

## German Music Broadsheets, 1500 to 1550: Production, Persuasion and Performance

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In 1524, the Nuremberg printing house of Jobst Gutknecht produced a pamphlet entitled *Etlich cristlich lider, lobgesang und psalm*.<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by the firm twice that year as well as by Augsburg's Melchior Ramming, it also appeared in Erfurt under the title *Enchiridion oder eyn handbuchlein ... geystlicher gesenge und psalmen*.<sup>2</sup> At first glance, this twelve-leaf, quarto-format pamphlet appears fairly unremarkable. Also known as the *Achtliederbuch*, it contains the texts for eight hymns. Four are by Martin Luther, three by the Protestant preacher Paul Speratus, and one is anonymous, later attributed to the reformer Justus Jonas.<sup>3</sup> Notated music produced using woodcuts rather than movable type accompanies half of the texts. The result is a modest and presumably affordable pamphlet. The frequent reissue of this pamphlet within the first year of its publication reflects its popularity and has contributed to the description of 1524 as the Reformation's 'year of the song'.<sup>4</sup> This in turn demonstrates the central role played by music, and more particularly by singing, in the new evangelical churches.

This unassuming pamphlet not only draws together a number of hymns within a single publication but also predates Luther and Johann Walther's *Geystliche Gesangk buchleyen* (Wittenberg: Josef Klug, 1524) by several months. As a result, it has been rightly celebrated as the earliest extant Lutheran hymnal.<sup>5</sup> Yet it is important as much for the way in which its eight hymns came to be assembled as for its musical and religious content. In particular, it seems likely that at least some of the material circulated as broadsheets produced either prior to, or concurrently with, the pamphlet itself.<sup>6</sup> The single-sheet format would have lent itself readily to the circulation of

<sup>1</sup> VD 16 L 4698; USTC 653964. Both VD16, <<http://www.vd16.de>>, and the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), <<http://www.ustc.ac.uk>>, were last accessed on 30 September 2015.

<sup>2</sup> The two Augsburg prints are VD 16 L 4699, USTC 653965 and VD 16 L 4700, USTC 653963. The three Erfurt prints are E 1151, USTC 655582 (printed by Johann Loersfeld), E 1152, USTC 655583 (also printed by Johann Loersfeld) and E 1153, USTC 650318 (printed by Mathes Maler).

<sup>3</sup> In order of appearance, the eight hymns are 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein' (Luther), 'Es ist das Heil uns kommen her' (Speratus), 'In Gott glaub ich, das er hat' (Speratus), 'Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not' (Speratus), 'Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein' (Luther), 'Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl' (Luther), 'Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir' (Luther), and 'In Jesu Namen wir heben an' (Jonas).

<sup>4</sup> Markus Jenny, 'Kirchenlied, Gesangbuch und Kirchenmusik', in Gerhard Bott (ed.), *Martin Luther und die Reformation in Deutschland: Ausstellung zum 500. Geburtstags Martin Luthers* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1983), p. 317.

<sup>5</sup> VD 16 L 4776, USTC 659783 (tenor) and 552945 (bassus). For further discussion of these editions, see Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the gospel: Lutheran hymns and the success of the Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), pp. 7-8.

<sup>6</sup> Gerhard Hahn, *Das Evangelium als Literarische Anweisung: zur Luthers Stellung in der Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes* (Munich: Artemis, 1981), p. 12, has described the pamphlet as 'eine lose buchhändlerische Zusammenfassung' ('a loose bookseller's compilation'). Prior circulation of similar content as broadsheets also seems to have taken place with reference to the various editions of the Erfurt *Enchiridion*

hymns to support the reformed liturgy. Single sheets would have been relatively quick and simple to produce, easy to distribute and convenient for congregational use.

Broadsheets in general exhibit low survival rates. This is no less true of those of a musical nature; those produced in Germany between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries are thought to have a survival rate as low as 0.5%.<sup>7</sup> Amongst the probable losses are Lutheran hymn sheets printed in Wittenberg in the 1520s.<sup>8</sup> Curiously, no Wittenberg examples are currently extant for this period, although we might expect them to have been produced alongside those printed in other major centres such as Augsburg and Nuremberg. Attempts to plug gaps in our knowledge such as these are hindered by challenges of documentation. Alongside their omission from the German national bibliography VD16, the tendency of broadsheets to lack dates, places of publication and printers' names makes accurate description difficult.

There are additional complexities associated with their location. On account of their single-sheet format, some are to be found in libraries, others in archives and others still in museums. These difficulties are compounded by their musical function which in many cases is not made explicit through the presence of musical notation. As a result, they might equally be found in music or rare books departments within libraries or in collections of prints and drawings within museums. To a certain extent, these obstacles also permeate into the academic sphere as music broadsheets do not sit comfortably within the traditional remit of established academic disciplines. Many make use of simple, monophonic melodies and are therefore potentially of less interest to musicologists. Meanwhile the texts are often anonymous or clumsily written, making their appeal to literary scholars more limited.<sup>9</sup>

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(Erfurt: Loersfeld, 1524). For further discussion, see Daniel Trocmé-Latter, *The singing of the Strasbourg Protestants* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 84, and Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 260.

<sup>7</sup> Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 55) (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1974), p. 24. This statistic relates to numbers of copies rather than numbers of editions. Paas gives a slightly more optimistic survival rate of 0.7% for seventeenth century German political broadsheets. See John Roger Paas, *The German political broadsheet 1600-1700*. 4 vols. (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 25-26.

<sup>8</sup> One of the earliest references to a Wittenberg music broadsheet comes in the form of a broadsheet entitled 'Eyn klaglied der armen vber die Römische Entichristische pffaffen'. Bearing a false imprint of 'Rome' and a date of 1522, Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 40, catalogue entry 90, suggests Wittenberg as its true origin, though this has not been proven. For further discussion, see Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 338-340. A copy of this broadsheet is preserved in Heidelberg University Library, shelfmark Cod. Pal. germ., folio 128 recto.

<sup>9</sup> For further discussion of the neglect of such sources, see Judith Pollmann, 'Hey ho, let the cup go round! Singing for reformation in the sixteenth century', in Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (eds.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*. Vol. 1, *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge:

Challenges of documentation and scholarship aside, there is already compelling evidence that the first Lutheran hymnal's content also circulated as a series of broadsheets. It is striking that a number of the hymns in both the Nuremberg and Augsburg pamphlet editions bear the description 'Wittenberg, 1524' at their close. As well as indicating that the hymns were written in Wittenberg in 1524, this reinforces the theory that the pamphlet may have been a compilation of previously-printed hymn sheet content. More concrete evidence comes in the form of a broadsheet printed by Augsburg's prolific Philipp Ulhart firm, now preserved in Heidelberg University Library. Printed in 1524, it provides a single-sheet version of the pamphlet's first hymn, Luther's 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein' ('Dear Christians one and all, rejoice', Fig. 17.1).<sup>10</sup> Described in the Josef Klug hymnal of 1529 as 'a fine spiritual song', it summarises in dramatic form Luther's doctrine of sin and grace.<sup>11</sup>

*Insert Fig. 17.1 here*

Fig. 17.1: Martin Luther, 'Nun frewdt euch lieben Christen gemayn' (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1524) Heidelberg University Library, Cod. Pal. Germ. 793, fol. 82 verso  
250 x 130 mm<sup>12</sup>  
USTC 553873

This broadsheet provides a useful starting point for more general discussion of the production of music broadsheets in Germany in the first half of the sixteenth century, since its printing, format and likely reception raise a number of fundamental questions. How typical was the layout and content of this broadsheet, with its woodcut melody followed by ten verses of religious text? How many music broadsheets might have been produced in Germany in this period and where were they printed? How did music broadsheets communicate their content with their audience and how might they have been used? This study addresses these questions, seeking to provide a more nuanced understanding of the culture surrounding German music broadsheet production in the first half of the sixteenth century. It draws on the foundation provided by Wolf Wilhelm Brednich's *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* and Gisela Ecker's *Einblattdrucke von den Anfängen bis 1555*, together with *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, a scholarly editorial project to collect

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Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 294-295, Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 2-7, and Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 503-552.

<sup>10</sup> USTC 553873. Also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 41, catalogue entry 96. Further discussion can be found in Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 318, which explains that earlier broadsheet versions of this hymn bearing the date of 1523 are known to have survived until the nineteenth century.

<sup>11</sup> For further discussion of this hymn, see Brown, *Singing the gospel*, pp. 16-20.

<sup>12</sup> In all instances, the dimensions refer to the size of the sheet rather than the printing area.

and analyse the melodies of German hymn tunes.<sup>13</sup> These sources are complemented by Rebecca Wagner Oettinger's discussion and catalogue of German Reformation "propaganda songs".<sup>14</sup> In addition, recent advances in documentation made by the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) allow the specific field of music broadsheets to be contextualised in the wider output of sixteenth-century German single-sheet print.<sup>15</sup>

### Defining music broadsheets

*Einblattdrucke*, or broadsheets, can be defined as single sheets, unfolded and printed with continuous text on one side only, and for the most part in the vernacular.<sup>16</sup> Within this wide spectrum, music broadsheets can be most usefully described simply as single sheets that could be used for musical performance. This loose definition very deliberately avoids specifying that a music broadsheet must incorporate some element of musical notation. A large number of single-sheet publications were produced in Germany in the first half of the sixteenth century which were intended to be used for singing, even though musical notation is absent. Framing the definition in terms of function rather than typographical content enables us to gain a much fuller understanding of the contribution of broadsheets to musical culture.<sup>17</sup>

The printing of music broadsheets seems to have developed alongside the production of the first books with movable type in the 1450s. Whilst they were initially largely text only, the Augsburg printer Günther Zainer was amongst the first in the German-speaking countries to produce an

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<sup>13</sup> Rolf Wilhelm Brednich *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 55 and 60) (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1974-1975), Gisela Ecker *Einblattdrucke von den Anfängen bis 1555*, 2 vols. (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1981) and *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, 17 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975-2000).

