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Dissertation on the topic

**Musical Settings of Psalm 51 in Germany c. 1600-1750 in
the Perspectives of Reformational Music Aesthetics**

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. The way to the topic

How does one come to the topic “The musical settings of Psalm 51 in Germany c. 1600-1750 in the perspectives of reformational music aesthetics”? Decisive was my personal quest for a theological justification for the centrality of music in my own religious orientation. Years of practice and experiences in church music, the occupation with- and the musical performance of Psalm settings in vocal and instrumental setting aroused my interest to deal more intensively with them. After my previous study of music majoring in harpsichord and theology, my interest arose in the studies of musicology, more to integrate both disciplines, to study the sources more precisely to get to know pieces unknown to me, to examine these and to understand them within the perspectives of reformational music aesthetics.

Both in the German and English-speaking world, some comprehensive studies on the musical settings of Psalm 51 have been published in the last forty years.¹ In addition, some lengthy systematic treatments on the relation between music and theology have been produced within long scholarly and musical tradition. As examples of publications of such studies, we can name some in a chronological order:

Oskar Söhngen, *Theologie der Musik*, Kassel 1967,

Winfried Kurzschinkel, *Die theologische Bestimmung der Musik*, Trier 1971,

Charles Garside, *The origins of Calvin’s theology of music*, Philadelphia 1979
(=*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 69,4).

Joyce L. Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque*, New York, etc: Peter Lang, 1993
(=*American University Studies*, Series VII, Vol. 132).

However, most of the last publications concentrate more on the studies of the relation between theology (in this case Christianity) and music aesthetics

¹ See, for example, Peter Kolb Danner, *The Miserere mihi and the English Reformation*, Diss. Stanford University 1967; Sylvia L. Ross, *A Comparison of Six Miserere Settings from the Eighteenth-Century Venetian Conservatories*, Diss. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 1972; Patrick Macey, *Josquin’s Miserere mei Deus: Context, Structure, and Influence*, Diss. University of California at Berkeley 1985; Magda Marx-Weber, *Liturgie und Andacht. Studien zur geistlichen Musik*, Paderborn, etc: Schöningh, 1999 (= *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik*, Vol. 7).

without concrete historical studies of church music with its development of musical forms. What we have here is thus a separation of music aesthetical ideas from the musical compositions caused by the specification of interest. Far from trying to offer a comprehensive view on this subject (that will be beyond my capacity), this present study tries to examine *concrete* musical works (in this case some musical settings of Psalm 51 in Germany) with all their musicological questions and insights and to bring them under the light of reformational theology of music.

1.2. Topic – object of the study

1.2.1. Description of the topic: Musical Settings of Psalm 51 in Germany c. 1600-1750 in the perspectives of reformational music aesthetics

There are certain difficulties that arise from the choice of the topic in this study. One might ask, “Why should we relate the reformational music aesthetics with musical settings of Psalm 51 and not with other works?” At least two reasons can be offered in answering that legitimate methodological question. First, in the writings of the Reformers, the understanding of music cannot be separated from the understanding of psalm singing. Thus, the understanding of psalm singing has played a very important role in shaping the music aesthetics in the reformational thoughts. Second, the choice of Psalm 51 is encouraged by the thought that this number had had a long tradition in the history of music, both in the context of a larger cycle of the seven penitential psalms and as an independent setting. Psalm 51 is one of the most frequent set psalm texts that can be found in Catholic, Lutheran, as well as in Calvinistic contexts.

The polyphonic psalm composition cannot be categorized as a musical genre because it defines itself alone after the psalm text. Within this category are all musical genres and forms, which stand in relation to the biblical psalms, to its texts (literal setting, translation, paraphrase, *Versifizierung*, free rendering/rendition, textless programmatic contents exegesis) and in the narrower meaning to its liturgical melodies.² This study is thus not meant to examine a particular genre, but as the development of the German psalm composition took place in the contexts of the different genres, it rather tries to represent a general history in this particular composition, which shows the treatment of the Psalm texts.

The chronological limits of this study hardly need any special defense. The Baroque era is demarcated as beginning in 1580 and extending to 1730 (applying to Italy) or in 1600 to 1750 (applying to northern countries) by musicologists.³ On the side of ‘history’ of Psalm 51 settings in Germany, the

² Ludwig Finscher, Art. “Psalm“, in: *MGG2*, Sachteil 7, Kassel 1997, col. 1876.

³ Joyce L. Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque*, New York, etc: Peter Lang, 1993 (=American University Studies, Series VII, Vol. 132), p. x.

initial date corresponds roughly with Michael Praetorius' setting *Gott, sei mir genädig nach deiner Güte* (1607), arguably the first important musical setting of Psalm 51 after Josquin's *Miserere mei Deus*. The cut-off date 1750 in this study allows the inclusion of Johann Sebastian Bach as well as the discussion concerning parody practice, whereby the idea of music autonomy can be seen as being strongly encouraged by Enlightenment's values.

1.2.2. Methods and expected result

I will examine the musical settings of Psalm 51 in Germany c. 1600-1750 from the perspectives of reformational music aesthetics after the following points of view:

- What are the central tenets in Luther's and Calvin's theology of music?
- How is the continuation of Lutheran and Calvinistic theology of music in Germany from 1600 to 1750? What can be said as being inherited from Luther or Calvin and what is considered as progressive development in those thoughts?

In answering the first two questions, I will use the first chapter of this study to include some research reports on the music theology of Luther and Calvin. As for the development/continuation of reformational music aesthetics in the age of confessionalism, some are research reports and some are my own observations.

In the second chapter, I will treat the Psalm 51 under the following points of view:

- What were the sources for the genesis of the text set to music by various composers treated in this study?
- How many text versions do we have and what are they?
- Is there any relation between the structure of the Psalm texts in contemporary (Psalter- and Bible) printings and the structure of the musical compositions? In case they are not related, what could be the reason for the division of the Psalm verses made by the composers?
- As the objects of examination are musical settings of Psalm 51 in Germany from Michael Praetorius to Johann Sebastian Bach, I will thus examine them in the context of theological thoughts of that period and of Lutheran and Calvinistic theology of music. I will examine theological

sources, both writings which represent the theology of music at that period (texts about music) as well as writings which are in close connection with the psalm texts (texts of music). For the second purpose, the psalms commentaries are of particular importance here.

Finally, the last (third) chapter will deal with the historical developments of the musical settings of Psalm 51. Following questions will be considered:

- How far has the biographical context of the composers played a role in their understanding of church music?
- Before the analysis of each Psalm 51 setting, I will first describe the composers' music aesthetics or their understanding of church music. I will examine whether the music aesthetics of each composer can be drawn from the composer's own writings or from other relevant sources. I will also ask whether the influence of reformational music aesthetics can be traced in the composer's understanding of (church) music.
- The collections, to which the selected settings of Psalm 51 belong, should also be included. The prefaces and dedicatory epistles of the collection will be explained to find out the backgrounds of the psalm settings.
- After that, the description of the individual musical setting and writing follows.
- The description should be able to carry out a comparison of the writings of different composers.
- At the end, we shall get a general impression, how far the psalm settings of those composers correspond to the development of reformational music aesthetics or reformational understanding of psalm singing.

The following questions, though not as principal as the above listed questions will also be considered:

For which context were musical settings of Psalm 51 written to? Which reasons and causes are there for their origins? Do causes, performance places and way of performance have effects on the writing? How is each vocal part treated?

The goal of this study is to represent the music historical development primarily, in which it analyzes and connects the theological aesthetic flux and historical changes in the psalm compositions. In the psalm settings of the selected composers, Psalm 51 was particularly frequently set to music and

these will be examined in order to show how different composers had dealt with the same text or the similar text. I will argue that the development of the musical settings of Psalm 51 corresponds with the development of reformational music aesthetics in Germany, so that we can view the Psalm settings not only *from* the perspectives of, but also *within* the limits of reformational music aesthetics alone.

1.2.3. The selected composers

We cannot examine all composers who set Psalm 51 from 1600 to 1750 in Germany. It is rather here a choice of composers who were more or less decisive for the development of Psalm 51 musical settings. Of course, one can still question about the choice and argue about it, why this composer is selected and not the other one. I am fully aware of such methodological difficulties. The start with Praetorius can be understood from a consequence of the chronological limits of this study. His musical setting of Psalm 51 is published in the collection of *Musae Sioniae V* appeared in 1607. Besides, Praetorius is a composer who also wrote extensively on the idea of music in his three volumes *Syntagma Musicum*. Schütz, Schein, and Scheidt are the three great S, which W. C. Printz praised in his *Historische Beschreibung der Edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst* as “the best three composers in Germany”. Hammerschmidt is in so far important because his musical compositions reflected a kind of a *via media* between the controversies of theology of music in his time. I choose Bernhard for two reasons: his proximity to Schütz and his important musical treatise on musical-rhetorical figures, which serves as an important document for the development of music aesthetics. Kuhnau is another composer who also wrote some thoughts on music aesthetics in his Preface to his *Biblische Historien*. He is Bach’s predecessor in Leipzig and to certain extent had influenced the young Telemann. A setting of an anonym composer (probably Telemann) and another setting by Telemann are selected to show the continuation of aesthetic flux in sacred music composition. Finally, Bach’s setting should demonstrate how far the understanding of the relation between text and music has changed since Praetorius. If the arguments for the selection of composers are still not satisfying, one must learn to accept that the selected works or composers in this study are within

the scope of my personal interest. However, I hope that they could be considered as representing the history of music in Protestant Germany.

Thus, the following list below includes the names of the composers who were found to be authors of Psalm 51 settings. It gives an overview of the life years of the composers, their main life stations, and remarks, which had to be taken into consideration in the examination:

Name	Life years	Life stations	Remarks
Praetorius, Michael	(1571?-1621)	Creuzburg/Eisenach, Torgau, Frankfurt/Oder, Wolfenbüttel, Dresden	Music theorist, composer, theologian
Schütz, Heinrich	(1585-1672)	Köstritz, Weißenfels, Kassel, Venedig, Dresden	Gabrieli-pupil
Schein, Johann H.	(1586-1630)	Annaberg, Dresden, Leipzig, Pforta, Weimar, Leipzig	
Scheidt, Samuel	(1587-1654)	Halle/S., Amsterdam, Halle/S.	Sweelinck-pupil
Hammerschmidt, A.	(1611/12-1675)	Brüx/Böhmen, Freiberg, Zittau	
Bernhard, Christoph	(1627-1692)	Kolberg, Danzig, Dresden, Rom, Hamburg, Dresden	Music theorist, Schütz-circle
Kuhnau, Johann	(1660-1722)	Geising, Dresden, Leipzig, Zittau, Leipzig	Music theorist, Thomaskantor
Telemann, Georg P.	(1681-1767)	Magdeburg, Hildesheim, Leipzig, Sorau, Eisenach, Frankfurt, Hamburg	Influenced by Kuhnau
Bach, Johann S.	(1685-1750)	Eisenach, Lüneburg, Arnstadt, Mühlhausen, Weimar, Cöthen, Leipzig	Thomaskantor

1.3. Luther's music aesthetics

Music plays a certain role in Luther's as well as in Calvin's theology. Both reformers know how to value the special strength of music. The apostle Paul has already written in his letter to the Colossians (3:16) "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, teaching and admonishing one another in all wisdom, singing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, with thankfulness in your hearts to God."⁴ From Paul, Luther and Calvin have learned substantially, but also from the church father Augustine.

In the next two sections, I will treat in two parts at first the general view of Luther and Calvin about music, afterwards especially their understanding on psalm singing, which takes a unique position for Luther as well as for Calvin. I will show how Luther's line of thought on music differs from that of Calvin. Besides, however, some common traits can also be found in both of their thoughts.

1.3.1. Luther's source on music

Luther's high esteem of music has a spontaneous-practical as well as a theological-reflective dimension.⁵ He sees the special value of the music "next to theology" in double regard: in the order of rank of arts and sciences and in being closed to an art of speaking: "Ich wolt alle künste / sonderlich die Musica / gern sehen im dienst / des der sie geben vnd geschaffen hat."⁶ In a little more detail and fundamental, Luther has commented on music in four songbook prefaces of 1524, 1533 (the first edition 1529 is missing), 1542 and 1545, as well as those rhymed *Vorrede auf alle guten Gesangbücher* of Johann Walter's didactic poem of 1538. In Coburg castle Luther outlined a treatise *Περι της Μουσικης*,⁷ which probably counts as a preliminary study of a letter written by Luther to the composer L. Senfl on 4 October 1530. In 1538, Georg Rhau (1488-1548)⁸ released his famous musical collective

⁴ ESV translation.

⁵ This whole paragraph is a summary of Luther's music source taken from Joachim Stalman, Art. "Luther, Martin", in: *MGG2*, Personenteil 11, Kassel 2004, col. 645.

⁶ Quoted after Johann Walter, Preface to *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 1, Kassel 1953, p. III.

⁷ WA 30, 2.

⁸ Georg Rhau was a musician and composer, a cantor at St. Thomas in Leipzig. He had contributed a mass for twelve voices for the opening of the disputation between Luther and Eck in 1519. Soon after that, he became a supporter of Luther. In 1523, he moved to Wittenberg and opened a printing firm that produced volumes of liturgical music for the Lutheran church service. He published twelve edited collections between 1538 and 1545, a

printing *Symphoniae iucundae*, perhaps the most detailed Luther's statement on music. 26 years later Johann Walter delivered a free paraphrasing German translation before the second of his musical didactic poems (*Lob und Preis der Himmlischen Kunst Musica*). The title *Encomion musices* comes apparently later from Michael Praetorius.⁹ Luther's way of thought, which has been handed down in the *Encomion musices*, can be summarized as followed:

Luther addressed his writing to the Devotees of Music (*musicae studiosi*; Walter's translation: *Liebhaber der freien Kunst Musica*). For him, music is a divine and excellent gift (*donum divinum et excellentissimum*), that the diversity and magnitude of its virtue and benefits can not be praised completely. "From the beginning of the world it [music] has been instilled and implanted in all creatures, individually and collectively."¹⁰ "For nothing is without sound or harmony",¹¹ even the invisible and imperceptible air as the least musical of all things, hence its lack of voice and speech, becomes sonorous, audible and comprehensible through its motion. However, music of the living things (*Musica in animantibus*), particularly of the birds, is more wonderful than sounding matter.

However, the crown of creation is human being with his/her voice, which cannot be compared to the music produced by other created things. Although philosophers have tried to explain the human voice, finally they have to acknowledge their inability in explaining the original components of human voice (such as laughter and weeping). Many things are waiting to be explored.

Despite the inadequacy of our words to describe the infinite variety of its forms and benefits, music deserves the second rank "next to the Word of God", because she is "a mistress and governess of those human affections" (*domina et gubernatrix affectuum humanorum*). Its power is not only to govern but also to overwhelm human beings. Therefore, music deserves the

complete repertory of masses, vespers, antiphons, responsories, and hymns, in both Latin and German and by the best composers of his day. The *Symphoniae iucundae* (Delightful Symphonies) and the *Selectae Harmoniae quatuor vocum de passione Domini* (Selected Harmonies of the Passion of Our Lord for Four Voices) were the first two volumes of this grand series. The *Symphoniae iucundae* contained fifty-two motets for the Sundays of the church year.

⁹ M. Mezger, Rezension von H. J. Moser, *Die ev. KM. in Deutschland*, in: *Mf* 8, 1955, 346ff.

¹⁰ "ab initio mundi indita seu concreata creaturis universis, singulis et omnibus" (Luther's Preface to Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae Iucundae*, 1538, in: *Luther's Works*, Vol. 53, ed. Ulrich S. Leupold [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965], p. 322).

¹¹ "nihil sine sono, seu numero sonoro" (*Luther's Works*, Vol. 53, p. 322).

greatest commendation since it is the most effective means that we could find (*Quid invenias efficacius quam ipsam Musicam?*):

“For whether you wish to comfort the sad, to terrify the happy, to encourage the despairing, to humble the proud, to calm the passionate, or to appease those full of hate – and who could number all these masters of the human heart, namely, the emotions, inclinations, and affections that impel men to evil or good?”¹²

The Holy Spirit himself honors music in the Holy Scriptures and uses it as his instrument for his proper work (*sui proprii officii organum*). Through music the gift of the Holy Spirit, namely, the inclination to all virtues, were instilled in the prophets, such as in case of Elisha (II Kings 3:15). As God’s instrument, it even has exorcist strength as it is shown at David’s harp playing in front of the depressive king Saul (I Sam. 16:23).

In this respect, music is closely associated with the Word of God (*verbo Dei nihil [...] coniunctius quam Musica*), though only in so far as human song. Therefore, Luther hardly judges the instrumental music to be more highly than the song of the birds. Only in connection with the words can music attest praising God. Two certain principles arise from the connection of word and music in praising God: “by proclaiming [the Word of God] through music and by providing sweet melodies with words.”¹³ However, God has enabled music to reach the highest individuality as it is shown in human singing: “No two men can be found with exactly the same voice and manner of speaking.”¹⁴

The creation wonder of music appears optimally in the art music as polyphonic, Cantus-firmus-centered figural music, which Luther compares with a heavenly dance (*divina quaedam chorea*):

“Here it is most remarkable that one single voice continues to sing the tenor, while at the same time many other voices play around it, exulting and adorning it in exuberant strains and, as it were, leading it forth in a divine roundelay, so that those who are the least bit moved know nothing more amazing in this world. But any who remain unaffected are unmusical indeed and deserve to hear a certain filth poet or the music of the pigs.”¹⁵

Finally, music has a pedagogical use for the young men, since by it they may learn to escape shameful desires and bad company, at the same time they may

¹² *Luther’s Works*, Vol. 53, p. 323.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 323-324.

¹⁴ “negant enim posse duos homines inveniri similes per omnia vocis et loquelae” (*Ibid.*, p. 324).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

accustom themselves “by this creation to recognize and praise the Creator” (*in hac creatura Creatorem agnoscere et laudare*). Luther’s high esteem on music does not mean that there is no such thing as bad music, he warns:

“Take special care to shun perverted minds who prostitute this lovely gift of nature and of art with their erotic rantings; and be quite assured that none but the devil goads them on to defy their very nature which would and should praise God its Maker with this gift.”¹⁶

1.3.2. Luther’s understanding of the word

Luther’s understanding of the word does not have any dualistic division of word content and word sound, of contents and form. For him the word finds his intrinsic situation in the conversation.¹⁷ The “*verba scriptas*” contrast with the “*verba vocalias*”. The written words are motionless, while the spoken words move the listener. Luther judges: “Nevertheless it is still better taught with the voice than with letters, because the voice is a lively being and the letters are a dead art”.¹⁸

Based on its sonority (*Stimmlichkeit*) and non-sonority (*Stimmlosigkeit*), Luthers distinguishes words into three kinds, namely *verba mentalia*, *verba scripta*, *verba vocalia*. *Verba mentalia* and *verba scripta* are soundless. *Verba vocalia* on the other hand are sounding. Both the content of understanding and the way of understanding are connected by the double aspects of the word as *verbum mentale* and *verbum vocale*, and to be more precise with the “*tradere vivaciter*” as a “*tradere invoce*”.¹⁹

Therefore, sonority (*Stimmlichkeit*) and verbal nature (*Mündlichkeit*) are parts of the nature of the word according to Luther’s understanding. Because of this, Luther uses the German language “to make the spiritual content and the feeling vibrations of the texts heard through the means of the sound and

¹⁶ Preface to Georg Rhau’s *Symphoniae Iucundae*, 1538, in: *Luther’s Works*, Vol. 53, p. 324.

¹⁷ This section contains research report of the study on Luther’s understanding of the word in the dissertation by Johannes Block, *Verstehen durch Musik: Das gesungene Wort in der Theologie*, Tübingen 2002.

¹⁸ “Melius tamen adhuc traditur in voce quam in litteris, quia vox est natura viva, littere sunt ars mortua” (WA 57 [II]; 94, 25f.).

¹⁹ Quoted after Block, *Verstehen*, p. 30.

the sentence descent”.²⁰ Therefore, in Luther’s opinion the word of the Gospel works better through the voice than through writings:

“It does not suffice in the church that books are written and read, but it is necessary, that these are spoken and heard. Therefore, Christ has written nothing but spoken everything; the apostles have written little but spoken very much. [...] Because the office of the New Testament is not put into stone and dead panels but put for the sound of the lively voice. [...] by the living word God completes and fulfills the Gospel. Therefore it must be strived to increase more speakers than good authors in the church. In this sense Paul also writes to the Galatians: “I wanted, that I could be present with you now and change my voice” [Gal 4:20], because much can be negotiated more effectively with the voice, which can not succeed with writings.”²¹

1.3.3. Music and the verbal nature (*Mündlichkeit*) of the word

In his table talks, Luther explains once: “The notes make the text alive.”²² This absolutely corresponds to his understanding of the word, which from the written letters of the Bible, wants to become a free, moving, and living speech. Singing thus makes the text lively. It is the Holy Spirit however and not a human being who first gives the living power to the Word of God. For Luther, music in the service of the Gospel has to be understood pneumatologically. In the *Fastenpostille* of 1525 to Colossian 3:16 Luther writes, “God’s Word wants to be preached and sung”. The singing as reformational concern is for him almost as important as the sermon. A motet of Ludwig Senfl and a sermon of Martin Luther are both gifts of the Holy Spirit.²³ All music is therefore always theological-relevant. “The music is a

²⁰ “um mit den Mitteln des Klanges und des Satzgefälles den seelischen Gehalt und die Gefühlsschwingungen der Texte zu Gehör zu bringen“ (Emanuel Hirsch, “Zu Luthers deutscher Bibel“, in: Ibid., *Lutherstudien*, Vol. 2, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1954, p. 258).

²¹ “In Ecclesia non satis esse libros scribi et legi, sed necessarium esse dici et audiri. Ideo enim Christus nihil scripsit, sed omnia dixit, Apostoli pauca scripserunt, sed plurima dixerunt. [...] Novi enim testamenti ministerium non in lapideis et mortuis tabulis est deformatum, sed in vivae vocis sonum positum. [...] per verbum vivum perficit et implet Euangelium. Unde magis conandum, ut multi sint concionatores quam boni scriptores in Ecclesia. Quo sensu et Paulus ad Galatas scribit, Vellem modo praesens esse apud vos, ut mutarem vocem meam’, quod multa possint et efficacius voce tractari, quae scriptis non possunt“ (WA 5; 537,10-25 [1519-21]).

²² “Die Noten machen den Text lebendig“ (WA Tischreden No. 2545b). In this section, I try to offer Oskar Söhngen’s understanding on Luther’s theology of music.

²³ Luther, *WA Tischreden*, Vol. 1, p. 490.

gift and presents from God, not a present from man.”²⁴ As Söhngen has beautifully stated that for Luther there is no secular music in the strict sense of the word, but if there is any, then it is corrupted music for the singing “has nothing to do with the world”.²⁵ In his Preface to the Walter’s *Choir Book*, Luther justifies his spiritual song as followed:

“Therefore, I, too, in order to make a start and to give an incentive to those who can do better, have with the help of others compiled several hymns, so that the holy gospel which now by the grace of God has risen anew may be noised and spread abroad.”²⁶

1.3.4. Music as language of the gospel and faith

For Luther music is part of the nature of human being created by God and therefore it can inform us about essential thing of human being while on the other hand it has something to say about that essential thing.²⁷ Music can speak to man in his central being because it comes from the heart, so that we “are improved and strengthened in faith by his sacred word, done with sweet song into the heart”.²⁸ Music can especially proclaim the Gospel: “*Deus praedicavit evangelium etiam per musicam*” (God has also preached the gospel through music).²⁹ Irwin has criticized Söhngen for placing such importance on the above quoted passage from the Table Talk. She asserts that the passage does not refer to the text:

“In fact, the word ‘gospel’ here is being used not in reference to the written word but in opposition to “law”. Thus the compositions of Josquin des Pres communicate the gospel because they “flow freely, gently, and cheerfully, are not

²⁴ “Die Musica ist ein Gabe und Geschenke Gottes, nicht ein Menschen-Geschenk“ (Luther, *Tischreden* No. 7034).

²⁵ “hatt nichts zu thun mit der welt“ (*Tischreden*, Nr. 1300; O. Söhngen, “Die Musikanschauungen der Reformatoren und die Überwindung der mittelalterlichen Musiktheologie“, in: *Musa, mens, musici*, ed. Musikwissenschaftliches Institut [Berlin, Ost], Leipzig 1969, p. 60).

²⁶ “Demnach hab ich auch / sampt etlichen andern / zum guten anfang / vnd vrsach zu geben / denen die es besser vermögen / etliche geistliche Lieder zusammen gebracht / das heilige Euangelium / so jtz von Gottes gnaden wider auff gangen ist / zu treiben vnd in schwang zu bringen“ (Luther’s Preface to the *Wittenberg Hymnal*, 1524).

²⁷ Joachim Stalmann, Art. “Luther, Martin“, in: *MGG2*, Personenteil 11, Kassel 2004, col. 646. In this section, I summarize Joyce Irwin’s criticism on Söhngen’s understanding of Luther, while trying to defend and support Söhngen’s thesis with the more recent scholar O. C. Edwards, Carl Braaten as well as with Michael Heymel. Finally, I will carefully question Fubini’s opinion on Luther’s music aesthetics.

²⁸ “durch sein heiliges Wort, mit süßem Gesang ins Herz getrieben, gebessert und gestärkt werden im Glauben“ (Luther, *Vorrede zu den Begräbnisgesängen*, 1542, WA 35, p. 480).

²⁹ Luther, *WA Tischreden* No. 1258.

forced or cramped by rules,” (LW 54, 130) not because they effectively communicate textual meaning.”³⁰

However, I have already shown that there are some other passages as well, through which we can conclude that in Luther’s thought, the sounds of word in voice are to be preferred than those in writings:

“In the New Testament, preaching must be done orally and publicly, with the living voice, to produce in speech and hearing what prior to this lay hidden in the letter and in secret vision.”³¹

Moreover, O. C. Edwards has also pointed out that Luther’s distinction on scripture/preaching (written word/sounding word) is parallel to his distinction between law/gospel, letter/Spirit, and Old Testament/New Testament.³² So that even when the passage from the Table Talk is interpreted as referring to the opposition between law and gospel, it still corresponds with the distinction between written word and sounding word.

Music also can awake the prayer with a special fervor. In addition, because music has both strengths of the gift of the creation in a high degree, namely the *praedicare* and the *laudare sive orare*, Luther gives it the second highest rank among sciences, “next to theology”.³³ After the creational orientation, music is under the *Artes liberales* more traditionally in *Quadrivium* (the other liberal arts are arithmetic, geometry, astronomy) as natural sciences, whose matter is given by nature. As a medium of dialogue between God and man however, music seems in Luther’s opinion, different from the music theorist’s of the middle Ages, to be nearer to the discipline of the *Trivium* (rhetoric, grammar, and dialectic). Music ranks between mathematics and rhetoric now. “As sound, it is part of the *Quadrivium*, as the art of speaking it belongs to the *Trivium*” (Chr. Krummacher).³⁴ According to Luther, the close connection between theology and music in the biblical

³⁰ Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone*, p. 147.

³¹ Martin Luther, “The Gospel for the Festival of the Epiphany, Matthew 2[:1-12]”, in: *Luther’s Works*, Vol. 52, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974], p. 205.

³² “This [law/gospel] distinction is phrased in other ways as well by Luther; it is the same as the letter/Spirit and the *Schrift/Predigt* dichotomies, and the basic difference between the Old and New Testaments.” (Otis Carl Edwards, *A History of Preaching*, Nashville: Abingdon, 2004, p. 288); see also Carl E. Braaten, *Justification: The Article by Which the Church Stands or Falls*, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990, p. 148.

³³ Letter to Senfl, in: *Briefwechsel* 5, p. 639.

