

# Early Music Printing in German-Speaking Lands

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## Chapter 8

### **The music editions of Christian Egenolff: a new catalogue and its implications**

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## The music editions of Christian Egenolff

A new catalogue and its implications<sup>1</sup>

*Royston Gustavson*

For Grantley McDonald

### Introduction

Christian Egenolff is one of the most important music printers in the German-speaking area in the sixteenth century, in part because he was the first German printer to use single-impression movable type to print mensural music (which is much cheaper than the previous double-impression process), and in part because of his editions of *Tenorlieder*. Music, however, formed a very small part of his output, both in terms of total editions (sixteen of more than 600 editions) and of the physical scale of the editions. To place this into perspective, to print one copy of each of his known music editions (excluding the lost *Gesangbüchlein*) would have taken 282 sheets of paper; to print one copy of his 1534 bible (VD16 B 2692) took 290 sheets of paper.

Previous catalogues of Egenolff's music editions have been incomplete, although that by Hans-Christian Müller in 1964 was an outstanding version based on the evidence known at that time.<sup>2</sup> A third of Egenolff's extant editions have until now remained without a known title as the title pages were missing, just over half have had a contested date of printing, and two works have been believed to exist in two editions, whereas there is only one edition, but two issues, of each. The present chapter, based on a first-hand examination of all of Egenolff's music editions, including every known exemplar of ten of the fourteen extant editions, aims to remedy this, so that future work on Egenolff and the music in his editions can rest on a surer bibliographical foundation. The catalogue closes with a number of titles that either do not in fact contain printed music, or the printing of which is hypothesised; these are discussed briefly in the catalogue but not in the text below.

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1 I am grateful to the following libraries and their staff who allowed me access to original Egenolff editions during my visits: A-Wn, CH-Bu CH-BE1, CH-Zz, D-B, D-Mbs, D-W, D-Z, F-Pn, GB-Lbl, PL-Kj, US-Wc, and to the many libraries that sent me photographs of materials. I am grateful to Grantley McDonald for translations from the Latin, checking some archival materials in Vienna, and for his constant encouragement to write this chapter.

2 Of the previous detailed catalogues of Egenolff's music editions, the most important is Müller, 'Die Liederdrucke', which is drawn on by Berz, *Frankfurt am Main*. Those with brief entries on Egenolff's music editions include RISM and Gustavson, 'Egenolff'. The anthologies are catalogued in Eitner, *Sammelwerke*; and the Lied anthologies are catalogued, with incipits for all voices, in Böker-Heil, *Das Tenorlied*. Catalogues that cover Egenolff's entire output include the group of three articles by Josef Benzing: 'Christian Egenolff', (1954), 'Die Drucke Christian Egenolffs', (1955) and 'Christian Egenolff und seine Verlagsproduktion', (1973); Jäcker, 'Verzeichnis'; and the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD16), online at [www.vd16.de](http://www.vd16.de).

## Typefaces and woodcuts

Egenolff used only one music typeface throughout his career,<sup>3</sup> despite the staff lines of the individual pieces of type not joining smoothly and the stem lengths being irregular. These features resulted in the pages of music having a rather untidy appearance. This typeface was used neither by other printers,<sup>4</sup> except for two staves in a grammar text,<sup>5</sup> nor by his heirs, except in their very first music edition,<sup>6</sup> after which their editions used a different typeface.<sup>7</sup> As such, it is not necessary to discuss his music typeface further. In his music prints, Egenolff set Latin headings (and sub-headings) in a Roman typeface, and Latin body text, with very rare exceptions, in a so-called Aldine italic in which only the lowercase letters were slanted but the capitals were upright. For languages other than Latin, he typically used a Fraktur for headings, and always used a Schwabacher for body text.<sup>8</sup> On his music title pages he used a variety of ornaments, including three different types of vine leaves – two types of single leaf and one type of trifoliate leaf<sup>9</sup> – and woodcuts including musical instruments, people playing musical instruments, animals, and geometric designs.

### 1 Tritonius. Odes. 1532

Egenolff's first music edition was a reprint of Öglin's 1507 quarto edition of Petrus Tritonius' settings of Horace's odes (RISM T 1250, vdm 108).<sup>10</sup> Unlike Öglin, who printed all four voices in one volume with the voice parts across a single opening, Egenolff printed the ode-settings in a set of four partbooks. The purpose of the edition was instruction in Latin metre, and like most schoolbooks it is printed in upright octavo.

This edition can be divided into two groups on the basis of two small variations in the typesetting that occur on the title page of the Tenor partbook. The first involves the first two lines of text: in the first group, the title begins *ODARVM Horatij Concentus*; in the second group, it begins *MELODIAE in Odas Horatij*. The second variation is that the title page of the first group has a border around the woodcut, but the second group does not. Apart from these differences, all examined copies of each of the four partbooks are from the same setting of type, and there are no changes to the makeup such as the addition or removal of leaves, therefore both titles belong to the same edition. From a technical perspective, the alterations to the title page are just like any stop-press changes. Egenolff stopped the press during the print run of the first sheet of the Tenor partbook, which contained the title page, and amended this one page of sixteen on the sheet. Fredson Bowers defines the differences

3 This typeface is described in Berz, *Frankfurt am Main*, 127–129.

4 Krummel, 'Early German Partbook Type Faces', 81, who did not note the Braubach as he did not include grammar texts.

5 Philipp Melancthon, *Grammatica graeca* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Braubach, 1541; exemplar at GB-Lbl Hirsch IV.1518), with one staff of music on each of fols. A6<sup>r</sup> and A7<sup>r</sup> (VD16 M 3500; vdm 665). Berz, on p. 129, classifies this as a different typeface to Egenolff's, but the two typefaces appear identical to me. Braubach's 1544 edition of this title (VD16 M 3502), according to Berz (p. 151), has the music printed from woodblocks, not type; I suggest that this implies that Braubach borrowed the type for the 1541 edition. I have not seen the 1542 or 1543 Braubach editions of the *Grammatica graeca*.

6 The *Psalmen, Geistliche gesenge, Kirchen Ordnung und Gebet* of 1565 (RISM VIII DKL 1565<sup>03</sup>); see also Lipphardt, *Gesangbuchdrucke*, 17.

7 Berz, *Frankfurt am Main*, 22–24, and 133–136 where he discussed the music typeface found in all but their very first music edition (see fn. 6 above); Berz' discussion does not consider their first edition as it only came to his attention after his study was completed ('Nachträge', 280).

8 These typefaces have been categorised and discussed by Johnson, *Christian Egenolff*.

9 Vervliet, *Vine Leaf Ornaments*, p. 69, no. 8 (single leaf), p. 79, no. 13 (trifoliate leaf), and p. 112, no. 43 (single leaf).

10 Gustavson, *Competitive Strategy Dynamics*, 204–205.

between states as 'Alterations which do not affect makeup and which were performed in the type-pages of a forme, whether intentionally or unintentionally, while it was printing'.<sup>11</sup> However, there is what Bowers calls an 'ideal copy', that is, a version of the book that the printer considered to be the most correct or that best represents the book. Here this does not exist, as there are two ideal copies, one for each title. Bowers defines 'issue' as follows:

The publisher or bookseller of a separate issue should issue the book in some different form from the common issue, that this different form is specified in a press-altered title and is not merely an unpurposed variant state within his share of the edition, and finally that the form should reflect the different circumstances of issue or should be contrived for reasons affecting sale.<sup>12</sup>

Here there is a press-altered title, but technically the two versions are identical in form. Although there is no physical difference, there is one of perception. The different titles cause the purchaser to perceive the partbooks in different ways, one as a music edition and one as a poetry edition, and so the different titles were 'contrived for reasons affecting sale'. Brian McMullin has kindly considered this question for me and, based on the evidence of the title pages, is of the view that the *Odorum* and the *Melodiae* are separate, simultaneous issues rather than just being different states of the title page.<sup>13</sup>

Despite the two different titles, this is one edition that exists in two issues. As the woodcut on the title page of the *Odorum* is in a better condition than in the *Melodiae*, and the title pages of the Discantus and Bassus partbooks all read *Odorum Horatii concentus*, it can be inferred that the title-page of the *Odorum* was printed before that of the *Melodiae*. Because of the different titles, this edition has been catalogued as two separate editions in most bibliographies, at least since Gesner's *Pandectae* of 1548.<sup>14</sup>

The order of printing of the partbooks is unusual. The signatures in Egenolff's prints were always in the order single uppercase, then single lowercase, then other combinations. Therefore, the Tenor was printed first, then the Bassus. We need to draw on other evidence for the order of the two other partbooks. The final leaf of the Discantus is blank, but that of the Altus, while blank on the recto, has a full-page woodcut of two musicians on the verso. This implies that the Altus partbook is last, with the woodcut on the final page. The order is therefore TBDA. In all other sets of Egenolff partbooks where the order is known or can be inferred, it is TDBA. Although the BD are in reverse order here, the Altus is in its invariable position at the end.

## 2–4, 6–8 *The extant sedecimos 1535–1536: overview*

This group of editions is characterised by their format, oblong sedecimo. This is a very unusual format for printed music, and I know of no other editions in this format from the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Each sheet of paper produced sixteen leaves or thirty-two pages, producing editions so small they could fit into a shirt pocket. These books were designed to be cheap. A complete set typically required only a few sheets of paper.

<sup>11</sup> Bowers, *Principles*, 46.

<sup>12</sup> Bowers, *Principles*, 101.

<sup>13</sup> Brian McMullin, email of 25 January 2017.

<sup>14</sup> Conrad Gesner, *Pandectarum . . . libri XXI* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1548), 83<sup>r</sup> for the *Melodiae* and 84<sup>v</sup> for the *Odorum* (VD16 G 1699); see also Bernstein, 'The Bibliography', 147 (No. 144) and 154 (No. 231).

<sup>15</sup> Laurent Guillo (email of 17 July 2015) informs me that the Genevan printers Simon Du Bosc and Guillaume Guérault printed a series of books of motets or spiritual songs books in oblong sedecimo: RISM 1554<sup>12–13</sup>, 1555<sup>13–14</sup>, 1555<sup>16–17</sup>, 1556<sup>10–11</sup>, [1558]<sup>8</sup>, [1559]<sup>4–5</sup>, C 2684–2685.

The amount, and hence cost, of typesetting was reduced by supplying only the first stanza of each song in the Tenor partbook of the German- and Flemish-texted editions and incipits alone in the other nineteen partbooks, and there were no dedications or other preliminary texts.

Until now, only three of these editions have had a known title and date; only the Discantus partbooks, lacking the title and date, of the other three editions were believed to be extant. The most important contribution of this chapter is the identification of the titles of these three editions and the date of one of the editions by drawing on the *Bibliothecae Traiectinae Catalogus* (Utrecht: Rhodius, 1608), and the identification of the Tenor partbooks of the other two editions in the Schweizerische Landesbibliothek in Bern.

For more than two decades, I have been searching through early catalogues for references to early music prints. In the *Bibliothecae Traiectinae Catalogus*, three titles, in the section 'Libri Musici', all published at Frankfurt, caught my eye:

CANTIONES III. VOC. [fol. Qq1<sup>v</sup>]  
 Cantiones selectissimæ LXVIII. zu Francfurt. [fol. Qq2<sup>v</sup>]  
 CANTIONES IV. VOC. [fol. Qq2<sup>v</sup>]  
 Cantiones quatuor vocum, zu Francfurt. bis. [bis = Tenor] [fol. Qq3<sup>r</sup>]  
 Brabandische Liedlin/zu Franckfurt. 1535. [the next entry on fol. Qq3<sup>r</sup>].

A search on these titles in Google Books led me to a reference to the 'Cantiones selectissimæ LXVIII' in a book celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Schweizerische Landesbibliothek.<sup>16</sup> A search of that library's catalogue brought up the Tenor partbook of that title, which is bound with the Tenor of the four-voice *Cantiones*. The title page of the four-voice *Cantiones* names Egenolff as printer, which is final proof of the long-accepted arguments that these are Egenolff prints. His extant sedecimo editions are therefore:

- 2 *Gassenhawerlin*, February 1535
- 3 *Reutterliedlin*, 1535
- 4 *Brabandische Liedlin*, 1535
- 6 *Reutterliedlin*, second edition, December 1536
- 7 *Cantiones vocum quatuor*, undated
- 8 *Cantiones selectissimæ LXVIII vocum trium*, undated [hereafter *Cantiones vocum trium*].

We shall first discuss why these constitute a group, and what can be gleaned about the order in which they were printed. We shall then comment on each in turn.

Four of these titles (2, 3, 7, 8; and 6, which is a reprint of 3) consistently commence with new music, then reprint works sourced from German editions of the 1510s.<sup>17</sup> This shared pattern suggests that these collections were all compiled by the same editor. Three of the four songbooks on which the editor of Egenolff's sedecimo songbooks drew were printed by Peter Schöffler the Younger,<sup>18</sup> the other by Arnt von Aich:

<sup>16</sup> Wissler, 'Die Musikalien', 89.

<sup>17</sup> See Moser, introductory booklet to *Gassenhawerlin*; Bridgman, 'Christian Egenolff'; and Staehelin, 'Petruccis Canti B'.

<sup>18</sup> Until the discovery of the Egenolff Tenor partbook it could not be determined whether Egenolff used Petrucci's *Canti B* or Schöffler's reprint, the *Quinquagena carminum*, as his source, as only the Tenor of Schöffler's edition is extant. Schöffler copies Petrucci very closely, however there are a very small number of differences,

[Liederbuch 3–4 St.] (Mainz: Peter Schöffler the Younger, 1513) RISM 1513<sup>2</sup>, vdm 13  
*Quinquagena carminum* (Mainz: Peter Schöffler the Younger, 1513), not in RISM, vdm 15  
 [36 Lieder] (Mainz: Peter Schöffler the Younger, 1517) RISM [c.1515]<sup>3</sup>, vdm 16  
*In dissem Buechlyn fynt man LXXV hubscher lieder* (Cologne: Arnt von Aich, [1514/1515])  
 RISM [1519]<sup>5</sup>, vdm 17.

Egenolff reprints them as follows:

*Gassenhawerlin*: Nos. 17–20 = [36 Lieder] 18, 22, 29, 30; Nos. 21–28 = [Liederbuch 3–4 St.] 7, 8, 9, 13, 32, 46, 50, 54; Nos. 29–34, 37–39 = *In dissem Buechlyn*, Tenor partbook 2, 3, 5, 6, 50, 62, 40, 51, 35  
*Reutterliedlin* Nos. 19–25 = [36 Lieder] 3, 11, 20, 27, 28, 35, 36; Nos. 26–27 = [Liederbuch 3–4 St.] 35, 51; Nos. 28–31, 33, 36 = *In dissem Buechlyn*, Tenor partbook 12, 20, 49, 45, 38, 46  
*Cantiones vocum quatuor* Nos. 18–33 = *Quinquagena carminum* 7, 9–11, 13, 16, 15, 17–21, 25, 28, 31, 34  
*Cantiones vocum trium* Nos. 14–25 = *Quinquagena carminum* 39–40, 42–51 (all of the three-voice pieces).

The only sedecimo for which no earlier source print is known is the *Brabandische Liedlin*, but I argue below that this too was a reprint, but of an entire earlier edition, rather than drawing together material from several editions. It is also interesting that Egenolff gave his songbooks titles only in German and Latin, even though the *Brabandische Liedlin* contains works in Flemish and the *Cantiones vocum quatuor* contains mostly French chansons. The unusual word order for the two Latin-titled editions, ‘vocum [number]’ rather than ‘[number] vocum’, further strengthens the argument that those two editions were edited together.

A second feature that implies that the sedecimos are, or include, a group is the signatures. The signature, which is essential for correct binding of a book, appears on the bottom right hand of the front (recto) side of a leaf. It identifies the gathering to which each bifolium belongs, and the specific place of that bifolium within that gathering. Egenolff normally signed gatherings with a single uppercase letter. In editions that required more than a single alphabet, for example in very long books, he differentiated groups of gatherings by using first a sequence of uppercase letters, then lowercase, then other combinations, such as double lowercase. When producing a set of partbooks, Egenolff needed to differentiate the partbooks so that the printed sheets would not become mixed up with each other, and to do this he used the same idea: different combinations of uppercase and lowercase letters. We can see this in the partbooks of the 1532 ode collection (Cat. 1), where the signatures are:

Uppercase: Tenor  
 Lowercase: Bassus  
 Double lowercase: Discantus  
 Uppercase and lowercase: Altus

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and here Egenolff follows Schöffler. To give three examples, Egenolff fol. C6<sup>r</sup>, stave 4, notes 8–9 are SB, dotted SB in Egenolff and Schöffler but M M SB M in Petrucci; fol. C6<sup>v</sup>, stave 1, note 4 is a SB in Egenolff and Schöffler but M M in Petrucci; Egenolff and Schöffler fol. D4<sup>r</sup>, stave 1, have no repeat sign but there is one after the brevis in Petrucci.