<sup>14</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 9-11, defines "propaganda songs" as those that propagate a particular mind-set or belief. Her study addresses the propagandistic songs of the Reformation from roughly 1517 to the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. It includes a helpful catalogue of 230 songs (pp. 213-402), drawn from pamphlets, songbooks and manuscripts as well as broadsheets.

<sup>15</sup> Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, identifies 359 music broadsheets dating from the late-fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. 218 of these are thought to have been printed in the period up until 1550. Ecker, *Einblattdrucke*, identifies 72 for the period up until 1555. The USTC identifies 298 for the period up until 1550 together with a further 60 which are undated. The total identified by the USTC for the sixteenth century as a whole is 379. It is probable that some of the USTC's 60 undated broadsheets were produced in the first half of the sixteenth century. USTC data last accessed 30 September 2015.

<sup>16</sup> See Nicolas Barker, *The ABC for book collectors* (London: British Library, 2004), p. 51, and Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 1, pp. 7-8. Brednich, p. 8, explains that there are a handful of examples of broadsheets printed on both sides, but these seem to be distinct works, and are therefore probably errors rather than intentional double-sided printing.

<sup>17</sup> This approach is distinct from that of the VDM16 database, based at the University of Salzburg (see <<http://www.vdm16.ac.at>>, last accessed 30 September 2015). This project documents musical sources produced in the German-speaking regions between 1500 and 1540. Whilst this encompasses the broadsheet format, only those with musical notation are included.

illustrated broadsheet in the form of a ballad dating from around 1475 (Fig. 17.2). Presented without a title, it can be identified by the first line of its text, 'Ich kam auf eine Gefilde weit'.<sup>18</sup> In 32 rhyming couplets, the ballad describes a woman's fight against the devil's army, a scene portrayed in great detail in the woodcut. This example displays two characteristics which were to become fundamental to German music broadsheets of the first half of the sixteenth century: the crossover between drama and song and the use of woodcuts in the communication process.

*Insert Fig. 17.2 here*

Fig. 17.2: 'Ich kam auf eine Gefilde weit' (Augsburg: Günther Zainer, ca. 1475)  
Leipzig University Library, Ed.vet.s.a.m.103i  
285 x 182 mm  
USTC 749288

Broadsheets of a musical nature are often described as *Liedflugblätter* or 'song sheets'. A portrait layout and sheet dimensions of roughly 260 by 170 mm were typical, though there were considerable deviations from this pattern.<sup>19</sup> They can usually be identified by the presence of the word 'Lied' or a variant such as 'Laid' or 'Lyed' at the head of the sheet, followed by the song text, broken down into verses. The length varies greatly from very short texts with just ten lines to much longer ones with well over fifty. In many cases, the word 'Lied' at the head of the sheet is complemented by an instruction concerning the melody to be used, typically using a phrase such as 'im Thon' or 'in der Melodey'. The melodies used were generally well-known folk or hymn tunes.<sup>20</sup> Sometimes the word 'Lied' is omitted from the head of the sheet completely, leaving only an instruction concerning the melody. Still less frequently, the melody to be used is printed together with the text, as illustrated by Fig. 17.1. The presence of musical notation positively identifies the broadsheet as musical to even the casual observer, but also suggests a degree of musical literacy might be required on the part of the user.

Whilst the term 'song sheet' is an appropriate one, it should be noted that not all music broadsheets were intended exclusively for singing. Reading aloud, rather than silent scanning of

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<sup>18</sup> USTC 749288; Incunabla Short Title Catalogue it00118450 (<<http://istc.bl.uk>>, last accessed 30 September 2015, hereafter ISTC); Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke M18299 (<<http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de>>, last accessed 30 September 2015, hereafter GW).

<sup>19</sup> The examples I have examined range in height from 204 mm to 316 mm. Widths are also variable, ranging from 127 mm to 209 mm. Dimensions must be treated with a fair degree of caution, as it is often impossible to know how much they might have been trimmed following their original production.

<sup>20</sup> For a summary of the most common secular melodies used in song broadsheets, see Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 1, p. 63, and Wolfgang Suppan, *Deutsches Liedleben zwischen Renaissance and Barock* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1973), pp. 14-24.

texts, was the more usual form of reading in the sixteenth century.<sup>21</sup> A consequence of this was that the boundaries between drama, poetry, prayerful contemplation and song were very porous, often resulting in a choice between singing or recitation when it came to ‘performance’. One broadsheet dating from 1524, for example, bears the caption title ‘Eyn new gedicht zcu singen’ (‘A new poem to sing’).<sup>22</sup> Another dating from around 1540 is headed ‘Auß dem xxii. vnnd lxxi psalm ein gebet ... im thon Vater unser im hymelreich ...’ (‘A prayer from the 22nd and 71st psalms ... to the tune of Our Father in heaven ...’).<sup>23</sup> There are others which may have been used for teaching purposes rather than just for singing. A primer printed in Marburg in 1550, for example, is entitled ‘Eyn schon ABC in Reimen-Weiß’ (‘A pleasant ABC in rhyme’).<sup>24</sup> Further evidence for the use of broadsheets in the context of education is provided by references to the presence of posters on walls in contemporary school ordinances.<sup>25</sup> This diversity suggests that the term ‘music broadsheets’ can be applied to the body of works in this format as a whole, whilst the narrower term of ‘song sheets’ and the still more specific ‘hymn sheets’ can be used when the content allows.

The flexible performance methods associated with many sixteenth-century German music broadsheets in turn reflects the breadth of their content. Both Ecker and Brednich have offered systems for their classification which attempt to embrace this diversity. Ecker favours a four-part classification, distinguishing between Catholic songs, Protestant songs, those for secular entertainment and those with a historical or political focus.<sup>26</sup> The latter category is then further subdivided using headings for notable events, such as the War of Succession in Landshut (1503-1505) and the death of Emperor Maximilian I and succession of Charles V (1519). Brednich also offers four categories. The first is for sacred songs, further subdivided according to whether they are Catholic or Protestant. Like Ecker, Brednich also identifies a category for songs relating to historic events, but he includes an additional heading for news songs. He uses this to group together music broadsheets reporting on more popular events such as crimes, accidents, curiosities and miracles. Brednich’s final major music broadsheets category is popular and folk songs. This encompasses love

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<sup>21</sup> Bob Scribner, ‘Oral culture and the transmission of Reformation ideas’ in Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), *The Transmission of Ideas in the Lutheran Reformation* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989), p. 87.

<sup>22</sup> USTC 553965. Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Yd 7803.42. Described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 75, catalogue entry 264.

<sup>23</sup> USTC 553908. Described in *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 51, catalogue entry 131. There is currently no known surviving copy of this music broadsheet.

<sup>24</sup> USTC 553863. Also described in *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 37, catalogue entry 83. Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Yd 7855.

<sup>25</sup> For example, Steven Ozment, *Three Behaim boys: growing up in early modern Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 287, transcribes an ordinance from the Altdorf Academy, established in 1575, which states that “students must not tear down posters in their classes”.

<sup>26</sup> Ecker, *Einblattdrucke*, vol. 1, pp. 282-303.

songs, stories, and satirical and drinking songs.<sup>27</sup> Brednich's inclusion of separate categories for news and popular songs is an accurate reflection of the diverse nature of music broadsheets. Meanwhile, Ecker's addition of extra sub-headings relating to the historical or political events described is unquestionably beneficial. However, in order to reflect the complex content of many broadsheets, it is often necessary to describe them using a combination of these facets.

At the most basic level, a division exists between sacred and secular music broadsheets, but even this most fundamental of distinctions is not always clear cut. A number of broadsheets with religious texts make use of secular characters as a means of communicating their messages. One example is the 'Bauernmaegdlein', or 'Bauerndirnlein', a recurrent theme of sacred broadsheets produced in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, which featured a simple 'country girl' as a personification of the Virgin Mary. Early broadsheet creators recognised this crossover, since in many cases the word 'geistlich' is appended to the caption in order to identify it as sacred rather than secular. This is exemplified by Fig. 17.3, a broadsheet printed in Munich by Johann Schobser around 1500 entitled 'Das baruen [sic] diernlein Gaistlich'.<sup>28</sup>

*Insert Fig. 17.3 here*

Fig. 17.3: 'Das baruen [sic] diernlein Gaistlich' (Munich: Johann Schobser, ca. 1500)  
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Einbl. III,35  
229 x 117 mm  
USTC 750852

Similar descriptions can be found on occasions when secular melodies are re-used with religious texts. One of the most common of these is 'Ach Gott, wem soll ich's klagen' ('Oh God, to whom can I complain').<sup>29</sup> This popular secular love song is used in the context of many sacred broadsheets in the early years of the sixteenth century. Again, it is not unusual to find the word 'geistlich' appended to the caption, as can be found in an edition printed in Augsburg around 1500 (Fig. 17.4).<sup>30</sup> In this example, details of the melody, complete with its description as 'geystlich', have

<sup>27</sup> Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*. This classification is used for the organisation of his commentary in volume 1 as well as the catalogue in volume 2.