³⁴ Quoted after Michael Heymel, *Wie man mit Musik für die Seele sorgt*, Ostfildern 2006, p. 99.

prophets has its reason, that music can preach the Word of God “not without affective touch and moving of the person”.³⁵

Having read about Luther’s high esteem on music, we might wonder whether there is any critical statement about music or some regulations and restrictions to certain music in Luther’s thought. Irwin for instance concludes with Söhngen’s interpretation that “Luther’s affirmation of music is so total, [...] that there are no ‘bad’ modes and thus no harmful music.”³⁶ Also Fubini, after quoting a lengthy passage from Luther’s letter to the composer Ludwig Senfl, claims that “Luther’s words breathe no suggestion that there might be any moral purpose attached to musical endeavour; indeed, music emerges as a power that can redeem men from sin and cheer them in the face of difficulty”.³⁷ However, in the next page he again quoted from Luther’s preface to the *Wittenberger Chorgesangbuch*: “These, further, are set for four voices for no other reason than that I wished that the young (who, apart from this, should and must be trained in music and other proper arts) might have something to rid them of their love *ditties and wanton songs* and might, instead of these, learn wholesome things and thus cleave willingly, as becomes them, to good.”³⁸ Luther’s overwhelming positive statement on music has to be understood in the context of his response to “some bigoted people”, who had the opinion that “all the arts should be crushed to earth and perish through the Gospel.”³⁹ Therefore, it is not true that there is no bad and harmful music in Luther’s thought. Luther’s statement is rather a responsive statement against a radical negative view on arts.

1.3.5. Luther on psalm singing

In accordance with what has been described above concerning Luther’s understanding of the word, the word *psallere* does not mean a quiet,

³⁵ “nicht ohne affektive Ergriffenheit und Bewegtheit der Person“ (Heymel, p. 99).

³⁶ Oskar Söhngen, *Theologie der Musik*, Kassel 1967, pp. 89-90; see also Irwin, p. 24.

³⁷ Enrico Fubini, *The History of Music Aesthetics*, transl. Michael Hatwell, London: Macmillan, 1990, pp. 143-144.

³⁸ “Und diese Lieder sind dazu auch in vier Stimmen gesetzt, aus keinem anderen Grunde, als dass ich gerne möchte, dass die Jugend, die ohnehin soll und muss in der musik und anderen rechten Künsten erzogen werden, etwas hätte, damit sie *die Buhllieder und fleischlichen Gesaenge* los würde und statt derselben etwas Heilsames lernte und so das Gute mit Lust, wie es den Jungen gebührt, einginge“ (Luther, *Vorrede zum Wittenberger Chorgesangbuch* 1524; quoted after Fubini, *Music Aesthetics*, pp. 144-145 [Italics mine]).

³⁹ “durchs Evangelium sollten alle Kuenste zu Boden geschlagen werden und vergehen“ (Fubini, *Music Aesthetics*, p. 145).

intellectual reading, but a reading with hearing and tones.⁴⁰ Dealing with the Psalter is a musical practice and one can understand the psalms properly when one sings them. In his preface to the Psalter, Luther describes the psalms as followed: “In the Psalter one sees the saints in the heart. One finds in it words for all living conditions, thus suitably, as if they were spoken for my sake.”⁴¹ Luther then continues:

“Besides, the Psalter does even more that it represents not only simple, usual speech of the saints to us, but the very best ones which they have talked with great seriousness in the most splendid things with God themselves, with which he makes clear not only their words about their works, but also their heart and the true treasure of their souls to us. Thus, we can see into the ground and the spring of their words and works, that is their heart: what kind of thought they have had as their heart has positioned itself and has held in all kinds of things, need and danger...

However, the Psalter gives this to us most splendidly to the saint, that we can be certain how their heart confessed and their words have been before God and everybody. Since a human heart is like a ship on a wild sea which the gales of four directions of the world drive. Here fear and worry bumps here before future misfortune, there grieve goes and sadness from present evil. Here hope and presumption from future fortune, there security and joy blow in present goods.

However, such gales teach to talk with seriousness and open the heart and to tip out the ground. Since who is in fear and need, talks quite differently from the misfortune than he who floats in joys. And he, who floats in joys, talks and sings quite differently about joys than he who is in fear. It goes not from the heart, one says, if a sad should laugh or a happy cry, that is, the ground of his heart is not open and is not out.

Hence, also comes that the Psalter is book of all saints and each in whatever circumstances he is (also), finds psalms and words inside, which rhyme with his things and are suitable for him, thus as if they were so spoken only for his sake, that he also even can not speak nor find, nor may wish them better.

This is good then also to the fact, that if one likes such words and rhymes with him, he becomes certain that he is in the community of the saints and it has gone

⁴⁰ Heymel, p. 91. In this section, I report the research of Michael Heymel on Luther’s understanding of Psalm singing as well as the older study by Winfried Kurzschinkel on the theological position of music.

⁴¹ “Im Psalter sehe man den Heiligen ins Herz. Man finde darin Worte für alle Lebensumstände, so passend, als ob sie um meinetwillen gesprochen wären“ (quoted after Michael Heymel, *Wie man mit Musik für die Seele sorgt*, p. 89).

for all saints as it goes for him, because they all sing a little song with him (together) ...”⁴²

Luther is convinced, “that we should adapt our affections to the affections of the psalms”.⁴³ For him, the Psalter is a struggle school of the affections in which they learn to fight against each other. In his second Psalm lecture, in a ‘*Monitum*’ at the end of the commentary of the first Psalm, Luther calls the Psalter as a whole with the formula: “*Psalterium affectuum quaedam palaestra et exercitium*” (the Psalter is a struggle school and exercise of the affections).⁴⁴ The psalm book is not only a school of the intellect and therewith belongs to an object of the intellect in the study, but it wants to be read soundly and vocally:

“Singen und Sprechen unterscheiden sich, wie einen Psalm singen oder rezitieren und bloß verstandesmäßig erkennen und lehren. Aber wenn die Stimme hinzukommt, wird es zum Gesang, der die Stimme des Affektes ist. Wie also das Wort dem Verstand zugeordnet ist, so die Stimme (der Gesang) dem Affekt.”⁴⁵

⁴² “Zudem tut der Psalter noch mehr, dass er uns nicht schlichte, gewöhnliche Rede der Heiligen wiedergibt, sondern die allerbesten, die sie mit großem Ernst in den allertrefflichsten Sachen mit Gott selber geredet haben, womit er uns nicht allein ihre Worte über ihre Werke, sondern auch ihr Herz und den wahren Schatz ihrer Seelen vor Augen führt. So können wir in den Grund und die Quelle ihrer Worte und Werke, das ist ihr Herz sehen: was sie für Gedanken gehabt haben, wie sich ihr Herz gestellet und gehalten hat in allerlei Sachen, Not und Gefahr ...

Das aber gibt uns der Psalter aufs allerreichlichste an den Heiligen, dass wir gewiss sein können, wie ihr Herz gestanden und ihre Worte gelautet haben gegen Gott und jedermann. Denn ein menschlich Herz ist wie ein Schiff auf einem wilden Meer, welches die Sturmwinde von den vier Himmelsrichtungen der Welt her treiben. Hier stößt her Furcht und Sorge vor zukünftigem Unglück, dort fährt Grämen her und Traurigkeit aus gegenwärtigem Übel. Hier weht Hoffnung und Vermessenheit aus zukünftigem Glück, dort bläset her Sicherheit und Freude in gegenwärtigen Gütern.

Solche Sturmwinde aber lehren mit Ernst reden und das Herz öffnen und den Grund herausschütten. Denn wer in Furcht und Not steckt, redet ganz anders vom Unglück, als der in Freuden schwebt. Und wer in Freuden schwebt, redet und singt ganz anders von Freuden, als der in Furcht steckt. Es gehet nicht von Herzen, sagt man, wenn ein Trauriger lachen oder ein Fröhlicher weinen soll, das heißt, seines Herzens Grund steht nicht offen und ist nicht heraus.

[...] Daher kommt auch, dass der Psalter aller Heiligen Büchlein ist, und ein jeglicher, in was für Umständen er (auch) ist, Psalmen und Worte drinnen findet, die sich auf seine Sachen reimen und ihm so angemessen sind, als wären sie allein um seinetwillen so gesprochen, dass er sie auch selbst nicht besser sprechen noch finden kann noch wünschen mag.

Das ist denn auch dazu gut, dass, wenn einem solche Worte gefallen und sich auf ihn reimen, er gewiss wird, er sei in der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen und es sei allen Heiligen gegangen, wie es ihm gehet, weil sie ein Liedlein alle mit ihm (zusammen) singen ...“ (WADB 10/1, p. 100ff; quoted after Heymel, p. 90; transl. by me).

⁴³ “dass wir unsere Affekte den Affekten der Psalmen angleichen und anpassen sollen“ (WA 5, p. 46 [1519-21]).

⁴⁴ WA 5, p. 46.

⁴⁵ “Sed vocem addendo fit cantus, que vox est affectus. Sicut ergo verbum est intellectus, sic vox ipsius affectus” (WA 4,140:31; Winfried Kurzschnekel, *Die theologische Bestimmung der Musik*, Trier: Paulinus, 1971 [Diss. Univ. Gregoriana 1967/68], p. 162).

Luther tends to define music as the language of affections. In his Psalm exegesis, Luther creates a “transition from intellectual to affective dealing with the Psalter”.⁴⁶ It does not mean, however, that for Luther the intellectual dealing is somehow lower than the affective one. His concern is a concern for acknowledging the wholeness of human being with his/her full faculties. On one hand, one can express himself through music, on the other hand, through the same means he may expect that the similar impression can be aroused in the soul of the audience. For Luther, it is not only all about an abstract understanding of the text, but rather that the word is heard and received personally by human being.⁴⁷

1.3.6. Luther’s aesthetics in the context of history of aesthetics

Luther’s understanding of the word as *verba vocalia*, in which context music plays a very important role, may serve as an original solution for a long disputed aesthetic problem about the relation of content and form/structure.⁴⁸ Platonic answer on that problem would be that the content is the single universal Form of The Beautiful that only the philosopher can recognize, while the formal structures are thought to be “many beautifuls” by the “lovers of sights and sounds” who eagerly attend arts festivals.⁴⁹ The formal structures could only capture the particularity and therefore hinder people from the abstract (true universal) knowledge.

Aristotelian view that beauty is a real property of things would answer differently:⁵⁰ here the formal structures are more highly viewed than the content since a definition of beauty is to be assumed in terms of size and proportion,⁵¹ that is, in the formal structures of things/art works. The medieval aesthetics, though remains problematic for our modern views, is historically unavoidable and must be treated because of its concern with the conceptual

⁴⁶ “Übergang vom intellektuellen zum affektiven Umgang mit dem Psalter“ (Günter Bader, *Psalterium affectuum palaestra. Prolegomena zu einer Theologie des Psalters* (HUTH 33), Tübingen 1996, 44; quoted after Heymel, p. 91).

⁴⁷ Kurzschenkel, *Theologische Bestimmung der Musik*, p. 162.

⁴⁸ This section deals with Luther’s aesthetics viewed in the context of aesthetics theories by Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas.

⁴⁹ Plato, *Republic* 475d-476b; see also Christopher Janaway, “Plato”, in: *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics*, ed. Berys Gaut and Dominic McIver Lopes, London 2003, p. 9.

⁵⁰ Comp. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1072b32-35.

⁵¹ Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1078a31-b5; *Ibid.*, *Politics* 1284b8-10; Nickolas Pappas, “Aristotle“, in: *The Routledge Companion*, p. 24.

relationship between Creator and Creation.⁵² Augustine as the most original philosopher of the early Church and Thomas the doctor of the high Middle Ages are the two leading voices of western Christian aesthetics representing the early and high medieval.

Augustine's ambivalent view on music in his *Confessiones* (X, 33) shows both positive view of music as well as the negative side of it:

“Sometimes I go to the point of wishing that all the melodies of the pleasant songs to which David's Psalter is adapted should be banished both from my ears and from those of the Church itself. In this mood, the safer way seemed to me the one I remember was once related to me concerning Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, who required the readers of the psalm to use so slight an inflection of the voice that it was more like speaking than singing. However, when I call to mind the tears I shed at the songs of thy Church at the outset of my recovered faith, and how even now I am moved, not by the singing but by what is sung (when they are sung with a clear and skillfully modulated voice), I then come to acknowledge the great utility of this custom.”⁵³

In the context of the relation between content (in this case “what is sung”, namely the text/the word) and formal structures (“the melodies of the pleasant songs”), Augustine tends to stress the former than the later. He even believes that the presentation (“when they are sung with a clear and skillfully modulated voice”) is still more important than the formal structures (the song and its musical melodies).

Finally, Thomas Aquinas is believed to be able to integrate Augustine's use of Neo-Platonism and Aristotelian philosophy in his *Summa Theologiae* in an original way.⁵⁴ He emphasizes the contemplative pleasures immediately combined with ‘beholding’ some integrated and well-proportioned complex natural or manufactured thing. In his *Summa* he wrote:

“Species or beauty has a likeness to the property of the Son. For beauty includes three conditions, ‘integrity’ or ‘perfection’, since those things which are impaired

⁵² Joseph Margolis, “Medieval Aesthetics”, in: *The Routledge Companion*, p. 27.

⁵³ “sed valde interdum, ut melos omnes cantilenarum suavium, quibus Daviticum psalterium frequentatur, ab auribus meis removeri velim atque ipsius ecclesiae, tutiusque mihi videtur, quod de Alexandrino episcopo Athanasio saepe dictum mihi commemini, qui tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam canenti. Verum tamen cum reminiscor lacrimas meas, quas fudi ad cantus ecclesiae in primordiis recuperatae fidei meae, et nunc ipsum quod moveor non cantu, sed rebus quae cantantur, cum liquida voce et convenientissima modulatione cantantur, magnam instituti huius utilitatem rursus agnosco.” (Augustine, *Confessiones* X, 33,50, ed. Joseph Bernhart, Frankfurt 1992, p. 564; transl. Albert C. Outler).

are by the very fact ugly; due 'proportion' or 'harmony'; and lastly, 'brightness' or 'clarity', whence things are called beautiful which have a bright color."⁵⁵

Beauty, contemplated as a likeness to Christ's property/attribute, is treated as fully compatible with the harmoniously proportioned parts of complex things. Put in the relation of content and form/structure, here the content should be able to be explained convincingly in qualification of the three conditions of beauty and its perception taken in the formal structures of things perceived. Therefore Thomas then continues:

"The first of these has a likeness to the property of the Son, inasmuch as He as Son has in Himself truly and perfectly the nature of the Father. [...] The second agrees with the Son's property, inasmuch as He is the express Image of the Father. Hence, we see that an image is said to be beautiful, if it perfectly represents even an ugly thing. [...] The third agrees with the property of the Son, as the Word, which is the light and splendor of the intellect."⁵⁶

As already stated above, Luther has his own way of thinking in resolving this aesthetic problem in his theological thought. The relation of content and form/structure is viewed not as dualistic tension or division but as complementary integration. The formal structures (the music as sounding word) even can be understood as *part of the true nature* of the content (the word/the text). Now, out of this explanation, one question still remains to be explored: if the formal structures (of music) must be as far as possible guided by its content, to what extent can the content make 'room' for the formal structures of music? Alternatively, differently stated: Can the content also be explained from the perspectives of the formal structures of music? We should get back to this later.

⁵⁴ Margolis, *Routledge*, p. 31.

⁵⁵ "*Species autem sive pulchritudo habet similitudinem cum propriis Filii : nam ad pulchritudinem tria requiruntur ; primò quidem integritas (1) sive perfectio, quae enim diminuta sunt, hoc ipso turpia sunt; et debita proportio, sive consonantia ; et iterum claritas. Unde quae habent colorem nitidum, pulchra esse dicuntur.*" (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* I, 39, 8, Pars prima, ed. Nicolai, Sylvii, Billuart, & C.- J. Drioux, Parisiis 1856, p. 320; transl. by Fathers of the English Dominican Province).

⁵⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* I, 39, 8.

1.4. Calvin's music aesthetics

1.4.1. Calvin's source on music

There are two basic statements of Calvin about his view on music: the *Institutio* (III.20.31-32) and the preface to *Forme des prières et chantz ecclesiastiques* (Calvin Studienausgabe Vol. 2, 154-160) from 1542.⁵⁷ In both writings, the music is treated in relation with prayer:

“As for public prayers, there are two kinds. One is made with simple word, the other with singing. And it is not a thing invented lately. Because from the first origin of the Church it was there, as it appears from the history clearly. And even St. Paul speaks not only to pray with the mouth, but also to sing (1. Corinthians 14:15).”⁵⁸

In the *Articles concernant l'organisation de l'église* from 1537, it has been already stated that the psalms singing was assigned to the public prayers. There, it is said that it is an exceedingly useful thing for the edification of the church to sing some psalms as a public prayer and to direct requests to God or to praise him in singing.⁵⁹ That music is treated in connection with prayer is not a disparagement. It shows rather how high Calvin values the church singing, because for him the prayer is the center of the Christian life.⁶⁰ In the

⁵⁷ Francis Higman, Art. “Calvin, Johannes“, in: *MGG2*, Personenteil 3, Kassel 2000, col. 1717. This section offers a summary of the study on Calvin's theology of music by Jan Smelik.

⁵⁸ “Quant est prières publiques, il y en a deux espèces. Les unes se font par simple parole, les autres avec chant. Et ce n'est pas chose inventée depuis peu de temps. Car dès la première origine de l'Eglise cela a été, comme il appert par les histoires. Et même saint Paul ne parle pas seulement de prier de bouche, mais ausse de chanter” (J. Calvin, *Forme des prières et chantz ecclesiastiques* [=FP], in: Calvin Studienausgabe [=CS], Bd. 2, ed. by E. Busch/A. Heron/C. Link/P. Opitz/E. Saxer/H. Scholl, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1997, p. 154-156).

⁵⁹ “Dauantage cest vne chose bien expediente a ledification de lesglise de chanter aucuns pseumes en forme doraysons publicqs par les quelz on face prieres an Dieu ou que on chante ses louanges affin que les cueurs de tous soyent esmeuz et jncites a former parolles orayons et rendre pareilles louanges et graces a Dieu dune mesme affection” (Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia [=CO], Vol. 6, ed. by W. Baum/E. Cunitz/E. Reuß, Braunschweig/Berlin 1863-1900, p. 6).

⁶⁰ Jan Smelik, “Die Theologie der Musik bei Johannes Calvin”, in: *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden*, ed. by Eckhard Grunewald, Henning P. Jürgens & Jan R. Luth, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004 (=Frühe Neuzeit, Vol. 97), p. 64.

Institutio he calls prayer the “most distinguished exercise of faith”.⁶¹ He sees the invocation of God as the “main part of the service of God”.⁶²

Two definite principles arise from the connection of music and prayer: On one hand, the music serves as a means to move the heart:

“And to tell the truth, we know by experience that singing has great power and vigor to move and arouse the heart of men, to invoke and praise God with a burning and more vehement ardor.”⁶³

Whereas Luther identifies music as a mistress and governess of human affections, Calvin understands music as a means to cure one of the most dangerous enemies of Christian religion: dullness. If we use a metaphor to describe Calvin’s understanding of music as a means, we may borrow Söhngen’s description on the “prerequisite of a fundamental nature difference” between Word (of God) and music as the “cloth”, “cover”, “vessel”, or “funnel”.⁶⁴

On the other hand, in the *Institutio*, Calvin also states that voice and song in prayer must come from deep feeling heart:

“Hence, it is perfectly clear that neither words nor singing (if used in prayer) are of the least consequence, or avail one iota with God, unless they proceed from deep feeling in the heart.”⁶⁵

Which of the two, the music that moves the heart or the deep feeling of the heart from which the singing proceed, precedes and gives birth to the other is not easy to determine.⁶⁶

⁶¹ “De orationi, quae praecipuum est fidei exercitium, et qua Dei beneficia quotidie percipimus” (J. Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis* [=ICR] III, 20, in: *Joannis Calvini opera selecta* [=OS], hg. v. P. Barth/W. Niesel/D. Scheuner, 5. Bde., 1926-1936, Bd. 4, Monachii 1931, p. 296,30-31).

⁶² “Et de fait, si les prières sont la principale partie du service de Dieu [...]” (CO 53, 464).

⁶³ “Et à la vérité, nous connaissons par expérience que le chant a grande force et vigueur d’émouvoir et enflammer le cœur des hommes, pour invoquer et louer Dieu d’un zèle plus véhément et ardent” (Calvin, FP, Op. omn. 6, p. 169).

⁶⁴ “Im Gegenteil gehen die von Calvin für die Musik verwandten Bilder sämtlich von der Voraussetzung grundsätzlicher Wesensverschiedenheit zwischen dem zugrunde liegenden Wort und dem ’Kleid’, der ’Hülle’, dem ’Gefäß’, dem ’Trichter’ der musik aus“ (Söhngen, “Die Musikanschauungen der Reformatoren“, p. 60).

⁶⁵ “Hinc praeterea plusquam clarum est, neque vocem neque cantum (si oratione intercedant) habere quicquam momenti, aut hilum proficere apud Deum, nisi ex alto cordis affectu profecta” (J. Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis* [=ICR] III, 20, 31, in: *Joannis Calvini opera selecta* [=OS], hg. v. P. Barth/W. Niesel/D. Scheuner, 5. Bde., 1926-1936, Bd. 3-5; transl. by Henry Beveridge).

1.4.2. Music and understanding

As Söhngen has already pointed out in his book, for Calvin it is not enough that “one sings with heart and mouth, but one must sing with heart, mouth, and understanding.”⁶⁷ For the true faith, understanding and knowledge are basic: “Scimus ... ubi nulla est intelligentia, nullam etiam aedificationem esse” (“We know that where there is no knowledge, there is also no edification”).⁶⁸ Therefore, the right understanding should move the heart and the affection:

“Besides, we need to remember of what St. Paul says, that the spiritual songs can be sung correctly only with the heart (Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16). And the heart requires understanding. And in it (said St. Augustine) lies the difference between the singing of men, and that of the birds. Because a linnet, a nightingale, a parrot will sing well, but it will be without understanding. And the special gift of man is to sing by knowing what he says. Afterwards the heart and the affection must follow the understanding, what is not possible, however, if we have not printed the song in our memory, for never to cease singing.”⁶⁹

However, the other direction is also true: if singing is properly conceived, it lends dignity to sacred actions and is invaluable in kindling zeal and eagerness to pray in our hearts. Singing “has a very powerful tendency to stir up the mind to true zeal and ardor in prayer.”⁷⁰

1.4.3. Calvin and the music aesthetics of his contemporaries

We should understand Calvin’s statements on music in the context of his time. Many of his statements were not rare in his time; other religious and ideological groups also represented such views.⁷¹ Just like the humanists of

⁶⁶ Comp. Calvin’s Prolegomena on the relation between the knowledge of God and of ourselves in ICR I, 1, 1.

⁶⁷ “Es genügt also nicht, daß jemand mit Herz und Mund singt, er muß mit Herz, Mund und Verstand singen“ (Oskar Söhngen, *Theologie der Musik*, p. 68).

⁶⁸ *Calvini opera* Vol. 30, col. 259.

⁶⁹ “Au reste, il nous faut souvenir de ce que dit saint Paul, que les chansons spirituelles ne se peuvent bien chanter que de cœur. Or le cœur requiert l’intelligence. Et en cela (dit saint Augustin) gît la différence entre le chant des hommes, et celui des oiseaux. Car une linotte, un rossignol, un perroquet chanteront bien, mais ce sera sans entendre. Or le propre don de l’homme est de chanter en sachant ce qu’il dit. Après l’intelligence doit suivre le cœur et l’affection, ce qui ne peut être que nous n’ayons le Cantique imprimé en notre mémoire, pour jamais ne cesser de chanter” (Calvin, FP, Op. omn. 6, p. 171).

⁷⁰ “Et certe si ad eam, quae Dei et Angelorum conspectum decet, gravitatem attemperatus sit cantus, cum dignitatem et gratiam sacris actionibus conciliat, tum ad excitandos in verum precandi studium ardoremque animos plurimum valet” (ICR III, 20, 32, OS 4, p. 342,18-21).

⁷¹ In this section, I present a report of the study by Jan Smelik as well as by Jeremy Begbie and Don Harrán.

his time, Calvin, too, represents the current point of view about the emotional effect of music:

“But still there is more, because in this world there is barely a thing which can more turn or bend the morals of the men here and there, as Plato carefully considered it. And indeed, we experiment that it has a secret and almost unbelievable power to move hearts in a kind or another.”⁷²

On instrumental music for instance, Calvin represents a humanistic point of view. Humanistic music theorist like Gioseffo Zarlino has stressed that the vocal music enjoys precedence towards the instrumental. In his book *Le institutioni harmoniche* (1558) Zarlino draws a difference between “*Musica naturale*” (that is vocal music) and “*Musica arteficiata*” (that is instrumental music):

“One actually discovers such a big difference between music, which results from the human voice or from an instrument, that one can call the one a natural rhythmical or metrical, the other an artificial rhythmical or metrical.”⁷³

Zarlino views vocal music as natural. Therefore, it was nothing special in that time that Calvin preferred vocal music.

Also Calvin’s view on the relationship between music and text agrees largely with humanistic writings. It was important to the humanists, that the music must match the text. The melodic ornaments shall be reduced so that the melody can more strongly be adapted to the syllables. The humanists tend to pay attention to the “accentuation of words and their proper arrangement”, or we can summarize that as “simplification of musical means and clarification of textual content, a concern, then, with audibility, with intelligibility”.⁷⁴ The treatises from the 16th century of Lanfranco, Vincentino, Zarlino and Stocker confirm this without exception.⁷⁵ Zarlino wrote in his *Instituzioni harmoniche*:

“It now remains to be determined how one ought to combine the harmonies with the words placed beneath them. I say ‘to combine the harmonies with the words’

⁷² “Mais encore y a-t-il davantage, car à grand’peine y a-t-il en ce monde chose qui puisse plus tourner ou fléchir çà et là les mœurs des hommes, comme Platon l’a prudemment considéré. Et de fait, nous expérimentons qu’elle a une vertu secrète et quasi incroyable à émouvoir les cœurs en une sorte ou en l’autre” (Calvin, FP, Op. omn. 6, p. 169).

⁷³ Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le Institutioni harmoniche* I, 9, 9, Venice 1558.

⁷⁴ Don Harrán, *Word-tone Relations in Musical Thought from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1986, p. 82.

⁷⁵ Jeremy Begbie, “Calvin. Die Musik und Gottes Wort”, in: *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift* 20 (2003), p. 94.

for this reason: although ... we have said in Part Two⁷⁶ that melody is a combination of speech, harmony and rhythm, and although it seems that in such a combination no one of these things is more important than any other, Plato⁷⁷ suggested that speech should have priority, and that the other two elements should be subservient to it [...]"⁷⁸

However, Calvin has other motive than the humanists. The humanists wanted to restore the close connection of the words because it was praised so highly in the ancient literature: "der grundlegende Sinn der Wiederbelebung des [humanistischen] *Wort-Text-Ideals* war die Nachbildung dessen, was die Italiener den *maravigliosi effetti* [„wunderbarer Effekt“ (sic) Anm. D. Übs.] der antiken Musik nannten ... es stimmten alle zu, dass der beste Weg, dieses Ziel zu erreichen war, den Text gegenüber der Musik hervorzuheben".⁷⁹ However, the primary motive in Calvin's thought is a theological one: "The music must be in harmony with the text, to make sure, that it is really the power of the Word of God which seizes the congregation and enables them to glorify God wholeheartedly".⁸⁰ Besides that, the humanists tend to return to the old Pythagorean interpretation. Zarlino for instance said, "All things created by God were ordered by Him according to number; indeed it was number that was the prime model within the mind of God the Creator".⁸¹

1.4.4. Ambivalent view on music

Augustine in his *Confessiones* shows an ambivalent attitude towards music.

"And I recognize that all the diverse affections of our spirits have their appropriate measures in the voice and song, to which they are stimulated by I know not what secret correlation. But the pleasures of my flesh – to which the mind ought never to be surrendered nor by them enervated – often beguile me while physical sense does not attend on reason, to follow her patiently, but having once gained entry to help the reason, it strives to run on before her and be

⁷⁶ Zarlino, *Institutioni harmoniche* II, xii.

⁷⁷ Plato, *Republic* 399-400.

⁷⁸ Fubini, *Music Aesthetics*, p. 125-126.

⁷⁹ C. Garside, "Calvin's Preface to the Psalter: A Re-appraisal", in: *Music Quarterly* 37 (1951), p. 576 et passim; quoted from Jeremy Begbie, "Calvin. Die Musik und Gottes Wort", p. 94-95.

