



PROJECT MUSE®

The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany,
1600-40

Stephen Rose

Journal of the Royal Musical Association, Volume 130, Part 1, 2005, pp.
1-37 (Article)

Published by Oxford University Press



➔ For additional information about this article

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/186292>

The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600–40

STEPHEN ROSE

ONE of the main challenges facing early printers and publishers was how to distribute and sell their books rapidly and efficiently. Apart from textbooks and devotional tracts, most books were of interest only to a small number of readers who might be spread across one or more countries. Publishers hence had to develop a commercial network with numerous retail outlets and an effective system for dispatching small consignments of books. The challenge was particularly acute for polyphonic music, a specialist product that only a fraction of the population could use or read. To be sure, some repertoires of printed music had guaranteed circulation: in German lands, hymnals were often for a specific jurisdiction, while printed pamphlets of wedding or funerary songs tended to circulate privately among family and friends.¹ For a partbook edition of motets or madrigals, however, good advertising and distribution were essential for the copies to reach their dispersed, niche market.

At the start of the seventeenth century there were two principal routes for disseminating printed music in Germany. Much music was distributed via the general book trade and in particular via the fairs at Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig, where publishers advertised new titles and exchanged stock with firms from across Europe. At the same time, musicians had their own methods for propagating their printed works: some presented copies to institutions and prospective patrons in the hope of recognition or reward, while others published their own music and acted as retailer for it, sometimes in partnership with colleagues. Studying these different methods of dissemination shows the geographical range of repertory that was available in central Germany and the ways in which foreign pieces could be obtained. It also gives insights into the market for printed music – or, at least, how musicians and publishers perceived that market. Finally, the various transactions shed light on the economic and symbolic value of printed music: some composers openly demanded a ‘reasonable price’ for their publications, while others described their music as a gift that was offered freely, even though such gifts were usually given and repaid under obligation.

¹ On the dissemination of funerary and wedding pamphlets, see Stephen Rose, ‘Schein’s Occasional Music and the Social Order in 1620s Leipzig’, *Early Music History*, 23 (2004), 253–84. The 1661 edition of Schütz’s Becker Psalter is an example of a hymnal promulgated by official command, in this case that of the Elector of Saxony.

The place of music in German publishing and bookselling is a surprisingly uncharted topic. Most existing work has focused on the work of printers, often proceeding from a close study of typography, extant books or a particular firm.² Yet the printer was only one of the partners involved in getting a set of partbooks from composer to consumer; equally important was the publisher (who financed and oversaw the whole venture, supplied the printer with paper, and took responsibility for marketing, storing and selling copies), while a significant role might also be played by the bookseller (the middleman between publisher and customer). Sometimes the roles of printer and publisher were performed by the same person, but since the start of the sixteenth century in Germany their functions had generally been undertaken by different firms.³ The division of labour is evident on the title-pages of many partbook editions. The printer is introduced by such words as 'druck', 'typis' or 'excudebat', which refer to the physical act of pressing type on paper. The publisher is introduced by words indicating the provision of financial support ('expensis', 'sumptibus' or 'in Kosten von'). The bookseller is not always listed, but if included will be introduced by words signalling where to find copies: 'apud', 'bey' or 'zu finden'. Given that publishing was a separate business from printing, it seems justifiable to focus this article on the dealings of publishers and booksellers in and around Leipzig, as a counterpart to my article on music printing in Leipzig.⁴

Before delineating the mechanisms of the music trade, it is useful to outline the market for music in central Germany at the start of the seventeenth century. A variety of purchasers existed, with preferences ranging from localized to international repertoires. Foremost among purchasers were institutions, including courts and churches. Most courts had their own libraries to support their resident musicians. In addition, some court collections were assembled on the initiative of music-loving princes. In Liegnitz (present-day Legnica), Georg Rudolph (ruled as Duke of Liegnitz, Brieg and Goldberg, 1613–53) created a renowned music library of 460 volumes, possibly more for his own delectation than for use by the court ensemble.⁵ At the Kassel court, Landgrave Moritz of Hesse (ruled 1592–1627) was known for his love of music and was probably the reason why the court had such rich holdings of partbooks, as listed in inventories

² For a typographical study, see Donald Krummel, 'Early German Partbook Typefaces', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 60 (1985), 80–98; for a specific firm, see Susan Jackson, 'Berg and Neuber: Music Printers in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg' (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1998); for music printing in specific cities, see Ernst-Ludwig Berz, *Die Notendrucker und ihre Verleger in Frankfurt am Main von den Anfängen bis etwa 1630* (Kassel, 1970), and Stephen Rose, 'Music, Print and Authority in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War', 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2001).

³ Johann Joachim Becher, *Politische Discurs von den eigentlichen Ursachen deß Auf- und Abnehmens der Städt, Länder und Republicken* (Frankfurt, 1668), 61; Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels bis in das siebzehnte Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1886), 279–80, 288.

⁴ Stephen Rose, 'Music Printing in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War', *Notes*, 61 (2004), 323–49.

⁵ Extant music listed in Aniela Kolbuszewska, *Katalog zbiorów muzycznych legnickiej biblioteki księcia Jerzego Rudolfa 'Bibliotheca Rudolphina'* (Legnica, 1992).

of 1613 and 1638.⁶ Such princes would probably acquire part of their libraries via presentation (Georg Rudolph had musical editions dedicated or presented to him by Thomas Fritsch, Johann Hermann Schein and Heinrich Schütz),⁷ although they presumably also sought rare volumes via the wider book trade. In particular, some princes were keen to accumulate music from outside Germany: at the Kassel court, for instance, the library was rich in secular collections from England and Italy.⁸

The musical aspirations of courts were often emulated by major cities such as Leipzig and Nuremberg. Here the churches and schools tended to be under the control of the city council and often had renowned libraries of music. In Nuremberg the city council had a large music library, including many pieces suitable for church use, but also acting as a symbol of power and prestige; while in Leipzig, the Thomasschule had a renowned collection of old and new music, for use by the school's choir in the adjoining Thomaskirche.⁹ As we shall see, these major cities could expect to accumulate much music via presentation.

A broader institutional market was formed by the churches and schools of small towns. Church music in Saxony and Thuringia was supplied either by pupils from a nearby school or by a *Kantoreigesellschaft*, a group of adult amateur musicians that was often formally constituted with bylaws, membership fees and a programme of social events. Even small country churches seem to have had an active musical life at the start of the seventeenth century, to judge from the prefaces to several published collections. In his *Newer lieblicher und zierlicher Intradon I* (1620), Michael Altenburg observed that music was thriving not just at court but also in lesser places:

Soon there will be scarcely a single village, particularly in Thuringia, where vocal and instrumental music shall not flourish. If there is no organ, then vocal music is ornamented and adorned with at least five or six stringed instruments, something hardly known before this time even in the cities.¹⁰

Altenburg was one of many composers who catered for these village churches, supplying in this case a set of chorale arrangements for tenor(s) with instrumental

⁶ Ernst Zulauf, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landgräfllich-Hessischen Hofkapelle zu Cassel bis auf die Zeit Moritz des Gelehrten* (Kassel, 1902), 99–136.

⁷ Wolfgang Scholz, 'Das musicalische Leben in Liegnitz bis ca. 1800', *Musik des Ostens*, 5 (1969), 113–43 (pp. 135–6).

⁸ For example, collections by Marco da Gagliano, Sigismondo d'India, Thomas Morley, Orazio Vecchi and Thomas Weelkes. Zulauf, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landgräfllich-Hessischen Hofkapelle*, 108, 111.

⁹ Heinz Zirnbauer, *Der Notenbestand der Reichsstädtisch Nürnbergischen Ratsmusik: Eine bibliographische Rekonstruktion* (Nuremberg, 1959); Arnold Schering, 'Die alte Chorbibliothek der Thomasschule in Leipzig', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (1918–19), 275–88.

¹⁰ '...ist doch bald kein Dörflein / bevorrauß in Thüringen darinnen *Musica* beydes *Vocalis* und *Instrumentalis*...den Oertern nach / sollte floriren und wohlbestellet sein. Hat man ja kein Orgelwerk / so ist doch die *Vocalis Musica* zum wenigsten mit 5 oder 6 Geigen orniet und geziert, welches man vorzeiten kaum in den Stätten hat haben können.' Singstimme partbook.

accompaniment. Numerous other collections of modest church music were assembled by such musicians as Erhard Bodenschatz, Christoph Demantius, Thomas Elsbeth, Melchior Franck and Melchior Vulpius. Inventories also document the music libraries of rural parishes: in 1658 the church in Goldbach (a village near Gotha, with fewer than 600 inhabitants in the eighteenth century) had about 20 printed partbooks.¹¹ Such churches and *Kantoreigesellschaften* formed a solid market for sacred music, although they often relied on local residents to buy the partbooks for them.¹²

Outside the church, printed music might be purchased for several reasons. Rudolf Wustmann has shown that at the end of the sixteenth century several Leipzig burghers owned a few partbooks of polyphonic music. Many of these books contained hymns and motets, perhaps for domestic devotion.¹³ Convivial music was also important, as noted by Fynes Moryson, an Englishman who visited Leipzig and Wittenberg in 1591–2. Explaining that ‘there is not a man among the Common sorte who . . . hath not some skill in Arithmaticke and Musicke’, he observed that ‘in all their Meetinges to drincke, they greatly delight in daunsing and Musicke, as nourishing the present humour of mirth’.¹⁴ Whether or not such music-making required notated pieces, numerous collections of drinking songs and partsongs were published; and several of those that appeared in Leipzig, such as Schein’s *Studenten-Schmauß* (1626), point to the market for music among the city’s students. Even towards the end of the seventeenth century, a Leipzig burgher or academic might possess one or two books of German partsongs.¹⁵ Few individuals, however, are known to have owned large libraries of music, with the exception of connoisseurs such as Raimund Fugger or Johann Heinrich Herwart in Augsburg, and of professional musicians such as Thomas Selle in Hamburg or Andreas Unger in Naumburg.¹⁶

¹¹ Hans Rudolf Jung, ‘Zur Pflege der Figuralmusik in Goldbach bei Gotha im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert’, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Traditionsraum*, ed. Reinhard Szeskus, Bach-Studien, 9 (Leipzig, 1986), III–41 (p. 112).

¹² Johannes Rautenstrauch, *Luther und die Pflege der kirchlichen Musik in Sachsen (14.–19. Jahrhundert)* (Leipzig, 1907), 297–303.

¹³ Rudolf Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, I: *Bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1909), 167–8.

¹⁴ *Shakespeare’s Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson’s Itinerary, being a Survey of the Condition of Europe at the End of the 16th Century*, ed. Charles Hughes (London, 1903), 300–1.

¹⁵ See the inventory of Gottfried Christian Bosius in Werner Braun, ‘Musik in deutschen Gelehrtenbibliotheken des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts’, *Die Musikforschung*, 10 (1957), 241–50 (p. 243).

¹⁶ H. Colin Slim, ‘The Music Library of the Augsburg Patrician Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583)’, *Annales musicologiques*, 7 (1964–77), 68–109; Jürgen Neubacher, *Die Musikbibliothek des Hamburger Kantors und Musikdirektors Thomas Selle (1599–1663): Rekonstruktion des ursprünglichen und Beschreibung des erhaltenen, überwiegend in der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky aufbewahrten Bestandes* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1997); and, for Unger’s collection, Arno Werner, ‘Die alte Musikbibliothek und die Instrumentensammlung an St Wenzel in Naumburg a. d. S.’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 8 (1926), 390–415.

Just as composers such as Altenburg testified to a flourishing musical life in the decades before the Thirty Years War began in 1618, so too do the statistics of the music trade show its healthy state in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. At this time the wider book trade was in a particularly energetic phase: the book-fair catalogues show that between 1610 and 1619 on average 1,588 new titles were advertised each year, a height of activity that would not be achieved again until the 1760s. Music was only a small proportion of this trade, with an average of 39 editions being advertised annually at the book fairs between 1611 and 1625.¹⁷ This nonetheless represented a peak that music printing would not regain until the nineteenth century. Both Barbara Wiermann and I have made statistical surveys of the output of printed music, using the data in *Répertoire international des sources musicales* (RISM), and our work confirms that music printing was at unprecedented heights between 1604 and 1624.¹⁸ All these statistics must be interpreted with caution; but the picture of healthy activity is corroborated by the catalogues discussed below, and justifies this study of the role of fairs, dealers and musicians in disseminating printed music at the start of the seventeenth century.

Music at the book fairs

The hubs of the German mercantile network were the fairs at Frankfurt am Main and at Leipzig. At Leipzig in the third week after Easter and in the week before Michaelmas, the streets were filled with merchants, and the air was thick with negotiations as stock was exchanged and bills were settled. Such a meeting of merchants was essential to the functioning of the European trading system. Because there were no secure ways to send goods on their own or to make long-distance payment, traders preferred to do business in person at the fairs. Furthermore, once the fairs had become a regular date in the trading calendar, they acted as a stimulus to the travels of merchants around Europe and thereby energized the international economy.¹⁹ The fairs were particularly important for publishers as a way to publicize and distribute their books. Designated book fairs were held twice yearly both at Frankfurt and at Leipzig, attracting members of the publishing community from all over Europe. As already mentioned, the book fairs were particularly busy in the 1600s and 1610s, when the catalogues list more books than in any other period before the 1760s.

¹⁷ All statistics calculated from Gustav Schwetschke, *Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis: Mess-Jahrbücher des deutschen Buchhandels von dem Erscheinen des ersten Mess-Kataloges im Jahre 1564 bis zu der Gründung des ersten Buchhändler-Vereins im Jahre 1765* (Halle, 1850).

¹⁸ Barbara Wiermann, 'Die Entwicklung vocal-instrumentalen Komponierens im protestantischen Deutschland bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts', 2 vols. (D.Phil. dissertation, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, 2002), i, 46–64. Rose, 'Music, Print and Authority in Leipzig', i, 61–4, and ii, 12–14. I am grateful to Barbara Wiermann for sharing her dissertation with me.

