

## A Brief History of the St. Mary's Choir Library

The earliest evidence for the existence of a choir library at St. Mary's Church comes from an inscription in the tenor partbook of Pietro Giovanelli's *Novus Thesaurus Musicus*, which had been published in 1568:

On Easter of the year 1577 these part[books], six in number, were handed over by the Werkmeister of St. Mary's, Hans Barkhuß, and entrusted to the cantor of St. Catherine's, Jacob van der Hoge, and they belong at St. Mary's Church, where they also should be returned at any time.

The cantor of St. Catherine's School, a member of the teaching faculty, served simultaneously as the cantor of St. Mary's and received a salary from both institutions; the choir that he directed at St. Mary's consisted of pupils from the school. Thus it is not surprising that the music from which they performed might be used in both places, a few short blocks apart. In each of the six partbooks, all five volumes of the *Novus Thesaurus Musicus* (RISM 1568<sup>2</sup>, 1568<sup>3</sup>, 1568<sup>4</sup>, 1568<sup>5</sup>, and 1568<sup>6</sup>) are bound together in brown tooled leather, with the part names stamped in gold in a cartouche at the top and "N° 2" written in black ink at the bottom.

The cantor who contributed most to the growth of the St. Mary's choir library was Martin Lincke, who served from 1630 until his death in 1662. Shortly after his arrival in Lübeck he prepared an inventory of the collection, consisting of only four entries (see [Figure 1](#))<sup>1</sup>:

1. *Cantiones Sacrae, Hieronymi Praetory Hamburgensis cum Basso Generali* seind 9 Stücke in 4to, mit der kirchen merckzeichen gezeichnet.
2. *Quinque libri novi thesauri Musici* seind 6 partes in 4to in Roht-leder gebunden und verguldet auf den schnit.
3. *Quatuor libri Sacrarum Cantionum 5 Vocum Variorum autorum in 4to* seind 5 stücke in weiß schweine leder gebunden.
4. *Cantiones sacrae 5 et 6 vocum variorum autorum in 4to*, seind 5 stück in Schwarz leder gebunden.

The first three correspond in almost every respect, including the numbers written on the cover of each partbook, with prints still in the collection:

1. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae* (Hamburg, 1622; RISM P 5338); *Canticum B. Mariae Virginis, seu Magnificat octo vocum* (Hamburg, 1622; P 5334); *Liber missarum* (Hamburg, 1616; P 5329); *Cantiones variae* (Hamburg, 1618; P 5341), bound together in tan parchment, 8 parts (Bassus generalis now missing).
2. *Novus Thesaurus Musicus*, as noted above (Venice, 1568).
3. Tilman Susato, *Liber primus* (1546<sup>6</sup>), *secundus* (1546<sup>7</sup>), *tertius* (1547<sup>5</sup>), and *quartus* (1547<sup>6</sup>) *sacrarum cantionum* (Antwerp, 1546-1547), bound together in tan tooled leather, 5 partbooks.

Note that these three entries are numbered in reverse chronological sequence, which means that the numbers could not have been written onto the books before 1622, when Hieronymus

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<sup>1</sup> Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Bestand Marienkirche, Musiken 2. This corresponds to the first four entries in the inventory of books in the choir loft of the church and entered into the *Rentebuch von Ao. 1581-1647* (Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Bestand Marienkirche, Kaufmannsbücher I/7, fol. 58a), on 17 July 1630. The other books are psalters, chorale books, and bibles.

Praetorius, organist of St. Jacobi Church in Hamburg, offered his newly published *Opus musicum* to each of the churches in Lübeck.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth item in Lincke's inventory cannot be identified with certainty. The beginning of its title corresponds to Jacob Meiland's *Cantiones sacre quinque et sex vocum* (Nuremberg, 1569; M 2174), which is the only other print presently in the collection that was published in the sixteenth century. It also has five partbooks and contains works for five and six voices, but so far as we know Meiland, not "various authors" (a phrase taken inadvertently from Susato?), composed all seventeen of its motets.<sup>3</sup> The facts that its partbooks are not bound in black leather and do not bear a "Nº 4" need not concern us, since these partbooks appear to have been rebound in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But even if we do not count Meiland's print as belonging to the choir library when Lincke arrived, he still found a sizeable repertory of works, with 447 motets, six masses, and nine magnificats at his disposal.