⁸⁰ Begbie, "Calvin. Die Musik und Gottes Wort", p. 95.

⁸¹ Zarlino, *Institutioni harmoniche*, I, xii; comp. Fubini, *Music Aesthetics*, p. 115.

her leader. Thus in these things I sin unknowingly, but I come to know it afterward.”⁸²

“[...] Thus, I vacillate between dangerous pleasure and healthful exercise. I am inclined – though I pronounce no irrevocable opinion on the subject – to approve of the use of singing in the church, so that by the delights of the ear the weaker minds may be stimulated to a devotional mood. Yet when it happens that I am more moved by the singing than by what is sung, I confess myself to have sinned wickedly, and then I would rather not have heard the singing.”⁸³

Although this passage is not a fundamental statement on the subject of music, but rather a portrayal of Augustine’s moral state at the time of the writing of the *Confessiones*,⁸⁴ we can still learn at least two points from the passage above. The first one, according to Augustine, is that a good and healthy aesthetic experience should include reason to be the leader of the physical sense and not otherwise. One can interpret this section as another remaining influence of Neo-Platonist philosophy in Augustine’s theology, but we can trace back the centrality of mind into Pauline theology (Rom 12:2). There, the word *νοός* is not understood as reason in the scheme of reason – emotion – will, but as the core of human existence before God. Up to this point, Augustine’s emphasis on reason over the physical sense corresponds with Pauline theology of mind. Moreover, that section from *Confessiones* is in accordance with Augustine’s *credo ut intelligam*. ‘Unreasonable’ singing (that is, singing without understanding) is not acceptable in his thought. Here, we see that Calvin was indebted to Augustine in his emphasis on understanding. The difference between them remains that for Augustine physical sense should follow the reason, while for Calvin things that must follow the understanding are the heart and the affection.

⁸² “Et omnes affectus spiritus nostri pro sui diversitate habere proprios modos in voce atque cantu, quorum nescio qua occulta familiaritate excitentur. Sed delectatio carnis meae, cui mentem enervandam non oportet dari, saepe me fallit, dum rationi sensus non ita comitatur, ut patienter sit posterior, sed tantum, quia propter illam meruit admitti, etiam praecurrere ac ducere conatur. Ita in his pecco non sentiens, sed postea sentio” (Augustine, *Confessiones* X, 33, 49, ed. by Joseph Bernhart, Frankfurt: Insel, 1992, p. 562-564; transl. Albert C. Outler).

⁸³ “Ita fluctuo inter periculum voluptatis et experimentum salubritatis magisque, adducor; non quidem intractabilem sententiam proferens, cantandi consuetudinem approbare in ecclesia, ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis adsurgat. tamen cum mihi accidit, ut me amplius cantus quam res, quae canitur, moveat, poenaliter me peccare confiteor, et tunc mallet non audire cantantem” (Augustine, *Confessiones* X, 33, 50, ed. J. Bernhart, p. 564-566; transl. Albert C. Outler).

⁸⁴ Föllmi, Beat A., *Das Weiterwirken der Musikanschauung Augustins im 16. Jahrhundert*, Bern 1994 (=Europäische Hochschulschriften, Vol. 36, 116), p. 48.

The second point from the above quoted passage from *Confessiones* is the close connection of Augustine's view on music with his differentiation between *frui* and *uti*.⁸⁵ The difference between *frui* (enjoyment) and *uti* (use) is a difference between *diligere propter se* (loving for its own sake) and *diligere propter aliud* (loving for other's sake).⁸⁶ Augustine views the human life like a pilgrim journey. The *telos* of the journey is God himself. Nevertheless, here on earth we need some 'instruments' to reach the end. If a man only seeks his own pleasure instead of having a clear vision of the end during his journey, then what should be a means becomes the end.⁸⁷ "The good use the world that they may enjoy God: the wicked, on the contrary, that they may enjoy the world would fain use God".⁸⁸ In his treatment on Christian life, Calvin has carefully distinguished himself from Augustine about enjoyment: "Now then, if we consider for what end he created food, we shall find that he consulted not only for our necessity, but also for our enjoyment and delight".⁸⁹ However, Augustine's assertion on *telos* remains a dominating factor why such enjoyment and delight is acceptable: "The natural qualities of things themselves demonstrate to what *end*, and how far, they may be lawfully enjoyed."⁹⁰ Consistent with this view, it is not difficult to understand why Calvin's view on music corresponds with that of Augustine: music should be seen as a means or instrument to achieve a higher *telos*.

Both Calvin and Augustine were afraid of the emotional ability of music. Following Augustine, Calvin was aware of the ability, that music can cause bad influence:

"Therefore, all the more we must watch not to abuse it, for fear of mucking it up and polluting, converting it into our condemnation, where it was devoted to our benefit and greeting. When there would be no other consideration than this only one, it must definitely move us to moderate the usage of music, to make it serve in any fairness; so that it gives no opportunity to give us free rein in dissolution,

⁸⁵ Cf. Föllmi, p. 121.

⁸⁶ Bengt Hägglund, *Geschichte der Theologie: Ein Abriß*, transl. Alfred Otto Schwede, München: Kaiser, 1983, p. 92.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁸⁸ "Boni quippe ad hoc utuntur mundo, ut fruuntur Deo ; mali autem contra, ut fruuntur mundo, uti volunt Deo" (Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XV, 7, ed. Bernhard Dombart, Lipsiae 1863, p. 58,32-34; transl. Marcus Dods).

⁸⁹ "Iam si reputemus quem in finem alimenta creaverit, reperiemus non necessitati modo, sed oblectamento quoque ac hilaritati voluisse consulere" (ICR III, 10, 2, OS 4, p. 178,15-17).

⁹⁰ "Et ipsae naturales rerum dotes satis demonstrant quorsum et quatenus frui liceat" (*Ibid.*, p. 178,25-26; italic mine).

or to weaken us in incoherent delight, and that it becomes instrument neither of bawdiness, nor of any indecency.”⁹¹

In his *Institutio* he gives a strong warning against people, who abuses the use of singing, which is separated from the heart. For Calvin this is a kind of hypocrisy and therefore it offends God’s holy name and majesty:

“Nay, rather they provoke his anger against us, if they come from the lips and throat only, since this is to abuse his sacred name, and hold his majesty in derision. This we infer from the words of Isaiah, which, though their meaning is of wider extent, go to rebuke this vice also: “Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men: therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid” (Isa. 29:13).”⁹²

1.4.5. Calvin on psalm singing

Calvin’s skepticism towards music only proves his enormous respect for the extraordinary power of music. J. Begbie believes that Calvin knew “the irreducible capacities of music, which could be taken in interplay with words”.⁹³ Therefore, despite his critical view on music, Calvin does not forbid singing, but as far as associated with the heart, it is commended:

“Still we do not condemn words or singing, but rather greatly commend them, provided the feeling of the mind goes along with them. For in this way the thought of God is kept alive on our minds, which, from their fickle and versatile

⁹¹ “Parquoi d’autant plus devons-nous regarder de n’en point abuser, de peur de la souiller et contaminer, la convertissant en notre condamnation, où elle était dédiée à notre profit et salut. Quand il n’y aurait autre considération que cette seule, si nous doit-elle bien émouvoir à modérer l’usage de la musique, pour la faire servir à toute honnêteté; et qu’elle ne soit point occasion de nous lâcher la bride à dissolution, ou de nous effeminer en délices désordonnées, et qu’elle ne soit point instrument de paillardise, ni d’aucune impudicité” (Calvin, FP, Op. omn. 6, p. 169).

⁹² “Quin eius iram adversus nos provocant si e summis duntaxat labris et gutture exeunt: quando id est sacrosancto eius nomine abuti, ac eius maiestatem derisui habere; sicuti ex Iesaiæ verbis elicimus, quae etsi latius patent, ad hoc quoque vitium coarguendum pertinent. Populus (inquit) iste appropinquat mihi ore suo, et labiis suis me honorat: cor autem eorum longe est a me: et timuerunt me mandato et doctrina hominum [Iesa. 29. d. 13; Matth. 15. a. 8]. Propterea ecce faciam in populo hoc miraculum grande et stupendum; peribit enim sapientia a sapientibus eorum, et prudentia seniorum evanescet” (ICR III, 20, 31, OS 4, p. 341,8-18).

⁹³ Begbie, “Calvin. Die Musik und Gottes Wort“, p. 96.

nature, soon relax, and are distracted by various objects, unless various means are used to support them.”⁹⁴

One of the *cantus firmus* in his theology, that is the glory of God, stands at the center of his thought. The glory of God ought to shine in the various parts of our bodies, especially in the tongue, which serves as the instrument for common prayer of men to God.

“Besides, since the glory of God ought in a manner to be displayed in each part of our body, the special service to which the tongue should be devoted is that of singing and speaking, inasmuch as it has been expressly created to declare and proclaim the praise of God.”⁹⁵

Beside the vertical dimension (singing for the glory of God), Calvin was fully aware of the horizontal aspects that music can benefit. Not only can singing strengthen the unity of the believers, it also serves as a means to witness one’s faith, that in turn others will be edified through it.

“This employment of the tongue is chiefly in the public services which are performed in the meeting of the saints. In this way the God whom we serve in one spirit and one faith, we glorify together as it were with one voice and one mouth; and that openly, so that each may in turn receive the confession of his brother’s faith, and be invited and incited to imitate it.”⁹⁶

This fellowship is not a mere earthly gathering, but it has a strong spiritual dimension, since church singing is a foretaste of the eternal gathering or heavenly worship together with the angels:

“Therefore Chrysostome motivates both men and women and small children, to accustom to sing them, so that it is as a meditation to join to the company of the angels.”⁹⁷

⁹⁴ “Neque tamen vocem aut cantum hic damnamus, quin potius valde commendamus, modo animi affectum comitentur. Sic enim mentem in Dei cogitatione exercent, et intentam retinent: quae, ut lubrica est et versatilis, facile remittitur, et in varia distrahitur, nisi variis fulciatur adminiculis” (ICR III, 20,31, OS 4, p. 341,18-22).

⁹⁵ “Praeterea, quum Dei gloria in singulis corporis nostri partibus elucere quodammodo debeat, convenit praesertim linguam huic ministerio addictam esse ac devotam tum canendum loquendo: quae peculiariter ad enarrandam praedicandamque Dei laudem, condita est” (ICR III, 20,31, OS 4, p. 341,22-27).

⁹⁶ “Potissimum tamen linguae usus est in orationibus publicis, quae in fidelium conventu habentur: quibus hoc agitur, ut Deum, quem uno spiritu eademque fide colimus, communi una voce et veluti eodem omnes ore pariter glorificemus; idque palam, ut omnes vicissim, a suo quisque fratre, confessionem fidei accipiant, ad cuius exemplum invitentur et incitentur” (ICR III, 20,31, OS 4, p. 341,27-32).

⁹⁷ “Parquoy Chrysostome exhorte tant hommes que femmes et petis enfans, de saccoustumer à les chanter, afin que cela soit comme une meditation pour s'associer à la compagnie des Anges” (Calvin, FP, CS 2, p. 158,33-36).

This extraordinary moral strength of music is something good, since it is a gift from God:

“And between other things which are suitable to recreate the man and give him sensuousness, music is the first one, or one of the main, and needs us to think that it is a gift from God intended for this usage.”⁹⁸

For Calvin this “gift from God”, as he learned from Augustine, has a special reference, namely the psalms of David, for “we shall find no better and more appropriate songs than the psalms of David, which the Holy Spirit has given to him and has done”.⁹⁹ With the words from psalms, we adore God with God’s own Word, so that God glorifies himself by his Word. Calvin’s understanding of psalm singing is thus both Theo-centric and Trinitarian. The same thing should happen in the pastoral aspect of psalm singing in Calvin’s understanding, namely the transformation of the soul by looking to-, adoring and glorifying God. The glorification is closely connected with self-forgetfulness. The pastoral aspect in the psalm singing consists that the singing can serve as a spiritual exercise to cure a self-centered life.

Calvin then argues that the use of church singing dates from apostolic times, but fell disused in the West and was reintroduced in Ambrose’s and Augustine’s time.¹⁰⁰ For the practical application of Calvin’s musical principles, this means that the words are of prior importance and must always stand over the melody; the message therefore must be spiritual:¹⁰¹

“We must, however, carefully beware, lest our ears be more intent on the music than our minds on the spiritual meaning of the words.”¹⁰²

The passage above may serve as a guide to understand what Calvin could probably mean by the words “this moderation” as stated at the end of his treatment on church singing in the *Institutio*:

“If this moderation is used, there cannot be a doubt that the practice is most sacred and salutary. On the other hand, songs composed merely to tickle and

⁹⁸ “Or entre les autres choses qui sont propres pour récréer l’homme et lui donner volupté, la musique est ou la première, ou l’une des principales, et nous faut estimer que c’est un don de Dieu destiné à cet usage” (FP, Op. omn. 6, p. 169).

⁹⁹ “[...] nous ne trouverons meilleures chansons ne plus propres pour ce faire, que les Pseaumes de David: lesquelz le saint Esprit luy a dictz et faitz” (FP, CS 2, p. 158,29-31).

¹⁰⁰ ICR III, 20, 32, OS 4, p. 341,33-342,18.

¹⁰¹ F. Higman, Art. “Calvin, Johannes“, in: *MGG2*, col. 1718.

¹⁰² “Cavendum tamen diligenter ne ad modulationem intentiores sint aures quam animi ad spirituales verborum sensum” (ICR III, 20, 32, OS 4, p. 342,22-23).

delight the ear are unbecoming the majesty of the Church, and cannot but be most displeasing to God.”¹⁰³

Garside has already pointed out also, “Calvin has been alluding to the *Confessiones*” and pointed to the fact that “Augustine had approved psalmody *only* if for the singer the words took priority over the melodies”.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the music was “moderated” to the text. According to Marti however, it is not about a quantitative restriction of the music (even not with the regulation, that in the service should be sung exclusively monophonic and without instruments), nor it is about a half-hearted compromise for the permission of music, but about its qualitative regulation.¹⁰⁵ It is commonly said, that while Luther has already opened the doors for a new understanding or conception of music, Calvin’s critical view provides a strong restriction of music, similar to going back to the old traditional moralism of the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁶ This opinion, as we should see, is not entirely true.

What is true in Calvin’s thought is the distinction between secular music as music “at the table” and “in their homes” and music for worship:

“And thus there is a great difference between the music which one makes to entertain men at the table and in their homes, and the psalms which are sung in the Church in the presence of God and His angels.”¹⁰⁷

Quoting Augustine, Calvin believes that there should be a certain quality for music used in worship service, through which it can be distinguished from secular music. It is therefore important that “there must always be concern that the song be neither light nor frivolous, but has gravity and majesty, as

¹⁰³ “Hac ergo adhibita moderatione, nihil dubium quin sanctissimum sit ac saluberrimum institutum. Quemadmodum rursus, quiscunque ad suavitatem duntaxat auriumque oblectationem compositi sunt cantus, nec Ecclesiae maiestatem decent, nec Deo non summopere displicere possunt” (ICR III, 20, 32, OS 4, p. 342,29-34).

¹⁰⁴ Charles Garside, *The origins of Calvin’s theology of music*, Philadelphia 1979 (≡*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 69, 4), p. 21.

¹⁰⁵ “Es geht jedoch nicht um eine quantitative Einschränkung der Musik (auch nicht bei der Anordnung, im Gottesdienst solle ausschließlich einstimmig und ohne Instrumente gesungen werden), gleichsam einen halbherzigen Kompromiß bei der Zulassung von Musik, sondern um ihre qualitative Bestimmung“ (Andreas Marti, “Genfer Gottesdienstordnung (1542) mit ihren Nachbartexten“, in: *Calvin Studienausgabe*, Vol. 2, ed. by E. Busch/A. Heron/C. Link/P. Opitz/E. Saxer/H. Scholl, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1997, pp. 157-159).

¹⁰⁶ In comparison with Luther’s theology of music, Fubini for instance comments that “Calvinist morality and Puritanism brought back the strongly restrictive attitudes of a previous age that compared unfavourably with the dimension of freedom prescribed by Luther, which had opened the way to a new interpretation of music” (Fubini, p. 145).

¹⁰⁷ “et ainsi il y ait grande difference entre la musique qu’on fait pour resiouyr les homes à table et en leur maison: et entre les psalmes, qui se chantent en l’Eglise, en la presence de Dieu et de ses anges” (Calvin, FP, Op. omn. 6, pp. 169-170); cf. Garside, pp. 18-19.

Saint Augustine says.”¹⁰⁸ For worship music, the use of the psalms text is necessary, while for secular entertainment music, one may use the combination of vocal and instrumental music or even instrumental music without words.

I have already explained that Calvin’s view on instrumental music reflected the current humanistic view of his time. However, Calvin gives his opinion a touch of theological argument. In his commentary on Psalm 92:4,¹⁰⁹ he argues that the use of musical instruments was not necessary in itself, but that “it was useful as an elementary aid to the people of God in these ancient times.”¹¹⁰ This practice belonged to the shadows of the old dispensation. With Christ’s appearance in the Gospel, it was already terminated for “the Church has reached full age.”¹¹¹ Although Calvin’s view on music instruments is not so much different than in his earlier commentary, his commentary on Daniel 3:6-7 (published in Geneva in 1561) shows certain modification, namely he admits that the use of musical instruments in the Church was commanded even by God himself. Then he discerns the intention of the Jews and the Chaldeans in using the musical instruments. Here too, musical instruments are understood as means of arousing and stimulating the believers from their sluggishness for dullness is an obstacle to the healthy growth in piety.¹¹² If we bring the three great reformers under the light of Augustine’s ambivalent view on music, we can say that Luther inherits the positive statement, Zwingli the negative critical view, while Calvin’s view is perhaps best understood as a *via media* for he tries to preserve both the affirming and critical stance to music.

¹⁰⁸ “Il y a tousiours à regarder, que le chant ne soit pas legier et volage: mais ait pois et maiesté, comme dit saint Augustin” (Calvin, FP, Op. omn. 6, pp. 169-170).

¹⁰⁹ Calvin’s Preface dated on 22 July 1557.

¹¹⁰ “Mais pource que c’estoit un rudiment fort utile au peuple ancien” (Calvin, *Comm. on Ps. 92:4*; transl. James Anderson).

¹¹¹ Comm. on Ps. 92:4.

¹¹² Comm. on Dan. 3:6-7; comp. Calvin’s understanding on music as a means to move the heart in FP, Op. omn. 6, p. 169.

1.5. The continuation of reformational music aesthetics in Germany

In this section, I will present the writings that contain the continuation of reformational music aesthetics in six different ‘genres’ as suggested by Lauterwasser: theological commentaries (and writings), sermons, theological polemic writings, prefaces to music printings and hymnbooks, music treatises, and literary testimonials.¹¹³

1.5.1. Theological writings and commentaries

The first theological writing, which we are dealing with for the search of the continuation of reformational music aesthetics, is late 16th century writing by **Peter Martyr Vermigli** (1499-1562). In his *Loci Communes*, almost paraphrasing Calvin, he states that singing should be done moderately:

“All these things, if they be done moderatlie, and in due season, they may both be borne withall, and commended. For herein concurre three manner of good things; namelie, honest, profita=ble, and delectable.”¹¹⁴

Vermigli understands music as something wild that needs to be tamed and subjugated. Therefore, a text necessary so that music can function more effectively:

“And singing [...] when there is added a speech that standeth upon numbers, and is bound to certeine feet it proueth much more delightfull.”¹¹⁵

Of the power of music, after quoting that Christ also sang a hymn before he went to the Mt. Olives, Vermigli asserts that such “godlie Musicke hath power to frame the affections of the mind.”¹¹⁶ In this respect, Vermigli echoes Luther’s thought on the function of music in governing human affections. Here, it should be noted that the idea of affections relates more to the mind rather than to the heart. The subordination of the affections to the understanding belongs to one of the central tenets in the theological thought of Reformed Orthodoxy within the humanistic milieu. The first is the understanding of the word; second, the content should be delighted by the

¹¹³ Helmut Lauterwasser, “Quellen zur lutherischen Musikauffassung im frühen 17. Jahrhundert“, in: *Die Quellen Johann Sebastian Bachs*, ed. by Renate Steiger, Heidelberg 1998, p. 166.

¹¹⁴ Pietro Martire Vermigli, *The common places of the most famous and renowned diuine Doctor Peter Martyr* III,13,25, ed. Josias Simmler & Anthony Marten, S.I. 1583, p. 312.

¹¹⁵ Vermigli, *Loci* III,13,25, p. 312.

¹¹⁶ Vermigli, *Loci* III,13,26, p. 312.

affectionate mind. Music stands between the pleasure of the senses and the reason. The first are moved by the “sweetnesse of the sound” while the second is caused by the mathematical nature of music (as had been taught and believed in the medieval music theory); however, the chief delight of reason is achieved when “words are added unto it, as the sense of them is both excellent and learned.”¹¹⁷

In the last paragraph, Vermigli conclude that although no precept is given in the New Testament, godly and religious songs may be retained in the church. However, the last sentence of his treatment on music contains a strong warning against the attractive power of music that can distract the congregation from the Word. In this respect, Vermigli shares the concern of Augustine and Calvin:

“So that, if we shall perceiue in these daies, that the Christian people doo run unto the churches, as unto a stage plaie, where they might be delight=ted with piping and singing; in this case we must rather absteine from a thing that is not necessarie, than than to feed their owne pleasures with the destruction of their soules.”¹¹⁸

Another continuation of reformational music aesthetics can be traced in the early 17th century commentary of a Tübingen Professor **Matthias Hafenreffer** (1561-1619). There, he treated the last nine chapters of the Book Ezekiel. The work appeared in 1613 under the title *Templum Ezechielis*.¹¹⁹ In the context of the use of music in the church, echoing Augustine and Calvin, he explains that music is suitable to wake up the passion for spiritual things and to raise the human feelings in addition.¹²⁰ Another Calvinistic influence is found in his idea where the special strength of music is to manage things beyond what words can do. Hafenreffer also continued Luther’s conception of music in its relation with rhetoric. In his comparison of music and rhetoric, Hafenraffer understands music as eloquence that comes to life (*vivificata*

¹¹⁷ Vermigli, *Loci* III,13,26, p. 312.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., III,13,29, p. 314.

¹¹⁹ Matthias Hafenreffer, *Templum Ezechielis sive in IX. postrema prophetae capita*, Tübingen 1613.

¹²⁰ “Neque enim ad iucunditatem tantum & delectatione in rebus politicis, sed ad ornatum etiam, gravitatem, & affectuum puritatem, synceritatem atque ardorem in *rebus spiritualibus* excitandum exprimendumq; musica adhiberi debet, & adhibita est *antiquitus*” (Ibid., p. 236).

eloquentia).¹²¹ Still along the Lutheran line of thought, he even believed that music would be called *Prophetia*.¹²² He supported his opinion with passages in the Bible from the first Book of the Chronicle.

Another continuation of reformational music aesthetics is to be found in the pre-Pietism devotional writer **Johann Arndt** (1555-1621). In his bestselling works *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthumb*, he wrote:

“All which Instances do certainly prove that there is a great Virtue and Efficacy in devout Psalms and Hymns. By which I would not be understood, to mean nothing but bare Words, and empty Sounds, void of Faith and Devotion ; but such a vigorous Faith, such an ardent Devotion, as may break forth into holy Hymns and spiritual Songs, singing and making Melody from the Heart unto the Lord.”¹²³

It is interesting to note that the conservative Lutheran Johann Arndt moves away from Luther’s accent on the power of God’s Word, and emphasizes the believing heart of the singing person instead. Here we find that Arndt develops his understanding of singing within a new climate in the Lutheran theology. It is a move from the objective account of God’s Word to the subjective attitude of the heart. On the other side, Arndt is also indebted to Calvin’s music aesthetics:

”Now, as the Singing of holy Hymns and Psalms is nothing else but the Prayer of a devout Soul overflowing with divine Joy, in which holy Men of God have celebrated and conveyed to Posterity the Mercies and Wonders of God their Creator ; it is plain from hence, that the Singing Praises to God, is an act of Devotion, full of spiritual Comfort and Advantage.”¹²⁴

¹²¹ “Et vtraque harum artium, illa *coloribus* expressa, haec *harmonica* iucunditate, vivificata eloquentia est” (Ibid., p. 237); This whole paragraph is a report of some observations by Lauterwasser, “Quellen zur lutherischen Musikauffassung”, p. 166.

¹²² “Musica igitur *Prophetia* est, hoc est, suo in genere cultus sacer & Deo placens, ad ornamentum, attentionem & devotionem, laudem, etiam & encomion Dei, rerumque divinarum, institutus” (Hafenreffer, *Templum Ezechielis*, p. 237).

¹²³ ”Aus diesen gründen ist offenbar/das Gottes Lob vnd die Lobgesänge müssen sondere grosse Nutz vnnnd Krafft haben. Welches aber niemand also verstehen soll/daß den blossen Worten an ihm selbst ohn allen Glauben vnd Andacht solche Krafft zugeschrieben werde vmb des blossen Lauts willen / sondern daß die Lobgesänge mit gleubigen Hertzen gesungen vnd gesprochen solche sondere Krafft haben“ (Johann Arndt, *Vier Bücher Vom wahren Christenthumb*, Book II, Magdeburg 1610, Reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2007, ed. by Johann Anselm Steiger [=Schriften / Philipp Jakob Spener, Sonderreihe, Vol. 5,2], p. 477; transl. by Anthony William Boehm).

¹²⁴ “Weil nun Gottes Lob nichts anders ist dann ein freudenreiches Gebet / darin die Heiligen Gottes die grössesten / denckwürdigsten wolthaten vnd wunder Gottes zum gedechtnus verfasst haben / so kans nicht feilen es muß das Lob Gottes sonderbaren nutz/ vnnnd heilsame Krafft haben“ (Arndt, *Vom wahren Christenthumb*, II, 41, 2, p. 479; transl. Boehm).

Arndt also inherits the theological position of music within the context of prayer as taught by Calvin.¹²⁵ Now, there is some touch of Lutheran understanding here, namely when he understands praise of God (*Gotteslob*) as a joyful prayer (*freudenreiches Gebet*).¹²⁶ Another influence of Calvin's understanding on music is found in Arndt's thought when he stated:

“And all these various kinds of Musick, with which under the Old Testament they sang Praises unto God, being but a part of the ritual and ceremonial Service, are now ceased ; and in their stead, our Spirit, Soul, Mind, and Mouth, are become the Trumpet, Psaltery, Harp, and Cymbal of God. To which St. *Paul* alludes, *Col. iii. 26.* when he says, *singing in your Hearts unto God.* By which expression, we are by no means forbidden, either in Publick or Private, to Praise God with Voices or Instruments of Musick ; but that all this ought to be done with a lively Devotion, in the Spirit, and from the Heart ; left Religion should be thought to consist in empty Sounds, and external Pomp of Divine Service.”¹²⁷

One can hardly overlook the presence of Calvin's understanding when Arndt places various kinds of musical instruments as belonged to the ceremonial law of the old dispensation that is already terminated. In addition, the emphasis on singing that ought to be done with devotion and sincerity is a reminiscence of Calvin's teaching. However, unlike Calvin, Arndt's spiritual understanding of music leads to allegorical interpretation of musical instruments. Finally, Arndt categorizes the Psalms as supplicatory, consolatory, penitential, doctrinal, and prophetic. From this variety of style and intention, he hopes that “the devout Soul may reap variety of Comforts and Benefits.”¹²⁸ With his categorization of Psalms, Arndt has encouraged the possibility of expressing different kind of affections.

We should move now to a person who has recommended highly the writings of Johann Arndt in his reform program writing: **Philipp Jakob**

¹²⁵ Compare J. Calvin, FP, CS 2, p. 154-156.

¹²⁶ Luther's understanding of music as next to theology is strongly related with his idea of the *Evangelium* as the joyful news.

