A Note on the Source of Michel Beheim's
Ain gruss und ain lob der juncfrawen

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Sometime between 1461 and 1465/6, while in the service of Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg, Michel Beheim, the peripatetic poet-composer, versified and set to music a German prose version of the Ave ancilla trinitatis (Hail (Mary), Handmaid of the Trinity), which he named: Ain gruss und ain lob der juncfrawen Maria (A Salutation and Praise of the Virgin Mary). This song-poem, the precise source text for which has heretofore remained unidentified, follows here:

Pis grust, Maria, auss erwelt,
dienerin der hailgen drivelt,
tachter des vater gotes,
    Muter des sunes Jhesu Crist,
5 gespuns des hailgen gaistz du pist
    ain swester sunder spotes
    Der engel wunnesone.
    du pist unser fur sprecherin,
von den propheten du kungin,
10 der patriarchen frone,
    Der zwolf potn maisterin du pist,
lererin der ewangenlist.
dein wird ist unverhawen,
    Du trosterin der marterer,
15 gnadreicher prunn der peichtiger,
cron und czir der juncfrawen,
    Ain peschirmerin unde
    auffenthalterin aller der,
Opening his verses with a salutation to Mary, Beheim first identifies her with the Holy Trinity, then lists her many names and roles in salvation history: servant of the Trinity, daughter of God, Mother of Christ, spouse of the Holy Ghost, sister of the angels, advocate for humans, queen of the prophets and patriarchs, supervisor of the apostles, teacher of the evangelists, comforter of martyrs, fount of mercy for confessors, and crown of the virgins. He extols Mary as the intercessor and protector of all those seeking her aid. She is the glory of Jerusalem and joy of Israel, a shining light in heaven and on earth.
The devotional text ends with a threefold entreaty to the Virgin. He implores her: to grant him a pure and free conscience, thus making him pleasing in her sight; to inculcate multifold virtues in his heart; and to preserve his soul from wickedness.

Three triads underpin this song-poem, each evoking the Trinity. The first is the tripartite construction of the text (salutation, laudation, and supplication); the second divides the supplication itself into three parts (clear conscience, virtuous heart, preservation of the soul). And the third triad multiplies the number three by three for the purpose of cataloging the range of entities to whom the Virgin provides succor: angels, prophets, patriarchs, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, virgins and suffering sinners. Relying yet again on the number three, Beheim allot's his song 30 verses.

In his work, Michel Beheim devotes special attention to the veneration of the Virgin Mary, thus making his version of the Ave *ancilla trinitatis* no anomaly. He lauds her in almost 40 song-poems, roughly a tenth of his lyric production. The theme of the union of the Virgin and the Holy Trinity is prominent, as is the identification of Mary as the handmaid of the Lord, the *ancilla Domini* of Scripture. Familiar with the range of literary forms of Marian piety, Beheim seems to want to try his hand at each, for example, the antiphon *Salve regina* (no. 49), a paraphrase of the Lucan Annunciation (no. 117a), and the 72 names of Mary — one of which is *ancilla* (no. 304: 34). His aim is both to acquaint his audience with Mariological lore, which he delivers almost entirely in the vernacular, and to teach his audience when, and how, to pray to the Virgin, as the following excerpt illustrates:

Ich fleuh zu dir, du raine maist, ellipsis
wer ruhft dich ye an dem du ichcz
dein hilff tailest zu guote
In seiner not und swere?

[I humbly beseech thee, thou pure maiden...Anyone calling on thee will be granted help in his affliction and distress; no. 86: 61-7].
In treating the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* he was guided by this very dual purpose, instructing the faithful about Mary’s relationship to the Holy Trinity and other entities, and offering model invocations and salutations to the Queen of Heaven. There is scant secondary literature on the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* itself, and almost nothing on Beheim’s version of the prayer. Realizing how dependent Michel Beheim was on source texts of every variety, even prayers, the attempt will be made here to locate the (Latin) prayer on which he drew.