¹⁹ Ferdinand Braudel, *Civilization and Commerce*, ii: *The Wheels of Commerce*, trans. Siân Reynolds (London, 1982), 81–92.

The business at the book fairs typically took the form of exchange (*Tauschhandel*). Rather than pay each other for wholesale purchases or seek arrangements for credit, bookdealers and publishers swapped stock on the basis of the quantity of paper.²⁰ The exchange principle facilitated the dissemination of books, doubtless sometimes obliging a dealer to accept titles that he would not have chosen himself. It also reflected the fact that paper was the most expensive item in the production of an edition, accounting for up to 75% of the total cost of a printed book.²¹ Although the saleability of a book might depend on the quality of its contents or the name of its author, the bookseller's outlay was measured in terms of the volume of paper.

The working of the *Tauschhandel* system for music can be inferred from the inventory of Gotthard Vögelin, a publisher based in Leipzig and Heidelberg. In 1625 his stock at the Frankfurt fair was auctioned in order to pay his debts. Vögelin held hundreds or thousands of copies of each of his own publications, ready to supply to other dealers at the fair. Music was only a tiny proportion of his stock, but his own publications included the following lute-books by Johann Rude and Matthias Reymann, as well as books of devotional song:²²

282 [copies of] Rudenij flores f.[olio]	Johann Rude, <i>Flores musicae</i> (Heidelberg, 1600); RISM 1600 ^{5a}
121 Reinmanni noctes musicae f.	Matthias Reymann, <i>Noctes musicae</i> ([Heidelberg and Leipzig], 1598); RISM R1230
2 Reymanni noctes musicae f.	2 further copies
432 Lobwaßer mit 4 stimmen ohne titul 8°	unidentifiable
641 Geistliche lieder darzu 8°	unidentifiable
23 Nitschens geistliche Lied. mit 4 Stimmen	Probably <i>Deutsche und lateinische geistliche Lieder</i> , ed. Peter Nitzsch (Leipzig, 1573); RISM DKL 1573 ¹²

Also in Vögelin's warehouse were 1,118 titles from other publishers ('fremde Verlagsbücher'), each in only a single copy or handful of copies. He had

²⁰ Reinhard Wittman, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* (Munich, 1991), 75–109; Johann Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zum Beginn der klassischen Litteraturperiode, 1648–1740* (Leipzig, 1908), 89–91.

²¹ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), 177.

²² Hans-Dieter Dyroff, 'Gotthard Vögelin: Verleger, Drucker, Buchhändler 1597–1631', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 4 (1963), 1129–1424 (cols. 1333–5, 1360, 1362).

presumably obtained these books via the exchange trade at the fair. Again, music accounted for only a few of these titles, notably some motet collections from Hamburg, Kassel, Magdeburg and Vienna:²³

1 Lobwaßer mit 4 Stimn 8 Caßeler.	unidentifiable
1 Ottonis opus musicum liber primus 4.	Georg Otto, <i>Opus musicum novum I</i> (Kassel, 1604)
1 Praetorij Magnificat	Hieronymus Praetorius, <i>Magnificat octo vocum</i> (Hamburg, 1602) or <i>Canticum Beatae Mariae Virginis seu Magnificat</i> (Hamburg, 1622)
1 Praetorij Cantiones sacrae	Hieronymus Praetorius, <i>Cantiones sacrae de festis praecipuis totius anni</i> (Hamburg, 1599, or 2nd edn, 1607)
1 Genckij opus Musicum 4	Valentin Geuck, <i>Novum et insigne opus continens textus metricos sacros</i> , 3 books (Kassel, 1603–4); RISM 1603 ^{3–4} , 1604 ⁵
2 Weissensee opus musicum f.	Friedrich Weissensee, <i>Opus melicum methodicum et plane novum</i> (Magdeburg, 1602); RISM 1602 ¹⁰
1 Strausij Cantiones sacrae	Christoph Strauss, <i>Nova ac diversimoda sacrarum cantionum composition, seu motettae</i> (Vienna, 1613)

Regardless of whether Vögelin acquired these copies at the request of his customers in Heidelberg and Leipzig, or whether he was obliged to accept them in the course of the exchange trade, his inventory shows the efficacy of the fairs at facilitating the exchange of printed music.

At the fairs, publishers advertised their stock, old and new, on handbills (*Plakaten*). Several of these handbills survive; some state they are for the fairs, although others were undoubtedly also used elsewhere. An extant list from Gotthard Vögelin (1619) contains over 180 titles, the only musical items being the lute-books by Reymann and Rude mentioned in the inventory above, plus an enigmatic and unelaborated reference to ‘Musica’.²⁴ Many other publishers’ lists are similar, showing music as minority items within their business: the 1611 handbill of Lazarus Zetzner of Strasbourg, for instance, contains only one music book, Bernhard Schmid’s *Tabulatur Buch* (Strasbourg, 1607).²⁵ A few firms, however, specialized in music, such as Katharina and Dieter Gerlach of

²³ *Ibid.*, 1343, 1354–5.

²⁴ Facsimile in *Verlegerplakate des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, ed. Günter Richter (Wiesbaden, 1965), Tafel 21.

²⁵ Facsimile in *Deutsche Bücherplakate des 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Rolf Engelsing (Wiesbaden, 1971), loose-leaf insert.

Nuremberg: a Gerlach placard from c.1585 lists 51 musical editions plus printed music paper, more than a quarter of their total advertised stock.²⁶

Although the fairs evidently included trade in old stock, they were particularly important for the advertising and promotion of new books, including music. Composers planned to launch their new publications there. Thus in 1619 Michael Praetorius promised that his epic set of polychoral pieces, *Polyhymnia*, 'would, God willing, be ready in print at Frankfurt and Leipzig this year'.²⁷ And in 1627 Heinrich Schütz told the Elector of Saxony that his latest book, the Becker Psalter, would be published at the Michaelmas fair.²⁸

New books and music were promoted partly through the personal contact of dealers, who would leaf through the recent stock of their colleagues. Of special significance were the catalogues that appeared at every fair, listing new books from most of the publishers present. These *Messkataloge* were first issued at Frankfurt in 1564; similar listings began in Leipzig in Michaelmas 1594.²⁹ The catalogues classified new books by a scheme that reflected the contemporary ordering of learning, grouping titles first by language (Latin, German, other vernacular tongues) and then by topic (theology, law, medicine, history, philosophy, literature). Music appeared in its own section, 'Libri Musici', which included a full range of genres from motets to instrumental tablatures, although some collections of devotional song might be listed with the German theological books. Sometimes the entries transcribed the entire title-page of a musical edition: in the Michaelmas 1626 catalogue at Leipzig, the entry for Schein's *Musica boscareccia II* was taken verbatim from the title-page of the Soprano II partbook (see Figure 1). Such transcriptions of title-pages seem to be an extension of the practice of using spare title-pages as publicity for new books, often hanging them in the window or door of the dealer's booth.³⁰

The catalogues advertised new books to customers and wholesalers across German lands and beyond. As the Leipzig bookdealer Henning Grosse explained, 'Those who buy books or are building a library like to know what is

²⁶ *Verlegerplakate*, ed. Richter, Tafel 18. See also Konrad Ameln, 'Ein Nürnberger Verlegerplakat aus dem 16. Jahrhundert', *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Richard Baum and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel, 1968), 136–42.

²⁷ '... werden ob GOTT wil auch noch im diesem Jahre zu Franckfort vnd Leipzig im Druck herfür kommen'. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II* (2nd edn, Wolfenbüttel, 1619), f.):(11 (*sic*).

²⁸ Letter of 2 August 1627, transcribed in Agatha Kobuch, 'Neue Sagittariana im Staatsarchiv Dresden: Ermittlungen unbekannter Quellen über den kursächsischen Hofkapellmeister Heinrich Schütz', *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte*, 13 (1986), 79–124 (p. 98).

²⁹ Rudolf Blum, 'Vor- und Frühgeschichte der nationalen Allgemeinbibliographie', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 2 (1959), 233–303 (pp. 258–64). Most of the musical entries in the catalogues are transcribed in Karl Albert Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien* (Leipzig, 1902). Göhler's accompanying commentary, *Die Messkataloge im Dienste der musikalischen Geschichtsforschung* (Leipzig, 1901), discusses the catalogues as a bibliographical resource rather than as evidence of the music trade.

³⁰ Albrecht Kirchhoff, 'Lesefrüchte aus den Acten des städtischen Archivs zu Leipzig, iii', *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, 12 (1889), 120–51 (p. 128).

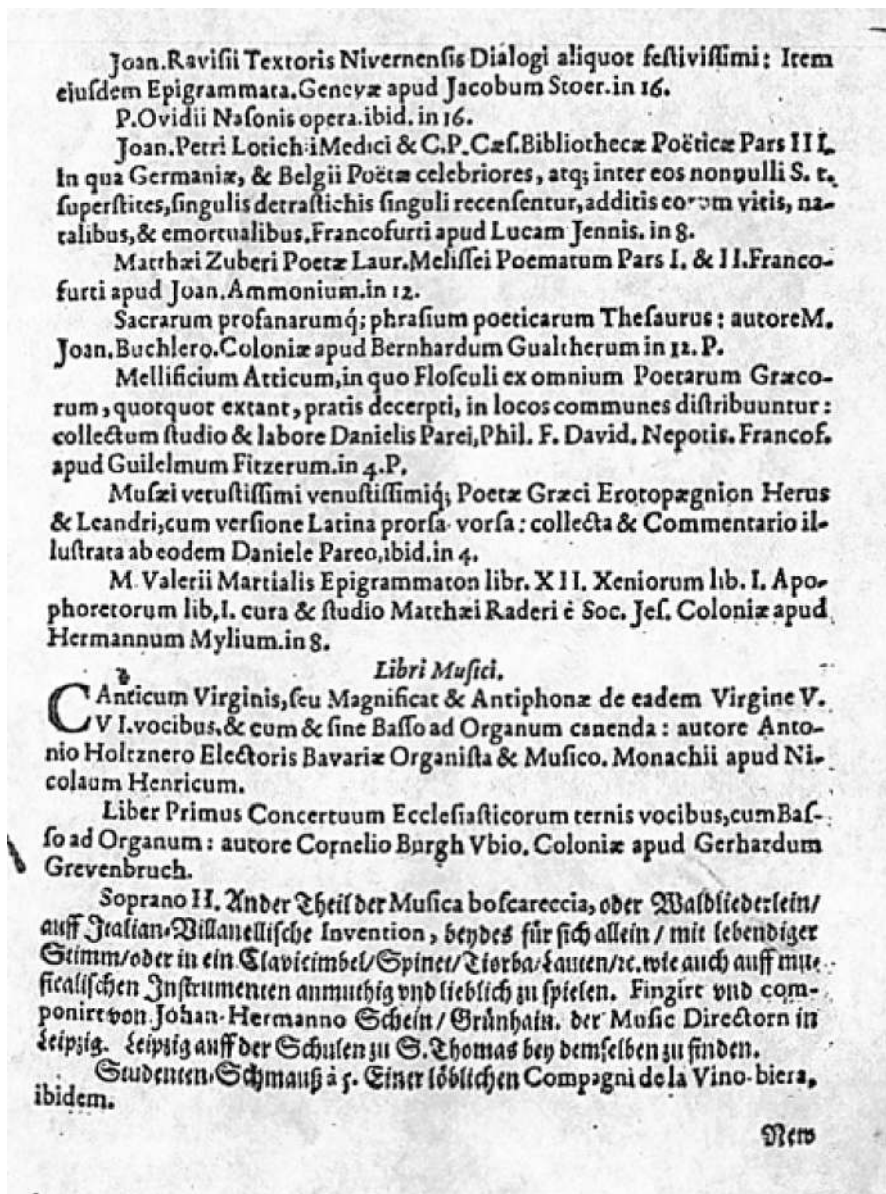


Figure 1. The start of the section of 'Libri Musici' in the catalogue of the Michaelmas 1626 book fair at Leipzig (f. C3^v). The entry for Schein's *Musica boscareccia II* (1626), bottom, is transcribed verbatim from the title-page of the Soprano II partbook. From the facsimile, *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten, siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Bernhard Fabian, Bibliothek der deutschen Sprache, ser. 3 (Hildesheim, 1986). Reproduced by kind permission of Georg Olms Verlag AG.

published and when each book appears, as well as which is the newest edition.³¹ Grosse often sent copies of the latest catalogue to his customers, and bibliophiles such as Elector August of Saxony chose items for their libraries from the catalogues.³² Further afield, the Bodleian Library in Oxford took care to examine the catalogues as soon as they arrived.³³ Music in the catalogues thus received unprecedented publicity across the book-buying world.

Some publishers used the catalogues to test the market for titles that were not yet printed or not even written. In the autumn 1656 catalogue at Leipzig, Ambrosius Profe offered to print German-texted editions of Monteverdi's *Scherzi musicali* and Horazio Vecchi's canzonettas, should he find enough customers to gain 'modest compensation' ('geringe recompens') for himself. At other times, however, an edition would be advertised without any indication that it was still in the pipeline. To take an example from somewhat later in the century, the autumn 1695 catalogue at Leipzig advertised Johann Kuhnau's keyboard collection, 'Ausgetheilte Clavir-Früchte', as being available for sale (f. D2^v). The published volume of *Frische Clavier-Früchte* is dated 1696 and, if we can believe Kuhnau's preface, the pieces had not been written when they were first advertised. But the 'promise' in the catalogue aroused such interest, so the preface says, that he was compelled to write the pieces, at the rate of one a day for a week. Kuhnau's preface may well be a rhetorical conceit, claiming he had written the pieces on popular request and thereby avoiding connotations of authorial pushiness. Yet he might have been telling the truth. Certainly the Leipzig fair catalogues list numerous other music books that today are otherwise unknown (such as a second part to Samuel Michael's *Psalmodia regia*, advertised in spring 1632): some of these probably were proposed projects that failed to arouse sufficient support.³⁴

An analysis of the catalogues shows the geographical range of music publishers represented at the fairs. Care is needed when making such an analysis, for books from faraway publishers might be attributed to a local agent. Ernst-Ludwig Berz has shown how, at the Frankfurt fair, the local firm of Nikolaus Stein acted as agent for music from Gerlach of Nuremberg.³⁵ Likewise at Leipzig, the bookseller Jakob Apel represented titles that had been published in Danzig by Andreas Hünefeld.³⁶ Paying due attention to such intricacies, the catalogues show that until the 1640s the Leipzig fairs regularly included music published in

³¹ 'Die ienige so bücher kauffen vnd eine liberei erzeugen wolten wißen mochten was für bücher vnd zu welcher zeit ein iedes ausgegangen vnd welches die neueste edition sei.' Albrecht Kirchhoff, 'Die Anfänge des Leipziger Messkatalogs', *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, 7 (1882), 100–22 (p. 114).