¹²⁷ “Diese unterschiedliche Chor vnd Instrumenta, darauff im alten Testamente vnterschiedliche Psalmen gespiet seyn / weils ein stück vom eusserlichen Ceremonialische Gottesdienst gewest / sind nun vergangen / vnd ist nun vnser Hertz/Geist/Seele/gemüt/vnnd Mund/Gottes Posaunen/Psalter/Harpffen/vnnd Cymbeln worden. Daher S. Paulus spricht: Singet vnd spielet dem HERREN in ewren Herten. Welches nicht also zu verstehen/ als solte man nun GOTT in der versamlung / oder daheim nicht mit lauter Stimme loben/ oder mit andern Instrumentis musicis. Nein/sondern S. Pauli meinung ist / daß es alles fein andechtig / geistlich / vnnd aus grund des Hertzens gehen solle / nicht / daß es nur ein eusserlicher schall oder gespreng seyn sol.“ (Arndt, II, 41, 5, p. 483; trans. Boehm).

Spener (1635-1705). Echoing Augustine, in 1687 Spener criticized on the use of figural music in worship could lead the mind into distraction:

“Unkundig der Klänge und dessen, was bei ihrem Hören ein hierin erfahreneres Gemüt erfreut, hören sie [=die Mehrzahl der Einfältigeren] kaum zu, lassen vielmehr ihre Gedanken ziellos abschweifen, um sie hernach mit Mühe zur Ordnung zurückzurufen.“¹²⁹

In the conclusion of his article, K. Dienst spoke about “malformations” (*Fehlentwicklungen*) after quoting a lengthy passage from Spener’s writing.¹³⁰

In my opinion, to judge Spener for his narrow-mindedness and over-anxious view on music is to miss the important point he said. First, Spener was simply reporting the current condition of services during his ministry. Second, he did not say that figural music is useless and unedifying in itself, but only certain cultural elites can understand it. The majority of the simpler worshippers, since they cannot follow or digest the beauty of such music, wander away in their minds. Thus instead of being a spiritual preparation for hearing the sermon, the music has played a competitive role to preaching. Therefore Spener would not allow music before the sermon, “damit nicht die Leute bereits vom Hören ermüdet sind, wenn sie das Wort Gottes aufnehmen; zumal jetzt oftmals, wenn bereits viel Zeit durch nutzloses Hören der Musik verstrichen, die Predigt aber noch nicht bis zur Mitte vorgedrungen ist, die meisten, schon ermüdet, auf Ende und Heimweg bedacht sind und dem übrigen nicht länger aufmerksam zuhören, obwohl man doch die Hauptsache oftmals für den Schluß aufspart.”¹³¹ Far from being an enemy to figural music, Spener considered carefully the ‘human rights’ of each church attendant:

“Ich sähe es deshalb lieber, daß jene Figuralmusik, sofern sie überhaupt zum Gottesdienst zugelassen werden soll, seinen Beschluß bilde – unter der Voraussetzung, daß alle die, die sich an den Klängen erfreuen und daraus

¹²⁸ “Aus welchen allen das Menschliche Hertz vnterschiedlichen Nutz vnd Krafft empfindet” (Arndt II, 41, 6, p. 483; trans. Boehm).

¹²⁹ Quoted from Karl Dienst, “Georg Philipp Telemann in Frankfurt am Main: Das gottesdienstlich-liturgische Umfeld“, in: *Telemann in Frankfurt*, ed. Peter Cahn, Mainz, etc: Schott, 2000 (=Beiträge zur mittelrheinischen Musikgeschichte 35), p. 36; see also Martin Geck, “Philipp Jakob Spener und die Kirchenmusik“, in: *Musik und Kirche 31* (1961), pp. 97-106; 172-184.

¹³⁰ “Ob er hier Frankfurt oder Dresden im Blick hat: Hier deuten sich wichtige zukünftige Entwicklungen (besser: Fehlentwicklungen) an. [...] Als genuin lutherisch sind solche Gedanken kaum zu bezeichnen.“ (Karl Dienst, “Telemann in Frankfurt“, p. 36-37).

¹³¹ Karl Dienst, p. 36.

Gewinn zu ziehen meinen, zuhören, diejenigen aber, die nach Hause streben, nicht wider Willen zuhören brauchen.“¹³²

Finally, Spener recommended certain fixed hours apart from the liturgy for those who would like to listen to such music:

“Ferner deucht es mir nicht ohne Nutzen zu sein, wenn für jene Figuralmusik überhaupt feste Stunden angesetzt würden, zu denen diejenigen zusammenkommen möchten, die ihr Sinn dorthin führt.“¹³³

Based on this background, we can realize that Pietism (as advocated by Spener) has played a certain role in ‘liberating’ sacred music as being used exclusively in the church service. In fact, we can say that Spener’s recommendation to perform figural music at certain hours had played a considerable role in the move of sacred music from the church liturgy to the concert hall.

1.5.2. Sermons

The delivery of music sermons belongs to another source for tracing the tradition of the Lutheran theology of music in Germany at that time. The sermons were usually held for the common people and afterwards given to be printed. One of the famous music sermons in the Lutheran tradition came from **Johann Saubert** (1592-1646), a theologian and preacher in Nürnberg. His vocation as a preacher was prepared by theological study in the center of Lutheran Orthodoxy under Lukas Osiander, Matthias Hafenreffer, Balthasar Mentzer, Johannes Winckelmann, and Johann Gerhard.¹³⁴ Despite his acquaintance with the great teachers of Lutheran Orthodoxy, he is also an admirer of Arndt’s *Four Books of True Christianity*.¹³⁵ In his sermon on Sunday CANTATE in 1623, he explains music in the context of Christian piety. After arguing that music has been valued highly among the learned persons,¹³⁶ he begins with the *Propositio* according to which the Sunday was named: “Cantate Domino canticum novum, Singet dem HErrn ein neues

¹³² Karl Dienst, p. 36.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 36.

¹³⁴ Thomas Schlage, “»SeelenMusic«. Eine Predigt des Nürnberger Theologen Johann Saubert (1592-1646)“, in: *Die Quellen Johann Sebastian Bachs*, ed. Renate Steiger, Heidelberg: Manutius, 1998, p. 174.

¹³⁵ Cf. Martin Schmidt, Art. “Arndt, Johann“, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* Vol. 4, Berlin 1979, p. 121-129; see also Thomas Schlage, “SeelenMusic“, p. 175.

¹³⁶ Johann Saubert, *SeelenMusic/Wie dieselbe am Sontag CANTATE im nächstverwichenen 1623. Jahr in der Kirch zu vnser L. Frawen gehört worden*, Nürnberg 1623, pp. 3-6.

Lied”.¹³⁷ Most part of the sermon was dedicated as *Tractatio allegorica*, where Saubert exposed his allegorical interpretation concerning the Holy Spirit and the four voices (pp. 7-31). With musical terms, he explains the works of the Holy Spirit and the important elements of piety.

In *Propositio*, he distinguishes the external music (“äusserliche Music”) which can be learned and sung not “*ex professo*”, i.e., without confession, and the new song, i.e., music which is sung through the grace of the Holy Spirit.¹³⁸ Thus, in the shadow of Luther’s music aesthetics, Saubert understands the term *canticum novum* pneumatologically. In *Tractatio allegorica*, the Holy Spirit is described as a Kapellmeister. First, he composes. This creative act of the Holy Spirit is to be found in creation (Gen 1), in the regeneration in baptism (Joh 3) and in the new creation of human being (Rom 5).¹³⁹ Second, the Holy Spirit distributes the voices (“die *Partes*”), that is, the various gifts that God has assigned to human beings.¹⁴⁰ Third, the Holy Spirit shows the key (“den *Clavem*”), namely the key to heaven: the saving Word.¹⁴¹ Fourth, the Holy Spirit gives the tune so that the singing goes through the heart.¹⁴² Fifth, the Holy Spirit gives the right beat (“den richtigen *Tact*”) and leads the whole choir.¹⁴³ Here in this fifth allegorical interpretation, Saubert represents clearly Luther’s teaching of the distinction of law and gospel. The revealed Word of God is understood both as the means through which we receive the Holy Spirit and as the rule. Through the Gospel, the Holy Spirit is a comforter; with the Law, he punishes the world that they do not believe in Christ:

“Vermittels der Lehr deß H. Evangelii ist er ein Tröster/ vnd läydet vns in alle warheit: Mit dem Gesetz aber straffet er die Welt/ vm die Sünd/ vmb die Gerechtigkeit/ vnnd vmb das Gericht: vmb die Sünd/ daß sie nicht glauben an Christum/ (dann vnghaub ist die allergrößte Sünde:) [...]“¹⁴⁴

This idea of the distinction between Law and Gospel finds its repetition in the *Usus* for the congregation: “O wol dem/ der solchen tactum spiritus, diese

¹³⁷ Johann Saubert, *SeelenMusic*, p. 6.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁴² “Fürs vierdte/der Geist GOTTes ists/welcher anstimt/damit das Gesang seinen fortgang habe/das ist/das es durch das Hertz gehe“ (*Ibid.*, p. 10).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Straff vnd anleytung/ wie auch den Trost des Geists Gottes in acht nimbt!”¹⁴⁵

Sixth, the Holy Spirit carries a voice at the same time.¹⁴⁶

After the allegorical interpretation concerning the Holy Spirit, Saubert continues with the allegory of the four voices starting with alto and ending with the tenor.¹⁴⁷ Interpreted as the Holy Spirit (alto), the true faith (bass), the prayer (descant), and the Christian and godlike life (tenor), the allegory of the four voices is summarized in the *Usus* as the allegory of harmony:

“Wolan/ wer jetzt angeregte stück in acht nimt/ der hat in seinem Herten die schöne Harmoni, vnd das liebliche quatuor, mit deme er vor den Augen GOTTes bestehen kan.”¹⁴⁸

Saubert’s sermon not only serves as the continuation of Luther’s music aesthetics but also of Arndt’s spiritual understanding of music in his allegorical interpretation on musical instruments. Saubert thus explains his *Tractatio allegorica* in the tradition of Arndt’s pre-Pietism.

The Ulm Superintendent **Cunrad Dieterich** publishes another famous sermon, which deals with the understanding of church music. This special sermon was delivered on the church inauguration feast. Every year he planned for the church inauguration different piece of the church about which he preached: the font, the pulpit, the bells or also the church singing and the organ.¹⁴⁹ In his *Ulmische Orgelpredigt* delivered on 1 August 1624 in Ulm, Dieterich explains that the excellent suitability of music for praising God and its positive effects in the service are indisputable.¹⁵⁰ In contrast with Calvinist music aesthetics, Dieterich appeals for the use of musical instruments in worship:

“Diß Loben soll aber nicht geschehen nuhr mit dem Mun=de/ mit Gebett vnd Dancksagung/ nicht nur mit der Stimm/ mit Modulierung geistlicher Psalmen

¹⁴⁵ Johann Saubert, *SeelenMusic*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁷ I will discuss the allegory of the four voices in the last chapter in the context of a musical composition.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁴⁹ Cunrad Dieterich, *Ulmische Orgelpredigt/ Darinn von der Instrumental=Music inns gemein/ sonderlich aber von dero Orgeln Er=findung vnd Gebrauch/ in der Kirchen Gottes von Anfang der Welt biß hieher kürztlich discurriret, zugleich auch die schöne herrliche Ulmer Orgel beschrie=ben wird*, Ulm 1624, p. 6; see also a summary of the sermon by Helmut Lauterwasser, “Quellen zur lutherischen Musikauffassung im frühen 17. Jahrhundert“, in: *Die Quellen Johann Sebastian Bachs*, ed. by Renate Steiger, Heidelberg 1998, pp. 167-168.

¹⁵⁰ Lauterwasser, “Quellen zur lutherischen Musikauffassung“, p. 167.

vnnnd Lobgesängen: Sondern auch mit allerhand löblichen/ lieblichen Musicali=schen Instrumenten.“¹⁵¹

Instrumental music has certain effects, such as to arouse the spirit of prophesying (2. Kings 3:15-16),¹⁵² stimulate human mind and arouse devotion,¹⁵³ drive all mourning and melancholy thoughts and arouse joy and bliss in Christian hearts,¹⁵⁴ to drive the restless furious spirit and to bring open and joyful spirit,¹⁵⁵ and finally to cheer up, refresh and strengthen human memory.¹⁵⁶

Despite the criticism from Calvinist music aesthetics on the importance of understanding and the priority of the word, Dieterich defends the use of organ music by saying that one does not have to know and understand everything, such as what is played on the organ or other instruments. It is enough to know that instrumental music was already composed also for the glory of God.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, not only vocal music, instrumental music is also able to convey message, such as in the sound of a trumpet:

“Wer das weiß/ dem ist es genug/ denn solch Orgeln eben so wohl seyn Krafft zu Bewegung deß Hertzens/ vnd Erweckung deß Gemüths/ zu Christlicher Andacht/Auffmunderung/Frewd vnd Wonne hat/ als die Posaun ihre Krafft hat/ wann man weiß/ daß durch derselbigen Schall/ eintweder zum Streitt geblasen/ I. Cor. 14.7.“¹⁵⁸

Of crucial importance is Dieterich's conception on the theological position of musical instruments as *adiaphoron* that will have lasting impacts on the discussions of Lutheran theology of music in Germany:

“Dann obwol der gebrauch der Orgeln/ vnnnd anderen Musical Instrumenten in der Kirchen/ beym Got=tesdienst/ im Newen Testament nirgend gebotten/ so ist er vns doch auch nirgend verboten/ vnd ist also ein Adiaphoron so der Christlichen Freyheit zugebrauchen/ oder nicht zuge=brauchen/ vberlassen vnd anheimb gestellet.“¹⁵⁹

¹⁵¹ Cunrad Dieterich, *Ulmische OrgelPredigt*, p. 8.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁵⁷ “Am andern/ so ist nicht nöthig/ daß man wisse vnd verstehe/ was man auff der Orgel vnd andern Instrumenten schlage: Sondern ist genug/ wann man nur [...] weiß/ was georgelt wird. Als wan man weiß/ es werden Geistliche Lieder/ so zu Gottes Lob vnd Ehr *componieret* vnd gemacht worden/ auff der Orgel geschlagen“ (*Ibid.*, p. 32).

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Typical Lutheran conception is the connection between the idea of an *adiaphoron* and the understanding of Christian freedom, which is understood as being freed to choose according to the clear conscience of each believer. Within this context, Dieterich reminds the use of musical instruments in the long tradition of church practice, so that their abolition from the church would only be harmful and cause outrage.¹⁶⁰ It is a reminder for not repeating the mistake of the radical reformation such as advocated by A. Karlstadt in Wittenberg.

The abuse of organ in the church for playing dance music that belongs more to the tavern does not justify its abolition from the church, since we know that there is nothing in worship that cannot be exploited:

“Daß 4. sie mit dem Mißbrauch auffgezogen kommen/ als daß man leichtfärtige Däntz// Passametzen/ Curanten vnd Bulen Lieder auff den Orgeln schlage/ so nit in die Kirche/ sondern ins Wirtshauß gehören/ ist ein nichtiger ver=geblicher Auffzug/ dann der Mißbrauch hebt ein Ding nicht gantz an ihm selbst auff/ sonst were der Gottesdienst mitein=ander auffzuheben vnd abzuschaffen/ weil fast kein Stuck des=selbigen/ welches von einem oder anderm nicht mißbrauchet wird.“¹⁶¹

It is interesting to note that Dieterich also advocates allegorical interpretation of the organ in this sermon. He describes a Christian as a living organ and makes a parallel between human body and the body of an organ, the mouth and the pipe, the keyboard and pedal and the hearts, etc.¹⁶²

Despite his broad-minded support for the instrumental and figural music for worship service, Dieterich is fully aware of the potential of music to be used not for the right purpose. In the instruction for the organists, Dieterich warns them not to promote self-reputation, but to encourage devotion in Christian service:

¹⁶⁰ “Demnach aber deren Brauch nunmehr von so viel hundert Jahren/ in der Christen Kirchen vblichen herkomens/ auch ledig vnd allein/ zu Gottes Lob vnd Ehr/ Erweckung der Gemüther/ der Zu=hörer vnd euserlicher Zier der Kirchen angesehen/ kan vnnd mag solcher ohne sonderlich hochschädlich ärgernuß nicht ab=geschaffet werden“ (Dieterich, *Ulmische Orgelpredigt*, p. 30).

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁶² “Sollen mit zusehen/ daß wir vns selbst zulebendigen/ vernünfftigen/ verständigen Orgeln machen/ vnser Leib soll das *corpus* solcher Orgel seyn; vnser Mund sol an derselbigen die Pfeiffe seyn; vnser Zung sol in den Pfeiffen das Zünglein; der Athem oder Wind/ so darinnen geblasen/ sol vnser Gemüth seyn; die Bdlg dadurch solcher Wind getrieben/ sol Gottes Wort seyn; das Clavier vnnd Pedal/ solcher vnserer Geistlichen Orgel sol vnser Hertz seyn; die Register deren/ sollen vnser Hertzens vnd Gemuths *affecten* vnd Begierd seyn; der Organist/ sol der H. Geist seyn/ welcher da ist mit Gaben Sibenfalt/ der Finger in Gottes rechter hand/ wie er genennet/ Apoc. I.4. Lu. II.20“ (Dieterich, *Ulmische Orgelpredigt*, p. 40).

“Organisten vnd Musicanten/ sollen ihres Ampts auch erinnert seyn/ daß weil die Orgel vnd Instrumental Music/ ein vornem Stuck deß duserlichen Christlichen Gottesdienst/ sie nicht allein für ihr Person/ Fromb/ Gottsförchtig/ ehrlich vnd andächtig/ sondern auch mit gebührender *devotion*, An=dacht/*gravität* vnd ansehen ihr Ampt verzichten.“¹⁶³

Toward the end of the sermon, Dieterich also emphasizes the difference between bad organ music played by organists “wegen ihres leichtfertigen schlagens von Nöthen” and good church music as we find in “den alten gewöhnlichen Grauitätischen Kirchen Stucken“.¹⁶⁴

1.5.3. Theological polemic writings

The age of confessionalism was characterized by many polemical writings by each denomination. The stylistic change from Italian influence was certainly not the first cause of the debate on musical aesthetics or theology of music within the Lutheran and Calvinistic confession, it rather sharpens the pre-existing confessional debates. The polemic had a devastating impact on the position of music in the service. Möller-Weiser pointed out that “without a decided defense of the *Musica sacra*, it would have been perhaps possible at that time, that the predominant part of the Protestant states would have restricted themselves to a church music, which would have hardly allowed any other (music) unless the various compositions of Lobwasser’s Psalter.”¹⁶⁵ This Reformed restraint had cause resistance of the church musicians, especially of those who were accommodating the development of church music with its stylistic change. However, some theologians who wanted to revitalize religion to a deeper piety saw their calling to respond to that present situation.

In 1661 a Rostock theologian Theophil Großgebauer, which toward the end of 17th century already considered as a precursor of Pietism,¹⁶⁶ published his polemic writing *Wächterstimme aus der verwüsteten Zion*. Far from

¹⁶³ Dieterich, *Ulmische OrgelPredigt*, p. 42.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁶⁵ Dietlind Möller-Weiser, *Untersuchungen zum 1. Band des Syntagma musicum von Michael Praetorius*, Kassel, etc: Bärenreiter, 1993 (=Detmold-Paderborner Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, Vol. 3), p. 31.

¹⁶⁶ Joachim Kremer, “Die Überlagerung theologischer Positionen im Kirchenmusikverständnis des Kantors Joachim Gerstenbüttel: Zu Protektion und Abwehr des Pietismus im ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert“, in: *Musikkonzepte – Konzepte der Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 2, ed. Kathrin Eberl & Wolfgang Ruf, Kassel, etc: Bärenreiter, 2000 (=Bericht über den internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung 1998), p. 233.

discrediting the value of music in worship, Großgebauer understands music as the means for being filled with the Spirit. Psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs are “the sweet wine which the congregation must drink if it is to be filled with the Spirit.”¹⁶⁷ If Luther emphasized the objective role of the Holy Spirit who first gives the living power to the Word of God, in another climate of Pietism Großgebauer understands the pneumatological character of music as the subjective preparation of the believers (to being filled with the Spirit). In this kind of music aesthetics, music serves more as an anticipation of something good that is to come. However, this is not to say that Großgebauer does not have the understanding of music as an expression vehicle for God’s Word in mind:

“You say, ‘They have God’s Word!’ True. God’s Word must dwell among us with wisdom. It is wisdom to bring God’s Word into beautiful psalms and to pour the Word of God into the heart through the ears in pleasing melodies.”¹⁶⁸

At the same time, that is not to say that the anticipative role of music is understood apart from the role of the Holy spirit, but rather psalms and sacred songs are the “means which the Holy Spirit uses as the wagon on which he pulls into hearts and fills them with all God’s fullness.”¹⁶⁹

Despite his pietistic and mystical tendency, Großgebauer emphasizes the communal character of worship: “When one sings psalms, as Paul says, that cannot edify the congregation; but when the whole congregation sings in the Spirit and at the same time one speaks to another through psalms, that improves and fills with the Spirit.”¹⁷⁰ Following Augustine and Calvin, he stresses also the text comprehensibility and complains about the “concertizing” manner by unfortunate musicians, who created an atmosphere of competition in worship service:

“So songs have been sent to us in Germany from Italy in which the biblical texts are torn apart and chopped up into little pieces through swift runs of the throat; [...] Then it becomes an ambitious collective screaming to see who sings most

¹⁶⁷ Theophil Großgebauer, *Drey Geistreiche Schrifften/ I. Wächterstimme Aus dem verwüsteten Zion* [...], Frankfurt and Leipzig 1710), p. 191; see also the study by Joyce Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone*, pp. 79-88. All translations throughout the *Wächterstimme* are taken from Irwin.

¹⁶⁸ Großgebauer, *Wächterstimme*, p. 192.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

¹⁷⁰ “Wenn jemand Psalmen singet/ wie Paulus redet/ das kan die Gemeine nicht [er]bauen/ wenn aber die gantze Gemeine im Sinne singet/ und gleichsam einer zu dem andern durch

like the birds. Now it's Latin, now German, only a few can understand the words; and even if they are understood they go in one ear and out the other."¹⁷¹

The issue is more on the participative role of the congregation rather than on the use of musical instruments in worship. As far as organ and string instruments are concerned, Großgebauer believes that these instruments can ultimately be used. Nor is he of the opinion that the use of music instruments was terminated with Christ's appearance in the Gospel as believed by Calvin. He is just rather dismayed with the condition in which in the competitive spirit, instrumental music has become a substitute for congregational singing: "But when the trumpets, psalteries, and harps are supposed to praise God and the congregation is deaf and mute, that may just be blaring and a damnable praise."¹⁷²

In the year 1665 a *Psalmodia Christiana* by **Hector Mithobius**, a preacher in Otterndorf, appeared in Bremen.¹⁷³ The work is a polemical writing replying the *Wächterstimme* of T. Großgebauer. Mithobius dedicates this writing to his *Landesherrn*, the count Anton Günther of Oldenburg. The preface was dated on 21 September 1663. As Irwin already pointed out, most of the conflicts between Mithobius and Großgebauer originate from different approaches of seeing the object. Großgebauer's theology was anthropocentric, "focusing on psychologically and pedagogically effective means of communicating the gospel", while Mithobius' point of departure was rather Theo-centric, "with humans playing a subordinate role in a God-centered universe".¹⁷⁴

Psalmen redet/ das bessert und machet voll Geistes" (Großgebauer, *Wächterstimme*, Frankfurt a. M. 1661, p. 212).

¹⁷¹ "Also sind uns Gesänge auß Welschland [...] zugeschickt/ worinnen die Biblischen Texte zurrissen/ und durch der Gurgel geschwinde Läuflte in kleine Stücke zerhacket werden [...] Da gehets denn an ein ehrgeitziges Zusammenschreyen/ welcher den Vögeln am besten und gleichsten singen kan. Bald ists Latein/ bald ists Teutsch/ die wenigsten können die Worte verstehen: und wenns verstanden wird/ so hafftets doch nicht" (Großgebauer, p. 227).

¹⁷² "wenn die Posaunen/ Psalter und Harpffen Gott loben sollen/ und die Gemeine Gottes ist stumm und taub/ das mag wol ein Geplerr und ein verweffliches Lob seyn" (Großgebauer, p. 237).

¹⁷³ Hector Mithobius, *PSALMODIA CHRISTIANA* Jhr Christen Singet und Spielet dem HERRN *Ephes. V, vs. 19*. Das ist Gründliche Gewissens-Belehrung/ Was von der Christen *Musica*, so wol *Vocali* als *Instrumentali* zu halten? Allen Alten und Neuen Music-Feinden/ absonderlich aber der Meinung Sel. H. M. *THEOPHILI* Großgebauers in seiner neulich edirten *Wächterstimme Cap. XI*. Entgegen gesetzt/ ... Nebens einer *Dedication, Praefation* und *Appendice* zum Druck auff Begehren heraus gegeben/ Durch M. *HECTOREM MITHOBIUM* Dienern am Worte Gottes zu Otterndorf in Hadelen. JEHNA Jn Verlegung Erhardi Bergeri Buchhändler in Bremen 1665.

¹⁷⁴ Irwin, p. 89.

The copperplate shows pictures on three levels.¹⁷⁵ Above, we see the adoration of the lamb by the 24 elders and 6 angels playing instruments. Over the lamb with the victory flag, there is a ribbon with the inscription “Ehre sey Got in der Höhe”. In the middle, King David dances with the harp before the Ark of the Covenant, which is carried by two priests, accompanied by musicians, who play on string and wind instruments, psalter, timpanis and bells. Under the Ark of the Covenant, the verses 1, 3, 4, and 5 of the 150th psalm are registered on a panel. In the lower half of the copperplate, earthly music is represented in a place of worship. This picture serves at the same time as a title of the book by the inscriptions on the parapets of the galleries, which start on the left:

PSALMODIA CHRISTIANA M. HECTORIS MITHOBII das ist: CHRISTLICHE MUSICPREDIGTEN auß der *EPISTEL am 20 TRINIT.*

Because of the nearness of this copperplate with the performance of a richly arranged works for several choirs in a Protestant service, Blankenburg had took this part of copperplate as a clear example for the performance practice of church music with several choirs in MGG 1979.¹⁷⁶ The great church choir is distributed in several galleries with their instruments. A big organ can be seen high above in the middle. On the upper edge of the picture in front of the organ, two angels hold a ribbon, hanging a little below with the text:

Ephes No 5 | Singet und Spilet dem Herrn | verse 19

Of this verse, Mithobius comments:

“But the words of our text [Eph. 5:19] reveal that this command of God can in a certain way be understood to include artistic figural music, which is best and most elegantly arranged with many voices and many kinds of alternation according to the notes and rules of the singers.”¹⁷⁷

On the two long galleries and in the corners and angles the playing musicians are everywhere distributed, placed together on the left mainly with string instruments – violins, viola da gambas, harp and lute –, and on the right with flutes, horn and trombone, in the background next to the organ, with two

¹⁷⁵ For detailed description of the copperplate, compare Konrad Ameln, “Himmlische und irdische Musik“, in: *Neues musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch 2* (1993), pp. 57-59. This section is a summary of Ameln’s description.

¹⁷⁶ Walter Blankenburg, Art. “Kantor“, in: *MGG1*, Vol. 16, Kassel etc: Bärenreiter, 1979, Taf. 51, after col. 896.

¹⁷⁷ Hector Mithobius, *Psalmodia Christiana*, p. 179; see also the study by Joyce Irwin, pp. 89-98. All translations throughout the *Psalmodia Christiana* are taken from Irwin.

trumpets, directed up. For Ameln, this copperplate is unique because the praise of God on earth is represented in two pictures, so that the Jewish music of the old covenant appears as the seed and link to the Christian music of the new covenant.¹⁷⁸ The copperplate represents available resources for musical performance corresponds with Mithobius' idea that a Christian "should many thousand times more apply all skill, wit, sense, reason, and understanding to the music of the king of kings ... who alone is wise, indeed is himself the highest wisdom."¹⁷⁹ Mithobius' music aesthetics thus encourages the use of development in the artistic creativity of musical composition: "With one's gifts one should arouse, stimulate and encourage each other to bring about the most artistic, happiest and loveliest music to the praise of God, so that a voice and a choir compete and contend to see which can do it best".¹⁸⁰ The most artistic music, for Mithobius, is no other than the figural music of his time:

"Figural singing is a great wisdom and art; through it the most beautiful texts and sayings of divine Holy Scripture are movingly repeated and implanted by various means in the mind. In this way a sweet, glorious, and beautiful loveliness, charm, and harmony or concord is heard."¹⁸¹

Here, we have the understanding of figural music as a musical style, characterized by repetition of words or phrases to make the text of the scripture alive, thus echoing Luther's understanding of music in the context of rhetoric. In the spirit of Lutheran theology, Mithobius argues that the treatment of music should be understood in the context of Christian freedom. However, Mithobius' conception of the continuation of the Old Testament commands for a Christian very much echoes Calvin's teaching on the third (educational) use of the law.¹⁸² Mithobius also emphasizes the importance of devotion, involvement of the heart, and understanding the content in congregational singing:

"Therefore in our singing we should also think diligently about this and use our hearts as well; certainly the large majority in the church or congregation and

¹⁷⁸ Konrad Ameln, "Himmlische und irdische Musik", p. 59.