<sup>28</sup> USTC 750852. Also described in *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 17, catalogue entry 8, and Ecker, *Einblattdrucke*, vol. 1, p. 283, catalogue entry 87. For additional examples, see USTC 743322 (Ulm: Johann Zainer the Younger, 1500) and USTC 743323 (Munich: Johann Schobser, 1500). Further examples are also described in Brednich vol. 2, pp. 16-17, catalogue entries 7 and 9.

<sup>29</sup> For further discussion of this melody, see Hellmut Rosenfeld, 'Ach Gott, wem soll ich's klagen. Betrachtungen zu einer 1481 aufgezeichneten unbekanntenen Fassung', *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 12 (1967), pp. 173-176.

<sup>30</sup> USTC 742242; ISTC ia00035500; GW 00189. Also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 18, catalogue entry 12, and Ecker, *Einblattdrucke*, vol. 1, p. 283, catalogue entry 89.

been pasted to the left-hand side of the sheet. As well as pointing towards the interrelation between sacred and secular music broadsheets, both of these examples hint at the tools at the disposal of authors and printers with respect to the communication of their content.

*Insert Fig. 17.4 here*

Fig. 17.4: 'Ach got wem sol ichs clagen. Geystlich' (Augsburg: Johann Froschauer, ca. 1500)  
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Einbl. III,44  
200 x 115 mm  
USTC 742242

### Production

We have already noted that the inclusion of printed music in sixteenth-century German music broadsheets was unusual. Alongside the small number of extant hymn sheets incorporating melodies at their head, only a handful of other examples include musical content.<sup>31</sup> Rebecca Wagner Oettinger has concluded that broadsheets were more marketable if they sidestepped the problem of musical notation by recycling an old tune. A new melody would make a song more difficult to sell, for the buyer would have to read music and learn the tune. Printers would also have found it easier to publish songs without musical notation, since many lacked the specialist type and skills needed to print music with movable type, and it was laborious to carve a special woodcut for that purpose.<sup>32</sup>

Contrary to what might be expected, therefore, the absence of notation is suggestive of the vital role that music broadsheets played in the context of German musical culture in the first half of the sixteenth century. Hans-Jörg Künast has estimated that the specialist music format of partbooks together with books on music theory accounted for less than one percent of total sixteenth-century printing output in the German-speaking countries.<sup>33</sup> Whilst this figure may in fact have been closer to three percent, we can nevertheless be certain that specialist music publications formed a small part of printing output overall.<sup>34</sup> In the vast majority of cases, they would only have been accessible

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<sup>31</sup> From the total of 359 entries in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, only 19 (5%) are described as containing any form of printed music.

<sup>32</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 28.

<sup>33</sup> Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Buchdruck und -handel des 16. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachraum. Mit Anmerkungen zum Notendruck und Musikalienhandel', in Birgit Lodes (ed.), *Niveau, Nische, Nimbus: die Anfänge des Musikdruckes nördlich der Alpen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2010), pp. 150-151. In calculating this statistic, each set of partbooks was counted as a single edition.

<sup>34</sup> Current USTC data for the Holy Roman Empire suggests that approximately 6% of output was music or books about music. However, this figure includes music pamphlets and broadsheets, and also counts each partbook as a separate edition in its own right, rather than the set constituting a single edition. As a result the overall

to a wealthy musical elite. The absence of printed music from most broadsheets was a key feature that distinguished them from specialist music publications and gave them a more diverse market profile.

Nevertheless, it is important not to overlook those German broadsheets that included notation, but rather to consider the reasons for its presence. Significantly, in all of the examples that I have examined, the musical notation can be performed from, and is also pertinent to, the broadsheet's content rather than being merely decorative. The presence of meaningful rather than decorative notation sets German music broadsheets apart from English ballads. Christopher Marsh has noted that, during the last decades of the seventeenth century, some ballad publishers in England broke with tradition by printing notation on their broadsheets, which up until that time had been extremely rare. In many cases, the inclusion of music served primarily as a pictorial representation of melodic sound rather than a useable version of the actual melody to which the ballad was set. As a result, publishers sometimes printed completely different tunes or even random jumbles of notes. Marsh concludes that the purpose of notation was to tempt potential customers by representing music to them, and perhaps to feed their vanity by allowing them to pretend that they were musically literate.<sup>35</sup>

On the rare occasions that musical notation is included in German broadsheets, it tends to be presented in one of two ways. The most common is as a discrete section of content at the head of the broadsheet, readily lending itself to performance. This is the case in the 1524 Augsburg printing of Luther's 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein' (Fig. 17.1). The presence of 'discrete' notation is particularly common in hymn sheets produced in the early years of the Reformation. Its inclusion provided a source of the melody for those who were musically literate, and for those who were not, it served as a visual reminder of the centrality of singing in the reformed faith. In other examples, the notation is only one element of a patchwork of complementary textual, visual and musical content, and its mode of presentation does not lend itself readily to performance. One such instance is a well-known broadsheet of 1548 printed in Magdeburg by Pancratius Kempff in response to the Augsburg Interim.<sup>36</sup> This broadsheet is discussed in more detail later (see Fig. 17.7), but for now, it is sufficient to note that the music is presented on three tablets. Whilst these could, at a

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percentage for partbook, choir book and music theory production is likely to be several percent lower than this.

<sup>35</sup> Christopher Marsh, *Music and society in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 234.

<sup>36</sup> 'Des Interims und Interimistens wahrhaftige abgemalte Figur' (Pancratius Kempff: Magdeburg, 1548). USTC 752088.

pinch, be used for singing, their combination with striking Interim-related imagery and text is a clear indication that the music is included primarily as a visual prop rather than as a source for performance.

Broadsheets characterised by sophisticated amalgams of musical notation, text and image are, in turn, indicative of an educated target audience. By contrast, those broadsheets where notation forms a discrete section at the head of the broadsheet enjoyed a much more diverse market profile, since an inability to read music did not preclude the audience from engaging with the content. Their reliance on well-known melodies, many of which would have been transmitted orally, meant they could be performed by those who were not musically literate, and without reference to any other musical sources, printed or manuscript. In addition, 'musical literacy' could take many forms. At one end of the spectrum, it might imply the ability to sing a melody perfectly and unaided by reading the notation. However, it could also simply mean an ability to trace pitch contours and sing along with others in the group, the notation acting more as an aide memoir.<sup>37</sup>

By examining the presence of notation we thus get a sense of the breadth of the audience for the music broadsheet format, which ranged from those who simply enjoyed singing but were not necessarily musically literate, to those who relished the challenge of decoding complex combinations of image, text and music. This broad appeal is borne out by the volume of broadsheets that were produced. Current USTC data suggests that around nine percent of the total sixteenth-century German broadsheet output took the form of music broadsheets.<sup>38</sup> This indicates that there was considerable demand for music in this format and that it constituted an important component of broadsheet production overall.

Although many music broadsheets lack dates, it is often possible to assign these retrospectively on account of the specific events they describe. This is particularly applicable to many of the sources in Brednich's 'historical' and 'news' categories.<sup>39</sup> Included amongst those of a historical nature, for example, are a number of songs relating to the death of Maximilian I and succession of Charles V, which can be positively dated to 1519.<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile news songs, by their very nature describing specific happenings, can also have printing dates assigned retrospectively. One particularly sobering song in this category reported on events taking place in Oudewater in

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<sup>37</sup> Trocmé-Latter, *The singing of the Strasbourg Protestants*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>38</sup> This is based on the identification of 379 music broadsheets from a total corpus of 4333 German broadsheets.

<sup>39</sup> See Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, pp. 57-87, catalogue entries 201-285 and 301-311.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67, catalogue entries 232-237.

1575. Oudewater had joined other towns in Holland in the Dutch Revolt against Philip II of Spain. However, its citizens paid a heavy price for their rebellion when the town was conquered by Spanish troops on 7 August 1575 after a siege of several months. Nearly half of the population was brutally killed and the town was ransacked and a large part razed to the ground in what came to be known as the 'Oudewater Massacre'.<sup>41</sup> A 1575 song sheet comprising two columns of densely-printed rhyming verse describes the event. The text is to be sung to the hymn tune 'Ach Gott, tu dich erbarmen, durch Christum deinen Sohn' ('Oh God have mercy through Christ your son').<sup>42</sup>

This in turn raises the possibility that music broadsheet production was characterised by peaks and troughs in response to particular events. USTC data supports this hypothesis. At least three quarters of the known German music broadsheets dating from 1500 to 1600 were produced in the period up to 1550.<sup>43</sup> Within this general pattern, a peak in production is apparent in the 1520s, with at least a third of sixteenth-century music broadsheet production taking place in that decade.<sup>44</sup> After a marked dip in the decade that followed, a very small increase in production appears to have taken place in the 1540s.<sup>45</sup> This stands in contrast to the production of non-music broadsheets, which is spread more evenly across the two halves of the century.<sup>46</sup>

The peak in production in the 1520s can be explained by a combination of factors. Like pamphlets, music broadsheets were vital tools both in the distribution of music to support the new liturgy and in the early spread of Reformation ideas. Some simply acted as sources of texts and music, typically through reference to an established melody, or more rarely through the inclusion of notation. One such example is the 1524 Augsburg broadsheet edition of Luther's hymn 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein' (Fig. 17.1). Others took a more evangelical stance, praising Luther's

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<sup>41</sup> USTC 553992. See also *ibid.*, p. 85, catalogue entry 307.