The Waldis *Psalter* (Cat. 16), which although a single volume has enough leaves to require more than one alphabet, is signed uppercase, then lowercase, then double lowercase for the preliminaries, including index, which were printed last. Each title of the sedecimos had its partbooks signed using a single sequence. However, the style of signature used for each title differentiates it from the others:

Uppercase: *Gassenhawerlin*, Feb. 1535; *Brabandische Liedlin*, 1535

Lowercase: *Reutterliedlin*, 1535 (reprinted in 1536)

Double lowercase: *Cantiones vocum trium*, undated

Uppercase and lowercase: *Cantiones vocum quatuor*, undated.

Unless the different titles were printed either simultaneously or, more likely, sequentially, there would be no reason to differentiate them from each other by this method. If all five titles were a set, then it would be unexpected that two – the *Gassenhawerlin* and *Brabandische Liedlin* – use the same signature pattern of single uppercase, as there are many signature patterns that were available but not used (for example, double uppercase). We can infer that one of these two prints is not part of the ‘set’. The *Gassenhawerlin* and *Reutterliedlin* are surely a pair owing to their method of compilation, a claim strengthened by their being reprinted in 1552 in a combined edition as the *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin*. As the *Reutterliedlin* is the only title signed with single lowercase, we can infer that its pair was the *Gassenhawerlin* and therefore that the *Brabandische Liedlin* is not part of the set. In addition to the duplication of the uppercase signatures there are other reasons, discussed below, why the *Brabandische Liedlin* is unlikely to be part of the ‘set’ of partbooks consisting of the other sedecimos. As noted earlier, there is no established signature pattern that allows us to determine whether uppercase+lowercase was used before or after double lowercase. To order the two volumes of *Cantiones* within the catalogue, I turn to evidence from other prints. The *Quinquagena carminum* commences with a section for four-voice works and concludes with a section for three-voice works; the sections are also differentiated by an index for four-voice works and an index for three-voice works. The *Liber selectarum cantionum* (Augsburg: Grimm & Wyrnung, 1520; vdm 18) and the *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (Nuremberg: Formschneider, 1537; vdm 35) both commence with six-voice works, then move on to five-voice works, then conclude with four-voice works. Based on this contemporary practice, our Catalogue orders the print with the larger number of voices first, followed by that for the smaller number of voices. This is consistent with Egenolff naming himself as the printer on the title page of the *Cantiones vocum quatuor*, but not on the title page of its companion, the *Cantiones vocum trium*.

The ornaments used in the printing link some of the editions. The *Gassenhawerlin* and *Cantiones vocum trium* have woodcuts of birds, the most musical of animals, on their title pages; although the woodcuts are of different birds, they are from the same set. The *Cantiones vocum quatuor* and the second edition of the *Reutterliedlin* each have the same woodcuts of a lute and a bagpipe, with the former also having a hurdy-gurdy and the latter a viola da gamba from what appear to be the same ‘set’ of woodcuts; these two editions also use Vine Leaf 43 on their title pages, whereas Vine Leaves 8 and 13 are used in the three prints that bear the date 1535, namely the *Gassenhawerlin*, the first edition of the *Reutterliedlin*, and the *Brabandische Liedlin*.

The watermarks give further clues. None of the partbooks of the 1535 *Reutterliedlin* has a watermark. The 1535 *Gassenhawerlin* has crowns and a lily. All of the other sedecimos have one or more oxheads, detailed in the catalogue, and in each edition there is at least



one paper in which the oxhead is over a posthorn. The only other print that bears the date 1535, the *Brabandische Liedlin*, has (i) an oxhead over which is a letter T, and (ii) an oxhead under which is a small posthorn and over which is a clover leaf; both of these watermark types are included in Piccard's catalogue with their source given as a non-music Egenolff print, the *Chronica* (VD16 E 57, exemplar at D-SI HB b 368), the colophon of which is dated August 1535. Most interesting is that one paper, an oxhead with a letter T over it and a large posthorn under it, appears in both volumes of the *Cantiones* and in the second edition of the *Reuttterliedlin*.

The poor survival-rate of these sedecimos means that the surviving exemplars provide relatively little additional evidence about their interrelationships. None of the extant editions is complete. Of the twenty-three partbooks that originally constituted these six editions, eight are completely lost, one is fragmentary, and only one survives in more than one exemplar. We can therefore make few assumptions based on the surviving copies. While the presence of three non-German texted editions in the *Bibliothecae Traiectinae Catalogus* would seem to provide evidence that further identifiable exemplars existed in the past, there is good evidence that the exemplars listed in the Utrecht collection are those now held in Paris. The former owner of the Paris partbooks was a nineteenth-century collector in Utrecht, Jan Jacob Nahuys (1801–1864), whose stamp is found on the title pages. The names of two earlier owners inscribed in the books, 'J. Goude' and 'Jan van Dijck' are also Dutch. It is likely then that the exemplar formerly in the Utrecht collection is that now in Paris. The Zwickau exemplars of the *Gassenhawerlin* and *Reuttterliedlin* are bound together in an early binding, while those of the *Cantiones* partbooks in Bern are bound together in a modern library paper and cardboard binding. But as noted earlier, these are the only sedecimo polyphonic music editions from the first half of the sixteenth century, and so they could not be bound with any other editions available on the market at that time. Consequently, these tiny editions were more likely than others to go missing, which also means that there may be other, lost editions (including a second edition of the *Gassenhawerlin*).

The minimum possible period over which the extant and postulated sedecimos could have been printed may help to determine the minimum dating parameters. First, we need to consider the print run. Evidence presented by Hertz, Agee, Lewis, Blackburn and others suggests that musical editions were generally printed in runs of 500 or 1000.<sup>19</sup> This is consistent with the conclusions of Gaskell, who writes that the standard unit of work for the operator of a printing press was a token of 250 sheets, resulting in 'a strong tendency for edition sizes to be exact multiples of this'.<sup>20</sup> To be conservative in our calculations, we will assume a print run of 1000. One copy of each of the sedecimos would require sixty-seven sheets of paper and the setting of 134 formes of type. According to McKenzie, the operator of a press could print at a maximum some 3000 impressions per day, six days per week.<sup>21</sup> If the print run were 1000 copies and the seven editions were printed consecutively, the printing of the 134 formes would at maximum working speed take forty-five working days or seven and a half weeks. We also need to consider the rate of typesetting. McKenzie writes that an experienced typesetter could typeset up to 10,000 to 12,000 letters per day.<sup>22</sup>

19 Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant*, 120–122; Agee, 'A Venetian Music Printing Contract', 59–64; Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 87–89; and Blackburn, 'The Printing Contract', 347.

20 Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, 124.

21 McKenzie, 'Printers', 8.

22 McKenzie, 'Printers', 8.

Counting the number of pieces of type on Bassus C1 and C2, we get an average of 122 pieces of type per page. These books, set in sedecimo (sixteen pages per forme) thus had some 2000 pieces of type per forme. A compositor could thus set five or six such formes per day. A compositor who produced five formes a day would take twenty-seven working days to typeset 134 formes. As each forme would be printed soon after it was typeset (as there was always a limited supply of type), printing these seven sets of sedecimos sequentially could have been completed in not more than seven and a half weeks.

To conclude: evidence suggests that four of the sedecimos form a set, with the *Brabandische Liedlin* not being part of the set. The two *Cantiones* editions are not dated, but as part of a set their date will be identical to that of the dated volumes from the same set. If they were printed with the first edition of the *Reutterliedlin* and *Gassenhawerlin*, they will be dated 1535. If they were printed with the second edition of the *Reutterliedlin* (and a lost second edition of the *Gassenhawerlin*), they will be dated 1536. There is little to link the *Cantiones* prints with the 1535 editions, but they are linked to the 1536 editions by the common use of the woodcuts of musical instruments, the use of vine leaf 43, and the overlap of watermarks. The evidence leads to the conclusion that the *Cantiones* editions were printed in about December 1536. I shall now turn to comments on the individual editions.

### 2–3 *Gassenhawerlin and Reutterliedlin. 1535*

I have argued above that the first two sedecimos printed by Egenolff were the *Gassenhawerlin* and *Reutterliedlin*. Each required only seven and a half sheets of paper. These two books, which are similar in content and appealed to the same market, were published as two separate titles, suggesting that the market was price-sensitive. To publish them as a combined edition, as Egenolff did in 1552, would have doubled the price. Unfortunately, the Discantus partbook of the 1535 edition of neither the *Gassenhawerlin* nor *Reutterliedlin* survives. Möller identified these prints, described as having ‘vier kleine partes’, in a 1617 catalogue of the Ratsschulbibliothek in Zwickau. In 1877 Eitner described all partbooks as present, but in 1896 Vollhardt noted that the Discantus partbooks were missing.<sup>23</sup> It is perhaps surprising that the Discantus partbooks went missing, rather than the Tenor as it contained the full texts. Curiously, the missing Discantus partbook of the *Novum et insigne opus musicum* in the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek in Regensburg (shelfmark A. R. 58–61) also went missing in the late nineteenth century; inserted in its Contratenor partbook is a letter from J. J. Maier in Munich requesting to borrow the Discantus partbook, presumably to assist him with cataloguing the music collection of what is now the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. As Munich has only the later combined edition of the *Gassenhawerlin* and *Reutterliedlin*, it is possible that Maier also requested to borrow the Discantus of these editions from Zwickau.

### 4 *Brabandische Liedlin. 1535*

The title and date of this print were unknown until I identified both in the *Bibliothecae Traiectinae Catalogus*. The date of the edition has long been debated, especially because of its relationship to the so-called ‘Kamper Liedboek’, printed beautifully by a double-impression process, but of which only fragments remain. Scholars had assumed that the ‘Kamper Liedboek’ was a reprint of the Egenolff edition until in 2001 I argued that it was the other way around.<sup>24</sup> The fragments include neither title nor date; they had been dated

<sup>23</sup> Möller, ‘Notenkataloge’, 17; Eitner, *Sammelwerke*, 34–35; and Vollhardt, *Musik-Werke Zwickau*, 66.

<sup>24</sup> Gustavson, ‘Egenolff’, 101.

c.1541 until David Fallows re-dated them to c.1535.<sup>25</sup> From the secure dating of the *Brabandische Liedlin* to 1535 we can infer that these two editions were each reprinted independently from an earlier, lost edition. The earlier edition surely included texts for each song, as texts are underlaid in the surviving fragments of the 'Kamper Liedboek', and were probably included in the Tenor of the Egenolff edition. The surviving Egenolff Discantus, signed G–K<sup>8</sup>L<sup>4</sup> (36 leaves) includes only text incipits; the lost Tenor, almost certainly signed either A–E<sup>8</sup>F<sup>4</sup> (44 leaves) or A–F<sup>8</sup> (48 leaves) had an additional 8 or 12 leaves, which is most likely explained by inclusion of one stanza of text for each song.

Egenolff inexplicably omits one of the songs included in the 'Kamper Liedboek', 'Alsoe sy seet'. There is no obvious reason for this, as it is not duplicated in any of the other sedecimo editions. I suggest that there was physical damage to the exemplar used as the basis for Egenolff's edition such that this Lied had to be omitted. Another Lied, 'Druck en verdriet' (no. 29), also appears in the *Cantiones vocum quatuor* (no. 7), although there are minor differences in the readings, including the retention of the so-called 'Landini cadence' in the latter.

There are three characteristics of this print that differentiate it from the other sedecimos. First, it appears to have reprinted an entire earlier edition, rather than being a compilation of earlier editions. Second, there is a duplication of one song between this and one of the other sedecimos, and we would not expect a duplicate song in a set. Third, it duplicates the use of capital letters for the signatures used by one of the other sedecimos. Together, these raise questions about the relationship of the *Brabandische Liedlin* to the other sedecimos, and lead to the conclusion that it was not part of the 'set' of four editions.

### **5 The lost Gassenhawerlin. [Second edition]. [c. December 1536]**

A second edition of the *Reutterliedlin* is extant (Cat. 6 below), but there is no known second edition of the *Gassenhawerlin*. These two titles were printed as a pair in both their first edition in 1535 and their combined edition in 1552, which suggests that they may have been printed as a pair in a second edition. The signature patterns of Cat. 6, 7 and 8 below suggest that a print signed with single uppercase letters is missing from the 1536 series, and the 1535 edition of the *Gassenhawerlin* had that signature pattern. As such, it is hypothesised that there is a lost 1536 edition of the *Gassenhawerlin*.

### **6 Reutterliedlin. [Second edition]. December 1536**

The commercial success of the *Reutterliedlin* may be inferred from the printing of a second edition the following year. The 1536 edition contains many small differences in typesetting.

### **7 Cantiones vocum quatuor. [c. December 1536]**

The title of this edition was unknown in the literature on Egenolff and to modern bibliography until now. The sole surviving copy of the Tenor partbook of this title and of the *Cantiones vocum trium* (see Cat. 8 below) entered the Schweizerische Landesbibliothek in Bern in the 1890s from a private collection,<sup>26</sup> but has gone unnoticed by scholars since then. Despite its title, the songs in the *Cantiones vocum quatuor* are almost all in French. This reminds us of the lost *Viginti cantiunculae Gallicae quatuor vocum*, first published by Schöffler

<sup>25</sup> Fallows, 'Songbook at Kampen', 352.

<sup>26</sup> Email dated 06 August 2015 from Andreas Berz, Information Services, Swiss National Library. It was not located by RISM Switzerland in their major project of cataloguing early music in Swiss libraries, and so is included in neither Schanzlin, 'Musik-Sammeldrucke', nor RISM.

in 1530 (vdm 895). David Fallows has considered whether Schöffner's edition may have been another of the sources used in the compilation of this Egenolff edition.<sup>27</sup> The woodcuts on both the title page and in the print are of musical instruments, not singers; given that there are incipits only, with no full texts, this may have signalled that the print was intended for performance on instruments rather than for singing.

### 8 *Cantiones vocum trium*. [c. December 1536]

Although there have been important studies of this edition, including one by Bridgman and two by Staehelin,<sup>28</sup> Egenolff's edition of three-voice songs has been virtually ignored in the literature on the *tricinium*, presumably because until now it was thought that only a single printed partbook had survived. The location of a complete Tenor partbook in Bern, joining the long-known Discantus partbook in Paris and the manuscript copy of thirty-one of the *tricinia* from the Bassus in Heilbronn (D-HB X/2, nos. 1–31)<sup>29</sup> means that thirty-one of the *tricinia* are now complete in Egenolff's readings. Hopefully, this will ignite further interest in this source.

The edition opens with 'Ich hab mich recht gehaltē' by 'H. Heyg' (Hans Heugel), which is dated '15 Februarij: Anno 1535' in a manuscript copied by Heugel.<sup>30</sup> According to Cramer, dates in the Heugel manuscripts indicate dates of composition, not dates of copying.<sup>31</sup> Moser hypothesised that Heugel was Egenolff's musical adviser.<sup>32</sup> However, Müller dismissed this hypothesis, pointing to the fact that only two of Heugel's more than seventy known Lieder appear in Egenolff's collections.<sup>33</sup> Gottwald suggested that the manuscript revives the discussion as to whether Heugel was Egenolff's musical advisor.<sup>34</sup> However, on the balance of the evidence, I suggest that this can be ruled out.

### Overview of Egenolff's 'First Period': 1532–c. December 1536

Egenolff's first eight music editions appeared between 1532 and 1536, with no further music editions for more than a decade. They each required only a few sheets of paper (between 7.5 and 15 sheets per title) and hence were cheap. They all consist of secular polyphony. There is no monophonic music. There is no sacred music (apart from a very small number of songs in mostly secular anthologies). They characteristically reprinted earlier volumes complete, or were primarily compiled from earlier volumes. The languages of the texts were varied: Latin, German, French and Flemish. Apart from the Tenor of the *Gassenhawerlin*,

27 Fallows, 'Songbooks of Christian Egenolff', 361 and 368.

28 Bridgman, 'Christian Egenolff', Staehelin, 'Zum Egenolff-Diskantband' and Staehelin, 'Petruccis Canti B'.

29 This was postulated in Staehelin, 'Zum Egenolff-Diskantband,' 94–95, and is strengthened by the new evidence of the composer ascriptions which in the printed edition are only in the Tenor partbook. A comparison of the composer attributions in the Heilbronn manuscript with those in the Egenolff Tenor produces an almost perfect match. The only exception is that the very first work in the manuscript, which is attributed to 'Adrianus Wilhart' but which in the printed edition (no. 47) has no composer attribution; the same work gives a longer text incipit, 'Cedant par moy' in the manuscript than the 'Cedant' in the printed edition. The positioning of this work as the opening piece of the manuscript suggests that it was already known to the copyist. A scan of the Heilbronn manuscript is available online at <https://stadtarchiv.heilbronn.de/fileadmin/daten/stadtarchiv/online-publikationen/06-musikschatz.pdf>.

30 D-Kl 8° Ms. Mus. 53b, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>, online at <http://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1292414993290/85/>; see Siegele, *Die Musiksammlung Heilbronn*, 47.

