonetheless, their Tenor and Bassus partbooks almost certainly contained incidental canons like their 1619 reprints. The concordances mentioned here are confined to Gumpelzhaimer's editions; other sources are not mentioned. Relevant abbreviations are explained above.

[29] This appendix omits an incidental canon which Gumpelzhaimer included on an intermediary title page in his *Compendium musicae*. It is a circle canon and is omitted because it was written by the Lutheran composer Sixt Dietrich (c.1493–1548); Gumpelzhaimer attributes it using the composer's initials and dates it 1540. The title page with Dietrich's canon is only included in the 1595 and 1600 editions of Gumpelzhaimer's *Compendium musicae* and precedes a group of sacred bicinia. All editions of the *Compendium musicae* include a bicinia section, though the title page in the first edition of 1591 lacks Dietrich's canon and the editions published after 1600 omit the relevant title page. For a reproduction of the 1595 title page and comments about Dietrich's canon, see Dieter Gutknecht, *Musik als Bild*, [14]–22.

No.	*Details*
1.	*Text*: 'IehoVae Deo saCrVM.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 6. voc: Qvaere & invenies.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*, Cantus, [Tenor, and Bassus], top of the title pages. *Concordances*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'Miserere nostri Domine', in his *Compendium musicae 1611*, fol. 72^{v}, and its subsequent editions. Again with minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in another canon set to different words, 'IVbILeMVs Deo LIngVIs'; see No. 7 below. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1611. The present canon mirrors the music in no. 2 below.
2.	*Text*: 'LaVDet te Mens & LIngVa.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 6. voc: Qvaere & invenies.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*, Cantus, [Tenor, and Bassus], bottom of the title pages. *Concordances*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'Miserere mei Domine', in his *Compendium musicae 1611*, fol. 72^{v}, and its subsequent editions. Again with minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used its music in another canon set to different words, 'LaVDent IesVM LIngVIs bonI'; see No. 8 below. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1611. The present canon mirrors the music in no. 1 above.
3.	*Text*: 'DoMInI nostrI IesV ChrIstI.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. voc. in hypodiatessaron.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1611*, Cantus, [Tenor, and Bassus], top of the title pages. *Concordance*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'In Lege DoMInI VoLVntas eIVs', see No. 9 below. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1611. The present canon largely mirrors the music in No. 6 below.
4.	*Text*: 'DeI spIrItVs sanCtI gratIa Me beabIt.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 8. voc. Contrarium amo.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1611*, Cantus, [Tenor, and Bassus], left-hand side of the title pages. *Concordances*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'Non timebo multa millia populi, circumdantisme', in his *Compendium musicae 1611*, fol. 74^{v}, and its subsequent editions. Again with minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used its music in another canon set to different words, 'SAnCta trInItas VnVs DeVs MIserere nostrI'; see No. 11 below. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1611.

5.	*Text*: 'SVffICIt MIhI gratIa DeI.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 5. [voc.] in unisono. 2 Cor. 12.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1611*, Cantus, [Tenor and Bassus], right-hand side of the title pages. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1611 and is taken from the Vulgate, Second Corinthians, chapter 12, verse 9.
6.	*Text*: 'Vna gratIa nos seMper DVCat.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. voc. in hyperdiatessaron.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1611*, Cantus, [Tenor and Bassus], bottom of the title pages. *Concordance*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'SVrsVM CorDa Vos pII erIgIte'; see No. 10 below. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1611. The present canon largely mirrors the music in no. 3 above.
7.	*Text*: 'IVbILeMVs Deo LIngVIs.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 6. voc. Qvaere & invenies.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1619*, Cantus, Tenor and Bassus, top of the title pages. *Concordances*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'Miserere nostri Domine', in his *Compendium musicae 1611*, fol. 72^{v}, and its subsequent editions. Again with minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in another canon set to different words, 'Iehovae Deo saCrVM'; see No. 1 above. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1619. The present canon mirrors the music in No. 8 below.
8.	*Text*: 'LaVDent IesVM LIngVIs bonI.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 6. voc. Qvaere & invenies.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1619*, Cantus, Tenor and Bassus, bottom of the title pages. *Concordances*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'Miserere mei Domine', in his *Compendium musicae 1611*, fol. 72^{v}, and its subsequent editions. Again with minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used its music in another canon set to different words, 'LaVDet te Mens & LIngVa'; see No. 2 above. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1619. The present canon mirrors the music in No. 7 above.
9.	*Text*: 'In Lege DoMInI VoLVntas eIVs.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. voc. in hypodiatessaron.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Cantus, Tenor and Bassus, top of the title pages. *Concordance*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'DoMInI nostrI IesV ChrIstI', see No. 3 above. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1619 and is taken from the Vulgate, Psalm 1, verse 2. The present canon largely mirrors the music in No. 10 below.

10.	*Text*: 'SVrsVM CorDa Vos pII erIgIte.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. voc. in hyperdiatessaron.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Cantus, Tenor and Bassus, bottom of the title pages. *Concordance*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'Vna gratIa nos seMper DVCat', see No. 6 above. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1619. The present canon largely mirrors the music in No. 9 above.
11.	*Text*: 'SAnCta trInItas VnVs DeVs MIserere nostrI.'‘ *Rubric*: 'Fuga 8. voc. Canon: Contrarium amo.' *Sources Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1619*, Tenor and Bassus partbooks, below No. I. *Concordances*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'Non timebo multa millia populi, circumdantisme', in his *Compendium musicae 1611*, fol. 74^{v}, and its subsequent editions. Again with minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used its music in another canon set to different words, 'DeI spIrItVs sanCtI gratIa Me beabIt'; see No. 4 above. It is likely that the canon, though set to a different text with a chronogram for 1611, appeared in the Tenor and Bassus partbooks of Gumpelzhaimer's *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1619.
12.	*Text*: 'Christ ist erstanden / von todes banden / des freüet sich der Engel schar.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 6. voc.' *Sources*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1611* and *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Cantus, below No. XV. *Concordance*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'QVI SIbI VIDetVr stare VIDeat ne CaDat', in his *Compendium musicae 1625*, fol. 16^{v}, and its subsequent editions; the latter text includes a chronogram for 1625.
13.	*Text*: 'DeVs nobIsCVM.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. voc.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1611*, Cantus, below No. XVI. *Concordances*: With some adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in two canons set to another text, 'VEnIt IVDICIVM'; see Nos. 14 and 19 below. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1611.
14.	*Text*: 'VEnIt IVDICIVM.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. Voc.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Cantus, below No. XVI. *Concordances*: With some adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in two canons set to different or the same texts, 'DeVs nobIsCVM' (see No. 13 above) and 'VEnIt IVDICIVM' (see No. 19 below). *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1619.

15.	*Text*: 'SAcrificate sacrificium justiciae & sperate in Domino, in Domino.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 5. voc. in unisono.' *Sources*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1611* and *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Cantus, below No. XIX. *Concordance*: Gumpelzhaimer used a shorter version of the music and text in another canon; see No. 25 below.
16.	*Text*: 'VAtter vnser im[m] Him[m]elreich / der du vns alle heissest gleich / Brüd[er] sein vnd dich rüffen an / Vnd wilt d[as] beten von vns han.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 5. voc.' *Sources*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1611* and *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Cantus, below No. XX.
17.	*Texts*: 'NVn bitten wir den heilgen Geist / Vm[b] den rechten glauben aller meist.' 'Sanctum rogemus Spiritum, Veram fidem det in Deum.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 5. voc. in unisono.' *Sources*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1611* and *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Cantus, below No. XXV. *Commentary*: This macaronic canon is set to both German and Latin texts.
18.	*Text*: 'IVbilate Deo omnis terra.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 5. Voc.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Tenor, below No. XV. *Concordances*: With some adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a four-voice canon set to the same text; see No. 23 below. It is likely that the canon appeared in the Tenor partbook of Gumpelzhaimer's *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*.
19.	*Text*: 'VEnIt IVDICIVM.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 6. Voc. in subdiatesseron.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Tenor, below No. XVI. *Concordances*: With some adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in two canons set to different or the same texts, 'DeVs nobIsCVM' (see No. 13 above) and 'VEnIt IVDICIVM' (see No. 14 above). It is likely that the present canon, though set to a different text with a chronogram for 1611, appeared in the Tenor partbook of Gumpelzhaimer's *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1619.
20.	*Text*: 'SanCtVs & DeVs MIserere.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 5. voc. in unisono.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Tenor, below No. XIX. *Concordances*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'Dominus protector meus, protector meus', in his *Compendium musicae 1600*, fol. 61^{v}, and its subsequent editions. In view of its chronogram, the present canon must have appeared in the Tenor partbook of Gumpelzhaimer's *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1611.

21.	*Text*: 'O Herr JESV Christ vnser zustucht bist / Im[m] lebn vnd sterben / lass nicht verderben.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. Voc.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Tenor, below No. XX. *Concordance*: It is likely that the present canon appeared in the Tenor partbook of Gumpelzhaimer's *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*.
22.	*Texts*: 'KOm[m] heiliger Geist / Herre Gott / Erfül mit deiner Gnaden güt / Deiner glaubigen hertz.' 'Adesto Sancte Spiritus, Tu isq[ue] replegratiis, Mentes fidelium.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 3. voc. in unisono.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Tenor, below No. XXV. *Concordances*: Gumpelzhaimer used a longer version of the music and text in another canon; see No. 27 below. It is likely that the present canon appeared in the Tenor partbook of Gumpelzhaimer's *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*. *Commentary*: This macaronic canon is set to both German and Latin texts.
23.	*Text*: 'IVbilate Deo omnis terra.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. Voc.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Bassus, below No. XV. *Concordances*: With some adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a five-voice canon set to the same text; see No. 18 above. It is likely that the present canon appeared in the Bassus partbook of Gumpelzhaimer's *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*.
24.	*Text*: 'ChrIste IVDeX noster MItIs esto.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 5. Voc.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Bassus, below No. XVI. *Concordance*: It is likely that the canon, though set to a different text with a chronogram for 1611, appeared in the Bassus partbook of Gumpelzhaimer's *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1619.
25.	*Text*: 'SAcrificate sacrificium justiciae & sperate in Domino.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. voc. in unisono.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Bassus, below No. XIX. *Concordances*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'Dess Herren aVge sIhet aVf DIe so Ihn fürChte[n] DIe aVF seIn gVte hoffe[n]', in his *Compendium musicae 1625*, fol. 16^{v}, and its subsequent editions; the latter text includes a chronogram for 1625. Gumpelzhaimer used a longer version of the music and text in another canon; see No. 15 above. It is likely that the canon appeared in the Bassus partbook of Gumpelzhaimer's *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*.
26.	*Text*: 'CHrist ist mein auffendhalt vnd leben / Er wirdt mir vnd alln glaubing geben / Nach dem das Ewig seelig leben.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 3. Voc.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Bassus, below No. XX. *Concordance*: It is likely that the canon appeared in the Bassus partbook of Gumpelzhaimer's *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*.

27.	*Texts*: 'KOm[m] heiliger Geist / Herre Gott / Erfül mit deiner Gnaden güt / Deiner glaubigen hertz müt vn[d] sin[d]/ Dein brünstig lieb enzündt in ihnen.' 'Adesto Sancte Spiritus, Tu isq[ue] replegratiis, Mentes fidelium sacris Amoris accendas his ignem.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. voc. in unisono.' *Source*: *Lustgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Bassus, below No. XXV. *Concordances*: Gumpelzhaimer used a shorter version of the music and text in another canon; see No. 22 above. It is likely that the present canon appeared in the Bassus partbook of Gumpelzhaimer's *Lustgärtlins Erster Theil 1611*. *Commentary*: This macaronic canon is set to both German and Latin texts.
28.	*Text*: 'ReX PIe IVDICabIs Me.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. voc. in hypodiatessaron.' *Source*: *Wurtzgärtlins Erster Theil 1619*, Cantus, Altus, Tenor and Bassus, top of the title pages. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1619. The rubric only appears in the Altus and Bassus partbooks. A lower-case 'x' is used in the first word in the text underlay in the Cantus and Tenor partbooks; the others have an upper-case letter. The present canon mirrors the music in No. 29 below.
29.	*Text*: 'IVDeX ChrIste MItIs esto.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. voc. in hyperdiatessaron.' *Source*: *Wurtzgärtlins Erster Theil 1619*, Cantus, Altus, Tenor and Bassus, bottom of the title pages. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1619. The rubric only appears in the Altus and Bassus partbooks. The present canon mirrors the music in No. 28 above.
30.	*Text*: 'IVDICIVM qVaerIte.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 4. voc. in hypodiapente.' *Source*: *Wurtzgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Cantus, Altus, Tenor and Bassus, top of the title pages. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1619.
31.	*Text*: 'IVDICIVM VenIet.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 5. voc. in homophonia.' *Source*: *Wurtzgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, Cantus, Altus, Tenor and Bassus, bottom of the title pages. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1619.
32.	*Text*: 'BeatI oMnes qVI ConfIDVnt In eo.' *Rubric*: '8. Vocum.' *Source*: *Sacrorum Liber Secundus 1614*, Cantus I. Chori, Altus I. Chori, Tenor I. Chori, Bassus I. Chori, Cantus II. Chori, Altus II. Chori, Tenor II. Chori and Bassus II. Chori, bottom of the title pages. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1614.

33.	*Text*: 'Praesta qVICqVID p[er]MIserIs, [ditto mark] praesta.' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 6. Voc.' *Source*: *Partitio Sacrorum Liber Secundus 1614*, bottom of the title page. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1614.
34.	*Text*: 'EIne MIt Den gefäLLt seIn WeIs. [ditto mark.]' *Rubric*: 'Fuga 6. Voc:' *Source*: *Partitio Sacrorum Liber Secundus 1614*, signature [A 1]^{v}, bottom of the page. *Concordances*: With minor adjustments, Gumpelzhaimer used the music in a canon set to another text, 'Ascendo ad Patrem meum & Patrem vestrum', in his *Compendium musicae 1611*, fol. 75^{v}, and its subsequent editions. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1614.
35.	*Text*: 'DeVs IMperIa transfert & ConstItVIt.' *Rubric*: [None]. *Source*: *Partitio Sacrorum Liber Secundus 1614*, below No. XXIII. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1614. This canon is composed for six voices. A setting of the same text with different music appears at No. 36 below.
36.	*Text*: 'DeVs IMperIa transfert & ConstItVIt.' *Rubric*: [None]. *Source*: *Partitio Sacrorum Liber Secundus 1614*, below No. XXIIII. *Commentary*: The text includes a chronogram for 1614. This canon is composed for five voices. A setting of the same text with different music appears at No. 35 above.

Appendix II

The Contents of Adam Gumpelzhaimer's *Contrapunctus* Editions Published in 1595 and 1625

The two editions are related and their contents are indicated below. The concordances are confined to Gumpelzhaimer's editions; no concordances are indicated for the two canons in the 1625 edition and no mention is made of manuscript sources. Relevant abbreviations are explained above.

Gumpelzhaimer's editions reveal that he revised some of the compositions in this Appendix. Sometimes I indicate the extra sources in a commentary section, but mostly I cite them in a concordance section. Each of the relevant concordance sections concludes with a symbol indicating the distribution of the unrevised and revised versions. An explanation of the symbols follows:

* *Contrapunctus 1625* includes a unique and revised version of this work, though only one of its parts is extant, the Bassus; whereas the initial version appears in all the other sources or solely in *Contrapunctus 1595*.

** *Contrapunctus 1595* and copies of the *Compendium musicae* published between 1595 and 1618 include the initial version of this work; whereas *Contrapunctus 1625* (only one of its parts is extant, the Bassus) and copies of the *Compendium musicae* issued between 1625 and 1681 include the revised version.

*** The revised and unrevised versions of this work have the same Bassus part, it is a cantus firmus; while it is the only surviving part of this work in *Contrapunctus 1625*, all parts appear in the other sources; Gumpelzhaimer only revised the upper voices of this work; *Contrapunctus 1595* and copies of the *Compendium musicae* published between 1595 and 1618 include the initial version; whereas copies of the *Compendium musicae* issued between 1625 and 1681 include the revised version.

Section I: The 1595 Edition

Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum …* (Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1595; RISM series A/I, G 5137; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD16).

Nos.	*Contents*
[I].	*Title*: *Cantate Domino canticu[m] novum* (Prima pars; a 4). *Concordances*: *Compendium musicae 1595*, fols. 65^{v}–67^{r}, and its subsequent editions; *Contrapunctus 1625*, No. XIII.***

[II].	*Title*: *Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum* (Secunda pars; a 4). *Concordances*: *Compendium musicae 1595*, fols. 67^{v}–69^{r}, and its subsequent editions; and *Contrapunctus 1625*, No. XIV.***
[III].	*Title*: *Domine Fili Dei vivi miserere nostri* (a 4). *Concordances*: *Compendium musicae 1595*, fol. 1^{v}, and its subsequent editions; and *Contrapunctus 1625*, No. II.
[IV].	*Title*: *Benediximus vobis nomine Domini* (a 4). *Concordances*: *Compendium musicae 1595*, fol. 63^{r}, and its subsequent editions; and *Contrapunctus 1625*, No. III.*
[V].	*Title*: *Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris* (a 4). *Concordances*: *Compendium musicae 1595*, fol. 64^{v}, and its subsequent editions; and *Contrapunctus 1625*, No. V.**
[VI].	*Title*: *De fructu ventris tui* (a 4). *Concordances*: *Compendium musicae 1595*, fol. 64^{r}, and its subsequent editions; and *Contrapunctus 1625*, No. X.*
[VII].	*Title*: *Altissimi Gratia Tantum Beat.* (a 4). *Concordance*: *Contrapunctus 1625*, No. VIII.*
[VIII].	*Title*: *Da pacem D[omi]ne in diebus nostris* (a 5). *Concordances: Compendium musicae 1595*, fols. 73^{v}–74^{r}, and its subsequent editions; and *Contrapunctus 1625*, No. XVII.**
[IX].	*Title*: *Cantate Domino canticum novum* (a 5). *Concordances*: *Compendium musicae 1595*, fols. 69^{v}–73^{r}, and its subsequent editions; and *Contrapunctus 1625*, No. XVI.***

Section II: The 1625 Edition

Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Contrapunctus quatuor & quinque vocum …* (Augsburg: Johann Ulrich Schönigk, 1625; RISM series A/I, G 5138; *RISM Online Catalogue*; not cited in VD17).

Nos.	*Contents*
I[a].	*Title*: *Crux Christi cum Titulo* (a 6). *Commentary*: Wolfgang Kilian's 1611 engraving.
I[b].	*Title*: *Quatuor Evangelistae* (a 8). *Commentary*: Wolfgang Kilian's 1611 engraving.
II.	*Title*: *Domine Fili Dei vivi miserere nostri* (a 4). *Concordances*: *Contrapunctus 1595*, No. [III]; *Compendium musicae 1595*, fol. 1^{v}, and its subsequent editions.