¹⁷⁹ Hector Mithobius, *Psalmodia Christiana...Das ist, Gründliche Gewissens-Belehrung/ Was von der Christen Musica, so wol Vocali als Instrumentali zu halten?*, Jena 1665, p. 180.

¹⁸⁰ Mithobius, *Psalmodia Christiana*, p. 179.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

¹⁸² Comp. Mithobius, *Psalmodia Christiana*, p. 188; see also Irwin, p. 92.

elsewhere only sing with the mouth while their hearts are far away and contemplating nothing of what is being sung.”¹⁸³

1.5.4. Music treatises

Music treatises are the next category for tracing the continuation of reformational music aesthetics in Germany. Unlike prefaces to music printings and hymnbooks, music treatises are capable to offer a more systematic and comprehensive treatments on music. **Cyriacus Spangenberg** (1528-1604) offers 88 chapters in his treatise *Von der Musica und den Meistersängern* (1598).¹⁸⁴ Of the power of music, Spangenberg wrote that music is capable to refresh troubled hearts, to increase the faith, to confirm the hope, to arouse prayer and to warm the heart.¹⁸⁵ Quoting Luther and Antonius, Spangenberg believes that “Mit der Musica vertreibt man vil Anfechtung, vnndt böse gedanckhen, Sie vertreibt auch den Teuffell, vnnd Er erharret Ihrer nicht, Dann Geistliche freude thut dem Teuffel weh, sagte S. Antonius.”¹⁸⁶ The strong connection between music and spiritual joy is one of the central tenets in Luther’s music understanding. Music helps us to remember God’s good deeds so as to move us to be grateful to Him. It also strengthens our weak faith in believing that his promises are so true:

“Daß vnser schwacher Glaube Durch Psalmensingen bestettiget, sterckher vnnd Kräfttger gemacht werde: Welches Trawen mechtiglichen beschicht, Wann wir hören vnnd von hertzen betrachten, wie Gott so gnädig vnnd Barmhertzig, vnnd In seinen Zuesagungen warhafftig, vnnd dieselbigen zu erfüllen so allmechtig ist.”¹⁸⁷

On musical instruments, Spangenberg represents the current humanistic view, namely that vocal music enjoys precedence toward the instrumental music, especially because with spoken words vocal music carries good teachings, warning and comfort:

¹⁸³ Mithobius, *Psalmodia Christiana*, p. 162.

¹⁸⁴ Cyriacus Spangenberg, *Von der Musica und den Meistersängern*, ed. Adelbert von Keller, Stuttgart 1861 (=Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Vol. 62).

¹⁸⁵ “Auß der Heiligen Schrifft, vnnd eigener erfahrung wissen wir, welche treffliche Labsal, Trost, vnnd erquickung, die lieben Psalmen, vnndt Rechtschaffene Geistliche lieder den betrübtten hertzen bringen, wie die [12] Kleinmüettigen dardurch gestercket, die Zaghafftigen dadurch vffgerichtet, Die traurigen erfrewet, der Glaube gemehret, die Hoffnung bestettiget, Daß Gebett erwecket, vnnd daß Hertz erwermet würd“ (Spangenberg, p. 20-21).

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 27.

“Aber, von der Musica Instrumentâlj wollen wir vff dißmal nichts weitters sagen, sondern bey der Musica Vocâlj Pleiben ; Dann es Auch Alle Weisen Dafür gehalten, Daß die Musica, so mit Natürlicher stimm geübet würdt, weitt Allen den Anderen Seittenspielen fürgezogen werden solle, Weill Dieselbige nicht Allein die Ohren mit lieblichem Klang erfüllet vnnd ettlichermaßen daß hertz erfrewet, sondern Darneben Auch mit Außgesprochenen Wortten gutte Lehre, warnung vnnd Trost gibt, vnnd mit sich bringt.“¹⁸⁸

The first use of the noble music is for the glory of God, while the second is for loving and serving the people.¹⁸⁹ Integrating Augustine and Luther, Spangenberg stresses the importance of devotion that could have a witness character to people:

“So zeugets Auch die Erfahrung, Daß durch Andächtiges hertzliches singen Geistlicher lieder, sonderlich, wo solches mit feiner Einfälttger Demutt, vnnd Einträchtiger Stimme geschicht, Anderer Leütt hertz vnnd gemüetter zu wahrer Andacht erweckt, vnnd bewegt warden, Auch Ihre begirde vnnd verlangen zu Gott Zu kehren vnnd Zu erheben, vnnd deme, waß gesungen würdt, ettwas tieffer nachzudencken, Welches dann Gott Auch desto gefelliger ist.“¹⁹⁰

Apart from Augustine and Luther, Spangenberg also incorporates some tenets of Calvin’s music aesthetics, such as the consideration of the weak and cold hearted, i.e., dullness, and the salient power of music in reaching what cannot be reached by words alone:

“Denn Alle Zuhörer des Göttlichen Wortts seindt nicht Alle Zugleich Geistlich, noch gleich starckh vnnd brünstig Im Geist, Darumb hat mann vmb der schwachen vnnd leben, oder Kallten Hertzen, Willenn In Kirchen geordnet zu singen, vnnd Zu Orglen, Auff Daß die jenigen, so nicht baldt mit worttenn erweicht werden können, Durch Liebliches Gesang, vnnd Klang Zur Andacht bewegt werden möchten.“¹⁹¹

Spangenberg dedicates the last eight chapters (81-88) to discuss the misuse of music. The use of musical instruments for instance should not hinder or distract the devotion of congregational singing:

“Wie auch Dises nicht Zu loben, Wann mann mit gar zu vil Orglen vnd figurieren verhindertt, Daß die Gemeine nicht fein Einmüettig vnnd Andächtig

¹⁸⁸ Spangenberg, p. 35.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 150.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 150.

mit gueter bedacht, die gebreuchlichen, vnnd gewöhnlichen FestPsalmen vnnd lieder dafür singen [...].¹⁹²

The idea of moderation as had been clearly advocated by Calvin is present and represented by the phrase “zu vil” (too many) in Spangenberg’s writing, this time concerning the coloratura:

“Sonst, würdt auch daß gahr Zu vil Colorieren, vnnd, Daß mann Offt eine Syllaba so lang Zeitt, Auff 8. 10 oder mher Noten, nicht Aller ding approbieret.”¹⁹³

In line with Calvin’s thought, Spangenberg also emphasized the importance of singing that comes from the heart, which is strongly related with understanding and believing:

“Singen auch die nicht recht, vnnd thun widder Gottes willen, (welcher von Hertzenn will Angeruffen sein), die da wol mitt dem Munde singen, vnnd die Wortt Außtruckten, Aber, Ihr hertz ist nicht Darbey: Bedenckhen nicht, waß sie singen, Ja glauben selbst nicht, waß sie mit wortten von Gott rhüemen.”¹⁹⁴

In this context, Spangenberg disagrees with singing everything in Latin, for which the congregation cannot understand it and therefore it is not useful for them.¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the most disgraceful misuse of music, which is against the love of neighbor, is when one sings “such godless, unchristian, or thoughtless indecent songs.”¹⁹⁶ Referring to Plato, Spangenberg warns that such indecent songs will tempt and appeal especially young people to evil things. As a general principle for the right performance of music, one should always remember the goal of music:

“Da doch die Musica Darzu dienen soll, Daß Andere Dardurch gelehret, vnderrichtet oder geröstet werden.”¹⁹⁷

Spangenberg’s detailed descriptions on the misuse of music reveal his clear stand toward the theological position of music as anaphora in Lutheran music aesthetics. Positively, it can be said that his music aesthetics shows balance criticism on both the positive and negative power of music.

¹⁹² Spangenberg, p. 153.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 165.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 156.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 161.

¹⁹⁶ “Wann man solche Gottlose, VnChristliche, oder leichtfertige vnzüchtige Lieder singet“ (Ibid., p. 161).

1.5.5. Prefaces to music printings and hymnbooks

Although the continuation of Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinistic theology in the age of confessionalism is characterized by many polemic writings, there were still common similarities between them. One among those is their spirituality, which is found in hymnbooks used for singing and praying. The size of the hymnbooks at that time grows drastically. The Dresden hymnbook of 1622 for instance contained 276 songs, in the year 1656 it had already 684 songs and in 1673, it reached no less than 1505.¹⁹⁸ Such books have rather been used at the private devotional time at home than in the service. We can assume that from those hymnbooks we can get a clear picture of the common piety ruled among the people, because the church authorities gave little influence only in few cases at its origin.¹⁹⁹

The first preface to hymnbook that we are going to deal with is the Preface to *Das erste evangelische Choralbuch* by **Lucas Osiander** (1534-1604), a court preacher in Wittenberg. The book appeared in 1586. It contains 50 sacred songs and psalms set in four voices. Influences Calvinistic music aesthetics are found in his emphasis on the importance of the heart:

“Vnd kann solches sonderlich mit Christlichen geistlichen Liedern vnd Psalmen geschehen: Wann das Hertz dabey ist, vnd nicht allein die Wort vnd Stimm gehört warden, Wie S. Paulus Col. 3 sagt [...].“²⁰⁰

Lutheran music aesthetics on the other hand finds its resonance in his statement of the function of singing that can cheer up heavy feeling and concentrate the wandering mind.²⁰¹ Osiander also believes that the Almighty has shared the gift that man can praise God especially with polyphonic music. He argues for several parts/voices in music, by which the Holy Trinity is reflected. God to certain extent has pictured the Holy Trinity in the music, in which no more than three harmonious voices can be invented or thought of.²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ Spangenberg, p. 165.

¹⁹⁸ Ingeborg Röbbelen, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit im deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gesangbuch des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen 1957 (=Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 6), p. 18.

¹⁹⁹ Wolfgang Herbst, “Der Westfälische Frieden 1648 und die theologische und kirchengeschichtliche Situation in Mitteldeutschland“, in: *Schütz-Jahrbuch 21* (1999), p. 15.

²⁰⁰ Lucas Osiander, Preface to *Fünffzig Geistliche Lieder vnd Psalmen*, in: *Das erste evangelische Choralbuch*, ed. Friedrich Zelle, Berlin 1903 (=Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht der Zehnten Realschule (Höheren Bürgerschule) zu Berlin, 1903), p. IX.

²⁰¹ “Dann das gesang ermundert ein schwer gemüt, vnd samlet die zerstreute gedancken zusammen” (Ibid., p. IX).

²⁰² Ibid., p. X.

However, he also realized that the figural music, though artistic, lovely and marvelous, even when the melody and text can be understood, still cannot be sung by a layperson but can only be listened to.²⁰³

“Ob wol auch (dem Allmechtigen sey gedanckt) vil Teutscher geistlicher gesang, künstlich, lieblich vnd herrlich mit vilen Stimmen gesetzt: Jedoch, ob man gleich die Melodi vnnd den Text versteht, so kan doch ein Ley, so der Figural Music nicht berichtet, nicht mit singen, sondern muß allein zuhören.“²⁰⁴

On one side, Osiander wants to preserve the polyphonic music, while on the other, this kind of music should be able to include the congregation to participate in worship. For this very reason, he published his fifty sacred songs and psalms in the “cantional” style, which reflects the ideal of Calvinist music aesthetics. For better accessibility, he transfers the choral melody from the tenor into the descant, so that the congregation could recognize the psalm and sing it.²⁰⁵ Using this hymnbook, he hoped that the psalm singing tradition in the church would be preserved.

Finally, about the performance practice Osiander recommended that especially the alto and tenor should not be sung too loud, so that the choral melody had the primacy over all other voices, and was heard at least twice stronger than the other voices.²⁰⁶ The choice of tempo should be moderate (not too fast, not too slow) so that the choral and figural music can be sung together. It should be context sensible and adapted to the custom of each local congregation.²⁰⁷ The thought Osiander had in mind in his instruction on the performance practice is the unity of the congregation. Osiander’s music aesthetics represents the reformational idea that heavily emphasizes the role or participation of the whole congregation in worship. His fifty sacred songs and psalms show his sensibility to this reformational vision.

²⁰³ Osiander, Preface to *Fünffzig Geistliche Lieder vnd Psalmen*, p. X.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. X.

²⁰⁵ “Ich weiß wol, daß die Componisten sonsten gewöhnlich den Choral im Tenor führen. Wenn man aber das thut, so ist der Choral vnter andern Stimmen vnkenntlich: Dann der gemein Mann verstehet nicht, was es für ein Psalm ist: vnd kan nicht mit singen. Darumb hab ich den Choral inn den Discant genommen, damit er ja kenntlich, vnd ein jeder Leye mit singen könne“ (Osiander, Preface to *Fünffzig Geistliche Lieder vnd Psalmen*, p. X).

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. XI.

²⁰⁷ “Vnd wirdt ein notturfft sein, das die Mensur im Tact, nach der gantzen Gemein gerichtet werde, vnd also die Schüler sich inn der Mensur oder Tact nach der Gemein aller dings richten, vnnd inn keiner Noten schneller oder langsamer singen, dann ein Christliche Gemein selbigen orts zu singen pflaget: damit der Choral vnd *figurata Musica* sein bey einander bleiben, vnnd beides einen lieblichen concentum gebe“ (Ibid., p. XI).

In the dedicatory epistle to *Urania* (1613), **Michael Praetorius**, echoing Calvin, states that the teaching from God and all his admonitions, consolation, praise and thanksgivings are included in psalms and harmony so that those are “leichter vnd tieffer in die Herten eingebildet / vnd dieselbige zum fewrbrennendem Eyfer wahrer Gottseligkeit entzündet vnd ermuntert werden möchten.”²⁰⁸ In particular, Praetorius recognized the special power of music to reach the heart and its ability to arouse the spirit from dullness. It is most likely in this context that we should understand the goal of music: “Nemlich zu Gottes Lob vn Ehr / vnd zu nütz=licher erweckung der Herten / mit Ernst vn andacht dem Gottesdienst beyzuwohnen.”²⁰⁹ We should thus understand “Erweckung der Herten” as a contrast to dullness. For this reason, Praetorius offers his *Urania* “in der beweglichen anmutigen Art der *Concerten* [...] das man sich billich zum höchsten darüber zuverwundern / vnd fast nichts neues vnd mehres numehr erdencken oder erfinden kan.”²¹⁰ Here we have a very early statement about the perfection of figural music that cannot be further developed; a statement that Dieterich will have said poignantly in his Ulm organ-sermon. Praetorius is fully aware of the potential difficulties in performing music written in ornamented concertizing style. Therefore, he decides to write simpler setting so that in smaller particular schools the little boys can manage to perform them.²¹¹

In the “Commonefactio” or “Erinnerung an den Leser / von der Ursach dieses Wercks”, Praetorius acknowledged the dialectic power of music to arouse “devotion” and “liveliness” in praising God. The practice of sacred music serves as a “foreplay” and “taste” of the “heavenly joy”, so that this practice will continue to eternity.²¹² Also in this part, Praetorius gave a theological justification for the practice of double choir in the concerto style that is being understood as a reciprocal praise to God between the choir of the elected people and the angelic choir:

“Da auff einer seyten vnd Chor die außerwehlte selige Menschen; Auff der ander seyten vnd Chor / die himmlischen *Cantores*, *Cherubim* vnd *Seraphim* stehen oder schweben / vnd *alternatim* mit ihrem Lob vnd Frewdengeschrey GOtt den

²⁰⁸ Michael Praetorius, Preface to *Urania*, in: Praetorius – Gesamtausgabe, ed. Friedrich Blume, Vol. 16, Wolfenbüttel/Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer, 1935, p. VI.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. VII.

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. VII.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. VII.

HERRN zu loben / gleichsam *concertiren*, vnd viel herrlichere *Concert*, dergleichen in diesem Leben wir nicht erdencken können / anstellen werden.“²¹³

In the Preface to *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica* (1619), what Praetorius had already wrote in the first volume of his *Syntagma Musicum* (1615), namely the indissoluble connection between “Concio” and “Cantio” comes to the fore again. Both Concio (good sermon/speech) and Cantio (good music and song) belong to the perfection and component of the church and complete service.²¹⁴ Praetorius supports his idea with a quotation from Justin:

“Verbum Dei est, sive mente cogitetur, sive canatur, sive pulsu edatur. ’Es ist vnd bleibet Gottes Wort / auch das da im Gemüth gedacht / mit der Stimme gesungen / auch auff ’Instrumenten geschlagen vnd gespielet wird.“²¹⁵

In Praetorius’ understanding, not only the Word of God in its objective reality is important, but also its operation in the subjective mind of the believer, by one’s own singing and playing of musical instruments.

For the last example of prefaces to music printings, we will turn to the Preface to *Geistliche Chor-Musik for 5, 6, and 7 Voices, to be performed both vocally and instrumentally* (1648) by **Heinrich Schütz** (1585-1672). Schütz seeks balance between the old contrapuntal style and the new concertizing style. He makes clear that a good contrapuntal foundation will build ideal musical compositions:

“On the other hand, no musician, not even those trained in a good school, can approach the most difficult study of counterpoint or any other well-regulated style of composition and handle or deal with it properly, unless he has previously gained sufficient skill in the style without the basso continuo, and has mastered the necessary requisites for regular composition.”²¹⁶

Although the use of a continuo is allowed in the *Geistliche Chor-Musik*, Schütz actually did not provide a part for the keyboard player, but “auff Gutachten und Begehren [des Verlegers], nicht aber aus Nothwendigkeit” the

²¹² Praetorius, Preface to *Urania*, p. VIII.

²¹³ Praetorius, *Commonefactio* to *Urania*, p. VIII.

²¹⁴ “Demnach nun zur volnkomenheit vnd bestand des Kirchen Regiments / auch völligem Gottes Dienst / nicht allein gehörig ist CONCIO, Eine gute Predigt: Sondern auch dazu erforderlich, CANTIO, Eine gute Music vnd Gesang“ (Michael Praetorius, Preface to *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica*, in: Praetorius – Gesamtausgabe, Vol. 17, Wolfenbüttel/Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer, 1930, p. VII.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. VII.

²¹⁶ Heinrich Schütz, Preface to *Geistliche Chor-Musik I*, Dresden 1648; trans. Ruth Halle Rowen, *Music Through Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs/New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1979, p. 160.

continuo part was added later.²¹⁷ He believes that the procedure of writing without basso continuo, which he had learned in Italy are to be followed by young German composers. It is interesting to notice that in his mature artisanship, Schütz decided to return to the older style for expressing his idea of sacred music. W. Breig commented that through dispensing the expressive elements of the concertato style, Schütz let the “art of creating musical motifs from the inflections of language” to emerge “with all the more urgency and immediacy”.²¹⁸ Perhaps we might understand his decision as a return to music aesthetics which emphasizes the primacy of the word/text over the music as already been advocated by Augustine and Calvin.

1.5.6. Literary testimonials

The last category for tracing the continuation of reformational music aesthetics in Germany is literary testimonial. Here, we will analyze *Christianopolis* by **Johann Valentin Andreae** (1586-1654) published in 1619. A translation by David Samuel Georgi was published 1741 in Eßlingen,²¹⁹ so that we can assume a bridge between Andreae’s music aesthetics and Bach’s period.²²⁰ It is a utopian description of an ideal Christian society. Following the medieval music aesthetics, Andreae recommends the course of music after completing arithmetic and geometry, which shows “how much music depends on number and measure.”²²¹ There are also some pietistic traits in Andreae’s utopia when he wrote that since Satan tormented the world by abusing the delight of heaven, music can also serve indecent ends; it is necessary to remove certain things from the ideal Christian society:

“Hence the madness of dancing, the frivolity of singing and the impiety of vulgar musicians.”²²²

On the contrary, in *Christianopolis* people will hear good music, that is, music that has eschatological message:

²¹⁷ Title page of *Geistliche Chormusik I*, in: Schütz – Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Vol. 5, Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 2003, p. XV.

²¹⁸ Heinrich Schütz, *Geistliche Chormusik I*, in: Schütz – Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Vol. 5, Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 2003, p. XII.

²¹⁹ Johann Valentin Andreae, *Christianopolis*, Esslingen 1741, Reprint Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1981, ed. Heiner Höfener (= *Klassiker der utopischen Literatur*, Vol. 5).

²²⁰ Cf. Lauterwasser, “Quellen zur lutherischen Musikauffassung”, p. 171.

²²¹ Johann Valentin Andreae, *Christianopolis*, Ch. 64, trans. Edward H. Thompson, Dordrecht etc.: Kluwer Academic, 1999 (= *Archives internationales d’histoire des idées*, Vol. 162), p. 233.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 233.

“There they enjoy that prophetic kind of music which takes the future life as its theme, their souls echoing fully in harmony and resounding in heaven.”²²³

Echoing Luther, Andreae understands the creative acts of composition pneumatologically, though perhaps rather as synergism than as monergism:

“For where the favour of the Holy Spirit is combined with the artistry of composition, the feeling of the words, and the power of harmony, then the highest pleasure can not be absent.”²²⁴

Also in *Christianopolis* we will find allegorical interpretation on musical instruments understood as the believers who are ready to serve their Creator and are “willing to listen to God when He tunes them up to be His instruments and places before them a tabulature (as they call it) of the duty they owe Him.”²²⁵ Denial to this tuning of God is the cause of “discords between the various social classes”.²²⁶ Despite the allegorical interpretation on musical instruments, Andreae advocates the use of musical instruments in public worship, where psalm singing is heard “while at the same time a deep silence fell over the community as everyone stopped talking and turned to prayer”.²²⁷ Here, the use of music as a preparation to devotion in praying as had been taught by Calvin is clearly described. Still echoing Calvin, Andreae believes that psalm singing is not only an “imitation of the angelic choir”, but also a foretaste of heavenly worship together with the angels:

“[...] it is their hope, which is not unreasonable, that the choir of angels will join in with their singing in this way.”²²⁸

Finally, the joyful nature of music as had been taught by Luther is contrasted with gloom and sadness caused by the vanity of the world:

“Or who shall doubt that the angels have more to offer to souls which are raised up to God in pure rejoicing, than they have to those who are gloomy and depressed under the torture of vanity?”²²⁹

As a conclusion, we can say that Andreae’s music aesthetics includes tenets of medieval music aesthetics, Luther’s and Calvin’s reformational theology of music, as well as of Pietism. Such theology of music best reflects the

²²³ Andreae, *Christianopolis*, p. 233.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

²²⁵ Andreae, *Christianopolis*, Ch. 65, p. 234.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, Ch. 66, p. 235.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 235; comp. Calvin, *Forme des prières et chantz ecclesiastiques*, CS 2, p. 158,33-36.

²²⁹ Andreae, *Christianopolis*, Ch. 66, p. 235.

approach of eclecticism in which it combines and integrates different current of thoughts into a unique personal conception. The diversity was not regarded as being polemical in nature but as a complementary potential.

Chapter 2: Psalm 51

2.1. Methodological questions

The previous chapter has dealt with the main tenets of the reformational music aesthetics both of Luther and of Calvin and the continuation of their theology of music in the age of confessionalism. It is apparent that the reformational music aesthetics in the Protestant Germany had not followed only Luther's but also Calvin's ideas. In fact, it should be noted that several positions and various argumentations flowed together as an intermixing of different lines of argumentation. The orthodox and the pietistic school of thoughts on music aesthetics cannot be separated by drawing a clear line, but rather they interact with one another to form a plurality of unique and personal opinions on the idea of music. However, it is still possible to view the continuation of later music aesthetics in Germany as diversity *within* the reformational theology of music.

Just as the diversity of music aesthetics concepts in the age after Luther and Calvin in Germany can be viewed within the reformational theology of music, the musical settings of Psalm 51 treated in this study can also be viewed not only from but also within the reformational music aesthetics. In the second and third chapter, I will examine on whether the historical development of Psalm 51 musical settings in Germany corresponds to the music aesthetic flux of the later reformational theology of music in the age of confessionalism. Before doing so, I will first dedicate the second chapter for the analysis of Psalm 51. One will find that theological approach and examination are necessary before analyzing the musical settings of various composers selected in this study. Beside the effort to compare the structure/division of verses in the musical settings with the structure/division of verses in Luther Bible edition or Psalter edition, a comparison between the theological commentaries and the musical commentaries done by the composers should be the last section of the second chapter. Theological writings about Psalm 51, in particular, should give us more specific information on how this penitential Psalm – rather than just general understanding of church music or psalm singing described in the first chapter

– is understood by the reformers and absorbed by later theologians in Germany.

Finally, the last chapter will show the relation between the composers' music aesthetics and the reformational music aesthetics on one hand, and the relation between the music aesthetic flux and the music compositions on the other. The music aesthetic flux within the reformational theology of music in Protestant Germany should be the reason for the explanation of the wide range of compositional variety of Psalm 51 settings from Praetorius to Bach. Moreover, one can thus view the historical development of musical settings of Psalm 51 in Germany from Praetorius to Bach as reflection of the historical development of the reformational music aesthetics in Germany. In this respect, one can view the musical settings of Psalm 51 in Germany c. 1600-1750 not only from but also as a historical development within the perspectival limits of reformational music aesthetics.

2.2. The genesis of the text – Psalm 51 in the editions of

Luther's life time

In the hymnbooks spread all over Germany, every single song has a certain topic as its accents. The epidemics, the war, the time of suffering in many people have been understood as God's warning on human being's wickedness.

We can read it for instance in a poem by Bernhard Derschau:

Ich weiß, HERR, wenn du zürnest sehr,
Wenn du der Sünd nachspührest,
Berg vnd Thal nur anrührest,
So rauchen sie, ein schrecklich Heer;
All Creatur du führest
Vnd g'waltiglich regierest
Die gantze Welt vnd Christenheit.
Wil man sich nicht bekehren,
So muß Pest, Krieg vnd thewre Zeit
Der Menschen Boßheit wehren²³⁰

For the people in that period, there was a strong connection between suffering and God's judgment on man's iniquity. Moments of suffering was naturally understood as moments for self-introspection. Therefore, many songs of lamentation such as taken from Psalm 51 are at the same time an expression of suffering in time of difficulties.

Before examining and comparing the various musical compositions in the next chapter, it is necessary to examine the most similar elements in those compositions, namely the text to be set. The compositions extend from c. 1600-1750, so that different Bible editions used by those composers should be considered. Although Wolfram Steude has already pointed out that the Psalm texts differs little in the Bible editions of the 17th century, however, as Lauterwasser rightly stated, we should not underestimate the fact that the graphic reproduction of the text version alone could have an effect on the musical composition.²³¹

²³⁰ Quoted from Albert Fischer, *Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, accompl. and ed. by Wilhelm Tümpel, Gütersloh 1904-1916, Vol. 3 (1906), p. 19; see also Wolfgang Herbst, *Der Westfälische Frieden*, p. 16.

²³¹ Helmut Lauterwasser, *Angst der Höllen und Friede der Seelen: Die Parallelvertونungen des 116. Psalms in Burckhard Großmans Sammeldruck von 1623 in ihrem historischen Umfeld*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999 (=Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte 6), p. 167.

Already in 1517, Luther had begun his definite translation activity with the seven penitential psalms.²³² Starting with the Pentateuch, the translation of the Old Testament was presented in single parts in 1523. In 1534, the first complete Bible translation was available. Further editions followed in 1535, 1536, 1539, 1540, 1541 (two editions) and 1545. Although it is recognizable that Luther has permanently continued to improve his translation, a comparison of most important Bible editions in Luther's life time show a significant difference between the 1524 and 1531 editions than between 1531 and 1545.²³³

²³² Waldtraut Ingeborg Sauer-Geppert, Art. "Bibelübersetzungen III/1", in: *TRE*, Vol. 6, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980, p. 240.