In addition, Lincke brought with him a large personal library of vocal music, which he listed in the same document as his inventory (see [Figures 1-4](#)), under the title "List of the musical authors that I have purchased for myself and for which I have partly not yet paid, and which I want, and ask that they be bought by the Church of Our Lady." Lincke noted carefully on his list the individual prints that had been bound together; for example, his item 2 (see [Figures 1 and 2](#)) contains

- α. Paolo Quagliati, *Motecta* (Rome, 1612; Q 8)
- β. Fabio Costantini, *Selectae cantiones* (Rome, 1614; 1614<sup>3</sup>)
- γ. Salvatore Sacchi, *Missa, motecta* (Rome, 1607; 1607<sup>2</sup>)
- δ. Bernardo Corsi, *Missae ac sacrae cantiones* (Venice, 1619; C 4139)
- ε. Giuseppe Belloni, *Messa e motetti* (Venice, 1606; B 1794)
- ζ. Orfeo Vecchi, *Salmi intieri* (Milan, 1614; V 1060)

In 1636 the church bought items 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7 on Lincke's list, and each separate print was entered into the church's property book on February 11.<sup>4</sup> The other items consisted of the following prints:

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<sup>2</sup> His letter, dated 3 April, 1622, is preserved in the Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck and transcribed in Wilhelm Stahl, *Musikgeschichte Lübecks: Band II: Geistliche Musik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1952), p. 192. The copies acquired by St. Peter's and St. Aegidian's at that time are now at the Bibliothek der Hansestadt Lübeck.

<sup>3</sup> There is little reason to doubt Meiland's authorship of the 17 motets in *Cantiones sacrae*. The 1569 edition in the St. Mary's Choir library (M 2174), published in Nuremberg by Ulrich Neuber, is a reissue of the 1564 print (M 2173) published by Berg and Neuber, the last volume issued by the firm under this name. Johann von Berg died August 7, 1563, and Meiland, who was living in Nuremberg around this time, composed a motet, "Pierides moesto suffundite," in his memory. See Susan Jackson, "Berg and Neuber: Music Printers in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg" (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1998), pp. 29, 549-51, and 567-83 (transcription of the memorial motet.) See also Ulrich Siegele, *Die Musiksammlung der Stadt Heilbronn* (Heilbronn: Stadtarchiv Heilbronn, 1967), pp. 70-71.

<sup>4</sup> *Rentebuch*, fols. 58b-59a.

4.
  1. Georg Vintz, *Missae* (Erfurt, 1630: V1690)
  2. Johann Crüger, German magnificats (Berlin, 1626; C 4568)
  3. Christoph Demantius, *Triades Sioniae* (Freiberg, 1619; D 1541)
5.
  1. Georg Gruber, ed. *Reliquiae sacrorum concertuum* (Nuremberg, 1615; 1615<sup>2</sup>)
  2. Johann Hermann Schein, *Cymbalum Sionium* (Leipzig, 1615; S 1375)
  3. Johann Staden, *Harmoniae variatae* (Nuremberg, 1632; S 4249)
7.
 

Abraham Schadaeus, ed., *Promptuarii musici* (Strassburg, 1611-1617; 1611<sup>1</sup>, 1612<sup>2</sup>, 1613<sup>2</sup>, 1617<sup>1</sup>, the last volume ed. Caspar Vincentius)

Lincke's item 6 is the only set of manuscript partbooks in the collection; all the others are printed. He described it as "eight books, bound with writing parchment in quarto, in each of which there are two *buch* [a gathering of 24 bifolios] of printed lines and fine motets." It became item 8 in the property book listing,<sup>5</sup> and that is the numeral written on the cover of each partbook, suggesting that the numerals on the Praetorius, Giovanelli and Susato partbook covers might have been written in 1636 as well. When Lincke acquired the manuscript partbooks they already contained sacred parodies of all the songs in Hans Leo Hassler's *Neüe Teütsche gesang* (1596) and *Lustgarten Neuer Teutscher Gesäng* (1601) plus motets by Lassus, Marenzio, Orazio Vecchi, Hassler, Hieronymus Praetorius, and Phinot, all copied in a distinctive but unidentified hand during the years 1608 and 1609. The "printed lines" had actually been carefully drawn with a rastrum, and Lincke added many copies of his own onto them. Since it has been variously referred to as "Sammlung" or "Sammelband," I have given it the siglum MS Sam in the database.

The later stages in the development of the library are not so easy to trace. The church account books mention only a few acquisitions during the remainder of Lincke's tenure: Andreas Hammerschmidt's *Musicalische Andachten*, part 4, in 1652 and Schütz's psalms in 1660 (neither presently in the collection); also in 1660 Samuel Capricornus's masses and psalms (*Opus musicum* [Nuremberg, 1655; C 928]); *Jubilus Bernhardi* [Stuttgart, 1660; C 932]); and sacred concertos (not presently in the collection.) Since Lincke had listed in his 1630 *Verzeichnuß* (Figure 4) "das Bodenschatzes opus" as something he would like to have, perhaps the two volumes of the *Florilegium portense* (Leipzig, 1618-1621; 1618<sup>1</sup> and 1621<sup>2</sup>) came into the collection during Lincke's tenure. His successor, Samuel Francke, also assembled his own private library, part of which he sold to the church in 1678, shortly before his death.<sup>6</sup> The next cantor, Jacob Pagendarm, brought with him to Lübeck at least one print that he had acquired earlier; on the cover of Vox 12 of Hammerschmidt's *Missae* (Dresden, 1663; H 1953) he noted

<sup>5</sup> Lincke's list of books in his private library began with item 1, but the 1636 inventory continued the list that had begun in 1630; thus after their purchase by the church, Lincke's item 2 became the church's #5, item 4 became #6, item 5 became #7, item 6 became #8, and item 7 became #9. The prints that the church did not purchase from Lincke included Samuel Scheidt's *Cantiones sacrae*, Hans Leo Hassler's *Cantiones sacrae*, Christoph Grueber's *Missae*, *Magnificat et Motectae*, and Christian Schimperlin's *Missae*.