³² *Ibid.*, 104. Helen Watanabe O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque* (Basingstoke, 2002), 85.

³³ Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800: Based on Material in the Broxbourne Library* (Cambridge, 1965), 75–7.

³⁴ On such ghost titles, see Rose, 'Music, Print and Authority in Leipzig', i, 59–60, 88–90.

³⁵ Berz, *Die Notendrucker und ihre Verleger in Frankfurt am Main*, 83–6; see also pp. 7–8, 281–92.

³⁶ For example, Andreas Hakenberger's *Neue deutsche Gesänge* (Danzig, 1610); see the Easter 1612 catalogue, f. D1^v.

all the major German cities, such as Augsburg, Hamburg, Munich and Nuremberg, plus Leipzig itself. Music from remoter places such as Danzig and Stettin was sometimes also available, but collections from Königsberg, at the eastern extreme of the Baltic, were rarely advertised if at all. Foreign music included imports from the Antwerp firms of Phalèse and Bellère, advertised regularly at Leipzig between autumn 1594 and spring 1619; music books from Venice were listed sporadically until 1603. Isolated references to foreign editions sometimes occurred in later decades: in Michaelmas 1625 the Cologne bookseller Cornelius Egmond advertised in the Leipzig catalogue a supply of 'Libri Musici Venetianae editionis Bartholomaei Magni, & Alexandri Vincentii'.³⁷ By the 1620s, though, music from Antwerp or Italy was rarely being advertised in the Leipzig fair catalogues. This waning in the international trade may have reflected new configurations in music publishing in Italy and the Low Countries, where printed partbook collections were ceasing to be the dominant format for disseminating music.³⁸ In any case, at this time there was a slow erosion of international elements in the European book trade. Whereas in the sixteenth century there was a vigorous trade in Latin books for a pan-European humanist readership, by the 1630s vernacular literature was increasing in importance and national bookmarkets were emerging.³⁹ By the late 1620s the international trade was also badly dislocated by the Thirty Years War, which interrupted trade links both within and without Germany.

Yet despite such vicissitudes, the Leipzig fair remained an important hub for mercantile transactions, including those relating to music. Numerous musicians are known to have visited it, including Heinrich Schütz and cantors from the towns of Saxony, such as Andreas Hammerschmidt from Freiberg and Christoph Schultze from Delitzsch.⁴⁰ These musicians took advantage of the gathering of merchants to dispatch manuscripts, conduct business affairs with distant courts, and perhaps also buy printed music from the booksellers. Schütz acts as an excellent example. Although his main post was as Kapellmeister at Dresden, he also had close links with several other institutions, acting for instance as Kapellmeister *in absentia* for the Wolfenbüttel court from the mid-1640s.⁴¹ In

³⁷ Grosse catalogue, f. D2^v. Bartolomeo Magni was the successor of Angelo Gardano; he and Alessandri Vincenti (fl. 1619–87) were the most prolific Venetian music publishers of the 1620s.

³⁸ Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge, 1987), 73–81.

³⁹ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*, trans. David Gerard (London, 1976), 195, 274. James W. Thompson notes the falling numbers of Venetian booksellers at the German fairs in his edition of Henri Estienne's *The Frankfurt Book Fair* (Chicago, 1911), 121–2.

⁴⁰ At one fair Hammerschmidt reportedly had a fight with Johann Rosenmüller. See August Horneffer, *Johann Rosenmüller* (Charlottenburg, 1898), 31–2. In 1643 the Delitzsch council complained that Schultze went to the Leipzig fair too often. See Werner Braun, 'Der Kantor Christoph Schultze und die "Neue Musik" in Delitzsch', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, 10 (1961), 1187–1226 (p. 1197).

⁴¹ On Schütz's work at Wolfenbüttel, see Gina Spagnoli, *Letters and Documents of Heinrich Schütz 1656–1672* (Rochester, NY, 1992), 35–52.

Schütz's dealings with Wolfenbüttel, his usual intermediaries were merchants from the nearby city of Brunswick. These traders made the 180-mile round trip to Leipzig at fair-times, where among other business they would often meet with Schütz or his representatives. Thus in 1655 Schütz told the court that a new falsettist he had recruited would travel to Wolfenbüttel in the escort of Brunswick merchants returning home from Leipzig.⁴² In a contract of July 1655, Schütz agreed with the Wolfenbüttel court that his stipend would be paid to him twice yearly, at the Michaelmas and Easter fairs in Leipzig, conveyed to him in cash or bills of exchange by a Brunswick merchant. Numerous receipts survive from the following years confirming such payments.⁴³ A final example of Schütz's visits to the Leipzig fair comes from 1664, when he attended the New Year Fair to hand over a set of his printed works to a Brunswick merchant who would convey them to Duke August in Wolfenbüttel.⁴⁴ Other musicians such as Johann Theile likewise sent their manuscripts to patrons via the merchants travelling to the fair.⁴⁵ As a focal point in the trading and communication network of Germany, the Leipzig fair played a major role in the dissemination of music, both in the transactions of bookdealers and in the private dealings of musicians.

Music-dealers and bookshops

After publishers had distributed their wares at the fair, the next stage in the dissemination of printed music was undertaken by *Sortimentshändler* – that is, bookdealers who stocked titles from a variety of publishers. Although these *Sortimentshändler* might do some publishing themselves, my interest here is in the stocks of music that they amassed from other firms, whether obtained at the book fair or via other contacts. Commenting on the role of dealers, Peter Wollny has observed that 'this aspect [of the music trade] is probably the most difficult to research since only very little information is available';⁴⁶ yet a few catalogues and inventories survive to suggest how these dealers operated.

Printed catalogues were issued by several specialist music-dealers in southern Germany, including Paul Parstorffer in Munich, and the firms of Caspar Flurschütz and Georg Willer in Augsburg. Both Parstorffer and Flurschütz specialized in importing Italian music, an ideal line of business given the place of Augsburg and Munich on the trade-route from Venice via the Brenner Pass. Parstorffer is known only from a 1653 catalogue that is now lost, but which was frequently cited by Johann Gottfried Walther in his *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732) as a source of bibliographical information about Italian printed music by Frescobaldi,

⁴² Spagnoli, *Letters and Documents of Heinrich Schütz*, 283–8.

⁴³ See Schütz's contract of 1655 and the many surviving receipts of payment, *ibid.*, 291–6, 301–7.

⁴⁴ See his covering letter of 10 January 1664, *ibid.*, 319.

⁴⁵ Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, ed. Max Schneider (Berlin, 1910), 370.

⁴⁶ Peter Wollny, 'The Distribution and Reception of Claudio Monteverdi's Music in Seventeenth-Century Germany', *Monteverdi und die Folgen*, ed. Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinhauer (Kassel, 1998), 51–75 (p. 53).

Monteverdi, Rigatti and Rovetta among others.⁴⁷ In earlier decades Augsburg had a greater role in the import of Italian music, as can be seen from the seven extant catalogues issued by Caspar Flurschütz, dating from between 1613 and 1628. These mainly list partbooks from Venice, although other Italian cities are represented (Florence, Milan, Rome) and the later catalogues have an increasing number of editions from German cities such as Dillingen, Munich and Wolfenbüttel.⁴⁸ The copy of the 1615 catalogue is heavily annotated and bears Michael Praetorius's initials on its title-page.⁴⁹ He perhaps used it to research Italian music and gain bibliographical information for his musical encyclopaedia, *Syntagma musicum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1614–19); but his copy also shows how musicians in northern Germany could order Italian partbooks from bookdealers in southern German lands.

Whereas Flurschütz and Parstorffer are known only from their music catalogues, Georg Willer was one of the most famous and long-lived firms of booksellers in Germany, regularly represented at both the Frankfurt and Leipzig fairs. Music was a significant part of his business, to judge from the catalogue of printed music issued by his son, Georg Willer Jr, in 1622. It contains 356 titles ordered by genre, including books from Italy but also from most printing centres of northern Europe (Antwerp, Leipzig, Hamburg, Nuremberg and Paris, plus even geographical extremities such as Danzig and Rostock).⁵⁰ Together with Flurschütz's catalogues, Willer's lengthy list testifies to the health of the German music trade at the start of the 1620s and corroborates the statistics of printing output discussed in my introduction. Only in the late 1620s would the Thirty Years War begin to erode this trade.

No bookseller in Leipzig is known to have held music in comparable quantities to Flurschütz or Willer, and no firm specialized solely in music. Nonetheless, the principle of *Sortimentshandel* can be seen at a few bookshops that stocked music from several different publishers. Music appears amid other books in the inventories of at least four *Sortimentshändler* from Leipzig around

⁴⁷ Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732), f.)(5^v, pp. 261, 421, 527, 534; Wollny, 'The Distribution and Reception of Monteverdi's Music', 53; also Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, *Quellenkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik für Tasteninstrumente in der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel, 1960), 51–2.

⁴⁸ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ant. theor. F115 (1–7). Transcribed by Richard Schaal, *Die Kataloge des Augsburger Musikalien-Händlers Kaspar Flurschütz* (Wilhelmshaven, 1974). See also Thomas Röder and Theodor Wohnhaas, 'Der Augsburger Musikdruck von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Helmuth Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden, 1997), 291–321 (pp. 319–21).

⁴⁹ Schaal, *Die Kataloge des Augsburger Musikalien-Händlers Kaspar Flurschütz*, 15.

⁵⁰ *Catalogus librorum musicalium variorum authorum omnium nationum tam Italarum quam Germanorum, tam recentium quam veterum, quos Lector venales reperiet apud Georgium Willerum Bibliopol. Augustae*. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Cat. 45#Beibd.12. Transcribed by Richard Schaal, 'Georg Willers Augsburger Musikalien-Lagerkataloge von 1622', *Die Musikforschung*, 16 (1963), 127–39.

1600: Henning Sosadt (1551),⁵¹ Andreas Hoffmann (1600),⁵² Heinrich Osthausen (1603)⁵³ and Johann Rosa (1604 and 1617).⁵⁴ Although excerpts from these inventories were transcribed by Leipzig scholars around 1900, this is the first study to identify their contents and summarize the general character of the stock. The inventories show the role of these dealers in acquiring music from other cities, and also indicate the booksellers' perceptions of the market for music.

None of the Leipzig dealers stocked music by local composers or from local publishers. Instead their stocks were from other cities, predominantly Nuremberg. Indeed the list of 12 music books in Henning Sosadt's 1551 inventory has the heading 'Partbooks from Nuremberg' ('Partes 4 Stim Nurnberger' – see Appendix A). Somewhat similarly, in 1603 Heinrich Osthausen held 37 musical editions, most from Nuremberg but also some from Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Helmstedt, Jena and Prague. With Johann Rosa, for whom inventories survive from 1604 and 1617, the link with Nuremberg becomes explicit. From 1591 Rosa worked in Nuremberg for Paul Kauffmann, who in the 1590s took over the printing-house of his grandmother, Katherina Gerlach. We have already seen how Gerlach specialized in music, and Kauffmann consolidated this speciality until he became the pre-eminent music publisher in Germany.⁵⁵ In the early 1600s Rosa moved to Leipzig but retained strong links with his former hometown. The 1604 inventory, made because he had failed to pay debts in Nuremberg, mentions 11 partbook editions, all of which as far can be identified were published by Gerlach or Kauffmann. Meanwhile Rosa's 1617 inventory lists 55 partbook editions, most again from Nuremberg plus a few from Coburg, Frankfurt an der Oder and Hamburg (see Appendix B). No music from Leipzig appears in Rosa's inventories; if Leipzigers wanted music that was written or published locally, they would presumably go direct to the publisher or composer.

Much of the music stocked by the Leipzig bookshops would suit the domestic and student markets described at the start of this article. Indeed Rosa's 1617 inventory includes suggestive titles such as *Tischmusica* (*Table Music*) and *Studentengärtlein* (*Little Garden for Students*). In Sosadt's and Rosa's

⁵¹ Leipzig, Stadtarchiv, Richterstube Inventar- und Hilfsbuch 1549–53, ff. 91–103. Albrecht Kirchhoff, 'Leipziger Sortimentshändler im 16. Jahrhundert und ihre Lagervorräte', *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, 11 (1888), 204–82 (p. 214). See Appendix A.

⁵² Albrecht Kirchhoff, 'Sortiments-Messlager in Leipzig: Andreas Hoffmann von Wittenberg', *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, 17 (1894), 53–78 (p. 73).

⁵³ Leipzig, Stadtarchiv, Richterstube Inventar- und Hilfsbuch 1601–4, ff. 145–197. Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, i, 171–2.

⁵⁴ Leipzig, Stadtarchiv, Richterstube Inventar- und Hilfsbuch 1604–7, ff. 45–48, and 1616–18, ff. 189–202. Transcribed by Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, i, 172–3. See Appendix B for 1617 inventory.

⁵⁵ Josef Benzing, 'Die deutschen Verleger des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Eine Neubearbeitung', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 18 (1977), 1078–1322 (col. 1246). On Katherina Gerlach, see Susan Jackson, 'Who is Katherine? The Women of the Berg & Neuber–Gerlach–Kaufmann Printing Dynasty', *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation*, 2 (1997), 451–63.

inventories, the predominant genre is the German partsong (*Teutsche Lied*). Although partsongs were primarily for domestic or convivial use, they might have sacred or secular texts, as with Leonhard Lechner's *Neue geistliche und weltliche Lieder* (Nuremberg, 1589; stocked by Rosa in 1617). Sosadt's inventory is dominated by small-scale songs published in Nuremberg, including anthologies by Georg Forster (*Ein Auszug guter alter und newer teutscher Liedlein*, 1539) plus bicinia and tricinia by Caspar Othmayr. Bicinia and tricinia were didactic genres produced to help schoolchildren and amateurs learn part-singing; Othmayr said that his *Tricinia* was intended 'for the utility of Christian youth'.⁵⁶ Copies of Othmayr's *Tricinia* and Forster's secular songbooks appear on the inventory of at least one Leipzig household, that of the Stadtpfeifer, Gottfried Krause (d. 1573).⁵⁷ German partsongs also feature prominently on Rosa's 1617 list of stock, which includes collections of German partsongs by Franz Joachim Brechtel, Valentin Haussmann, Leonhard Lechner, Johann Lyttich, Gregorio Turini and Alexander Utendal among others. Several of these collections were up to 30 years old, but they had not necessarily been gathering dust on Rosa's shelves for all that time; they could conceivably have been recent deliveries of old stock from Nuremberg, to meet current demand in Leipzig. Rosa also held 62 copies of a single book, Lyttich's *Venusglöcklein* (Jena, 1610), for which he was named in the book-fair catalogues as the principal wholesaler.⁵⁸

Rosa also held several collections of instrumental music. His 1617 list includes anthologies of consort music by Hamburg string-players such as William Brade, Zacharias Füllsack and Christian Hildebrand. A strong market existed in Leipzig for such pieces, as is evident from the many similar collections written by local composers such as Georg Engelmann and Johann Hermann Schein.⁵⁹ Lute tablatures also appeared on the bookdealers' inventories, being a genre often associated with amateur players. The lute-books by Matthias Reymann and Johann Rude appeared on Osthausen's 1603 inventory, and tablatures by Sixt Kargel and Melchior Neusidler were included on the 1600 inventory of Andreas Hoffmann.

Compared to the prominence of partsongs and instrumental music, sacred genres had a relatively low profile on these booksellers' inventories. On Rosa's 1617 inventory, there are some collections suitable for ecclesiastical use, including copies of five anthologies of Italian sacred music assembled by the Nuremberg editor Friedrich Lindner and published by the Gerlach-Kauffmann firm (see Appendix B). Rosa also held books of motets by Melchior Franck that were published in Nuremberg, and collections of sacred music by Thomas Elsbeth and Philipp Dulichius that were published in Pomerania and Silesia. Some of

⁵⁶ 'In Christianae iuventutis utilitatem'. *Tricinia* (Nuremberg, 1549), title-page.

⁵⁷ Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, i, 169.

⁵⁸ Lamberg catalogue, Easter 1611, f. F4^v.

⁵⁹ Schein, *Banchetto musicale* (Leipzig, 1617); Engelmann, *Fasciculus concentuum... paduanas & galliardas I-III* (Leipzig, 1616-22); and the anthology *Amenitatum musicalium hortulus* (Leipzig, 1622). All these volumes attracted the support of commercial publishers such as Caspar Klosemann and Thomas Schürer.

the sacred music on Rosa's list, though, could be used interchangeably at home or in church. An example would be the sixth to eighth parts of Michael Praetorius's *Musae Sioniae*, which contain modest settings of chorales for four voices, expressly intended for use at home as well as in church.⁶⁰ Such a use would accord with the evidence presented by Wustmann that some Leipzig burghers owned books of sacred polyphony.⁶¹

Rosa's inventory may under-represent the quantity of sacred music in the book trade. The sacred repertory was associated with institutions such as churches and schools, and may have been more likely to be disseminated by musicians themselves rather than booksellers. Moreover, many of the music collections popular among Saxon and Thuringian Kantoreien, such as the books of Bodenschatz or Calvisius, were published in Leipzig, and therefore were unlikely to be sold by a dealer such as Rosa. On the other hand, the quantity of secular and instrumental repertories in the booksellers' inventories may be a timely reminder of the strength of the lay market for music.

Musicians as publishers and dealers

Although printed music could be obtained at the book fairs or from bookshops, much was disseminated by musicians themselves. Several composers published their own music, while others acted as publishers or agents for their colleagues. Such self-publishing bore some similarities to the trade in manuscript music. Most composers were already experienced in the making and distribution of scribal copies, and often their publishing ventures were aided by assistants who also served as their copyists. Composers who self-published usually acted as the retail outlet for their music, in much the same way as many musicians would sometimes supply manuscripts on request.⁶² Yet self-publication was a more ambitious enterprise than scribal copying. It required the composer to invest in a run of printed copies in the hope that they could all be sold. And by contrast with the manuscript trade, musicians who dealt in printed music usually publicized the fact by advertising their names on title-pages and in the book-fair catalogues.

Between 1600 and 1650, several composers in upper and lower Saxony were named as publisher on the title-pages or colophons of their music. Most of the

⁶⁰ 'Deutscher Geistlicher in Kirchen vnd Häusern gebreuchlicher Lieder vnd Psalmen'. *Musae Sioniae VIII* (Wolfenbüttel, 1610), title-page.

⁶¹ Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, i, 167–8.

⁶² The manuscript trade is exemplified by the efforts of Philipp Hainhofer, diplomat and art-dealer, to get music for the re-established Kapelle of the court of Duke August von Braunschweig-Lüneburg. In 1639 Hainhofer wrote to the leading Kapellmeisters of the day, including Giovanni Valentini at the Viennese court; Claudio Monteverdi at St Mark's, Venice; and Giovanni Giacomo Porro at the Munich court. Porro sent several works; Monteverdi had no music to send, but announced the forthcoming publication of *Selva morale e spirituale*, and offered a consort of gambas and flutes. See *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Philipp Hainhofer und Herzog August d. J. von Braunschweig-Lüneburg*, ed. Ronald Gobiet (Munich, 1984), letters 1276–9, 1282.

books in question contain sacred vocal pieces, with the exception of Michael Praetorius's collection of dances *Terpsichore* and several secular songbooks by Kittel and Schein:

- Michael Praetorius, at least 18 musical editions from *Musae Sioniae I* (Regensburg, 1605) to *Polyhymnia caduceatrix et panegyrica* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619)
 Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones variae* (Hamburg, 1618); *Cantiones sacrae* (3rd edn, Hamburg, 1622); *Canticum Beatae Mariae Virginis seu Magnificat* (2nd edn, Hamburg, 1622)
 Johann Hermann Schein, at least 14 musical editions from *Opella nova I* (Leipzig, 1618) to *Musica boscareccia III* (2nd edn, Leipzig, 1631)
 Heinrich Schütz, *Psalmen Davids* (Dresden, 1619)
 Carlo Farina, *Ander Theil newer Paduanen, Gagliarden, Couranten, Frantzösischen Arien* (Dresden, 1627) and *II terzo libro delle pavane, gagliarde* (Dresden, 1627)
 Michael Lohr, *Ander Theil newer teutscher und lateinischer Kirchen Gesänge und Concerten* (Dresden, 1637)
 Caspar Kittel, *Arien und Cantaten* (Dresden, 1638)
 Christoph Schultze, *Collegium musicum delitii charitativum* (Leipzig, 1647)
 Johann Rosenmüller, *Kern-Sprüche I* (Leipzig, 1648) and (in collaboration with the heirs of Henning Grosse), *Studenten-Music* (Leipzig, 1654)

This list does not claim to be exhaustive. Some musical editions contain insufficient information to identify the publisher; and, given the geographical focus of this article on central Germany, I have disregarded the publishing ventures of musicians in southern German lands, such as Ferdinand and Rudolph di Lasso editing and publishing the posthumous collection of their father's motets, *Magnum opus musicum* (Munich, 1604).

To publish their music, composers needed to finance the edition, supply the paper to the printer, and store and distribute the finished copies. Such tasks could be a major business undertaking, although court musicians such as Michael Praetorius and Schütz often received support from their patron. In 1618 Schütz wrote to the Elector of Saxony about the impending publication of *Psalmen Davids*, saying 'you graciously encouraged me by equipping your electoral printshop with new and lovely music-type, for which I am extremely grateful'.⁶³ In Schütz's *Symphoniae sacrae III* (1651) – probably also published by the composer, although the title-page does not specify a publisher – he thanked the Elector for 'the most gracious means that you kindly granted me some time ago, whereby the publication of my musical work can be further promoted and

⁶³ '... hierüber zu Erkaufung neuer und schöner Noten in Ihre Churfürstliche Gnaden Truckerey allhier (davor ich underthenigst danckbar) mir gnedigsten Vorschub thun lassen'. Dresden, Sächsische Hauptstaatsarchiv, Loc. 10754, Privilegia, Bd 2, 1618–28, f. 85. Transcribed by Kobuch, 'Neue Sagittariana im Staatsarchiv Dresden', 89. Donald Krummel dubs this font 'Gimel Berg' in his survey 'Early German Partbook Typefaces', 93.

its printing facilitated'.⁶⁴ Wolfram Steude suggests that such support took the form of a private supply of paper, used for five of Schütz's books, with a watermark incorporating the composer's monogram.⁶⁵ Meanwhile at the Wolfenbüttel court Michael Praetorius seems to have received extensive support for his ambitious publishing programme. In 1612 he was awarded 2,000 thalers by Duke Heinrich Julius, in part 'to relieve the heavy costs incurred by him... in printing his music'.⁶⁶ Three years later Praetorius wrote to the court exchequer (*Rentkammer*), claiming reimbursement of the publishing costs of *Terpsichore* (1612) on the grounds that it was dedicated to Duke Friedrich Ulrich.⁶⁷

The examples of Praetorius and Schütz suggest that for court composers self-publication was not so much an entrepreneurial venture as a subsidized operation to boost the court's prestige. The motives and financial backing of civic musicians such as Schein are less clear. There is no evidence that Schein received financial support from the Leipzig town council, although two of his self-published volumes (*Opella nova I* and *Israelisbrünlein*) are dedicated to the council and probably received an honorarium. Adam Adrio has speculated that Schein's self-publishing was an entrepreneurial enterprise, funded by the composer's fees from providing music at weddings and funerals, but again there is no evidence of such an arrangement.⁶⁸ Given the power of print to raise prestige, though, self-publishing could be interpreted as a testament to the ego of composers. Fynes Moryson cynically described the tendency among Germans for vanity publishing. Observing that German authors often entered print 'for desyre of vainglory', Moryson said that commercial printers and publishers

are so farr from giuing the Authors mony for theire Copies (which they does in other Countryes) as feareing not to vent them with gayne, they dare not adventure to Print them at theire charge. So as the German Authors use, ether to pay a great part of the charge leauing the books to the Printer, or to pay a Crowne for the Printing of each leafe, keeping the bookes to themselves.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ 'Nicht sind auch hierbey mit stillschweigen zu übergehen / diejenigen von E. Churfürstl. Durchl. vor etlicher Zeit / mir bewilligte gnädigste Mittel / wodurch die *Publicirung* oder Auslassung meiner Musicalischen Arbeit hinfüro auch weiter befördert / und derer Verlag erleichtert werden kan.'

⁶⁵ These books are *Kleine geistliche Concerten II* (1639), *Symphoniae sacrae II* and *III* (1647, 1650), *Geistliche Chormusic* (1648) and *Zwölff geistliche Gesänge* (1657), all printed in Dresden. See Wolfram Steude, 'Das wiederaufgefundene Opus ultimum von Heinrich Schütz: Bemerkungen zur Quelle und zum Werk', *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, 4–5 (1982–3), 9–18 (p. 11). For a description of the watermark, see Steude's edition of *Der Schwanengesang* for Heinrich Schütz, *Neue Ausgabe sämtliche Werke*, 39 (Kassel, 1984), 275.

⁶⁶ '... auch zu Erleichterung der angewandten schweren Unkosten, so ihm auf sein musikalisch Druckwerk... gegangen.' Walter Deeters, 'Alte und neue Aktenfunde über Michael Praetorius', *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch*, 52 (1971), 102–20 (p. 108). Praetorius may never have received the full amount, for the exchequer promised that he would receive interest at the annual rate of 6% until the entire sum was paid.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁶⁸ Adam Adrio, 'Die Drucker und Verleger der musikalischen Werke Johann Hermann Scheins', *Musik und Verlag*, ed. Baum and Rehm, 128–35 (p. 135).

⁶⁹ *Shakespeare's Europe*, ed. Hughes, 304.

TABLE 1

HEINRICH SCHÜTZ'S PUBLISHERS AND AGENTS AS NAMED IN HIS MUSIC BOOKS, 1639–64

<i>Schütz work</i>	<i>publisher</i>	<i>agent</i>
<i>Kleine geistliche Concerten II</i> , 1639	none specified	Johann Klemm,* Dresden; Daniel Weixer,* Leipzig
<i>Symphoniae sacrae II</i> , 1647	Johann Klemm, Dresden; Alexander Hering, Bautzen	Delphin Strungk, Brunswick; Johann Rosenmüller, Leipzig
<i>Geistliche Chormusic</i> , 1648	Johann Klemm, Dresden	Delphin Strungk,* Brunswick; Samuel Scheibe,* book- dealer, Leipzig
<i>Symphoniae sacrae III</i> , 1650	none specified; dedication implies that Schütz was publisher	none specified
<i>Zwölff geistliche Gesänge</i> , 1657	Christoph Kittel, Dresden	none specified
<i>Historia der Geburt Jesu Christi</i> , 1664	Alexander Hering, Dresden	Sebastian Knüpfer, Leipzig; Alexander Hering, Dresden

*advertised as also stocking Schütz's other music publications

Moryson is describing a form of self-publishing where the author paid the costs of printing. His comments, however, may not hold true for composers. Music was a specialist product and professional musicians were already experienced in the making and distribution of manuscripts. Self-publishing was an extension of that trade and also gave composers more control over the proofreading and correction of their specialist notation. As Schein said in one of his few statements about his ventures into the book trade, 'I published myself, with particular concern for accuracy.'⁷⁰

Closely related to self-publication was the use by some composers of their colleagues or pupils as publishers. Here the best example is Heinrich Schütz. From the 1640s his music was published and distributed by organists based in and around Dresden, as shown in Table 1. Particularly significant were Johann Klemm, a former pupil who seems to have acted as Schütz's copyist and secretary;⁷¹ Alexander Hering, described by Schütz in 1647 as 'my former servant and copyist';⁷² and Christoph Kittel, who was a court organist in the 1650s. At first Schütz seems to have used his junior colleagues as assistants in his master-plan

⁷⁰ 'Ich dieselben nicht ohne sonderbares bedencken der *Correction* selbst verlegt.' Schein, *Opella nova II* (Leipzig, 1626), *Auvertimento* in basso continuo partbook.

⁷¹ Joshua Rifkin and Colin Timms, 'Heinrich Schütz', *The New Grove North European Baroque Masters* (London, 1985), 1–150 (p. 41).

⁷² 'Mein bishero gewesener Diener Vndt Copist'. Letter of 14 April 1647 recommending Hering for the post of organist in Bautzen. *Heinrich Schütz: Gesammelte Briefe und Schriften*, ed. Erich H. Müller von Asow (Regensburg, 1931), 173.

to get his works published, perhaps as an extension of their duties as copyists. Around this time he repeatedly asserted his desire to 'collect and complete my musical works that I began in my youth and have them printed for my remembrance', albeit always in letters where he was pleading with his patron to be allowed to retire from everyday duties at the Dresden court.⁷³ From the mid-1650s, though, as Schütz entered his seventies and became increasingly exasperated at the musical fashions of the day, he lost interest in initiating publications himself. The title-page of the *Zwölff geistliche Gesänge* (1657) indicates that the publisher Christoph Kittel took the initiative in assembling the pieces and getting them printed, with Schütz's permission.⁷⁴ Meanwhile the 1664 publication of *Historia der Geburt Jesu Christi* (SWV 435) seems to have been neither instigated nor supervised by Schütz.⁷⁵

The business of publishing also required musicians to distribute and sell the finished copies. For town musicians who self-published, the book usually carried their address where copies could be obtained. Schein's *Opella nova II* (1626) bears the message on its title-page 'Published by the author and to be found by him at St Thomas's School in the same place [Leipzig]' ('In Verlegung des *Autoris*, vnd bey demselben auff der Schulen zu S. Thomas daselbst zu finden'). Schein's address was also frequently publicized in the book-fair catalogues (see Figure 1). As for Schütz's music published by his colleagues, the title-pages usually indicate that copies were available from Hering or Klemm in Dresden. There are also sporadic records of music being purchased direct from Schütz: at the Katherinekirche in Zwickau, for instance, the copy of *Symphoniae sacrae II* had been 'obtained from the composer himself' ('von dem Autore selbst bekommen').⁷⁶

As well as selling copies themselves, composers who self-published often retained agents for their music in other towns, almost as a substitute for the commercial network of booksellers described in earlier sections of this article. Table 1 lists Schütz's agents as advertised in his publications and also some book-fair catalogues. In Brunswick he was represented by Delphin Strungk (or Strunck), organist at the Martinskirche there from 1639. Schütz had strong links with the city, particularly in the 1640s when he was active as Kapellmeister *in absentia* at the court of August von Braunschweig-Lüneburg. He also spent the winter of 1644–5 in Brunswick and in February 1645 stood as godfather to Strungk's second child.⁷⁷ In Leipzig, by contrast, Schütz was represented by a

⁷³ 'Vndt (:damit Ich meine anderweit in meiner Jugendt angefangene Musicalische Wercke colligiren Completieren, undt zu meinen andencken auch in den druck geben könne:) von der ordentlichen auffwartung mich zubefreyen.' Letter of 14 January 1651, in *Heinrich Schütz: Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Müller von Asow, 213.

⁷⁴ 'Tetzo aber Zusammen getragen / und mit seiner Vergünstigung zum öffentlichen Druck befördert worden / Durch / Christoph Kitteln'.

⁷⁵ Rifkin and Timms, 'Heinrich Schütz', 61.

⁷⁶ Eberhard Möller, 'Neue Schütz-Funde in der Ratsschulbibliothek und im Stadtarchiv Zwickau', *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, 6 (1984), 5–22 (p. 19).

⁷⁷ Rifkin and Timms, 'Heinrich Schütz', 38–9.

series of church musicians, including Daniel Weixer (organist of the Nikolaikirche, 1637–45), Johann Rosenmüller (assistant teacher at the Thomasschule in the late 1640s and organist at the Nikolaikirche, 1651–5) and Sebastian Knüpfer (cantor at the Thomasschule, 1657–76). Only once was a professional book-dealer mentioned, namely Samuel Scheibe as the Leipzig agent for *Geistliche Chormusic* (1648). Sometimes Schütz's agents were advertised as stocking his entire published works, as with Weixer in Leipzig in 1639, who could supply any of them 'at reasonable price' ('umb billicher Preis').⁷⁸

By self-publishing and acting as the retail outlet for their music, some composers seemed to be turning their backs on the dissemination network of the wider book trade. This stance may have been forced upon them by the business practices of bookdealers. In 1626, for instance, Schein alleged that booksellers were failing to acknowledge his own publications:

I have heard it credibly reported – by word of mouth as well as in writing – that my previously published musical things (which I published myself, with particular concern for accuracy) have been denied by some booksellers here and elsewhere, who (the reason is obvious to anyone) when asked said that my books were either not yet out, or were out of print and unobtainable. Hence it is necessary for me to announce that not just this present work, but also my previous and (God willing) forthcoming books can be obtained, one and all, from me at the Thomasschule here in Leipzig, or from those book-dealers who make the necessary payment.⁷⁹

In his account of Schein's printers and publishers, Adam Adrio reads this passage at face value, concluding that Schein's self-publishing was 'therefore motivated by obvious economic reasons'.⁸⁰ Yet contemporary catalogues contradict Schein's claim that he was frozen out by booksellers: at the Michaelmas 1623 fair in Leipzig, for instance, his *Musica boscareccia I* and *Israelisbrünlein* (both published by himself) were offered for sale by the Leipzig firms of Elias Rehefeld and Johann Grosse,⁸¹ while in the same year the Frankfurt bookdealers David and Daniel Aubry also acted as agents for his publications.⁸² But it is

⁷⁸ Advertisement in basso continuo part of *Kleine geistliche Concerten II* (Dresden, 1639).

⁷⁹ 'Demnach Ich glaubwürdig so wol Schriftt: als auch mündlich berichtet / Als ob ertzliche Buchführer / allhier vnd anderswo / meine bißhero ausgegangene Musicalische Sachen / weil ich dieselben nicht ohne sonderbares bedencken der *Correction* selbst verlegt / wenn darnach gefragt worden / als ob sie entweder gar nicht heraus / oder sonst nicht mehr verhanden vnd zubekommen weren / (die vrsach verstehet jederman) verleugnet haben sollen: So habe ich eine notdurfft zuseyn erachtet / männiglich solches hiermit nachrichtiglich zuveravisiren, daß nicht allein dieses ietzige / Sondern auch alle andere meine hievorige / vnd noch (geliebt es Gott) künfftige verlegte Wercklein / einig vnd alleine bey mir / auff der Schulen zu S. Thomas allhier in Leipzig / oder doch wem ich solche etwa vnter der Buchführern vmb gebührliche zahlung vberlassen möchte / zubekommen seyn.' *Opella nova II* (Leipzig, 1626), basso continuo part, *Auvertimento*.

⁸⁰ 'Es waren also offensichtlich wirtschaftliche Gründe, die zu Scheins "Selbstverlag" geführt haben.' Adrio, 'Die Drucker und Verleger der musikalischen Werke Johann Hermann Scheins', 135.

⁸¹ Grosse catalogue, Michaelmas 1623, f. F3.

⁸² Berz, *Die Notendrucker und ihre Verleger in Frankfurt am Main*, 291.

easy to understand why Schein might have found it hard to participate fully in the book trade. His comments imply that he was impeded by the professional jealousy of booksellers, although it is equally likely that he lacked the necessary contacts or guild membership. Moreover, we have already seen how the wholesale book trade operated via exchange. As George H. Putnam has explained, such *Tauschhandel* could exclude author–publishers, who presumably wanted money for their publications rather than other books.⁸³ Schein may allude to this predicament when he says that he is happy to send copies to booksellers, provided they supply ‘the necessary payment’.

Some composers may have been forced to start self-publishing by the downturn in the book trade that began in the mid-1620s, as the Thirty Years War began to damage paper supplies, publishing networks and musical life. Already in 1623 Schein was speaking of prohibitive inflation (‘Teuerung’) in the preface to his *Israelisbrünlein*, while Burckhard Grossmann lamented how ‘Saul’s spear’ (‘Sauls Spieß’) was undermining music-making and music printing;⁸⁴ and in his *Opella nova II* of 1626 Schein again said that the harsh circumstances were hampering publication. Publishing and bookselling reached a nadir in the 1630s in Saxony and Thuringia: the numbers of books being sold at the Leipzig book fair fell so drastically that only one catalogue was issued in 1637 rather than the usual two. Moreover in 1636 Schütz explained that the war had forced him to hold back some of his compositions, on account of a lack of publishers.⁸⁵ His statement is qualified by the fact that he made it in a book of his small sacred concertos published by the Leipzig firm of Gottfried Grosse; but a general dwindling of commercial interest in printed music might explain why Schütz turned to publishing himself or through his colleagues from 1639 onwards. This argument, of course, would not hold for composers such as Hieronymus Praetorius and Michael Praetorius, who self-published before the war, when the market seems to have been much stronger.

From the 1630s self-publishing may also have reflected the shrinking and fragmentation of the market for music, as some repertories became increasingly specialized. The vocal concertos of Schütz, Kittel or Rosenmüller were unsuitable for the amateur musicians at rural churches such as Goldbach. These pieces demanded performing skills and stylistic awareness found mainly in professionals. Kittel’s book offered examples of Italianate vocal decoration for the choirboys of the Dresden court. Even more Italianate was the vocal and string writing in Schütz’s *Symphoniae sacrae II* (1647). As Schütz explained in his preface, he withheld this collection from publication for several years, partly because of the war,

⁸³ George H. Putnam, *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (New York, 1876), 435.

⁸⁴ Burckhard Grossmann, *Angst der Hellen und Friede der Seelen* (Jena, 1623), dedication.

⁸⁵ ‘Etzlicher meiner componirten Musicalischen Operum selber / mit welchen ich aus Mangel der Vorlegere biß anhero / wie auch noch anjetzo / zurück stehen müssen.’ *Kleine geistliche Concerten I* (Leipzig, 1636), dedication.

but also, and indeed above all, because of the modern Italian manner used herein, still not comprehended by the majority, both with respect to the composition and the proper performance of it. . . . Until now experience has repeatedly shown that this modern music, whether Italian or merely in the Italian manner, together with the measure proper for it and its black-note notation, . . . will neither rightly adapt itself to most of us Germans, as many of us are not bred to it, nor yet becomingly depart from us.⁸⁶

Such pieces were intended for specialists and as such they were primarily disseminated by professional musicians. It may be especially significant that almost all of Schütz's agents and publishers were organists, for the modern soloistic writing of *Symphoniae sacrae II* exemplified what Arno Forchert has called the 'organist's style' of church music, and was most likely to be performed by a few specialists clustered around the organ console, rather than by the traditional Kantoreien.⁸⁷

A logical next step was for such taxing pieces not to be printed at all, but to circulate solely in manuscript. Here an apt example is Schütz's *Historia der Geburt Jesu Christi* (1664), which was partially printed and partially published in manuscript. The piece consists of a biblical narrative for tenor and continuo, interspersed with grand intermedia that depict Christmas scenes using a wide variety of vocal and instrumental scorings. The narrative sections were printed, although their distribution seems to have been limited and they were never advertised in the book-fair catalogues. Even more restricted was the circulation of the intervening intermedia, which were retained in manuscript. As the preface explained, the 'author had misgivings about having these movements printed, having observed that his inventions would scarcely achieve their proper effect outside well-appointed princely ensembles'.⁸⁸ Scribal copies could be obtained, however, from Alexander Hering in Dresden or Sebastian Knüpfer in Leipzig, both of whom also acted as agents for the printed portions. Such copies would be made only for customers who had the composer's permission and would cost a modest amount.⁸⁹ The *Historia der Geburt Jesu Christi* thus symbolizes the narrowing of dissemination that occurred with the rise of sophisticated

⁸⁶ '... sondern auch / und zwar fürnehmlich die darinnen bey dem meisten theil noch verborgen gebliebene heutige Italianische Manier / beydes dero *composition* und rechten Gebrauch betreffende. . . . Vnd hat es zwar bißher die Erfahrung mehrmahls bezeuget / wie dieselbige heutige Italianische / und auff derer Art gerichteten *Composition* / nebenst dero gebührlichen *Mensur*, über die darinnen angeführten schwartzen Noten . . . uns Deutschen disseits zum guten theile / und so viel derer hierbey nicht erzogen / weder recht fügen / noch gebührlich abgehen wollen.'

⁸⁷ Arno Forchert, 'Überlegungen zum Einfluß Italiens auf die deutsche Musik um 1600: Voraussetzungen und Bedingungen', *Aneignung durch Verwandlung: Aufsätze zur deutschen Musik und Architektur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wolfram Steude (Laaber, 1998), 135–47 (pp. 143–5).

⁸⁸ 'Der Author dieselben in Druck heraus zu geben dahero Bedencken getragen hat, alldieweil Er vermercket daß außer Fürstlichen wohlbestälten Capellen, solche seine Inventionen schwerlich ihren gebührenden effect anderswo erreichen würden.' *Heinrich Schütz: Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Müller von Asow, 286.

⁸⁹ '... worselbst mit des Authoris Bewilligung dieselbigen . . . umb eine billiche Gebühr zu erlangen seyn würden'. On the surviving manuscript sources, see Eva Linfield, 'A New Look at the Sources of Schütz's Christmas History', *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, 4–5 (1982–3), 19–36.

and virtuoso sacred repertories in the mid-seventeenth century. Scribal publication allowed the circulation of the intermedia to be confined to those performers that Schütz or his agents considered to be competent. The recourse to manuscript also avoided the expense and technical difficulty of setting such complex textures in movable type. Yet the printing of the title-page and Evangelist's part may indicate a residual desire for wider dissemination or a lingering wish to partake of the prestige of print.

Presentation

Besides all the methods described above, many copies of printed music were distributed by presentation. In this, perhaps the oldest method of promulgating music, copies were given to prospective or actual patrons in the hope of a reward. Such a method had already been used for a long time with music manuscripts. Manuscripts might be offered to a current patron out of a sense of obligation, or to a former patron out of a belief that he or she still held a claim over the musician's output. Or scribal offerings were made speculatively, as a way to ingratiate oneself with a future patron. Thus on 19 June 1642, for instance, Samuel Scheidt wrote to Duke August von Braunschweig-Lüneburg offering two manuscript collections: a set of over 100 sacred madrigals for five voices, and a set of instrumental sinfonias.⁹⁰

Printed music was also sent out as a gift. But whereas a manuscript was usually unique to its recipient – or at least the recipient would rarely know if other copies existed – printed music existed self-evidently in multiple copies and was not such an exclusive offering. In other countries this problem was sometimes skirted by issuing copies with different dedications, but such a practice occurred only exceptionally in central Germany.⁹¹ Instead, authors and patrons made a careful distinction between *dediciren*, when a copy was offered to the named dedicatee, and mere *praesentiren*, when the copy was given to somebody else. Schütz stressed this distinction in 1624 when he was assessing music that had been presented to the Elector of Saxony. Among the items under review was the first volume of Scheidt's *Tabulatura nova* (1624), which as Schütz noted 'is dedicated to our gracious elector and lord, with a specially printed preface'. There were also 'two further volumes sent by Scheidt... however, these are not dedicated but only presented to our gracious lord'.⁹²

⁹⁰ Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, 1 Alt 22 no. 225. Transcribed by Friedrich Chrysander, 'Geschichte der Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttelschen Capelle und Oper vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft*, 1 (1863), 147–286 (p. 158).

⁹¹ Several printed collections by the Nuremberg organist Johann Erasmus Kindermann survive in exemplars with different dedications, according to the bibliographical listing in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*, 24/xiii (Leipzig, 1913), pp. xcii, xciv.

⁹² 'Ist aus diesen zweyen büchern das erste vnserm Gnedigsten Churfürsten vndt herrn, mit einer absonderlichen fürher gedrückten praefation, zugeschrieben'; 'noch 2 andre opera vor dessen eingeschikt... die selben opera aber seindt unserm Gnedigsten h.[errn] nicht dedicirt sondern nur praesentirt worden.' *Heinrich Schütz: Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Müller von Asow, 74.

As a mechanism of dissemination, presentation drew on elements of the patronage system. Composers had to act humbly and flatter the recipient in the hope of a reward. The piece of printed music became a token within a feudal relationship, whereby the composer (or client) demonstrated loyalty to the patron (or overlord). Although it was conventional to reward such presentations, the composer never dared to ask for recompense. Often an institution would have presentation copies assessed by a resident musician before deciding whether to offer an honorarium.⁹³ Some gifts of printed music were never reciprocated, as Samuel Scheidt discovered in 1652 when the Bitterfeld council failed to reward him for several compositions, even though he sent baleful letters of reminder.⁹⁴

Despite such risks, presentation was a way for composers to seize the initiative in dissemination and to target likely customers. Although a cynic might say that presentation showed that nobody wanted to buy a copy – Fynes Moryson called it a way of ‘hiring’ readers⁹⁵ – it was particularly useful for a specialist product such as music. Take the example of large-scale sacred music, for which the most likely performing institutions were princely chapels and big town churches. A composer would know the identity of these major institutions and send copies as a speculative presentation. Indeed the councils of the leading cities, such as Leipzig and Nuremberg, tended to be showered with gifts of printed music for the churches and schools under their jurisdiction. In Heinz Zirnbauer’s bibliographical reconstruction of the music library of the Nuremberg city council, 62 printed editions are listed as being dedicated or presented to the council between 1560 and 1660.⁹⁶ Meanwhile in Leipzig, Rudolf Wustmann records over 54 gifts of printed or manuscript music to the city council between 1590 and 1610.⁹⁷ Of course, one reason why the foremost cities received so many gifts was that composers hoped thereby to raise their profile and perhaps to be considered for any vacancies that might arise. Indeed Zirnbauer’s bibliography shows that the Nuremberg council received not just music that could be used in the city’s churches but also collections of madrigals for the delectation of the music-loving councillors and burgomasters. Yet the councils of smaller towns also received gifts, usually of sacred music for their schools and churches. To take two examples from Saxony, the council of Bitterfeld received gifts of organ music and sacred vocal music from Scheidt, while the Delitzsch council received copies of Scheidt’s *Görlitzer Tabulatur-Buch* and Schein’s *Israelisbrünlein* and *Opella nova I* and *II*.⁹⁸ It is hard to know whether presentations were made

⁹³ On such assessments, see Stephen Rose, ‘Publication and the Anxiety of Judgement in German Musical Life of the Seventeenth Century’, *Music and Letters*, 85 (2004), 22–40.

⁹⁴ Arno Werner, ‘Samuel und Gottfried Scheidt’, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 1 (1899–1900), 401–45 (pp. 413–15).

⁹⁵ *Shakespeare’s Europe*, ed. Hughes, 305.

⁹⁶ Zirnbauer, *Der Notenbestand der Reichsstädtisch Nürnbergischen Ratsmusik*.

⁹⁷ Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, i, 203–6.

⁹⁸ Werner, ‘Samuel und Gottfried Scheidt’, 413–15; and *idem*, ‘Zur Musikgeschichte von Delitzsch’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (1918–19), 535–64 (pp. 541–2).

with similar frequency to individuals such as burghers, clergy or minor nobles, simply because here there are no archival materials equivalent to the detailed civic ledgers and inventories.

It is difficult to judge the extent of presentation, but the technique seems to have been widely used for collections of sacred vocal music such as Schütz's *Psalmen Davids* (1619). This book was published by Schütz and was available via the wider book trade, being advertised in the fair catalogues for Michaelmas 1619 and Michaelmas 1620. Yet Schütz also presented at least 12 copies: to the town councils of Brunswick,⁹⁹ Chemitz,¹⁰⁰ Colditz,¹⁰¹ Dresden,¹⁰² Frankfurt am Main,¹⁰³ Halle,¹⁰⁴ Leipzig,¹⁰⁵ Nuremberg,¹⁰⁶ Weissenfels¹⁰⁷ and Zeitz,¹⁰⁸ and to the cathedrals of Magdeburg and Naumburg.¹⁰⁹ He doubtless sent off further copies that are not documented. As it is, the number of known gifts and their geographical range, from the Rhineland to Saxony, suggests the role of presentation in disseminating music.

The *Psalmen Davids*, however, is an exceptional case, for Schütz had several reasons to send off so many copies. For a start, the *Psalmen* represented his first publication of music in Germany; moreover, being written in a Gabrielian polychoral manner, the pieces showed his mastery of what the title-page proudly advertised as the Italian style ('auff Italienische Manier'). As such the book gave excellent publicity to his compositional ability. Already Schütz's compositional skill had made him the subject of a head-hunting tussle between

⁹⁹ Martin Ruhnke, 'Zur Hochzeit: Die Psalmen Davids. Ein Brief von Heinrich Schütz an die Stadt Braunschweig', *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Nordeuropas: Kurt Gudewill zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Uwe Haensel (Wolfenbüttel, 1978), 155–8 (pp. 156–7).

¹⁰⁰ Hans Joachim Moser, *Heinrich Schütz: His Life and Work*, trans. Carl Friedrich Pfatteicher (St Louis, 1957), 103.

¹⁰¹ Rautenstrauch, *Luther und die Pflege der kirchlichen Musik*, 240, 299. The partbooks were presented in 1620 and the council had them bound in 1625.

¹⁰² Moser, *Heinrich Schütz*, 105.

¹⁰³ Caroline Valentin, *Geschichte der Musik in Frankfurt am Main vom Anfange des XIV. bis zum Anfange des XVIII. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, 1906), 123–4. Also see Richard Mohr, 'Ein Brief von Heinrich Schütz an die Stadt Frankfurt am Main', *Deutsche Musikkultur*, 1 (1936–7), 103–4.

¹⁰⁴ Walter Serauky, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Halle*, ii/1 (Halle, 1939), 112. Schütz presented the partbook set to the council, who then gave it to the Marktkirche. Only the cappella parts are mentioned in the Marktkirche's list, but presumably the other partbooks were also supplied.

¹⁰⁵ Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, i, 219.

¹⁰⁶ Zirnbauer, *Der Notenbestand der Reichsstädtisch Nürnbergischen Ratsmusik*, 34.

¹⁰⁷ Arno Werner, *Städtische und fürstliche Musikpflege in Weissenfels bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1911), 46–7.

¹⁰⁸ Arno Werner, *Städtische und fürstliche Musikpflege in Zeitz bis zum Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Bückeburg and Leipzig, 1922), 60.

¹⁰⁹ Moser, *Heinrich Schütz*, 105; Werner, *Städtische und fürstliche Musikpflege in Weissenfels*, 47.

Landgrave Moritz of Kassel and the Elector of Saxony.¹¹⁰ Now he was making himself even more widely known, to cities and cathedrals across German lands.

A further reason why Schütz presented so many copies of the *Psalmen Davids* was that the publication celebrated his wedding. On 1 June 1619 he married the daughter of a Dresden court official; the same date is given in the dedication of the book although the printing was undoubtedly finished some time earlier, because Schütz was already sending copies out on 9 May 1619.¹¹¹ Marriage was a symbolic moment in the career of German men, for generally they were allowed to wed only when they had mastered their profession and ceased to be an apprentice or journeyman.¹¹² Schütz's impressive publication was certainly a statement of compositional mastery – to quote his later recollections, his aim was to 'distinguish myself properly by bringing forth a truly worthy work'¹¹³ – and his simultaneous marriage made this mastery explicit. Indeed with several of the presentation copies, such as that for Brunswick, he enclosed an invitation to his wedding.¹¹⁴ Whether or not he expected representatives of town councils to attend his marriage, the invitations were reciprocated by numerous gifts, including a gilded silver beaker from Leipzig and a barrel of Rhine wine from the Dresden council.¹¹⁵ Thus, for the *Psalmen Davids*, presentation was not merely a means to disseminate large-scale church music; it also allowed Schütz to assert his professional status and to earn social recognition from the elite of Germany.

Ideologies of the gift

The practice of presentation touched on a debate about whether music should be bought and sold. To judge from civic accounts, composers normally received a reward for their gifts of printed music, but sometimes they insisted that they did not want to be paid. For a composer skilled in rhetoric, such an insistence might be a necessary preliminary before receiving a reward; but it could also reflect a genuine Lutheran concern that writings and compositions should be freely distributed.

Michael Praetorius often said that he did not want to profit from his music. In 1608 he sent copies of his *Musarum Sioniarum motectae et psalmi latini* and *Musae Sioniae V* to the town council of Mühlhausen. In his covering letter he wrote: 'I ask nothing more than my desire that [the music] be understood and

¹¹⁰ Werner Dane, 'Briefwechsel zwischen dem landgräfllich-hessischen und dem kurfürstlich sächsischen Hof um Heinrich Schütz (1614–1619)', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 17 (1935), 343–55.

¹¹¹ See his letter to the Brunswick town council, in Ruhnke, 'Zur Hochzeit: Die Psalmen Davids', 156–7.

¹¹² Merry Wiesner, *Gender, Church and State in Early Modern Germany* (London, 1998), 169–70.

¹¹³ '... hierauff mit auslassung einer würdigen arbeit, mich würde herfür thun können'. From a letter of 14 January 1651. *Heinrich Schütz: Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Müller von Asow, 211.

¹¹⁴ Ruhnke, 'Zur Hochzeit: Die Psalmen Davids', 157.

¹¹⁵ Moser, *Heinrich Schütz*, 105.

accepted, and I do not want it imputed to me that I was pursuing a reward.¹¹⁶ On the other hand he mentioned that he had had music-type newly cast for these books, and thereby hinted at the costs incurred in their production. The letter, like so many of Praetorius's writings, is masterfully ambiguous in its rhetoric. The reader is uncertain whether to take it at face value or to interpret it as an example of *paralipsis*, where a writer draws attention to a matter by pretending to pass over it. Certainly the Mühlhausen council decided to reward Praetorius for the gift, to judge by a letter two years later in which he offered his thanks.¹¹⁷

In the prefaces to his publications, Praetorius again asserted that he did not seek payment and that he might even give away his music free of charge. Here his rhetoric can be particularly opaque. Take the example of the preface to *Musae Sioniae VIII* (1610). This is purportedly an address by the printer to the reader ('Typographus Lectori Candido S.') but might well be an example of Praetorius writing in the third person.¹¹⁸ The preface repeatedly denies that the composer made a profit from his music:

He [the author], on the advice of distinguished people, initially presented his *Musae Sioniae* to Lutheran churches and schools in outlying parts of Germany, at his own expense and through good friends. The favourable reader and music-lover shall know that the author has never raised any money and has not profited to his private advantage through remuneration. But because the work had become somewhat extensive, and because not all town cantors have the money to buy such a work, the author . . . gave out his *Musae Sioniae* Latin and German . . . with the right hand to good friends and to lovers of music, from a willing heart and without any concern for receiving money. For him it is sufficient reward that his modest work be accepted and welcomed, not by everyone (that would be impossible) but at least by some.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ 'Nichts mehr bittend noch begehrend, denn daß es im besten Verstanden vnndt uffgenommen, vnnd mir nicht einigem recompens dadurch nachzustellen, imputieret werden möchte'. Markus Rathey, 'Ein unbekanntes Mühlhäuser Musikalienverzeichnis aus dem Jahre 1617', *Die Musikforschung*, 51 (1998), 63–9 (pp. 68–9).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ On such third-person prefaces, see Siegfried Vogelsänger, *Michael Praetorius beim Wort genommen: Zur Entstehungsgeschichte seiner Werke* (Aachen, 1987), 4. Praetorius invariably used the court printer at Wolfenbüttel, where he was Kapellmeister; the books are such in-house productions that even if the printer did write the prefaces, he was probably a mouthpiece for Praetorius.

¹¹⁹ 'Er seine *Musas Sionias*, auff fürnehmer Leute gutachten / anfänglich an entlegene Orter Teutschlandes / Kirchen vnd Schulen Augspurgischer *Confession*, auff sein Vnkosten / durch gute Freunde hat *presentiren* vnd verehren lassen: So wolle der günstige Leser vnd Liebhaber der *Musik* wissen / das der *Autor* durchaus keinen Geltkram darmit auffgeschlagen / seinen *privat* Nutz vnd Gewinn durch *remuneraciones* vnnd gegenvorehrungen zu suchen / sondern weil das Werck etwas weitleufftig werden wollen / vnd alle *Cantores* in Städten offt des vermögens nicht seyn / solch Werck einzukeuffen: Er der *Autor* . . . solche seine *Musas Sionias* Teutsche vnd Lateinische . . . wolmeinent mit rechter Handt herfür zugeben / guten Freunden vnd *Musices amatoribus* von Hertzen willig vnd gerne / ohne einige entgeltnuß mitzuthelen / kein bedancken getragen: vnd sich alleine darmit *contentiret*, das sein geringes Wercklein / wo nicht bey allen (welches vnmöglich) jedoch bey etlichen angenehm vnd willkommen seyn möchte.'

The metaphor of giving music away 'with the right hand' is later clarified by a variant of a familiar proverb: 'What he gives charitably with the right hand, he does not take away with the evil left hand, but would leave as his favourable desire.'¹²⁰ Yet the use of such a proverb makes the preface hard to interpret. The language is so generalized that we might suspect it is an exercise in rhetorical conventions. And Praetorius's insistence on his generosity may also call to mind Marcel Mauss's analysis of gift-giving in primitive societies: 'In theory such gifts are voluntary but in fact they are given and repaid under obligation.'¹²¹

More specific information about Praetorius's methods of dissemination can be found in the second volume of his musical encyclopaedia, *Syntagma musicum*. Here he introduces a list of his works with information about their availability:

It occurs to me that some churches have been wanting my Latin works, but have been unable to get them because they have not been available. I mean the *Missodia*, *Hymnodia*, *Megalodia* and *Eulogodia*, which for the most part can be used as motets, and which were published four years ago. Also the churches would have to pay more for songs and printed music (*Notenwercke*) than for other material. Now the only aim and intention behind all my works is the glorification of God, and the establishment and promulgation of his name. Accordingly I invite those who require the aforementioned works, or whatever is still available of the German *Musae Sioniae*, *Uranodia* and *Litania*, or my present magnum opus, *Polyhymnia III: Panegyrica*, to write to the clergy or church authorities of their district, indicating which pieces they require. I will be very glad, then, to send them free of charge. Still, I do not ask that no one may be so wanton as to pretend that he is ordering them for his own pleasure, when his intention is really to sell them for his own profit. This has happened on a number of occasions in the past; I have encountered people who deprive the church of this music, or who order it from me and then sell it to others or barter it in another district. The result is that I blame the people to whom they have sold it. I should have liked to send on to many places the later parts (namely parts 6, 7, 8 and 9) of the German *Musae Sioniae*, and other pieces, to follow up the earlier volumes, but it would not have been worth my while with a racket like this going on, so I have had to forget the idea.¹²²

¹²⁰ 'Dieses was er mit der RECHTEN mildiglich gegeben / nicht mit der LINKEN vbel deutendt auffnehmen / sondern sich günstiger massen mit belieben lassen wolle.'

¹²¹ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (London, 1966), 1.

¹²² 'Dieweil mir auch vorkömpt / daß meine vor vier Jahren publicirte Lateinische *Opera*, als *Missodia*, *Hymnodia*, *Megalodia* vnd *Eulogia* (so an statt vnd gleich als *Motetten* meistentheils wol zu gebrauchen) von etzlichen Kirchen vnnnd Gemeinden begehret / aber vnvermügens halben vnd weil ohne daß die *Cantiones* vnd *Noten-Wercke* tewerer / als andere *Materia* zubezahlen / von denselben nicht gezeuget werden können: So erbiere ich mich dahin / das zu GOTTes Ehr vnd seines Namens erbaw: vnd außbreitung (dahin alle meine *Opera* vnd *labores* eintzig vnd allein gerichtet vnd gemeinet seyn) ob genante *Opera* vnd *Exemplaria*, vnd was auch von den Teutschen *Musis Sioniiis*, *Vranodia* vnd *Litania*, noch verhanden / so wol das jetzige grosse *Opus Polyhymniae III. Panegyricae*: denen / so sie / doch auff vorgehende der Pfarrherrn oder Kirchväter desselben orts schreiben / begehren / gantz willig vnd gerne ohn einig entgelt von Mir vnd der Meinigen gereicht Vnd außgefolget werden sollen. Jedoch das nicht jemand reichfertigt weise sich vnterstehe dieselbe abzufordern / seines gefallens Krämerey vnd Gewinn damit zutreiben / Inmassen vor diesem von etlichen geschehen sein sol; vnd ich selbst darhinder kommen

This is more in the nature of an advertisement and, particularly as the rhetoric is less ornate, is easier to take at face value than Praetorius's dedications and prefaces. Here he confirms the importance of direct presentation for church music but makes the process less exclusive by inviting church musicians to request such presentations. He affirms that he is not interested in money, saying that these copies will be sent out free of charge; he then complains about previous recipients of gratis copies who have profiteered by reselling them.

It is conceivable that Praetorius did give his music away free of charge. After all, we have seen that some if not all of his publications were underwritten by his patron in Wolfenbüttel. But there were also several reasons for Praetorius outwardly to renounce payment. One possible explanation would be that he found it demeaning and unduly mercantile to admit to receiving money for his compositions. Certainly humanists of the sixteenth century had often distanced themselves from suggestions that they were paid for their writing, as can be seen in the dispute between Erasmus and Ulrich von Hutten in 1522–3. Although this quarrel sprang from differing religious attitudes, the combatants exchanged many other insults, including Hutten's charge that Erasmus sought to profit from the dedications of his books. Erasmus retaliated by insisting that he did not use dedications to extort or beg for money. He then accused Hutten of writing pamphlets for money, whereupon he found himself attacked for accepting honoraria from publishers such as Froben of Basle.¹²³ Both Erasmus and Hutten seem to have felt that their scholarly reputation and social status would be damaged by the charge of writing for payment.

Praetorius's disavowal of payment may also have stemmed from a specifically Lutheran notion of human creativity. Lutherans believed that all human achievements, including literary and musical compositions, were the product of God-given talents. Such talents should not be hoarded but used to the full, and any resultant creations should be shared with all people. Such a belief was stated stridently in the prefaces of many books as a reason for their publication. Only a few years after the Reformation, Martin Agricola justified the publishing of his primer on instruments by envisaging God's words at the Last Judgment: 'I have heaped riches on you, so that through them you would serve your neighbour and communicate these things.'¹²⁴

bin / welche dieselben der Kirchen entzogen / auch wol von mir selbstn begehret / vnd andern umbs Geld verkaufft; Oder an andern örten vertauschet. Daß Ich dann an seinen Ort vnd zu deroelben verantwortung stelle. Hette zwar selbstn / wie angefangen / die letzten (als 6. 7. 8. 9.) Theil der Teutschen *Musarum Sioniarum* vnd mehrre Sachen / an viele Orte hernach senden wollen: So ist es mir mit den Botten so wiederwertig ergangen / daß Ich es gantz verbleiben lassen müssen.' *Syntagma musicum II* (2nd edn, Wolfenbüttel, 1619), ff. 9^v–10. Adapted from the translation by David Z. Crookes (Oxford, 1986), 16.

¹²³ David Friedrich Strauß, *Ulrich von Hutten*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1858), ii, 295–6. The polemic is translated by Randolph J. Klawiter, *The Polemics of Erasmus of Rotterdam and Ulrich von Hutten* (Notre Dame, IN, 1977).

¹²⁴ 'Ich hab euch begnadet mit grosser kunst . . . auff das yhr ewrem nehisten damit dienet vnd die selbigen mitteylet.' *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittenberg, 1529), f. A3^v. Trans. William E. Hettrick, *The 'Musica instrumentalis deudsch' of Martin Agricola* (Cambridge, 1994), 4.

Around 1600, too, numerous books of music spoke of the necessity to communicate compositions to one's neighbours. In 1609 Schein asserted in his *Venuskrantzlein* that 'this and other gifts of God should not be hidden under a bushel but be disseminated for the use of one's neighbours'.¹²⁵ Almost exactly the same phrase was used by Praetorius in the dedication of *Terpsichore* (1612). The trope continued to be used in Lutheran musical culture throughout the seventeenth century, including writings by Schütz and Kuhnau.¹²⁶ A late but well-known example is the couplet on the title-page of Johann Sebastian Bach's *Orgelbüchlein*: 'To the highest God in his honour / To my neighbour, that he may instruct himself from it' ('Dem Höchsten Gott allein' zu Ehren / Dem Nächsten, draus sich zu belehren').

Strict Lutherans extended this argument, asserting that authors should not profit from the gifts that God had granted them. Luther himself claimed that he neither received nor desired a material reward for his many writings. This outlook sprang from his struggles against printers who had pirated his works or distorted them with misprints. In a *Warnung* at the start of his 1545 German Bible, Luther alleged that such poor practices developed because printers were solely concerned with making a quick profit. The *Warnung* began by quoting St Paul's dictum that 'The love of money is the root of all evil' ('Der Geitz ist ein Wurtzel alles Vbels') and went on to list the problems encountered by printers whose concerns were exclusively pecuniary. By contrast, Luther claimed he himself had no concern with money, for his writings had been given by God and he wanted them to be widely available. 'Freely have I received, freely have I given, and I desire nothing in return. Christ the Lord has repaid me a hundred and thousand times over.'¹²⁷

Praetorius echoed Luther's sentiments about not receiving payment. I have already quoted the passage in *Musae Sioniae VIII* about giving with the right hand and not taking away with the left. Another of his prefaces, in *Terpsichore* (1612), has a long section explaining why a composer should praise God and help his neighbour by having his works printed. Referring to novices and apprentices, Praetorius wrote:

I am eager to help them, from the bottom of my heart, freely and without any payment, even at my own expense and disadvantage. I want to communicate to everyone all that I know, have learned and can do through God's grace and blessing.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ 'Vnd das solche vnd andere Gaben Gottes nicht vnterm Scheffel verborgen gehalten / Sondern zum nutz des Nehesten außgebreitet werden solten.' Schein, *Venuskrantzlein* (Wittenberg, 1609), tenor partbook, f. Aii.

¹²⁶ Schütz's prefatory letter to Constantin Christian Dedekind's *Aelbanische Musenlust* (Dresden, 1657); Johann Kuhnau, *Der musicalische Quacksalber* (Dresden, 1700), 517–18.

¹²⁷ 'Denn ich habs umsonst empfangen, umsonst hab ichs gegeben und begehre auch nicht dafür. Jesus Christus mein Herr hat es mir viel hundert- und tausendfältig vergolten.' *D. Martin Luther, Die gantze Heilige Schrift Deusch*, ed. Hans Volz, 2 vols. (Munich, 1972), i, 6.

¹²⁸ 'Denen ich gleichwohl von grundt meines Hertzens / ohn einig entgelt / vmbsonst / ja mit meinen Vnkosten vnd Schaden / fortzuhelffen / vnd alles / was ich durch Gottes gnade vnd seggen / erfahren / weiß / kan vnd vermag. . . einem Jedern zucommuniciren aus trewer wolmeynung / gantz begierig vnd geneiget bin.'

In his emphasis on giving freely ('umbsonst'), Praetorius may even be paraphrasing Luther's famous words.

Although Praetorius's language can rarely be taken at face value, it is fitting that he of all composers should adhere so closely to a Lutheran ideology of gift-giving, for his output was intimately connected with Reformed worship. Most of his surviving publications, including the nine volumes of *Musae Sioniae*, contain arrangements of Lutheran chorales. These chorales, to quote the title-page of *Musae Sioniae VIII*, were 'the common and other melodies that are sung at church and home in various places and lands'.¹²⁹ Praetorius never says as much, but it is conceivable that he saw these arrangements as adornments of common property rather than his own creation to barter and sell. Steeped in the musical and ideological heritage of the Reformation, Praetorius adopted a hardline Lutheran attitude towards the music trade.

Praetorius's coyness about payment contrasts with the readiness of Schein to demand 'the necessary payment' for his publications, or the mention in Schütz's collections of the 'reasonable price' charged by Weixer. The contrast may simply reflect the difference between sales talk and the language of dedications. Yet it also symbolizes the place of the music trade on the fringes of the monetary economy. There was presumably money to be made by the dealers in printed music, such as Flurschütz, Rosa or Willer, although the wholesale transactions at the book fairs were done by exchange to eliminate the inconvenience of monetary transactions. The offering of presentation copies might seem to be a relic of a feudal economy, made out of obligation to social superiors without any expectation of a reward, yet it might also have been a means of targeting the most likely institutional customers. Further interpretation can be difficult, given the fragmentary state of the evidence.

Indeed, throughout this article I have been working from scattered sources that give isolated snapshots of the music trade. We read, for instance, of the 25-year-old copies of lute-books in Vögelin's warehouse at Frankfurt; of the Brunswick organist acting as an agent for Schütz's publications; or of the merchants who carried consignments of music to and from the fairs. It is hard to judge if these snapshots are representative of the wider scene, particularly given that the music trade was a relatively small phenomenon; and it is always possible that new material could emerge that transforms the picture sketched here. All the same, it is evident that the book trade provided powerful and far-reaching mechanisms for disseminating partbook editions, including access to music from Italy, and the fairs at Frankfurt and Leipzig allowed music to be exchanged by publishers from across central Europe. At the same time, music was a minority item for many bookdealers and publishers, and composers might prefer parallel routes of dissemination under their own control, such as self-publication or presentation. Studying the mechanisms of the music trade not only shows the array of music that was available, but also begins to shed light on the purchasers for printed music, ranging from courts to private individuals. Further research must focus on the elusive figure of the purchaser, particularly if we are to grasp the uses of printed music in addition to its market.

¹²⁹ 'Die gemeinen vnd andere Melodeyen, wie die an vnterscheidenen Ortern vnd Ländern in Kirchen vnd Häusern gesungen werden'.

APPENDIX A

MUSIC IN THE POST-MORTEM INVENTORY OF HENNING SOSADT, LEIPZIG BOOKSELLER, 1551

Source: Leipzig, Stadtarchiv, Richterstube Inventar- und Hilfsbuch 1549–53, ff. 91–103. Transcribed by Albrecht Kirchhoff, 'Leipziger Sortimentshändler im 16. Jahrhundert und ihre Lagervorräthe', *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, 11 (1888), 204–82 (p. 214).

Partes 4 Stim Nurnberger

5 Bicinia Sacra Othomerj	Caspar Othmayr, <i>Bicinia sacra</i> , 2vv (Nuremberg, 1547 ¹⁸)
3 Tricinia Otthomerj	Caspar Othmayr, <i>Tricinia</i> , 3vv (Nuremberg, 1549)
3 Erste theil der lieder Forsterj	Georg Forster, <i>Ein Auszug guter alter und neuer deutscher Liedlein, einer rechten teutschen Art</i> , 4vv (Nuremberg, 1539 ²⁷)
3 Andertheil der lieder Forsterj	Georg Forster, <i>Der ander Theil, kurtzweiliger guter frischer teutscher Liedlein</i> , 4vv (Nuremberg, 1540 ²¹)
2 Drittetheil der lieder Forsterj	Georg Forster, <i>Der dritte Teyl, schöner, lieblicher, alter, und newer teutscher Liedlein</i> , 4vv (Nuremberg, 1549 ³⁷)
7 Reuterliedlein	? Caspar Othmayr, <i>Reutterische und jegerische Liedlein</i> , 4–5vv (Nuremberg, 1549)
3 Funfvndsiebenzig hubscher lieder	<i>LXXV hubscher Lieder</i> , 4vv (Cologne, n.d.), printed by Arndt von Aich, RISM 1519 ⁵
2 115 Neuer lieder	<i>Hundert und fünfftzeihen guter newer Liedlein</i> , ed. Hans Ott (Nuremberg, 1544 ²⁰)
1 Cantiones Gaulteri New Witt	?
1 Selectissime Simphonie Othone	?
1 Simbola Otthomerj	Caspar Othmayr, <i>Symbola illustrissimorum principum, nobilium, aliorumque . . . virorum</i> , 5vv (Nuremberg, 1547)
2 Cantilene Ecclesiastice Otthomerj	Caspar Othmayr, <i>Cantilenae aliquot elegantes ac piae</i> , 4–5vv (Nuremberg, 1546 ¹⁰)

APPENDIX B

MUSIC IN THE POST-MORTEM INVENTORY OF JOHANN ROSA, LEIPZIG BOOKSELLER, 1617

Source: Leipzig, Stadtarchiv, Richterstube Inventar- und Hilfsbuch 1616–18, ff. 189–202. Transcribed by Rudolf Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, i: *Bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1909), 173.

Agricola	5 Muteten	Christian Johannes Agricola, <i>Motetae novae pro praecipuis in anno festis</i> , 4–8vv (Nuremberg, 1601)
Avenarius	1 Horticello	Thomas Avenarius, <i>Horticello . . . amorosischer Gesänglein</i> (Dresden, 1614)
Brade	2 Paduan 5 st.	William Brade, <i>Neue ausserlesene Paduanen, Galliarden, Canzonen, Allmand und Coranten . . . auff allen musicalischen Instrumenten lieblich zu gebrauchen</i> , 5vv (Hamburg, 1609)
	1 Paduan 6 st.	William Brade, <i>Neue ausserlesene Paduanen und Galliarden . . . auff allen musicalischen Instrumenten und insonderheit auff Fiolen lieblich zu gebrauchen</i> , 6vv (Hamburg, 1614)
Brechtel	7 Teutsche Lieder 4 u. 5 st.	Franz Joachim Brechtel, <i>Neue kurtzweilige teutsche Liedlein nach Art der welschen Canzonetten</i> , 4–5vv (Nuremberg, 1590 ²⁷)
Brose	1 Paduan u. Galliard	? Peter Gross, <i>Paduanen und Intradan</i> , 5vv (Zeitz, 1616)
Coler	3 Cantiones lib. 1	Valentin Coler, <i>Liber primus cantionum sacrarum</i> , 4–8vv (Frankfurt, 1604)
	2 Cantiones lib. 2	Valentin Coler, <i>Liber secundus cantionum sacrarum</i> , 4–8vv (Frankfurt, 1605)
Demant	2 Magnificat	Johannes Christoph Demantius, <i>Trias precum vespertinarum, qua continentur canticum Beatae Mariae Virginis</i> , 4–6vv (Nuremberg, 1602)
	2 Teutsche Lieder 5 st.	Johannes Christoph Demantius, probably <i>Neue teutsche weltliche Lieder</i> , 5vv (Nuremberg, 1595)
	1 Tympanum militare	Johannes Christoph Demantius, <i>Tympanum militare</i> (Nuremberg, 1600, or 2nd edn, 1615)
Dulich	1 Cantiones sacrae	Philipp Dulichius, one of many motet books, perhaps <i>Cantiones sacrae concinnatae</i> , 5vv (Stettin, 1593)
Eichner	1 Cantiones sacrae	? Gregor Aichinger, perhaps one of his motet books, e.g. <i>Liber sacrarum cantionum</i> , 5–8vv (Nuremberg, 1597)

Elzbet	2 Cantiones sacrae	Thomas Elsbeth, one of several motet books published in Liegnitz or Frankfurt an der Oder, e.g. <i>Selectissimae & novae cantiones sacrae</i> , 6vv (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1600)
	1 teutzsche welt. Lieder 5 st.	Thomas Elsbeth, <i>Neue ausserlesene Lieder</i> , 5vv (Liegnitz, 1607)
Faber	1 Cantiones sacrae	? Benedikt Faber, <i>Sacrarium cantionum</i> , 4–8vv (Coburg, 1604)
Folsack	2 Paduan u. Galliard	<i>Ausserlesener Paduanen und Galliarden I</i> , ed. Zacharias Füllsack and Christian Hildebrand (Hamburg, 1607 ²⁸)
Frank	2 sacr. cant. I Augsbgr.	Melchior Franck, <i>Sacrarium melodiarum tomus primus</i> , 4–8vv (Augsburg, 1601)
	2 sacr. cant. III Cobg.	Melchior Franck, <i>Tomus tertius melodiarum sacrarum</i> , 3–4vv (Coburg, 1604)
	4 sacr. melodiae. 1607	Melchior Franck, <i>Melodiarum sacrarum</i> , 5–12vv (Coburg, 1607)
	3 sacr. melodiae 1604	Melchior Franck, <i>Sacrae melodiae tomus secundus</i> , 4–12vv (Coburg, 1604)
	5 geistl. Lieder 5, 6, 8 st.	Melchior Franck, <i>Geistliche Gesänge und Melodeyen . . . der mehrer theil auß dem Hohenlied Salomonis</i> , 5–6, 8vv (Coburg, 1608)
	7 Kirchengesänge ktrp.	Melchior Franck, <i>Contrapuncti compositi deutscher Psalmen</i> , 4vv (Nuremberg, 1602)
	24 Quodlibet Compania de edle Componi	Melchior Franck, perhaps a compilation of his many individually published quodlibets
Gese	1 Tischmusica	Bartholomäus Gesius, <i>Christliche Hauff und Tisch Musica. Gesänge . . . durch den Catechismum</i> , 4vv (Wittenberg, 1605)
Hausmann	5 Weltl. Lieder 4, 5, 6, 8 st.	Valentin Haussmann, <i>Musicalische teutsche weltliche Gesänge, nach art der italianischen Canzonen unnd Madrigalien</i> , 4–8vv (Nuremberg, 1608)
Jepp	1 Tricinia	Johannes Jeep, <i>Schöne ausserlesene Tricinia</i> , 3vv (Nuremberg, 1610)
	1 Studentengärtlein 1609	Johannes Jeep, <i>Studentengärtlein I</i> , 3–5vv (possibly the 2nd edn, now lost)
Lakner	1 Soboles musica	Daniel Lagkhner, <i>Soboles musica</i> , 4–8vv (Nuremberg, 1602)
Lechner	2 Missae	Leonhard Lechner, <i>Liber missarum</i> , 5–6vv (Nuremberg, 1584)

continued

APPENDIX B continued

	3 Geistl. u. weltl. Lieder	Leonhard Lechner, probably <i>Neue geistliche und weltliche teutsche Lieder</i> , 4–5vv (Nuremberg, 1589)
	1 Tricinia	Leonhard Lechner, probably <i>Der erst und ander Theil der teutschen Villanellen</i> , 3vv (Nuremberg, 1586, or 2nd edn, 1590)
	2 teutsche Lieder 4 st.	Leonhard Lechner, probably <i>Neue lustige teutsche Lieder nach art der welschen Canzonen</i> , 4vv (Nuremberg, 1586)
	3 teutsche Lieder 5 st.	Leonhard Lechner, perhaps <i>Neue teutsche Lieder</i> , 5vv (Nuremberg, 1579)
Lindner	2 gemmae Music. lib. 2 u. 3	<i>Liber secundus Gemmae musicalis</i> , ed. Friedrich Lindner, 4–6vv (Nuremberg, 1589 ⁸), and <i>Tertius Gemmae musicalis liber</i> , 4–8vv (Nuremberg, 1590 ²⁰)
	1 Coroll. cant. sacrar.	<i>Corollarium cantionum sacrarum</i> , ed. Friedrich Lindner, 5–8+vv (Nuremberg, 1590 ⁵)
	2 Missae	<i>Missae quinque quinis vocibus</i> , ed. Friedrich Lindner, 5vv (Nuremberg, 1590 ¹)
	5 Magnificat	<i>Magnificat</i> , ed. Friedrich Lindner, 4–5vv (Nuremberg, 1591 ¹)
Lütkekmann	1 Hochzeitsgesang	Paul Luetkemann, perhaps one of several wedding pieces listed in RISM (L2924–6) and all printed in Frankfurt an der Oder
Luttichius	1 Musical. Streitkränzlein	Johann Lyttich, <i>Musicalische Streitkränzelein ... von der allerfürtrefflichsten und berhümtesten Componisten ... und dannenhero Triumph di Dori oder de Dorothea genennet</i> , 6vv (Nuremberg, 1612 ¹³)
	62 Venusglöcklein	Johann Lyttich, <i>Venus Glöcklein, oder Neue weltliche Gesänge</i> , 4–5vv (Jena, 1610)
Metzger	1 Venusblümlein, 1. u. 2. Tl.	Ambrosius Metzger, <i>Venusblümlein I</i> , 4vv (Nuremberg, 1611) and <i>Venusblümlein II</i> , 5vv (Nuremberg, 1612)
Orlandus	1 Geistl. u. weltl. Lieder 4 st.	Orlando di Lasso, perhaps <i>Neue teutsche Lieder, geistlich und weltlich</i> , 4vv (Nuremberg, 1589)
	3 teutzsche Lieder 5 st.	Orlando di Lasso, perhaps <i>Teutsche Lieder</i> , 5vv (Nuremberg, 1593)
Praetorius	2 Mus. Sion. 5. Teil	Michael Praetorius, <i>Musae Sioniae V</i> , 2–8vv (Wolfenbüttel, 1607 ¹²)
	1 158 geistl. Lieder 4 st.	Michael Praetorius, <i>Musae Sioniae VII</i> , 4vv (2nd edn, Hamburg, 1611 ⁶)

	1 134 geistl. Lieder 4 st.	Michael Praetorius, <i>Musae Sioniae VI</i> , 4vv (2nd edn, Hamburg, 1611 ⁵)
	1 167 geistl. Lieder 4 st.	Michael Praetorius, <i>Musae Sioniae VIII</i> , 4vv (2nd edn, Hamburg, 1612 ⁶)
Rangenhart	3 teutsch. Lieder 5 st.	? Jacob Regnart, <i>Neue kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder</i> , 5vv (Nuremberg, 1580, or 2nd edn, 1586)
Turinus	2 Teutsche Lieder 4 st.	Gregorio Turini, <i>Neue liebliche teutsche Lieder</i> (Nuremberg, 1590 ²⁸)
Uttenhalß	3 teutsche u. franz. Lieder	Alexander Utendal, <i>Fröliche neue teutsche und frantzösische Lieder</i> , 4–5vv (Nuremberg, 1574, or 2nd edn, 1586)
Vulpus	2 Evangel. Sprüche, 2. Tle. 4 st.	Melchior Vulpus, <i>Der ander Theil deutscher sonntäglicher evangelischer Sprüche von Trinitatis biss auff Advent</i> , 4+vv (Jena, 1614, or 2nd edn, 1617)
Widemann	1 Musikal. Kurzweil.	Erasmus Widmann, <i>Musicalisch Kurtzweil. . . Gesänglein, Tantz und Curranten</i> , 4–5vv (Nuremberg, 1611)

ABSTRACT

One of the main challenges facing early printers and publishers of music was how to distribute their products to a dispersed, niche market. At the start of the seventeenth century there were two principal routes of dissemination in German-speaking lands: the general book trade (including the fairs at Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig) and the composer's own initiatives (whether via presentation copies, or via self-publication as pursued by Michael Praetorius, Johann Hermann Schein and Heinrich Schütz). This article traces the transactions by which music was disseminated, examines the range of music available through the book trade, and asks how booksellers and musicians negotiated the market for printed music.