<sup>42</sup> This broadsheet is preserved in the Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, shelfmark Pas II 12/9. It forms part of the extensive Wickiana collection, assembled by the clergyman Johann Jakob Wick (1522-1588). For further details of this collection, see Wolfgang Harms and Michael Schilling (eds.), *Die Wickiana. Die Sammlung der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1997-2005).

<sup>43</sup> Of the 379 German music broadsheets I have identified as being produced between 1500 and 1600, 289 (77%) date from the period up to 1550. I have also identified 59 undated broadsheets, a portion of which would probably have been produced in the first half of the sixteenth century. Therefore, the actual volume of production in the first half of the sixteenth century is likely to have been greater than 77%.

<sup>44</sup> Of the 379 music broadsheets I have identified, 118 (31%) can be dated to the 1520s. Again, it is likely that a portion of the undated broadsheets would have been produced in the 1520s, making the overall output for that decade greater than 31%.

<sup>45</sup> Current USTC data suggests that 118 of the 379 extant German music broadsheets were produced in the 1520s. By contrast, just 11 date from the 1530s and 14 from the 1540s.

<sup>46</sup> Current USTC data suggests that 44% of the 4333 German broadsheets identified for the sixteenth century were produced in the period up to 1550. 51% can be dated to the second half of the century and the remaining 5% do not currently have a date assigned.

teaching whilst at the same time showing hostility towards the pope or other aspects of the Catholic faith. Urbanus Rhegius' 'Verteütschung des Fasten Hymns zu diser zeit Christe qui lux' of 1523, for instance, makes use of the Catholic Lenten hymn 'Christe lux est' with a new Lutheran text. The text constitutes a prayer of thanks to God for allowing Luther to shine the light of Christ into the shadow of papal regulations (Fig. 17.5).

*Insert Fig. 17.5 here*

Fig. 17.5: Urbanus Rhegius, 'Verteütschung des Fasten Hymns zu diser zeit Christe qui lux' (s.l., s.n., 1523)

Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Yd 7803.48

271 x 186 mm

USTC 553870

It is also important to recognise that the printing of song sheets in the 1520s was part of a much longer tradition of the production of single-sheet music. Over 150 music broadsheets have been identified for the period prior to 1519.<sup>47</sup> This suggests that the new forms of print utilised by the Protestant Reformation had their precursors in the first, experimental generations of the printing industry.<sup>48</sup> In terms of music broadsheets, this manifested itself in the production of vernacular songs printed on single sheets whose purpose was to assist with religious observance. Many of these focussed on sainthood, appearing in three genres: stories about events in saints' lives, descriptions of miracles worked through saintly intercession and prayers and instructions for devotional practices.<sup>49</sup>

Examples such as 'Das baruen [sic] diernlein' (Fig. 17.3) and 'Ach got wem sol ichs clagen' (Fig. 17.4) are complemented by those focussing more overtly on Mary and her Mother, St Anne. These include 'Ein lied von sant Anna von den grossen zaichen die sy zu Teüren thut' ('A song concerning St Anne and the great signs she has worked in Thüringen').<sup>50</sup> Published in Augsburg by Johann Froschauer around 1503, the broadsheet includes a woodcut of St Anne with two children, representing Mary and Christ. Its fourteen verses present the wondrous deeds of St Anne, ranging from comforting a widow in her grief (verse two) to restoring sight to a blind man (verse seven),

<sup>47</sup> Current USTC data logs 76 music broadsheets for the period 1500 to 1509 and 79 broadsheets for the period 1510 to 1519.

<sup>48</sup> Andrew Pettegree, 'Catholic pamphleteering' in Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven (eds.), *The Ashgate Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 109.

<sup>49</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>50</sup> Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 27, catalogue entry 48. USTC 750832. Copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, shelfmark Einbl. III,50c.

thereby building a case for placing trust in the saint.<sup>51</sup> This provides clear evidence of the Catholic Church's adept and innovative use of the powerful format of the music broadsheet in the first two decades of the sixteenth century.

However, it is notable that the volume of Catholic music publications plunged to a tiny fraction of its pre-Reformation level after 1520.<sup>52</sup> It remained at a low ebb until the upsurge associated with the Counter-Reformation. This trend is equally true in the field of music broadsheets, thereby suggesting that Catholics did not harness the medium in order to retaliate against the spread of Lutheranism. Christopher Boyd Brown has explained this trend in terms of the different purposes that the two traditions of song served. Whilst the primary purpose of songs in both confessions was 'Unterweisung' (instruction), in the Catholic tradition, this manifested itself in the form of songs to invoke the intercession of the saints and satisfy the debt of praise that was owed to them and God, thereby assisting those who sang them in acquiring salvation. As a result, Catholic hymns tended to present examples of heroic sanctity, miracles, piety and virtuous conduct. Lutheran hymns, by contrast, concerned themselves with spiritual problems such as sin, death and temptation, and their solution through trust in Christ.<sup>53</sup> They thus addressed a very real spiritual hunger, which would have fuelled their popularity. Moreover, the permeation of singing into all sectors of Lutheran life, not just at church and home, but also in schools, inns and on the street, promoted informal performance which was well-suited to the song-sheet format.

It is also important to note that, whilst propagandistic Reformation songs dominated music broadsheet output in the 1520s, they did not account for production in its entirety. Some broadsheets were ambiguous in their stance, expounding Lutheran faith without contrasting it with a negative portrayal of Catholic beliefs, thereby suggesting a culture of religious coexistence. 1529, for example, saw the publication of a broadsheet entitled 'Ain schön lied von den zehen gepotten'.<sup>54</sup> This nine-verse broadsheet is a revision of a Catholic song on the Ten Commandments. Although the eighth verse warns against placing faith in any creature other than Christ as revealed in the Gospel, there is otherwise little polemical content.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> For more extended commentary on this broadsheet, see Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 55-56 and pp. 283-286.

<sup>52</sup> Brown, *Singing the gospel*, pp. 7 and 21. Evidence for this pattern of production is provided by *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, which includes fourteen editions of pre-Reformation vernacular hymns in the decade between 1510 and 1520 and just five Roman Catholic editions in the decade between 1520 and 1530.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

<sup>54</sup> Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 50, catalogue entry 128. USTC 553905.

<sup>55</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 350.

Other examples make mention of both faiths. These include a broadsheet printed in Nuremberg around 1520 with the title 'Zü Lobe dem Aller Durchleüchtigsten Großmetigsten Carolo'.<sup>56</sup> This comprises eight verses of text praising the new Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, to be sung to the tune of 'Mit freuden wil ichs heben an'. The author praises Catholic authorities including the pope but also mentions Luther as the doctor 'through whom humans may recognise the truth'.<sup>57</sup> This example also serves as a useful reminder that not every music broadsheet printed in the 1520s was produced with a religious message in mind. 1519, for example, saw the printing of 'Ein neues lied von kayserlicher maiestat abscheyden'.<sup>58</sup> Although written from a Catholic perspective, this song mourning the death of Maximilian I lacks any Reformation-era polemical content.<sup>59</sup> Its primary purpose was thus to reflect on current affairs.

Once production had peaked in the 1520s, the repertoire and message were established and the demand for Lutheran hymn sheets decreased. This was coupled with a more widespread availability of hymn books, which would have reduced the need for hymn sheets still further. Meanwhile, the production of a number of satirical music broadsheets in response to the events surrounding the Augsburg Interim of 1548 explains the small rise in output in the 1540s. No fewer than twenty-three songs that specifically address the Interim are extant, some printed as pamphlets, some as broadsheets and some remaining in manuscript.<sup>60</sup> Thereafter, production declined markedly, with only a handful of music broadsheets extant for the period between 1550 and 1600.<sup>61</sup>

When seeking to understand these patterns, an awareness of the relationship between music broadsheets and other more specialist areas of the music printing industry is important. In the first two decades of the century, widespread use of movable type for mensural music printing was still under development. As the century progressed, technical advances meant that it became both easier and more cost effective to print music with movable type. In particular, production by means of a single impression, whereby words and music were printed simultaneously, gradually became embedded in printers' workflows. Developing initially in England in the mid-1520s, the first printer to

<sup>56</sup> Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 68, catalogue entry 240. USTC 553945. A copy can be found in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, shelfmark Yd 7803.56.

<sup>57</sup> For further discussion, see Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 316.

<sup>58</sup> Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 66, catalogue entry 232. USTC 750888.

<sup>59</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 306.

<sup>60</sup> Details can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 141-142. See also Thomas Kaufman, *Das Ende der Reformation: Magdeburgs "Hergotts Kanzlei" (1548-1551/2)* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), Appendix 1, pp. 493-554. This documents 24 songs printed in Magdeburg in the period 1548 to 1552. The vast majority of these are pamphlets rather than broadsheets, suggesting the studier booklet format enjoyed higher survival rates.