<sup>6</sup> For transcription of account book entry see Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, revised edition (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 466.

that he had purchased the partbooks in 1673. These later stages demonstrate a clear preference for northern music, in contrast to the abundance of Italian music in Lincke's early collection.

The latest prints presently in the library date from 1674: Guglielmo Bart's *Missae et Motetta* (B 1056) and Constantin Christian Dedekind's *Königs Davids Göldnes Kleinod* (D 1310). After that, it appears that the cantors relied exclusively on manuscripts for their new music, virtually all of which has disappeared. Concerning the music of his predecessors, the cantor Caspar Ruetz wrote in 1753:

I inherited a large pile of church music from my late father-in-law Sivers and grandfather-in-law Pagendarm. Of the pieces left by Pagendarm I have been able to use not a single one, and only a few from Sivers. They testify to the enormous diligence and industry of these upright men. Everything that these men wrote with so much trouble and work, or at great expense collected and had copied, has not the slightest value now, although no small amount of capital went into it. This mass of musical paper from many years ago has diminished by about half; much of it has gone into the stove in place of kindling, much has been used around the house, and much has been given to people who can use all sorts of scrap and paper in their shops.<sup>7</sup>

The printed music fared much better; it belonged to the church, and it remained in the choir loft (and partly by the large organ) until 1814.

On November 12, 1814, the Lübeck Bürgermeister Johann Matthaeus Tesdorpf signed a letter to Archduke Rudolf of Austria, as the protector of the newly founded Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, which included a music library, offering him the choir library of St. Mary's. It was accompanied by an inventory of the collection and reads in part:

Since it has come to our attention that the very old music books noted in the attached list, which until now have been kept in St. Mary's Church here, are perhaps not unworthy to take a place in that library, so we most humbly entreat your imperial Highness most graciously to regard them as a small contribution of our city to this collection, which every German will gladly consider a national institution.<sup>8</sup>

Two copies of the inventory, one of two pages and one of three, remained in Lübeck. The two-page inventory is signed (although not copied) by J. W. Cornelius von Königsłow, organist and Werkmeister of St. Mary's from 1773 to 1833; it contains an inserted correction stating that some of these books had been kept at the large organ<sup>9</sup> (see [Figures 5 and 6](#)). Von Königsłow had shown this collection of music to Joseph Sonnleithner when he visited Lübeck in 1801; he had since become the secretary of the newly founded Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. On October 26, 1814, Sonnleithner approached Lübeck's delegate to the Congress of Vienna, Johann Friedrich Hach, and requested that Lübeck donate this collection of old music to the new national music

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<sup>7</sup> Caspar Ruetz, *Widerlegte Vorurtheile von der Wirkung der Kirchenmusic und von den darzu erfordereten Unkosten*. (Rostock and Wismar: Johann Andreas Berger and Jacob Boedher, 1753), p. 112.

<sup>8</sup> My thanks to Dr. Otto Biba for making a copy of this letter, preserved in the Archiv of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, available to me.

<sup>9</sup> "Verzeichniß uralter Musikalien, welche **[bis jetzt]** in der St. Marien-Kirche auf dem Chor **[u. auf der großen Orgel]** aufbewahrt gewesen," Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Bestand Marienkirche, Musiken 9.

library.<sup>10</sup> An unsigned and undated memorandum, kept with the two inventories and presumably from von Königslöv, states that “these, as well as the music books stored by the large organ of St. Mary’s Church, are quite certainly of no value to us, and we can give them with pleasure for the advancement of the institute in Vienna.”<sup>11</sup> The Senate approved the gift quickly, and the shipment was posted on January 3, 1815.<sup>12</sup>

This gift from St. Mary’s to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde may have represented the most significant gift from any single church. Among the society’s holdings of printed music from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries published in 1912, prints originally in the St. Mary’s Choir Library account for nearly one third, and Dr. Eusebius Mandyczewski, the archivist at the time, singled out the gift from Lübeck for special mention.<sup>13</sup>

It was not long before some citizens of Lübeck began to take an interest in the music books that had been given away. At the instigation of Johannes Classen, a professor at St. Catherine’s School, Dr. Wilhelm Wattenbach sent a report from Vienna, which was copied onto the bottom of the three-page 1814 Inventory and dated August 1849:

The Archduke Rudolf left his collection, together with the designated items, to the *Musikverein*, which is in dire financial need. Everything can be copied, but at one’s own expense. What should happen?<sup>14</sup>