²³³ See Martin Luthers Werke, WA Dt. Bibel 10/1, p. 262-269, on the following pages.

1524

- 3 **Gott** sey myr gnedig nach deyner guete, vnd tilge meyne vbertretung nach deyner grossen barmhertzickeyt.
- 4 Wassche mich wol von meyner missethat, vnd reynige mich von meiner sunden.
- 5 Denn ich erkenne meyn vbertretung, vnd meyne sunde ist ymmer fur myr.
- 6 An dyr alleyne hab ich gesündigt, vnd vbel fur dyr gethan.
Darumb wirstu recht bleyben ynn deynen wortten, vnd reyn erfunden wenn du gerichtet wirst.
- 7 Sihe ich byn ynn vntugent gemacht, vnd meyne mutter hat mich ynn sunden empfangen.
- 8 Sihe du hast lust zur warheynt, Du lessest mich wissen die weysheynt

1531

- 3 **Gott** sey mir gnedig nach deiner güte, Vnd tilge meine sunde nach deiner grossen barmhertzigkeit.
- 4 Wassche mich wol von meiner missethat, Vnd reinige mich von meiner sunde.
- 5 Denn ich erkenne meine missethat, Vnd meine sunde is imer fur mir.
- 6 An dir allein hab ich gesündigt, Vnd vbel fur dir gethan.
Auff das du recht bleibest inn deinen wortten, Vnd nicht mügest gestrafft werden, wenn du gerichtet wirst.
- 7 Sihe, ich bin aus sundlichem samen gezeuget, Vnd meine mutter hat mich inn sunden empfangen.
- 8 Sihe, du hast lust zur wahrheit die im verborgen ligt, Du lessest mich

1545

- 3 **Gott** sey mir gnedig, nach deiner Güte, Vnd tilge meine Sünde, nach deiner grossen Barmhertzigkeit.
- 4 Wassche mich wol von meiner Missethat, Vnd reinige mich von meiner Sünde.
- 5 Denn ich erkenne meine Missethat, Vnd meine Sünde ist imer fur mir.
- 6 An dir allein hab ich gesündigt, Vnd vbel fur dir gethan.
Auff das du recht behaltest in deinen wortten, Vnd rein bleibest, wenn du gerichtet wirst.
- 7 **Sihe**, Ich bin aus sündlichem Samen gezeuget, Vnd meine Mutter hat mich in sünden empfangen.
- 8 **Sihe**, du hast lust zur Wahrheit die im verborgen ligt, Du lessest mich

heymlich verborgen.
9 Entsundige mich mit Isopen das
ich reyn werde, wassche mich das ich
schnee weys werde.
10 Las mich hören freude vnd won=
ne, das die gebeyne frölich werden
die du zuschlagen hast.
11 Verbirge deyn andlitz von mey=
nen sunden, vnd tilge alle meyne
missethat.
12 Schaffe myr Gott eyn reyn hertz,
vnd erneue ynn mir eynen willi=
gen geyst.
13 Verwirff mich nicht von deynem
angesicht, vnd nym deynen heyligen
geyst nicht von myr.
14 Las myr widder komen den trost
deynes heyls, vnd der freye geyst
enthallte mich.
15 Ich will die gottlosen deyne
wege leren, Das sich die sunder zu

wissen die heimliche weisheit.
9 Entsundige mich mit Isopen,
das ich rein werde, Wassche mich, das
ich schnee weis werde.
10 Las mich hören freud vnd
wonne, Das die gebeine frölich wer=
den, die du zeschlagen hast.
11 Verbirge dein andlitz von mei=
nen sunden, Vnd tilge alle meine
missethat.
12 Schaffe inn mir Gott ein rein
hertz, Vnd gib mir einen neuen ge=
wissen geist.
13 Verwirff mich nicht von deinem
angesichte, Vnd nim deinen heiligen
geist nicht von mir.
14 Tröste mich widder mit deiner
hülffe, Vnd der freidige geist
enthalte mich.
15 Denn ich wil die vbertretter deine
wege leren, Das sich die sunder zu dir

wissen die heimliche Weisheit.
9 Entsündige mich mit Isopen,
das ich rein werde, Wassche mich, das
ich schnee weis werde.
10 Las mich hören freude vnd
wonne, Das die Gebeine frölich
werden, die du zeschlagen hast.
11 Verbirge dein Andlitz von mei=
nen Sünden, Vnd tilge alle meine
Missethat.
12 **SChaffe** in mir Gott ein rein
Hertz, Vnd gib mir einen neuen ge=
wissen Geist.
13 Verwirff mich nicht von deinem
Angesichte, Vnd nim deinen heiligen
Geist nicht von mir.
14 Tröste mich wider mit deiner
Hülffe, Vnd der freidige Geist ent=
halte mich.
15 **DENN** ich wil die Vbertretter
deine Wege leren, Das sich die Sün=

dyr bekeren.
16 Errette mich von den blutschulden, Gott der du meyns heyls Gott bist, das meyne zunge rhume deyne gerechtickeyt.
17 HERR thu meyne lippen auff, Das meyn mund verkundige deynen rhum.
18 Denn du hast nicht lust zum opffer, ich gebe es sonst, vnd brandopffer gefallen dyr nicht.
19 Die opffer Gottes sind, eyn zubrochen geyst, Eyn zubrochen vnd zuschlagen hertz wirstu Gott nicht verachten.
20 Thu wol an Zion nach deynem gutten willen, bawe die mauren zu Jerusalem.
21 So wirstu lust haben zu den opffern der gerechtickeyt, zu den

bekeren.
16 Errette mich von den blutschulden, Gott der du mein Gott vnd Heiland bist, Das meine zunge deine gerechtigkeit rhume.
17 HERR thu meine lippen auff, Das mein mund deinen rhum verkündige.
18 Denn du hast nicht lust zum opffer, ich wolt dir es sonst wol geben, Vnd brand opffer gefallen dir nicht.
19 Die opffer die Gott gefallen sind ein geengster geist, Ein geengstes vnd zeschlagen hertz wirstu Gott nicht verachten.
20 Thu wol an Zion nach deiner gnade, Bawe die mauren zu Jerusalem.
21 Denn werden dir gefallen die opffer der gerechtigkeit, die brand=

der zu dir bekeren.
16 **ER**rette mich von den Blutschulden Gott, der du mein Gott vnd Heiland bist, Das meine Zunge deine Gerechtigkeit rhume.
17 HERR thu meine Lippen auff, Das mein Mund deinen Rhum verkündige.
18 **DE**nn du hast nicht lust zum Opffer, Ich wolt dir es sonst wol geben, Vnd Brandopffer gefallen dir nicht.
19 Die Opffer die Gott gefallen sind ein geengster Geist, Ein geengstes vnd zuschlagen Hertz wirstu Gott nicht verachten.
20 **TH**u wol an Zion nach deiner Gnade, Bawe die mauren zu Jerusalem.
21 Denn werden dir gefallen die Opffer der gerechtigkeit, die Brand=

brandopffern vnd gantzen opffern,
So wird man farren auff deynen
alltar legen.

opffer vnd gantzen opffer, Denn wird
man farren auff deinen altar opffern.

opffer vnd gantzen Opfer, Denn
wird man Farren auff deinen Altar
opffern.

In 1531, a Psalm conference took place.²³⁴ After this conference, Luther undertook a relatively far-reaching revision of the Psalms. The results of this collective work took effect in the Bible edition of 1541. Perhaps what Luther mentioned in a preface to Leipzig Psalms edition of 1597 was the revision resulted from the Psalm conference in 1531.²³⁵

“Ob jemand klügeln wolt / und fürgeben / wir hetten den Psalter zufern von den worten gezögen / der sey bey sich selbst klug / und lass uns diesen Psalter ungetadelt. Denn wir habens wissentlich gethan / und freylich alle wort auff der goldwage gehalten / und mit dem fleiss und treuen verdeudscht / Und sind auch gelerter leute gnug dabey gewest.

Doch lassen wir unsern vorigen deutschen Psalter auch bleiben / um der willen / so da begeren zusehen unser Exempel und fusstapfen / wie man dolmedschen neher und neher komet. Denn der vorige deutsche Psalter ist an viel Örten dem Ebreischen neher / und dem Deutschen ferner / Dieser ist dem Deutschen neher / und dem Ebreischen ferner.“²³⁶

The older versions still had their special value, while the newer versions were revised deliberately to move further from the original Hebrew text. Despite this tendency, the approach for the Christological interpretation remains unchanged. The Christological understanding of the Old Testament, particularly in the Psalms, proves as a strong impulse in Luther’s decisions.²³⁷

The Psalms-wording in Luther Bible remained almost unchanged several hundred years after the death of the Reformer. The Bible revision of 1892 for instance remained strongly at the old Luther-German.²³⁸ However, when one looks carefully at the Psalm printings at that period, a certain variety might appear to us. Therefore, a selection of Luther Bible- and Psalm printings will be compared. Since the newer reprints did not immediately find a large distribution in the market, it can be assumed that Bible printings were often still used for a long time after its first launching.²³⁹ It is thus quite difficult to allocate precisely which Bible edition was being used and which composer that used it.

²³⁴ See Sauer-Geppert, Art. “Bibelübersetzungen III/1“, *TRE*, Vol. 6, p. 241.

²³⁵ Cf. Lauterwasser, *Angst der Höllen*, p. 172.

²³⁶ Quoted after the *Leipziger Psalterausgabe 1597*.

²³⁷ Sauer-Geppert, *TRE*, Vol. 6, p. 242.

²³⁸ Wilhelm Gundert, Art. “Bibelübersetzungen IV/1“, in: *TRE*, Vol. 6, p. 269.

²³⁹ Lauterwasser, *Angst der Höllen*, p. 169.

Apart from the translations of the various Bible editions in 1524, 1531, and 1545 quoted above, there was another translation of Psalm 51 that Luther did in his “Sieben Bußpsalmen 1517”.²⁴⁰ It is necessary to consider this translation since this might be Luther’s earliest translation of Psalm 51. The 1517 translation from the seven penitential Psalms reads as followed:

- 1 Ach Gott, erbarme dich meyn
nach deyner großen barmhertzickeyt,
- 2 Und nach der mennige deyner erbarmung
Tilge ab meyne ungerechtigkeyt.
- 3 Wasche mich yhe meer und meer von meiner ungerechtigkeyt und mach mich
reyn von meyner sunde.
- 4 Dann ich erkenne, das ich ungerecht byn,
unnd mein sunde ist myr altzeyt vor meynen augen.
- 5 Dyr alleyn byn ich eyn sunder und eyn ubel theter vor deynen augen,
Auff das du alleyn rechtfertig seyst yn deynen worten, und uber=
windest (ader besteest) wan du wirst gerichtet.
- 6 Sihe, yn ungerechtigkeyt byn ich empfangen,
und yn funden hat mich mein mutter empfangen.
- 7 Sihe, die warheyt hastu lieb, Das ynwendige und vorborgene deyner
weyßheit hastu myr offenbart.
- 8 Besprenge du mich mit hyssopen, ßo werd ich reyn, wasche du mich, und
also werde ich weysser dann der schnee.
- 9 Gib meynem gehorde freud und trost,
und ßo werden sich erfrewen die gebeyne, die zurschlagen seynd.
- 10 Wende ab deyn angesicht von meynen sunden
und tilge ab all meyne ungerechtigkeyt.
- 11 Ach gott, schaff yn myr eyn reynes hertz, und erneue yn meym ynwen=
digsten eyn richtigen geist.
- 12 Vorwirff mich nit von deynem angesicht
und nym nit von myr deinen heiligen geist.
- 13 Gib mir widder den trost deines heiles
und befestige mich mit eim freywilligem geist.
- 14 Ich wil deine wege leeren die ubeltheter

²⁴⁰ Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, Vol. 1/1, Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1883, pp.

- und die sunder sollen tzu dir bekert werden.
- 15 Ach gott, got meins heyls, erlobe mich von denn gebluten unnd laß mit freuden außpredigen meinn tzunge deyn gerechtickeit.
- 16 Ach gott, thu auff meine lippen und laß meinen mund vorkunden deyn lob.
- 17 Dann ßo dyrß wolgefallen were, hett ich wol kund ein opffer geben, aber yn den opffernn ist nit deyn wolgefallen.
- 18 Das opffer, das dir, mein got, gefelt, ist ein zurbrochner geist, Eyn rewiges und gedemutiget hertz, ach gott, das wirstu nit vorachten.
- 19 Thu guticklich yn deinem guten willen mit Zion, auff dass erbawet werden die mauren Jerusalem.
- 20 Alßdanne wirstu angenehm haben das opffer der gerechtickeit, die gantz gebranten und andere opffer, danne werden sie kelber opffern auff deinen altar.

There are some significant revisions from the 1517 version to the later translations. Luther's 1517 translation is certainly the version that has inspired Erhart Hegenwaldt for his famous rhymed song *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* which appeared in Johann Walter's *Geystlichem gesangk Buchlein* (Wittenberg 1524) since this is the Luther's translation which is started with "Ach Gott, erbarme dich meyn nach deyner großen barmhertzickeyt". There is also different numbering of verses between Luther's translation in 1517 and the translations of 1524, 1531 and 1545.

The division of the Psalm in Luther's translation in his seven penitential Psalms 1517 is not as clear as in the 1545 Bible edition. However, one can note the potential of division possibility in the 1517 version. Hegenwaldt divided his rhymed song in five verses: V. 1-5, 6-9, 10-13, 14-16, 17-20 in the numbering of the 1517 version (V. 3-6, 7-10, 11-14, 15-17, 18-21 in the numbering of 1524, 1531 and 1545 Bible edition). This division can be traced back to Luther's translation of 1517. Between V. 6 and 7 (old numbering) a certain parallelism occurs through the same initial word "Sihe", so that one has a good reason to divide the texts between V. 5 and 6. Rather difficult to defend is Hegenwaldt's division between V. 9 and 10, since both verses can

be seen as having certain parallelism as well.²⁴¹ Probably Hegenwaldt's division between V. 9 and 10 is inspired by the initial words "Wende ab ...", so that he might see V. 10 as a turning point (*Wendepunkt*). The next division between V. 13 and 14 is reasonable for V. 14 starts with first person singular cohortative, which ends a series of imperative singular of the previous verses. The last division between V. 16 and 17 is clearly supported by the fact that in Luther's 1517 translation both V. 15 and 16 begins with "Ach gott", while V. 17 and 18 are closely connected through the new subject "opffer". Hegenwaldt's rhymed paraphrase of Psalm 51 is thus strongly indebted to Luther's early translation of Psalm 51 in his *Sieben Bußpsalmen 1517*. This is the translation, from which the settings of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* by Schütz, Schein, Scheidt and Hammerschmidt derive.

Although at first glance the versions of 1531 and 1545 look almost the same, a deeper examination shows that there are some significant differences between them. Some differences can be found for instance in V. 6, where the 1545 version changed the word "bleibest" into "behaltest" and "nicht mügest gestrafft werden" into "rein bleibest". Since the phrase "auf daß du Recht behaltest in deinen Worten und rein bleiben/ wenn du gerichtet wirst" is found in the setting of Michael Praetorius, it can be assumed that he used a Bible or Psalter edition no earlier than the 1545 edition. In 1545 Bible edition, the division features of the Psalm text can be recognized more clearly through the emphasis of the first words in V. 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 18 and 20. The division in V. 18 and in V. 20 is followed in Praetorius' *Gott sei mir genädig nach deiner Güte* (through the interchange of the use of double chorus and single chorus), in Anonym's/Telemann's *Gott sei mir gnädig nach deiner Güte*, ca. 1700 (different movement), and in Bach's *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* (different movement). In particular, the last division from V. 20, characterized as the last grand chorus with a *Tutti* setting, is advocated by Praetorius, Anonym/Telemann, and Bach. The division of V. 7 as an individual part/movement from V. 8 is found in the settings of Kuhnau, Anonym/Telemann, and Bach. However, the most important contribution of the later 1545 Bible edition is perhaps the division from V. 12 to 14. It was already mentioned that Hegenwaldt separated V. 9 from V. 10 (V. 10 from V.

²⁴¹ Compare the division in 1545 Bible edition. In this respect, Luther's clearer division in his

11 in the new numbering). In the 1545 Bible edition on the contrary, Luther divides V. 11 from V. 12 through his emphasis on the word “SChaffe” in V. 12 and “Denn” in V. 15 creating thus a grouping from V. 12-14 (new numbering). This new and clearer grouping of the 1545 Bible edition serves as the text source for the settings of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* by Schütz, Hammerschmidt, and Bernhard, who set exclusively V. 12-14 in their compositions.

It should be noted that there is a larger modification between the 1524 and 1531 edition. Upon a closer look, not all modifications have considerable impacts on the musical settings of Psalm 51, unless none of the nine composers treated in this study used the 1524 Bible edition. Some changes include for instance V. 3, where one finds “sunde” instead of “vbertretung”, in V. 5 “missethat” instead of “vbertretung”, in V. 6 “Auff das du recht bleibest“ instead of “Darumb wirstu recht bleyben” and “nicht mügest gestrafft werden“ instead of “reyn erfunden“ etc. However, certain influences may be found on some musical compositions from the modification done in V. 8. The older version reads: “Sihe du hast lust zur warheyt, Du lessest mich wissen die weysheyt heymlich verborgen“, while the newer: “Sihe, du hast lust zur wahrheit die im verborgen ligt, Du lessest mich wissen die heimliche weisheit.“ The difference lies in the placement of the word “verborgen” (hidden). The newer translations (both 1531 and 1545) have a different theological accent: the truth/wisdom that was hidden is now revealed and made known. This gradual or progressive revelation is certainly a reason to ask God boldly for forgiveness of sins (V. 9, new numbering). Making a new move in setting this ninth verse seems more appropriate, even most fitting. Thus, Michael Praetorius took this opportunity to insert the double chorus for the first time in his *Gott, sei mir genädig nach deiner Güte*. Other composers who also set a new part/movement for this ninth verse are Kuhnau, Anonym/Telemann, and Bach. This ninth verse is also characterized by its *parallelismus membrorum*, namely a synonymous parallelism. Another parallelism can be found in V. 20. Both verses are treated as parallelism by Praetorius and Anonym/Telemann.

1545 translation has a considerable impact on other musical settings of Psalm 51.

In contrast with the gradual flow of thoughts, V. 14 of the newer 1531 (and 1545) version “Tröste mich widder mit deiner hülffe, Vnd der freidige geist enthalte mich“, can somewhat function as a more direct petition and therefore can serve as a contrast to the previous V. 13 if compared with the older more gradual move of “Las myr widder komen den trost deynes heyls, vnd der freye geyst enthallte mich” (1524 edition). Moreover, the modification from “freye geyst” to “freidige geist” in the newer translation gives a new impulse for a more affect loaded setting particularly in the settings of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* by Schütz, Hammerschmidt, and Bernhard, where the potential of this new translation is not overlooked.

2.3. The text versions

In this section, the works by all nine composers are examined. Five different text versions are discussed. These five versions are of the following:

- Gott sey mir gnedig, nach deiner Güte (used by Praetorius, Kuhnau, Anonym/Telemann, and Telemann)
- Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott (Schütz, Schein, Scheidt, and Hammerschmidt)
- Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz (Schütz, Hammerschmidt, Bernhard)
- Miserere mei Deus (Scheidt)
- Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden (Bach)

The first and the third are taken from Luther's Bible translation. The second is a rhymed paraphrase by E. Hegenwaldt which appeared for the first time in 1524. The fourth is taken from the Vulgate translation. Finally, the last version used by Bach is also a paraphrase of an anonymous work.

We already mentioned that Praetorius, who wrote the earliest setting of Psalm 51 treated in this study, used a text edition that went back to Luther's 1545 Bible edition. Based on this fact, it is assumed that later composers who set *Gott sey mir gnedig, nach deiner Güte* and *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* might use also a text edition that could be traced back to the Bible edition no earlier than 1545. For comparison, the text variants of the Psalm settings of this kind are listed on the following pages after the next page. For text comparison, I select the *Biblia* of 1606,²⁴² that is, two years before Praetorius published the 5th part of his *Musae Sioniae*.

As for the text version of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*, I will compare Hegenwaldt's paraphrase in J. Walter's *Geystliches Gesangbuch* (Wittenberg 1524) and the text variants by Schütz, Schein, Scheidt, and Hammerschmidt. The last two versions *Miserere mei Deus* (Scheidt) and *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* (Bach) do not have any parallel in this study. The first one is an exact copy of the Vulgate version, while the last, since it is a free paraphrase, will not be compared with the Bible translation but with the original text of *Stabat mater* in Chapter 3.

²⁴² *Biblia, Das ist: Die gantze heylige Schrift/ Teutsch. Doct. Mart. Luth.*, Franckfurt: Johann Saurn, 1606.

From the comparison of the text variants for *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* we highlight that two composers, namely Schütz and Scheidt, obviously used a text version which had the phrase “ob man urteilt dich”, while Scheidt and Hammerschmidt used the version with “ob du urteilest mich”. Hegenwaldt’s original version was “ob du urteilst mich”.²⁴³ This version is more faithful to the Hebrew masoretic text²⁴⁴ לְמַעַן תִּצְדַּק בְּדַבְרֶיךָ תִּזְכֶּה בְּשִׁפְטֶיךָ (so that you were righteous/justified in your words and blameless/pure in your judgment) than the later version. The later version “ob man urteilt dich“ which can also be found in the Saxon hymnbooks of that period is most probably a correction made for being in accordance with Luther’s Bible translation which reads: “wenn du gerichtet wirst”.

²⁴³ Comp. Philipp Spitta in: Heinrich Schütz – Sämtliche Werke, Vol. 18, ed. Philipp Spitta, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927, p. XI.

²⁴⁴ *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 4th ed., ed. by Karl Elliger, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1990, p. 1133.

Text version: Walter, Wittenberg 1524 ²⁴⁵	Schütz ²⁴⁶	Schein ²⁴⁷	Scheidt ²⁴⁸	Hammerschmidt ²⁴⁹
Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott, nach deiner großn barmherzigkeit.	großen	großen		großen
Wasch ab, mach rein mein missetat, ich kenn mein sünd und ist mir leid.	erkenn	erkenn	erkenn	erkenn meine
Allein ich dir gesündet han, das ist wider mich stetiglich;	gesündigtet hab	gesündigtet hab	gesündigtet hab	gesündigtet hab
das bös vor dir mag nit bestan	nicht bestehn	das Best nicht bestahn	für dir nicht bestehn	nicht bestehn
du bleibst gerecht, ob du urteilst mich.	gerecht man urteilt dich	gerecht urteilest	gerecht man urteilt dich	gerecht urteilest

²⁴⁵ Johann Walter, *Wittembergisch Geistlich Gesangbuch von 1524 zu drei, vier und fünf Stimmen*, Neue Partitur-Ausgabe nebst Klavierauszug von Otto Kade, Berlin 1878 (=Publikation der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung 7), p. 25-26.

²⁴⁶ Heinrich Schütz, *Choralkonzerte und Choralsätze*, in: Schütz – Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Vol. 32, Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1971, p. 20-29.

²⁴⁷ Johann Hermann Schein, *Opella nova II*, in: Schein – Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Vol. 5, Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1986, p. 80-84.

²⁴⁸ Samuel Scheidt, *Geistliche Konzerte Teil II*, in: Samuel Scheidts Werke, Vol. 9, Hamburg: Ugrino, 1960, pp. 61-63.

²⁴⁹ Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Ausgewählte Werke*, in: DDT, Vol. 1, 40, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910, pp. 43-50.

2.4. The structure of the Psalm texts in contemporary printings in relation with the structure of the musical compositions

In this section, the structure or division potential both in the Psalter- and the Bible printings in Germany after Luther's 1545 Bible edition will be analyzed. Ten editions are selected for this purpose: three Psalter printings and seven Bible editions.

In the *Psalter Deutsch*, Leipzig, 1567,²⁵⁰ we do not notice any clear feature of the text division. The placement of the text in different pages does not seem to have intended meaning for the division of the Psalm text.²⁵¹ The next page of this printing begins with the verse "Tröste mich wider mit deiner hülffe"; while the last page of this Psalm with "Thu wol an Zion". Although this placement is not to be understood as an intended division of the Psalm text, one can see that some impacts were manifested on the musical compositions. In all the settings of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* by Schütz, Hammerschmidt, and Bernhard, the verse "Tröste mich wider" is treated as a separate part from the first two verses; whereas the placement of "Thu wol an Zion" in a new page seems to correspond with the division in Luther's 1545 Bible edition. As already noted above, Praetorius, Anonym/Telemann, and Bach treated this part as a grand chorus with *Tutti* setting.

Not so much different than the 1567 Psalter is *Der Psalter mit den Summarien*, Leipzig, 1570.²⁵² The first page division falls between the words "deinen" and "worten" in the verse "An dir allein". However, the text placement on the following page cannot be treated as accidental since it begins with "SCHaffe in mir Gott" where the two capital letters reflects Luther's 1545 Bible edition. This could form the basis for the setting of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* that starts with the very verse. The next page begins with the verse "HERR / thue meine lippen auff".

²⁵⁰ *Psalter Deutsch*, ed. Veit Dietrich, Leipzig 1567 (=Bibliotheca Palatina, G410/G411).

²⁵¹ For instance the verse "Sihe/ich bin aus sündlichem samen gezeuget" is divided in two pages with a break between "meine" and "Mutter". Such a division in the printing was certainly made accidentally.

²⁵² *Der Psalter mit den Summarien*, ed. Martin Luther, Leipzig 1570 (=Bibliotheca Palatina, F3741/F3742).

In *Der Psalter Davids deß Königs vnd Propheten*, Leipzig, 1579,²⁵³ due to its kind as printed Psalms with commentary, here the Psalm text is permanently interrupted by a commentary and is divided into a smaller group. The verses which are grouped together are: V. 3-5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11-13, 14-15, 16, 17-19, 20-21.²⁵⁴

Now, some Bible editions in Germany, namely the editions of 1583, 1594, 1606, 1609, 1617, 1668, and 1702 will be analyzed. In the *Biblia*, Franckfort am Mayn, 1583,²⁵⁵ one finds a rather confusing text division near the beginning of the Psalm.²⁵⁶ The problem lies in the different numbering of the division and the numbering of verses in the actual Psalm. So for instance, the first three numberings of the division (1, 3, and 4) correspond to the verse numbering. However, the next numbering which reads “sondern auch die/so vns angeborn” corresponds more to the sixth verse of the actual Psalm and not the fifth as written in the division numbering. This confusion continues to the rest numberings: in the division we read 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 18; while it actually refers to V. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, and 19. Now if we convert the numbering of verses in this 1583 Bible edition to the 1545 edition we have grouping in 15 parts: V. 3-4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10-11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17-18, 19, 20-21.

Like in the 1583 Bible edition, the *Biblia*, Newstadt an der Hardt, 1594²⁵⁷ begins also with division of the Psalm text. Nevertheless, unlike the 1583 edition, the Psalm text is first divided into three parts: the first, “Vmb gnädige Verzeyhung deß begangenen Ehebruchs vnd Mords / die Gründe seynd / GOTTes Barmhertzigkeit” (V. 3-11), the second, “Vmb Verleyhung vnd Mehrung der geistlichen Gaben” (V. 12-19), and the third, “Vmb Erhaltung seines Reichs vnd der Kirchen” (V. 20-21). These three parts are again subdivided into V. 3-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9, 10-11, 12-14, 15-17, 18-19, 20-21.²⁵⁸

²⁵³ Corner Christoph, *Der Psalter Davids deß Königs vnd Propheten*, Leipzig 1579 (=Bibliotheca Palatina, F2639-F2641).

²⁵⁴ Verse numbering is from Luther's 1545 Bible edition.

²⁵⁵ *Biblia Das ist: Die gantze Heylige Schrift, Teutsch*, ed. Petrus Patiens, Franckfort am Mayn 1583 (=Bibliotheca Palatina, A622-A635).

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

²⁵⁷ Ambrosius Lobwasser, *Biblia Das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrift*, Newstadt an der Hardt 1594 (=Bibliotheca Palatina, A182-A191).

²⁵⁸ The verse numbering of this 1594 Bible edition is the same as Luther's 1545 Bible edition.