31 Cramer, *Johannes Heugel*, 18 and 163–65.

32 Moser, *Gassenhawerlin*, 2.

33 Müller, 'Die Liederdrucke', 217.

34 Gottwald, *Manuscripta Musica*, 793.

*Reutterliedlin* and presumably the *Brabandische Liedlin*, the other nineteen song partbooks only contained text incipits, presumably to save costs. Even where there was a full text, it was not underlaid to the music: an incipit appeared at the beginning of the music and the text appeared in a block at the end of each Lied. It is unclear why Egenolff suddenly stopped printing music at this time, as his other printing activities continued unabated. One possibility is competition. Öglin, Schöffler, and Arnt von Aich printed several Lied anthologies between 1512 and 1517. There was a long hiatus, interrupted only by Johann Walther's *Geistliche Gesangbüchlein* (1524, 1525; vdm 110 and 111), until after the introduction of single impression music printing in Germany in 1532. Hans Ott published his *121 Neue Lieder* in 1534 (vdm 20). Schöffler published his *65 Lieder* in c.1536 (vdm 27), which still used the technique of double impression that he had perfected. It was into this newly invigorated market that Egenolff put forth his 1535 editions. He was clearly successful, as he printed the two *Cantiones* editions and reprinted the *Gassenhawerlin* and *Reutterliedlin* in 1536, the same year in which Ott published the second volume of his Lied anthology, under the title *Schöne auszerlesne Lieder* (vdm 425). Petreius printed Georg Forster's two-volume Lied anthology in 1539 and 1540 (vdm 48 and 53), and reprinted it in 1543. In 1544, Berg & Neuber printed Hans Ott's third Lied collection (vdm 1027), and Petreius released Wolfgang Schmeltzel's collection (vdm 1026). The same happened for collections of three-voice works. There was a suddenly increased demand for the *tricinium* in southern Germany from the late 1530s, reflected in the publication of Formschneider's *Trium vocum carmina* in 1538 (vdm 41), Kugelman's *Concentus novi trium vocum* in 1540 (vdm 52), Petreius' *Trium vocum cantiones centum* in 1541 (vdm 1021), and Rhaw's *Tricinia* in 1542 (vdm 1023). It would appear that in the face of this competition, Egenolff turned his attention away from music for more than a decade, until his 'Second Period' of music printing from 1550 to 1553.

### 9 The lost *Gesangbüchlin*. Before August 1550

The lost *Gesangbüchlin* from 1550 (or very improbably the late 1540s) is very unlike the editions of the first period as it was an edition of sacred music. It is known only from a letter from Erasmus Alber to Hartmann Beyer dated 24 August 1550:

Please ask Egenolph to send me his little book of songs, which he published so that the common people might sing them in church. Amongst these are some of my own too. I shall organise that all forty of my songs be printed together. If Egenolph wishes, I shall send them to him to be printed. [. . .] There are still some letters (as Heinrich writes) in his house, which were amongst my books. Have them all packed up so that they can be sent to me, as well as my translation of Aesop [fabule mee], and with them Egenolph's little song book [gesangbuchlin].<sup>35</sup>

The dating of this edition is contested. Bill dates it to 1550, the year in which the letter was written, but Lipphardt, questioning Bill's methodology dates it to 1546–1549; Bill subsequently questioned Lipphardt's interpretation.<sup>36</sup> Since the 'fabule mee' surely refers

<sup>35</sup> Erasmus Alber to Hartmann Beyer, 24 August 1550 (in D-F Ms.Ff.H.Beyer A 17, see: <http://kalliopeverbund.info/DE-611-HS-66573>), ed. in Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Erasmus Alberus*, 205: 'Egenolphum roges vt mittat mihi libellum suarum Cantilenarum: quas edidit pro vulgo in templis cantandas: in quibus et mee aliquae sunt: curabo enim vt omnes mee Cantilene numero 40: simul imprimantur. Si Egenolphus vult: mittam ei imprimendas. [. . .] Es sind noch brieffe (sicut scribit Henricus) in seinem Hause, die vnter meinen bücheln gewest, die last alle zusammen packen das sie mir geschickt werden, vnd fabule mee darzw sampt Egenolphi gesangbuchlin.' I am grateful to Grantley McDonald for the translation. This passage was also cited and discussed by Bill, *Das Frankfurter Gesangbuch*, 12–13; and Lipphardt, *Gesangbuchdrucke*, 206–207.

<sup>36</sup> Bill, *Das Frankfurter Gesangbuch*, 12; Lipphardt, *Gesangbuchdrucke*, 47, 206–207; and Bill, 'Besprechung', 191.

to Alber's adaption of Aesop's fables, *Das buch von der Tugent vnd Weißheit/ nemlich/ Neunvndvoertzig Fabeln* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Braubach, 1550 [VD16 A 553]), we can conclude that the *Gesangbüchlin* may also have been published in 1550. Alber's hymn texts were published frequently, usually without printed music. However, some editions that included hymn texts by Alber also included printed music, such as the *Psalmen . . . mit Christlichen Gesengen gemehrt* published by Egenolff's heirs (RISM VIII DKL 1565<sup>03</sup>). Although the nature of this *Gesangbüchlin* cannot be determined with confidence, it is probable that it contained music, like the 1565 edition published by Egenolff's heirs.

### 10 Spangenberg. *Hymni*. 1550

The *Hymni ecclesiastici duodecim* (1550) is a Latin translation by Reinhard Lorichius of Johann Spangenberg's *Zwölff Christliche Lobgesenge* (1545), a collection of well-known hymn texts set to music, each followed by a commentary.<sup>37</sup> It should be noted that only Spangenberg's commentaries were translated into Latin: the German hymn texts underlaid to the printed music remained in German. The single edition of the *Hymni* appeared in two separate issues, the technical justification for which is the same as that for the 1532 odes (Cat. 1 above). Like the 1532 odes, this was surely for marketing purposes to make the edition attractive to multiple audiences.

The first issue, the *Postilla* issue, is titled, in translation, 'Postil. The Gospels and the Epistles for Sundays and Feast Days throughout the year . . . Also Hymns of the Highest Feasts'. It is a 2000-page pedagogical work set out in question and answer format, subdivided into four sections: (i) the Gospels for Sundays throughout the year, (ii) the Epistles (*Epistolae*), (iii) the Gospels for Feast Days throughout the year (*De festis praecipuis*), and (iv) the Hymns (*Hymni*). Each of these sections was printed with its own title page and colophon, its own series of signatures beginning with A, and its own foliation beginning with 1 (excluding the *Hymni* which is not foliated). The third section, *De festis praecipuis*, is signed in double lowercase (commencing aa), clearly differentiating the pages from those of the other sections, just as the lack of foliation in the *Hymni* differentiates its pages from those of the other sections. As such, the *Postilla* could be sold as a single title, or as four separate titles, or as combinations of titles. Of the four titles, only the *Hymni* contains printed music. It consists of sixty leaves, including a blank leaf at the end, and so appears in some bibliographies as containing fifty-nine leaves. It has its own series of signatures, A–G<sup>8</sup>H<sup>4</sup>, but neither pagination nor foliation. At the end of the edition (H3<sup>r</sup>) is the date 1550. Although the *Postilla* represents only a single issue of a single edition, the *Hymni* was available as the fourth section of the *Postilla*; or as part of a separate two-section *De festis praecipuis*, which names the *Hymni* on its title page ('Item, hymni ecclesiastici . . .'); or separately as the *Hymni*. For clarity, although only the *Postilla* appears in the catalogue as a separate issue, the *De festis praecipuis* and *Hymni* are noted as part of the entry as different ways in which the issue was made available.

The second issue is distinguished by typographical changes to the title page of the *Hymni*. As with the 1532 odes, the print run of the sheet containing the title page was stopped part way through and the name of a separate work, the *Funebres*, was added. Examination of the title pages of the first and second issues of the *Hymni* reveals that this addition was decided before printing of the first issue began, as most of the title page used the same

<sup>37</sup> The discussion of this print draws on, but supersedes, that in Gustavson, 'Competitive Strategy Dynamics', 205–206.

setting of type. For example, on both title pages, the first *c* in *Ecclesia* is slightly higher than the second *c*. Egenolff has packaged this product in a number of different ways, one of which, the *Hymni* alone, was as a music edition. This is clearly clever marketing.

### 11 *Nigidius, ed. Odes. 1551*

In 1548, Melchior Sachse in Erfurt published Petrus Nigidius' *Isagogicus rerum grammaticarum libellus in usum rudium puerorum*, which closed with a section of nine polyphonic ode settings (Y7<sup>r</sup>–Z8<sup>r</sup>).<sup>38</sup> Egenolff republished this edition, but divided it into two separate editions: one, the *Isagogicus* (VD16 N 1745), containing the verbal text and the other, the *Geminae undeviginti odarum Horatii melodiae*, containing a massively expanded edition of the music which, in addition to six odes from the Sachse edition, contains the Tritonius Odes of 1532 (Cat. 1), the settings of the same texts by Michael from fols. F3<sup>v</sup>–I4<sup>r</sup> of Theobald Billican, *De partium orationis inflexionibus* ([Augsburg: Ruff], 1526),<sup>39</sup> and an additional thirty-two ode settings. This splitting of the Sachse edition into two separate editions is typical of Egenolff, as it allowed purchasers to select either both, or just one, of the editions according to their interests. Additionally, Egenolff's edition in partbooks means that performance required just one set of partbooks, rather than four copies of Sachse's text and music edition.

The dedication of both editions is dated August 1550 and signed 'Marpurgi, ex ædibus pædagogij' (*Isagogicus* fol. A3<sup>v</sup>, *Geminae* fol. A3<sup>r</sup>). However, although the *Isagogicus* is dated 1551 and the Altus partbook of the *Geminae* is dated June 1551, the Tenor partbook is dated May 1552. It is improbable that the Tenor was printed a year after the Altus, and so the year printed in one of the partbooks is evidently incorrect. It is very unusual for a set of partbooks to have a colophon other than in the Tenor, but here there is additionally a colophon in the Altus. A possible reason is that as the signatures in the edition are sequenced Tenor (A–G), Discantus (H–K), Bassus (L–N), Altus (O–P). The final page of the Altus was the final page of the edition and so included a colophon where it would typically be found in a book: at the end of the final gathering. Indeed, sets of partbooks of this edition were in some cases bound together in a single volume ordered TDBA (as was also frequently the case for the 1532 odes above). The sequencing of the signatures is consistent with the month in the Tenor, May, preceding that in the Altus, June. It may be concluded that the year 1552 given in the Tenor partbook is incorrect, and the year 1551 in the Altus intended as a correction.

### 12–15 *The octavo Lied anthologies: overview*

Egenolff published four Lied anthologies in oblong octavo format. None of the Tenor partbooks survives; none of the other partbooks transmit the date of publication, and partbooks for only two of the anthologies transmit the title. Three of the anthologies were dated in RISM to 1535, and the other to 1536. Müller realized that two of them, the *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin* and the *Graszliedlin*, included fourteen and three Lieder respectively

<sup>38</sup> The 1548 edition printed in Erfurt by Melchior Sachse d. Ä. is not in the VD16. That the edition contains polyphonic music has been known in the literature since at least the nineteenth century from Schmidt, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, p. 159: 'worin . . . mehrstimmig gesetzte Gesänge zur Einübung der Metra sich finden.' The only known extant exemplar is D-OB F 341; the exemplar at D-Kl Philol. 420. 8° was destroyed in 1941. As D-OB is closed until 2018 owing to renovations, I am grateful to Sonja Tröster for sharing her photographs of the music in this print with me.

<sup>39</sup> VD16 G 1564 and H 4957; vdm 137. Although the 1526 edition of Michael's odes is often cited as lost, it was identified as this Billican edition a century ago by Henry Thomas, 'Musical Settings', 83. Further on Michael's ode-settings, see the chapter by Sonja Tröster in this volume.

from Ott's 1544 anthology (RISM 1544<sup>20</sup>), and so must post-date Ott's edition.<sup>40</sup> Several pieces of evidence, taken together, allow us to provide a title for the two editions that lack a title, and a date for each.

The first piece of evidence is a catalogue of the books available from Egenolff's heirs at the 1579 Frankfurt book fair, which lists books printed by both Egenolff himself and by his heirs. The catalogue exists in two forms: a manuscript submitted to the *Bücherkommission* in Vienna, and a printed broadsheet, 'CATALOGVS LIBRORVM, HAEREDVM TYR̄|POGRAPHIAE EGENOLPHICAE FRANCOFORTI AD MOENVN. || [at end:] M. D. LXXIX. ||'.<sup>41</sup> Günter Richter, who discussed and transcribed the manuscript and identified most of the editions, concluded that the manuscript was prepared before the printed version.<sup>42</sup> I have re-transcribed the music titles in the manuscript. In addition to the 'Horatij Melodiæ 8<sup>uo</sup>' (fol. 44r; our Cat. 11) and the 'Pfalter gefangsweiß 8<sup>uo</sup>' (fol. 45v; our Cat. 16), it includes the following list on fol. 47r:

Gaffenhawer. 8 <sup>uo</sup> .	}	Liedlein
Newgeborne/ 8 <sup>uo</sup> .		
Oberlendische 8 <sup>uo</sup> .		
Grafliedlein 8 <sup>uo</sup> .		
Geiftliche gaffenhawer		
Chriftliche liedlein		

Richter identifies the first as our Cat. 15, does not identify the second or third, identifies the fourth as our Cat. 14, and the last two as our Cat. F and Cat. G, Heinrich Knaust's *Gassenhawer, Reuter, und Bergliedlin, Christlich, moraliter, unnd sittlich verendert*, printed without music by Egenolff's heirs. Richter bases his identification of the Knaust on earlier entries in the Catalogue under 'Germanica Ihn der Theologj' which he transcribes as 'Christliche gassenhauer Knastij 8<sup>uo</sup>' and 'Christliche Lieder Knaustij 8<sup>uo</sup>' (fol. 45r).

The printed broadsheet includes the same items, the 'Horatij melodiæ, in 8' among the 'Varii libri latini', the 'Pfalter gefangsweiße/in 8' among the 'Germanica in der Theologi', and the following titles among the 'Allerhandt Teütsche Bücher':

Liedlin	}	Chriftliche Liedlin.
		Gaffenhawer.
		Geiftliche Gaffenhawer.
		Graßliedlin.
		Neuwgeborne.
		Oberländische.

Here the titles in the bracket are given in alphabetical order, but in the manuscript there is no discernible internal ordering, which supports Richter's argument, noted above, that the printed version post-dates the manuscript version. These two book lists both include two unidentified Lied editions, the *Newgeborne* and the *Oberländische*. I have suggested elsewhere that these two titles could refer to the two Egenolff Lied octavos without a title,

<sup>40</sup> Müller, 'Die Liederdrucke', 29, 73.

<sup>41</sup> The manuscript is at A-Whh RHR Bücherkommission im Reich 1–36, online reference at [www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=3278329](http://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=3278329). The broadsheet is at D-Mbs Einbl. VIII,7 bc.

<sup>42</sup> Richter, 'Christian Egenolffs Erben', 806–812 and 865–873.



the [56 Lieder] and the [65 Lieder], but that it could not be determined which was which.<sup>43</sup> Müller also considered this question, but after weighing the evidence he concluded that at least one, if not both of these Lied editions have been lost.<sup>44</sup> Information not known when either of us was writing settles this question.

Richard Charteris, in his book on the music collection of Johann Georg von Werdenstein, transcribed the 1592 inventory prepared for the sale of Werdenstein's music collection to Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.<sup>45</sup> Almost all of the editions from Werdenstein's collection are still extant in Munich, and so Charteris compared the Werdenstein catalogue against the library's present holdings, and identified Werdenstein's 'Oberländifche Newe Liedlein 65. Franckfürtt. 1552. 8°. || partes 4'<sup>46</sup> as Mus.pr.46, which is in its original binding. The identification of a title for Mus.pr.46 had not previously been made as the Tenor, which contained the title and presumably the publication details, was missing by 1795.<sup>47</sup> Where multiple items were bound together, the Werdenstein catalogue only lists the first, but Mus.pr.46 includes two of the three other editions named in the Egenolff catalogues, the *Graßliedlin* and the *Gassenhawer Liedlin*. There can therefore be no doubt that the first print in Mus.pr.46 is Egenolff's *Oberländische Liedlin* referred to in the 1579 Catalogues.

There is yet another reference to the *Oberländische Liedlin*. Uhland noted that an 'Oberländifche Liedlein' was recorded in the systematic catalogue [volume 3, fol. 94<sup>v</sup>] of the Church Library (now the Nicolaus-Matz-Bibliothek) in Michelstadt compiled in 1630, but that it was missing.<sup>48</sup> This reference has been noted by others, including Müller, who cited a fuller transcription by Walter Albach as 'Oberländische neue Liedlein unterschiedlicher Autorum'.<sup>49</sup> However, none of the transcriptions of this catalogue entry has included a key piece of information. All of the bound items in the catalogue are numbered, and this entry appears between number 58 and a duplicated number 58 as the last of a group of three editions under the heading 'Vngebunden' as '65. Oberlendische Neüe Liedlein, vnters[hied]||licher autorum'.<sup>50</sup> Previous scholars erroneously assumed that the '65' is the entry number of the book in the catalogue, but it is part of the title. Thus, Müller did not make the connection between the 'Oberländische neue Liedlein' and the [65 Lieder]. He also knew that the title of the Schöffner edition that Egenolff reprinted was the 'Fünff vnd || sechzig teütfcher || Lieder/ vormals || iñ truck nie uß || gangen. ||' (vdm 27) which is a very different title, and apart from the number of songs there is no identifying link between the two.