In 1886 Carl Stiehl, Music Librarian of the Lübeck Stadtbibliothek, wrote a short article, “Musikalien der St. Marienkirche,” citing the Inventory signed by von Königslöv ([Figures 5 and 6](#)), which “reveals many rarities, making their loss doubly regrettable.”<sup>15</sup> He then went to Vienna, inspected the items listed in the inventory, and in 1893 published a much more comprehensive list, “Music Collection of St. Mary’s Church in Lübeck, since 1814 belonging to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna,” as an appendix to a catalogue of the music collection of the Lübeck Stadtbibliothek.<sup>16</sup> Not only did he give bibliographical information and summaries of the contents for the items in the inventory, he introduced a number of new titles that had been overlooked by the compiler of the 1814 inventory because they had been bound behind the first item in each partbook. These included prints by Bart (B 1056), Bodenschatz

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<sup>10</sup> Michael Hundt, “Lübecker ‘uralte Musicalien’ für Wien: Der verschlungene Weg der Chorbibliothek der St.-Marien-Kirche nach Wien 1814/15,” *Buxtehude-Studien*, Band 5 (2023), p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Bestand Marienkirche, Musiken 9.

<sup>12</sup> Hundt, p. 20. For details and a discussion of the political ramifications of the gift see the entire article.

<sup>13</sup> Eusebius Mandyczewski, *Zusatzband zur Geschichte der K.K. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien: Sammlungen und Statuten* (Vienna: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1912), pp. v, 4-12.

<sup>14</sup> Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Bestand Marienkirche, Musiken 9.

<sup>15</sup> *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, Heft 2 (1886), No. 8, pp. 127-128.

<sup>16</sup> Carl Stiehl, “Musik-Sammlung der St. St. Marienkirche zu Lübeck, seit 1814 der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien angehörend,” in *Katalog der Musik-Sammlung auf der Stadtbibliothek zu Lübeck*, Anhang I (Lübeck, 1893), pp. 45-54. He omitted #28 of the 1814 inventories, “Missale,” no doubt because it did not contain polyphonic music.

(1621<sup>2</sup>), Chinelli (C 2065), Hammerschmidt (H 1952), Nervius (N 413), H. Praetorius (P 5329, P 5334, P 5341), Rovetta (R 2980), Schadaeus (1612<sup>3</sup>, 1613<sup>2</sup>), Schein (S 1375), Staden (S 4249), Steelant (S 4726), Sylvestris (1651<sup>1</sup>), Vesi (V 1317), and Vincentius (1617<sup>1</sup>).<sup>17</sup> He also gave a very detailed list of the contents of the manuscript partbooks (MS Sam), recognizing that many of them were sacred parodies but not that the composer of the originals was Hassler.

Stiehl's list can be augmented still further with the help of two archival documents that he apparently overlooked: Lincke's list of 1630 ([Figures 1-4](#)), in which he carefully noted the items that were bound together, and the inventory of 1636, which shows which items the church purchased that year. The first print in Lincke's item 2, Quagliati's motets (Q 8), appears on the 1814 inventory (#37), but not the prints by Costantini (1614<sup>3</sup>), Sacchi (1607<sup>2</sup>), Corsi (C 4139), Belloni (B1794), and Vecchi (V 1060) that were bound together with it by 1630. All six are present in the Archiv of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, however, each bound separately, five in grey paper with red tape at the spine, the sixth (C 4139) with marble paper identical to that used for rebinding Meiland's motets. The same can be said for Lincke's item 4: Vintz's masses (V 1690), Crüger's magnificats (C4568), and Demantius's *Triades* (D 1541) are now all bound separately with grey paper and red tape. The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde did not keep the Lübeck books together as a separate entity, but integrated them into their general collection of 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century printed works, and these prints must have been unbound and rebound at some time between their arrival in Vienna and Stiehl's visit.

Two incomplete sets of parts evaded the trip to Vienna; they belonged to the archives of St. Mary's in 1860<sup>18</sup> and are now in the Lübeck Stadtbibliothek: four parts out of ten for Giovanni Rovetta's *Messa e Salmi* (R 2966) and one of the combined partbooks for Gruber's *Reliquien* (1615<sup>2</sup>), Schein (S 1375), and Staden (S 4249), which were listed as incomplete in the 1814 inventories (#38). Other libraries can supply the missing parts for the Rovetta, Gruber, and Schein, but the St. Mary's copy of the Staden is now a unicum, and only two of its 29 works are complete.

While we may regret the loss of these and other partbooks, as well as the fact that this choir library ceased in 1814 to exist as a distinct collection in Lübeck, we can rejoice that the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna protected it from the destruction that visited so many similar collections over the past two hundred years. This online catalogue virtually brings the St. Mary's Choir Library back together again, and a host of editors, working mainly from concordant prints, has made much of its music available for performance, in both printed and online scores.

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<sup>17</sup> Details concerning prints bound together can be found in the field "Binding" of the **Sigla** table. Stiehl missed just one of the prints hidden behind another in a bound volume: the second part of Hammerschmidt's *Gespräche über die Evangelia* (H 1949).

<sup>18</sup> Hermann Jimmerthal, "Verzeichniss der Bücher, Schriften, Zeichnungen, Musikalien etc. des Archivs der St. Marien-Kirche . . . 1860" (MS, Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Bestand Marienkirche, Findbuch St. Marien), p. 17, nos. 7-11. A marginal note in red ink states that these were given to the Stadtbibliothek in 1927.