The division of the Psalm text is unclear in the *Biblia*, Franckfurt, 1606.²⁵⁹ Though we can find some description before the third verse, there is no numbering to support the division:

“Bekennniß der Sünde / wie gar nichts guts an dem Menschen / sampt ernstlicher anruffunge / daß Gott Sünde vergeben / vnd den heiligen Geist verleihen wölle.”²⁶⁰

The clear text structure or division in Luther’s Bible edition in 1545 through the emphasis by two capital letters also could not be found in this 1606 Bible edition. What we have here is that the text from V. 15 (V. 14) “Tröste mich wider mit deiner hülffe/ vnd der freydige Geist enthalte mich” is placed on the next page. This placement is again not to be understood as an intended division of the Psalm text.²⁶¹ However, it could serve as another support for the third part settings of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* by Schütz, Hammerschmidt, and Bernhard. It is difficult to speculate the text division in this Bible edition so that we should leave it open. Luther’s old commentary on V. 10, 13 and 17 is kept and printed on the edge. In the commentary on V. 13 (V. 12) for instance, the word “gewiss” is explained as not being moved by various unsound thoughts or doctrines and is contrasted with “dunckel/zweiffel”.²⁶² Especially the idea of dark/doubt can encourage composers to express this thought in their musical compositions.²⁶³

The division of the Psalm text at the beginning of Psalm 51 in the *Biblia*, Herborn, 1609²⁶⁴ should also be noted. The division was explained as followed:

“Dauid nach erkantnus seiner mißhandlung / bittet erstlich Gott vmb gnad vnd vergebung der sünden / vnd besserung seines lebens durch seinen geist / 3.5.12. beut sich an andere zu lehren / 15. darnach bittet er für Jerusalem / welche ist die waare Kirche / 20.”²⁶⁵

²⁵⁹ *Biblia, Das ist: Die gantze heylige Schrift/ Teutsch. Doct. Mart. Luth.*, Franckfurt: Johann Saur, 1606.

²⁶⁰ *Biblia*, Franckfurt 1606, p. 239.

²⁶¹ Compare Ps. 52:11 on the same page in this edition, where we find a column break between “deinen” and “Namen”.

²⁶² *Biblia*, Franckfurt 1606, p. 239.

²⁶³ Compare for instance the treatment of this verse in the settings of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* by Schütz and Bernhard.

²⁶⁴ Martin Luther, *Biblia, Das ist: Die gantze heilige Schrift des Alten vnd Newen Testaments, Teutsch*, Herborn 1609 (=Bibliotheca Palatina, D153-D159).

²⁶⁵ *Biblia*, Herborn 1609, p. 478.

From the description above, we can interpret either a division in three parts (V. 3-14, 15-19, 20-21) with a subdivision of the first part in V. 3-4, 5-11, 12-14, or a division in five parts without subdivision.

Also in the *Biblia*, Franckfurt, 1617,²⁶⁶ one finds the text division explanation at the beginning of the Psalm:

“Ein Bett vnd Bußsalm / in welchem David erstlich bittet vmb gnedige verzeyhung seiner sünden / nemlich / des ehebruchs mit Bathseba / vnd des todschlags an Vria begangen / 12 Dar=nach vmb erneuerung seines hertzen / durch den H. Geist / 16 mit erbietung der schuldigen danckbarkeit / 20 Endlich vmb er=haltung vnd befürderung der kirchen / damit sie seines schweren fals nicht entgelten müsse.“

This edition contains a simple division in four parts: V. 3-11, 12-15, 16-19, and 20-21.

In the *Biblia*, Franckfurt 1668,²⁶⁷ no division by the two capital letters at the beginning of the verses could be found. The whole texts are divided into two columns: V. 1-11 and 12-21. The second ‘part’ begins thus with “Schaffe in mir/ Gott”. However, the same hints for more detailed division of the text can be found at the beginning of this Psalm. The division is based exactly as in the 1617 Bible edition:

“Ein Bet=und Bußsalm / in welchem David erstlich bittet umb gnädige verzeihung seiner sünden/nemlich deß Ehebruchs mit Bathseba/und deß Todschlags an Uria be=gangen 3. Darnach umb erneuerung seines hertzen durch den heiligen Geist / 12. Mit erbietung der schuldi=gen danckbarkeit/16. Endlich umb erhaltung und beför= derung seiner Kirchen / damit sie seines schweren falls nicht entgelten müsse / 20.“²⁶⁸

We have thus the same grouping in four parts: V. 3-11, 12-15, 16-19, and 20-21.

Much clearer is the division in the *Biblia*, Wittenberg, 1702.²⁶⁹ As usual, the division is explained at the beginning of the Psalm:

“[Der LI. Psalm] Ist ein außbündiger schöner Buß=Psalm / in welchem David bittet um gnädige Verzeihung des begangenen Ehebruchs und Mords / I. 2c. dann sol=ches sey ihm hertzlich leid / 5. 6. II. deß=gleichen um Verstand und

²⁶⁶ *Biblia, Das ist, Die gantze H. Schrift*, ed. Paul Tossanus, Franckfurt 1617 (=Bibliotheca Palatina, A635-A645).

²⁶⁷ *Biblia, Das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrift*, Franckfurt am Mayn: Falkeysen, 1668.

²⁶⁸ *Biblia*, Franckfurt 1668, p. 78.

Vermehrung des Heiligen Geistes / 12. III. und dann endlich um Erhaltung seines Reichs / und der Kirchen / 20.²⁷⁰

The division in three parts can be recognized through the insertion of 2 Roman numbers in V. 12 and 20 so that we have a grouping of V. 3-11, 12-19, 20-21. Another characteristic in this Bible edition is the Luther's commentary which is printed not on the edge but in the same column as the Psalm verses. This 'intrusion' creates a certain emphasis on V. 9 ("Entsündige mich mit Isopen"), V. 12 ("Schaffe in mir"), and V. 16 ("Errete mich").

If we summarize the different text division in the Bible- and Psalter printings analyzed in this study, one will have a diagram as followed:

Text version: Wittenberg 1545	1567	1570	1579	1583	1594	1606	1609	1617	1668	1702
3 G Ott sey mir gnedig	3-13	3-11	3-5	3-4	I.3-11	not	3-4	3-11	3-11	I.
4 Wassche mich wol					a.3-4	clear				3-11
5 Denn ich erkenne				5	b.5-6		5-11			
6 An dir allein hab ich gesündigt			6	6						
7 S Ihe, Ich bin aus sündlichem Samen			7	7	c.7-8					
8 S Ihe, du hast lust zur Wahrheit			8	8						
9 Entsündige mich mit Isopen			9	9	d.9					
10 Las mich hören freude vnd wonne			10	10-11	e.10-11					
11 Verbirge dein Andlitz			11-13							
12 S Chaffe in mir Gott ein rein Hertz		12-16		12	II.12-19		12-14	12-15	12-15	II.
13 Verwirff mich nicht				13	f.12-14					12-19
14 Tröste mich wider mit deiner Hülffe	14-19		14-15	14						
15 D enn ich wil die Vbertretter deine Wege lernen				15	g.15-17		15-19			
16 E Rrette mich von den Blut=schulden			16	16			16-19	16-19		
17 HERR thu meine Lippen auff		17-21	17-19	17-18						
18 D enn du hast nicht lust zum Opfer					h.18-19					
19 Die Opfer die Gott gefallen				19						
20 T Hu wol an Zion nach deiner Gnade	20-21		20-21	20-21	III.20-21		20-21	20-21	20-21	III.
21 Denn werden dir gefallen die Opfer										20-21

²⁶⁹ *Biblia, Das ist die gantze Heilige Schrifft Alten und Neuen Testaments Deutsch D. Martin Luthers*, Wittenberg: Wust, 1702.

²⁷⁰ *Biblia*, Wittenberg, 1702, p. 293.

On the following page, an overview of the structure of the musical settings and their proportions are presented:

Structure and proportions of the musical settings with number of voices

Vers	Praet. Gott	Schütz Erb.	Schein Erb.	Scheidt Erb.	Mis. Erb.	Hammers. Erb.	Bernh. Sch.	Kuhnau Gott	Telemann 1700	Bach 1720 Tilge	Vers		
Sonata	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	I	I/23	-----	-----		
3.	I à 8	à 1	-----	à 2	à 3	à 6/57	à 5	à 4/30	IIà1/22	Ià4/23	Ià2/47	3.	
4.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	IIà1/57	III à 2	-----	IIà1/108	4.	
5.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	IIIà1/6	21	-----	IIIà2/26	5.	
6.	-----	117	-----	33	73	-----	60	-----	IVà4/68	-----	IVà1/103	6.	
7.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	V à 4	Và8/28	-----	Và2/49	7.	
8.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	26	VIà2/50	-----	VIà1/43	8.	
9.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	VIà4/24	VIIà1/24	-----	VIIà1/94	9.	
10a.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	VIIà7/67	VIII à 8	-----	VIII à 2	10a.	
10b.	83	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	VIIIà4/61	80	-----	72	10b.	
11.	II à 8	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	IXà1/5	-----	IX à 2	11.	
12.	-----	-----	Ià2/36	-----	-----	-----	I à 6	I à 1	-----	-----	X à 3	12.	
13.	-----	-----	IIà2/20	-----	-----	-----	72	47	-----	-----	14	13.	
14.	-----	-----	IIIà2/21	-----	-----	-----	IIà6/53	IIà1/79	-----	-----	XIà8/44	14.	
15.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	XIIà1/6	15.	
16.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	XIIIà1/19	16.	
17.	58	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	84	16.	
18.	III à 8	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	XIVà4/21	17.	
19.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	XVà1/7	18.	
20.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	XVIà4/22	19.	
21.	42	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	XVII à 8	20.	
Neumeist.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	52	21.	
Neumeist.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	IIà1/23	Neumeist.	
Neumeist.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	IIIà2/36	Neumeist.	
Neumark	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	IVà1/57	Neumeist.	
Amen	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	Và4/15	Neumark	
Length	183	117	77	33	73	57	60	125	126	339	-----	XIIIà2/33	Amen
	3 parts	1 part	3 parts	1 part	1 part	1 part	1 part	2 parts	2 parts	8 parts	-----	-----	
											455	154	766
											17 parts	5 parts	13 parts

In some musical compositions, one could notice a clear influence from the division in the text printings while in other compositions the structure in the text printings did not play a considerable role. Least correlation is in Praetorius' setting. Though the division from V. 11 is advocated by the 1579 Psalter edition, the beginning of the third part in V. 18 is found in another Bible edition of 1594. It is untenable to argue that Praetorius had used two different editions for his composition. As for the setting of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* by Schütz, Schein, Scheidt, and Hammerschmidt, we have already seen the correlation with Luther's 1517 translation of Psalm 51 in his seven penitential Psalms. The settings of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* by Schütz, Hammerschmidt, and Bernhard are supported by the text division in V. 12-14 in the 1594 and 1609 Bible edition. Especially the division from V. 12 can be found in almost all editions.

Kuhnau's setting could be compared with the 1579 Psalter edition. The division of verses into movements, however, is based most likely on the content of the text. To end the whole piece in V. 10 is reasonable in regard of the content: the whole piece can end with a climax in a celebrative movement. To combine the 7th and 8th verse in one movement can be understood from the same initial word "Siehe". Beside Praetorius' and Bach's settings, the setting of *Gott sei mir gnädig* by anonym/Telemann is a complete setting of all 21 verses. Almost all verses are set in a separate movement with the exceptions of V. 4-5, 12-13, and 20-21. If we compare this grouping with the Bible editions, we find no support for the togetherness of V. 4 and 5. The same applies to V. 12-13. V. 4 and 5 are more likely to be joined through the conjunction "denn" in V. 5. The togetherness of V. 12-13 is likely to be influenced from the setting of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz*, in which the 14th verse is treated as a separate part from V. 12 and 13. On the contrary, the togetherness of V. 20 and 21 is advocated by almost Psalter- and Bible editions analyzed in this study.

In the last setting by Bach, except V. 11-16, 18-19, and 20-21, all verses are treated in a separate movement. For the first grouping we do not find any

support from the Psalter- and Bible editions. The second and third grouping could be compared with the 1594 Bible edition. Especially the togetherness of V. 20-21 has been rooted in a long tradition before Bach. The togetherness of V. 18-19 is plausible since it speaks about what kind of offering pleases or does not please God. As for the first grouping of V. 11-16, it is explained as followed: The togetherness of V. 12-14 is taken for granted (since we have a lot of support for this grouping); V. 11 is included in this grouping because it is rendered together in a verse with V. 12:

Schaue nicht auf meine Sünden, (V. 11)

tilge sie, laß sie verschwinden, (V. 11)

Geist und Herze mache neu. (V. 12)

The continuation in V. 15 can be reasoned from the conjunction “Denn” in the phrase “Denn ich will die Sünder lehren”. Finally, V. 16 (“Laß, o Tilger, meiner Sünden”) might serve as a conclusion as well as a confirming repetition of what was mentioned at the beginning of the movement: “Schaue nicht auf meine Sünden”.

2.5. Psalm 51 in different commentaries and theological writings

Lauterwasser has explained the importance of the study of commentaries and theological writings on Psalm 51 as having three reasons:

1. In addition to the Bible- and Psalter printings, the text printed in the psalm commentary could possibly be used as text source by the composers.
2. The structure or division of the Psalm text and the combination of single verses could have served as the model for the composer's setting structure.
3. Psalm commentaries can convey an impression, how Psalm 51 is conceived in the theology of the 17th century, and which role it plays in the piety life of the individual believer.²⁷¹

We can add two more reasons for studying Psalm 51 in Psalm commentaries and theological writings, namely fourth, to observe the historical development of the understanding of Psalm 51 in the thoughts of different theological writers; fifth, to compare whether there are any similarities or correspondences between the theological explication of the Psalm by different theological writers and the musical commentary by various composers treated in this study.

In his lecture on Psalm 51, **Martin Luther** teaches that understanding this psalm is useful in many ways because “it contains instruction about the chief parts of our religion, about repentance, sin, grace, and justification, as well as about the worship we ought to render to God.”²⁷² Luther states that the true understanding of these doctrines does not come from intelligence or wisdom of human reason but it is revealed and given from the Holy Spirit. The failure to understand the nature of grace comes from another error, namely from the failure to understand sin properly.²⁷³ There are two elements in true

²⁷¹ Lauterwasser, *Angst der Höllen*, p. 197.

²⁷² Luther, “Psalm 51”, in: *Luther's Works*, Vol. 12, ed. by Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), p. 303.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

repentance: the fear of God and trust in mercy.²⁷⁴ Luther believes that David's complain (Ps. 51:5) does not refer only to adultery but "to his whole nature contaminated by sin", though Luther also agrees that David's adulterous act is set forth as an example.²⁷⁵ His miserable fall should serve as an example for the believers so that they might be comforted when their consciences "are touched by a sense of the wrath and judgment of God."²⁷⁶ God is ready to forgive sins as long as man does not add to his sin another sin by denying that he has sinned as in the case of Saul (1 Sam. 15:13). Luther summarizes:

"The Lord is indeed ready to forgive sins, but only to those who acknowledge their sins and yet do not despair, but who believe that a door is open to the God who promises forgiveness of sins to the penitent."²⁷⁷

The knowledge of sin is not a speculation or an idea, which the mind invents but it is rather a true feeling and experience, "a very serious struggle of the heart."²⁷⁸ Luther emphasizes the real meaning of the word **יָדַע** in the phrase "I know my transgressions" which he understands as I feel or experience. Thus, the knowledge of sin is the feeling of sin. The sinful man is defined as "the one who is oppressed by his conscience and tossed to and fro, not knowing where to turn."²⁷⁹ Theology is a discipline, which is dealing with the essence of man, that is, of his nature as corrupted by sins. When the mind of the sinner has recognized his utter unrighteousness, there is another part of knowledge to follow, namely the knowledge of grace and justification of the sinners through Christ. Like the first knowledge, this knowledge is not a matter of speculation either, but "completely of practice and feeling."²⁸⁰ Finally, the dejected mind may cheer up and declare joyfully that in Christ he is no longer a sinner for Christ has been made Righteousness for him (1 Cor. 1:30).²⁸¹ There are two things to be noted here: First, Luther's emphasis on the affective aspect rather

²⁷⁴ *Luther's Works*, Vol. 12, p. 305.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.307.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

than the intellectual in the confession of a sinner is consistent with his understanding of the Psalter as “a struggle school and exercise of the affections” (*Psalterium affectuum quaedam palaestra et exercitium*).²⁸² Second, the practice of confession is a movement from anxious conscience to joyful declaration in Christ. This should be understood especially as an affective process either. In the musical settings of Psalm 51 treated in this study, we will notice this affective process reflected in the different parts or movements.

As a summary, before Luther comes to comment the psalm verse by verse, he states that in this psalm David teaches the twofold theological knowledge: the theological knowledge of man and of God.²⁸³ The theological knowledge of God is to ponder upon His Divine Majesty, His might, and His works, while the theological knowledge of man is to think of man as sinner. The issue taught in this psalm is therefore not this physical life, but the future and eternal life. The centrality of forgiveness of sins in Luther’s theology is advocated in this commentary when he stated that the fruitful way to read the Holy Scripture is granted through following that aim, for “whatever is asked or discussed in theology outside this subject, is error and poison.”²⁸⁴ The use of Psalm 51 in Lutheran liturgy therefore should be understood as Gospel preaching. This should apply also to the use of musical settings of Psalm 51.

The Christological interpretation appeared already in the explanation of the first verse. Luther comments that although no reference to Christ is made by David, the God with whom David is speaking is not the absolute God, God as He is in himself, but as He is “dressed and clothed in His word and promises”, so that in that name man cannot exclude Christ.²⁸⁵ Since in the musical compositions, it is not possible to change the text and insert the name of Christ, it is interesting to analyze how various composers have produced their musical commentary to include Luther’s Christological interpretation.

²⁸² WA 5, 46.

²⁸³ *Luther’s Works*, Vol. 12, p. 311.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

The *sola gratia* notion in the right self-knowledge is also clearly stated by Luther when he explains that the ability “to say that I am a sinner and yet not to despair” can only come from a divine power.²⁸⁶ The peace of conscience is therefore not achieved by minimizing sin. Rather, the greatness and seriousness of sin are wiped out by immense grace or mercy.²⁸⁷

In his commentary on Psalm 51, **John Calvin** utters that David does not satisfy himself with one petition. David adds *multitudinem miserationum*, stating that for so great a sinner, mercy of an ordinary kind would not suffice. Only through the countless multitudes of the compassions of God, he can speak of his sin as remissible. Luther’s interpretation finds its resonance in Calvin’s commentary:

“There is an implied antithesis between the greatness of the mercies sought for, and the greatness of the transgression which required them.”²⁸⁸

Hence it follows the more emphatically expression *multiplicet lavare*.²⁸⁹ Though there is little possibility that the composers treated in this study, except perhaps Praetorius, read Calvin’s commentary, we find also some similarity between the idea of “multiplying washing” and the repetition of the phrase “Wasche mich wohl” in the treatment of certain composers.

V. 3-6 (V. 5-8 in Luther’s 1545 Bible edition) are put together in a group. David declares his subjection under his sins which cause him constant anguish of mind. His conscience is wounded, and can find no rest until it has obtained assurance of God’s mercy. Without fear which is inspired by such a view of sins man will never seriously ask God for forgiveness. A deep inward feeling of sins, a feeling as filled David with the keenest anguish is declared by him. In the plural number he speaks of his *sins*.²⁹⁰ Of the 4th verse Calvin explains that though the whole world should pardon David, he felt that “God was the

²⁸⁶ *Luther’s Works*, Vol. 12, p. 326.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

²⁸⁸ Calvin, *Comm. Ps. 51:3-4*, in: *Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia* [=CO], Vol. 31, ed. by W. Baum/E. Cunitz/E. Reuß, Brunsvigae 1887 (= *Corpus reformatorum*, Vol. 59), col. 509; all quotations in this Calvin’s commentary are translated by James Anderson.

²⁸⁹ Calvin, *Comm. Ps. 51:3-4*.

²⁹⁰ Calvin, *Comm. Ps. 51:5*.

Judge with whom he had to do, that conscience hailed him to his bar [...].”²⁹¹ There is no need for other accuser to the sinner who is “overwhelmed with a sense of the dreadfulness of being obnoxious to the sentence of God.”²⁹² By preventing his mind from being soothed into a false peace, David exercised true penitence. According to Calvin, the second clause of the verse *ut iustificeris in sermonibus tuis*, cannot be referred to the first verse of the psalm but to the sentence immediately preceding. Not when he spoke the promises of the covenant which might have shown his gratuitous mercy, rather God was justified even when he spoke the sentence of condemnation against David for his sin. Man should therefore learn “to judge of the divine procedure with sobriety, modesty, and reverence, and to rest satisfied that it is holy, and that the works of God, as well as his words, are characterized by unerring rectitude.”²⁹³ Calvin’s interpretation corresponds more thus with Hegenwaldt’s earlier version “ob du urteilst mich” supported with the Hebrew masoretic text than with Luther’s translation “wenn du gerichtet wirst”.

Even in Calvin’s commentary we find a grouping consists of V. 12-14.²⁹⁴ Though sometimes confounded together, Calvin believes that the two requests “Create in me a clean heart” and “renew a right spirit in my inward parts” are quite distinct.²⁹⁵ The first is concerning the remission of sin while the second is about the sanctification. The *sola gratia* notion is also advocated by Calvin when he explains that the term *Creandi* expresses not only that a miracle is needed to effect David’s reformation, but also that “repentance is the gift of God.”²⁹⁶ The Sophists rob God of his glory when they assign a middle place to the free will of man.²⁹⁷ That David has called man’s nature “spiritus donum” and “creationem” shows its entire corruption: it is not possessed of any rectitude or purity.²⁹⁸ However, this is not to say that there had been “no

²⁹¹ Calvin, *Comm. Ps.* 51:6.

²⁹² Calvin, *Comm. Ps.* 51:6.

²⁹³ Calvin, *Comm. Ps.* 51:6.

²⁹⁴ Calvin, *Comm. Ps.* 51:12, in: CO, Vol. 31, p. 518.

²⁹⁵ Calvin, *Comm. Ps.* 51:12-13.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

latent spark of godliness still remaining in his soul”, rather it shows that David was sensible of the guiding presence of the Holy Spirit when he asks God for “the continued possession of the Spirit”.²⁹⁹ Though it is natural that the saints should feel an anxiety when they have fallen into sin, it is also their duty to hold fast the truth that grace can never perish in their hearts for it is the incorruptible seed of God. David is “agitated with fears” when reflecting upon his offence, yet he rests in God’s fatherly love.³⁰⁰ The movement from anxiety or fearful agitation to rest is also reflected in the musical compositions by many composers.

As already has been stated above, V. 12-14 are put together in one group in Calvin’s commentary. This grouping is subdivided in V. 12-13 and V. 14 (V. 14 is commented separately). Despite the historical distance, we find a similarity between Calvin’s verse grouping and the treatment in the settings of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz*. Though the epithet נְדִיבָה could lead people to translate it (*spiritu*) *principali* or *regio* (princely or royal spirit), Calvin decided to adopt the more extensive meaning and to suppose that under a painful consciousness of the bondage to which he had been reduced by a sense of guilt, David “prays for a free and cheerful spirit.”³⁰¹ The idea of free and cheerful spirit is clearly reflected in many musical settings treated in this study. Moreover, the attainment of this spirit comes solely through “*Dei gratia*”.³⁰²

In the exposition on true repentance in his four books *On True Christianity*, **Johann Arndt** explains that a broken and contrite heart is the most pleasant sacrifice to God. Such contrition of the heart is ready to receive the grace of God, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, the costly merit and blood of Jesus Christ.³⁰³ This passage from the Old Testament is thus understood in the

²⁹⁹ Calvin, *Comm. Ps.* 51:12-13.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ “ad liberum illum et ultroneum spiritum adspiret” (Calvin, *Comm. Ps.* 51:14, in: CO, Vol. 31, p. 520).

³⁰² Calvin, *Comm. Ps.* 51:14, in: CO, Vol. 31, p. 520.

³⁰³ Johann Arndt, *Vier Bücher Vom wahren Christenthumb* I, 8, Magdeburg 1605, Reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2005, ed. by Johann Anselm Steiger (=Schriften / Philipp Jakob Spener, Sonderreihe, Vol. 4), p. 91(70-71).

light of the New Testament's Gospel. The use of Psalm 51 without any mention of Jesus Christ can be interpreted as a strategy as a use of what Aristotle considered to be the main characteristic of oral persuasion, namely the *enthymeme*. An enthymeme is an incomplete syllogism, one with a concealed minor premise that must be completed by the audience. The major premise in Psalm 51 is the description of the soul after the fall. The minor premise to be completed is the sacrifice of Jesus Christ as the right sacrifices, which God will delight in (Ps. 51:19). The converting potential of texts like Psalm 51 is enthymematic; the 'missing premise' is in the pious desire of a believer to place his assurance of salvation in Christ alone. Also in the musical compositions, we can analyze how various composers have dealt with this enthymematic character of Psalm 51.

Arndt believes that not all people will come to the understanding of Christ as Savior. He quotes Matth. 9:12 "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick."³⁰⁴ Faithful to Luther's teaching, Arndt interprets the individual experience of the cross as being placed in the context of pre-justification, that is, as a preparation to receive the Gospel.³⁰⁵ A broken and contrite heart is the condition required to experience the oil of grace and God's comfort:

"Dann allein ein bußfertiges/ zerbrochenes/ zerschlagenes Hertz ist vehig deß thewren Verdienstes/ Bluts vnnnd Todtes JESV CHristi."³⁰⁶

A broken heart is not exclusively required in the context of pre-justification only, but also in the whole life of a Christian as a perpetual condition, without which the objectivity of the Word of God and the sacraments cannot help:

"Gottes Wort vnd *Sacramenta* sind wol heylsame Artzneyen/ sie helffen aber keinem Vnbußfertigen/ der kein stetig reuwendes Hertz hat."³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ Quotation is taken from the English Standard Version.

³⁰⁵ The 18th thesis of the *Heidelberg Disputation*: "It is certain that man must utterly despair of his own ability before he is prepared to receive the grace of Christ (Luther, "Heidelberg Disputation (1518)", in: *Luther's Works*, Vol. 31, ed. by Harold J. Grimm [Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957], 55).

³⁰⁶ Arndt, *Vom wahren Christenthumb*, I, 8, p. 98(75).

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98(75).

We might have a glimpse of Arndt's *ordo salutis*, which reflects not only Luther's but also Calvin's theology, especially in the concept of bearing the cross as a continuous process of dying in the whole life of a Christian:

“Schließlich der in seinen Sünden verharren wil/ dem ist Christus nichts nütze/
Der mit Christo nicht will new geborn werden/ dem ist seine Geburt nichts nütze/
Der mit Christo nicht will der Sünde absterben/ dem ist sein Todt nichts nütze.
Der nicht will in Christo von Sünden auffstehen/ dem ist seine Aufferstehung
nichts nütz/ Der nicht im himmlischen Wesen vnd Leben wil wandeln/ dem ist
Christi Himmelfart nichts nütz.”³⁰⁸

We can hardly overlook the strong parallelization of Christ's life and the life of a Christian here, an idea that is strongly advocated by Luther and Calvin.

The commentary on Psalm 51 by **Johannes Olearius** (1611-1684) is characterized by the reformational principle “scriptura sacra sui ipsius interpres”. The first verse “Tilge meine Sünde” is explained from the light of several other places in the Bible, such as by canceling the record of debt that stood against us (Col. 2:14) and from the tablet of our heart (Jer. 17:1), like someone who will wipe away the tears (Isa. 25:5). For the sins are paid off in the justification (Rom. 3) and thrown in the depth of the sea (Mi. 7), crossed out by Christ's blood like handwriting (Col. 2:24).³⁰⁹

In accordance with Arndt, the phrase “nach deiner grossen Barmherzigkeit” is first explained by the fact that the great sickness requires a great doctor and medicine (Ex. 15; Ps. 25:11). The phrase “is great” is interpreted in three different aspects. First as positive, intensive and extensive: the great mercy is certain, powerful and comprehensive, effusively great (Eph. 3) as God's omnipotence. Second as comparative: it is far greater than all paternal, maternal, fraternal, marital love and faithfulness, goodness and compassion. Third as superlative, it is above everything and never ending (Lam. 3:22).³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ Arndt, *Vom wahren Christenthumb*, I, 8, p. 99(75-76).

