**To have and to hold: Music books as collectables\***

In 1565 the Antwerp physician, art historian, and bibliographer Samuel Quiccheberg **(1529-1567)** published the *Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi*, a manual which describes the contents and arrangement of an ideal collection.[[1]](#footnote-1) At this time Quiccheberg, who is best known to musicologists as the author of the explanatory volumes for the exquisitely illuminated Mielich manuscripts *Mus. Ms. A* and *Mus. Ms. B*,[[2]](#footnote-2) was employed as librarian and keeper of the collection of Duke Albrecht V.[[3]](#footnote-3) In this publication Quicchebergsuggests a system to organise and display individual objects in a universal collection. He groups the items into five so-called *theatri*, a term he uses to refer to the different classes of objects as well as to his suggested spatial arrangement of the sections: four rooms organised around a central fifth area, not unlike an amphitheatre. The different rooms contain images connected to their owner (for example maps, portraits, and genealogies), *artificialia* (statues and handcrafted objects), *naturalia* (such as stuffed animals or dried plants), art, and instruments of all kinds, including mathematical, astronomical, and musical instruments. With this publication Quiccheberg aimed to provide both a theoretical framework to define the things that might be collected as well as a practical guideline for the construction of a building dedicated to collecting and the expansion of knowledge. It has earned its author the title of the ‘founding father of the modern museum’[[4]](#footnote-4) and provides a reminder of the growing importance of collecting in the early modern period. Detectible in many areas – from cabinets of curiosities to growing libraries – the interest to collect, assemble, order, and preserve was widespread and an important aspect of the material and intellectual world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, [[5]](#footnote-5) both in institutions as well as increasingly in private homes.

On a basic level collecting can be defined as ‘a form of consumption characterized by the selection, gathering together, and setting aside of a group of objects’.[[6]](#footnote-6) What distinguishes it from the mere hoarding of objects is that a preconceived order, a concept, guides this activity. Appropriating a slightly more restricted view, a collection item can be defined by its non-usability. Krzysztof Pomian first introduced the distinction between useful objects and those without an immediate use, which represent the invisible and are collected predominantly for their symbolic meaning. In his definition only the latter, so-called semiophores, form part of collections.[[7]](#footnote-7) However, the strict application of the useful/non-useful dichotomy is not always feasible, as in some instances individual artefacts within a collection are still being used, for example by scholars or by manufacturers as models for their own products. Nevertheless, following Pomian, a function of the object beyond immediate practical use, and thus lending it a semiophoric quality, can be seen as one of the main properties of a collection. This article examines the extent to which music books were considered semiophoric collection items in the sixteenth-century, particularly in private collections in northern Europe.

Due to their ambiguous nature as both repositories of knowledge as well as material items, books are of particular interest when viewed from the perspective of collecting.[[8]](#footnote-8) In many instances they were acquired as the basis for learning, to satisfy personal curiosity, and acquire new knowledge. At the same time, however, they could also be collected for their visual properties, as travel souvenirs, or as prestigious objects to furnish a household and fashion a learned identity and could thus, in Pomian’s definition, act as semiophores. These manifold functions of books have been recognised by numerous scholars,[[9]](#footnote-9) but music books have only occasionally been considered from this perspective,[[10]](#footnote-10) since there is a long-standing notion that they were produced and acquired predominantly as the basis for performance. Donald Krummel has stated

Musical editions are usually intended for use in performance, and are expected to wear out. The thought of their being carefully handled seems almost odd. Perhaps as a result, as well as because of the legendary poverty of musicians, there have been very few editions designed specifically for the collector’s shelves. Early examples of luxurious production do exist, but they reflect on circumstances of aristocratic music patronage more than any search for the Book Beautiful.[[11]](#footnote-11)

Many studies investigating collections of music books presume that whoever assembled these items did so primarily to build a repertoire for performance.[[12]](#footnote-12) This focus on performance has, for a long time, placed books of music into an altogether different category to text books. Reinhard Strohm has pointed to this divide and has argued that the distinction between the non-performative text book and the performative music book solely intended as basis for performance is often artificial and overrated.[[13]](#footnote-13) He concludes that ‘whether music is all about performance is itself in question, particularly when it comes to its status as a book.’[[14]](#footnote-14) Once music books are considered from the same perspective as ‘text’ books their functions can also be re-assessed.

Over time, a number of scholars have highlighted the value of music books beyond their immediate use in performance. Particularly their role in the culture of early modern gift-giving has been explored,[[15]](#footnote-15) mainly in connection with elaborate presentation manuscripts, such as those prepared in the workshop of Petrus Alamire[[16]](#footnote-16) or the Medici Codex.[[17]](#footnote-17) That some printed publications (or at least individual copies of an edition) were also intended as a gift to the dedicatee and potentially his contacts can, for example, be seen in the case of the *Liber selectarum cantionum* printed in Augsburg in 1520.[[18]](#footnote-18) Other individuals owned music books primarily for the advancement of their theoretical knowledge of music.[[19]](#footnote-19) The case of the German humanist scholar Heinrich Glarean, whose large book collection has recently been re-assessed and used to contextualise his own extensive writings and his role as a teacher,[[20]](#footnote-20) is now well known. The annotations in his private copies of mass and motet publications reveal his keen interest in modal theory, which then culminated in the *Dodekachordon*.[[21]](#footnote-21) Glarean’s personal book collection is a prime example of a scholarly library and a use of his music books in performance is not evident.

By asking to what extent music books were considered semiophoric collection items, this article adds a further aspect of the early modern use of music books outside the realm of performance. To that end, collecting is understood in a narrow sense following Pomian’s definition, focusing on objects that were assembled for their symbolic meaning rather than for their primary use, in this case performance. This does not mean that music books collected as semiophoric items could not be used in performance. The objective is, however, to show that, in the same way as text books, they could serve this dual purpose of use and collection. Two main aspects, both of which are rather specific to the private collecting of music books, will be explored: editions acquired predominantly for their material aspects, and music in the context of encyclopaedic libraries. Thereafter, the question of whether collectors as a potential market influenced the makers of music books is discussed. Did the notion that some music books were mainly bought to live a life on the shelves impact their very identity already in the printing workshop? Before addressing these questions the general relationship between collectionism and music shall briefly be considered.

**Collecting music?**

The *Kunst- und Wunderkammer*, described by Quiccheberg in admirable detail, was the pinnacle of early modern collecting. It combined, as Kaspar Neickel outlined in 1727, ‘that, which has been brought forth by nature and nature alone, and that, which art has brought forth aided by the subtle ingenuity, keen mind unfailing manual labour of men’.[[22]](#footnote-22) Music appears in several different manifestations in these cabinets, the most prominent being the collection of musical instruments.[[23]](#footnote-23) In the *Inscriptiones* Samuel Quiccheberg placed them in the fourth class together with mathematical, astronomical, and other scientific instruments.[[24]](#footnote-24) The description of the cabinet of curiosities owned by Rudolph II in Prague demonstrates a clear focus on materiality, for the instruments are identified either by their material, rarity, or exquisite finishing, as can be seen from entries in the inventories referring to ‘ain gantz silberne vergulte lauten’ [‘a solid gilt silver lute’] and ‘ain instrument von lauterm glas’ [‘an instrument made entirely of glass’].[[25]](#footnote-25) In these cases the semiophoric nature of the musical instruments is evident: collected for their visual properties, the display of manufacturing skill, or their exoticism, they formed part of comprehensive collections. Alongside other instruments they were stored and exhibited to showcase human skill and the different areas of the sciences and were not intended for (regular) use. In many private households instruments also fulfilled a double purpose, as they were not only used for entertainment, but were also part of the furniture and served decorative purposes. Keyboard instruments in particular, but also lutes – frequently mounted on the wall – were often made of fine materials and were considered important aspects of the interior for established members of society.[[26]](#footnote-26)

Instruments aside, musical notation was also at times featured in cabinets of curiosities, either as illustration or as decorative device on other objects.[[27]](#footnote-27) A curious example is a set of playing cards, which formed part of a small cabinet now in Uppsala.[[28]](#footnote-28) This cupboard, compiled by the merchant, diplomat, and art collector Philip Hainhofer (1578-1647), is a miniature cabinet of curiosities. Hundreds of objects from small paintings and games to products for personal hygiene were especially crafted for this purpose. This also seems to be the case for the French playing cards, which on their back display thirteen chansons for four voices in mensural notation with the four voices divided between the different suits.[[29]](#footnote-29) Some other cases are known, particularly from Italy, where music was featured on everyday objects. One example is the *maiolica* plate on which parts of the frottola *Segni cuore e non restare* are legible. In fact, comparative reading suggests that it was copied from Petrucci’s *Frottole libro septimo* printed in Venice in 1507.[[30]](#footnote-30)

Given the focus on material and visual aspects, the northern European *Kunstkammern* provide a parallel case to the well-researched Italian *studioli*.[[31]](#footnote-31) There, particularly in the frequently featured intarsia works, instruments, musical notation, and even specific pieces of music, proved a popular theme.[[32]](#footnote-32) As part of the artwork music books were also depicted, for example in Federico da Montefeltro’s *studiolo* in Urbino, where the chanson *J’ay pris amours* is depicted in an open choirbook.[[33]](#footnote-33) Music books – alongside those from other disciplines – were also present on the bookshelves of the *studioli*, where they served a dual purpose: on the one hand they could be used for performance[[34]](#footnote-34) or private study, on the other they were part of the furniture – prestige objects that gave testimony to the wide interests of their owners.[[35]](#footnote-35) Particularly for Isabella d’Este it is well known how much value she attributed to the materiality of the objects in her *studiolo*. An exchange with the instrument maker and agent Lorenzo da Pavia reveals how she had insisted on obtaining a lute made entirely of ebony[[36]](#footnote-36) and in regards to books she had a particular interest in the exclusivity of manuscripts and publications by well-known printers.[[37]](#footnote-37) Therefore it is not surprising that the inventories of her rooms, which were compiled after her death, include a book of French chansons, a handwritten copy of a treatise by Gafurio, and a further book containing French music with a most elaborate binding of velvet and silver.[[38]](#footnote-38) This now leads to the central question of this article: to what extent were music books acquired as semiophoric items in private collections?

**Appreciating the material**

Beautiful bindings, paper of high quality, and elaborate decorations can render any book into a collectable. In some cabinets of curiosities illustrations in books were used as substitutes for objects which were unavailable to the collector, but were considered important for a comprehensive collection. Others included books in their art collections. In the *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* of Duke Albrecht V in Bavaria, for example, a number of books were exhibited, among them, for example, ‘Ein Gesangbüechl mit 3 Blettern, darauf ein Gesang von vergulten Noten’ [‘a songbook with three leaves, on them a song in golden notation’].[[39]](#footnote-39) While there is no surviving source to exactly match this description, it certainly reminds of the famous *basse danse* manuscript of Margaret of Austria written entirely in gold.[[40]](#footnote-40) The previously mentioned music manuscripts illuminated by Hans Mielich were also kept in the cabinet rather than the library: with their refined artwork and highly elaborate visual programme they were considered as part of the art collection.[[41]](#footnote-41) This appreciation of the material aspects of a music book, however, was not limited to prestige manuscripts and can also be found in collections of printed books.

In 1566 an inventory of the instruments and music books in the possession of the famous German collector Raimund Fugger was compiled.[[42]](#footnote-42) That the music books were catalogued not with other books, but together with musical instruments, might suggest a collection predominantly assembled for performance. However, the lists of instruments and books display clear signs of a purpose beyond performance and a focus on visual and material aspects. The instruments are meticulously described giving details of their make and makers as well as the materials used. Entries such as ‘Ain Accordo von 4 Lautten von helffenbein vnd Sandlholtz geschegget’ [‘a family of four lutes made of ivory and sandal wood, brindled’] and ‘Ain Accordo von 4 Lautten von Canna d'India schwartz / mit helffenbeinen Filetlen’ [‘four lutes made of black Canna d’India (potentially giant bamboo)/ with ivory spacers’] clearly demonstrate the importance Raimund Fugger placed on the material qualities of his instrument collection.[[43]](#footnote-43) Richard Schaal has already pointed out that this collection exhibits aspects of an early museum.[[44]](#footnote-44) Fugger’s music book collection, then, can be seen from a similar perspective. One clear indication for a collector’s mind being behind the inventory is, that it records the type of binding for almost every book, but rarely mentions composers or any further details that might help to identify individual pieces. Therefore, the visual aspect is given more prominence than the content. A further indication might be the miss-match between the contents of the music library and the rest of the collection: Given the extent of the instrument collection, it might surprise that Fugger apparently only owned four books specifically for instrumental music. Of course, many of the vocal pieces could have also been performed on instruments, but the lack of a direct correspondence between the collection of instruments and music books further underlines the idea of semiophoric collecting behind each.

The books owned by Count Heinrich IV of Castell fulfilled a slightly different purpose, albeit one, which also relied on material and visual aspects. In his student days Count Castell spent extended periods at French and Italian universities and was, during this time, a patron to a number of bookbinders.[[45]](#footnote-45) Therefore, in contrast to the common practice of transporting unbound sheets, Castell had his books bound at the place of acquisition. They later both furnished his library as well as serving as souvenirs of his travels. Of his more than 300 books only forty-five survive;[[46]](#footnote-46) among them are six volumes of chansons printed by Pierre Attaignant, which were bound in Paris in blind-tooled calf.[[47]](#footnote-47) Despite being collections of very different kinds, what connects Fugger and Castell is their appreciation of music books in particular for their material qualities. A different aspect of the collecting of music books without a direct link to performance is their acquisition as part of a growing interest in encyclopaedic libraries.

**Music and encyclopaedic libraries**

In the early modern period the nature of libraries changed significantly, partly as a result of the greater availability of books, partly influenced by the phenomenon of collecting. The purchase of books and building of a library was not a new phenomenon, however, earlier libraries were often institutional (especially in ecclesiastical contexts) or, when private, reflected the particular interests of their owners. In the course of the sixteenth century two important developments took place: first, the number of books in individual libraries grew significantly, and secondly, some book collectors were less focussed on specific areas, but aimed to present a wide range of knowledge. Scholars such as Roger Chartier have pointed to the age-old desire of erecting universal and exhaustive libraries.[[48]](#footnote-48) For some collectors the quantity of books was indeed the main attraction in a library, as is famously described in Sebastian Brant’s *Narrenschiff* (1494). The first to board Brant’s ship of fools is the owner of useless books.[[49]](#footnote-49) That owning large quantities of books was of growing importance in early modern libraries can also be learned from the seventeenth-century French author Gabriel Naudé, who wrote a little pamphlet with advice on how to establish a library. There, he also comments on the importance of a substantial amount of books, when he advises the reader ‘to render therby our Library famous, if not for the quality of them, yet at least by the unparallel’d and prodigious quantity of its Volumes.’[[50]](#footnote-50)

As part of these ever growing libraries many collectors aimed to cover a broad range of subjects. This comprehensive approach to book collecting mirrors the idea of the cabinet of curiosities, and when books are predominantly collected to represent the universality of knowledge and to form part of such encyclopaedic collections, they also turn into semiophores, which represent different areas of knowledge. In Quiccheberg’s *Inscriptiones* the establishment of cabinets of curiosities and that of libraries is intimately linked and arises out of the same comprehensive approach. After giving his detailed account of the collection of *realia*, Quiccheberg proceeds to present a classification system for a library to accompany the museum.[[51]](#footnote-51) The different subject groups described therein largely mirror the classes suggested for the collection of artefacts, thus appropriating the same universal attitude to books as for the object collection.[[52]](#footnote-52) What role did books of music play in this comprehensive display of knowledge? In this context the difference between books of *musica theorica* and *practica* is of the greatest importance. While the former have regularly been considered in descriptions of book collections, particularly as part of learned libraries, the latter are less frequently described from this perspective, thus re-enforcing the distinction between the performative book of practical music and the non-performative text book, which had a place in a learned library. In his 2012 monograph Ian Mclean re-enforces this view, when he writes: ‘Music printed for performance is not a learned genre, but philosophical expositions of music theory, such as Heinrich Glareanus’s influential Dodecachordon of 1547, clearly are.’ [[53]](#footnote-53)

This distinction is further fuelled by the attention in recent scholarship given to dedicated spaces for music, in particular music rooms, where music books and instruments were kept together,[[54]](#footnote-54) while practical music books as part of wider libraries have rarely been considered.

What about book collectors, who did not necessarily or at least not exclusively use music books for performance? Did owners of large-scale book collections follow the distinction of books about music and books containing music and predominantly collect music theory in order to represent the subject of music in their libraries? Or did they also consider books of *musica practica* as necessary to their collection, even though these books were not generally intended for performance?

The theoretical basis of universal book collecting can be found in the work of the Swiss humanist Conrad Gesner. In 1545 he published his first bibliographical work, the *Bibliotheca universalis*,[[55]](#footnote-55) in which he aimed to bring together all books written or printed in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Three years later Gesner produced a second, even larger opus, *Pandectarum sive Partitionum universalium*.[[56]](#footnote-56) This book differs from the earlier one in two principal respects: first, it expands the parameters to include all available published works, not only those written in classical languages. Secondly, it adopts a new ordering system to encompass all knowledge. In this systematic arrangement of twenty-one categories music is placed at number seven as part of an enlarged *trivium* and *quadrivium*, in which (together with arithmetic, geometry, astronomy) it forms the *mathematica* section.[[57]](#footnote-57) Corresponding to its number in this systematisation, book seven of the *Pandecatae* is exclusively dedicated to music and Gesner divides the nearly 300 entries into eight sections. Groups one to three consist of theory books concerning the classification of genres, modal theory and general treatises respectively. Sections four and five then represent *musica practica* with editions of sacred and secular music. Group six and seven return to mainly theoretical works, first those by ancient authors and secondly those on instrumental music. A lengthy appendix listing further books of polyphony concludes the volume. Within these individual sections the divide between books of music and those about music is not strictly applied: section four, for example, which is dedicated to liturgical music, includes Jean Calvin’s *Institutio* *Christianae religionis* and Simon de Quercu’s music treatise[[58]](#footnote-58) alongside books containing motets and masses as well as graduals, antiphoners, and missals.[[59]](#footnote-59) Overall it becomes apparent that in Gesner’s view, books of music theory and practice belonged side by side and together build the corpus of material concerned with the topic of music.[[60]](#footnote-60)

Turning to real owners of encyclopaedic libraries, the first port of call has to be the towering figure of sixteenth-century book collecting, Fernando Colón. The efforts he undertook to assemble his library and his comprehensive approach made him the real-life version of Gesner’s library on paper. Not only did Colón acquire an estimated 15,000 volumes of both printed books and manuscripts during his lifetime, he also placed great importance on cataloguing them. The surviving contemporary inventories, compiled by the collector himself with the aid of students,[[61]](#footnote-61) can be divided into two categories: the *Regestra*, which list the books according to their acquisition date, and the *Abecedaria*.[[62]](#footnote-62) The latter are alphabetical indices, written on the basis of the *Regestra*. Supplementary catalogues of short summaries as well as main themes of the books also survive. The large number of entries, frequent revisions, and the incomplete state of the bibliographies make them a difficult, if important, research tool. More than forty years ago Catherine Chapman undertook the monumental task of extracting the books of polyphonic music from the various registers.[[63]](#footnote-63) From there we learn that Colón considered books of *musica practica* an important part of his library and collected them on a grand scale, often attempting to acquire entire sets produced by particular printer-publishers, namely Petrucci.[[64]](#footnote-64) Inspection of the original catalogues reveals that in addition to the polyphonic music books listed by Chapman, Colón acquired books of music theory, as well as liturgical music books.[[65]](#footnote-65) His list of music theory books is surprisingly comprehensive, especially in regards to publications from German-speaking areas. In the *Regestrum B,* titles by well-known theorists such as Cochlaeus appear alongside lesser-known names such as Simon de Quercu or Dietrich Tzwyvel. These different types of books relating to or containing music co-existed in Colón’s collection.

In the *Regestrum B*, polyphonic music is mixed with liturgical publications and music theory books. The supplement to this register, however, is of particular interest for polyphonic music. In an effort to simplify the by then over-crowded register, the scribe extracted some of the entries from the main part and grouped them under new headings. Most of the categories refer to specific authors, such as Erasmus or Ovid, a few are thematic, as for example the section on books on the Virgin Mary, and – as the only category that refers specifically to a subject – we find ‘Musica’. This shows that the collector treated music books as a distinct, and apparently rather important category. Moreover, this section is almost exclusively dedicated to polyphonic music, which he groups according to genre, including *basses danses, canzoni, chansons, frottole, intabulature, libri missarum* and *moteti*. This demonstrates that one of the most important bibliophiles and collectors considered practical music books as an integral part of his library and collected them on a grand scale alongside other publications relating to music.

The German collector Georg Werdenstein (1542-1608), whose books became the foundation of the library of Duke Albrecht V and consequently the Bavarian State Library in Munich, presents a similar case. His collection of music books is mainly known to musicologists thanks to Richard Charteris’ invaluable publication.[[66]](#footnote-66) The isolation of music books as well as the title of the book (*Johann Georg Werdenstein. A Major Collector of Early Music Prints*) might lead to the assumption that Werdenstein had a particular interest in music, which would explain the large amount of polyphonic editions he owned. But putting the music books back into the context of Werdenstein’s general library, it becomes apparent that music was one of more than twenty categories and that music books were only a fraction of his general collection, which numbered in the tens of thousands.[[67]](#footnote-67) He thus acquired the many musical editions alongside publications of a wide variety of subjects. Of the 9,000 volumes sold to Duke Albrecht V, 500 editions contained music. At the point of the sale in the late sixteenth century the Duke’s librarian wrote an inventory, which arranged the books according to subjects,[[68]](#footnote-68) including theology, medicine, philosophy, grammar, mathematics, various languages, and history. Furthermore, books with funeral sermons, those about recent history, and unbound books were compiled in separate inventories.

Music appears twice: in category ‘m’ between books on mathematics and unbound books there are fourteen entries referring to books of music theory. Inventory ‘t’ is entirely dedicated to books of music, and the index is entitled: ‘MUSICALES LIBRI GALLICI et ITALICI. Ligati et Soluti [i.e. bound and unbound].’[[69]](#footnote-69) They are situated in between the categories relating to books in various foreign languages (*librorum gallicorum*; *libri hispanici, anglici, belgici*), (category ‘s’) and Italian books (category ‘u’). The proximity of the music books to foreign language items is noteworthy and this connection is further underlined by the fact that within the music category the entries are also grouped according to the language of their text into ‘MUSICALES Libri Gallici’, ‘Italienische gesang Buecher’, ‘LIBRI MVSICALES Latini’ and ‘Teütsche Gesang Büecher’ respectively. Werdenstein thus maintained a clear divide between books of music theory (grouped close to mathematics) and *musica practica* (alongside the foreign languages). However, he evidently considered both to be vital to his comprehensive book collection.

Two thirds of the 451 music books listed in this section of the catalogue contain secular music, including French chansons, Italian madrigals and frottole as well as German songs. The remaining third consists of sacred music books in Latin and German, but no liturgical editions are mentioned. The dominance of secular music and the absence of strictly liturgical material is surprising, as Werdenstein spent some of his life working as a cleric. This could be seen as a further element to underline that the main objective of this library was comprehensively to represent available publications rather than being of direct use to a specific owner and his interests or profession. However, as with many clerics it could also point towards his personal interest in secular music.

One of the largest collections of books in German-speaking areas before 1700 was assembled by Herzog August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg and now forms the basis of the invaluable library in Wolfenbüttel. At the time of his death in 1666 Herzog August owned more than 135,000 individual publications.[[70]](#footnote-70) They were organised in twenty separate categories, which have been preserved in the current library. In the overview of these categories *musica* is found between *astronomica* and *physica* and this section contains roughly 500 books, which are a mixture of *musica practica* and theory books. Herzog August’s books were bound into large collector’s volumes (often invariably including books of the same format), usually containing more than ten individual titles. Music books are generally bound with other music books, but can also be found together with titles from any other category and then shelved in other sections, for example in *arithmetica, ethica, geometrica, grammatica, historica, rhetorica,* and *theologica.* Evidently the aim for Herzog August was to amass as many books as possible and music, both in the form of theory as well as polyphonic books, was part of this wide-reaching enterprise.

It is thus evident that Colón, Werdenstein and Herzog August all considered *musica practica* as crucial to their comprehensive collection. It is not unthinkable that these books might have also been occasionally used for performance, in the same way as text books were used for reference purposes. However, in all these cases it is clear that they were also acquired as crucial elements of these these exhaustive collections. They are kept alongside books of music theory and together represent music, one of the crucial areas of collectable knowledge. These collectors thus follow Quiccheberg’s idea, who included music not only in the form of musical instruments in his classification of the *theatri*, but also had a specific section for ‘libri musici’ in the proposed system for the library, which was to accompany and mirror the cabinet of curiosities.

**Publishers and collectors**

That the acquisition of music books was not necessarily linked to a wish or need to use them in performance was also recognised by editors and publishers from the very start. Various scholars have pointed out how the publication of series of music books can be seen as a way of accommodating collectors.[[71]](#footnote-71) From the earliest books of polyphony both secular and sacred music was frequently published in multiple volumes, giving a collector the opportunity to acquire entire sets and thus both catering for the market, while at the same time shaping it. An interest in collecting some of these early series and the desire for completeness is already apparent in some of the earliest book collectors. As mentioned above, Fernando Cólon evidently tried to acquire all of Petrucci’s music publications.[[72]](#footnote-72) In what other aspects can the collector as a potential market for books of music be found in early music publications?

It has been demonstrated that some collectors particularly valued aspects relating to the materiality and appearance of books. One of the most important visual features, the binding, was usually commissioned by the owners themselves and therefore did not need to be taken into consideration by the printer. But many decisions relating to the appearance of the book were already taken by the editor or printer. The consideration of the collector as a potential market could already start with the choice of format: particularly large or small books make an either impressive or curious item. Large publications were expensive to produce, as paper was still the most costly aspect of a printing enterprise.[[73]](#footnote-73) Nevertheless, once acquired, they were without doubt some of the most representative books in a collection. The monetary value of the book could be even higher when printed or written on vellum. Only very few examples of the use of parchment in printed music books are known, and they usually occur in liturgical books, in which the canon is printed on this more expensive and at the same time more durable material. A book entirely printed on vellum is the *Missale Salisburgense* published by Jakob Wolff von Pforzheim in Basel in 1510.[[74]](#footnote-74) The decision to use vellum was probably driven by the wish to distinguish this edition from the four other editions of the same missal, which had appeared over a short space of time.[[75]](#footnote-75) It is not surprising that this luxury edition, rather than one of the others printed on paper, found its way into the private collection of Duke Albrecht V.[[76]](#footnote-76) Vellum aside, thick paper in folio size was also an exclusive material worthy of a collector’s interest. The visual impact of a publication could then be further enhanced by the inclusion of woodcuts, sometimes even in colour, and the spacing of the musical lines on the page. A generous layout necessitates the use of more paper, but results in a pleasing overall appearance.

One well-known example of such a collector’s item, where many of the mentioned visual criteria apply, is the *Liber selectarum cantionum*, printed in Augsburg in 1520.[[77]](#footnote-77) With its thick paper in folio format, it is the largest motet anthology to be printed in the sixteenth century. This unique format required the printers to have a new, large type font cut specifically for this publication. The layout on each page is very generous, resulting in a volume of 274 folios. Furthermore, there is an elaborate woodcut depicting the arms of Matthaeus Lang, Cardinal Archbishop of Salzburg, which was in some copies printed from seven colours including gold, making it the woodcut with the most colours printed before the seventeenth century.[[78]](#footnote-78) All these aspects lead to the conclusion that the visual representation of the motet publication was of outmost importance to the printers. This does not mean that it would not have been useful in performance. In fact, the large size, attractive type face and generous layout make using the choirbook very easy. On the other hand, the generous spacing also means that the pages need to be turned very frequently. There is, in fact, evidence for the use of individual copies of this publication that were used as practical performance tools, while others spent their entire time as prized objects in collections.[[79]](#footnote-79) Judging from its layout and production it seems evident that the latter was already a possibility planned for by the makers of the volume.

Beyond this exceptional case of the *Liber selectarum cantionum* some smaller, less elaborate books also show features that make them particularly attractive to collectors. One of the earliest editions of polyphonic music to be printed north of the Alps, the *Melopoiae sive harmoniae* *tetracenticae* printed in Augsburg in 1507,[[80]](#footnote-80) includes elaborate woodcuts and boasts generous spacing on each page, turning it into an attractive object. This impression is further underlined by the fact that a less elaborate version of the book was published in the same year[[81]](#footnote-81) – evidently this time aimed more at the performer than the collector. Not only is the title page of the second edition much less intricate (see figures 1 and 2), the extensive prefatory material included in the earlier version was also omitted.

**Figure 1:** *Melopoiae sive harmoniae tetracentiacae* (Augsburg: E. Oeglin, 1507), [RISM A/I T 1249], copy in D-Mbs [Rar. 291], fol. 1r.

**Figure 2:** *Harmonie Petri Tritonii super odis Horatii Flacci* (Augsburg: E. Oeglin, 1507), [RISM A/I T 1250], copy in D-Mbs [4 Mus.pr.98], fol. 1r.

At the same time the second edition is more user-friendly: some of the errors in the music and text have been corrected and, perhaps most importantly, the layout has been improved to ensure better readability, as can be seen form the comparison of the first opening (see figures 3 and 4] of both editions.

**Figure 3**: *Melopoiae*, copy *in D-*Mbs [Rar. 291], fols. 2v-3r.

[view of opening – two pages next to eachother]

**Figure 4**: *Harmonie*, copy in D-Mbs [4 Mus.pr.98], fols. 1v-2r.

[view of opening-two pages next to eachother]

In the *Melopoiae* two odes (*Moecenas atavis* and *Iam satis terris*) are printed on the first opening, but due to the layout this is not immediately evident, while in the *Harmonie* only one ode is presented on each opening. Moreover, in the later edition each voice part is underlaid with the text, while in the earlier edition the text is only found in the tenor. This significantly facilitates the performance of the odes from the second edition.[[82]](#footnote-82)

In this and other cases negative indicators, such as the absence of text underlay, mistakes in the musical or textual reading, or impractical layout can also point to the fact that the use in performance was not the focus for the printer or publisher. Some years ago Stanley Boorman listed a number of criteria to distinguish manuscripts intended for performance from those prepared as a gift for which the scribe anticipated no practical use.[[83]](#footnote-83) He classified them into two categories: those that affect the performance itself, such as errors and significant changes in accidentals, and those that assist or hinder the reading of the source at speed.[[84]](#footnote-84) Particularly the first group is of interest also for printed publications; when we come across instances of incorrect accidentals, nonsensical text underlay, or carelessness in the correct presentation of the music, they can of course point to the absence of a musically knowledgeable editor or typesetter. In some cases, however, particularly when they occur in a book where otherwise great care has been given to its presentation, such as in the *Melopoiae*, they can indicate a volume for which the printer or editor had the collector rather than the performer in mind during the process of preparation.

These examples have shown how printed books of music, like any other printed books, led a double life as material objects as well as useful items acquired for their specific content. They were collected and displayed for their visual properties, included alongside books about music in some of the most influential early modern bibliographies, and were collected in the first comprehensive libraries. The collector was furthermore considered as a potential market for publishers of music books from the very beginning. This is particularly evident in the preface to the second volume of the *Choralis Constantinus*,[[85]](#footnote-85) which is dedicated to Jacob Fugger and his library. The trilogy, printed by Hieronymus Formschneider in Nuremberg between 1550 and 1555,[[86]](#footnote-86)which contains mass propers by Heinrich Isaac for the entire liturgical year, composed partly for the use in the diocese of Constance, partly for the court of Maximilian I,[[87]](#footnote-87) represents a colossal posthumous collection of Isaac’s work as well as a monument to both the composer as well as Maximilian’s chapel. As such it would have been suitable for a book collection on a number of different levels, not least as a memorial to the composer himself. As Royston Gustavson has pointed out, Willer makes it clear in the preface that he does not aim to publish primarily musical works with a liturgical function, but rather wants to make this specific music available to learned men, who strive to preserve the repertoire of this composer.[[88]](#footnote-88) It is evident from the preface that Willer was aware of the potential of the library to not only make this repertoire available to those interested in his time, but mainly also to preserve it for the future:

For although these same books may in some other place perish through the passage of time, [fol. A3r] or be destroyed elsewhere through the calamities of the age, or go missing through human carelessness in yet another place, nevertheless these books will be brought forth from the libraries of such men as though from the sacred treasury of an ancient temple.[[89]](#footnote-89)

He thus acknowledges the importance of the collector and the book collection and anticipates the value such collector’s items hold for researches in the present day, when he expresses his hope that “once they [the books] have been received into your library, they will never perish.”[[90]](#footnote-90)

1. \* I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Iain Fenlon and DDr. Grantley McDonald for their comments on earlier versions of this article.