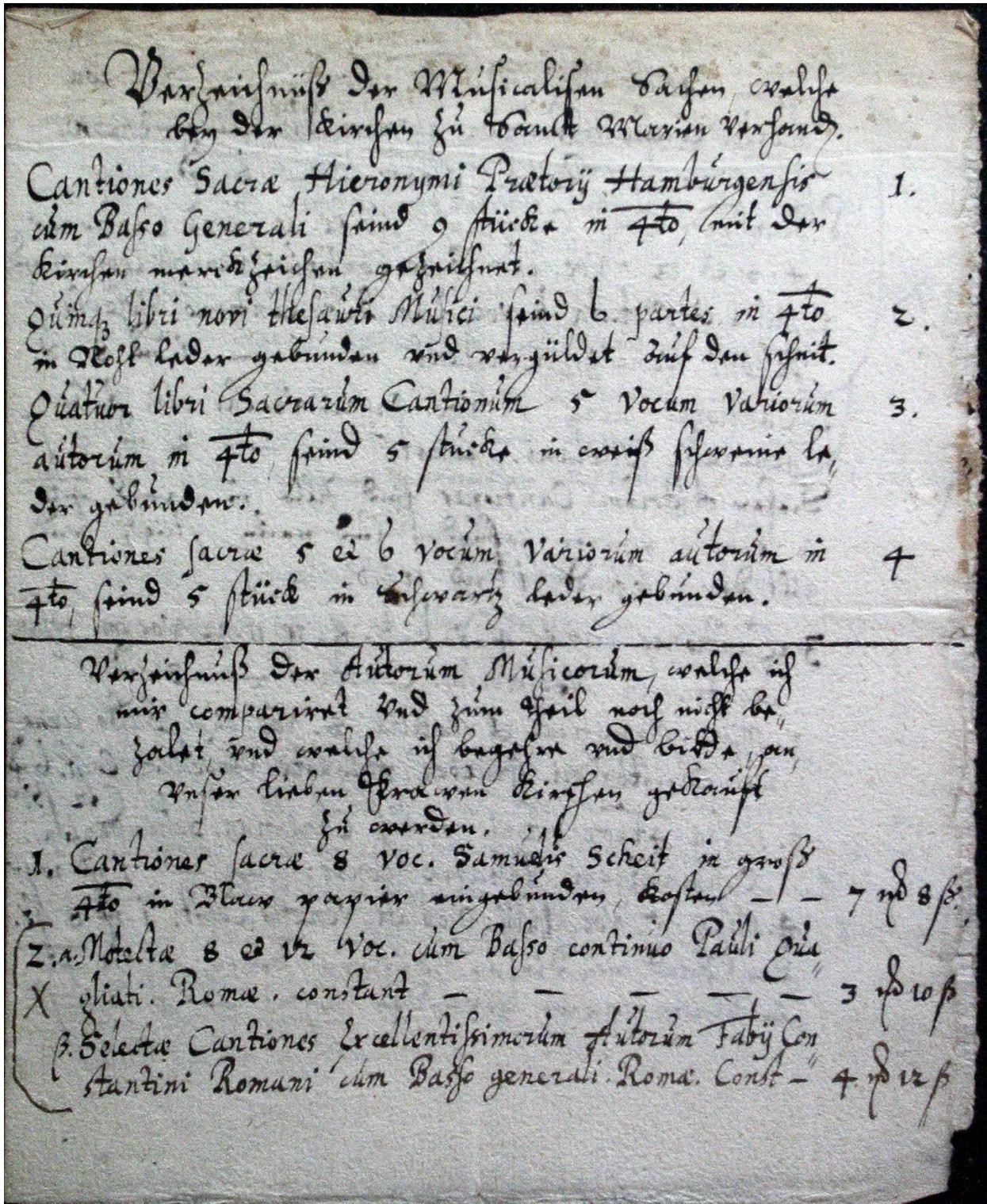


Figure 1: “Verzeichnüß der Musicalischen Sachen, welche bey der Kirchen zu Sankt Marien vorhanden” (top); and “Verzeichnüß der Autorum Musicorum, welche ich mir compariret und zum theil noch nicht bezahlet, und welche ich begehre und bitte, an unser lieben Frawen Kirchen gekaufft zu werden” (bottom), p. 1