The *Ave ancilla trinitatis* is a celebration of Mary’s intimate connection to the Trinity and her status as the servant of the Lord. The term *ancilla* is taken directly from St. Luke’s account of the Annunciation in the Vulgate (1:38), it being Mary’s designation for herself as the handmaid of the Lord. The little scholarship on this prayer-type falsely identifies it as ‘arising in the 14th-century.’ Instead, as I have shown elsewhere, it has roots in the early medieval *Akathistos*, the Byzantine hymn to the Virgin. In Germany this prayer appears first, in Latin, in the 12th-century in Carthusian circles in the Mainz region. In the next century Mechthild von Magdeburg adapted it in the vernacular for one chapter, VII: 19, of her seminal mystical text, *Das fließende Licht der Gottheit* (after 1270).

Seeking out the generic place for the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* prayer, Nick Sandon calls it a ‘devotional text,’ then describes its general properties as ‘celebrating Mary’s attributes relative to various entities descending from the Trinity and its individual persons, through angels, prophets, patriarchs, evangelists, apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins to mankind...’ The repetitiveness of the text acts like a mantra or the steady contemplation of a religious image, and helps in the attainment of a state of devout concentration. The prayer combines an abundance of Marian predications (handmaid of the Trinity, daughter, mother, sister, spouse, advocate, queen, teacher, consoler, protector, and intercessor), with a petition for her intercession. It is thus a proclamation, and celebration, of the roles and dignities attached to Mary’s name. Michel Beheim set his version of the prayer to the strophic – and melodic – structure that he labels the *osterweis* (Easter tune), choosing this name because he deems the song-type appropriate to the paschal season. He thus creates a prayer anthem for the edification of a secular, specifically courtly audience, before which he performed the song-poem. A public
setting for the prayer goes directly counter to the practice in German lands of including the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* in manuscripts and prayerbooks, where it was intended for religious contemplation. We now know, as will become clear below, that Michel Beheim drew his song-poem from just such a 15th-century prayer collection, one presenting the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* under its Latin title, but then offering the 11 lines of text and the circa 100 words in German.

Given the ubiquity of Marian devotional texts in the late Middle Ages when the Mary-cult was ascendant, it would seem to be a fool’s errand to attempt to locate definitively the source for Beheim’s prayer-text under discussion here. The reason for the search is a simple one. Only when the extent of his borrowing from model texts is known, can one assess his achievement. The search for his inspiration is ongoing, and by no means have all of his song-poems been identified. This can be explained in that Michel Beheim, unusual for the German Middle Ages, largely conceals his sources. In an age when adaptation was the norm, and borrowing no sign of intellectual theft, he hid his source authors. He clearly wished to claim all his work as his own, thus trumpeting the breadth and depth of his intellect and skill.

The *Ave ancilla trinitatis*, in spite of its fealty to genre conventions in respect to doctrine, images and Marian nomenclature, does make room for individual expressions of devotion. This individuality traditionally appears at the closing, in the *nobiscum/mecum sit* section, where the supplicant asks the Virgin to ‘be with us/me’ in times of tribulation, etc. One German version from Beheim’s century bids Mary to lend the author power sufficient to overcome enemies. Striking in Beheim’s concluding verses is his reference to conscience (*gewissen*, v. 27), a word appearing infrequently in his work. The supplicant entreats the Virgin to render his conscience unsullied, pure and free from blemish.

The subject of conscience, particularly the relationship of the German concept of *Gewissen* to its Latin counterpart *conscientia* in the Middle Ages, has been much studied. The sermons of Berthold von Regensburg, together with the writings of Marquard von Lindau and Nicholas von Dinkelsbühl, have been included in the various source studies. These last two might seem to be the most promising, inasmuch as he was greatly influenced by the so-called Viennese
School of religious authors, having versified and set to song several of their catechetical writings. But Beheim’s reference to Mary’s role in the shaping of his conscience was not drawn from those authors in the milieu of the University of Vienna. It was simply extracted from his source text. This model he borrowed largely whole, adding filler words (and the occasional remark, as observed below) in order to complete the metrical and musical scheme of his adaptation of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis*.

Only peripherally, therefore, does Beheim join the colloquy on the concept of conscience in the German literature of the later Middle Ages. His role is limited to the diffusion of words on the Virgin’s role in fashioning the human conscience that he borrowed whole from a vernacular version of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis*. The terms ‘significant borrowing’ and ‘textual dependence,’ and words of this sort, are thus not apt when assessing his technique in crafting his paean to Mary. Beheim does all but copy out a prayer from his source text, which he found in a widely disseminated Bavarian collection of prayers and sacred texts for the lay patron Elisabeth Ebran. Her collection was begun around 1426 by her father confessor, Johannes von Indersdorf (d. 1470), the Augustinian canon and provost who is closely identified with ecclesiastical reform in Bavaria. The purpose of the Ebran compilation was to gather in one place texts for private, daily devotions and spiritual reflection.

