

# A Lübeck music auction, 1695

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Auctions of books were held with increasing frequency in Germany from the 1650s onwards<sup>1</sup>. Most auctions offered for sale the library of a learned man (such as a pastor, lawyer or scholar) who had recently died, although a few contained the surplus stock of booksellers. The catalogues printed for auctions are an invaluable source for book-historians, documenting the dissemination and ownership of individual titles. Only a proportion of sales-catalogues contain music and accordingly they have received less attention from musicologists; in an article of 1957, however, Werner Braun examined a selection of catalogues preserved in Halle Universitätsbibliothek as evidence of the repertory of amateur musicians<sup>2</sup>. Typically the music in an individual's library at the end of the seventeenth century might include books of strophic songs (for instance, the collections of Heinrich Albert or Johann Rist); hymnals and psalters (such as those of Cornelius Becker or Ambrosius Lobwasser); and singing tutors as might be used at grammar schools. Indeed, Rist's *Himlische Lieder* (1648) is one of the books most frequently encountered on auction catalogues<sup>3</sup>. By the eighteenth century, instrumental sonatas and concertos also appeared in book-auctions, as well as scores or librettos of operas. In the seventeenth century, though, it was unknown for music to form the majority of items in an auction; nor are there any German sales-catalogues from this period that expressly contain the library of a professional musician<sup>4</sup>.

This article describes the catalogue of a Lübeck book-auction held in 1695 that is an exception to the norms stated above, in that it includes pieces usually associated with professional musicians, such as manuscripts of vocal concertos. Although this repertory might seem too specialist to be sold via public auction, the catalogue (which is written in considerable detail) provides rare evidence of the trade in manuscript music. The catalogue does not state the previous owner of the music collection, and hence much of this article is occupied with detective work as to its likely provenance. I suggest the collection originally belonged to a professional musician, possibly Bernhard Olffen, organist at the Ägidienkirche in Lübeck from 1682 until his death in 1691. The catalogue demonstrates the chronological diversity of music available in Lübeck in the 1690s, ranging from the motets of Philipp Dulichius (1607) to the recent violin suites of Andreas Werckmeister (1689). The catalogue also includes several Italian motets from the early seventeenth century, providing evidence of how Italian music cir-

1 Hans Dieter Gebauer, *Bücherauktionen in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert*, Bonn 1981 (= Bonner Beiträge zur Bibliotheks- und Bücherkunde 28), pp. 22–39.

2 Werner Braun, *Die Musik in deutschen Gelehrtenbibliotheken des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Mf* 10 (1957), pp. 241–250. For studies relating to France and England respectively, see Albert Cohen, *Musicians, amateurs and collectors: early French auction catalogues as musical sources*, in: *ML* 81 (2000), pp. 1–12, and Leonore Coral, *Music in auctions: dissemination as a factor of taste*, in: Ian Bent (ed.), *Source materials and the interpretation of music: a memorial volume to Thurston Dart*, London 1981, pp. 383–402.

3 Gebauer (footnote 1), p. 106.

4 For the auction of a library of a Dutch musician, see Rudolf Rasch and Thiemo Wind, *The music library of Cornelis Schuyt*, in: Albert Clement and Eric Jas (eds.), *From Ciconia to Sweelinck. Donum natalicium Willem El-ders*, Amsterdam 1994, pp. 327–353.

culated as far north as Hanseatic towns. Finally, the catalogue lists numerous unknown works attributed to such composers as Christoph Bernhard, Dieterich Buxtehude, Christian Flor, Vincent Lübeck and Johann Theile. Given how much music of the late seventeenth century is lost, the auction-listing puts the surviving output of these north German composers into a more accurate context.

### Book-auctions in Lübeck and the 1695 catalogue

In book-auctions, as in other aspects of the book-trade, Lübeck was overshadowed by Hamburg. Book-auctions are known to have been held in Hamburg from 1675 onwards, and it soon became the major centre for such sales. Of the 79 auction catalogues from seventeenth-century Germany listed by Hans-Dieter Gebauer, 50 come from Hamburg<sup>5</sup>. The first auction to be documented in Lübeck dates from 1693, although it is possible that sales were held earlier. In the 1690s auctions in Lübeck were organised by either Johannes Wessel or Jesper Baltzersen Kønechen (Könekenius/Köneken), and were held in the hall of the St. Catharinen school ('auditorium Catharinianum'). In 1695 Kønechen held the auction of musical and medical books which is the subject of this article and which is listed in one of his two surviving catalogues. His other extant catalogue, for a sale on 31 October 1698, contains no music apart from a copy of the 1658 edition of Rist's *Himlische Lieder*<sup>6</sup>.

Jesper Baltzersen Kønechen (1629–1715) was a somewhat notorious figure in Lübeck, according to an account published in 1746<sup>7</sup>. Although he earned his living as an auctioneer, he was better known for his pacifist views and what was regarded as religious fanaticism. Kønechen was born in Denmark and studied theology at Copenhagen University. In 1658, during the Nordic war between Denmark and Sweden, he argued (on the basis of passages in the New Testament) that Christians should neither fight wars, nor act as rulers. Such views led him into trouble with the Danish government, and in 1663 he was expelled from Denmark. He settled in the Netherlands, working as a teacher and proof-reader; later he returned to Copenhagen but was expelled for a second time in 1677. In the same year he moved to Lübeck, where he married the daughter of a merchant. Here he became infamous for his religious views and 'neu-prophetischen Phantastereyen'. After 1679 he refused to receive Communion, because the pastor was not a pacifist; and at his auctions he chalked 'ströherne lateinische Versen' and Biblical mottoes on the walls of the school hall<sup>8</sup>.

5 Gebauer (footnote 1), pp. 53–57.

6 *Catalogus librorum paucor. quidem iterum & miscellaneorum* (Lübeck 1698), Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, shelfmark H61/TREW.Nx 50. Wessel's catalogues, none of which list music as far as I am aware, are listed in Gerhard Loh, *Die europäischen Privatbibliotheken und Buchauktionen: ein Verzeichnis ihrer Kataloge (einschließlich der von Buchhändlern und Kunstauktionen)*, 4 vols to date, Leipzig 1997–2006, vol. III, and in Gebauer (footnote 1).

7 Casp. Henr. Starkius, *Kurtze Nachricht von dem fanatischen Auctionario zu Lübeck LASPER. KÖNEKENIO*, in: *Dänische Bibliothec oder Sammlung von alten und neuen gelehrten Sachen aus Dännemarck*, 8 vols, Copenhagen 1737–1747, vol. VIII (1746), pp. 663–674. Another eighteenth-century account of Kønechen is found in Johann Möller, *Cimbria literata sive scriptorum ducatus utriusque slesvicensis et bolsatici*, 3 vols, Copenhagen 1744, vol. II, p. 429; for a more recent biography, see the entry by Bjørn Kornerup in *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, Copenhagen 3/1979–1984, vol. VIII, p. 410.

8 Starkius (footnote 7), pp. 670, 668.

The catalogue for the 1695 auction survives in a unique copy at the British Library (shelfmark S.C.65), as part of its extensive collection of German book-auction catalogues. It was printed in Lübeck by Moritz Schmalhertz, who printed large quantities of pamphlets, news-sheets and other ephemera<sup>9</sup>. The title-page of the catalogue reads:

CATALOGUS | LIBRORUM | *egregia cujusdam Bibliotheca,* | MEDICORUM | Imprimis, & | PHILOLOGIS | Naturæ Curiosis miscel- | laneorum, | *Ex recentiorib. sui ante bien. temporis æq[ue]* | *ac veterib. exquisitissimè selectorum;* | Unà cum rarioribus quibusdam | Manuscr. & lib. Musicis: | *Quorum* | AUCTIO | Benedicente DEI Gratia | LUBECÆ habenda | *d. 26. Aug & sq. 1695.* | In AUDITORIO CATHARI- | NIANO | *per* | J. KÖNEKENIUM | [rule] | LUBECÆ | Typis Mauriti Schmalhertzii

On the surviving copy, the date of ‘26. Aug’ has been inked out and corrected with ‘9. Sept’ in a seventeenth-century hand.

The catalogue is in octavo format, and the extant copy comprises 158 numbered pages; this exemplar, however, is incomplete, breaking off partway through an appendix of medical books. The bulk of the catalogue (pp. 2–149) contains medical books, split into sections for printed and manuscript volumes and subdivided according to format (folio, quarto, octavo etc.). Such classification by format was the norm for sales-catalogues.

Musical items are listed on pp. 149–158 and grouped into the following formats:

- „Musical. Sachen in Fol.“: 7 printed items, mostly songbooks;
- „In Quart.“: 17 sets of printed partbooks;
- „Music. Sach. geschrieb. in Fol.“: 25 manuscript items, mainly parts for sacred vocal music;
- „In Quart.“: 63 items in manuscripts, mainly parts for sacred vocal music;
- „Tabulat. m. Buchst. geschr. in Fol.“: 8 volumes of German organ tablature;
- „In Quarto.“: 13 volumes in German organ tablature;
- „Tabulat. Bücher in Not. geschr. in Fol. 2 und in Qv. 2“: volumes of keyboard score; no further details are given.

Within each category, items are listed alphabetically, either by author or title. Note that the catalogue uses the term ‘tablature’ to refer to two different notational formats for keyboard music – either German organ tablature („Tabulat. m. Buchst. geschr.“) or staff notation („Tabulat. Bücher in. Not. geschr.“).

The catalogue is compiled with a level of detail unusual in book-auctions, particularly for the specialist format of music books. For the printed partbooks, the inventory usually gives the title (transcribed with a high degree of accuracy), composer, scoring, and date and place of publication, making it easy to identify most of these items. Individual partbooks in a set are itemised with letters of the alphabet, and the catalogue states if parts are missing (as with quarto printed music, nos.1 and 2; quarto manuscripts, no. 57). In the case of a printed work listed on the inventory that does not survive today – Andreas Werckmeister’s set of violin suites, *Musicalische Privat-Lust* – the inventory’s description agrees closely with that given in the Leipzig book-fair catalogue for spring 1689.

For manuscript parts of vocal music, the inventory probably transcribes what was on the title-page or wrapper. The level of detail helps in identifying items: for instance, *O süßer Jesu Christ* (quarto manuscripts, no. 38) is attributed to „H. Schütz und Chr. Kitteln.“, readily

<sup>9</sup> David L. Paisey, *Deutsche Buchdrucker, Buchbändler und Verleger 1701–1750*, Wiesbaden 1988 (= Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 26), p. 227.

identifying it as the arrangement for solo voice, two violins and continuo that Christoph Kittel made of a piece from Schütz's *Zwölf geistliche Gesänge* (Dresden 1657). Only the books of keyboard music ('tablatures') are not described in any detail, with at best a brief indication of the genres within each volume; these cursory descriptions may have been copied from the title-pages of the original volumes.

The detail and apparent accuracy of the 1695 inventory contrast with the only other catalogue surviving from Kōnechen, for a sale on 31 October 1698 (mentioned in note 6 above). The 1698 catalogue gives far less detail, often describing books in only two or three words. This catalogue may justify the complaint of Johann Moller (author of *Cimbria literata*) that Kōnechen's inventories were of mediocre accuracy<sup>10</sup>. Given that only two of Kōnechen's catalogues survive, it is impossible to say which is typical. However, the 1695 catalogue, on account of its detail and apparent accuracy, might conceivably be based on an inventory made by the previous owner of the music.

### Likely provenance of the music

In the seventeenth century most auction-catalogues indicated the original owner of the books, but some owners chose to remain anonymous, perhaps to avoid the stigma of commerce associated with an auction. Kōnechen's 1695 catalogue is a case in point, omitting the names of the previous owners of the medical and the musical books (although the medical volumes are described as coming from „*egregiæ cujusdam Bibliothecæ*“ – 'a certain excellent library'). The music probably belonged to a different person from the medical books, because it includes repertoires such as vocal concertos that were associated with professional musicians rather than amateurs. Moreover, all the musical genres listed on the inventory were favoured by organists, making it likely that the music represents a single collection that originally belonged to an organist.

The vocal pieces in manuscript have a notable consistency in their scoring, with the majority being for one or two solo voices (sometimes with one or two violins or cornetti) and continuo. It is the kind of repertory that Martin Geck dubbed 'organist music' – written for a small group of soloists and in a modern style, and (according to Geck's hypothesis) directed by the organist rather than the cantor in church<sup>11</sup>. Copies of this small-scale repertory were often owned by individual musicians rather than institutions: the inventories of churches and schools from northern German cities, such as the listing made by Martin Music at the Jacobi-kirche in Stettin, tend to contain large-scale vocal pieces<sup>12</sup>. The same point could be made of the choir library of printed music at the Marienkirche in Lübeck, which contains only 116 works for 1–3 voices out a total of over 2000 pieces<sup>13</sup>. The 1696 inventory of the Michaelis-schule in Lüneburg is an exception to this rule, containing a mix of pieces with small and large scorings.

10 Moller (footnote 7), vol. II, p. 429.

11 Martin Geck, *Die Vokalmusik Dietrich Buxtehudes und der frühe Pietismus*, Kassel etc. 1965 (= Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 15), pp. 60–67.

12 Werner Freytag, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Stettin im 18. Jahrhundert*, Greifswald 1936 (= Pommernforschung 5/2), pp. 138–141.

13 Kerala J. Snyder, personal communication, January 2008.

That the music being auctioned originally belonged to an organist is also suggested by the keyboard volumes on the inventory. Several of the keyboard tablatures are described as containing „geistl. Stücken“ (which might denote chorales, preludes on chorales, or organ accompaniments to sacred vocal compositions). Among the other volumes of keyboard tablature are three treatises on figured bass (one attributed to Wolfgang Carl Briegel and one attributed to Johannes Crüger, possibly a copy of the appendix on figured bass from his *Synopsis musica*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Berlin 1654)). An organist might have used these treatises in his own education or for teaching his pupils. There are also manuals on stringing a clavichord and on reading tablature. Further suggesting an organist, the catalogue includes a specification of the organs at the Marienkirche and Nikolaikirche in Stralsund (quarto keyboard tablatures, no. 12).

The inventory also includes several printed collections of instrumental ensemble music, such as Hans Hake's *Neue Pavanen* (Hamburg 1648) and Johann Schop's two parts of *Neue Paduanen* (Hamburg 1635/36, 2/1640). These volumes again could suggest that the collection originally belonged to an organist, because many organists were active in the performance of instrumental music. In Lübeck, for instance, Heinrich Wulff (who composed one of the pieces listed in the catalogue) served as Ratspfeifer from 1642 and in the same year gained the post of organist at the Ägidienkirche (where he later also acted as *Werkmeister* or treasurer). In 1682 Bernhard Olffen succeeded Wulff in the threefold duty as Ratspfeifer, Ägidienorganist and *Werkmeister*, holding these posts until his death in 1691<sup>14</sup>. In 1660 Franz Tunder purchased copies of Johann Heinrich Schmelzer's trio sonatas for use in the Marienkirche at Lübeck, and the sonatas of Johann Adam Reincken and Dieterich Buxtehude are further evidence of how organists were involved in the provision of string music<sup>15</sup>. The combination of instrumental ensemble music, small-scale motets and keyboard tablatures strongly points to the music collection having originally been owned by an organist.

A final reason why the collection probably originated with an organist is the inclusion of wedding music. The inventory contains printed wedding pieces by Caspar Movius and the unknown composers 'Crause', 'Heydenreich' and 'Kahl'; it also lists manuscript pieces for weddings by Christian Flor (item 20 in the quarto manuscripts), 'Lieberrow' (item 58 in the quarto manuscripts) and anonymous composers (e.g. item 59 in the quarto manuscripts). Such wedding pieces were frequently performed by organists and town instrumentalists, and the provision of wedding arias was an important source of income for organists such as Buxtehude<sup>16</sup>.

The catalogue also offers clues to the chronological and geographical provenance of the music. Not everything in the auction can be dated, but the dateable items appear to come from two phases. Most of the manuscript music probably dates from the second half of the seventeenth century. Some of the anonymous manuscripts carry dates from the 1670s and 1680s: no. 19 of the folio manuscripts is inscribed „comp. 1686“, no. 57 of the quarto manuscripts bears the inscription „comp. 1687“, and no. 63 of the quarto manuscripts is dated

14 Wilhelm Stahl, *Musikgeschichte Lübecks II: Geistliche Musik*, Kassel etc. 1952, p. 73.

15 Wilhelm Stahl, *Franz Tunder und Dietrich Buxtehude. Ein biographischer Versuch*, in: AfMw 8 (1926), pp. 1–77 (p. 21); Arnfried Edler, *Der nordelbische Organist: Studien zu Sozialstatus, Funktion und kompositorischer Produktion eines Musikerberufes von der Reformation bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Kassel etc. 1982 (= Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 23), pp. 272–275.

16 Edler *ibid.*, p. 254; Stahl *ibid.*, p. 39.

1671. For many of the vocal works attributed to German composers, a date of composition in the 1670s or 1680s seems likely. Buxtehude's chaconne *Herr, wenn ich nur dich habe* BuxWV 38, included in the inventory as folio manuscript no. 8, survives in only one other source (Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket vok.mus.i.hs. 6:11), which has been dated by Kerala Snyder to 1679–1682<sup>17</sup>. Probably the youngest composer to appear on the inventory is Vincent Lübeck (1654–1740), and the two pieces of his are unlikely to have been written before the late 1670s. An earlier repertory of manuscript music is represented by the Italian motets (which will be discussed below); these pieces first circulated in Italy in the 1620s–1640s, and their presence on the inventory indicates the inevitable time-lag that occurred as Italian music was absorbed north of the Alps.

Most of the printed music on the inventory is of older provenance than the manuscripts; this reflects the changes in transmission patterns during the seventeenth century, as printed dissemination gradually gave way to scribal circulation<sup>18</sup>. Many of the printed partbooks date from the 1630s and 1640s, a period when much vocal and instrumental ensemble music was still transmitted in printed editions: for instance, Caspar Movius's *Hymnodia sacra* in first and second editions (Rostock, 1634, 1639), Johann Vierdanck's *Erster Theil und Ander Theil neuer Pavanen* (Rostock, 1641) and Johannes Werlin's *Irenodia oder Friedens-Gesäng* (Ulm, 1643/44). A few of the printed items on the inventory are considerably earlier or later. The earliest printed partbook is a Venetian anthology of motets, Petrus Joanelus's *Novi thesauri musici liber primus* (Venice, 1568); this compilation was owned by many churches in northern Germany, including the Marienkirche in Lübeck and the Marienkirche in Elbing (near Danzig)<sup>19</sup>. There is also a copy of Philipp Dulichius's *Prima pars centuriae harmonias sacras* (Stettin, 1607). It is hard to know if these older volumes represent a repertory that would still have been performed in the 1690s; they may indicate that the collection was amassed by two or more generations of musicians, with the older volumes perhaps having been bequeathed to the eventual owner. At the same time, the inventory also contains some recent items, notably a copy of the now-lost collection of violin suites by Andreas Werckmeister, *Musicalische Privat-Lust* (Frankfurt & Leipzig, 1689).

An older provenance is also likely for some of the keyboard tablatures, although the inventory describes them so briefly that no firm conclusions can be reached. However, the inclusion of echo pieces (folio tablatures, item 7) suggests a keyboard repertory from the time of Sweelinck or Scheidemann. The *Allemanden/ Couranten/ Sarabanden* (quarto tablatures, item 10) imply keyboard suites from the earlier part of the seventeenth century, before the gigue became a standard feature.

In terms of geographical provenance, the majority of the music on the inventory comes from northern Germany. Most of the printed music was published in such cities as Hamburg (four items), Rostock (three items) or Stettin (three items). There are, however, single copies of partbook collections from Ulm (Johannes Werlin's *Irenodiae oder Friedens-Gesäng*) and Augsburg

17 Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: organist in Lübeck*, Rochester NY 2/2007, p. 342.

18 Friedhelm Krummacher, *Die Überlieferung der Choralbearbeitungen in der frühen evangelischen Kantate. Untersuchungen zum Handschriftenrepertoire evangelischer Figuralmusik im späten 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1965 (= Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 10), pp. 45–78.

19 Snyder (footnote 17), p. 494; Theodor Carstenn, *Katalog der St. Marienbibliothek zu Elbing*, in: *KmJb* 11 (1896), pp. 40–49 (p. 40).

burg (Matthias Kelz's *Primitiae musicales*), plus one songbook published in Ausgburg (Narziß Rauner's *Davidische Jesus-Psalter*). Most of the composers represented in the printed items were musicians or teachers from north German cities, such as Philipp Dulichius (cantor and professor in Stettin, 1605–1630), Hans Hake (leader of the municipal musicians in Stade during the 1650s)<sup>20</sup>, Caspar Movius (deputy rector at the school in Stralsund, 1636–1659), Johann Schop (municipal violinist, Hamburg, 1621–1667), Thomas Selle (cantor in Hamburg, 1641–1663), and Johann Vierdanck (organist at the Marienkirche, Stralsund, 1635–1646).

Although the majority of the vocal manuscripts are anonymous, the pieces that bear an attribution generally also suggest a northern provenance. Composers represented in manuscript include Christoph Bernhard (cantor in Hamburg, 1664–1674), Dieterich Buxtehude (organist at the Marienkirche in Lübeck, 1668–1707), Christian Flor (organist in Lüneburg, 1654–1697), Vincent Lübeck (organist in Stade, 1674–1702), Johann Theile (active in Hamburg, 1675–1685), Johann Vierdanck, and Heinrich Wulff (organist at the Ägidienkirche in Lübeck, 1642–1682). An otherwise unknown name on the inventory is that of Gabriel Woltersdorff, listed as the composer of a *Dialogus penitent. HERR geh nicht ins Ger.[ich]* C. A. T. B. Str. 4. c. B. C. (item 14 in the quarto manuscripts). A student of this name matriculated at Leipzig University in 1676, and was noted as coming from Zehdenick in Brandenburg (a town approximately 45 km north of Berlin)<sup>21</sup>. Conceivably Woltersdorff returned to Zehdenick after his studies in Leipzig, and – if he was the composer of the dialogue – he thus could also be counted as a northern musician.

The presence of two pieces by Buxtehude and one piece by Heinrich Wulff suggests that the original owner of the collection had some links with Lübeck, where the auction was held. A further tie with Lübeck may be inferred from the piece attributed to 'Strunck' (presumably Nicolaus Adam Strungk, who studied there in the 1650s). But the catalogue is in no way dominated by the works of Lübeck musicians; indeed, it does not include any music by Franz Tunder (Buxtehude's predecessor as Marienorganist). Instead, the range of composers represented in the manuscripts suggests that the original owner had connections with musicians across a wide swathe of northern Germany.

It is thus plausible that the catalogue contains the music-library of an organist from a northern city, possibly Lübeck but conceivably a range of other locations such as Wismar. One can hypothesise about particular individuals who might have possessed the collection, although there is no firm evidence. In particular, it is unclear what time-lag might elapse between the owner dying and the music reaching auction. (For instance, the collection might have been retained by a widow for a few years before being auctioned.) Given that the most recent item on the inventory is dated 1689 (Werckmeister's *Musicalische Privat-Lust*), it is likely that the original owner of these books died between 1689 and 1695. One possible candidate is Bernhard Olffen, who was organist and Werkmeister at the Ägidienkirche in Lübeck from 1682 until his death in 1691, and also acted as a municipal musician. He was the son of the Hamburg organist Johann Olffen Jr, who is the probable composer of a wedding piece in the catalogue (quarto printed music, no. 5). Furthermore, the auction contains a setting of *Erbarm dich mein* by Bernhard Olffen's father-in-law and predecessor at the Ägidienkirche, Heinrich

20 On Hans Hake, see Erik Kjellberg, *Pieces of music in times of war and peace. Swedes in 17th-century Germany*, in: Weckmann-Konferenz Göteborg 1991, pp. 211–260 (pp. 215–225).

21 Georg Erler, *Die jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig 1559–1809*, 3 vols, Leipzig 1909, vol. II, p. 506.

Wulff (quarto manuscripts, no. 18). The older printed items on the inventory might have been passed down to Olffen by his father and father-in-law. As will be shown below, it is likely that Olffen studied at the Gymnasium in Lüneburg, offering a route of transmission for the concordances with the library of the Lüneburg Michaelisschule. Thus the inventory contains hints as to the possible owner of the collection, but no firm proof.

#### The manuscript vocal music: concordances and unica

In the second half of the seventeenth century, much manuscript vocal music circulated within relatively restricted orbits. A good example is supplied by the Lübeck organists Franz Tunder and Dieterich Buxtehude, whose vocal works had (as Krummacher observes) a ‘very narrow radius of dissemination’<sup>22</sup>. All of Tunder’s vocal works survive as unica in the collection of the Swedish royal Kapellmeister, Gustav Düben. The Düben collection is also the main repository for Buxtehude’s vocal works, few of which appear in the main manuscript collections from central Germany. The 1695 auction confirms the tendency for vocal manuscripts to be transmitted in unica or a few select copies. The catalogue shows few concordances with other collections and contains a large number of otherwise unknown works. Of about forty manuscript pieces attributed to a composer, at least twenty are unknown today.

The 1695 inventory has few concordances with Düben’s collection, despite his interest in music by the main composers of Lübeck. Only one firm concordance can be traced – that of Buxtehude’s chaconne *Herr, wenn ich nur dich habe* BuxWV 38 (Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket vok.mus.i.hs. 6:11; in the auction, folio manuscript no. 8). Possible concordances for four other pieces are noted in the appendix to this article.

More concordances exist with the library of the Michaelisschule in Lüneburg, as recorded in an inventory of 1696<sup>23</sup>. Three comic songs (all of whose music is now lost) appear in the Lübeck auction and the Lüneburg inventory:

Title	Lübeck auction 1695	Lüneburg inventory 1696
<i>Müller/ Schneider u. Leinweber</i>	folio manuscripts, no. 24	no. 1034 (Seiffert, p. 602), attributed to Samuel Capricornus
<i>Stille Jungens/ de Cantor de kömt</i>	folio manuscripts, no. 25	no. 855 (Seiffert, p. 597)
<i>Hoff-Leuten gewöhnliches ut re mi fa sol la</i> [attributed to Rosenmüller]	quarto manuscripts, nos. 60–61	no. 972 (Seiffert, p. 615)

The Lüneburg inventory, which lists the music received by August Braun when he succeeded Friedrich Emanuel Praetorius as cantor of the Michaelisschule in 1696, contains about twenty secular songs and quodlibets among over a thousand sacred motets. Perhaps the secular pieces were used by the choirboys at Lüneburg for their own amusement. *Stille Jungens, de Cantor de kömt* evidently refers to the antics of the choristers, who quieten down as the cantor approaches. The Rosenmüller piece uses the common metaphor that court life is like the

<sup>22</sup> „[...] sehr enger Verbreitungsradius“. Krummacher (footnote 18), p. 311.

<sup>23</sup> Max Seiffert, *Die Chorbibliothek der St. Michaelisschule in Lüneburg zu Seb. Bach's Zeit*, in: SIMG 9 (1907/08), pp. 593–621. On the accuracy of Seiffert’s transcription, see Krummacher (footnote 18), pp. 174–183.



solmisation syllables: courtiers rise up the scale ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la as their fortune rises, then descend la, sol, fa, mi, re, ut as their luck runs out<sup>24</sup>. The Capricornus piece – a dialogue between a miller, linen-weaver and tailor – is a parody of the precedence-quarrels between artisans from different guilds; such dialogues between artisans were a favourite topic for comic quodlibets<sup>25</sup>.

No further concordances can be firmly identified between the Lübeck auction and the Lüneburg inventory, although the appendix to this article suggests some further possible points of overlap. In addition, there are similarities of repertory between the two inventories, particularly in the inclusion of small-scale motets by Italians such as Gasparo Casati and Simone Vesi (discussed below). It is likely that Bernhard Olffen studied at the Gymnasium in Lüneburg – a student of that name from Hamburg was the respondent in a disputation at the Gymnasium in 1680<sup>26</sup> – thus establishing a route for manuscripts to be transmitted to the Lübeck collection.

A final set of concordances in the Lübeck auction comprises the vocal works that also appear in printed editions from central Germany. These manuscripts were presumably copied directly or indirectly from the printed sources. They include Andreas Hammerschmidt's *Da pacem Domine* (folio manuscripts, no. 4), from his *Motettae unius et duarum vocum* (Dresden, 1649); Christoph Kittel's *O süßser Jesu Christ* (quarto manuscripts, no. 38), published as a set of printed leaves in c.1657; and the strophic song *Cloris deiner Schönheit Pracht* (quarto manuscripts, no. 55) from Jakob Kremberg's *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergötzung oder Arien* (Dresden, 1689). The Kremberg song may have been circulating in manuscript before appearing in print, given that the printed edition is relatively close in date to the auction. In addition, the inventory includes two copies of Vierdanck's *Meine Harff ist zur Klage worden*; this motet was published in Ambrosius Profe's anthology *Geistliche Concerten und Harmonien I* (Leipzig 1641), although it may also have circulated independently in scribal networks in north-eastern Germany.

As a corollary of the small number of concordances, the auction includes about twenty vocal pieces that appear to be unica. Most are small-scale motets, including:

- Christoph Bernhard, „Veni Domine, & noli tard[are]. C. solo c. Org.“ (quarto manuscripts, no. 45): a setting of an Advent prayer<sup>27</sup>
- Dieterich Buxtehude, „Mein Gott warum hastu [mich verlassen] à 1 C. 2. Viol c. B. C.“ (quarto manuscripts, no. 33): text from Psalm 22.1, which was echoed in Christ's Last Words from the Cross (Matthew 27.46/ Mark 15.34)
- Kaiser Ferdinand III, „Bone Jesu à 4. 2 C. 2. Viol. e. B. C.“ (quarto manuscripts, no. 5)<sup>28</sup>

24 Hans Joachim Moser, *Corydon: Geschichte der mehrstimmigen Generalbassliedes und des Quodlibets im deutschen Barock*, Hildesheim 2/1966, vol. I, pp. 24, 48. On Italian uses of this metaphor, see Stephen Rose, *Music in the market-place*, in John Butt & Tim Carter (eds.), *The Cambridge history of seventeenth-century music*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 55–87 (p. 78).

25 Moser (footnote 24), p. 47.

26 *Exercitatio philosophica de igne/ quam [...] praeside Philippo Lobmeiero [...] ventilationi publicae eruditornm [sic] exponet Bernhardus Olffen Hamburgensis*, Hamburg 1680, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, shelfmark Alv. T 160 (17).

27 Not mentioned in the list of extant and lost works in Folkert Fiebig, *Christoph Bernhard und der stile moderno: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk*, Hamburg 1980 (= Hamburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 22), pp. 66–128.

- Christian Flor, „Glück und Segen, Hochzeit-Ges. C. B. c. 4. Violin. 1. Fagott è B. C.“ (quarto manuscripts, no. 20)<sup>29</sup>
- Vincent Lübeck, „Ich hebe meine Augen auff, B. solo c. Org“ (quarto manuscripts, no. 24): presumably a setting of Psalm 121.
- Vincent Lübeck, „Ach höchstliebe Wunderzeich à 4. 2 Violdig. A. T.“ (folio manuscripts, no. 3)<sup>30</sup>

Lübeck's setting of „Ich hebe meine Augen auff“ uses a thinner texture – for solo voice and organ – than any of his extant vocal works; Bernhard's version of „Veni Domine“, again for solo voice and organ, uses a scoring found in only one extant piece by the composer (his motet *Salve mi, Jesu*). These pieces epitomise the auction's emphasis on small-scale 'organist music'.

Larger textures occur in three otherwise unknown pieces by Johann Theile<sup>31</sup>:

- „Auff! Sünder auff! A. B. con 4. in Ripieno & 4. Strom.“ (quarto manuscripts, no. 3): a setting of a devotional text.
- „Befehl dem Herrn deine Wege/ Concert & Aria. à 5. C. 2 è B. Viol. 2. con B. C.“ (quarto manuscripts, no. 4): a setting of Psalm 37.5 combined with an aria. Theile's extant output contains similar combinations of concerto and aria, as in his Spruchode cantatas *Daran ist erschienen* and *Es ist in keinem andern Heil*.
- „Christ lag in Todes Banden/ à 10. vel 15.“ (quarto manuscripts, no. 8): a grandly scored chorale concerto, perhaps similar to the lost setting of „Hertzliebster Jesu“ „a 10 ou 15“ in the Lüneburg inventory no. 387, Seiffert p. 619.

In addition, the catalogue lists hitherto unknown pieces by Gabriel Woltersdorff (quarto manuscripts, no. 14), Heinrich Wulff (quarto manuscripts, no. 18), „Sagitar“ (= Heinrich Schütz?, folio manuscripts, nos. 12–13), „Strunck“ (= Nicolaus Adam Strungk?, quarto manuscripts, no. 50), and several composers of uncertain identity.

With such a substantial number of unknown works on the catalogue, one might question its accuracy (or the accuracy of the attributions on the manuscripts that it describes). However, as discussed earlier, the catalogue seems reasonably precise in its listing of printed and manuscript works where concordances can be traced. The relatively high number of unica may simply reflect the restricted dissemination of many vocal manuscripts in the period. Any late seventeenth-century inventory of manuscripts, including this 1695 auction-catalogue, is likely to include otherwise unknown works. As it is, these lost works help give a fuller picture of the output of such composers as Buxtehude and Lübeck, in particular of their writing for smaller vocal forces.

28 Not in the works-list included in Steven Saunders, *New discoveries concerning Ferdinand III's musical compositions*, in: *StMw* 45 (1996), pp. 7–31.

29 Not listed in Hilde Szweringi, *Verzeichnis der erhaltenen und nachweisbaren Werke Christian Flors sowie der von ihm aufgezählten Kompositionen*, in: Friedrich Jekutsch etc. (eds.), *Christian Flor (1626–1697) – Johann Abraham Peter Schulz (1757–1800): Texte und Dokumente zur Musikgeschichte Lüneburgs*, Hamburg 1997 (= *Musik der frühen Neuzeit. Studien u. Quellen zur Musikgeschichte des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts* 2), pp. 27–40.

30 Neither Lübeck piece is mentioned in the list of extant and lost works in Wolfram Syré, *Vincent Lübeck: Leben und Werk*, Frankfurt/M. 2000 (= *Europäische Hochschulschriften* 36/205), pp. 137–186.

31 None of these pieces is listed in Elizabeth Jocelyn Mackey, *The sacred music of Johann Theile*, PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1968.

## Italian motets and German songbooks

The Lübeck auction is also noteworthy for the inclusion of Italian music and the presence of sacred songbooks. Most of the Italian music consists of small-scale motets, although the keyboard tablatures include a book of „Italiänische St[ücke]“ for which no further details are given. The vocal music includes:

- Claudio Monteverdi, *Exulta filia Sion* (quarto manuscripts, no. 19): originally published in *Quarta raccolta de sacri canti* (Venice 1629), RISM 1629<sup>5</sup>.
- [Gasparo] Casati, *O bone Jesu* (quarto manuscripts, no. 34): probably from *Motetti a voce sola de diversi eccellentissimi autori* (Venice 1645), RISM 1645<sup>3</sup>.
- Gasparo Casati, *O mira! o magna!* (quarto manuscripts, no. 36): originally published in Casati, *Sacri concerti a voce sola con la partitura*, opus 2 (Venice 1641), RISM C 1408; here taken from *Sacra partitura*, ed. Philipp David Böddecker, Strasburg 1651.
- [Gasparo] Casati, *Ich will reden von der Angst* (quarto manuscripts, no. 27): presumably a contrafactum.
- Tarditi, *Cantabo Domine* (quarto manuscripts, no. 6): unclear if Orazio or Paolo Tarditi.
- Simone Vesi, *Quis non separabit* (quarto manuscripts, no. 40).

In addition there are three motets attributed to „C. Coch“, who might be Claudio Cocchi, active in Trieste and Milan in the 1620s–1630s; his works appear in the Lüneburg Michaelisschule inventory and Johann Havemann’s anthology *Erster Theil geistlicher Concerten [...] aus den berühmtesten Italiänischen und andern Autoribus*, Berlin 1659 (RISM 1659<sup>3</sup>). Alternatively, „Coch“ could be a local figure such as Christoph Koch, organist at the Marienkirche in Wismar from 1646, or Hermann Koch, cantor in Berlin (in which case the initial ‘C.’ would denote the office of cantor)<sup>32</sup>.

Most of the Italian motets in the auction are scored for solo voice, continuo and sometimes also two violins. In the pieces that can be securely identified (the Monteverdi motet and two of the Casati works), the musical style alternates between affective monodies in duple time and melodious triple-time writing. Similar motets were popular in north Germany in the middle of the seventeenth century. The inventory of the Lüneburg Michaelisschule includes seventeen pieces by Casati and seven by Vesi, generally scored for one or two voices and continuo (sometimes with violins), although there are no concordances with the Lübeck auction<sup>33</sup>. Three printed books of music by Vesi were owned by the Marienkirche in Lübeck, but these do not contain the piece offered in the auction<sup>34</sup>. Pieces by Casati, Cocchi and Vesi for one or two solo voices plus strings also appear in Havemann’s anthology *Erster Theil geistlicher Concerten* (Berlin 1659) – which was owned by north German institutions such as the Johannis-kantorei in Lüneburg<sup>35</sup> – although again there are no concordances with the Lübeck auction.

32 On Christoph Koch, see Burkhard Busse, „Extraordinaire Musiken in denen Kirchen ...“ *Zu einigen Quellen des Wismarer Stadtarchivs*, in: Karl Heller etc. (eds.), *Musik in Mecklenburg: Beiträge eines Kolloquiums zur mecklenburgischen Musikgeschichte* [...], Hildesheim 2000, pp. 273–279 (p. 277); on Hermann Koch, see Werner Braun, *Hermann Koch (1638–1697) und sein „feiner Ruhm“*, in: JbPrKu 1996, pp. 154–165.

33 Seiffert (footnote 23), pp. 602, 620.

34 Snyder (footnote 17), p. 493.

35 Horst Walter, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Lüneburg vom Ende des 16. bis zum Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Tutzing 1967, p. 287.

Possible routes of transmission can be traced for some of the Italian pieces in the auction. Monteverdi's motet appeared in a 1629 anthology in Venice but was evidently circulating in northern Germany by the 1640s, to judge from a copy made by Matthias Weckmann and dated Hamburg 1647 (Lüneburg mus. ant. pract. KN 206)<sup>36</sup>. Casati's *O mira! o magna* appeared in *Sacra partitura* (1651) edited by the Strasburg organist Philipp Friedrich Bötdecker, and evidently the copy in the auction was made from this anthology, because the piece is attributed to Bötdecker. None of the other Italian pieces appears in German anthologies such as those edited by Ambrosius Profe. Italian motets might also have been brought northward by German musicians on their travels: for instance, Tunder's pupil, Peter Grecke, went to Italy before becoming a municipal musician in Lübeck in 1673<sup>37</sup>.

Alongside the vocal concertos by Italian and German composers, the auction also included three sacred songbooks (folio printed music, nos.1–3). These were not hymnals that an organist might use in church, but rather collections of simple strophic songs for devotional use. Such songs were not necessarily incompatible with the more artful genres on the inventory, for organists were often involved in the writing and performance of devotional arias. Two of the songbooks shed light on devotional music of the time. Narziß Rauner's *Davidischer Jesus-Psalter* (Augsburg, 1670) contains metrical paraphrases of the psalms, in parallel Latin and German texts. As an appendix it includes the seven poems that form the *Rhythmica oratio* then attributed to Bernhard of Clairvaux, again in parallel Latin and German. Given that Buxtehude used the *Rhythmica oratio* in his *Membra Jesu nostri* BuxWV 75 (c.1680), it is interesting to see this edition of the poem circulating in Lübeck. Rauner's edition includes more strophes than are used by Buxtehude, but otherwise it could be a possible source for his text.

Another songbook on the inventory, the *Greiffenbergische Psalter- und Harfen-Lust* (Stettin, 1674), contained songs by members of the *Gottsingende Gesellschaft* in Greifenberg (Pomerania). This society existed between the 1650s and 1670s for the purpose of sacred singing. The preface to the songbook speaks of the importance of offering songs of thanksgiving to God, 'not with high art nor with resplendent words and frisky melodies aimed at the external world, but rather with a simplicity that is well-pleasing to God and suited to our situation and circumstances'<sup>38</sup>. This quest for simplicity echoed the aspirations of the song-writer Johann Rist, and also resonated with the concerns of some Pietists. The inclusion of the Greifenberg songbook in the auction alongside Italian and German vocal concertos hints at the symbiotic relationship between simple strophic songs (often associated with Pietists) and more artful genres. Such a relationship has already been explored by Geck, with particular reference to the musical interests of organists. Kerala Snyder has also discussed how Buxtehude's strophic arias draw on, yet transform, the simpler settings in published songbooks<sup>39</sup>.

36 For contents of this manuscript see Alexander Silbiger, *The autographs of Matthias Weckmann: a re-evaluation*, in: Schütz-Konferenz Kopenhagen 1985, pp. 117–144 (pp. 130–135).

37 Johann Hennings, *Musikgeschichte Lübecks*. I: *Weltliche Musik*, Kassel etc. 1951, p. 91.

38 „[...] nicht nach hoher Kunst und für der Welt prangenden Worten und hüpfender Singart, sondern wie es unser Zustand und Gelegenheit in Gottwohlgefälliger Einfalt gegeben“. Quoted in H. Riemann, *Geschichte der Stadt Greifenberg in Pommern*, Greifenberg 1862, p. 213; see also Carl Dittmar, *Über den Liederdichter Johann Möller, den Gründer der Gottsingenden Gesellschaft zu Greifenberg i. P.*, Greifswald 1904.

39 Geck (footnote 11); Snyder (footnote 17), pp. 178–179. See also Friedhelm Krummacher, *Die geistliche Aria in Norddeutschland und Skandinavien: Ein gattungsgeschichtlicher Versuch*, in: Dieter Lohmeier (ed.), *Weltliches und Geistliches Lied des Barock*, Amsterdam 1980 (= Beihefte zum Daphnis 2), pp. 229–264.

Because the auction-catalogue does not name the original owner of the books, my discussion of the significance of its contents must inevitably venture into the realms of hypothesis and inference. All the same, the combination of small-scale vocal concertos, instrumental ensemble music and keyboard tablatures suggests that the auction contained the private collection of an organist such as Bernhard Olffen. If this hypothesis is correct, the catalogue documents the music available to organists in Buxtehude's milieu. A decade before Johann Sebastian Bach visited Lübeck, the inventory shows the chronological and geographical range of music circulating in the city. It confirms the continuing importance of Italian music in the period, and shows how keyboard tablatures circulated alongside vocal manuscripts. In addition, the catalogue offers the earliest evidence that manuscripts of professional repertory were sold at commercial book-auctions, as well as being distributed via the personal contacts of musicians. Similar sales may explain how a collector such as Düben acquired manuscripts originating in distant areas such as central Germany<sup>40</sup>. As such, this 1695 auction-listing should encourage musicologists to explore further the vast stocks of auction-catalogues held in research libraries in Europe<sup>41</sup>.

40 See, for instance, Peter Wollny, *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Sammlung Düben*, in: *STMF* 87 (2005), pp. 100–114.

41 I would like to thank Michael Belotti, Pieter Dirksen, Ton Koopman, Giles Mandelbrote, Elizabeth Roche, Steven Saunders, Jonathan P. Wainwright, Geoffrey Webber and Christoph Wolff for their suggestions in the preparation of this article. I am particularly grateful to Friedhelm Krummacher, Kerala J. Snyder and Peter Wollny for their detailed comments on an earlier draft.

## Transcription of musical items in 1695 auction catalogue

This transcription follows the typographical conventions of the series *Mittlere Deutsche Literatur in Neu- und Nachdrucken* (Bern etc. 1981 ff.): Fraktur font in the original document is represented by normal font, and Antiqua font by SMALL CAPITALS. Editorial additions, including information about concordances, are enclosed in square brackets [ ].

## MUSICAL. Sachen IN FOL.

1. ANON. DAVIDisch. Jesus-Psalter m. Anh. Bernhardinischer Jesus-Lieder/ u. eim Morgen- und Abend-Lied/ in 2. St. B. und C. Augsp.  
[Narziß Rauner, *Davidischer Jesus-Psalter*, Augsburg 1670, RISM DKL 1670<sup>10</sup>]
2. 3. Greiffenberger Gott-Singenden Gesellschaft Psalter- und Harffen-Lust/ od. Herrn Bürgerm. Jo. Möllers Geistl. Lieder/ und Hn. PAST. Th. Hoppens neue Melodeyen 100. in 4. Th. od. 2. B[ücher]. Stett. 673. 4.  
[Johann Möller & Thomas Hoppe, *Greiffenbergische Psalter- und Harfen-Lust*, Stettin 1674, RISM DKL 1674<sup>12</sup>; see also Emil Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700, welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Academischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und der Königlichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden*, Berlin 1883, pp. 286–287]
4. G. Webers 10. Geistl. Lieder als Seelen-Gespr. m. Christo in 2 St. B. und C. Stockh. 640. 8. b.  
[Georg Weber, *Erster Theil der geistlichen Lieder*, Stockholm 1640, RISM DKL 1640<sup>09</sup>]
- 5-7. ANON. Braut-Tantz 2 St. C. und B.  
IT. Hochzeit ARIETTA Crauses CANT. SOL. 2. VIOL. C. C. B.  
u. Heydenreichs C. und B. m. etzl. VIOL

## IN QVART.

- 1.a-g. DULICHII HARM. SACRÆ 100. 8. & 7. VOCUM, STET. 607. B. T. A. VOX 5. 6. 7. & 8. (ein Band fehlt.)  
[Philipp Dulichius, *Prima pars centuriae octonum et septenium vocum harmonias sacras laudibus sanctissimae triados consecratas continentis*, Stettin 1607, RISM D 3688]
- 2.a-c. Hakens Pavan. BALETT. COURANT. und SARABANDEN m. 2. VIOLINEN u. 1. B. C. Hamb. 648 (fehlt 1.B.C.)  
[Hans Hake, *Erster Theil neuer Pavanen, Balletten, Courantten und Sarabanden*, Hamburg 1648, RISM H 1894]
- 3.a-d. KELZII PRIMIT. MUSICALES, LE SONATE, INTRADE, MASCARADE, &c. 2. VIOLINen/ BASSO VIOLA, und B. C. AUG.V. 658  
[Matthias Kelz, *Primitiae musicales seu concertus novi harmonici*, Augsburg 1658, RISM K 369]
- 4.a-c. MOVII Geistl. CONCERTEN m. 2. St. u. B. C. Rost. 639.  
[Caspar Movius, *Hymnodia sacra [...] Neue geistliche Concerten*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition Rostock 1639, RISM M 4020]
- 5.a-d Olters Hochzeit-Gesang TEN. SOLO m. B. u. 2. VIOLINEN, Hamb.651.  
[possibly a lost wedding piece by Johann Olffen Sr (d. 1653), teacher at the school of the Hamburg Petrikirche from 1633, or by Johann Olffen Jr (d. 1670), organist at the Petrikirche 1653–1670<sup>42</sup>]

42 Liselotte Krüger, *Die Hamburgische Musikorganisation im XVII. Jahrhundert*, Straßburg 1933 (= Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen 12), pp. 156–157, 181.

6.a-f. Jo. Schopens PADUAN. GALLIARD. &c. m. 3. 4. 5. und 6. St. nebst eim B. C. 1. und 2. Th. Hamb. 40.

[Johann Schop, *Erster Theil Neuer Paduanen*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition Hamburg 1640, RISM S 2103; *Ander Theil Neuer Paduanen*, Hamburg 1635/36, RISM S 2104]

7.a-f. Vierdancks PAVANen GAGLIARD. BALLETT. u. CORRENTEN: 1. Th. m. 2. VIOLInen/ u. j. VIOLON, nebst B. C. und II. Th. CAPRICCI, CANZONI, u. SONATen m. 2. 3. 4. und 5. INSTRUM. ohn u. m. dem B. C. Rost.641. C.I. C.II. VOX 3. 4. B. u. B C.

[Johann Vierdanck, *Erster Theil neuer Pavanen*, probably in 2<sup>nd</sup> edition Rostock 1641, RISM V 1459, and *Ander Theil, darinnen begriffen etliche Capricci, Canzoni und Sonaten*, Rostock 1641, RISM V 1460]

8. a.b. AND. Werckmeisters MUSICALische PRIVAT-Lust in SONATInen/ ALLEM. COUR SARAB. u. CHIQVEN auf eine VIOLIN: u. EXERCITIUM im G. BASS, da dann füglich eine VIOLDIGAM-DA [sic] wegen Abwechsel. der Fugen mit hinzu gebraucht werden kan/ Frf. u. Leipz. 689.

[no extant copies, but listed in book-fair catalogues for 1686 and 1689; see Karl Albert Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien*, Leipzig 1902, no. 1666]

9. a-d. WERLINI Friedens-Ges. oder Geistl. CONCERTEN auff Italiänische INVENTION m. 2. 3. und 4. St. nebst B. C. Ulm. 644. C. B. T. A. u. B. C.

[Johannes Werlin, *Irenodia oder Friedens-Gesäng: Das ist: neue Geistliche Concert [...] auf jetzo gebräuchliche Italiänische Invention*, Ulm 1643/44, RISM W 800]

10.-12. Noch 3. DEFECTen die nicht zusammen hören: JOANELLI THES. MUSICI CANT. SACRAR. BASSUS; VENET. 568

[*Novi thesauri musici liber primus*, ed. Petrus Joanelus, Venice 1568, RISM 1568<sup>2</sup>]

MOVII Geistl. CONCERTen VOX 2. Rost. 634.

[Caspar Movius, *Hymnodia sacra [...] Neue geistliche Concerten*, Rostock 1634, RISM M 4019]

und PRETORII MISSODIÆ SIONIÆ VOX 6. WOLF. 11.

[Michael Praetorius, *Missodia Sionia*, Wolfenbüttel 1611, RISM P 5362]

P. S. 13. Kahls Stehe auff meine Freundin/ 2. CORNET, 2. TROMB. 2. SOPRAN C. B. C.

14. MOVII Hochzeit-MUSIC mit 2. VOC und 5. INSTRUM. Stim.

15. EJ. andere a. 138. Ps. mit 2. St. und B. C.

16. 17. JELLI MONO-PHONETICA od. Weltl. Freuden-Lieder [sic] mit nur einer VOCAL-Stimm zum B. C. in eine THEORB; Laute/ CLAVICYMBEL, REGAL, & C. zu singen/ Hamb. 636.

[Thomas Selle, *Mono-phonetica [...] allerhand lustige und anmutige Freuden-Liedlein*, Hamburg 1636, RISM S 2757]

MUSIC. Sach. geschrieb IN FOL.

1. Ach daß ich hören A 5. VOC. È 9. STROM. DI C. COCK.

2. Ach HERR wie sind meiner Feinde A 5. VOC. È 6. STROM. AD CONTINUUM DI COCH.

3. Ach höchstliebe Wunderzeich A 4. 2 VIOLDIG. A. T. d. VINC. LUBECK.

4. DA PACEM DOMINE, C.1. & 2. C. B. C. PER HAMMERSCHMID.

[from Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Motettae unius et duarum vocum*, Dresden 1649, RISM H 1946]

5. Es stehe GOtt auff/ da C. und B.

6. EXALTABO TE DOMINE A 4. T. A. 2. VIOL. c. B. C.

7. HErr GOtt dich loben wir/ À 5. 2. VIOL. A. T. B. C. B. C.
8. HERR wenn ich nur dich habe/ CHIACON À 3. C. SOLO È 2 VIOL. P. D. BuxteH.  
[BuxWV 38. Concordance in Düben collection, Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket vok.mus.i.hs. 6:11]
9. Hertzens JEsu sey gegrüset/ B. T. A. C. 1. 2. RITTORN. VIOLINO 2. VIOLA 2. & VIOLON
10. JEsu kehre bey mir ein/ B. T. A. C. 2. CON VIOLINO 2. VIOLA 2. & VIOLON.
11. Komm Heiliger Tröst. C. 1 & 2.
12. 13. MAGNIFICAT À 3. VOC. C. T. B. È 5. STR. DI SAGITAR. BIS.  
[Possibly an unknown work by Heinrich Schütz. Conceivably it could be the Magnificat attributed to Schütz at the Lüneburg Michaelisschule, without the capella ("Magnificat à 10. 2 Violin. 3 Tromb. Fag. CTB. Con Cap. à 4."), inventory no. 655, Seiffert p. 617.]
14. Meine Harffe ist zur Klage worden C. A. T. B. d. Vierdanck.  
[no. 19 in Ambrosius Profe's collection *Geistliche Concerten und Harmonien* I, Leipzig 1641, RISM 1641<sup>2</sup>. Another copy in quarto manuscripts no. 31]
15. Meine Seele komm zu Tische &C. und Nun dancket GOtt &C. 3.bl. C.1 & 2. C. ORG.
16. Oster-Freude IN 2.VIOL UND 2. TEN. m. G. B.
17. VALETE RISUS, VALETE MUNDI DELICIE, À 3. C. VEL T. 1 & 2. C. ORG. CONT.  
[These are two pieces, *Valete risus* and *Valete mundi*; they appear on the Lüneburg Michaelisschule inventory nos.947/48 (Seiffert p. 602) attributed to Carissimi, but are actually from Francesco Foggia's *Concentus ecclesiastici*, Rome 1645.]
18. Vater es ist nicht verdient B. T. A. C. 1. und 2. C. RITTORN. VIOLON, & VIOLA 1. 2. 3. 4.
19. Uns ist ein Kind gebohren/ À 2.C. 2.VIOLIN. & B. C. COMP. 1686
20. Was mein GOtt wil/ à 7. C. A.2. T.2. & B.2.  
[possibly a corrupt description of Schütz's motet SWV 392 from *Geistliche Chor-Music*, Dresden 1648]
21. Noch etzl. kleine vollk. und unvollkomne Geistl.
22. And. Weltl. CARO KYTT Rindfleisch &c. CAPRICORNI À 2. C. C. od. T. T. c. B.
23. Müller/ Schneider u. Leinweber À 3. E. B  
[concordance with Lüneburg Michaelisschule inventory no. 1034 (Seiffert, p. 602) where the piece is attributed to Samuel Capricornus; possibly no. 5 from Capricornus's *Neu-angestimmte und erfreuliche Tafel-Music*, Frankfurt 1670, RISM C 941]
24. OVERDURE &C. B. A. È 2.VIOLINO.
25. Stille Jungens/ de CANTOR de kömt. À 6. 2 VIOLIN, 2. C. c. T. B. & B. C.  
[Concordance with Lüneburg Michaelisschule inventory no. 855, Seiffert p. 597]

## IN QVART.

1. Allein GOtt in der Höh sey Ehr B. T. A. C. m. VIOL. od. CORNET. 2.
2. ANIMA CHRISTI SANCTIFICA ME, VOCE SOLA C. ORGANO
3. Auff! Sünder auff! A. B. CON 4. IN RIPIENO & 4. STROM. P. THEIL.
4. Befiehl dem HERRN deine Wege/ CONCERT & ARIA. À 5. C. 2. È B. VIOL. 2. CON B. C. DI Theil.



[An anonymous piece with the same title and similar scoring appears on the Lüneburg Michaelisschule inventory, no. 94, Seiffert p. 594. The text incipit refers to David Elias Heidenreich's libretto for the 12<sup>th</sup> Sunday after Trinity, from *Geistliche Oden auf die fürnehmsten Feste und alle Sonntage des gantzen Jahres*, Halle 1665, p. 70. Settings of Heidenreich's cantata-aria cycle were also made by Pohle, Knüpfer and Schelle.]

5. BONE JESU À 4. 2C. 2.VIOL. E. B. C. DI FERDINANDO III.
6. CANTABO DOMINO, C. SOLO E. ORGANO, TARDITI.
7. “ “ À 5. 2C. 2.VIOLIN 1.FAGOT C. B. C.
8. Christ lag in Todes Banden/ À 10. VEL 15. DI Theil.
9. CONGREGATI SUNT INIMICI NOSTRI. 2 B. 2. VIOLIN C. B. C.  
[The Düben collection includes a piece with the same title and scoring by Rosenmüller, Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket vok.mus.i.hs. 85:062.]
10. Da antwortet LABAN und &c. 2 C. C. B. C.  
[Johann Olfen made a setting of this text for two tenors and five instruments for a Hamburg wedding in 1652. *Hochzeitlicher Gesang [...]* Danieli Ludemanno [...] Anna Catarina Müllerin, Hamburg 1652<sup>43</sup>.]
11. Das ist meine Freude 2.VIOLIN 2.C. C. B. C. DI HAINTEIRI  
[The Düben collection includes a piece with the same title and scoring by Paul Hainlein, Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket vok.mus.i.hs. 56:002.]
12. Das ist mir lieb/ das der HERR &c. 1. VOC. & 3. INSTRUM. C. B. C.
13. Der im Anf. den Menschen gemacht/ 2. VIOL. 2. C. & B. C. DI SELLIO  
[Probably the same piece that is preserved in part of Selle's *Opera Omnia, Ander Theil Teutscher Geistlicher Concerten*, no. 22. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky Ms.Scrin 251<sup>44</sup>.]
14. DIALOGUS PENITENT. HERR geh nicht ins Ger. C. A. T. B. STR. 4. C. B. C. P. GAB. Woltersdorff
15. DIAL. SISTEN VID. NAINITICAM & CHRISTUM À 5. T. B. VIOL. 2. C. B. C. DI J. W.
16. Drey schöne Dinge sind à 5. B. T. 2. VIOLIN 2. C. B. C.
17. ECCE NUNC BENEDICITE &c. A. T. VIOL. 2. C. B. C.
18. Erbarm dich mein O HERre GOtt à 3. C. SOLO & 2.VIOLIN DI H. WULFF
19. EXULTA FILIA SION, C. SOLO C. ORGANO MONTEVERDI  
[originally published in *Quarta raccolta de sacri canti*, Venice 1629, RISM 1629<sup>5</sup> and copied by Matthias Weckmann (1647) in Lüneburg mus. ant. pract. KN 206, ff. 96<sup>v</sup>–98<sup>r</sup>.]
20. Glück und Segen/ &c. Hochzeit-Ges. C. B. C. 4. VIOLIN. 1. FAGOTT È B. C. DI FLOR
21. HErr GOtt dich loben wir/ C. A. T. C. VIOLIN Ò CORNETT. 2. È B. C.
22. HErr wenn ich nur dich habe/ C. SOLO C. VIOLIN 2. & B. C.  
[Possibly identical with Buxtehude's setting in folio manuscripts no. 8.]
23. Jauchzet dem HErrn alle Welt C. C. 2. VIOL. È B. C. DI BLEIER.

43 *Die Musik Hamburgs im Zeitalter Seb. Bachs. Ausstellung anlässlich des neunten deutschen Bachfestes zu Hamburg* [...], Hamburg 1921, p. 18.

44 Holger Eichhorn, *Thomas Selles Opera Omnia im Spiegel ihrer Druckvorlagen*, in: *Jb. alte Musik* 2 (1993), pp. 131–304 (p. 162).

[A setting attributed to Georg Bleyer of *Jauchzet dem Herrn* for tenor, 2 violins, 3 viols, bassoon and continuo (1680) is preserved in the Frankfurt am Main Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Ff. Mus.140.<sup>45</sup>]

24. Ich hebe meine Augen auff/ B. SOLO C. ORG. P. VINC. LUBECK

25. Ich suchte des Nachts à 5. C. SOLO C. 2 VIOLIN 2 TROMB. È B. C.

26. Ich will den HErrn loben à T. SOL. C. 2. VIOL. P. ACCORD. È B. C.

27. Ich wil reden von der Angst à T. & B. C. B. C. DI CASSAT.

28. JESu meine Freud à 4. C. A. T. B. E. B. C.

29. Ist GOtt für uns à C. SOL. & B. C.

30. KYRIE ELEIS. à B. T. 2. VIOLIN. 2. È B. C.

31. Meine Harffe ist zur Klage worden/ à C. A. T. B. C. B. C. DI Vierdanck

[no. 19 in Ambrosius Profe's collection *Geistliche Concerten und Harmonien* I, Leipzig 1641, RISM 1641<sup>2</sup>; another copy in folio manuscripts no. 14]

32. Meine Seele erheb. den HErrn à C. & VIOLINO SOL. C. B. C.

33. Mein GOtt warum hastu à 1 C. 2. VIOL. C. B. C. DI D. Buxteh.

34. O BONE JESU, SOLO C. C. ORG. CASSATI

[Probably Gasparo Casati, *O bone Jesu*, published in *Motetti a voce sola de diversi eccellentissimi autori*, Venice 1645, RISM 1645<sup>3</sup>.]

35. O JESU MI DULCISS. à T. SOL. C. 2 VIOL È B. C.

36. O MIRA! Ô MAGNA! &C. C. SOL. C. ORG. P. Boddekers

[Gasparo Casati, *O mira O magna* as published in Philipp Friedrich Bötdecker's edition of *Sacra partitura*, Strasburg 1651, RISM B 3263. Casati's piece originally appeared in *Sacri concerti a voce sola con la partitura*, op. 2, Venice 1641, RISM C 1408.]

37.a Oster-VICTORIA B. T. A. 2 C. 2 VIOL. 2 BRAZ. 1 VIOLONO 1. FAGOTTO C. B. C.

37.b. dito anders B. A. T. C. 2. m. B. C.

[37a & b might be copies of Knüpfers *Victoria, die Fürsten sind geschlagen*, transmitted in the Düben collection, Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket vok.mus.i.hs. 57:005. The title-page of the Uppsala copy indicates a scoring for CCATB, 2 vn, 2 va, 3 trb, bsn, bc, but, as in this Lübeck copy, separate trombone parts are not provided.]

38. O süsßer JESu Christ/ à C. Ô T. SOLO C. 2. VIOLIN È B. C. d. H. Schütz und Chr. Kitteln.

[Christoph Kittel's arrangement for solo voice, two violins and continuo of the *Bernhardi Freudengesang* in Heinrich Schütz's *Zwölf geistliche Gesänge*, Dresden 1657. Kittel's arrangement was printed in four sheets (one per performing part) as *Aria/ Des Jubel-Gesangs/ | Genommen aus H. Heinrich Schützens Capellmeister zwölf Geistlichen Gesängen*, RISM K 854. A printed copy is in the Düben collection, Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket vok.mus.i.hs.34.6.]

39. QVAM PULCHRA ES à C. VIOL. 2 C. FAGOT. È B. C.

40. QVIS NON SEPARABIT, à C. SOLO C. 4. INSTR. DI VESI

[possibly from Simone Vesi, *Motetti e salmi*, op. 2, Venice 1648, RISM V 1312]

41. QVO FUGIAM MISER? à 2 C. 2 VIOLIN. C. FAGOTTO

45 Joachim Schlichte, *Thematischer Katalog der kirchlichen Musikhandschriften des. 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt/M. 1979 (= Kataloge der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main 8), p. 50.

42. Schaff in mir GOtt ein reines Hertz/ C. SOLO C. B. C.
- 43-44. SI DEUS PRO NOB. B. SOLO & 2 VIOL. C.B.C. BIS  
[Probably Johann Rosenmüller's setting of this text; see Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz Mus. ms. 18883 (Bokemeyer 831).]
45. VENI DOMINE, & NOLI TARD. C. SOLO C. ORG. BERNHARDI
46. Was frag ich nach der Welt C. B. C. VIOLIN. 2. È B C.
47. Wer ist der/so von Edom 4. VOC. & 4. INST. C. B. C. DI COCH.
48. Weynachts-Gesänge C. A. T. c. VIOL. O CORN. 2. È B.C.
49. Wo find ich Hülff C. T. VIOL. O FLAUTO C. FAGOT È B.C.
50. Wol dem der den HErrn fürchtet C. A. T. B. c. B.C. DI Strunck.
- 51-54. Noch 5. geistl. Ges. in C.und B.m. 2. in 4.St. u. MUSICÆ EUGLCÆ PARTIS 1. VOCE 2 & C.
55. Welt. ARIA CLORIS DE Krembergs C. c. B.C.  
[*Cloris deiner Schönheit Pracht*, strophic song in Jakob Kremberg, *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergötzung oder Arien*, Dresden 1689, p. 24. RISM K 2009]
56. Auff APOLLO C.2. T.2. VIOL.2. VIOLON. B. E B.C.
57. Gespr. zweyer verliebt. Personen/ A T. C. VIOLIN.2. C. B.C. COMP. 687. (die VIOL. fehl.)
58. Hochzeit-ARIA C. B. VIOLON und 2. VIOLIN d. Lieberrow.
59. Hochzeit-Gespr. zw. Bräutig. und Braut/ C. T. VIOL.2.m. B.C.
- 60, 61. Hoff-Leuten gewöhnliches UT RE MI FA SOL LA, C.A.T. B. m. 2. VIOLIN d. Rosenmüller/ 2m.  
[concordance with Lüneburg Michaelisschule inventory, no. 972, Seiffert p. 615: Rosenmüller, *Ut re mi fa sol la, das kan ein Hoffmann singen*, à 6. 2 Viol. CATB.]
62. Lebendige Kraben hier C.C.T. c.B.C.
63. Musen Hochzeit-CONCERT. B.A.T.C. c. B.C. 671.
64. Ettl. SARAB. COUR. &C. A 5. M. INSTRUM. SVITE A M. Edelman.

TABULAT. m. Buchst. geschr. IN FOL.

1. EIn gebund. Buch m. Geistl. Stücken
2. Ein and. in Pap. gehefft. dabey auch H. PRÆTORII FUNDAMENTUM PRO ASCENDO & DESC. ITEM, ECHO auff 2. Clavier und and. EXERCIT.
3. 4. And. 2. sammengeneyete meist Geistl. St.
5. Gesamlete Enckele Geistl. St.
6. - - Italiänische St.
7. PRÆLUDIEN/ TOCCATEN/ CANZONS, mit ECHO, FUG. und CONCORDATEN.
8. Unterr. v. GEN. BASS d. Capelmeist. Brügel.

## IN QVARTO

1. GEBund. B.[uch] meist Geistl. St.[ücke] m. PRÆLUDIEN
2. 3. And. in Pap. geneyete Geistl. oh. PRÆL.
- 4.-7. - - - Geistl. u. weltl. groß und klein
8. Noch ein geb. m. Lehre dab. CLAVICHORD zu beziehen und TABULAT. zu versteh.
9. Noch ein Gehefft voll von PRÆLUDIEN und FUGEN.
10. Gesamlete ALLEMANDEN/ COURANTEN/ SARABANDEN EX. A. B. C. D. F. G. 14 St. m. etzl. and. Weltl. St. ALLEM. COUR. &C.
- 11, 12. Lehre v. GEN. BASS zu versteh. m. den Stimm. so zu Strals. in Marien und NIC. Orgln sind.
13. Richtiger METH. zum GEN. BASS in etzl. Exempeln zusammen gefasset v. J. Crüger.  
[possibly a scribal copy of the appendix on figured bass in Johannes Crüger, *Synopsis musica*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition Berlin 1654, pp. 213–232]

TABULAT. Bücher in NOT. geschr. In FOL. 2 und in QV. 2.

[No details are given of these volumes.]