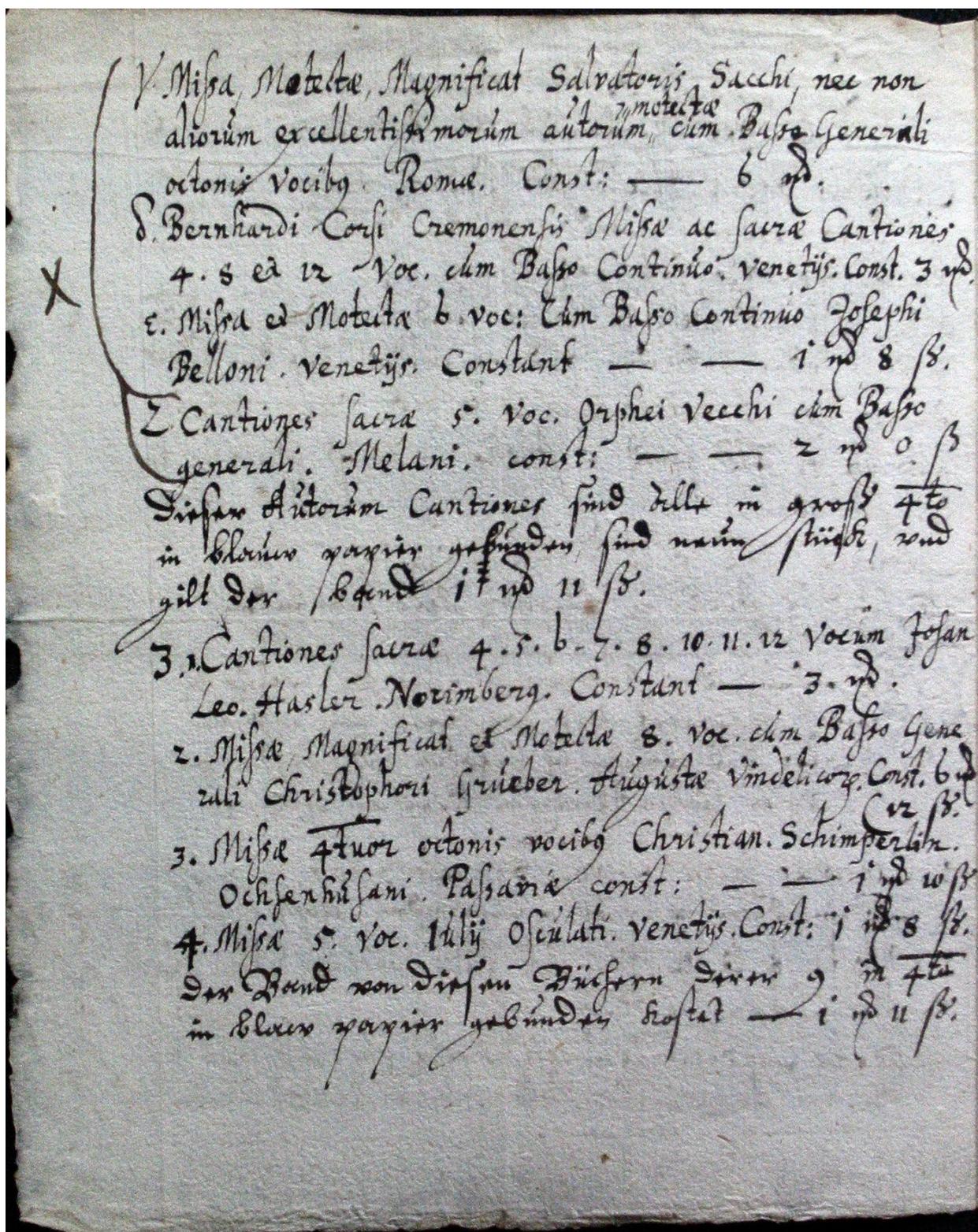


Figure 2: "Verzeichnuß der Autorum Musicorum ...," p. 2

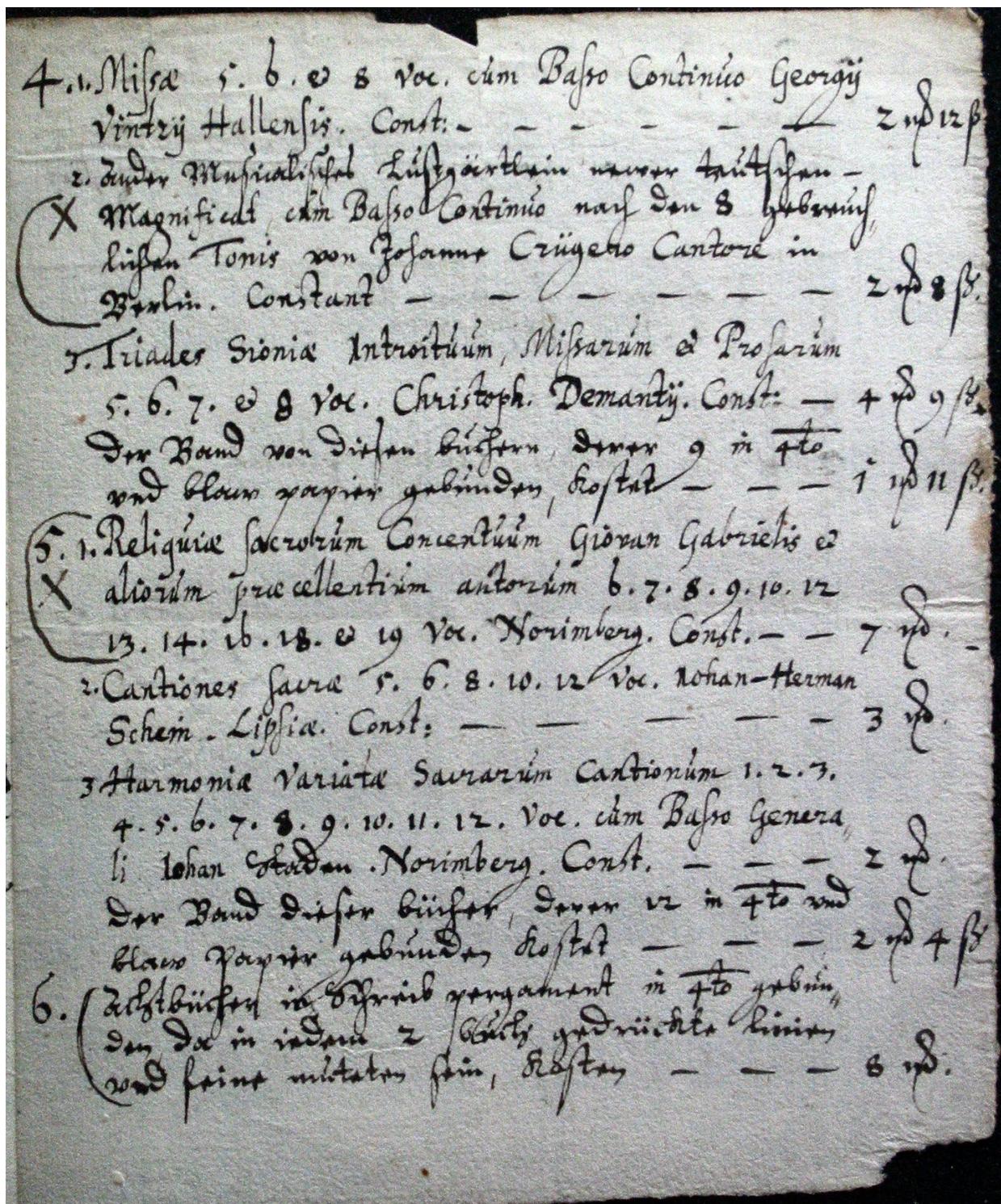


Figure 3: “Verzeichnuß der Autorum Musicorum . . . ,” p. 3

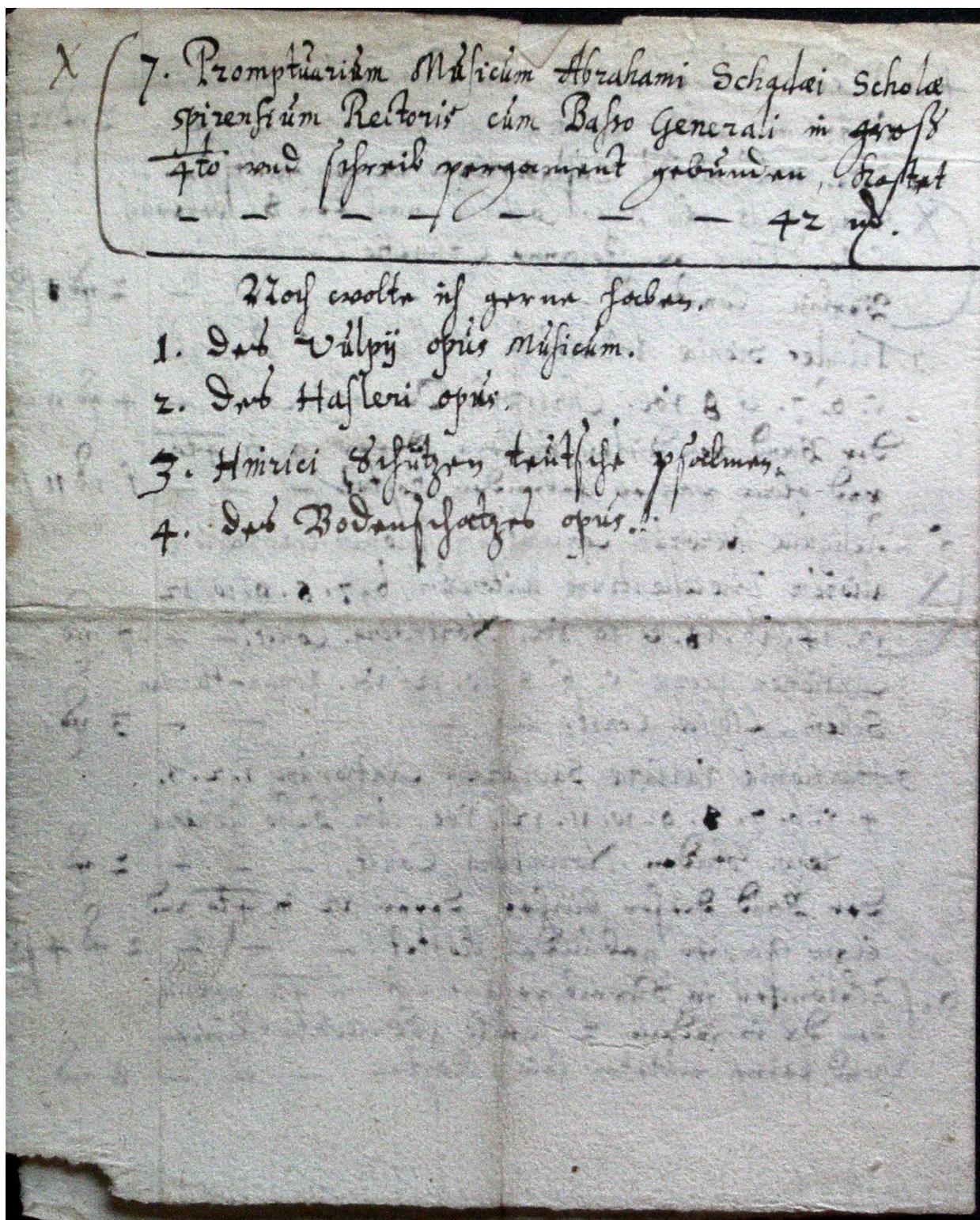


Figure 4: “Verzeichnuß der Auctorum Musicorum . . . ,” p. 4



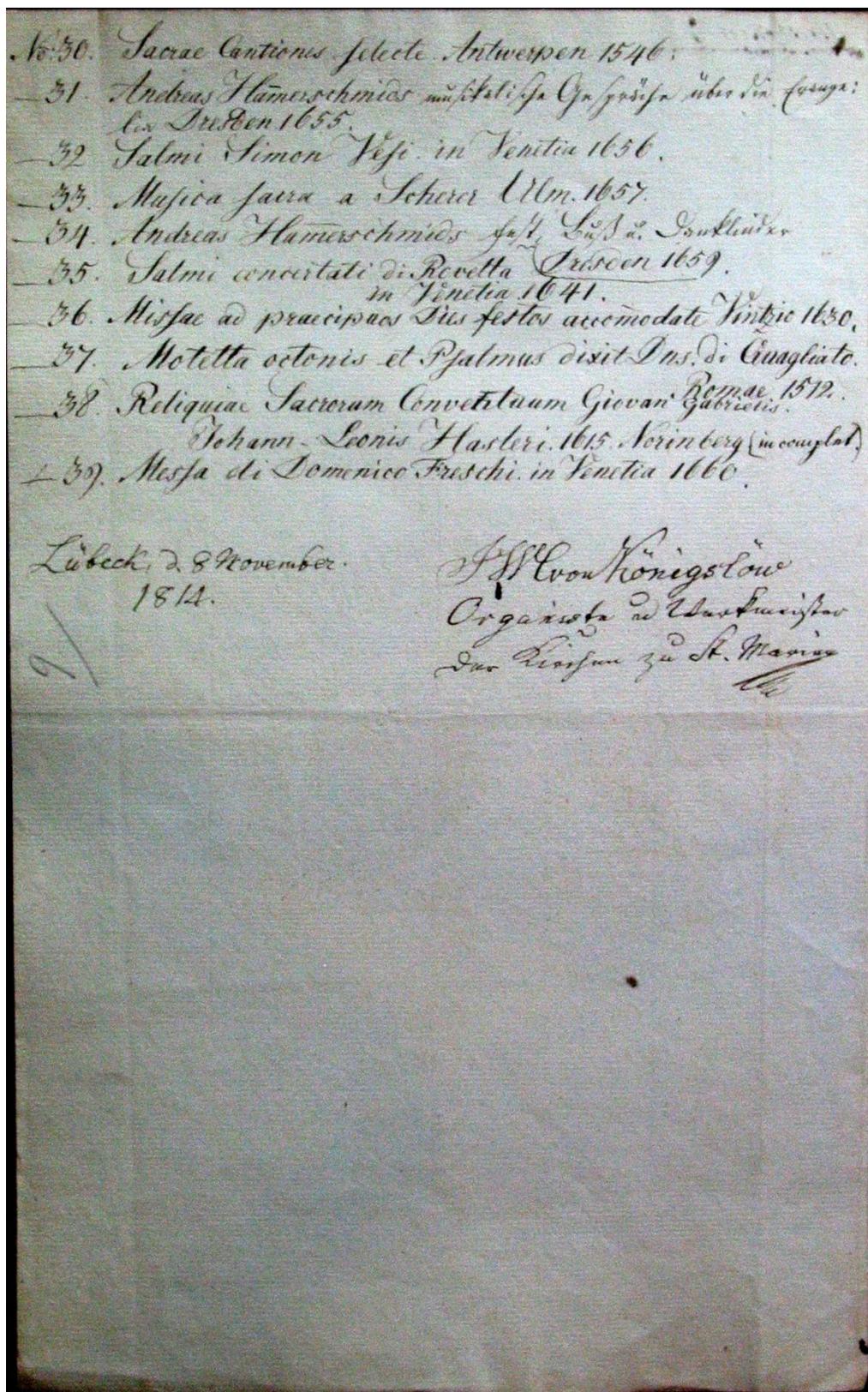


Figure 6. "Verzeichniß . . .," 1814, p. 2