³⁰⁹ Johannes Olearius, *Comm. Ps. 51* from the *Biblische Erklärung III*, in: Martin Petzoldt, *Bach-Kommentar*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004 (= *Internationale Bachakademie*, Vol. 14,1), p. 250.

³¹⁰ Olearius, in: Petzoldt, p. 250.

Like Calvin who emphasized the expression *multiply to wash me*, the phrase “wasche und reinige mich” is interpreted as often washing with great effort,³¹¹ that the sinner is found and pronounced clean as the leprous person (Lev 14:7). Olearius asserts the relation of true self-knowledge and experiencing the grace of God when he states: “denn auf Erkenntnis folgt Gnade (Jer 3,13; Ps 51,5).”³¹²

The phrase “ich erkenne meine Sünde und Missetat” is connected with the idea of repetition: “Ich weiß, wiederhole und erwäge meine Sünde mit allen Umständen, mit herzlicher Reue (Lev. 26:41)”, with the knowledge that the sin is exposed before God’s eyes like Abel’s blood who was crying to the Lord (Gen. 4:10), and with different anxiety of the heart (Ps. 25:17).³¹³

Olearius’ interpretation on the verse “dass du Recht behältst in dinem Wort” corresponds more with the older version of Hegenwaldt’s rhyme “ob du urteilst mich”, thus not following Luther’s translation “wenn du gerichtet wirst”. However, Luther’s theology is represented by Olearius by understanding God’s righteous judgment in the double aspects of punishment (the Law) and grace (the Gospel):

“Wie Gott recht behält in seinen Worten des Gesetzes, wenn er straft, so behält er auch recht in seinen evangelischen Gnadenworten und Verheißungen in Christo (Rm 3,4), da er den Bußfertigen Gnade verspricht (Lev 26,41; Dt 30,1-2).”³¹⁴

We will see whether this idea can be advocated through musical commentary in the settings of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*.

That Psalm 51 is favorable for paraphrasing can be seen clearly in the Psalm commentary *Der gantze Psalter Davids ausgelegt* (Nürnberg 1569) by **Nicolaus Selnecker** (1532-1592).³¹⁵ Here the Psalm text is offered not only as the text taken from the Bible edition but also as a paraphrase. The third and fourth verses read:

“Erbarm dich mein / wan es ist zeyt /

³¹¹ “wasche mich oft und wohl mit großem Fleiß” (Olearius, in: Petzoldt, p. 250).

³¹² Ibid., p. 250.

³¹³ Ibid., p. 250.

³¹⁴ Ibid., p. 250.

Nach deiner grossen Barmhertzigkeyt.

Sey gnedig / nach der Güte dein /

Lesch auß die Vbertretung mein.³¹⁶

However, in the commentary section, the quoted Psalm text is taken from Luther's 1545 Bible edition. Some verses are first quoted and optically emphasized before their interpretation follows. These are: V. 3-4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12-14, 15, 16. Quite obvious is the togetherness of V. 12-14, which are precisely the three verses set in *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* by Schütz, Hammerschmidt, and Bernhard.

At the beginning, Selnecker names five useful teachings that we can learn from this Psalm.³¹⁷ First, that nobody should pride oneself with the talents he/she had received from God. Instead, one should contemplate his/her own weakness, sins, and impurity. Second, that there is no possibility to come to the right self-knowledge as a sinner unless one is confronted with the Law of God. Third, that God can let unrepentant people to follow their own destructions and will punish them for their persistence to live in sins. Fourth, Nathan's warning to David is thus understood as Law preaching, through which David could neither cover nor excuse his sins. Fifth and last, we should see how God deals with the miserable sinners not only by anger but also by mercy.

Following Luther, Selnecker stresses that one cannot call upon God in heaven without knowing God's being and God's will as revealed in His word and deeds through Christ. On the contrary, David "ruffet Gott an/der sich selbs inn seinem Wort vnd Wunderthaten durch seinen Son Christum Je=sum ausdrücklich hat geoffenbaret/vnd der ein ewiger Vater ist Jesu Christi."³¹⁸ The impossibility to exclude faith in Christ in this Psalm is also clearly advocated by Selnecker:

³¹⁵ Nikolaus Selnecker, *Der gantze Psalter Davids außgelegt*, Leipzig 1581 (=Bibliotheca Palatina, C2694-C2705).

³¹⁶ Selnecker, *Psalter Davids*, p. 224.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

“Solcher Glaub an den HERren Christum ist allein Gottes gabe vnd nicht der Menschen werck.“³¹⁹

We notice the idea of *sola gratia* in the quotation above. The antithesis of the greatness of sins and the greatness of God’s mercy understood by Luther and Calvin finds its reflection in Selnecker’s commentary when he wrote:

“Da sind zwo tieffe: Die tieffe der Sünden/ vnd die höhe der Gerechtigkeit/ vnd muß doch solchs beydes zusammen komen/ vnd die tieffe der Sünden von der Barmhertzigkeit angenommen/ vnd zu recht gebracht werden.“³²⁰

Selnecker understands these two poles of the depth of sins and the height of (God’s) righteousness as two extremities, which are mediated by the middle word “*Miserere*”. This middle word is actually a reference to Jesus Christ, “der die beyde *extrema* zusammen bringet.”³²¹

The idea of doubt is also represented in Selnecker’s commentary to describe the condition of the heart of human beings.³²² Selnecker relates doubt with disbelief to God. Therefore, the doubtful heart can only be overcome through faith, which comes from God. True faith means not trusting oneself but having his hope and comfort in Christ alone.³²³ The contrast between doubt and certainty, which is explained by Luther (in the marginal note in his Bible edition) as not being moved by various unsound thoughts or doctrines, is taken up by Selnecker:

“Der gewisse Geist ist/ der im Glauben ohne zweyffel/ vnnd der sachen ge=wiß ist/ vnd sich nicht irren noch bewegen lest von mancherley won/ gedan=cken/lehren/Secten.“³²⁴

The “joyful spirit” is understood by Selnecker as a joyful conscience which means a conscience free from every judgment of other people, “wenn man vbel von vns redet/vns außtregt/verleumbdet/anklagt/verachtet/verunglimpfft/ vnd vns alles vbel anlegt/ das wir sprechen: Laß gehen/ laß sie machen/bis sie

³¹⁹ Selnecker, *Psalter Davids*, p. 236.

³²⁰ Ibid., p. 227.

³²¹ Ibid., p. 227.

³²² Ibid., p. 236.

³²³ Ibid., p. 236-237.

³²⁴ Ibid., p. 237.

müde werden/ich habe dennoch recht/ vnd ein gut Gewissen/ trotz allen Ge=waltigen/vnd allen meinen Feinden vnd Hessem.³²⁵

It is interesting to note that Selnecker's commentary represents not only the central tenets of Luther's theology but also has some pietistic traits. In his own life, Selnecker was insulted as "Wendehals" by Melancthon's followers, called "Schelmlecker" by Lutherans, and because of his small figure was regarded as "Lutheräffchen" by Calvin's followers.³²⁶ Surely, his biography has made him one of the most blessed devotional writers in his time.

³²⁵ Selnecker, *Psalter Davids*, p. 238.

³²⁶ Quoted from http://www.heiligenlexikon.de/BiographienN/Nikolaus_Selnecker.htm

2.6. Certain correspondences between the theological- and the musical commentaries of Psalm 51

In this section, we will compare the commentaries of Psalm 51 by the theologians with the musical commentaries done by the composers treated in this study.

The antithesis between the greatness of sins and the greatness of God's mercies advocated by Luther, Calvin, and Selnecker could be compared with Scheidt's setting of *Miserere mei Deus* where the composer first presents the first chorale line in the cantus voice, then answered by the alto who sings the cantus firmus in the form of a mirror-subject. The symmetrical structure of this opening section might describe the balance between the immensity of transgressions and of mercies. Moreover, that Scheidt presents this symmetrical structure in the phrase "Miserere mei Deus" also corresponds with Selnecker's commentary that these two extremities are mediated by the word "Miserere". While Selnecker also explained that this petition is a reference to Christ who brings both extremities together, Scheidt utilizes cross motive several times on the words "secundum" and "iniquitatem" to interpret musically that the iniquities can only be blotted out according to God's mercy revealed in the crucified Christ.

Calvin's emphasis on the expression "multiplying washing", which finds its echo in Olearius' commentary as often washing with great effort, has also certain parallels with the settings of some composers. Schein presents the phrase "wasch ab, mach rein" at least five times in each voice. Scheidt presents the same section two times, twice in the cantus and twice in the tenor. Due to its imitative treatment, the phrase appears in total five times in different voices. In Hammerschmidt's setting, the phrase is at least repeated one time in the tenor voice. Kuhnau not only presents "wasche mich wohl" three times in sequence but also set it in coloratura passage. The anonym composer of *Gott sei mir gnädig* presents this phrase first by tenor solo, and then in a duet with alto in his setting. Finally, Bach sets the phrase "wasch es selber" of the second verse altogether nine times.

In his commentary, Olearius relates the phrase “ich erkenne meine Sünde und Missetat” with the idea of repetition and different anxiety of the heart. In the musical settings, Schütz for instance repeats this phrase in his *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*. Before the vocal repetition, he even let the first viol imitate the melody of this phrase in stretto. In Schein’s setting, we find no repetition except that the phrase first introduced by the first cantus is answered by the second cantus. However, Schein introduces the note *g#* as a replacement for *g*. The diminished fourth leap might be interpreted as an expression of the heart anxiety. Scheidt decides to repeat the phrase “und ist mir leid” in his *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*. Hammerschmidt presents the phrase four times both in the second cantus and in the bass, and even five times in the alto. The anonym composer of *Gott sei mir gnädig* does repeat the phrase “denn ich erkenne meine Missetat” one time, but more obvious is the repetition of the phrase “und meine Sünde ist immer vor mir”. Finally, Bach presents the entire third verse of the paraphrased text two times, while certain phrases such as “die mich drücken” and “Vater, ich bin nicht gerecht” acquire also an emphasis through repetition.

The enthymematic character of Psalm 51 as can be deduced from Arndt’s explanation could be compared with the settings of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* by Schütz, Schein, Scheidt, and Hammerschmidt. Knowing that this piece cannot be ended with the phrase “ob man urteilt dich”, Schütz has inserted a musical commentary by placing the motive of “(nach deiner) großen Barmherzigkeit” for the closing motive of the first viol. By doing this Schütz has built an open bridge from the first element of a true repentance, namely from the fear of God, to the second element of trust in God’s mercy as had been explained by Luther. On the other hand, Schein who uses the version “ob du urteilst mich” understands this phrase as God’s merciful judgment towards the sinner. This can be argued from the descending motive of this last chorale line, which could serve as a musical commentary on God’s justification. Scheidt has decided to use the same version “ob man urteilet dich” as had been used by Schütz. Not only the version but also the treatment

of this phrase has a remarkable similarity with that of Schütz. Scheidt also quotes the motive of the first chorale line “Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott” in the phrase “ob man urteilet dich” while at the same time he closes the piece with the hope and certainty of God’s forgiveness. Finally, in his setting, Hammerschmidt who chooses the version “ob du urteilest mich” has prepared the enthymematic character of Hegenwaldt’s first verse rhyme setting by adding the phrase “erbarm dich mein” as a refrain between each chorale line. Through this repeated refrain, Hammerschmidt has colored not only the last chorale line but also the whole piece with a stroke of prayer for God’s forgiveness. In all these four settings, the composers have dealt with the enthymematic character of Psalm 51, which will find its ‘missing premise’ in the Gospel of Christ the Savior. That God’s judgment can be interpreted either as God being a righteous judge who can do no wrong (“ob man urteilet dich”) or as God who dispenses his mercy in justifying the sinner (“ob du urteilest mich”) is also supported by Olearius. In his commentary, Olearius represents Luther’s theology by perceiving God’s righteous judgment in the double aspects of punishment (the Law) and grace (the Gospel).

The idea of contrast between doubt and certainty as explained by Luther and taken up by Selnecker is clearly reflected in the settings of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* by Schütz, Hammerschmidt, and Bernhard. The first part of these settings describes the anxiety and doubt of the soul. The middle part serves as a turning point. The third part, which is set in ternary time, creates a contrast effect with the previous two parts. This last part can be understood as an expression of certainty that God will surely comfort the sinner with His help and uphold him with a joyful spirit.

Though it is difficult to prove that the composers treated in this study had used certain Psalm commentary before they set the Psalm text to music, some correspondences between the theological and the musical commentary of Psalm 51 can be noted. Even if those similarities were historically unproven, we still can view them not as pure coincidences but as emergent happenings.

Chapter 3: Examinations on the individual composers, their compositions, and its contexts

3.1. Michael Praetorius (1571-1621)

Praetorius was born 1572 in Creuzburg an der Werra near Eisenach and died on the 15th February 1621 in Wolfenbüttel. In 1585, Praetorius started with studies of philosophy and theology supported by his brother Andreas, a theology professor and priest of St. Marien, which held a significant position in Frankfurt. Toward the end of 1589, three years after the death of his brother (20 Dec. 1586), Praetorius should have left Frankfurt to continue his studies in Helmstedt.³²⁷ In the same year of his entrance, the famous theologian and humanist Johannes Caselius (1533-1613) taught in the university.³²⁸ In the year 1605, his first compositions *Musae Sioniae* Part I were published. A number of additional publications hardly interrupted followed within the following years until 1613, when it was ended through the sudden death of the duke Heinrich Julius in Prague on 20 July 1613.³²⁹ He then moved to Dresden temporarily (from the fall 1613 until spring 1616) where he came in touch with Heinrich Schütz. Before his death and in the expectation to be in perfect peace with the Lord, Praetorius had still composed the 116th Psalm “selbsten zum Valete” for Burkhard Grossmann’s compilation *Angst der Hellen*.

3.1.1. Praetorius’ understanding of church music and Psalm in his *Syntagma Musicum*

Praetorius has described his understanding of church music in the dedicatory epistle (*Widmungsrede*) of his *Syntagma Musicum*. The first part of *Syntagma* deals with the justification of the indissoluble connection between “Cantio” and “Concio”, between song and speech/sermon, as has been used in Lutheran

³²⁷ Arno Forchert, Art. “Praetorius, Michael”, in: *MGG2*, Personenteil 13, Kassel 1994, col. 885.

³²⁸ Caselius was famous for his endeavors of tolerant Protestantism and humanistic education. His idea was continued by his most important pupil Georg Calixt.

³²⁹ Arno Forchert, Art. “Praetorius, Michael“, col. 885.

liturgy.³³⁰ These two occupations are required, so Praetorius, “for the complete and finished perfection of the divine liturgy”.³³¹ Furthermore:

“The connection between these is consecrated by the mystical dignity of sanction, reconfirmed by the doctrinal utility of intention, renewed by the paradigmatic constancy of function.”³³²

The double aspects of *Cantio* and *Concio* are explained through the twofold end of man: “to seek and recognize the truth (*Veritas inquisitio*)” and “to choose virtue (*Virtutis electio*)”.³³³ The highest truth is the knowledge of God, and the highest virtue is the praise of God. Therefore, it can be concluded that the end of man is to know God and to worship him. Both of these ends are given by sacred speech/sermon and songs in church.³³⁴

The close relationship of sermon and song is explained in the following sections by a variety of examples, dual constructions from the Bible.³³⁵ The “tree of the knowledge of good and evil (*Arbor scientiae boni et mali*)” was set up for liturgical worship in the original creation in Paradise as the first to examine and contemplate the difference between seeking good and avoiding evil, while the “tree of life (*Arbor vitae*)” was to cultivate the practical praise of immortality.³³⁶

Especially *Urim* and *Thumim*, according to Ex. 28, can also serve as comparisons. These two duties of the liturgy intend the further course of argumentation concerning the close relationship between speech/sermon and

³³⁰ See also the study of *Syntagma Musicum I* by Dietlind Möller-Weiser, *Untersuchungen zum I. Band des Syntagma musicum von Michael Praetorius*, Kassel, etc: Bärenreiter, 1993 (=Detmold-Paderborner Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, Vol. 3), pp. 32-51.

³³¹ Michael David Fleming, *Michael Praetorius, music historian. An annotated translation of “Syntagma Musicum” I*, Part I, Ann Arbor/Mich.: UMI, 2000, p. 4.

³³² “Quarum conjunctionem consecravit sanctionis mystica dignitas, frequentavit intentionis dogmatica utilitas, redintegravit functionis paradigmatica sedulitas” (*Syntagma Musicum I*, fol. a 2v; trans. Fleming).

³³³ “Si enim actionem spectamus, duplex est finis Hominis: nempe *Veritatis inquisitio* agnitioque; & *Virtutis electio*” (*Syntagma Musicum I*, fol. a 2v).

³³⁴ Möller-Weiser, p. 32.

³³⁵ Möller-Weiser, p. 32.

³³⁶ “Unum erat Probationis, scilicet *Arbor scientiae boni & mali*; sub qua instituenda fuerat theoria & meditatio discretionis inter bonum expetendum; & malum fugiendum, à Creatore insitae: Alterum erat *Arbor vitae*, sub qua colenda fuisset homini, in errorem non prolapsa, practica celebratione Immortalitatis, & in terrestri & coelesti Paradiso cum Angelis aeternum decantandae, *Genes. 2*” (*Syntagma Musicum I*, fol. a 3v).

music.³³⁷ In Hebrew, the first means lights of brightness, and the second perfection or wholeness. Luther's translation is "Das Licht und das Recht".³³⁸ Another dual construction that Praetorius uses for explaining *Concio* and *Cantio* is his distinction between inward word and outward word:

"This [the glory], when reason [*ratio*], the inward word [*logos ho esō*] had first been inwardly illuminated by the pellucid speech [*concione*] of the Holy Spirit, was then exposed and diffused, like rays [of light], by the prayer of songs, the outward word [*logos ho exō*] in the public sanctuary [...]."³³⁹

This reminds us on Luther's understanding of the classification between the spiritual or inner comfort of the Word of God and the external comfort of music.³⁴⁰ Luther believed that the comfort from music could help effectively only in the connection with the spiritual comfort, that is the Word of God as the content. It also reflects Calvin's view of music as a means, where there is a fundamental nature difference between God's Word as the content and music as the cloth/funnel.³⁴¹

According to Praetorius, *Urim* signifies "the splendor or the mind or reason, and the enlightenment for thinking and observing", whereas *Thumim* "the harmonic perfection of speech and singing".³⁴² Both *Urim* and *Thumim* are therefore necessary for salvation (*heilshotwendig*), and so is the case with *Cantio* and *Concio* as examples from the church history confirm their useful interaction.³⁴³

In Chapter III of the *Syntagma Musicum I*, Praetorius deals with "the benefits of psalmody in general, together with the rules and regulations for singing psalms devoutly and modestly."³⁴⁴ After quoting nine benefits of psalmody described by Justin, Praetorius adds another twofold benefit of psalmody, namely when the singers are reciting God's word, they "receive

³³⁷ Möller-Weiser, p. 32.

³³⁸ *Syntagma Musicum I*, fol. a 3v.

³³⁹ *Syntagma Musicum I*, trans. Fleming, pp. 6-7.

³⁴⁰ Michael Heymel, *Wie man mit Musik für die Seele sorgt*, Ostfildern: Matthias Grünewald, 2006, p. 102.

³⁴¹ Compare Söhngen, "Die Musikanschauungen der Reformatoren", p. 60.

³⁴² *Syntagma Musicum I*, trans. Fleming, p. 7.

³⁴³ Möller-Weiser, p. 32.

³⁴⁴ *Syntagma Musicum I*, trans. Fleming, p. 46.

God into their hearts, and thus, devotion to God is kindled by songs of this type.”³⁴⁵ However, the efficacy of psalmody in rousing virtue in man’s souls requires a certain condition to be fulfilled, namely that “a manner of psalm-singing be observed (which is) true and pleasing to God.”³⁴⁶ What Praetorius means with true and pleasing God is that singing songs should proceed from a believing heart. Finally, Praetorius warns that one should take great care so that the song was not done “lightly or indecently, but all things solemnly and fittingly.”³⁴⁷

Praetorius’ theology of music inherits not only Luther’s thought, but being viewed from the perspective of Calvinistic music aesthetics, some of Praetorius’ thoughts on psalm singing also correspond with that of Calvin such as the use of music to arouse devotion to God, the idea that in singing Psalms as God’s own Word we receive God himself into our hearts, the necessity of proceeding from the heart as the true manner in psalm singing, and finally the solemn character of psalm singing against light and frivolous dealing with it.

3.1.2. *Musae Sioniae V*; musical analysis of *Gott, sei mir genädig nach deiner Güte*

Praetorius has given a title framework full of pictures designed by himself to several volumes of his *Musae Sioniae*. Some musicological information is contained in the theological statements of the title page.³⁴⁸ On this title framework, the heavenly music is represented above the title, the earthly on both right and left sides and under this title. The victory lamb, which stands in the middle and at the peak of mount Zion carrying the flag in heavenly glory outshined by the light coming from the written Hebrew name of God (JHWH), mediates the heavens and earth. The tetragram is surrounded by the

³⁴⁵ *Syntagma Musicum* I, trans. Fleming, p. 47.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³⁴⁸ This whole paragraph is a summary of the copperplate explanation by Konrad Ameln, “Himmliche und irdische Musik“, in: *Neues musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 2 (1993), pp. 60-61.

symbols of the four evangelists floating on clouds. On the left of it, the choirs of the angels are shown, on the right the 24 elders which accompany the angelic choirs with their harps. The ribbons over and under this heavenly host contain the Latin texts of praise and on the hill, on which the lamb stands: *Ecce Agnus Dei In monte Sion* with the note *Apoc. 4*. On the galleries, the two earthly choirs are set parallel to the two heavenly choirs to the right and left of the lamb. All the parapets of the three galleries are marked with note-incipits. Singers and musicians stand on these galleries. On the right gallery one can recognize a singer, two musicians with horns, one with a cornett and the last one at the regal. On the left of the title, there are a singer and four players, three with string instruments (a violin, a viola, and a contrabass violone), one at a positive organ. An organist sits at the big organ on the big gallery below the title, on his left two singers and two trombonists, on his right again two singers and a player with the big bass shawm. The Cantor (perhaps Praetorius himself) stands with his back to the spectator in front of them; he has raised his left arm to give the beat and holds music scores in his right hand, into which he looks down. The singers of the two upper choirs, whose arms and music scores, rise in the vacant space of the title. Because not every musical instrument could be shown operatingly, other musical instruments are shown on the parapet of another two galleries: on the left a Viola (or Cister) and a lute, on the right a trombone and eight woodwind instruments. From the fact that the musicians dominate the singers, we might conclude that it serves as a description of Praetorius' performance practice to use as many instruments as possible. In this respect, Praetorius wants to show his work as obliged to the Lutheran music aesthetics.³⁴⁹ An exact and live representation of the performance practice of choir works for several choirs is given to us by Praetorius. Without the Latin inscriptions and the choice of the texts from the 95th and 9th Psalms for the *Concert 12. 15. 18. vel 21. voc.*, which is described by the inscription above the organ, this representation is not immediately

³⁴⁹ Helmut Lauterwasser, "Michael Praetorius – Anmerkungen zu seinem Schaffen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des evangelischen Kirchenlieds und der gottesdienstlichen Bestimmung", in: *Von Luther zu Bach*, ed. Renate Steiger, Sinzig: Studio, 1999, p. 161.

connected with the heavenly music though. The unity between a heavenly and earthly praise is demonstrated at least by the line of text *PLENI SUNT COELI* on the ribbon on the left above at the angels, *ET TERRA* below at the third choir and *GLORIA TUA* on the right above at the elders.

From the preface of both the printer and the author, we can know that when the 5th part of the *Musae Sioniae* appeared in 1608, the sixth to eighth parts had been already completed, although they were published two years (part 6 and 7) and three years later (part 8):

“Er bittet vnd hoffet / der liebe Gott wolle vnd werde dem Teuffel / der bißher dieses Christliche vnd allein zur Ehren Gottes angefangene Werck augenscheinlich gehindert / stewren vnd wehren: seine Göttliche Gnade vnd Segen verleyhen / damit die hinterstellige V. VI. VII. VIII. &c. Theile (darzu er sonderliche neue Noten giessen lassen) vleissiger corrigirt vnd gedruckt herfür kommen / vnnd also den lieben Musicis, vnd der Music Liebhabern desto angenehmer seyn mögen.“³⁵⁰

The printing of the 5th to 8th part of the *Musae Sioniae* did not consist of individual composition any more, as had been made for different occasions before, but were planned from the beginning as closed publications in a similar composition technique and put in a more classified order.³⁵¹ While the first four parts of the *Musae Sioniae* were still meant for the use of royal meetings or in court services, the 5th to 8th part should be accessible primarily for the congregational services in the Protestant towns and villages. In the dedicatory epistle, the change of composition orders could be known:

“Inmassen ich dann hiebeuor in mehr / als / 8. 9. vnd 12. Stimmen / vnsere vbliche Kirchengesänge ad Choros gesetzt / an Tag geben / vnd dieselbigen Christlichen Gemeinen / wie gerne mann offtmals auch gewolt / mit so viel Stimmen nicht fort kommen mögen: Habe derowegen Ich mir die Mühe nicht wollen verdriessen lassen / Auch ein Cantional, so gut es der liebe Gott verliehen

³⁵⁰ Michael Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae Teil V*, in: Praetorius-Gesamtausgabe, Vol. 5, Wolfenbüttel/Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer, 1937, p. XIV.

³⁵¹ Arno Forchert, Art. “Praetorius, Michael“, col. 888.

/ auff 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. Stimmen / für deroselben Chor vnd Kirchen zu vorfertigen.“³⁵²

The fifth volume of the *Musae Sioniae* is dedicated to “Allen Christlichen deß heiligen Römischen Reichs Kirchen / gemeines Vaterlandes Deutscher Nation [...]”. It is introduced with a spiritual preface by Basilius Sadler.³⁵³ In his preface, Sadler puts together the two occupations – already mentioned by Praetorius in his *Syntagma* – in the congregational meetings of the people of God, namely that “nicht allein sonsten an sich Gottes Wort fleissig getrieben / Sondern auch in Psalmen und Geistlichen Liedern gefasset vnd gesungen / vnd also auch Gesangsweise der Allmechtige Gott gelobet vnd gepreiset worden.”³⁵⁴ Interestingly, the two interrelated movement explained by Calvin on the connection between music and the heart, namely that singing should come from the heart and at the same time serves as a means to move the heart (see 1.4.1), was also advocated by Sadler:

“Da denn der Apostel zugleich anzeigt / Das der heilige Geist durch solchen Gesang / Doch wann das Hertz mit singet vnd es nicht ein ledig Mundtwerck ist / krefftig sey / vnd Trost vnd Frewde im Herten anzünde.“³⁵⁵

From the perspective of a Lutheran theologian, it is certainly most fitting to give thanks for the reason that this collection has been done mostly in German language: “Daß nach dem in diesen letzten Zeiten / sein liebes Wort von allerley Zusatz vnd Menschentandt gereinigt vnd geleutert / auch der rechte Gebrauch der Musica wiederumb auff die Bahn gebracht / vnd wir nun Gott Lob vnd Danck in vnser Muttersprach / die wir verstehen / vnd nicht allein / wie zuvor mehrestheils geschehen / Lateinisch / in vnsern Christlichen Versamlungen Gott loben vnd preisen können.”³⁵⁶ This does not mean, however, that only local language can arouse devotion, consolation and joy, but on the contrary, all reasonable Christians must confess:

³⁵² Michael Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae V*, p. VI.

³⁵³ Basilius Sadler, 1549-1624. Before Sadler accepted the court chaplain office at Wolfenbüttel court, he was at first a professor of theology in Helmstedt. In addition, at the time of Praetorius he was also a *Generalsuperintendent*.

³⁵⁴ Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae V*, p. VII.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. VII.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. VII.

“Das etliche Lateinische vnd Geistreiche Lieder der alten Kirchen Lehrer die Herten der Menschen bewegen / vnd darum Christliche Andacht / Trost vnd Frewde erwecken / