GOOD IMPRESSIONS
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ABSTRACTS

Early Music Printing and Ecclesiastic Patronage
Mary Kay Duggan, University of California, Berkeley

The Council of Basel ended in 1449 with a goal of creating a reformed set of liturgical books for the clergy of the Catholic Church, a goal that included several genres in which the music of plainchant was integral. The accomplishment of that visionary goal by the new technology of printing depended in large part on the financial support and patronage of the prince archbishops of German-speaking lands. A few of those princes managed to hire some of the finest printers of the day in exclusive monopolies to create music and text types to print graduals, antiphonals, missals, agendas, psalters, obsequiales, and vigiliae—hundreds of pages of printed music—for particular dioceses. This talk reviews contractual arrangements, printing programs, and music type specimens of Georg Reyser (Würzburg, for Prince-Bishop Rudolf of Scherenberg), Michael Reyser (Eichstätt, for Prince-Bishop Wilhelm von Reichenau), Erhard Ratdolt (Augsburg, for Prince-Bishop Friedrich von Hohenzollern), and Johann Sensenschmidt (Bamberg, for Prince-Bishop Philipp von Henneberg).

Not all bishops could afford to bring printers to their dioceses and the next stage of music printing saw the rise of independent printers in urban centers who were able to handle the complications of contractual arrangements with ecclesiastic entities as well as music printing and the red and black impressions of text and music demanded by the genres. Selected examples are Steffan Arndes (Lübeck), Conrad Kachelofen (Leipzig), and Johann Prüss and Friedrich Ruch (Strasbourg).

Swansong and cockcrow:
an antiphoner between liturgical tradition, marketing and revision
David Merlin, Universität Wien

In 1519 Johannes Winterburger printed in Vienna an antiphoner at his own expense. In this paper I will investigate following issues: the area for which it was produced and to what extent the choice of the repertory included, the user base, and the potential buyers are intertwined. These latter three

elements are essential in order to uncover the marketing strategy. Also revision and typographical aspects will be discussed. The latter will be explained in the context of other liturgical and theoretical editions by Winterburger.

The overwhelming part of the content is the same that is typical for the diocese of Passau. However, deviations can specify the intended destination more precisely to the most eastern parts of the diocese of Passau and they suggest that Winterburger's antiphoner was not manufactured for a single diocese, but for a geographic area which covered three dioceses: Passau, Vienna, and Wiener Neustadt. This is an absolutely unique case in the panorama of liturgical music prints. This is also congruent with the fact that this antiphoner was designed for sale, thus it to be profitable, and with the determined user base: It was made for the secular clergy, especially for parishes.

The colophon portrays this book as being "*castigatus*". The reference to an editorial control is not only a commercial strategy: It is evident in the careful use of accidentals as well as in the use of a special character (*liquescentia*). Both of them are used here significantly more often than in contemporary/coeval sources. In addition, some deviations from the usual manner of writing the church Latin reveal a revision of the texts.

This antiphoner is the last book Winterburger printed and it is also the only edition of this book genre manufactured in the extended Austrian region. It is furthermore the first and only liturgical book that was designed for sale in several dioceses. The Vienna-based master printer opened up a completely new perspective for liturgical editions: Winterburger's swansong presents itself simultaneously as a cockcrow with respect to the choice of repertory, the editorial revisions, and innovative marketing of such media.

Music printing in Basel until 1501
Birgit Lodes, Universität Wien

Early music printing in Basel is significant in two respects. On one hand, the city was a leading centre for the printing of liturgical books at the end of the fifteenth century. On the other hand, the Basel printer Gregor Mewes published the first extensive collection of polyphonic music produced north of the Alps, in 1507 (*Concentus harmonici*, containing four masses by Jacob Obrecht). In this paper I shall present a broad introduction to music printing in Basel, and then explore two little-examined themes. Firstly, liturgical printing in Basel followed the attempts to create a uniform liturgy at the

council of Basel, albeit at a distance of some decades. The beginning of the printing of polyphonic music began some decades later but could draw on the technical expertise and experience won from printing liturgical music. There is thus in Basel a strong and immediate connexion between the production of prints with "art music" and liturgical prints. These results, which will be discussed in more detail, are of course are of not merely regional importance, but are also of more general importance in research into early music printing.

The editions of Franciscus Niger's Brevis grammatica *by Jakob Wolff von Pforzheim (Basel, 1499–1500): a testimony to humanist musical awareness*
Fañch Thoraval, Université catholique de Louvain

Famous for being the first printed musical adaptation of classical scansion (and as such, an Italian precursor of the "northern" humanists), Francesco Negro's *Brevis Grammatica* (Venice, 1480) was successful enough to be reprinted in various countries. While the monodies from the eighth book (*De metrica oratione: & carminum qualitatibus*) are broadly reproduced in all of these new editions, the one by Jakob Wolff (Basel, 1499 and 1500) show numerous discrepancies. Since the German printer was described as being "entirely untouched by any familiarity with music and musical theory" (Lowinsky, 1954), this edition doesn't seem to have retained scholars' attention. Yet, it shows evidence of a strong consciousness of the classical scansion – both from the literary and musical points of view – which accuracy can hardly be found in the *editio princeps*. Consequently, the Basler *Brevis Grammatica* can be considered as a real "corrected edition" of Negro's work, at least so far the eighth book is concerned.

In a printing culture whose economic model often involves the simple reproduction of previous works, such a particular editorial behaviour is very eloquent. Firstly, it sheds a light on Wolff's intellectual and cultural background. Secondly, the identification of the literary source used in the *Brevis Grammatica* (Longinus' *Enchiridion peri metrôn* translated by Niccolò Perotto in his *De generibus metrorum*) reveals a real misunderstanding between Negro and Wolff about the meaning of the monodies. While the former intended to illustrate a shift from *musica mundana* to *musica instrumentalis*, the latter had the scope to present effective patterns for classical "quantitative" scansion. Thirdly, despite this is known to be a typical "northern" humanistic concern, the patterns chosen by Wolff include some "Italian accentual model". Discussing this apparent paradox, it is possible to consider that the

musicalisation of classical scansion in humanistic times relies on intellectual contexts rather than on national traditions.

German printers and the development of music printing in Spain
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German printers established printing in Spain. The first known publication, *Sinodal of Aguilafuente* (Segovia, 1472), a compilation of the records of a synod celebrated at the Santa María Church of Aguilafuente, came out of the presses of Juan Parix of Heidelberg. Similarly, the first known music print was the *Missale Cesaraugustanum*, (Zaragoza, 1485) the work of Pablo Hurus, a native of Constance, and the first known theoretical volume was Domingo Marcos Durán's *Lux bella* (Seville, 1492), which came out of the "cuatro compañeros Alemanes" press, owned by four Germans, Pablo de Colonia, Juan Pegnitzer, Magno Herbst de Fils and Tomás Glockner.

This paper explores the state of research into the contributions of German printers in Spain during the period 1485-1510. Seventeen printers who identified themselves as "German" were responsible for the first twenty-three liturgical books and seven theoretical treatises printed in the country. Not surprising for a large group, their careers are characterized by diversity. Some set up shop in one place, while others moved around looking for working opportunities. The success of some led to printing empires, while others ran small operations. A few returned to their places of origin, while others remained in Spain. Some printed both staff and musical notation, while others entered the musical notation by hand on a printed staff. Their shared contribution, however, besides the beautiful music books they produced, was their lasting influence seen in the vocal, instrumental and theoretical books of the Spanish printers they trained.

The first printed vocal method: the Sumula de canto de organo
by Domingo Marcos Durán
Santiago Galán, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

At the close of the 15th Century, an important upsurge of printed music treatises characterizes the Spanish musical life of the time. Between these, the *Sumula de canto de organo* by Domingo Marcos Durán stands out clearly, as the first polyphony treatise printed in Spanish. The book was published around 1503 in Salamanca by the German printer Hans Gysser, from Seligenstadt, contributing with this work to the impact that many migrant German printers had in the introduction of printing in Spain. At the end of this important treatise, Domingo Marcos appended a final chapter with vocal exercises which have been ignored until now. These exercises represent the first attempt to develop a systematic vocal training, perfectly organized and ordered with increased difficulty, aimed to train singers skilled in reading rhythms and finding correct pitches needed for the improvised counterpoint characteristic of the Spanish early Renaissance. The organization of the examples also gives us clues about the printing method used in those years, regarding to the music itself and to the layout of woodcuts needed for completing the pages in the book.

Delicate Differences:
the extant copies of the Liber Selectarum Cantionum *(Augsburg 1520)*
Torge Schiefelbein, Universität Wien

As demure as its title may sound, it is a coup de main of its time: the *Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo mutetas appellant sex quinque et quatuor vocum* (RISM A/I: S 2804; RISM B: 1520/4; VD-16: S 5851). Produced in the shop of the physician Sigmund Grimm and the merchant Markus Wirsung in Augsburg in 1520, it is the first motet anthology that was printed north of the Alps. Its eminent significance for its contemporaries and its influence on later times are a commonplace in musicology, printing research, and art history. In particular, the differences between the 19 extant copies have drawn attention in the research of the book. In a limited scope there have already been a few attempts in documenting and analyzing them (Bente 1968, Picker 1998, Bator 2002, ead. 2004) but a complete and systematic comparison has as of yet still been an explicitly stated desideratum of the scientific community. With the help of the newly developed program *Aruspix* (http://www.aruspix.net/) by Laurent Pugin I have undertaken this exciting

challenge within the framework of my dissertational thesis (Ph. D. advisor: Univ.-Prof. Dr. Birgit Lodes, University of Vienna, Austria). My research resulted in an extensive list of differences proving that none of the copies is exactly equal to any other one. This contests the common assumption of musicologists that printing enables the mass production of identical copies. The validity of the common view, however, is rather limited: Not identical but *similar* products are the ordinary. This finding has significant consequences among others for music philology as it ought to include all extant copies of a printed edition as well as the discussion of Ludwig Senfl as the editor of the book.

Michael N. in print: an exceptional transmission of minor ode settings?
Sonja Tröster, Universität Wien

In the German speaking lands the year 1507 marks the birth of printing anthologies of polyphonic music from movable type. Two of the three music prints that appeared in this year published polyphonic settings of selected examples from Horace's odes and epodes by Petrus Treibenreif, also known as Tritonius. One is a representative edition in folio format, the other a handy book destined for practical use. In the succession of this influential humanist project in cooperation with Conrad Celtis, further collections of Horace's texts in four voice settings appeared in the following decades, most renowned today are those with compositions by Ludwig Senfl (1534) and Paul Hofhaimer (1539). Only mentioned in passing is usually the first of those music books that followed the 1507 appearance of Tritonius' collection; in some modern publications it is even described as lost. The ode settings included in this book were composed by "Michael N.", a composer that has not been finally identified, and the print was issued in Augsburg in 1526, and prepared most likely by Simprecht Ruff in the former Grimm and Wirsung workshop. Despite the obscure origin, the music in this print is laid out beautifully and set with one of the most elegant music fonts of the time, as I will show with a comparative examination. Besides this technological and aesthetic achievement, also the repertoire of the print deserves more attention than it obtained in musicological research. Michael's ode settings are still not available in a modern transcription and Rochus von Liliencron commented his leaving them out in an edition of Tritonius', Hofhaimer's and Senfl's musical settings of Horace with the words: "unbedeutender und meistens recht trocken". But this obviously does not comply with the opinion of Michael's contemporaries. Five years after their first publication, a second

edition of Micheal's ode settings appeared in Marburg and the humanist Petrus Nigidius valued them so highly that he presented them again side by side with Tritonius' compositions of the same texts in his Geminae undeviginti odarum Horatii melodiae in 1551/52. Contextualising those reprints and presenting further concordances of individual ode settings in the time in between, I will try to evaluate the properties of the musical material, concluding with the question who this composer Michael really was and if his ode settings really are such a marginal phenomenon.

Melchior Lotter: innovator and businessman
Elisabeth Giselbrecht, King's College, University of London

No other printer personifies the religious turmoil in sixteenth century Germany more strikingly than Melchior Lotter the Elder. Having made good money by publishing numerous liturgical works, including missals and breviaries with music, he started to print Luther's writings in 1517 and was then asked by the reformer himself to open a branch of his business in Wittenberg. There, Lotter's sons continued their father's work and published, among many other books, the German mass with music.

The innovation and keen business spirit of the Lotter family, however, can also be seen in their varied publications to include music, ranging from liturgical books to music theory publications and hymn books. Their willingness to experiment with different techniques, formats and type fonts exemplify this period of German music printing, where there was still ample room for experiments and innovation and the music book production was all but standardized. This paper will focus on Melchior Lotter and his output in particular, give detail attention to his individual publications and use his example to raise some general questions on the status of early music printing.

The cult of Luther in music
Grantley McDonald, Universität Salzburg

The subject of "Luther and Music" is one of those old warhorses that never fails to make an appearance in any account of sixteenth-century music history. Invariably it is written from a blandly hagiographical perspective, reflecting dated notions of the liberation of the individual conscience and the

increasing self-determination of the laity in early modern society. These notions are admittedly not entirely false, but it is argued that excessive use of such notions by earlier scholars too often played into an uncritical lionisation of Luther, the reformation and its musical consequences. For example, while the reformers' ostensible valorisation of congregational monophony seems to represent a retrograde step in romantic narratives of the progress of western music history, this apparent eschewal of musical complexity is often depicted as a necessary precondition of later and greater developments, receiving redemption and apotheosis at the hands of J. S. Bach, the Fifth Evangelist of twentieth-century confessional musicology.

The present paper will try to escape from such narratives by attempting something a little different. It will focus on a number of pieces that reflect on Luther as a man, from the diametrically opposed perspectives of friends and enemies of the Lutheran reformation. The song *Ad Martinum Lutherum captivum lamentatio* reflects the mood of despair that surrounded the secret abduction of Luther in 1521. The *Encomium in divum Bennonem* by Luther's old teacher and later adversary Hieronymus Emser defends traditional Roman Catholic veneration of local saints against Luther's broadside against such practices of piety. *Eyn erschreglicher Gesangk* attacks Luther's doctrine of the priesthood, depicting it as a diabolical perversion. The *Epithalamia Martini Lutheri*, attributed variously to Emser or Johannes Cochlaeus, parodies Luther's marriage to Katharina von Bora in 1525. Finally, Caspar Othmayr's *Heiliger Vater* enshrines Luther's reported last words in music. We shall examine this setting as a polemical response to Roman Catholic depictions of Luther's last minutes as the moment when his diabolic nature was finally revealed.

All of these pieces are biased, all present a partisan picture of a man whose open combat with the Roman Catholic church provoked extreme reactions, both positive and negative. However, it will be argued that taking account of the polemical context of these pieces provides a way out of the denominational bias that often distorts discussions of the music of the reformation. Consideration of the persistent imagery of saints and demons in the texts provides insight into the perceived cosmic consequences of Luther's rebellion, on both sides. Consideration of the various musical genres of these pieces provokes further reflection both on the various registers of reformation polemic, and also on the context and manner in which these pieces were apparently performed. Finally, consideration of the printed form of the pieces—whether broadsheets, pamphlets or part of extensive collections of polyphony—also suggests conclusions about the intended audience for these pieces, and the circumstances of their performance.

Bad Impressions = Cheap Prints = Good ROI:
German music publishing and the student market
in the wake of the Reformation
John Kmetz, New York

In this paper, I will argue that German publishers intentionally and routinely printed cheap music books, because the wanted to capitalize on the burgeoning music education business that arose in wake of the Reformation. Following on, I will argue that by issuing such books for university and Latin school students (in small formats, with poor quality paper, and ugly type faces), publishers got a much better return on investment (ROI) then they would have printing large, elegant, expensive music books, the later of which often required funding, privileges, and dedicatees. I will discuss books set in white mensural notation, in lute and keyboard tablature, and in a combination of both as witnessed in music theoretical volumes. I will focus particularly on the printers Egenolff and Petreius.

        When all is said and done, it should be clear that German music publishers, unlike most of their foreign counterparts, were well aware of the value that music education could bring not only to their bottom line as business men, but also to their bottom line as facilitators of musical literacy in their German-speaking world.

The music prints of Christian Egenolff: catalogue and context
Royston Gustavson, The Australian National University

Christian Egenolff is well known to music scholars as the first German music printer to print by single impression, however studies of his output and its influence have been hampered by the difficulty in producing a definitive catalogue of his music prints, caused in part by so many of his lied publications having survived in an incomplete state without either title or date of publication, in part by some editions appearing in multiple issues, and in part by hypothesized lost editions. Drawing on evidence including a first-hand examination of most of his prints, a new catalogue of Egenolff's music prints has been produced. This forms the basis of anexamination of the internal structure of his music publishing program and how it relates to trends in the music printing activities of his German contemporaries.

How to lose money in the business of books:
commercial strategies in the first age of print
Andrew Pettegree, University of St Andrews

The early history of print is generally treated as a triumphant march towards expansion. It is certainly true that at some point in the fifteenth century a printing press was established in more than two hundred places across Europe, but most of these businesses were extremely short-lived. Many were established in places where print was never likely to be viable, but the problem was more systemic: once the first era of technical fascination receded, it proved far more difficult than expected to make money from the business of books. Bankruptcy and failure was a commonplace experience in the first age of print. This paper examines why this was so, and why it proved so difficult to develop a business model that unravelled the complexities of bringing so many copies of the new printed books to the market place. It goes on to explore the strategies printers adopted, individually and collectively, to place their enterprises on a more secure footing.
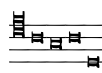
Handsetting words and music in metal type: all at the same time and upside down
Claire Bolton, Oxford

This paper is intended as background information to the demonstration of printing with music type later in the conference. It will look at how metal type letters are made (from punch to matrix to cast letter in type metal) and how type letters are set in a line, and the lines brought together into a page of text – all too easy! It will then continue to show the added complications of setting four lines of musical notes to the text and the design challenge of trying to balance the continuity and legibility of both words and music.

"Made in Germany": the use of German music types
outside the German-speaking area until 1650
Laurent Guillo, Paris

Between 1500 and ca. 1650, the number of music types used in Europe to print polyphonic music can be estimated between 150 and 200. Despite the availability of several specific studies of particular printers or areas, no

definitive census of these music types has been made yet. Their descriptions and measurements, scattered in these studies, are therefore somewhat difficult to compare.

My previous papers on music typography contain descriptions of music types used in Lyon, Geneva, Paris, some minor French towns, and a full survey of music typography in the Low Countries, up to 1650. Using some additional literature (including Berz, Krummel and Davidsson) devoted to German, English or Scandinavian music types, my contribution will identify and describe the music types made in the German-speaking area and which were used abroad (a preliminary account shows about 8 or 10 types), up to 1650; and explain why printers imported these types rather than using local types.

The production of polyphonic books in octavo format:
the case of Arnt von Aich's LXXV Hübscher lieder
Sanna Raninen, University of Manchester

The increased popularity of the partbook format in the production of books of polyphony is closely associated with the spread of music printing. Compared to the choirbook format, partbooks are perceived to be economical and less laborious for the printer to produce, as well as being practical for the readers of the book for the spatial freedom provided by an individual book per voice.

Although a considerable portion of the partbooks from the first half of the sixteenth century are in quarto format, the even more compact octavo format was also in use, particularly in the production of the first printed books of *Tenorlieder* by Peter Schöffer, Erhard Öglin, and Arnt von Aich. How were these octavo books imagined and realised as objects by their makers? Furthermore, did the different production methods affect the style and layout of the pages, and are these in any way indicative of the perceived uses for which the books were intended? Through the bibliographical study of the octavo books of polyphony both in German speaking areas and elsewhere in Europe, this paper focuses on the aspects of producing small-format partbooks during the first decades of music printing, with a special focus on Arnt von Aich's *LXXV Hübscher lieder*.

Polyphony in early German print: assumptions and reality
Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl (Universität Salzburg)

Polyphonic art music, both vocal and instrumental, stands in the centre of musicological study, and comprises the backbone of the regnant historical narrative transmitted since the beginning of our discipline. However, there has never been a serious examination of the adequacy of this narrative as a reflection of the historical data of the musical life of earlier times, at least as far as this can be determined from the surviving musical sources.

Our research project on early music printing in German speaking lands between 1501 and 1540 focuses not on repertoire, but on the challenge of rendering notes and staff lines together in print. When we began, we knew that we would be working not only with polyphony but also with a variety of "different" kinds of music: short examples in theory treatises and textbooks, tablatures, monophonic songs, humanist ode-settings and simple dramatic choruses, as well as chant and congregational hymns for liturgical and devotional purposes. But as we brought all the data together, it became increasingly clear that these "different" kinds of music constituted the overwhelming majority of what was printed during the period of our investigation. Sources that transmit polyphony make up not quite eight per cent of the total number of sources.

In my paper I shall try to explore why this is the case. I will address the following questions: Why was the market for polyphonic music so limited, and why was there a greater demand for other kinds of sources? Which polyphonic genres were printed? What was the relation between polyphonic sources in manuscript and those in print, and what did this mean for the dissemination of the kinds of music that were rarely available in print? What effect did the protestant reformation have on the printing of polyphonic liturgical music? And finally, how did the musical production of printing workshops in German-speaking lands compare with those in Italy and France?