   Samuel Quiccheberg, *Inscriptiones Vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi* (Munich: A. Berg, 1565). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. These manuscripts contain Lasso’s Penitential Psalms (Ms. A I, II) and motets by Cipriano de Rore (Ms. B). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. For a biography of Quiccheberg see Helmut Zäh, ‘Quicchelberg, Samuel’, in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 21 (2003), pp. 44-45. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. See, for example, Harriet Roth, *Der Anfang der Museumslehre in Deutschland. Das Traktat ‘Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi’ von Samuel Quiccheberg*, Lateinisch-Deutsch (Berlin: Akademischer Verlag, 2000). For an English translation and a valuable overview of the *Inscriptiones* see *The First Treatise on Museums. Samuel Quiccheberg's Inscriptiones, 1565*, ed. and transl. by Mark A. Meadow and Bruce Robertson (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. The phenomenon of collecting has been the focus of much scholarly research; particularly cabinets of curiosities have attracted wide attention, starting with Julius von Schlosser, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sammelwesens* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1908). Recently Paula Findlen has described the development of natural history through the lens of the *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*. See Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). The emergence of art collections has been a further significant theme throughout the twentieth century. For a recent publication with a summary of earlier literature see Genevieve Warwick, *The Arts of Collecting. Padre Sebastiano Resta and the Market for* *Drawings in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500-1750* ed. by Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam and Genevieve Warwick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003). In recent years a new interest in collections has arisen in the context of studying the material culture of early modern Europe. See, for example, Paula Findlen, *Early Modern Things. Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts. The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 6 [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. See Krzysztof Pomian, *L’ordre du temps* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. For a description of this development see Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, particularly pp. 3-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. See, for example, Franz Georg Kaltwasser, *Die Bibliothek als Museum. Von der Renaissance bis heute, dargestellt am Beispiel der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. In this context is necessary to distinguish between different types of books, which contain or deal with music. Books of polyphonic music (*musica practica*) and liturgical music books need to be distinguished from books about music (*musica theorica*), which in turn include a range of pedagogic publications from simple manuals and school books to more sophisticated theoretical treatises. Here, I specifically refer to polyphonic music books; the distinction will be discussed again below in connection with universal libraries. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Donald Krummel, *The Literature of Music Bibliography. An Account of the Writings on the History of Music Printing & Publishing* (Berkeley: Fallen Leaf Press, 1993), p. 338. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. A notable exception is a recent article, which discusses the wider theme of collecting music books, particularly focussing on the *loci* of collecting, such as the *studiolo*, and the ambiguity of early collections. See Camilla Cavicchi and Philippe Vendrix, ‘L’Érudit et l’amateur: Collectionner la musique à la Renaissance, in *Collectionner la musique. Histoires d’une passion*, ed. by Denis Herlin and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 26-45. In the same volume Iain Fenlon explored some early collections of printed music books and particularly pointed to collections that were used for private study. See Iain Fenlon, ‘Hernando Colón, Heinrich Glarean and Others: Early Sixteenth-Century Collections of Printed Music’, in *Collectionner la musique*, pp. 55-70. For an overview of printed music books in institutional and private collections see Jane A. Bernstein, ‘Buyers and Collectors of Music Publications: Two Sixteenth-Century Music Libraries Recovered’, in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts. Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. by Jessie Ann Owens and others (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), pp. 21-34. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Reinhard Strohm, ‘The Birth of the Music Book’, in *Venezia 1501. Petrucci e la stampa musicale. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia*, ed. by Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 2005), pp. 45-55. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Strohm, ‘Birth of Music Book’, p. 51. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. After Natalie Zemon Davies explored the idea of (text) books as gifts in Natalie Zemon Davis, ‘Beyond the Market. Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-century France’, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983), 69–88 this concept was also applied to music books, for example in Rob C. Wegman, ‘Musical Offerings in the Renaissance’, *Early Music* 33/3 (2005), 425-438. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. For a range of articles on these manuscripts see, for example, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500-1535*, ed. by Herbert Kellman for the Alamire Foundation (Ghent: Ludion, 1999). [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. See Tim Shephard, ‘Constructing Identities in a Music Manuscript: The Medici Codex as a Gift’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 63 (2010), 84-127 as well as the chapter in this volume. (cross-reference) [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. See Elisabeth Giselbrecht and Elizabeth Upper, ‘Glittering Woodcuts and Moveable Music: Decoding the Elaborate Printing Techniques, Purpose and Patronage of the Liber selectarum cantionum’, in *Senfl-Studien 1* ed. by Stefan Gasch, Birgit Lodes, and Sonja Tröster (Tutzing: Schneider, 2012), pp. 17-67. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. An example is the Italian writer Pietro Aron, who used several Petrucci editions as the basis for his works on music theory. See Iain Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture in Early Sixteenth-century Italy*, The Panizzi lectures, The British Library (London: British Library Board), 1994, p. 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. See most recently *Heinrich Glarean's Books. The Intellectual World of a Sixteenth-Century Musical Humanist*, ed. by Iain Fenlon and Inga Mai Groote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Specifically on Heinrich Glarean in the context of book collecting and music see Fenlon, ‘Hernando Colón, Heinrich Glarean and Others’. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Caspar Friedrich*, Museographia Oder Anleitung Zum rechten Begriff und nützlicher Anlegung der Museorum*, (Leipzig, 1727). [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. For an overview of instrument collections see Laurence Libin and Arnold Myers, ‘Art. Instruments, collections of’ in *New Grove Online*. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Dieter Gutknecht has shown that Quiccheberg’s examples are very similar to those named by Sebastian Virdung in his treatise. See Dieter Gutknecht, ‘Musik als Sammlungsgegenstand. Die Kunstkammer Albrechts V. (1528-1579) in München’, in *Wiener Musikgeschichte. Annäherungen – Analysen – Ausblicke. Festschrift für Hartmut Krones*, ed. by Julia Bungardt and others (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), pp. 43-66 (pp. 44-45). [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, ‘Musikinstrumente in der Prager Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolfs II. um 1600’, in *Festschrift Heinz Becker zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Jürgen Schläder and Reinhold Quandt (Laaber: Laaber, 1982), pp. 332-341 (pp. 335-336). [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. See, for example, Flora Dennis, ‘When is a Room a Music Room? Sounds, Spaces, and Objects in Non-courtly Italian Interiors’, in *The Music Room in Early Modern France and Italy. Sound, Space, and Object*, ed. by Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 37-50. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. For a specific example of music as illustration on everyday-objects see Flora Dennis, ‘Scattered Knives and Dismembered Song. Cutlery, Music and the Rituals of Dining’, *Renaissance Studies*, 24, Issue 1 (February 2010), 156-184. A broad view of the theme of music and visual culture in this period will be provided in Flora Dennis, *Music, Art and Objects in the Italian Renaissance Home* (forthcoming). [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. See Johan Frederik Böttiger, *Philip Hainhofer und der Kunstschrank Gustaf Adolfs in Upsala* (Stockholm, 1909); Adolf Brüning and Julius Lessing, *Der Pommersche Kunstschrank* (Berlin: Orlop-Stiftung; Kommissions-Verlag bei Ernst Wasmuth, 1905). Tjark Hausmann, ‘Der Pommersche Kunstschrank’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 22 (1959), 337-352. In his monumental study of the cabinet Böttiger wondered whether these cards could have been used for a casual performance of the pieces (mostly by Sermisy), perhaps following a game of cards. This is a possibility, but as with most other objects in this collection, their purpose was in all likelihood mainly semiophoric. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. See Wilhelm Krumbach, ‘Zur Musik des Pommerschen Kunstschranks (1617)’, *Die* *Musikforschung*, xiv (1961), 46-54. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. For a detailed description of this item see *Musica di Smalto. Maioliche fra XVI e XVIII secolo del Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche in Faenza*, ed. by Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti (Florence: Uffizi, 2004), p. 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Among the most important *studioli* of this period are those built for Leonello d’Este, Federico da Montefeltro at Urbino and Gubbio, Ercole d’Este and his children Isabella in Mantua and Alfonso in Ferrara. The literature for these is extensive and has recently been brought together in Tim Shephard, *Echoing Helicon.* *Music, Art and Identity in the Este Studioli, 1440-1530* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). For a recent exploration of the *studiolo* specificallyfrom the perspective of collecting see Leah R. Clark, ‘Collecting, Exchange, and Sociability in the Renaissance studiolo’*, Journal of the history of collections*, 25/ 2 (2013), 171-184. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. For music in the *studiolo* see Iain Fenlon, ‘Music and Learning in Isabella d’Este’s Studiolo’, in *La Corte di Mantova nell'età di Andrea Mantegna, 1450- 1550. Atti del convegno Londra, 6-8 marzo 1992, Mantova, 28 marzo 1992*, ed. by Cesare Mozzarelli, Robert Oresko, Leandro Ventura (Rome: Bulzoni, 1997), pp. 353-367; Nicoletta Guidobaldi, *La musica di Federico. Immagini e suoni alla corte di Urbino*, (Florence: Olschki, 1995);

    Camilla Cavicchi and Nicoletta Guidobaldi, ‘La musica nello studiolo di Leonello d'Este’, in *Giornate di studio Le immagini della musica, temi e questioni di iconografia musicale 2004* (Milano: Mimesis, c. 2007), pp. 129-152; Robert Kirkbride, *Architecture and Memory. The Renaissance Studioli of Federico da Montefeltro* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), and most recently Shephard, *Echoing Helicon*. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Fenlon, ‘Music and Learning in Isabella d’Este’s Studiolo’, p. 363. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. On the question of the *studiolo* as a space for performance see Shephard, *Echoing Helicon*, pp. 16-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. On this topic also see Stephen Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros. Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d’Este* (New Haven/ London: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 63-64. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. William F. Prizer, ‘Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia, “Master Instrument-Maker“', *Early Music History* 2 (1982), 87-127 (p. 109). [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. For her interest in publications by Aldus Manutius see ibid. p. 89. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. It is presumed that the entry in the inventory refers to Rome Bibliteca Casanatesne, Ms. 2856. See Fenlon, ‘Music and Learning in Isabella d’Este’s Studiolo’, p. 364. For a further description also see *Splendours of the Gonzaga. Catalogue*, ed. by David Chambers and Jane Martineau (Victoria & Albert Museum, 1981), entry 198. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. See Kaltwasser, *Bibliothek als Museum*, p. 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Bibliotheque Royale, Brussels, MS 9085. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. See Kaltwasser, *Bibliothek als Museum*, p. 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. For a transcription of the inventory of instruments see Richard Schaal, ‘Die Musikinstrumenten-Sammlung von Raimund Fugger d. J.’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 21 vol. 3/4 (1964), 212-216. For the music books see Richard Schaal, ‘Die Musikbibliothek von Raimund Fugger d. J. Ein Beitrag zur Musiküberlieferung des 16. Jahrhunderts’, *Acta Musicologica*, 29 Fasz. 4 (1957), 126-137. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Schaal, ‘Musikinstrumente Fugger’, p. 214. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Schaal, ‘Musikinstrumente Fugger’, p. 212. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. See Bernard H. Breslauer, *Count Heinrich IV zu Castell. A German Renaissance Book Collector and the Bindings Made for him during his Student Years in Orléans, Paris, and Bologna* (Austin: W. Thomas Taylor, 1987). For a description of the Castell library as a whole see Eva Pleticha, *Adel und Buch. Studien zur Geisteswelt des fränkischen Adels* (Neustadt a. d. Aisch: Degener, 1983), pp. 110-113. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. An inventory made twenty years after the Count’s death lists 385 books. By this time other items might have been added to the original library, and thus a precise number of the Count’s volumes can not be established. The inventory is today preserved as ‘Verzeichnis derjenigen Bücher, so von Remlingen heruff uff Castell geführt worden. Anno 1620.’ Faber Castell Archiv FCA XIIA, 36a. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. A reproduction of this binding is given in Breslauer, *Count Heinrich zu Castell*, p. 12. Similarly, Heinrich Glarean had some of his books bound in Paris. See Fenlon and Groote, *Heinrich Glarean's Books*, p. 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. See most importantly Roger Chartier, *L’ordre des livres* ([Aix-en-Provence]: Editions Alinea, 1992), in particular chapter 3 ‘Libraries without walls’. Michel Foucault describes the library, which aims to encompass all knowledge, all time, all narratives as a heterotopia. See Of ‘Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias’, translated by Jay Miskowiec in *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986), 22–27; originally published as ‘Des Espace Autres’ in *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, no. 5 (1984), 46–49. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschyff* (Basel: Johann Bergmann von Olpe, 1494). [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library: Presented to my Lord the President de Mesme by Gabriel Naudeus and now Interpreted by Jo. Evelyn* (London, 1661), p. 16 [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Quiccheberg, *Inscriptiones*. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. For the close relationship between the library and the cabinet of curiosities also see Harriet Roth, ‘Die Bibliothek als Spiegel der Kunstkammer’, in *Sammler-Bibliophile-Exzentriker*, ed. by Aleida Assmann (Tübingen: Narr, 1998), pp. 194-210. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. See Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion. The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560-1630* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), p. 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. For a description of the development of the music room, particularly in France and Italy, see Howard and Moretti, *The Music Room.* [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Conrad Gessner, *Bibliotheca Universalis, sive Catalogus omnium Scriptoum* (Zürich: Froschauer, 1545). [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Conrad Gessner, *Pandectarum sive Partitionum universalium … libri XXI*. (Zürich: Froschauer, 1548). [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. For an overview of music in the *Pandectae* see Lawrence F. Bernstein, ‘The Bibliography of Music in Conrad Gesner's Pandectae (1548)’, *Acta Musicologica*, 45/ 1 (1973), 119-163. It also includes a transcription and (in most cases) the identification of the works mentioned. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Simon de Quercu, *Opusculum musices perquam brevissimum*, first printed Vienna: Winterburger, 1509. From the entry in the *Pandectarum* it is not clear, however, which edition he refers to. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. It is noteworthy that Gesner, who was a dedicated Lutheran theologian, only included one specifically Lutheran music edition, Johann Walter’s hymn book, in his bibliography. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Gesner’s approach is much more systematic compared to that by Doni for his various editions of the *Libraria*, as has been pointed out by various scholars. For a description of Doni’s *Libraria* see James Haar, ‘The Libraria of Antonfrancesco Doni’, *Musica Disciplina*, 24 (1970), 101-123, which was later reprinted with minor revisions in James Haar, *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, ed. by Paul Corneilson (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 323-350. Camilla Cavicchi and Philippe Vendrix also discuss the status of music in this bibliography in ‘L’Érudit et l’amateur’, pp. 32-35. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. For a description of this process see Mark P. McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus. Renaissance Collector (1488-1539)* (London: British Museum Press, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. The catalogues were first described in Henry Harisse, *Fernand Colomb: Sa vie, ses oeuvres* (Paris, 1872), pp. 165-168. Parts of the catalogues have been edited and transcribed in *Catálogo concordado de la biblioteca de Hernando Colón*, ed. by Tomas Marín Martínez, José Manuel Ruiz Asencio and Klaus Wagner (Madrid: Fundación MAPFRE América, 1993-), but unfortunately this project has been discontinued. Regestrum B is available in facsimile see *Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus. Reproduced in Facsimile from the Unique Manuscript in the Columbine Library of Seville by Archer M. Huntington* (New York: Edward Bierstadt, 1905). [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Catherine Weeks Chapman, ‘Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus’, *JAMS*, 21/ 1 (1968), 34-84. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. According to Chapman he was able to purchase all but one of Petrucci’s music books. See Chapman, ‘Printed Collections’, p. 47. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Also see Dragan Plamenac, ‘Excerpta colonbiniana. Items of Musical Interest in Fernando Colón’s Regestrum’, *Miscelánea en homenaje a Mons. Higinio Anglés*, vol. 2. (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958-1961), pp. 663-687. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Richard Charteris, *Johann Georg von Werdenstein (1542-1608). A Major Collector of Early Music Prints* (Sterling Heights: Harmonie Park Press, 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Charteris, *Werdenstein*, p. 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. The inventories are available in the Bavarian State Library. A short description can be found in Charteris, *Werdenstein*, pp. 13-15. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. The two inventories most relevant for music are Bavarian State Library Munich, Cbm Cat. 121 m and Cbm Cat. 121 t. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. For a description of the history of the library see *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland*, ed. by Bernhard Fabian, digitised by Günter Kükenshöner (Hildesheim: Olms Neue Medien [2003), entry: ‘Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel’. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. See, for example, Cavicchi and Vendrix, ‘L’Érudit et l’amateur’, p. 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Chapman, ‘Printed Collections’, p. 47. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. According to Gaskell paper accounted for 75% of the cost of a book. See Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 177, as cited in Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture*,p. 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. *Missale secundum chorum ecclesie Saltzeburgensis* (Basel: Jakob Wolff from Pforzheim, 1510). [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. They were printed in 1505 by Stuchs in Nuremberg, 1506 and 1510 by Winterburger in Vienna and 1507 by Georg Liechtenstein in Venice. On these missals also see Stefan Engels, ‘Ainge Beobachtungen zur Liturgie und den liturgischen Gesängen im mittelalterlichen Salzburg’, *Musicologica Austriaca,* vii (1987), pp. 37–57, Stanley Boorman, ‘The Salzburg Liturgy and Single-Impression Music Printing’, in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles and Contexts*, ed. by John Kmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 235–253, as well as [reference removed to preserve anonymity]. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Bavarian State Library Munich, shelfmark 2º L. impr. membr. 42. A further example is the *Historia Baetica*, written by Carolo Verardi and printed by Eucharius Silber in Rome, which includes an anonymous polyphonic Italian song for four voices. At least one of the surviving copies was printed entirely on vellum, see Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture*, p. 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. *Liber selectarum cantionum* (Augsburg: S. Grimm & M. Wyrsung, 1520), [RISM A/I S 2804, SS 2804 and B/I 1520/4]. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. See Giselbrecht and Upper, ‘Glittering Woodcuts and Moveable Music’. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Giselbrecht and Upper, ‘Glittering Woodcuts and Moveable Music’. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. *Melopoiae sive harmoniae tetracentiacae* (Augsburg: E. Oeglin, 1507), [RISM A/I T 1249]. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. *Harmonie Petri Tritonii super odis Horatii Flacci* (Augsburg: E. Oeglin, 1507), [RISM A/I T 1250]. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. For this publication also see Grantley McDonald, ‘Printing Hofhaimer: a Case Study,’ forthcoming in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Stanley Boorman, ‘The Purpose of the Gift: For Display or for Performance?’ in *The Burgundian-Habsburg Court Complex of Music Manuscripts (1500-1535) and the Workshop of Petrus Alamire. Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* 5 (2003), pp. 107-115. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Boorman, ‘Purpose of the Gift’, p. 110. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Heinrich Isaac, *Tomus secundus Choralis Constantini (ut vulgo vocant) continens partem primam historiarum de sanctis, quae diebus festi in templis canuntur* (Nuremberg: H. Formschneider, 1555) [RISM A/I I 90], fols. A2r-A3v. For the latest research on the *Choralis Constantinus* see *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by David J. Burn and Stefan Gasch (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. The other two volumes are Heinrich Isaac, *Primus tomus ... Choralis Constantini ut vulgo vocant, opus insigne & praeclarum, vereque coelestis harmoniae* (Nuremberg: Formschneider, 1550) [RISM A/I I 89] and Heinrich Isaac, *Historiarum Choralis (Constantini ... tertius tomus. De sanctis)* (Nuremberg: H. Formschneider, 1555) [RISM A/I I 91). [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. For the latest assessment of the origins of the individual propers see David Rothenberg, ‘Isaac’s Unfinished Imperial Cycle: A New Hypothesis’, in *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony*, pp. 125-140. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Royston Gustavson, ‘Commercialising the Choralis Constantinus: The Printing and Publishing of the First Edition’, in *Heinrich Isaac and Polyph*ony, pp. 215-268 (p. 254). This does of course not mean that the volume was not used in the liturgical context. For the reception of the Choralis Constantinus trilogy see, for example, Barbara Eichner, ‘Getting Poper-ly Started: Heinrich Isaac’s Choralis Constantinus and the Introduction of Polyphonic Mass Propers in South-German Monasteries’, in *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony*, pp. 269-298. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. The English translation (by Grantley McDonald) of the entire preface can be found in Gustavson, ‘Commercialising the Choralis Constantinus’, pp. 267-268. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)