As the [65 Lieder] is the *Oberländische Liedlin* and the [56 Lieder] is the only remaining unidentified Lied edition in the 1579 Egenolff catalogues, then by a process of elimination the latter edition is surely the *Newgeborne Liedlin*.

43 Gustavson, 'Egenolff', 99–100.

44 Müller, 'Die Liederdrucke', 30–32.

45 Charteris, *Werdenstein*, 58–199.

46 D-Mbs Cbm Cat. 121 t, fol. 64<sup>v</sup>, No. 7, which I transcribed from microfilm; see also Charteris, *Werdenstein*, 178.

47 Johann Baptist Bernhart, 'CATALOGVS LIBRORVM MVSICORVM TVM MANVSRIPTORVM TVM IMPRESSORVM, IN ELECTORALI BIBLIOTHECA BAVARICA MONACENSI ASSERVATORVM', preface dated 29 July 1795, manuscript, B-Br Fétis 5179, at 233–234.

48 Uhland, *Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder*, 979, fn.\* [sic].

49 Müller, 'Die Liederdrucke', 32.

50 I am grateful to Erwin Müller, Nicolaus-Matz-Bibliothek, for sending me colour scans of the section 'Libri Musici', email of 22 October 2015, and to Grantley McDonald for assisting me with the transcription.

Like the sedecimo Lied anthologies, these editions were planned systematically. While the *Oberländische Liedlin* is a complete reprint of a set of partbooks printed by Schöffner in the mid 1530s, we know little of the precursor or precursors to the *Newgeborne Liedlin*. Between them, the *Oberländische Liedlin* and *Newgeborne Liedlin* contain five Lieder included in the 1535 editions of the *Gassenhawerlin* and *Reutterliedlin*, but which were removed in the combined 1552 edition of the *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin*.<sup>51</sup> From this we can infer that the editing of the *Oberländische Liedlin* and *Newgeborne Liedlin* was finalised before the editor's decision to remove them from the *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin*. The deletion of duplicate works from the combined reprint was deliberate as buyers would resent duplication among volumes. Lieder from Ott's 1544 anthology *Hundert vnd fünfßtzeñ guter newer Liedlein* were incorporated into two of the four editions: fourteen (of eighteen added Lieder) into the reprint of the *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin*, and three at the end of the *Graszliedlin*, which links these two editions. They are also linked as they are the only two of these four editions that have the title of the collection printed on the title page of each partbook, whereas the *Oberländische Liedlin* and *Newgeborne Liedlin* follow the norm and have the title printed only in the Tenor. Taken together, all of this implies that the *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin*, *Oberländische Liedlin*, *Newgeborne Liedlin* and *Graszliedlin* belong to the same complex or 'set'.

A very unusual typographical feature shared by these editions is the presence of a signature on the title page of each partbook (except presumably the lost Tenor); these are the only instances from this period in Germany of which I am aware that a signature appears on the title pages of the Discantus, Altus and Bassus partbooks. Single capitals are used for the signatures of three of the editions, but the *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin* uses lowercase letters. If the *Newgeborne Liedlin* and *Oberländische Liedlin* were the first two of these editions to be printed, then the signatures imply that the *Graszliedlin*, which uses capital letters, was printed before the *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin*.

The watermark evidence implies that these four editions were printed sequentially. Four different papers are found among the partbooks:

- 1 Oxhead, surmounted by a clover leaf, between two chain lines. Both the eyes and the nostrils of the Oxhead are on the outside of the face. This watermark, not in Piccard,<sup>52</sup> is found in every partbook of every edition except the Altus of the *Graszliedlin*. (Owing to paper degradation, the watermarks in the Altus in D-Mbs, if present, are unreadable);
- 2 Oxhead with eyes, ears, and horns curving inwards on a chainline surmounted by a letter T, similar to Piccard 2.X.257, 541, 542. This paper is found in the *Oberländische Liedlin* (Discantus), *Newgeborne Liedlin* (Discantus, Altus), *Graszliedlin* (Altus, Bassus), and *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin* (Discantus, Altus, Bassus);
- 3 a glove surmounted by a single-stem five-petal flower, Piccard XVII.1184 (Maastricht 1532), found only in the *Newgeborne Liedlin* (last gathering of the Bassus [Q]) and the *Oberländische Liedlin* (first gathering of the Discantus [J], second gathering of the Altus [Y, only in PL-Kj], and first and third gatherings of the Bassus [P, R]). The dating of this paper is inconsistent with the other dating evidence and must not be

51 *Gassenhawerlin* No. 3 = 65 *Oberländische Neue Liedlin* No. 23; *Gassenhawerlin* No. 8 = 65 *Oberländische Neue Liedlin* No. 13; *Gassenhawerlin* No. 15 = *Newgeborne Liedlin* No. 6; *Reutterliedlin* No. 1 = 65 *Oberländische Neue Liedlin* No. 28; *Reutterliedlin* No. 16 = *Newgeborne Liedlin* No. 11.

52 Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard*, revised online at [www.piccard-online.de/](http://www.piccard-online.de/).

dismissed without compelling counter evidence, but here there is compelling counter evidence. For example, the dating of some of the Lieder and the copying of Lieder from a 1544 edition means that a date of 1532 is impossible. Egenolff purchased materials from other printers who had gone bankrupt, such as Steiner, and so it is possible that this paper had been purchased from another workshop;

4 unwatermarked paper.

The appearance of the unusual paper 3 at the end of the *Newgeborne Liedlin* and beginning of the *Oberländische Liedlin* suggests that they were printed sequentially, in that order. The mixture of the other papers is consistent with the hypothesis that the four editions were printed within a short time of each other. A complete set consisted of 676 leaves of octavo, equivalent to 84.5 sheets of paper, or 169 formes. Given the calculations of typesetting given above, one typesetter could have set all four editions in thirty-four working days and one printer could have printed 1000 copies in fifty-seven working days. As it has been established that the *Oberländische Liedlin* was printed in 1552, we may assign a date of [1552] to the other editions on the basis of the watermark evidence.

A final piece of evidence is the fact that all four editions are bound together in the two known surviving exemplars, in Munich (missing Tenor) and Krakow (Altus only). Although one example of this is not worthy of mention, that there are no surviving copies of any of these prints that are not bound together as a four-title print is worthy of mention. While this is not compelling, it is consistent with the other evidence.

The Werdenstein catalogue dates the *Oberländische Liedlin* to 1552, and we can infer that the other three Lied editions were also printed in 1552 on the basis of the compilation of the anthologies, the watermarks, and evidence from the binding. That the four editions were still available from Egenolff's heirs twenty-seven years after publication is not without precedent. The *Thesaurus musicus* (RISM1564<sup>4</sup>–1564<sup>5</sup>) printed by Montanus & Neuber in 1564 was still listed for sale by their heirs in the *Catalogus librorum excusorum in officina Gerlachiana* [1582].<sup>53</sup>

Taken together, the evidence is compelling: the [65 Lieder] can be identified as the *Oberländische Liedlin* printed in 1552, and the [56 Lieder] as the *Newgeborne Liedlin*, printed immediately before the *Oberländische Liedlin*. It suggests that the *Graszliedlin* and *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin* were printed sequentially after these, and so can also be dated to [1552]. I now turn to brief comments on each of these editions.

## 12 *Newgeborne Liedlin*. [1552]

The first detail for consideration is the spelling of the title, as the two sources differ very slightly:

*Newgeborne Liedlein* (manuscript Egenolff catalogue)

*Neuwegeborne Liedlin* (printed Egenolff catalogue)

We can draw on the spelling of the titles of the two titled editions from this set, *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin* and the *Graszliedlin*, to determine our preferred spelling. The first difference, the 'u' before the 'w' in the printed catalogue, does not appear in the titled Lied editions, and so the 'u' is disregarded. The second difference, the second 'e' in Liedlein,

<sup>53</sup> See the facsimile inserted between 136 and 137 of Ameln, 'Ein Nürnberger Verlegerplakat'.

does not appear in the titled Lied editions, and so the second 'e' is disregarded. As Egenolff's catalogues use highly abbreviated titles, the Tenor partbook may have had a fuller title.

The *Newgeborne Liedlin* does not reproduce any known earlier edition. It contains fifty-six *Lieder*. Forty-six are *unica* and ten are known from concordances to be by Mathias Greiter. Müller suggests that many of the *unica* in this edition were also composed by Greiter who may have been Egenolff's musical adviser.<sup>54</sup> Schmid, in his monograph on Greiter, regards Müller's evidence as insufficient.<sup>55</sup> The title 'Newgeborne' is unusual, but does appear in an Egenolff edition from 1534: *Vom Newgebornenn Endtchrist: Neue Zeitung des groszen Meyß vonn Rodiß/ dem Christlichen volck überschickt* (VD16 ZV 15559). It was evidently intended as a variation on titles such as Ott's *Hundert vnd ainundzweintzig neue Lieder* (1534 [VD16 ZV 26800]), a trend pushed even further by Forster's *Frische teutsche Liedlein* (1553 [VD16 ZV 18757]), which emphasises that the songs it contained were very new and thus highly fashionable.

### 13 *Oberländische Liedlin*. [1552]

This edition is a reprint of an earlier collection by Schöffler. The first detail for consideration is, again, the exact title of the edition, which is very different to that of Schöffler's original. Sources record four variant versions of the title:

- Oberlendische Liedlein* (manuscript Egenolff catalogue)
- Oberländische Liedlin* (printed Egenolff catalogue)
- Öberländische Newe Liedlein 65*. (Werdenstein catalogue)
- 65. Oberlendische Neüe Liedlein, vnterfc[hied]licher äütorum*. (Michelstadt catalogue).

As the spelling 'Liedlin' is invariably used in Egenolff's extant Lied editions, it is adopted here. There is no evidence to support the choice between 'Oberländische' and 'Oberlendische', and so the source that used 'Liedlin' is followed. The Egenolff catalogues reduce titles to one or two words. The fuller titles in the Werdenstein and Michelstadt catalogues, both including '65' and 'Newe/Neue', are surely closer to Egenolff's title. In the Werdenstein catalogue, the entry immediately preceding the 'Öberländische Newe Liedlein 65' is 'Teütsche Lieder 121' which refers to Ott's *Hundert vnd ainundzweintzig neue Lieder*; as the scribe reverses the position of the number in the Ott, it may be assumed that the same was repeated in this, the following entry. The Michelstadt catalogue is therefore followed in placing '65' at the beginning, which is also consistent with the source edition. This raises the question of whether '65' was given in numerals or words. Entry 35 of the Michelstadt catalogue is David Köler's *Zehen Psalmen Davids* (RISM K 1227) but the entry in the catalogue commences '10'. As such, if our title commenced 'Fünff vnd fechzig' (the spelling in the source edition) it would have been changed to '65' in both of these catalogues. Egenolff used numerals in the title of Cat. 8 but 'undeviginti' in Cat. 11; and Arnt von Aich used numerals in his Lied anthology, but most other printers spelled out numbers, especially when a number commences the title. Although this question must remain open, on the balance of probabilities I suggest that it was spelled out. For the choice between 'Newe' and 'Neue', Egenolff in other editions uses 'w', for example in the titles of Cat. 16 and Cat. E below. Although this edition does not contain the word

<sup>54</sup> Müller, 'Die Liederdrucke', 182–200.

<sup>55</sup> Schmid, *Mathias Greiter*, 84–85.

'Neue/Newe', the spelling of words such as 'frewte' (Discantus, K5<sup>v</sup>) and 'trewen' (Discantus, K8<sup>v</sup>, L3<sup>v</sup>) is again consistent with the choice of 'Newe'. The proposed title is therefore *Fünff vnd sechzig Oberländische Neue Liedlin* (abbreviated as *Oberländische Liedlin*).

As noted earlier, this edition reprints Schöffers *Fünff vnd sechzig teütscher Lieder/ vormals im truck nie usgangen*. Egenolff changed the title, replacing the statement that these songs had never previously appeared in print with the word 'new', presumably to make it attractive to the market despite that fact that it was not true. The word *Oberländische* refers to the fact that many of the composers represented, such as Senfl, came from the uplands of southern Germany or Switzerland. The title pages of the Discantus, Altus and Bassus partbooks carry only an ornamental letter, the first letter of the voice designation of the respective partbook. As this practice is not found in any other Egenolff partbooks, it was evidently copied from the Schöffers partbooks, which do likewise.

### **14 Graszliedlin. [1552]**

The *Graszliedlin* contains a series of twenty-five *unica* followed by three Lieder from Ott's 1544 anthology (RISM 1544<sup>20</sup>, nos. 13, 50 and 59), presumably to minimise the number of empty pages at the end of the partbooks. As there are still blank pages at the end of the Discantus, Altus and Bassus partbooks, it may be assumed that the lost Tenor partbook was full.

### **15 Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin. [1552]**

The *Gassenhawerlin* and *Reutterliedlin* were republished as a combined edition. Each was already slender in sedecimo format, and the new octavo format would have seen the Discantus, Altus and Bassus partbooks reduced to twelve leaves each. This is probably why they were republished as a combined, enlarged edition, just as the odes were in 1551. Thirteen of the eighteen new Lieder appear after the works reprinted from the sedecimo edition of the *Gassenhawerlin* and before those from the *Reutterliedlin*. The editor kept different settings of the same text together. Consequently, the series of thirteen Lieder referred to above includes twelve from Ott's anthology and a setting from another source of a text also set in Ott's collection.<sup>56</sup> In addition to omitting five Lieder that also appear in the *Oberländische Liedlin* and the *Newgeborne Liedlin*, as discussed earlier, the editor omitted two other Lieder. *Reutterliedlin* No. 3 (*Laboret dominus*) was surely omitted as the text is in Latin but the other texts are in German. There is no obvious reason for the omission of *Gassenhawerlin* No. 24 (*O all mein hoffnung*), for which neither the text nor the music are duplicated in these Lied anthologies.

### **16 Waldis. Psalter. 1553**

In the following year, 1553, Egenolff printed his most extensive music edition, Burkhard Waldis' *Der Psalter In Neue Gesangs weise vnd künstliche Reimen gebracht*, a 558-page octavo containing 150 melodies. This work was never reprinted.<sup>57</sup> It is Egenolff's only music edition

<sup>56</sup> A concordance between the number of the added pieces in the *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin* with those in the Ott *115 guter newer Liedlein* is: 24=18, 40=5, 41=19, 42=42, 43=43, 44=47, 46=48, 47=53, 48=70, 49=73, 50=75, 51=76, 52=77, 86=72. It will be noticed that 45 is not from Ott, but it sets the same text as 44, 'Ich armes meydlin klag mich sehr'. Ott 72, a setting of 'Freundtlich und mild' (Isaac), is inserted at 86 immediately following an anonymous setting of the same text at 85.

<sup>57</sup> The best study of this work remains Horn, *Der Psalter des Burkard Waldis*. As Egenolff's only true first edition that exists complete, it has been edited in full in Stalman, *et al.*, eds, *Die Melodien bis 1570*. See also Lieb, 'Zur Edition'.

with a title page printed in two colours (red and black), and the only one printed on paper from Egenolff's own mill, on which the watermark reproduces his printer's mark.

### Overview of Egenolff's 'Second Period': c.1550–1553

Egenolff's second period had similarities to, and differences from the first. He produced eight musical editions in each period. In the first period, four of the eight were complete reprints of earlier volumes and the other four re-printed works from earlier editions, but during the second, only one (the *Oberländische Liedlin*) was a complete reprint and two, the *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin* and *Nigidius Odarum*, were expanded versions of editions from his first period. The *Hymni* is a translation into Latin of a German edition, and so it is partway between a reprint and a new edition. The *Waldis Psalter*, and (perhaps) the *Neugeborne Liedlin*, *Graszliedlin* and lost *Gesangbüchlin* are first editions. All of the editions from the second period are in octavo format, unlike those from the first period in which seven of the eight were in sedecimo format. The editions of *Lieder* in the second period were also generally larger in scale. In the sedecimo editions, only the Tenor of the German- and presumably Flemish-texted editions contained a full text, which was printed immediately following each piece of music, whereas the other songbooks had only an incipit. However, the songbooks of the second period all have at least one stanza underlaid in all voices. As there had been no change in technology to reduce the costs of printing, we may suppose that either Egenolff's target market was no longer so price-sensitive, or that texts had become so standard in all partbooks that to omit them would undermine the demand for the edition – both of which are driven by commercial considerations. In the first period, Egenolff included editions in Flemish and French as well as German and Latin, but in his second period he restricted the languages in his editions to German and Latin, which suggests that in his market books in these languages sold best. This is consistent with Kmetz's finding that German music editions sold almost exclusively within the German-speaking area.<sup>58</sup> Most significantly, three titles from this period contain monophonic German sacred music: the *Gesangbüchlin*, the *Hymni* (the commentaries are in Latin but the hymn texts set to music are in German), and the *Psalter*; Egenolff printed neither monophonic music nor editions of sacred music in his first period. It is striking that Egenolff printed no sacred Latin polyphony, a mainstay of his competitors Petreius, Rhaw and Ott, in either period. The identity of Egenolff's musical editors or advisors remains unknown. There is insufficient evidence to substantiate the hypotheses that Heugel, Greiter or Alber worked for Egenolff in this capacity. However, given that the two short periods of his musical output (1532–1536 and 1550–1553) were separated by a long gap, it may be that he employed different musical editors during each period.