The exemplar of the Ebran manual of devotion used in this paper to identify Beheim’s source text for the prayer is probably the earliest: MS Cgm 29 (f. 49r), dated 1432-1448, now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München. It is uncertain how, and when, Michel Beheim had the opportunity to consult the version in Ebran. But we do know that it was compiled during his early career and that he, like Johannes von Indersdorf, stood in close contact with the Bavarian ducal court, our poet having served Duke Albrecht III of Bavaria (1453-1454). Beheim so prized his adaptation of Ebran’s *Ave ancilla trinitatis* that it appears in three of his manuscripts. Here follows the text of the Ebran prayer (according to MS Cgm 29 and retaining the scribal line pattern) from which Michel Beheim borrowed with minimal modifications:

Bis gruzzt maria ein dyeren der heyligen Driualtikayt
Ein muter Jhesu Christi, Ein gespronß des heyligen geyst
Ein swester der Engel du pist vns versprochen von den
propheten, du kunigyn der Patriarchen, ein maystryn der
zwelif
poten, Ein lerarin der Ewangelisten, Ein Trosteryn der
marrter
Ein gnadenreycher prun der peychtigar, Ein kron vnd ein
czier
der Junckfrawn, Ein beschirmerin vnd auf halteryll aller der
dy ir hofnug [hofnung?] in dich seczn, Du Glori zw
Jherusalem, Ein frewd
In Israbel, Ein lucern hymels vnd der erd, Mach lawter lie
ben maria vnd klar meyn gewissen, mein hercz begab mit
tugenten meyn sel behutt vor allem vbel Amen.

[Hail, Mary, servant of the Holy Trinity: mother of Jesus
Christ, spouse of the Holy Spirit, sister of the angels. Thou
art promised to us by the prophets, thou queen of the
patriarchs, mentor to the apostles, instructor of the
evangelists, comfort for martyrs, merciful fount for
confessors, crown and ornament of virgins, protector and
upholder of all those placing their hope in thee. Thou glory
of Jerusalem, joy of Israel, light of heaven and earth. Make,
dear Mary, my conscience unsullied and pure; endue my
heart with moral excellence; preserve my soul from evil.
Amen. That which is written here is called the Golden Ave
Maria.]

Erich Petzet, commenting on the Ave ancilla trinitatis in Ebran (MS
Cgm 29), describes it as one of several translations of Latin hymns in
German prose.22 This is a misleading designation. It is no hymn, but a
prayer, frequently embedded in larger sacred contexts, for instance,
the litany.23 As if to forestall any confusion, the scribe in Ebran
identifies the prayer with its Latin title Ave (here Aue) ancilla trinitatis,
then composes 11 lines of German prose, closing with the epilogue:
Daz ist genant Daz/Guldun Aue maria dau/Oben gescnben stet (That
which is written here is called the ‘Golden Ave Maria.’).24 This
reference to the ‘Golden Ave Maria’ is intended to distinguish it from
the traditional Marian prayer, *Ave Maria* (*Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum*, etc.). The honorific ‘golden’ is a traditional epithet for the Virgin, the *virgo aurea.*

A comparison of Beheim’s rendering of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* with his source text, Ebran, is instructive, clarifying as it does practices of borrowing, and adaptation. To demonstrate the similarities, and differences, I place the two alongside each other:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ebran</th>
<th>Beheim (No.87)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bis gruzzt maria</td>
<td>Pisz grust, Maria, auss erwelt</td>
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<tr>
<td>ein dyeren der heyligen</td>
<td>dienerin der hailgen drivelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driualtikayt</td>
<td>tachter des vater gotes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ein muter Jhesu Christi</td>
<td>Muter des sunes Jhesu Crist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein gesponß des heyligen</td>
<td>gespuns des hailgen gaistz du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geyst</td>
<td>pist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ein swester der Engel</td>
<td>ain swester sunder spotses</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Der engel wunnesone</td>
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<tr>
<td>du pist vns versprochen</td>
<td>du pist unser für sprecherin</td>
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<tr>
<td>von den propheten du</td>
<td>von den propheten du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunigyn</td>
<td>kungin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>der Patriarchen</td>
<td>der patriarchen frone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ein maystryn der zwelif</td>
<td>Der zwolff potn maisterin du</td>
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<tr>
<td>poten</td>
<td>pist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein lerarin der</td>
<td>lererin der ewangenlist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewangelisten</td>
<td>dein wird ist unverhawen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein Trosteryn der martrer</td>
<td>Du trosterin der marterer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein gnadenreycher prunn</td>
<td>gnadreicher prunn der</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>der peychtigar</td>
<td>peichtiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein kron vnd ein czier der</td>
<td>cron und czir der</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junckfrawn</td>
<td>juncfrawen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein beschirmerin vnd</td>
<td>Ain peschirmerin unde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auf halteryn aller der</td>
<td>auff enthalterin aller der</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dy ir hofnung [hofnung?]</td>
<td>die ir haffenung mit peger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in dich seczn</td>
<td>in dich sezen zu grunde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O edle maget hoch genem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Beheim’s deviations from the model text are, as said, generally minor and explained by dictates of form, both metrical and musical. He adds epithets for the Virgin, for instance, *auss erwelt* (exalted, venerable, distinguished; v.1); adjectives, for example, *wunnesone* (glorious, delightful; v.7); a laudatory phrase, *dein wird ist unverhawen* (thy honor is spotless; v. 13); and he deviates slightly from Ebran, when speaking of the Virgin’s power to protect the soul from all harm, by using the verb *pewarn* (*bewarn*: keep, save; v. 29), whereas the model text has *behutt* (*behüeten*: preserve, protect).

If these are small, explainable differences, two larger ones stand out, one influencing the theology of Beheim’s song-poem. He apparently misunderstands the syntax of his source, causing him to misinterpret it, when rendering Ebran’s passage: *du pist vns versprochen von den propheten, du kunigyn der Patriarchen*... (‘Thou art promised to us by the prophets, thou queen of the patriarchs...’). Its sense is — and this is confirmed by consulting 15th-century Latin versions of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* — that Mary, the queen, is the promise of the prophets (*promissio prophetarum*).  

Beheim, on the other hand, renders the source text as: *du pist unser fur sprecherin/ von den propheten du kunigyn/ der patriarchen fHONE* (v. 8-10; ‘Thou art our advocate of the prophets, thou queen of the godly patriarchs.’). To be sure, *advocatrix* (patroness) is one of the many names and roles of the Virgin, but Beheim garbles the syntax, missing, too, the meaning of the passage. Ebran celebrates Mary as prefigured in Scripture, thus as one promised `to us` by the prophets.
Beheim's confusion therefore has doctrinal consequences — and must have puzzled his audience.

Another difference is striking, but explainable. Beheim augments his source with the Marian appellation *tachter des vater gotes* ('daughter of God the Father'; v.3). Peter Kern, writing on Mary, the Trinity and the Incarnation, cites Beheim's verse, noting that references to the Virgin as daughter of God the Father, mother of God the Son, and bride of the Holy Ghost appear in German poetry from the 13th century on. What Beheim has added is, tellingly enough, familiar to *Spruchdichtung*, the genre of gnomic, monodic song-poems to which he was devoted, that treats politics, morals, and ethics. This leads us to examine more closely Beheim's art of composition and theory of musical performance.

His adaptation of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* is monodic and intended for delivery by a single singer — himself. This is consistent with his conservative theory of composition and performance, according to which he consistently employs a single melodic line and prizes a lone singing voice. It is unclear in which measure he made use of instrumental accompaniment. He may have accompanied himself on a stringed instrument, gently plucked, intending the instrument for embellishment and light ornamentation to underscore the words of his text. Even the occasional use of a droning tone/undertone as accompaniment, is not to be ruled out entirely. In any event, it is certain that Michel Beheim cherished monophonic vocal music, interspersing his performances with brief 'speech-song.' His disdain for, to his ears, noisy instrumental music is reflected in the absence of instrumental parts in his musical scores and is plain from his song-poem celebrating vocal music (*singens kunst*):

...pfeiffen, saitenspile,  
pusamen, orgeln klang  
krank ist wider gesank.

[flute-like instruments, string-music, trumpets, the clank of the organ: (These are) trifling in contrast to singing; no. 321:7-9]
Beheim, as a practitioner of \textit{Spruchdichtung}, a centuries-old art form that numbered among its practitioners Walther von der Vogelweide (d. ca.1230), is championing an outmoded performance style. Themes other than love treated by \textit{Spruchdichter} include political propaganda, societal appreciation of the singer’s status, morals, ethics, the difficulties of the artist’s life, and religious concerns. The tenor is didactic. Assuming the mantle of educator and priest-in-song, authors of the \textit{Sangspruch} were important for the promotion of popular piety among the laity in the Middle Ages.

As one of the final exponents of the \textit{Sangspruch}, Beheim was plainly out-of-step with composers of the 15th and early 16th centuries, including Andreas de Silva (fl. 1520), Heinrich (Henricus) Isaac (d. 1517), Josquin Desprez (d. 1521), Antoine Brumel (d. 1512/13), Hugh Aston (d. 1558), Nicholas Ludford (d. 1557), and William Stourton (fl. early 1500s). There is no sign that he was influenced by Franco-Flemish musical trends, or any polyphonic innovations. Beheim’s reliance on monophony and his aversion to musical instruments thus marked his art for obsolescence, and certainly contributed to his dismissal from the court of the Elector Palatine in Heidelberg. It is probably no coincidence that, in the very year of his presumed departure, 1472, Johannes (Steinwert) von Soest (d. 1506), the celebrated chorister and music theoretician, was appointed by the same court to the post of \textit{Kapellmeister} in the Heidelberg court chapel for life. Soest, learned in liturgical polyphony and mentor to Sebastian Virdung, the author of a treatise on musical instruments (1511), is known as a Renaissance musician. This Michel Beheim was decidedly not. Alienated from the new music and modes of performance, he refused to adapt — or was unable to. He left the post of poet-composer in the face of a polyphony that was to revivify the \textit{Ave ancilla trinitatis}.

Notes

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  \item Michel Beheim (d. c. 1474) enjoyed a long career among the political elite of his day, finding sustenance from high lay nobles, among them Margrave Albrecht Achilles von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1449-1453); King Ladislaus Postumus (1454-1457); and the Elector Palatine, Frederick I (1468- c.1472). Son of a weaver, Beheim was a wandering professional author, musical composer (his melodies are preserved), performer and scribe. He was intimately involved in the

All quotations from Michel Beheim's work are taken from Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim, ed. H. Gille and I. Spriewald, 3 vols. (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1968-1972). Ain gruss und ain lob der juncfrawen Maria appears as song-poem no. 87 in vol. I, p. 254. English translations are my own; Latin renderings are by Andrew Merritt. Verse 22 of the critical edition is given by the editors as du glori der Jerusalem. However, this reading (with puzzling syntax) has only one manuscript (Cpg 334-0) to support it, whereas the variant reading du glori zu Jerusalem is represented twice in Beheim manuscripts (Cpg 312-A and Cpg 351-E). The latter, as the present study shows, deserves to be the standard for the verse, inasmuch as Michel Beheim borrowed it from his source text. On Beheim's manuscripts, see Schanz, Meisterliche Liedkunst zwischen Heinrich von Mügeln und Hans Sachs. Band I, pp. 191-205.

See, for example, song-poems nos. 163, 290, and 300.


See Peter Kern, Trinität, Maria, Inkarnation: Studien zur Thematik der deutschen Dichtung des späten Mittelalters (Berlin, Erich Schmidt, 1971); Maria Elisabeth Gössmann, Die Verkündigung an Maria im dogmatischen Verständnis des Mittelalters (München, Hueber,
Glossen on the New Testament based on the sacred writings of the Nicholas von Dinkelsbühl-redactor, as well as a versification of portions of the prose devotional booklet Böcklein von der Liebhabung Gottes by Thomas Peintner.

See, for example, the version of the Ave ancilla trinitatis appearing in the Mainz region in the 12th century within a Liber precum, under the title Salutatio ad sanctum Mariam (Greeting to Saint Mary). In: Mainz 361 [Hs1 361] f. 77v-80r; cited by G. G. Meersseman, Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland: Akathistos-Akoluthie und Gruss hymnen, 2 vols. (Freiburg-Schweiz: Universitätsverlag 1958), vol. 1, pp. 181-3. The text follows:

Ave ancilla virginum. / Ave, iubar ethereum. / Ave, filia patriarcharum. / Ave, desiderium prophetarum. / Ave, thesaurus sanctorum apostolorum. / Ave, laus martyrum. / Ave, glorificatio sacerdotum. / Ave, decus et corona virginum. / Ave, gloria celorum. / Ave, gaudium sanctorum angelorum. / Ave, salus miserorum. / Ave, mater creatoris omnium / et salvatoris suorum fidelium. / Ave, lauda et glorificanda ab omni creatura. / Ave, gloria, gaudium et corona omnium sanctorum. / Ave, celorum regina, / cui plenariter divina / est infusa gratia. / Ave, spes mea. / Ave, fiducia mea. / Ave, consolatio mea. / Ave, refugium meum. / Ave, tota vita mea. [Hail, maidenly dignity; hail, ethereal radiance; hail, daughter of the patriachs; hail, longing of the prophets; hail, treasure of the holy apostles; hail, praise of martyrs; hail, glorification of priests; hail, graceful ornament and crown of virgins; hail, glory of heaven; hail, joy of the holy angels; hail, salvation of the pitiful; hail, mother of the all-creator and savior of his faithful; hail, one to be praised and glorified by all creation; hail, glory, joy, and crown of all the saints; hail, queen of heaven, imbued with divine grace; hail, my hope; hail, my trust; hail, my consolation; hail, my refuge; hail, my whole life.]

See, for example: Dresden, Landesbibl., Mscr. M 180; Gotha, Forschungsbibl., Cod. Chart. B 988; Gotha, Forschungsbibl., Cod. Chart. B 940; Los Angeles, University of California, Charles E. Young Research Libr., Rouse MS 149 http://www.handschriftenkataloge.de/werkzeiten/9208 (accessed 20 May, 2013). See also, 4th Cod. ms. 479, Johannes von Indersdorf, *Sprachsammlungen, Traktate, Gebete*, 1r-56v; and 8th Cod. ms. 279, Johannes von Indersdorf, *Traktate und Gebete*, 1r-51r. Both cited in: G. Komrumpf and P.G. Völker, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1968), pp. 117 and 299-300. See also, München, BSB-Hss Cgm 4656, containing both the Ave *ancilla trinitatis* as *Bis gegrüset Maria, ain dienerin der heiligen drivaldigkheit* (85v-87r), and Johannes von Indersdorf’s prayer for Duke Wilhelm III of Bavaria (92v-98a [1]).

Bernhard D. Haage, 'Johannes von Indersdorf,' *Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed., 14 vols. (Berlin, New York, de Gruyter, 1983), vol. 4, pp. 647-51. Johannes was also the confessor to Duke Wilhelm III of Bavaria (d.1435), for whom he composed prayer cycles. See the previous note.

Little is known about Elisabeth Ebran, the recipient of the collection. Her father was Hans von Gumppenberg, prominent in Bavarian politics, who is associated with the court of Duke Ludwig VII ‘der Bärtige,’ von Bayern-Ingalstadt (d. 1447). Elisabeth married Ulrich Ebran von Wildenberg in 1426; he was the father of Hans Ebran von Wildenberg, the chronicler. Elisabeth Ebran’s spiritual volume (hereinafter: Ebran), holding prayers and devotional treatises, was transmitted into the 16th century and has come to be known under various names: *Gebetbuch für Frau Elisabeth Ebran*, (Prayer Book for Lady Elisabeth Ebran), the *Ebran-Gebetbuch* (Ebran Prayer Book), or *Geistliche Betrachtungen und Gebete für Frau Elisabeth Ebran* (Sacred Meditations and Prayers for Lady Elisabeth Ebran). See Brigitte Weiske, *Bilder und Gebete vom Leben und Leiden Christi: Zu einem Zyklus im Gebetbuch des Johannes von Indersdorf für Frau Elisabeth Ebran*, *Fortuna vitrea*, 12 (1933): 113-68.