<sup>61</sup> Current USTC data records five broadsheets dating from the 1550s, none from the 1560s, seven from the 1570s, four from the 1580s and five from the 1590s. There are, in addition, 59 undated broadsheets. A portion of these may date from the second half of the sixteenth century.

make sustained use of the new technique was Pierre Attaignant in Paris, whose first volume of mensural music, the *Chansons nouvelles*, appeared in April 1528.<sup>62</sup> Single-impression printing soon spread to Germany, and, by 1540, most of its major music printers had invested in the new partbook typefaces on which it depended.<sup>63</sup>

As a result, collections of songs in partbook format began to be published in greater numbers. These included a two-volume edition of short, secular German songs, produced under the editorship of Georg Forster and printed by Johannes Petreius in Nuremberg in 1539 to 1540. This collection proved so popular that the first volume was reprinted in 1543.<sup>64</sup> The increase in partbook production occurred in tandem with a greater availability of 'teach-yourself' manuals on music theory, singing and lute-playing.<sup>65</sup> In addition, a variety of music-making societies developed, resulting in a diversification of amateur music-making possibilities.<sup>66</sup> Keen amateur musicians thus had the opportunity to increase their levels of musical literacy and practical skill, in turn decreasing the demand for the non-specialist format of music broadsheets in the second half of the century.

Meanwhile, it has been suggested that increased regional confessionalization of the German-speaking lands from the 1560s onwards reduced the need for musical attacks on those with other beliefs.<sup>67</sup> Certainly, the lower levels of production in the second half of the sixteenth century support this thesis. Nevertheless, the desire to express confessional fervour through the medium of

<sup>62</sup> *Chansons nouvelles en musique a quatre parties* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1527 [=1528 n.s.]). RISM B/I 1528<sup>3</sup>; USTC 73136 (superius / bassus) and 27409 (altus / tenor). Attaignant's music printing activities are explored fully in Daniel Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant: royal printer of music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969). For further details of the development of single-impression technique in England, see Alec Hyatt King, 'The significance of John Rastell in early music printing', *The library* 26/3 (1971), pp. 197-214.

<sup>63</sup> For further discussion of German partbook typefaces, see Donald Krummel, 'Early German partbook type faces', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1985, pp. 80-98.

<sup>64</sup> The first volume appeared in 1539 entitled *Ein Außzug guter, alter und neue teutsche Liedlein* (VD16 ZV 18759; RISM B/I 1539<sup>27</sup>; USTC 552523 (discantus), 552524 (altus), 642461 (tenor) and 552526 (bassus)). The second volume of 1540 was entitled *Der ander theil Kurtzweiliger guter frischer teutscher Liedlein* (VD16 ZV 18759; RISM B/I 1540<sup>21</sup>; USTC 552545 (discantus), 552546 (altus), 552547 (tenor) and 552548 (bassus)).

<sup>65</sup> This trend can be seen in the music output of Nuremberg printer Johann Petreius. 1536 saw his printing of a two-part lute book, *Ein neugordnet, künstlich Lautenbuch* (VD16 ZV 11665; USTC 645288 and 552461; RISM B/I 1536<sup>13</sup>). In this publication, lute tablature is preceded by a treatise on lute technique and notation aimed at the beginner. The following year, he published Sebald Heyden's *De arte canendi* (VD16 H 3380; USTC 676598), a treatise on singing and theory on the elements of music and musical notation. This was the second edition, with the first issued in Nuremberg by Friedrich Peypus in 1532 under the title *Musicae stoicheiosis* (VD16 H 3382; USTC 676592). The book was evidently a popular one, as Petreius reprinted it in 1540.

<sup>66</sup> Music societies began to form in the second half of the sixteenth century, particularly in southern Germany. Diaries show that men came together to play music, often on a regular basis. Informal and amateur gatherings were known as 'Krenzlein' (circles). Others were more formally founded with rules and minutes. The earliest formal 'Krenzleingesellschaft' for which records still exist was founded in Nuremberg in 1568. For further discussion of music societies in Nuremberg, see Susan Gattuso, '16th-century Nuremberg', in Iain Fenlon (ed.), *The Renaissance* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 288-289.

<sup>67</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 9.

song was not extinguished completely. This is indicated by the various Catholic parodies of the Lutheran hymn 'Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort' ('Keep us, Lord, faithful to your word') that were produced in the second half of the century. Originally written by Luther in 1541, possibly in preparation for a special service of prayer in response to the threat of the advancing Ottoman Empire, this hymn was first thought to have been printed as a broadsheet prior to its inclusion in the Klug songbook of 1543.<sup>68</sup> The opening of the hymn includes a comparison of the papacy to the Turks: 'Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort, und steur' des Papsts und Türcken Mord' ('Keep us, Lord, faithful to your word, and thwart the murderous rage of the Pope and Turks'). Catholic parodies of the song dating from the 1580s portray the Catholics as a persecuted community that would eventually receive God's vindication. Such songs include a version in a pamphlet entitled *Sechs schöne catholische Lieder* (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1586).<sup>69</sup>

Together with the continuing importance of the format as a source for news, the handful of music broadsheets that are currently extant for the period between 1560 and 1600 reflect the resurgence in Catholic belief that resulted from the Counter-Reformation. This trait is also evident in the printing of hymn books. Although the volume of output remained at a level that was less than ten percent of the overwhelmingly Lutheran total, Catholic hymn book printing nevertheless underwent a revival in the 1580s which brought levels of production back up to those enjoyed in the first two decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, the continuing importance of saintly devotion amongst the laity is reflected in vernacular song sheets of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries in honour of particular patron saints. In 1603, for example, the Munich printer Adam Berg printed *Ein Andächtiger Rueff für die Pilgram. Vom H. Bischoff Benonne*.<sup>71</sup> Benno, Bishop of Meissen in the late eleventh century, had been canonised in 1524, but the exigencies of the Reformation led Bishop Johann of Meissen to give his relics to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria in 1576. Albrecht and his successor Wilhelm V vigorously promoted the cult of Benno by enshrining his relics at the Frauenkirche in Munich and constructing a huge arch, the *Bennobogen*, inside the church.

It now remains to consider where music broadsheets were printed and the identity of the printers responsible for them. The ability to draw conclusions relating to place is hindered by the

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<sup>68</sup> *Geistliche Lieder zu Wittenberg* (Wittenberg: Josef Klug, 1543). VD16 G 849; USTC 658947.

<sup>69</sup> See Alexander Fisher, *Music, piety and propaganda: the soundscape of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 182-183.

<sup>70</sup> Brown, *Singing the gospel*, p. 7.

<sup>71</sup> RISM B/VIII, 1603<sup>13</sup>. See also Alexander Fisher, *Music and religious identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580-1630* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 219, fn. 131. For further discussion of Benno's canonization and Luther's reaction to it, see Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 69-88.

large number of broadsheets that lack either places of publication or publishers' names. Unfortunately, this is no less true for music broadsheets than for the format as a whole, with around 71% of those dating from between 1500 and 1600 and produced in the German-speaking countries currently lacking a more precise attribution of place.<sup>72</sup> Clearly, much painstaking work remains to be done to address this. Nevertheless, it is still possible to draw some tentative conclusions regarding important locations for production. USTC data suggests that Augsburg, Munich and Nuremberg were key centres for the printing of this format. Of these three, Augsburg dominated, with a 23% share of output.<sup>73</sup> To these can be added a large number of secondary locations, each printing a handful of music broadsheets. Amongst these was the Bavarian town of Memmingen, where a small number of music broadsheets can be traced back to the workshop of Albert Kunne.<sup>74</sup> Nuremberg and Augsburg also dominate the production of broadsheets at a more general level, accounting for 20% and 11% of total output respectively. In addition, a large number of general broadsheets are extant for the publishing centres of Cologne and Strasbourg.<sup>75</sup> Thus, the centres of production for sixteenth-century German broadsheets mirrored the centres for printing production more generally.<sup>76</sup>

Interestingly, despite its important role in broadsheet production at a general level, only a small number of single-sheet music publications can currently be traced back to Strasbourg. The songs that appeared in print in the first two decades of the sixteenth century were devotional, either to the Virgin Mary, making use of the popular tune 'Maria zart, von edler Art', or to other saints such as St Katherine. These tend to survive in pamphlet rather than broadsheet format, since the only extant Strasbourg broadsheet for this period is currently a news song dating from 1500.<sup>77</sup> There was a dramatic reduction in the number of printed popular songs appearing in Strasbourg during the

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<sup>72</sup> Based on USTC data, last accessed 30 September 2015. Of the 379 German music broadsheets identified for the sixteenth century as a whole, 269 were described without a more precise place of publication.

<sup>73</sup> Of the 108 German music broadsheets to which a place of publication has currently been attributed, 25 of these (23%) are from Augsburg.

<sup>74</sup> Eleven broadsheets from Albert Kunne's press have been identified to date (USTC 553820, 553821, 553823, 553826, 553833, 740930, 741090, 743745, 750856, 750903 and 750913).

<sup>75</sup> Of the 4333 German broadsheets currently described in the USTC, 1528 (35%) lack an attribution of place. I have therefore drawn my statistics from the remaining 2805 (65%) which include places. Of these, 567 (20%) are from Nuremberg and 305 (11%) from Augsburg. Cologne accounts for 536 (19%) and Strasbourg for 326 (12%).