We do not know why Egenolff returned to music printing, but it is reasonable to assume that this was partly commercial, and partly at the instigation of his editor. Commercially, if we look at his competitors in music printing, Hans Ott died in 1546, Peter Schöffler the Younger in 1547, Georg Rhau in 1548, and Johannes Petreius in early 1550. After 1539, Formschneider's music output consisted only of two lute tablatures and Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*. This left only the great printing firm of Berg & Neuber, founded in 1542, as a major competitor, and it may have been the strength of that firm and the sheer volume of its music publications, especially its *Lied* publications commencing in 1549, that saw the

<sup>58</sup> Kmetz, '250 Years of German Music Printing', 182–183.

ending of Egenolff's second period in 1553. The catalogues of 1579 imply that this second period was not financially successful: six of the eight editions, including all five editions of polyphonic music, were still listed as available for purchase from Egenolff's heirs more than two decades after his death.

To conclude, this new catalogue of Egenolff's musical output has many implications. First, it postulates a revised dating for seven of the editions. This will affect the accepted dating of some of the compositions that they contain. Second, it identifies two partbooks previously believed lost that contain a number of *unica* for which we now have an additional voice, and for thirty-one of the pieces in the *Cantiones vocum trium* we now have complete versions of Egenolff's edition. From a bibliographical perspective, the catalogue provides titles for five previously unnamed editions. This greater precision, such as the exploration of the similar phraseology of the Latin titles of two of the editions, helps us better to conceptualise the contents and interrelationships between these editions. Furthermore, this catalogue clarifies that there was only one edition each of the 1532 odes and the 1550 hymns, although there were two issues of each edition. This finding illuminates Egenolff's marketing strategies. One of the most pressing concerns of those studying Egenolff as a music printer – dating the editions and placing them into chronological order – has now been largely resolved. But as this article demonstrates, further finds in historical and modern catalogues, archives or libraries may further refine the present catalogue. Future studies of this key German music printer can use this new catalogue as a basis to focus on the musical aspects of his output.

## Catalogue of the music editions of Christian Egenolff<sup>1</sup>

### *Note on the catalogue entries*

Where Egenolff's typesetter inserted a space before a punctuation mark, or did not add a space after a punctuation mark, this is retained in the transcription. Egenolff's italic typeface had upright capitals; where a section begins with a word or words in capitals and continues in italic and the capital is the same size fount, the indication of italic is placed before the word/s in capitals. The transcription of q[ue] is q;.

### *Key*

Authors: PND = Personennamendatei

Titles: Vine Leaf [number] = *Vervliet*, *Vine Leaf Ornaments*; *Herbarum* = Egenolff, *Herbarum*; *Modelbuch* = Egenolff, *Modelbuch*

Watermarks: Briquet = Briquet, *Les filigranes*; Piccard = Piccard, *Wasserzeichenkartei*; Piccard-online = [www.piccard-online.de](http://www.piccard-online.de)

Exemplars: \*examined firsthand; ^examined in digital copy; <sup>?</sup>the exemplar is listed in a reliable source but the holding library did not respond to a request to reconfirm its holding

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to the following individuals who answered my questions about their library's holdings of Egenolff prints: Izabela Baron, Oddział Zbiorów Muzycznych, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu (email of 29 June 2016); Andreas Berz, Information Services, Swiss National Library (email of 7 August 2015); Barbara Bobak, Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (emails of 21 July and 22 November 2016); Marie-Françoise Bois-Delatte, Coordination des Fonds patrimoniaux, Bibliothèques municipales de Grenoble (email of 10 June 2016); Dr Joachim Brand, Bibliotheksdirektor, Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (email of 1 July 2016); Susan Clermont, Music Division, Library of Congress (emails of 2 June 2016 and 11 January 2017 and especially for the digital scans of print E); Abigail Connick, Rare Book and Manuscripts Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (email of 12 January 2017); Thomas Csanády, Abteilung für Sondersammlungen, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz (email of 10 June 2016); Claudia Davidts, Stadtarchiv und Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek Soest (email of 11 January 2017); Thomas Drugg, Östersund Library (email of 11 January 2017); Jean Christophe Gero, Musikabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (email of 15 June 2016); François-Pierre Goy, Département de la Musique, Bibliothèque nationale de France (email of 7 June 2016); Gregor Hermann, Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, VD16/Musiksammlung/Nachlässe, Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau (email of 14 June 2016); Sophie Hoffmann, Dezernat Historische Bestände / Benutzung, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster (email of 11 January 2017); Christine Hoppe, Bibliothek Michaeliskloster, Hildesheim (email of 1 February 2008); Raschida Mansour, Lesesaal Handschriften, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg Bockenheimer (email of 10 June 2016); Gerhard Mittermeier, Abteilung Benutzungsdienste, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (email of 5 July 2016); Erwin Müller, Nicolaus-Matz-Bibliothek, Michelstadt (email of 22 October 2015, and especially for attaching digital scans of the openings containing the music prints); Jürgen Neubacher, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky (email of 10 June 2016); Nicholas Rogers, Archivist, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (email of 14 October 2016); Eva Rothkirch, Abteilung Historische Drucke, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (emails of 20 June and 5 July 2016); Kerstin Schellbach, Abt. Handschriften, Alte Drucke und Landeskunde, Sächsische Landesbibliothek: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (email of 22 June 2016); Martina Schmidt-Spandern, Sondersammlungen, Universitätsbibliothek Kassel Landes- und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel (email of 27 June 2016); Sophie Schrader, Abteilung Handschriften und Alte Drucke, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (email of 4 July 2016); Joseph Eytan Shemtov, Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia (emails of 6, 7, 8, 16, 25 June 2016); Christophe Vellet, Responsable du patrimoine imprimé, Bibliothèque Mazarine (email of 7 July 2016); to Sarah Adams, RISM United States of America (email of 24 June 2016); to the following libraries and their staff for their help during my visits to examine Egenolff prints in their collections: A-Wn, CH-Bu, CH-BEL, CH-Zz, D-B, D-Mbs, D-W, D-Z, F-Pn, GB-Lbl, PL-Kj, and US-Wc; and to the following libraries for preparing for me digital scans of Egenolff prints that they hold: CH-Bu, CH-BEL, CZ-Bu, D-Dl, D-MÜu, and GB-Lbl. I thank Nicholas Rogers for correcting my description of the printer's device from 'burning heart' to 'heart amid flames'.



Catalogues: Berz = Berz, *Notendrucker*; Eitner = Eitner, *Sammelwerke*; Müller = Müller, *Christian Egenolff*; RISM = RISM; RISM VIII (DKL) = RISM VIII (DKL); VD16 = www.vd16.de; vdm = www.vdm.sbg.ac.at/

### 1. Tritonius. *Odorum Horatii Conventus. 1532.*

There is one edition only of this book, but there are two simultaneous issues that are differentiated by the two states of the title page of the Tenor partbook: the first issue begins *Odorum*, and the second issue begins *Melodiae*. The issue of exemplars missing the title page of the Tenor cannot be determined.

*Issue 1 (State 1 of the title page):*

Author: Tritonius, Petrus (PND 100649416)

Title: [Roman] O D A R V M Horatij Conventus, || [italic] Cum quibusdam alijs Carminum generibus. || EARVNDEM Argumenta, Genus, ac ratio: Vnà || cum infignioribus & Odis, & Sententijs. || [Vine Leaf 8] [Roman] TENOR<sup>▲</sup> || [italic] EMPTORI BIBLIOPOLA. || Forfitan hos rides, Emptor, me uendere cantus, || Putidaq; hæc, dicis, quis, nisi stultus, emat? || Haud equidem ignoro, sic toto uiuitur orbe, || Vt passim sapiens quilibet esse uelit. || Si tamen ut stultus nunc quifq; est, sic emat ista, || Crede mihi, exiguo tempore diues ero. || [woodcut, 63 × 52mm, of man playing a five-stringed Groß Geige] || Francofordiæ, Chr. Ege. ||

Title of other partbooks:

ODARVM HORATII || CONCENTVS. || [Vine Leaf 8] BASSVS<sup>▲</sup> || HORATIVS, || [italic] Me pinguem, & nitidum bene curata cute uifes || Cum ridere uoles Epicuri de grege porcum. || [woodcut of a fly ('Flieg', *Modelbuch*, 13<sup>v</sup>)] [woodcut of a spider ('Spinn', *Modelbuch*, 14<sup>v</sup>)] ||

ODARVM HORATII || CONCENTVS. || DISCANTVS || [italic] Hic inter Lyricos sublimi uertice uates || Sydera fumma ferit: seu dulcia furta puellæ, || Cantat, amicitias, conuinia [sic], prælia, paces, || Siue Lycambeis lacerat latratibus hostem, || Impetit aut uario corruptos carmine mores. || [woodcut of a unicorn ('Einhorn', *Herbarum*, 260)] [woodcut of a stag ('Hirtz', *Herbarum*, [261])] ||

CARMINVM || HORATII, || [Vine Leaf 8] ALTVS<sup>▲</sup> || P E R S I V S S A T. I. || [italic] Omne uafer uitium ridenti Flaccus amico || Tangit, & admissus circum præcordia ludit, || Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso. || [woodcut of a camel ('Cameel', *Herbarum*, 260)] [woodcut of a woodpecker ('Specht', *Herbarum*, 264)] ||

Colophon (Tenor, C8<sup>v</sup>): [italic] FRANCOFORDIAE, Apud Christianum || Egenolphum. Mense Ianuario. || An. M. D. XXXII. ||

Format: upright octavo

Collation and signatures:

T: 24 leaves, A–C<sup>8</sup>; \$5 signed in uppercase Roman letters and lowercase italic Roman numerals (-A1, A2)

B: 12 leaves, a<sup>8</sup>b<sup>4</sup>; \$5 signed in lowercase Roman italic letters and lowercase italic Roman numerals (-a1, b4)

D: 12 leaves, aa<sup>8</sup>bb<sup>4</sup> (bb4<sup>rv</sup> blank); \$5 signed in double lowercase Roman italic letters and lowercase italic Roman numerals (-aa1, bb4)

A: 12 leaves, Aa<sup>8</sup>Bb<sup>4</sup> (Bb4<sup>r</sup> blank, Bb4<sup>v</sup> woodcut); \$5 signed in uppercase then lowercase Roman italic letters and lowercase italic Roman numerals (-Aa1, Bb4)

Watermarks: (i) Piccard-online 81387 (oxhead; over it: a serpent on a Greek cross); (ii) Piccard-online of type 77429–34, 37, 40, 42 (oxhead; over it: a serpent on a Roman cross); (iii) Piccard-online of type 73672 (oxhead; over it: a letter T; under it: a symbol, see Piccard and, for the symbol only, Briquet 15429); (iv) not in Piccard: oxhead, with rectangular ears and horns, no markings inside face (e.g. no eyes or nostrils); over it: a letter T?; (v) oxhead; over it: a clover leaf (as the mark is in the inner margin the binding means that mark cannot be identified more accurately); (vi) appears to be a glove? (D-Z, gathering B)

Exemplars: D-W 2.33 Musica (2); \*GB-Lbl (T missing C1–8; D missing bb1–4; B missing b4) K.1.e.19; \*PL-Kj (formerly D-B) Mus.ant.pract. E 80

Reprint of: *Harmoniae Petri Tritonii* (Augsburg: Öglin, 1507), RISM T 1250 (vdm 108)

Catalogues: RISM T 1251 / TT 1251. VD16 H 4959. Eitner 1532d. Müller 1. Berz 1. vdm 109.

Notes: Care must be taken not to confuse this edition with Frisius' *Brevis Musicae Isagoge* (1554, RISM F 2002; <sup>2</sup>1555, RISM F 2003) as the title page of the DAB partbooks reads (here, the Discantus): ODARVM HORATII || CONCENTVS. || DISCANTVS. || and there is no publication information in partbooks other than the Tenor. For example, the Altus partbook at GB-Mr R213961 is the Frisius edition. Our Altus partbook, Bb4<sup>v</sup>, has a woodcut of a woman playing a harp and a man playing a lute.

*Issue 2 (State 2 of the title page, which is as for State 1 except):*

Title commences: [Roman] M E L O D I AE in Odas Horatij. || [italic] Et quædam alia Carminum genera. || [otherwise as for State 1 except that the woodcut of the musician lacks the border and some hatching lines]

Exemplars: B-Br Fétis 2.208 A (RP); D-BAs 22/L.mus.o.38#1; ^D-Dl (Tenor) Lit.Rom.A.1483; D-LEdb Museum/Studiensammlungen/Klemm: III 21, 21a; \*D-Z (Tenor bifolia A1/8, A2/7, B2/3 only) Mus. 139.6; \*F-Pn Rés. Vm<sup>1</sup> 194; \*GB-Lbl Hirsch III.1129 (missing Altus, bb4); I-Rc (Tenor) VOL MISC.76 5. Current location not traced:<sup>2</sup> Stadtbibliothek Elbing; private library of Georg Wolfgang Panzer; Sotheby 1939 (Tenor; 'woodcut on title daubed with colour')

Catalogues: RISM T 1251 correctly has issue 2 as a variant of issue 1. VD16 H 4958. Not in Eitner. Müller 2. Berz 2. vdm 139.

EXEMPLARS OF UNKNOWN ISSUE (TITLE PAGE OF TENOR IS MISSING)

\*F-Pn (formerly F-Pc) Rés 1166; US-NHUB 2012 782 (Bassus only, missing b1–4)

GHOST EXEMPLARS

F-G (B) F.205 Rés. CGA is the 1551 edition (Cat. 11 below); F-Po (RISM TT 1251) is a typographical error for F-Pc (the exemplar now at F-Pn Rés 1166);<sup>3</sup> US-PHF (ST) cannot be located by the library.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Stadtbibliothek Elbing, 219; Panzer, *Annales typographici*, 52; Sotheby, *Catalogue Arkwright*, 16, lot 69.

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to François-Pierre Goy, Département de la Musique, Bibliothèque nationale de France, for this information (email of 6 June 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Emails from US-PHF of 6, 7, 8, 16, 25 June 2016; and email from RISM US on 24 June 2016. The only other music print before 1700 listed in RISM A/1 in this library, the Hofhaimer odes (RISM HH 6246, vdm 47), also cannot be located there.

**2. Gassenhawerlin. 1535.**

Author: [anthology, editor unknown]

Title: [Fraktur] Gaffenhawerlin. || [Roman] TENOR<sup>▲</sup> || [Vine Leaf 13] || [Schwabacher] Franckfurt am Meyn / Bei Chriftian Egenolff. ||

Title of other partbooks:

[(Eitner, p. 35:) [woodcut of a chicken (presumably 'Henn' or 'Hane', *Modelbuch*, 13<sup>v</sup>)  
|| DISCANTVS<sup>▲</sup> || [Vine Leaf 13] ||]  
[woodcut of an owl ('Kautz', *Modelbuch*, 13<sup>r</sup>) || [Roman] BASSVS<sup>▲</sup> || [Vine Leaf 13] ||  
[woodcut of a peacock ('Pfau', *Modelbuch*, 13<sup>v</sup>) || [Roman] ALTVS<sup>▲</sup> || [Vine Leaf 13] ||

Colophon (Tenor, f8<sup>r</sup>): [Schwabacher] M. D. XXXV. || Jm Hornung. ||

Format: oblong sedecimo signed and gathered in eights

Collation and signatures: all signed in Schwabacher uppercase letters and lowercase Roman numerals:

T: 48 leaves, A–F<sup>8</sup>, \$5 (-A1)  
[D: 24 leaves, G–I<sup>8</sup>, \$5 (-G1)]  
B: 24 leaves, K–M<sup>8</sup>, \$5 (-K1, K2)  
A: 24 leaves, N–P<sup>8</sup>, \$5 (-N1)

Watermarks: (i) Piccard Crown I.V.8b, gatherings A (CH-Zz, D-Z), O (D-Z); (ii) Piccard of the type crown I.VII.105, gatherings C, E (CH-Zz), F, L (D-Z); (iii) Piccard of the type lily XIII.I.235–238, gathering C (D-Z)

Exemplars: \*CH-Zz (T) Z. Mus. 908; \*D-Z (ATB; D is described in Eitner but missing by 1896<sup>5</sup>) 69.2.14–16 (formerly LXXXII, 2)

Reprint of: nos 17–34 reprinted from RISM [c.1515]<sup>3</sup> (vdm 16), RISM 1513<sup>2</sup> (vdm 13), and RISM [1519]<sup>5</sup> (vdm 17)

Catalogues: RISM 1535<sup>10</sup>. VD16 G 487. Eitner 1535d. Müller 3. Berz 3. vdm 21.

**3. Reutterliedlin. 1535.**

Author: [anthology, editor unknown]

Title: [Fraktur] Reutterliedlin. || [Vine Leaf 8] [Roman] TENOR<sup>▲</sup> || [Schwabacher] ¶ Zu Franckenfurt am Meyn/ Bei || Chriftian Egenolff. || ★ ||

Title of other partbooks:

[(Eitner, p. 35:) DISCANTVS | darunter eine Arabeske]  
[Vine Leaf 8] [Roman] BASSVS<sup>▲</sup> || [Vine Leaf 13] || [rectangular woodcut ornament] ||  
[rectangular woodcut ornament] || [Vine Leaf 8] [Roman] ALTVS<sup>▲</sup> || [Vine Leaf 13] ||  
[rectangular woodcut ornament] ||

Colophon (Tenor, f8<sup>r</sup>): [Schwabacher] M. D. XXXV. ||

Format: oblong sedecimo signed and gathered in eights

<sup>5</sup> Vollhardt, *Musik-Werke Zwickau*, 66.

Collation and signatures: all signed in Schwabacher lowercase letters and lowercase Roman numerals:

- T: 48 leaves, a–f<sup>8</sup>, \$5 (-a1) [mis-signing a2 and a3 in uppercase]  
 [D: 24 leaves, g–i<sup>8</sup>, \$5 (-g1)]  
 B: 24 leaves, k–m<sup>8</sup>, \$5 (-k1, m4)  
 A: 24 leaves, n–p<sup>8</sup>, \$5 (-n1)

Watermarks: no watermarks in any partbook

Exemplar: \*D-Z (ATB; D is described in Eitner but was missing by 1896) 69.2.14–16 (formerly LXXXII, 2)

Reprint of: nos 19–31 reprinted from RISM [c.1515]<sup>3</sup> (vdm 16), RISM 1513<sup>2</sup> (vdm 13), and RISM [1519]<sup>5</sup> (vdm 17)

Catalogues: RISM 1535<sup>11</sup>. VD16 G 487. Eitner 1535e. Müller 4. Berz 4. vdm 22.

#### 4. *Brabandische Liedlin. 1535.*

Author: [anthology, editor unknown]

Title: [[Fraktur] Brabandifche Liedlin || [Vine Leaf 13] [Roman] TENOR<sup>▲</sup> || ]

Title of other partbooks:

- [Vine Leaf 13] || [Roman] DISCANTVS<sup>▲</sup> || [square decorative woodcut including two satyrs each playing a pipe, 29 × 29mm] [square decorative woodcut including two putti, 29.5 × 29.5mm] ||

Colophon: [Franckfurt 1535, from *Bibliothecae Traiectinae Catalogus*]

Format: oblong sedecimo signed and gathered in eights

Collation and signatures: all signed in Schwabacher uppercase letters and lowercase Roman numerals:

- T: [either 48 leaves, A–F<sup>8</sup> or 44 leaves, A–E<sup>8</sup>F<sup>4</sup>, \$5 signed (-A1)]  
 D: 36 leaves, G–K<sup>8</sup>L<sup>4</sup>, \$5 signed (-G1, G4, L4)

Watermarks: (i) Piccard-online, of the type 72937 (oxhead, with eyes and nostrils; over it: a letter T), gathering G; (ii) Piccard-online, of the type 71773 (oxhead—the head is convex, and the horns are attached rather than continuous—with eyes and nostrils; over it: a clover leaf; under it: a smaller posthorn [NB a slightly different mark to that in Cat. 7 and 8 below]), gathering J

Exemplar: \*F-Pn (D only) Rés. Vm<sup>7</sup> 504(2), probably the exemplar formerly in the Utrecht City Library (Bibliotheca Traiectina)

Reprint of: unknown earlier music edition from which the Kamper Liedboek (NL-Kga Ms. 212) was also reprinted

Catalogues: RISM [c.1535]<sup>14</sup>. Not in VD16. Not in Eitner. Müller 7. Berz 7. vdm 29.

Notes: Title and date known from BIBLIOTHECÆ TRAIECTINÆ CATALOGVS (Utrecht: Salomon Rhodius, 1608), LIBRI MVSICI, CANTIONES IV. VOC., Qq<sup>3f</sup>. This title was formerly thought to have been a reprint of the Kamper Liedboek, but the confirmed date of 1535 means that both editions represent independent reprints of an earlier lost volume. Previously known in the literature as [36 flämische Lieder] or [Lieder zu 3 & 4 Stimmen] or [36 songs in Flemish] or [36 Lieder ohne Titel]

**5. *Gassenhawerlin*. [c. December 1536].**

A lost second edition of the *Gassenhawerlin* is hypothesised to have been printed as part of a set with editions 6–8 below.

**6. *Reutterliedlin*. December 1536.**

Author: [anthology, editor unknown]

Title (inferred): [[Fraktur] Reutterliedlin. || [Vine Leaf 43] [Roman] TENOR<sup>▲</sup> || [Schwabacher] ¶ Zu Franckenfurt am Meyn/Bei || Chriftian Egenolff. || ★ ||]

Title of other partbooks:

[Roman] DISCANTVS<sup>▲</sup> || [Vine Leaf 43] || [woodcut of six-string viola da gamba and bow] ||

[Roman] BASSVS<sup>▲</sup> || [Vine Leaf 43] || [woodcut of six-string viola da gamba and bow] ||

[Roman] ALTVS<sup>▲</sup> || [Vine Leaf 43] || [woodcut of six-string viola da gamba and bow] ||

Colophon (Tenor, F8<sup>r</sup>): [Schwabacher] ¶ Jm Chriftmonat. M. D. XXXVI. ||

Format: oblong sedecimo signed and gathered in eights

Collation and signatures: all signed in Schwabacher lowercase letters and lowercase Roman numerals:

T: 48 leaves, [a]–f<sup>8</sup>, \$5 signed ([-a1], f3)

D: 24 leaves, g–i<sup>8</sup>, \$5 signed (-g1)

B: 24 leaves, k–m<sup>8</sup>, \$5 signed (-k1, k4, m4)

A: 24 leaves, n–p<sup>8</sup>, \$5 signed (-n1)

Watermarks: (i) Piccard-online 73680 (oxhead, with eyes and nostrils; over it: a letter T; under it: a larger posthorn), gatherings f, i, n; (ii) oxhead; over it: a clover leaf, gatherings g, l, p

Exemplars: \*CH-Bu (DAB) F.X.22–24; \*CH-Zz (Tenor e2–f8 only) Z. Mus. 908

Reprint of: Cat. 3 above

Catalogues: RISM 1535<sup>11</sup> does not note that there was a second edition and catalogues these partbooks as being of the first edition. Not in VD16. Not in Eitner. Müller 5. Berz 5. vdm 689.

Notes: Woodcuts of instruments excluding title page: lute, DA[T]B verso of title page; bagpipe, DATB verso of final leaf.

**7. *Cantiones vocum quatuor*. [c. December 1536].**

Author: [anthology, editor unknown]

Title: [woodcut of a bagpipe player, 49 × 22mm] [woodcut of a fiddle player, 49 × 22mm] [between them:] CANTIONES || VOCVM || QVATVOR. || TENOR<sup>▲</sup> || [Vine Leaf 43] || [italic] Chri. Egenolph. ||

Title of other partbooks:

[woodcut of a bagpipe player] [woodcut of a fiddle player] [between them:] DISCAN<sup>z</sup>||TVS<sup>▲</sup> || [Vine Leaf 43] ||

Colophon: none

Format: oblong sedecimo signed and gathered in eights

Collation and signatures: all signed in uppercase then lowercase Schwabacher letters and lowercase Roman numerals:

T: 48 leaves, Aa–Ff<sup>8</sup>, \$5 signed (-Aa1)

D: 48 leaves, Gg–Mm<sup>8</sup>, \$5 signed (-Gg1)

Watermarks: (i) Piccard-online 73680 (description at Cat. 6 above), gatherings b, c, e; (ii) Piccard-online, of the type 71773 (description at Cat. 4 above), gatherings h, j, m

Exemplars: \*CH-BEL (T only, missing Ff8; first gathering misbound Aa1, Aa8, Aa2–7) Ma 3549; \*F-Pn (D only) Rés. Vm<sup>7</sup> 504(1), probably the exemplar formerly in the Utrecht City Library (Bibliotheca Traiectina)

Reprint of: nos. 18–33 reprinted from *Quinquagena carminum* (Mainz: Peter Schöffler the Younger, 1513), vdm 15, not in RISM

Catalogues: RISM [c.1535]<sup>14</sup>. Not in VD16. Not in Eitner. Müller 6. Berz 6. vdm 25.

Notes: previously known in the literature as the [39 Chansons, 3 flämische Lieder und 1 Motette] or [43 Chansons ohne Titel] or [Lieder zu 3 & 4 Stimmen] or [43 songs in four voices]; title page woodcuts are by Hans Sebald Beham (Hollstein, *Hans Sebald Beham*, 253, nos. P. 1241 and P. 1242); woodcuts of instruments excluding title page: lute, verso of title page (DT); hurdy gurdy, recto of final leaf (D; presumably T); bagpipe, verso of final leaf (D; presumably T).

### 8. *Cantiones vocum trium. [c. December 1536].*

Author: [anthology, editor unknown]

Title: CANTIONES SELE~~z~~CTISSIMÆ LXVIII. VOCVM || TRIVM<sup>▲</sup> || TENOR<sup>▲</sup> || [woodcut of a blackbird ('Amsel', *Herbarum*, 264)] [woodcut of a linnet on a branch ('Henfling', *Modelbuch*, 13<sup>r</sup>)] ||

Title of other partbooks: not known [title page of D missing]

Colophon: none

Format: oblong sedecimo signed and gathered in eights

Collation and signatures: all signed in double lowercase Schwabacher letters and Roman numerals:

T: 80 leaves, aa–kk<sup>8</sup> (kk8<sup>v</sup> blank), \$5 signed (-aa1, cciiii; mis-signing bbiii as lbiii, ccii as cc; aaiii signed in italic)

D: 80 leaves, ll–vv<sup>8</sup> (vv8<sup>v</sup> blank?), \$5 signed (-[ll1]; mm, nn4, pp4 signed in italic)

Watermarks: (i) Piccard-online 73680 (description at Cat. 6 above), gatherings a, d (ii) Piccard-online, of type 71773 (description at Cat. 4 above), gathering e; (iii) oxhead, centred on a chain line, with eyes and nostrils; over it: a clover leaf; under it: nothing; as the mark is across the binding of four leaves a more precise identification is not possible, gathering g, k, m, o, q, v; (iv) oxhead, between two chain lines, with eyes and nostrils, horns turned outwards, nothing over or under it, gathering s

Exemplars: \*CH-BEL (T only) Ma 3549; \*F-Pn (D only, missing title page) Rés. Vm<sup>7</sup> 504(3), probably the exemplar formerly in the Utrecht City Library (Bibliotheca Traiectina); a manuscript copy of thirty-one tricinia of the lost Bassus is at D-HB X/2, nos. 1–31

Reprint of: nos. 14–25 reprinted from *Quinquagena carminum* (Mainz: Peter Schöffler the Younger, 1513), vdm15, not in RISM

Catalogues: RISM [c.1535]<sup>14</sup>. Not in VD16. Not in Eitner. Müller 8. Berz 8. vdm 30.

Notes: Previously known in the literature as the [68 Tricinia] or [Lieder zu 3 & 4 Stimmen] or [68 Lieder ohne Titel] or [68 songs in three voices].

### 9. *Gesangbüchlin*. [1550].

That this *Gesangbüchlin* was printed is known from a letter from Erasmus Alber to Hartmann Beyer, 24 August 1550, preserved at D–F Ms.Ff.H.Beyer A 17, ed. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Erasmus Alberus*, 204–206 (see above, p. 163). The letter also refers to Alber's *Fabulae* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Braubach, 1550; VD16 A 553) which suggests that the *Gesangbüchlin* was likewise printed in 1550. It remains possible that this lost edition did not include any printed music, but as the 1565 edition by Egenolff's heirs contained printed music it is likely that this edition did. It is not in RISM VIII (DKL), VD16, Eitner, Müller, or Berz; vdm 403. Lipphardt (see Cat. C below) postulates other lost editions of the *Gesangbüchlin*.

### 10. *Spangenberg. Hymni*. 1550.

There is only one edition of the *Hymni*, but it appeared in two separate issues (as distinct from re-issues). Each issue makes the *Hymni* available in a different form, anthologised with other titles. The 'Postilla' issue included the *Hymni* as part of a set of four titles and explicitly named the *Hymni* on the title page of the first. Within this set, titles III and IV were available separately as a set of two titles (note that the title page of III, *De festis praecipuis*, explicitly names IV, the *Hymni*, on its title page); and title IV, the *Hymni*, was also available separately. These, however, do not constitute separate issues as the individual titles are identical in each and all combinations were available for purchase at the same time. That the exemplars of title I (468 leaves) are usually bound separately from titles II–IV (460 leaves) may be explained by their size making binding in a single volume of octavo difficult to use. The second issue, the 'Funebres' issue, had the print-run of title IV stopped part way through and its title page amended to include the name of a different work, the *Funebres* (as such, this a second state of the title page).

#### 'Postilla' issue

Author: Spangenberg, Johann (PND 123624878)

Title: [I] POSTILLA || EVANGE-||LIA, ET EPISTOLAE, QVAE IN || Ecclesia,toto Anno,Dominicis & Fests || diebus proponuntur,per Quæstio-||nes,piè ac syncriter explicata, || & imaginibus exornata. || [italic] EADEM Euangelia,& Precationes,quas || Collectas uocant,quibus utitur Ecclesia, || Carmine Elegiaco reddita. || ITEM, Hymni Ecclesiastici, fummis Festiuita-||tibus cantari soliti,Annotationibus pijs expla-||nati. Autore IOAN. SPANG. || Herdesiano, Theologo. || [printer's device: a heart amid flames on a square altar] || F R A N C. Apud Chr. Egen. ||

[II] EPISTO-||LAE, PER TOTVM || ANNVM, DOMINICIS DIEBVS IN || Ecclesia legi solitæ,per Quæstiones ex-||plicatæ,Autore IOAN. SPANG. || Herdesiano, Theologo. || [printer's device

a heart amid flames on a square altar] || [italic] FRANC. Apud Chr. Egenolphum || Hadamarium. ||

[III] DE FESTIS || PRAECIPVIS, EVAN-||GELIA. ITEM, HYMNI ECCLESIA-||ftici, Summis feftiuitatibus ab Ecclesia fo-||lenniter cantari foliti. Annotatio-||nibus pijs, fyncerè explicati, || Autore IOAN. SPANG. || Herdeffiano, Theo-||logo. || [printer's device: a heart amid flames on a square altar] || [italic] FRANC. Apud Chr. Egenolphum || Hadamarium. ||

[IV] H Y M N I || ECCLESIASTICI DVODECIM, SVMz-||mis Feftiuitatibus ab Ecclesia folenniter || cantari foliti, Annotationibus pijs expla-||nati. Autore M. IOANNE SPANGEN-||BERGIO. Recens è Germanico fermo-||ne, Latino redditæ, Per REINAR-||DVM LORICHIVM Ha-||damarium. || || [printer's device: a heart amid flames on a round altar] || [italic] FRANC. Apud Chr. Egenolphum. ||

Colophon:

[I] (Nn4<sup>r</sup> = 467<sup>r</sup> [*recte* 468<sup>r</sup>]): [italic] F R A N C. Apud Chr. Egen. || An. M. D. L. ||

[II] (i4<sup>r</sup>): [italic] An. M. D. L. ||

[III] (tt4<sup>r</sup>): [italic] FRANCOFORTI, Apud Chr. Egenolphum || Hadamarium. Anno || M. D. L. ||

[IV] (H3<sup>r</sup>): [italic] An. M. D. L. ||

Format: all in upright octavo

Collation and signatures:

[I] 468 leaves, A-Z<sup>8</sup>a-z<sup>8</sup>Aa-Mm<sup>8</sup>Nn<sup>4</sup> [Nn4<sup>v</sup> blank], \$5 signed in Roman italic letters and Arabic numerals in three series: uppercase, lowercase, then uppercase and lowercase (-A1, Nn4; misprinting V3 as V5, Z2 as Z, a2 as Z2; the following signed in Roman: g4, n3, o, p5, q5)

[II] 252 leaves, A-Z<sup>8</sup>a-h<sup>8</sup>i<sup>4</sup> [i4<sup>v</sup> blank], signed in Roman italic letters and Arabic numerals in two series: uppercase then lowercase (-A1, i4)

[III] 148 leaves, aa-ss<sup>8</sup>tt<sup>4</sup> [tt4<sup>v</sup> blank], signed in Roman italic double lowercase letters and Arabic numerals, \$5 signed (-aa1, tt4)

[IV] 60 leaves, A-G<sup>8</sup>H<sup>4</sup> [H3<sup>v</sup>-H4<sup>v</sup> blank], signed in Roman uppercase letters and Arabic numerals, \$5 signed (-A1, H3, H4)

Foliation:

[I] [1] 2-384, 384-166 [*recte* 467], [468] in Arabic numerals (-1, 3, 4, 165, 186, 467 [*recte* 468]; misprinting 327 as 732, 378 as 387, 401 as 402, 466 [*recte* 467] as 166; CC1<sup>r</sup> misnumbered 384 instead of 385, with the misnumbering carried throughout the edition)

[II] [1] 2-152 [*recte* 252] in Arabic numerals (-4, misfoliating 103 as 10, 251 as 151, 252 as 152)

[III] [1] 2-147 [148] in Arabic numerals (3 misfoliated as 5, 48 as 84, 56 as 58, 64 as 94, 76 as 66, 142 as 542)

[IV] No foliation

Watermarks:

[I], [II], [III] not examined

[IV] none in A-Wn

Exemplars (all known exemplars of titles I-IV included): \*A-Wn SA.76.E.47 (Title IV only); <sup>?</sup>CZ-D (formerly deposited in CZ-Bu; Titles III, IV, II); D-Berlin, Kunstwissenschaftliche



Bibliothek, Staatliche Kunstmuseen zu Berlin, Gris 662 kl (Title I only); ^[III and IV only] D-Dl Theol.ev.past.358.w,misc.1+2+3 (Titles II, III, IV, preceded by a German-texted Spangenberg edition; IV is missing H2–H4); D-DÜ1 PRTHEOL-1–700 (Titles II, III, IV); <sup>2</sup>D-KALb (Title II only); ^D-Mbs Hom. 2107 w (Title I only, missing Cc1 which has the duplicate folio number; purchased 2015); ^[ II and IV only] D-MÜu G+2 6313 (Titles III, II, IV); D-SO 5 Ff 7.6 (Title II only, not bound with any other editions); GB-Cssc Y.6.19 (Titles II, III, IV); S-ÖS Zetterström 20–14 (Title II only, not bound with any other editions); US-U IUA11649 (Titles I, III, IV). Status not known: formerly Sotheby (Titles I, II, III, IV).<sup>6</sup> Lost (Kriegsverlust): D-B Dy 12296 (Title I only).

Reprint of: Title I of 1545 Egenolff edition (VD16 S 7996); Title II of 1544 Egenolff edition (VD16 ZV 14582); Title III of 1545 Egenolff edition (VD16 S 7998); Title IV is a new Latin translation by Reinhard Lorichius of *Zwölff Christliche Lobgesenge* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1545), RISM VIII (DKL) 1545<sup>13</sup>, VD16 S 8096, vdm 1290.

#### Catalogues:

[I]–[IV] No catalogues give as a unit.

[I] Not in RISM VIII (DKL). VD16 ZV 30601. Not in Eitner. Not in Müller. Not in Berz. Not in *vdM*.

[III] Not in RISM VIII (DKL). Not in VD16. Not in Eitner. Not in Müller. Not in Berz. Not in *vdM*.

[III]+[IV] RISM VIII (DKL) 1550<sup>11</sup>. Not in VD16. Not in Eitner. Not in Müller. Not in Berz. Not in *vdM*.

[IV] Not in RISM VIII (DKL). Not in VD16 (but see Cat E. below). Not in Eitner. Müller 13. Berz 20. vdm 1150.

\_\_\_\_\_. *'De festis/Hymni'* available separately

Titles III and IV above were available separately; note that the *Hymni* is referred to on the title page of III.

Exemplars: no extant exemplars contain only these two titles; where both exist in a single binding, they are also bound with Titles I and/or II.

\_\_\_\_\_. *'Hymni'* available separately

Title IV above was available separately.

Exemplars: the only exemplar of Title IV that is not bound with one or more of Titles I–III is A-Wn SA.76.E.47, however whether this exemplar was purchased separately, or was purchased with other titles above and at some later time became separated from them, cannot be determined.

#### *'Funebres'* issue

Title: [I] H Y M N I || ECCLESIASTICI DVODECIM, SVM~~z~~||mis Festiuitatibus ab Ecclesia solenniter || cantari soliti, Annotationibus pijs expla-||nati. Autore M. IOANNE SPANGEN-||BERGIO. Recens è Germanico fermo-||ne, Latino redditæ, Per REINAR-||DVM LORICHIVM Ha-||damarium. || || [italic] Accesserunt Funebres conciones quindecim, unà || cum

<sup>6</sup> *Music and Manuscript Music, London, May 21, 2004* (London: Sotheby, 2004), lot 158, was a single volume in contemporary vellum, clasps missing, of three Spangenberg titles all printed in 1550 by Egenolff: *Postilla. Evangelia et Epistolae; Epistolae, per Totum Annum; De Festis Praecipuis . . . Hymni ecclesiastici duodecim*.

Thematis, ultra LX. ad quæ funebrium Oratio-||num Argumenta commodè adplicari, & ad coronam || Chriftianam in uita defunctorum fepulturis, uti-||liter poterunt haberi. Eodem Autore. || [printer's device: a heart amid flames on a round altar] || FRANC. Apud Chr. Egenolphum. ||

[III] [Vine leaf 13] FVNE/||BRES CONTIONES QVIN-||decim: E facrarum Literarum fontibus || depromptæ. Quæ ad Coronam Chri-||ftianam, in uita defunctorum Se-||pulturis, utiliter poterunt || haberi. || [italic] ACCESSERVNT || THEMATA, PAVLO PLVS SE-||xaginta, Ex ueteris Testamenti facrario congesta: || ad quæ Funebrium orationum argumenta, commo-||dùm poterunt adplicari. || Quæ iam pridem omnia || M. IOAN. SPANGENBERGIVS, Ger-||manico fermone concripsit: Iam autem re-||cens Latinitate donauit REINAR-||DVS LORICHIVS || Hadamarius. || [Roman] ITEM, || Medicina Animæ, De Morte commentationes, || atque confolationes. Collectore eodem REIN-||HARDO Lorichio Hadamario. || [italic] FRANC. Chr. Egen. ||

Colophon:

[I] [identical to IV above]

[II] (F8<sup>r</sup>): M. D. XLVIII. ||

Collation and signatures:

[I] [identical to IV above]

[II] 48 leaves, A–F<sup>8</sup> (F8<sup>v</sup> blank), \$5 signed in Roman uppercase letters and Arabic numerals (-A1)

Foliation:

[I] [identical to IV above]

[II] [1] 2–48 in Arabic numerals

Watermarks:

[I] none in GB-Lbl

[II] not examined for watermarks

Exemplars (only exemplars that include Title I are included because Title II, a non-music title, was printed in 1548 anthologised with a non-music title): ^CZ-D (formerly deposited in CZ-Bu with the shelfmark CH-0002.695, p<sup>r</sup>iv.); D-HImk GBA 1550 (formerly in D-HVkm); D-W A: 394.44 Quod. (4); D-Z 25.7.9.(8/9) (formerly XXV.VII.9); \*GB-Lbl Hirsch III.1104

Catalogues: RISM VIII (DKL) 1550<sup>10</sup>. VD16 S 8097 (Title I), S 7814 and ZV 23858 (Title II). Not in Eitner. Not in Müller. Not in Berz. vdm 1383.

### 11. *Nigidius, ed. Odarum. 1551.*

Author: Nigidius, Petrus (PND 119774550), ed.

Title: GEMINAE || VNDEVIGINTI ODARVM || HORATII MELODIAE, QVA-||tuor Vocibus probè adornatæ, cum fele-||[italic]ctiſimis Carminum, partim facrorum, partim pro-||phanorum, concentibus: additis circa finem alijs item || cantionibus, matutinis, meridianis, & ferotinis: Pæ-||dagogijs rectè inſtitutis, ac ſcholis quibullibet || pro exercenda iuuentute literaria || accommodatiſimis. || [Roman] CANDIDO LECTORI. || [Italic] Vis animum uarijs diftractum fiſtere curis, || Humano languet dum tibi more grauis. || Hunc pete iucundum pulchra ratione libellum, || Et cedent mœſto tædia lenta tibi. || [printer's device: a heart amid flames on a square altar] || [Roman] FRANC. Apud Chri. Egenolphum. ||

## Title of other partbooks:

DISCANZ||TVS. || [italic] Quale canunt, niuei moribundo gutture Cygni, || Tale mihi tenero carmen ab ore uenit. || Difcite me pueri faciles, teneræq; puellæ, || Guttura præcipuè nam mihi uestra placent. ||

BASSVS. || [italic] Vox mea ceu fufco metuenda tonitrua cælo, || Grande melos craffo gutture digna canit. || Dumq; suis numeris aliæ tolluntur in altum, || Me submissa graui murmura uoce iuuant. ||

ALTVS. || [italic] Est sua uox alijs, me leniter ire per altum, || Et reliquis mixtam uocibus esse iuuat. || Per quascunq; feror celeri modulamine uoces, || Officio tardis non licet esse meo. ||

## Colophon:

[Tenor, G7<sup>r</sup>]: [italic] FRANCOFORTI, APVD CHRIS-||ftianum Egenolphum Hadamarium. || Anno M. D. LII. || Menfe Maio. ||

[Altus, P8<sup>v</sup>] [italic] FRANCOFORTI, APVD CHRIS-||ftianum Egenolphum. Anno || M. D. LI. || Menfe Iunio. ||

Format: upright octavo

Collation and signatures: all partbooks signed in Roman uppercase letters and lowercase Arabic numerals:

T: 56 leaves, A–G<sup>8</sup> [G8<sup>rv</sup> blank]; \$5 signed (-A1, mis-signing A3 as G3, and F5 as G5)

D: 20 leaves, H–I<sup>8</sup>K<sup>4</sup>; \$5 signed (-H1, K4)

B: 20 leaves, L–M<sup>8</sup>N<sup>4</sup> [N3<sup>v</sup>–N4<sup>v</sup> blank], \$5 signed (-L1, N4)

A: 16 leaves, O–P<sup>8</sup>; \$5 signed (-O1)

Watermarks: (i) Piccard-online, somewhat similar to 54238 (crown, between two binding wires, with double contoured superstructure with pearls, over which is a double contoured cross, over which is a single contoured star), T in A–Wn, D–Mbs, and F–Pn; (ii) unwatermarked, all gatherings in DAB in A–Wn, D–Mbs, and F–Pn

Exemplars: \*A–Wn (DT) SA.77.F.11; D–ERu H00/PHL–VIII 524; D–GRu 542/Dh 536; D–HB I/3; D–LEm II. 3. 3; \*D–Mbs 8 Mus.pr.145; DK–Kk 170, 271; F–G (B) F.205 Rés.; \*F–Pn (TB) Rés. VM<sup>1</sup> 195; US–Cn Case minus VM 1580.N68g. Lost: F–Pm 8° 22177 (identified as missing in April 1955). Ghost: Sotheby 1939<sup>7</sup>

Reprint of: Cat. 1 above, expanded by odes from F3<sup>v</sup>–I4<sup>r</sup> of Theobald Billican, *De partium orationis inflexionibus* ([Augsburg: Ruff], 1526; VD16 G 1564 and H 4957, vdm 137) and 38 ode settings (noting that ode 40 consists of three different settings, and ode 45 of two different settings) from other sources including six from Y7<sup>r</sup>–Z8<sup>r</sup> of Petrus Nigidius, *Isagogicus rerum grammaticarum libellus* (Erfurt: Melchior Sachse d. Ä., 1548).

Catalogues: RISM 1551<sup>17</sup>. VD16 H 4961. Eitner 1551a. Müller 14. Berz 21. vdm 1384.

Notes: Some sets of partbooks are bound together TDBA (D–HB, DK–Kk, US–Cn)

<sup>7</sup> Sotheby, *Catalogue Arkwright*, p. 16, lot 70, *Suprema vox* (AA–DD8) is misidentified as this Egenolff print; it is the Frisius print (RISM F 2002 or F 2003).

**12. *Newgeborne Liedlin. [1552].***

Author: [anthology, editor unknown]

Title: [[Fraktur] Newgeborne Liedlin. [Roman] TENOR. ||]

Title of other partbooks:

[Roman] DISCANZ||TVS. || || [Schwabacher] G ||

[Roman] BASSVS. || || [Schwabacher] M ||

[Roman] ALTVS. || || [Schwabacher] R ||

Colophon: not extant [date inferred from Cat. 13 below]

Format: oblong octavo

Collation and signatures: all signed in Schwabacher uppercase letters and lowercase Roman numerals; note that the DBA title pages are signed:

T: [48 leaves, A–F<sup>8</sup>]

D: 40 leaves, G–L<sup>8</sup> (L7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>v</sup> blank), \$5 signed

B: 40 leaves, M–Q<sup>8</sup> (Q7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>v</sup> blank), \$5 signed

A: 36 leaves, R–V<sup>8</sup>X<sup>4</sup> (X3<sup>v</sup>–4<sup>v</sup> blank), \$5 signed (-X4)

Watermarks: (i) Not in Piccard; oxhead between two chain lines surmounted by a clover leaf, the eyes and nostrils outside the face; (ii) Piccard, of type 2.X.257, 541, 542 (oxhead on a chainline surmounted by a letter T); (iii) Piccard XVII.1184 (a glove surmounted by a single-stem five-petal flower); (iv) unwatermarked

Exemplars: \*D-Mbs (DAB) Mus.pr.46#Beibd.2; \*PL-Kj (formerly D-B) (A only) Mus.ant.pract. G 305 [2]

Reprint of: status not known

Catalogues: RISM [c.1535]<sup>15</sup>. Not in VD16. Eitner 1535d. Müller 10. Berz 10. vdm 26.

Notes: Title from A-Whh RHR Bücherkommission im Reich 1–36, 47<sup>v</sup>; and D-Mbs Einbl. VIII, 7 bc. Previously known in the literature as the [56 Lieder ohne Titel] or [Liederbuch]

**13. *Oberländische Liedlin. 1552.***

Author: [anthology, editor unknown]

Title: [[large ornamental capital] T || [Fraktur] Fünff vnd fechzig Oberländische Newe Liedlin ||]

Title of other partbooks:

[large ornamental capital] D || [Schwabacher] J ||

[large ornamental capital] B || [Schwabacher] P ||

[large ornamental capital] A || [Schwabacher] X ||

Colophon: [1552]

Format: oblong octavo

Collation and signatures: A–Z signed in Schwabacher uppercase letters and lowercase Roman numerals, a–c signed in Schwabacher lowercase and lowercase Roman numerals; note that the DBA title pages are signed:

- T: [64 leaves, A–H<sup>8</sup>], [\$5 signed]
- D: 48 leaves, J–O<sup>8</sup> (O7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>v</sup> blank), \$5 signed (-L4)
- B: 44 leaves, P–T<sup>8</sup>V<sup>4</sup> (V4<sup>v</sup> blank), \$5 signed (-V4)
- A: 48 leaves, X–c<sup>8</sup> (c7<sup>r</sup>–8<sup>v</sup> blank), \$5 signed

Watermarks: (i) Not in Piccard; oxhead between two chain lines surmounted by a clover leaf, the eyes and nostrils outside the face; (ii) Piccard, of type 2.X.257, 541, 542 (oxhead on a chainline surmounted by a letter T); (iii) Piccard XVII.1184 (a glove surmounted by a single-stem five-petal flower); (iv) unwatermarked

Exemplars: \*D-Mbs (DAB) Mus.pr.46; \*PL-Kj (formerly D-B) (A only) Mus.ant.pract. G 305 [3]. Lost: D-Michelstadt Nicolaus-Matz-Bibliothek (see catalogue of 1630, vol. 3, 94<sup>v</sup>); possibly Montbéliard.<sup>8</sup> Ghost: RISM lists a Vagans in \*GB-Lbl (K.8.i.9) but that exemplar is the Schöffler edition

Reprint of: Schöffler & Apiarius RISM [1536]<sup>8</sup>, vdm 27

Catalogues: RISM [1536]<sup>8</sup> catalogued with the Schöffler edition under a subheading *Rééd. sans titre*. Not in VD16. Eitner1536a. Müller 9. Berz 9. vdm 31.

Notes: Title and date in D-Mbs Cbm Cat. 121 t, 64<sup>v</sup>, entry 7; title in D-Michelstadt Nicolaus-Matz-Bibliothek, catalogue of 1630, vol. 3, 94<sup>v</sup>; short title in A-Whh RHR Bücherkommission im Reich 1–36, 47<sup>v</sup>, and D-Mbs Einbl. VIII,7 bc. It is possible that the number '65' was on the title page in numerals. Previously known in the literature as [65 Lieder]

#### 14. *Graszliedlin*. [1552].

Author: [anthology, editor unknown]

Title: [[Fraktur] Grafzliedlin || [Roman] TENOR. ||]

Title page of other partbooks:

- [Fraktur] Grafzliedlin. || [Roman] DISCAN-||TVS. || || [Schwabacher] C ||
- [Fraktur] Grafzliedlin. || [Roman] BASSVS. || || [Schwabacher] E ||
- [Fraktur] Grafzliedlin. || [Roman] ALTVS. || || [Schwabacher] G ||

Colophon: not extant [date inferred from Cat. 13 above]

Format: oblong octavo

Collation and signatures: all signed in Schwabacher uppercase letters and lowercase Roman numerals; note that the title pages of the DBA are signed:

- T: [16 leaves, A–B<sup>8</sup>], [\$5 signed]
- D: 16 leaves, C–D<sup>8</sup> (D8<sup>rv</sup> blank), \$5 signed
- B: 16 leaves, E–F<sup>4</sup> (F8<sup>v</sup> blank), \$5 signed
- A: 16 leaves, G–H<sup>8</sup> (H8<sup>rv</sup> blank), \$5 signed

<sup>8</sup> Meyer, 'Un inventaire Montbéliard', 128, but which from the dates of the other items is more likely to be the Schöffler edition: 'Item vier getruckte Partes mit Lieder . . . da das erst *Veil Ich gros gunst*.'

Watermarks: (i) Not in Piccard; oxhead between two chain lines surmounted by a clover leaf, the eyes and nostrils outside the face; (ii) Piccard, of type 2.X.257, 541, 542 (oxhead on a chainline surmounted by a letter T); (iii) unwatermarked

Exemplars: \*D-Mbs (DAB) Mus.pr.46#Beibd.3; \*PL-Kj (formerly D-B) (A only) Mus.ant.pract. G 305 [4]

Reprint of: final 3 lieder (26–28) reprinted from RISM 1544<sup>20</sup>, vdm 1027

Catalogues: RISM [c.1535]<sup>12</sup>. Not in VD16. Eitner 1535d. Müller 11. Berz 15. vdm 23.

### 15. *Gassenhawer und Reutterliedlin.* [1552].

Author: [anthology, editor unknown]

Title: [[Fraktur] Gaffenhawer vnd Reutterliedlin. || [Roman] TENOR. ||]

Title of other partbooks:

[Fraktur] Gaffenhawer vnd Reutterliedlin. || [Roman] DISCAN-||TVS. || || [Schwabacher] I ||

[Fraktur] Gaffenhawer vnd Reutterliedlin. || [Roman] BASSVS. || || [Schwabacher] f ||

[Fraktur] Gaffenhawer vnd Reutterliedlin. || [Roman] ALTVS. || || [Schwabacher] bb ||

Colophon: not extant [date inferred from Cat. 13 above]

Format: oblong octavo

Collation and signatures: all signed in Schwabacher lowercase letters and Roman numerals; note that the title pages of the DBA are signed:

T: [80 leaves, a–k<sup>8</sup>]

D: 56 leaves, l–r<sup>8</sup> (r8<sup>rv</sup> blank), \$5 signed

B: 52 leaves, s–z<sup>8</sup>aa<sup>4</sup> (aa3<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>v</sup> blank), \$5 signed (-aa3, aa4)

A: 56 leaves, bb–hh<sup>8</sup> (hh7<sup>r</sup>–8<sup>v</sup> blank), \$5 signed

Watermarks: (i) Not in Piccard; oxhead between two chain lines surmounted by a clover leaf, the eyes and nostrils outside the face; (ii) Piccard, of type 2.X.257, 541, 542 (oxhead on a chainline surmounted by a letter T); (iii) unwatermarked

Exemplars: \*D-Mbs (DAB) Mus.pr.46#Beibd.1; \*PL-Kj (formerly D-B) (A only) Mus.ant.pract. G 305 [1]

Reprint of: Cat. 5 and Cat. 6 above, removing seven pieces including five Lieder that were published in Cat. 12 and Cat. 13 above and one piece in Latin, and adding eighteen pieces, including fourteen from RISM 1544<sup>20</sup>, vdm 1027

Catalogues: RISM [c.1535]<sup>13</sup>. VD16 G 488. Eitner 1535d. Müller 12. Berz 16. vdm 24.

Note: a rectangular print, 80 × 89mm, consisting of two rectangular woodcuts of instrumental musicians by Hans Sebald Beham with the words ‘Gaffenhawer vnd Reutterliedlin.’ between them (Hollstein, *Hans Sebald Beham*, 254, nos. P. 1243 and P. 1243α) is believed to be extant in only a single exemplar (Bremen, Kunsthalle, Inv.Nr. 1905/214).<sup>9</sup> The Bremen exemplar

<sup>9</sup> I am grateful to Christien Melzer, Kustodin Kupferstichkabinett: Zeichnung und Druckgraphik 15.–18. Jahrhundert, Kunsthalle Bremen, for the physical description of the Kunsthalle’s copy of this leaf (email of 17 May 2017).

has been heavily trimmed, the leaf measuring 91 × 94mm. Given the size of the print, that its verso is blank, that the chain lines in the paper, which has no watermark, run horizontally and so it could have been cut from an oblong octavo, and that the text is printed using the same typeface as that used on the title pages of the extant partbooks of Cat. 15, it is possible that this print was cut from the title page of the missing Tenor partbook.

### 16. *Waldis. Psalter. 1553.*

Author: Waldis, Burkhard (PND 118628666)

Title: [Fraktur, red] Der Pfalter/|| Jn Newe Gefangs wiefe/|| [Schwabacher, black] vnd künftliche Reimen || gebracht/durch || [red] Burcardum Waldis. || [black] Mit ieder Pfalmen befondern Melodien/ || vnd kurtzen Sumarien. || [woodcut, 61 × 56mm, of King David kneeling and looking up, with his harp on the ground directly before him, with Jesus looking at him] || [red] Zu Franckfurt/Bei Chr. Egenolff. ||

Colophon: [17<sup>v</sup> = 271<sup>v</sup>] Getruckt Zu Franckfurt || am Meyn/Bei Christia<sup>n</sup> Egenolff. Anno || M. D. Lij. || Jm Mayen. ||

Format: upright octavo

Collation and signatures: 280 leaves, aa<sup>8</sup>A–Z<sup>8</sup>a–l<sup>8</sup> (18<sup>rv</sup> blank), \$5 signed (-aa1) in Schwabacher uppercase letters and lowercase Roman numerals

Foliation: [8 unfoliated leaves] [1] 2–271 [272] in Arabic numerals (the number 128 is printed upside down, 213 misnumbered 113)

Watermarks: (i) Egenolff's printer's mark; (ii) unwatermarked

Exemplars: A-Gu I 52096; A-Wn SA.79.F.73; D-B Eh 2510 (formerly in the private library of Karl Hartwig Gregor von Meusebach); D-B Slg Wernigerode Hb 2595 (missing title page; formerly in the private library of Karl Zeisberg zu Wernigerode); D-F Handschriftenabteilung Ausst. 270; D-Gs 8 P GERM II, 2813 RARA; D-HAu Dd 5347; ^D-Mbs Res/B.metr. 261 (purchased 2013 from Antiquariat Kainbacher to replace destroyed exemplar; replacement catalogued using identical shelfmark); D-S Sch.K.M.oct.Wal 250/30; D-W Tc 51; D-W YA 6.8° Helmst; D-WGp 8ETH406–1; D-WRz 14, 5: 1 [b]; \*D-Z 29.4.25 (formerly CVIII,6); DK-Kk Th. 23968 8°; \*GB-Lbl Hirsch III.1139; \*GB-Lbl 3436.f.32; I-Rvat Stamp.Pal.V.319(int.3); PL-WRu 540708; RUS-Mrg mk16v (formerly D-Dl Hymn.323.h); US-R M1490.W163. Destroyed [Kriegsverlust]: D-Hs PO VIII 10; D-Kl cant.sacr. 8 Nr. 73; D-Mbs Res/B.metr. 261. Status not known: St Anna, Augsburg, catalogue of 1620; private library of Herr Baumgarten<sup>10</sup>

Reprint of: this is a first edition

Catalogues: RISM VIII (DKL) 1553<sup>06</sup>. VD16 B 3316. Not in Eitner. Müller 16. Berz 23. vdm 1385.

Notes: a version of Egenolff's printer's mark, a heart amid flames, both red, on a square altar, is on aa8<sup>v</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Schaal, *Das Inventar St. Anna*, 83; *Bibliothecae Baumgartenianae* (Halle: Joh. Justin Gebauer, 1765), 69, item 598.

## Appendix

### *Music acoustics*

A. *Schreiber. Rechenbüchlin. [1534 or 1535].*

Author: Schreiber, Heinrich (PND 11949132X)

Title: [Fraktur] EYn new künstlich be~~r~~[[Schwabacher]hend vnd gewiß Rechenbüch~~r~~||lin vff alle Kauffman~~r~~schafft. || Nach [bracket] || Gemeynen Regeln de tre. || Welfchen practic. Regeln falsi. || Etlichen Regeln Coffe. || Proportion des gefangs / in Diato~~r~~||nio außzutheylen monochordü / Or~~r~~||gelpfeiffen/vnd andre Jnstrument/ || durch erfindung Pithagore. || . . . || [italic] M. Henricus Grammateus. || [between two woodcuts] Chri. || Ege. ||

Colophon: none

Exemplars: ^A-Wn 72.M.35.(2); D-DÜ1 HUG21; D-Ngm [Postinc.] 8° H. 2650; PL-WRu 453297; US-NYcub Plimpton 511 1535 Sch 6

Catalogues: VD16 S 4145

Comments: The section on music, 'Arithmetica applicirt oder gezogen uff die edel kunst Musica' on H8<sup>v</sup>-J6<sup>r</sup>, includes a typeset illustration of Guido's gamut on J5<sup>r</sup>. The date 1535 appears in book-keeping examples on J8<sup>r</sup>, K6<sup>r</sup>, and L1<sup>r</sup>, suggesting publication in 1534 or 1535. The edition is a reprint; an earlier edition was printed by Johann Stuchs in Nuremberg c.1520 (VD16 S 4144; RISM VI/1, 374). Egenolff's heirs reprinted the title in 1572 (VD16 S 4147; Richter, 'Christian Egenolffs Erben', col. 966, no. 337).

B. *Schreiber. Rechenbüchlin. [1543 or 1544].*

Author: Schreiber, Heinrich (PND 11949132X)

Title: [Fraktur] Ein new künstlich be~~r~~[[Schwabacher]hend vnd gewiß Rechenbüchlin/ || vff alle Kauffman~~r~~schafft. || Nach [bracket] || Gemeynen Regeln de Tri. || Welfchen practic. Regeln falsi. || Etlichen Regeln Coffe. || Proportiō des gefangs in Diatonio/ || außzutheylen monochordum / Or~~r~~||gelpfeiffen /vñ andre Jntrumēt/ || durch erfindung Pythagore. || . . . || M. Henricus Grammateus. || [two woodcuts] ||

Colophon: none

Exemplars: D-FRu T 680; ^D-Mbs Res/Math.p. 182; D-TRs D 118: 1 an; I-Rvat Stamp.Pal.V.359; US-BEb tHF5644.S4 1544

Catalogues: VD16 S 4146

Comments: A reprint, with almost identical layout, of Cat. A above. It does not name Egenolff but has the same woodcuts including those on the title page. The example on fol. L1<sup>r</sup> has the date 1544 suggesting publication in 1543 or 1544.

### *'Ghost' music edition*

C. *[Psalmen und Geistliche Gesänge. 1535.]*

Author: [anthology, editor unknown]

Title [from Lipphardt]: [Psalmen und Geistliche Gesänge]

Colophon: not known



Exemplars: none known

Catalogues: RISM VIII (DKL) 1535<sup>01</sup>

Comments: Lipphardt, *Gesangbuchdrucke*, pp. 25–26, 178–180, hypothesised the existence of this edition, through careful reasoning, as an earlier, lost, edition of Cat. 9 above, but there is no empirical evidence that it existed. Even if it were printed, there is no evidence that it was printed by Egenolff. Lipphardt (p. 18) himself notes that Gülfferich printed the music in his 1546 edition of Veit Dietrich's *Agendbüchlin* from woodblocks, and so there was no need to restrict possible printers to those with a music font, nor indeed to printers in Frankfurt. Lipphardt postulates further lost editions from 1544 and 1555 (pp. 180–183). Bill's review of Lipphardt's book (Bill, 'Besprechung') raises questions about Lipphardt's arguments. The lack of empirical evidence and the ultimately unconvincing hypothetical arguments lead to the classification of this edition as a 'ghost'.

### *Text-only editions that have been cited as (possible) music editions*

*D. Duodecim Hymni. [1550 recte 1570].*

Author: Spangenberg, Johann (PND 123624878)

Title: [Roman] DVODECIM || HYMNI || ECCLESIASTICI || SVMMS FESTIVITATIBVS AB || Ecclesia folenniter cantari foliti, Annota-||tionibus pijs explanati, à [italic] M. IOAN. SPAN ||GENBERGIO: [Roman] Iam verò è Germanico || Latinè redditi per [italic] REINARDVM || LORICHIVM HADA-||[Roman]marium. || [printer's mark: heart amid flames on a square altar] || [italic] FRANC. Apud Hæred. Chr. Egenol. ||

Colophon [H8<sup>r</sup>]: FRANC. apud Hæredes Chrifiani || Egenolphi. Anno || 1570. ||

Exemplars (partial list only): ^D-Mbs Hom. 1510#Beibd.1; D-W A:1240.27 Theol. (4) ['Unvollständig, nur bis Bl. H7 vorhanden']; F-Sn E.161.034,3; RUS-Mrg mk16v [formerly D-DI]. Ghost: VD16 S 8098 at A-Wn [SA.76.E.47] is not this edition but the first issue of Cat. 10 above

Catalogues: VD16 S 8098. Berz, p. 154, states that this edition does not contain music.

Comments: VD16 S 8098 dates the edition [1550], presumably initially using the incomplete exemplar at D-W which is missing the colophon, and at a later time drawing on Cat. 10 above, which is however a different edition, for publication information. This edition was not printed by Christian Egenolff, but by his heirs. It exists in two issues, one by itself and one appended to Spangenberg's *Epistolae* (1570), VD16 ZV 14069; see Richter, 'Christian Egenolffs Erben', cols 960–961, entry 314.

*E. Eilff schöner newer Lieder. [1552].*

Author: [anthology, editor unknown]

Title: [Decorative woodcut ornament that extends across the entire width of the printed area] [Fraktur] Eilff Schöner || [Schwabacher] newer Lieder. || [a list the eleven lieder, each item in the list on a separate line, in the following format: number in Arabic numerals, followed by the first line of the text, then 'etc.'] || Gedruckt zu Franckfurdt || am Mayn ||

Colophon: none

Exemplar (unicum): ^US-Wc MT5.5.H45 1550 Case

Catalogues: VD16 E 994, Müller 15, Berz 22.

Comments: This edition was listed in a 1931 auction catalogue.<sup>11</sup> On the basis of the title and place of publication alone, it has been noted in the literature as a possible Egenolff music edition. The copy auctioned in 1931, now in US-Wc, contains text only, and no printed music. There is also evidence that the edition, which does not name the printer, was not printed by Egenolff. The same title page ornament and typefaces appear in Andreas Pfeilschmidt, *Ein hübsch vnnd Christlich Spiel* (Frankfurt a.M: Jost Gran, 1555 (RISM VIII DKL 1555<sup>11</sup>, VD16 P 2369); on the relationship between Egenolff and Gran, see Gustavson, 'Senfl in Print', pp. 292–296. On the balance of probabilities this edition is by Gran.

*F. Geistliche Gassenhawer. [1571].*

*G. Christliche Lieder. [1571].*

Author: Knaust, Heinrich (PND 119011743)

Title: [Fraktur] Gaffenhawer/Reuter || vnd Bergliedlin/ || [red] Chriftlich/ || [Roman] moraliter, [Fraktur] vnnd || fittlich verendert/da || [Schwabacher, black] mit die böfe ergerliche weiß/ || vnnütze vnd || schampare Liedlin/auff den Gaffen/ Felz||de Häußern/ vnnd anderßwo /zufingen/ || . . . || [red] Durch Herrn Henrich Knauffen || [black] der Rechten Doctor/vnd Keyferz||lichen gekrönten Poeten/rc. || . . . ||

Colophon (H8<sup>r</sup> = 64<sup>r</sup>): [Schwabacher] Getruckt zu Franckfort || am Meyn/ Bey Christian || Egenolffs Erben/im Jar || [Roman] M. D. LXXI. ||

Exemplars: ^D-B Eh 2940; I-Rvat Stamp.Pal.V.444; I-Rvat Stamp.Pal.V.675. Destroyed (Kriegsverlust): D-Kl cant 8° 23

Catalogues: VD16 K 1407, Berz 28.

Comments: These two titles appear one after the other in the Egenolff catalogues of 1579 (A-Whh RHR Bücherkommission im Reich 1–36 and D-Mbs Einbl. VIII,7 bc) and are discussed in Müller, *Christian Egenolff*, pp. 30–32 but not included in his catalogue, and in Richter, 'Christian Egenolffs Erben,' col. 810 with a bibliographical description at cols. 962–963, No. 321. Richter argues, as accepted here, that the two entries refer to the same edition, the *Gaffenhawer/Reuter || vnd Bergliedlin*, which contains no printed music.

<sup>11</sup> *Bibliothek George Nestle-John: Frankfurt am Main (1839–95) . . . Versteigerung . . . Dienstag, den 6. Oktober 1931* (Frankfurt a.M.: Joseph Baer, 1931), 58–60, lot 116, online at [http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/baer1931\\_10\\_06a/0071](http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/baer1931_10_06a/0071). Given that the binding consists of six unrelated prints, the identification of this particular exemplar in later catalogues can be made with complete certainty. At some time it entered the library of Alfred Cortot (it has his bookplate). It reappeared in *Music and Continental Books and Manuscripts London, 09 June 2010* (London: Sotheby, 2010), lot 74, online at [www.sothebys.com/fr/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.74.html/2010/music-and-continental-books-and-manuscripts-110402](http://www.sothebys.com/fr/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.74.html/2010/music-and-continental-books-and-manuscripts-110402), at which time it was purchased by US-Wc.

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