Strangely, Wachinger (‘Goldenes Ave Maria,’ p. 80), who speaks of a branch-of-transmission (‘Überlieferungs zweig’) linking the Ave *ancilla trinitatis* to the Ebran collection, and who recognizes (Michel Beheim,’ p. 381) that Beheim’s song-poem no. 86, a Marian eulogy likening the Virgin to precious stones, is based on the *Edelstein-Mariengebet* (Precious stones-Marian prayer) by Johannes von Indersdorf found in Ebran, fails to locate Beheim’s song-poem under review (no. 87), as well, in Ebran, claiming (p. 381) only that it is ‘eine deutsche Fassung von Ave *ancilla trinitatis*’ (a German version of the Ave, etc.).


Petzet, p. 50: ‘Übersetzungen lateinischer Hymnen in deutscher Prosa’ (translations of Latin hymns in German prose).

For example, see Walter Dürig, *Die Lauretanesche Litanei: Entstehung, Verfasser, Aufbau und mariologischer Inhalt* (St. Ottilien, EOS, 1990).
To be viewed online as: Geistliche Betrachtungen und Gebete für Frau Elisabeth Ebran, geb. von Giunnenberg, und Herzog Wilhelm III. von Bayern - BSB Cgm 29, [S.1], 1432 - 1448 [BSB-Hss Cgm 29] (Blatt 49, recto =xlxi) at: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/


24. Peter Frenzel defines the song-type to which Beheim remained true: ‘A lyric subgenre of courtly song, Sangspruch (also Spruchdichtung) encompassed a style of gnomic, mono-stanzaic song treating matters other than love... The singer normally composed a number of one-stanza songs with the same metrical form, rhyme scheme, and melody, a melodic poetic unit called the Ton (tune, plural Töne)...’ See Frenzel, ‘Sangspruch,’ in Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia, ed. J.M. Jeep (New York, London, Garland, 2001), pp. 694-5 (p. 694). See Olive Sayce, The Medieval German Lyric, 1150-1300 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 408. She argues that ‘the most appropriate general English designation [for Spruchdichtung] is probably the didactic lyric, taking didactic in its widest sense to include also the treatment of religious subject-matter, political themes (since this is usually for a polemical purpose), as well as eulogy or lament (since these too repose on the notion of an instructive exemplary ideal). It corresponds in the main to the area covered by the Provençal sáverens.’ On the aspect of performance in the Middle Ages, see Ulrich Müller, ‘Performance of Medieval Texts,’ in Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms, Methods, Trends, ed. A. Classen, 2 vols. (Berlin, New York, de Gruyter, 2010), vol. 2, pp. 1039-1056.

25. Beheim began serving Frederick I, the Elector Palatine, in Heidelberg in 1468 and left court in or near 1472. See our n. 1, esp. Schanze, Meisterliche Liedkunst zwischen Heinrich von Mügeln und Hans Sachs, p. 190.
27. In the 16th century our prayer experienced a musical florescence. In England, prominently, the Tudor composers mentioned above, Aston, Stourton, and Ludford all tried their hand at polyphonic versions of the Ave ancilla trinitatis. See our n. 9. Nick Sandon has edited musical renditions of the Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis by Ludford (2003), Aston (2004), and Stourton (2006), all as Anico Editions (Devon). See, also, David Skinner, ‘The Marian Anthem in Late Medieval England,’ in The Church and Mary, ed. R.N. Swanson (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 168-180 (p. 173). There is a like tendency in other lands, as exemplified in the motets by Brumel (circa 1500) and Adrian Willaert (d. 1562). In respect to language, the prayer now had come full circle, the preferred language of performance being Latin, not the vernacular. Regarding the place of performance, the church or chapel suppliants the court. Now, within a sacred space against a backdrop of complex rhythms, multiple singing voices laud and invoke the name of the Handmaid of the Trinity. On Willaert, see Jane A. Bernstein, Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572), (New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 244; and David Kidger, Adrian Willaert: A Guide to Research (New York, Routledge, 2005), pp. 114-120. Concerning vocal polyphonic music in Marian worship, see Handbuch der Marienkunde, ed. W. Beinert and H. Petri (Regensburg, Friedrich Pustet, 1984), pp. 631-4.