<sup>76</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *The book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 33, explains that, following the establishment of print shops in Basel and Augsburg in 1468 and Nuremberg in 1470, over the course of the next thirty years, these three southern hubs of German commerce, together with Strasbourg, Cologne and Leipzig, dominated the production of German books.

<sup>77</sup> Trocmé-Latter, *The singing of the Strasbourg Protestants*, p. 158. The only Strasbourg broadsheet for this period currently listed in the USTC is 'Ein hüpsches lied von allen geschichte von disem jar' (USTC 741083), discussed on pp. 172-173. This was printed by Bartholomäus Kistler in 1500. (Trocmé-Latter's statement that the printer is Grüneck is an error.) It is preserved in two copies in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, shelfmarks Einbl. I,10s and Einbl. I,10sa and was to be sung "Im Speten Ton", an established melody in southern Germany.

Reformation period, most likely as a result of an intentional wave of suppression. Although there is no known evidence to support the claim that there was a deliberate censoring process, the city's Protestant reformer Martin Bucer is known to have been opposed to the singing of profane unholy songs from an early date.<sup>78</sup> To date, the extant polemical songs about religion printed in Strasbourg in the 1520s are all in pamphlet format, with one notable exception.<sup>79</sup> This takes the form of a four-part song composed in 1521 to express the despair felt at the secret abduction of Luther following the Diet of Worms.<sup>80</sup> This is a rare example of a music broadsheet consisting solely of notated music, with the four parts presented vertically on a single portrait sheet.<sup>81</sup> It also serves as a reminder of poor survival rates.

The absence of publication details from so many music broadsheets makes it difficult to establish which printing houses were involved in their production. However, on account of the lack of printed music in the vast majority of them, it is safe to conclude that they were not the exclusive province of music specialists. Further insight into those responsible for their production can be gained by considering how woodcuts, which were such an integral feature of so many of these broadsheets, came to be included alongside text. The dominance of Augsburg and Nuremberg in both the general and music markets can be connected with the interaction between broadsheet production and the manufacture of single-sheet woodcuts. In the first decade of the sixteenth century, the production of such single-sheet woodcuts developed around the work of artists Hans Burgkmair in Augsburg and Albrecht Dürer in Nuremberg as well as Lucas Cranach in Wittenberg.<sup>82</sup>

The association of woodcuts with broadsheet printing came about in several ways. By the early sixteenth century, some *Formschneider*, or 'block cutters', had broken away from printing workshops to become printers who specialised in broadsheets that combined images and texts on single sheets.<sup>83</sup> Another group involved in the production of illustrated broadsheets were *Briefmaler*

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 192.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., pp. 287-292 (Appendix E) provides a bibliography of 31 polemical songs about religion printed in Strasbourg between 1520 and 1540. 24 date from the 1520s. Only one is a broadsheet (see fn. 79 below).

<sup>80</sup> *Ad Martinum Lutherum captivum Lamentatio* [Strasbourg: Jean Knoblauch, 1521]. USTC 751786. Also described in Josef Benzing, *Bibliographie Strasbourgeoise: bibliographie des ouvrages imprimés à Strasbourg (Bas-Rhin) au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1981), vol. 1, p. 194, catalogue entry 1110. A copy can be found in Tübingen University Library, shelfmark Ke XVIII 4 a.2-1/20. Also included in Trocmé-Latter's list of polemical songs printed in Strasbourg, 1520-1540, p. 290.

<sup>81</sup> A digitised version of this broadsheet is freely available at < [http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/diglit/KeXVIII4a\\_fol\\_20](http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/diglit/KeXVIII4a_fol_20)>, last accessed 30 September 2015.

<sup>82</sup> David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance print 1470-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 174.

<sup>83</sup> Keith Moxey, *Peasants, warriors and wives: popular imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 19-20.

or 'sheet colourers'. *Briefmaler*, whose origins appear to have been in manuscript illumination, had a long-established craft involving the production of devotional prints and playing cards. Following the invention of printing with movable type in the second half of the fifteenth century, the rapid increase in the number of woodcut illustrations used in books, pamphlets and broadsheets led to a growth in demand for their skills.<sup>84</sup> Between 1550 and 1750, at least 260 *Briefmaler* were active in Augsburg alone.<sup>85</sup> *Briefmaler* and *Formschneider* thus became autonomous printers. Their entrepreneurial activities included commissioning texts and drawings that they would then have rendered into type and cut into blocks to be printed together on single sheets.<sup>86</sup>

When specialist music printers were involved in music broadsheet production, it was usually with respect to the printing of content that was aimed at the musical elite. A handful of such examples exist, including one that can be traced back to Augsburg's Melchior Kriegstein firm (Fig. 17.6). Kriegstein made use of the table-book layout in the context of an unusually large broadsheet containing the four-voice polyphonic work 'Dic io pean' by Johannes Frosch.<sup>87</sup> The work was edited by Sigmund Salminger, who had obtained an Imperial privilege for music publishing in 1539.<sup>88</sup> Although a date does not appear on the item, given that Salminger and Kriegstein collaborated in its production, it seems likely that it was printed around 1540, as this would coincide with their joint publication of two sets of partbooks.<sup>89</sup> Thus, whilst most music broadsheets were produced by *Formschneider* or *Briefmaler*, a small subset was printed by specialist music printers to complement the repertoire appearing in partbooks.

*Insert Fig. 17.6 here*

Figure 17.6: Johannes Frosch, 'Dic io pean' (Augsburg: Melchior Kriegstein, ca. 1540)  
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 2 Mus.pr. 156-1/8  
478 x 333 mm

<sup>84</sup> John Roger Paas, 'Georg Kress, a *Briefmaler* in Augsburg in the Late-Sixteenth and Early-Seventeenth Centuries', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 65 (1990), p. 177.

<sup>85</sup> For further discussion of Augsburg's earliest *Briefmaler*, see Albert Hämmerle, 'Augsburger Briefmaler als Vorläufer der illustrierten Presse', in *Archiv für Postgeschichte in Bayern* 4 (1928), pp. 3-14.

<sup>86</sup> Moxey, *Peasants, warriors and wives*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>87</sup> Documented in RISM A/I F 2041. I am grateful to Dr Hans-Jörg Künast of the Augsburg Staats- und Stadtbibliothek for drawing this broadsheet to my attention.

<sup>88</sup> For further discussion of Salminger's printing privilege, see Thomas Röder, 'Innovation and misfortune: Augsburg music printing in the first half of the sixteenth century', in Eugene Schreurs and Henri Vanhulst (eds.), *Music Fragments and Manuscripts in the Low Countries - Alta Capella - Music Printing in Antwerp and Europe in the 16th century. Colloquium proceedings Alden Biezen 23.06.1995* (Leuven: Alamire, 1997), p. 469.

<sup>89</sup> These were Hans Kugelman's *Concentus novi trium vocum* (VD16 ZV 3793; RISM A/I K 2967; USTC 552541 (discantus), 552542 (altus / vagans), 696062 (tenor) and 552544 (bassus)); and Salminger's edited compilation *Selectissimae necnon familiarissime cantiones* (VD16 S 1431; RISM B/I 1540<sup>7</sup>; USTC 552536 (discantus), 552537 (altus), 693164 (tenor) 552539 (bassus) and 552540 (quinta / sexta voces)).

## Persuasion

Those responsible for producing German music broadsheets faced a challenging task in terms of communicating with their audience. How could the content of their publications be presented in a way that would be accessible and engaging whilst at the same time communicating messages that were often complex? Such difficulties were compounded by low literacy levels. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, it has been estimated that only five percent of the total population of Germany was literate. Whilst in the cities and towns this proportion would have been higher, it is unlikely that it would have exceeded more than about a third of inhabitants.<sup>90</sup> This placed an emphasis on non-literate means of communication, and more particularly on aspects of oral and visual culture.<sup>91</sup>

Alongside the use of illustrative woodcuts as a reflection, and in many cases extension, of textual content, the principal strategy employed was to ensure that broadsheets made a tangible connection with existing material with which the audience might already be familiar. Typically this involved the use of well-known folk or hymn tunes, or direct or indirect references to familiar texts. Of the 183 song sheets in the Meusebach collection of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, for example, over two thirds have headings that cite a well-known tune as the melody.<sup>92</sup> In addition, Luther's 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein' (Fig. 17.1) borrowed its melody from a pre-Reformation Easter song.<sup>93</sup> Where the broadsheet had a didactic function, the use of established melodies and texts was often combined for maximum impact. This strategy is illustrated by a music broadsheet dating from around 1510, which makes use of the popular folk tune 'Es wohnt Lieb bei Liebe' ('Love dwells with love') to accompany a setting of the Ten Commandments.<sup>94</sup> When familiar texts were used, they were often, though by no means exclusively, passages from the Bible re-written in rhyming verse. Parables including the rich man and Lazarus and the life of Joseph were amongst the biblical texts

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<sup>90</sup> Moxey, *Peasants, warriors and wives*, pp. 23-24. See also Rolf Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre: zur Sozialgeschichte des Lesens in Deutschland zwischen feudaler und industrieller Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1973), p. 32. This suggests that literacy in the cities might have been as high as 30%, but that throughout the German-speaking lands, the average was closer to 5%.