III.	*Title*: *Benediximus vobis nomine Domini* (a 4). *Concordances*: *Contrapunctus 1595*, No. [IV]; *Compendium musicae 1595*, fol. 63^{r}, and its subsequent editions.*
IV.	*Title*: *Mirabilis est Dominus in operibus suis* (a 4).
V.	*Title*: *Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris* (a 4). *Concordances*: *Contrapunctus 1595*, No. [V]; *Compendium musicae 1595*, fol. 64^{v}, and its subsequent editions.**
VI.	*Title*: *Altissimi Gratia Tantum Beat.* (a 4).
VII.	*Title*: *Dominus fortitudo et spes mea* (a 4).
VIII.	*Title*: *Altissimi Gratia Tantum Beat.* (a 4). *Concordance*: *Contrapunctus 1595*, No. [VII].*
IX.	*Title*: *Dominus custodiat introitum tuum* (a 4).
X.	*Title*: *De fructu ventris tui* (a 4). *Concordances*: *Contrapunctus 1595*, No. [VI]; *Compendium musicae 1595*, fol. 64^{r}, and its subsequent editions.*
XI.	*Title*: *Gelobet seyst du Jesu Christ* (a 4). *Commentary*: The present work is a revised version of Gumpelzhaimer's four-part settings in *Weihenacht 1618*, No. 1, and *Wurtzgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, No. 2; a further four-part revised version appears in *Weihenacht 1618*, No. 2.
XII.	*Title*: *Von Himmel hoch da kom[m'] ich her* (a 4). *Commentary*: The present work differs from Gumpelzhaimer's six four-part settings published in *Weihenacht 1618*, Nos. 3–8, and from his single four-part setting in *Wurtzgärtlins Ander Theil 1619*, No. 1.
XIII.	*Title*: *Cantate Domino canticum novum* (Prima pars; a 4). *Concordances*: *Contrapunctus 1595*, No. [I]; *Compendium musicae 1595*, fols. 65^{v}–67^{r}, and its subsequent editions.***
XIV.	*Title*: *Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum* (Secunda pars; a 4). *Concordances*: *Contrapunctus 1595*, No. [II]; *Compendium musicae 1595*, fols. 67^{v}–69^{r}, and its subsequent editions.***
XV.	*Title*: *Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas* (a 5).
XVI.	*Title*: *Cantate Domino canticum novum* (a 5). *Concordances*: *Contrapunctus 1595*, No. [XI]; *Compendium musicae 1595*, fols. 69^{v}–73^{r}, and its subsequent editions.***
XVII.	*Title*: *Da pace[m] Domine in dieb[us] nostris* (a 5). *Concordances: Compendium musicae 1595,* fols. 73v–74r, and its subsequent editions; and *Contrapunctus 1595,* No. [VIII].**

XVIII.	*Title*: *O Herr Jesu Christe du mein getrewer Gott* (a 5). *Concordance*: *Wurtzgärtlins Erster Theil 1619*, No. 29. *Commentary*: The present work is a longer version of Gumpelzhaimer's setting in *Compendium musicae 1600*, fols. 2^{v}–3^{r}, and its subsequent editions.
[XIXa].	*Title*: *Resolutio Crucis Christi cum Titulo* (a 6). *Commentary*: Adam Gumpelzhaimer's score, see Example 1.
[XIXb].	*Title*: *Resolutio 4. Evangelistarum* (a 8). *Commentary*: Adam Gumpelzhaimer's score, see Example 2.

Abstract:

Adam Gumpelzhaimer (1559–1625) was a composer, music theorist, teacher, and a leading figure in the city of Augsburg. Most of his works comprise church compositions including motets and canons. His canons were written for performers and educational use and are variously scored for two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight voices. While most of them are easy to interpret, others are quite abstruse and some have been misunderstood. Until now the literature about two of his most popular canons has overlooked an important Gumpelzhaimer source and modern editions have misrepresented elements of the works. Preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, this hitherto neglected source contains invaluable information about the two canons and sheds new light on how Gumpelzhaimer treated their music.