<sup>91</sup> Christine Andersson, 'Popular imagery in German Reformation broadsheets', in Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim (eds.), *Print and Culture in the Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), p. 121.

<sup>92</sup> Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 26.

<sup>93</sup> Brown, *Singing the gospel*, p. 16.

<sup>94</sup> USTC 553842. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Yd 7804.3. Also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 29, catalogue entry 55. A printer has not been identified, but it is possible the broadsheet was produced in Augsburg.

most commonly drawn upon.<sup>95</sup> In this respect, it is worth noting that, just as with the first Lutheran hymnal of 1524, we see parallel content being produced in song-pamphlet and song-sheet format.<sup>96</sup> This suggests that the audiences of these two ephemeral music formats overlapped.<sup>97</sup>

The use of pre-existing material is particularly prevalent in music broadsheets produced at the time of the Reformation. Luther and his associates consciously made use of pre-Reformation traditions in their creation of a repertory of Protestant vernacular songs for use in churches, homes and schools.<sup>98</sup> As a result, liturgical chants of the Catholic Church, pre-Reformation German sacred songs and German folk songs provide the sources for a large number of texts and melodies for music broadsheets of the 1520s. This is indicated by Urbanus Rhegius' 1523 broadsheet edition of the hymn 'Christe qui lux' briefly discussed earlier (Fig. 17.5).<sup>99</sup> This provides a Protestant German translation of the original Latin text. The original melody is preserved and reproduced at the head of the broadsheet. This, together with the inclusion of the original Latin title in the caption, firmly connected the new material with content which would have been familiar. The very deliberate use of white space, including breaks between verses and wide margins, was also typical of many music broadsheets. This would have made it easier for performers to navigate the content.

In other instances, new texts were used alongside existing melodies. The *contrafacta* that resulted not only ensured that new texts would be connected with familiar music but also enabled older texts to resonate in the background, thereby investing such works with numerous, and often subtle, layers of meaning.<sup>100</sup> The melody of the secular love song 'Ach Gott, wem soll ich's klagen' ('O God, to whom can I complain') proved a particularly popular candidate for re-use in connection with

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<sup>95</sup> For a broadsheet telling the story of the rich man and Lazarus, see USTC 753016. This was printed in Augsburg in 1600. A copy is held in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, 38.52 Aug 2° fol. 85. It is also described in Wolfgang Harms (ed.), *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: die Sammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel*, 3 vols. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1980-1989), vol. 3 [Theologica, Quodlibetica], p. 111. USTC 553915 documents a broadsheet concerning the life of Joseph dating from around 1575. This is also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 53, catalogue entry 138.

<sup>96</sup> For a pamphlet concerning Joseph, see *Ein hübsches neues Lied von dem Gottesfürchtigen Josef und dem ägyptischen Weib* (Augsburg: Matthäus Franck, ca. 1565). There are two identical copies of this pamphlet in the British Library, shelfmarks 11515.a.58.(6.) and C.175.i.31.(71.).

<sup>97</sup> For further details of the production of song pamphlets in Germany, see Eberhard Nehlsen, *Berliner Liedflugschriften: Katalog der bis 1650 erschienenen Drucke der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz*. 3 vols. (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 215-217) (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 2008-2009).

<sup>98</sup> Friedrich Blume, *Protestant church music: a history* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1975), p. 14.

<sup>99</sup> USTC 553870. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Yd 7803.48. Also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 40, catalogue entry 91. Neither place of publication nor printer have been identified. See in addition Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 239.

<sup>100</sup> For further discussion of *contrafacta*, see Martin Picker, 'Contrafactum', in *Grove music online*, accessed via *Oxford music online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>, last accessed 30 September 2015.

Marian songs dating from the earliest years of the sixteenth century.<sup>101</sup> One such example was printed by Augsburg's Johann Froschauer around 1500 (Fig. 17.4). The melody's popularity can be partially accounted for by its narrow vocal range and repetitive structure. These features would have contributed to the ease with which it could be memorised and sung by those with limited musical skill. However, it was also particularly well-suited to songs of Marian devotion on account of its original words. Concerned with the loss of a sweetheart, the opening reads 'Ach Gott, wem soll ich's klagen, das Heimlich Leiden mein' ('Oh God, to whom can I complain about my secret suffering'). The song sheet's focus on Mary as an example of somebody who understood the pain of loss had strong parallels with the sentiments of the original text.

On other occasions, texts might simply be taken over, translated or adapted, and new melodies supplied. This is the case in a well-known broadsheet produced in reaction to the Augsburg Interim of 1548 (Fig. 17.7). Following Charles V's defeat of the forces of the Schmalkaldic League in 1546 to 1547, the Interim required Protestants to readopt Catholic beliefs and practices. It was condemned by hard-line Protestants as the work of the Antichrist, and a campaign was launched to show that it was yet another aspect of the antichristian papacy.<sup>102</sup> Printed by Magdeburg *Briefmaler* Pancratius Kempff in 1548, the broadsheet's artistic content has been attributed to the 'Master BP'. Originally based in Wittenberg and assumed to be a pupil of Lucas Cranach, this artist is also known to have been active in Magdeburg between 1550 and 1585.

The broadsheet depicts a choir of monks and canons assembled to perform a four-part hymn of praise to the Interim.<sup>103</sup> The hymn is included in the image, with the discantus part displayed on the left, the altus on the right and the tenor and bassus parts below. As already discussed, the music could be used for performance, but this was not the primary purpose of its inclusion. The text accompanying it begins with a direct quotation from the first verse of Psalm 1: 'Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum' ('Blessed is the man who does not guide his steps by ill council'). This is followed by a new German text, drawing in part on the psalm but adapting its content to reflect the broadsheet's anti-Interim stance: 'Selig ist der Mann der Gott vertrauen kann, und willigt nicht ins

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<sup>101</sup> Examples include USTC 553815, 553816, 739525 and 742242.

<sup>102</sup> Bob Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk: popular propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 177-178.

<sup>103</sup> For a commentary on this broadsheet, see Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 233, and Hermann Wäscher, *Das deutsche illustrierte Flugblatt* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1955), p. 22 and illustration 16. The broadsheet is also reproduced in Max Geisberg (rev. ed. Walter L. Strauss), *The German single-leaf woodcut, 1500-1550* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974), vol. 3, p. 856. More lengthy discussions can be found in Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk*, pp. 177-178, and Kaufman, *Das Ende der Reformation*, pp. 401-402, 408-412 and 583.

Interim, denn es hat den Schalk hinter im'. This can be translated loosely as 'Blessed is the man who trusts in God and does not approve of the Interim, for it has the devil behind it'.

A column in the centre includes a three-headed dragon. The motif of the three-headed beast (one for the pope, another for the Turk and the third for the antichrist) was commonly used in anti-Interim propaganda. Beside it stands a fool with cap and bells, a sign that the Interim is a fool's work. The second part of the verse, 'denn es hat den Schalk hinter im' ('for it has the devil behind it'), contains word-plays both on the Interim ('hinter im') and 'Schalk', the latter serving both as the word for 'fool' and as a common synonym for the devil. Together, these features functioned as an oral reminder of the Protestant interpretation of the Interim. The image also alludes to the long history of monastic abuse, characterised by foolish singing and gaming, all suggested by the singing clergy. One drinks from a giant beer mug and another holds a gaming board. The word 'Interim' on the frock on the canon on the left recalls the stipulation of wearing vestments. Meanwhile, a related inscription, 'Intram', on the beer mug suggests that the Interim is only fit for drunkards.<sup>104</sup>

*Insert Fig. 17.7 here*

Fig. 17.7: 'Des Interims und Interimistens wahrhafftige abgemalte Figur' (Pancratius Kempff: Magdeburg, 1548)  
Germanisches National Museum, Nuremberg, HB 235 Kaps. 1335  
266 x 365 mm  
USTC 752088

This broadsheet's combination of image, text and music is a complex one requiring careful decoding of every element of content. This in turn highlights the diverse audiences that music broadsheets could attract. Their messages ranged from the simple communication of new translations of hymn texts to subtle commentaries on contemporary events. However, by engaging with familiar texts and melodies, and making use of the visual potential of woodcuts and other layout devices to elucidate and enhance meaning, the result was a powerful medium of communication.

### **Performance**

The rich communication potential of sixteenth-century German music broadsheets would have been further promoted by the wide range of environments in which they could have been performed. Naturally, hymn sheets would have been particularly well-suited to congregational singing in

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<sup>104</sup> Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk*, pp. 177-178.

churches, but it would have been equally possible to perform from music broadsheets in schools, inns, domestic settings and even on the street. The sensational content of some broadsheets would also have lent itself particularly well to street performance.<sup>105</sup> In 1524, for example, Matthis Hoffischer of Ulm produced a broadsheet entitled ‘Ein hipsch news Lied von der grosse wesserung’ (‘A pleasant new song concerning the great flood’).<sup>106</sup> A woodcut depicts an unspecified town surrounded by water, with a comet streaking across the night sky above. The wind and sun are personified and appear, duplicated, in each of the four corners of the woodcut. The broadsheet’s caption instructs the performer to sing the lengthy twenty verses of text to the popular Schiller melody.<sup>107</sup> This would have made it well-suited to street performance, giving passers by the chance to linger and hear the story unfold.

An unattributed woodcut dating from around 1530 provides further evidence of the diverse geography of performance that music broadsheets enjoyed (Fig. 17.8). Entitled ‘Das Gesang der Schlemmer’ (literally ‘the song of the feasters’), this richly-symbolic image shows a group of singers in a secular context gathered around a broadsheet bearing the same title.<sup>108</sup> When used communally, it is possible that one or two members of the group might have acted as leaders to guide the less able through the content. This model of use is reinforced by the woodcut since the man on the right appears to be directing the ‘performance’.

*Insert Fig. 17.8 here*

Fig. 17.8: ‘Das Gesang der Schlemmer’ (woodcut, ca. 1530)  
Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, XIII,41,68  
321 x 228 mm

The text of the broadsheet concerns the folly of greed, and is a slightly-adapted version of the second verse of the folksong ‘Wo soll ich mich hinkehren, ich tumbes Brüderlein’, reading:

Ich bin zu frü geboren,	I was born too early,
Wo ich hewt hin kumb,	Wherever I turn up today,
Mein glück ist noch [or nach?] davornen,	My fortune has yet to arrive,
Het ich das Keisertumb,	If I possessed the empire,
Darzu den Zoll am Rein,	The Rhine’s taxes as well,
Und wer Venedig mein,	And if Venice were mine,

<sup>105</sup> For discussion of street singing in Italy, see the work of Rosa Salzberg, including, ‘Street Singers in Italian Renaissance Urban Culture and Communication’, *Cultural and Social History* vol. 9/1 (2012), pp. 9-26.

<sup>106</sup> USTC 553986. A copy is held in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Yd 7802.5 This broadsheet is also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 83, catalogue entry 301.

<sup>107</sup> For details of the Schiller melody, see Suppan, *Deutsches Liedleben*, p. 23.

<sup>108</sup> A number of broadsheets dating from around 1510 to 1520 have the holy feast (‘geistlicher Schlemmer’) as their subject. For examples, see USTC 553840 and 553841 and Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 29, catalogue entries 52 to 54.

So wer es als verloren,  
Es müst verschlemmet sein.

It would all be lost,  
It must be squandered away.

The figure on the left holding the head of the broadsheet bears a strong resemblance to a contemporary image of Luther by the artist Hans Baldung Grien (1485-1545).<sup>109</sup> Meanwhile, it is possible that the woman in the centre is his wife, Katharina von Bora. The other members of the party come from a variety of walks of life, including a physician on the far right (the 'conductor') and an itinerant musician in the centre.

The placing of a squirrel on the woman's head is particularly noteworthy. In ancient Germanic cultures, the squirrel represented slander and wickedness, and was also considered an animal that sought to provoke strife. Perhaps because of its reddish colouring (at least in European species) and its habitual swiftness and elusiveness, the squirrel, in the Christian imagination, is seen as a symbol of Satan and evil in general. Moreover, as a result of its habit of hoarding food, it often acquired a reputation for greed. In spite of this, it also inspired positive representations, including that of Divine Providence.<sup>110</sup> In addition, squirrels were very popular in England from the fourteenth century onwards and often appeared as pets in portraits of women, typically controlled by means of a chain. One of the most famous of such depictions is Hans Holbein the Younger's portrait *A lady with a squirrel and starling* of 1526 to 1528.<sup>111</sup>

Taken together with the other elements of the image, notably the excessive drinking, dice, rat, brush (denoting a fool) and song text, the squirrel in this image is simultaneously both a symbol of man's greed whilst at the same time a source of hope for better times through God's intervention. Although unchained, the squirrel sits calmly on the lady's head, watching benevolently over the proceedings. Meanwhile, in spite of the attempt of the rat to ply him with alcohol, Luther's willingness to place himself amongst the party and address the folly of greed through the medium of song provides hope for the future. The mirror on the table in front of the group encourages those present to reflect on their actions.

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<sup>109</sup> See Christine Andersson and Charles Talbot, *From a mighty fortress: prints, drawings, and books in the age of Luther, 1483-1546* (Detroit: Institute of Arts, 1983), p. 197, for a reproduction of this portrait of Luther. It first appeared as an illustration in *Actes et res gestae Dr. Martini Luther* printed in Strasbourg in 1521 (VD16 ZV 61; USTC 608615). The printer, Johann Schott, then reused the block for ten other publications between that year and 1526.

<sup>110</sup> Lucia Impelluso (trans. Stephen Sartarelli), *Nature and its symbols* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004), pp. 234-236.

<sup>111</sup> Held in the National Gallery, London, inventory number NG6540. A reproduction and further information is available at < <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/hans-holbein-the-younger-a-lady-with-a-squirrel-and-a-starling-anne-lovell>>, last accessed 30 September 2015.

There is also evidence to suggest that music broadsheets were used for performance in the home. For those with the necessary levels of musical skill, broadsheets in the table-book format seen earlier (Fig. 17.6) would have been ideally suited to use in a domestic setting. That such domestic performance did take place is supported by the existence of ‘Musiktische’ (‘music tables’). One such table is preserved in the Germanisches National Museum in Nuremberg (Fig. 17.9a-b).<sup>112</sup> Formerly belonging to the Nuremberg patrician Stephan II Praun (1513-1578), the square table has a limestone surface. This has been engraved with a four-part song setting by Johann Schechtinger, a pupil of Paul Hofhaimer, using the melody ‘Ach hilf mich Leid und sehnlich Klag’ by Adam Fulda. Undertaken in 1567, the engraving was the work of Peter Utz. It would have been possible for singers and instrumentalists to gather around each side of the table in order to perform from the engraved music on its surface. Alternatively, individual partbooks could have been spread out on the table or broadsheets placed in the centre.

*Insert Fig. 17.9a-b here*

Fig. 17.9a-b: Music table (ca. 1567)  
Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, HG 9412

In addition, we have evidence of the existence of musical tablecloths.<sup>113</sup> This comes in the form of a linen cloth thought to originate from Schleusingen, Thuringia, dating from the 1560s.<sup>114</sup> It was most likely to have been produced for the wedding of Count Georg Ernst von Henneberg to Elisabeth von Württemberg in 1568.<sup>115</sup> Measuring 160 x 180 cm, two four-part songs have been embroidered on its surface including Martin Agricola’s arrangement of Luther’s well-known hymn ‘Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott’. Each of the four parts is embroidered parallel to one side of the cloth, complete with an indication of the voice (discantus, altus, tenor and bassus). The bridal couple are

<sup>112</sup> Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HG 9412. On loan from the Friedrich von Praun’schen Familienstiftung, Nuremberg. For a reproduction of, and commentary on, this table, see Jenny, ‘Kirchenlied, Gesangbuch und Kirchenmusik’, pp. 316-317.

<sup>113</sup> I am very grateful to Dr Matthew Laube, University of Cambridge, for sharing details of the tablecloth with me. Further discussion is included in his conference paper ‘Music, identity and material cultural in Lutheranism’, delivered as part of the *Cultures of Lutheranism* conference (University of Oxford, February 2015).

<sup>114</sup> For further information, see Johannes Wolf (ed.) and Hans Joachim Moser (rev.), *Neue deutsche geistliche Gesänge für die gemeinen Schulen. Gedruckt zu Wittemberg durch Georgen Rhau 1544*. Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst, vol. 54 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1958), pp. xi-xii. The tablecloth is reproduced as the frontispiece. Additional commentary can be found in Carl Becker and Jakob von Hefner, *Kunstwerke und Geräthschaften des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Schmeberschen Buchhandlung, 1852-1853), vol. 1, pp. 56-57 and plate 45.

<sup>115</sup> Becker and Hefner, *Kunstwerke*, vol. 1, p. 56, explains that the tablecloth may also have been a gift at the wedding of Count Poppo von Henneberg to Sophie von Braunschweig in 1562, but concludes that it was more likely to have related to the marriage of Georg Ernst von Henneberg and Elisabeth von Württemberg six years later.

depicted in the centre, complemented by images of musicians and wedding guests. The music is embroidered in black, whilst a variety of brightly-coloured threads are used for the other illustrations.<sup>116</sup> This suggests that music permeated into sixteenth-century German domestic material culture not just through printed and manuscript material but also through objects relating to its performance as well as instruments themselves.

Whether performed on the street, in the home, in inns, schools or in churches, therefore, the music broadsheets produced in Germany in the first half of the sixteenth century had the potential to communicate diverse messages to wide-ranging audiences. Aside from song pamphlets, no other music format had the capacity to engage with so many sectors of the music-loving public in such a direct way. This is reflected by their significant share of sixteenth-century German broadsheet output as a whole, and the contemporary iconographic evidence attesting to their use. Nevertheless, after 1550, the format began to fall out of use in connection with the more widespread availability of partbooks and the increasing proficiency of amateur musicians. As a result, as the century progressed, German music broadsheets continued to fulfil their role as vehicles of propaganda, tools to encourage religious observance and distributors of news, but their place in the spread of musical repertoire became more limited.

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<sup>116</sup> This description is based on Hefner's colour drawing of the tablecloth in Becker and Hefner, *Kunstwerke*, vol. 1, plate 45. At one time, the tablecloth appears to have been in the possession of Carl Becker (*ibid.*, p. 56). Wolf and Moser, *Newe deudsche geistliche Gesenge* give the source of their image of the tablecloth as the Museum of Decorative Arts in Berlin, inventory number K. 6199, but I have not been able to establish its existence there.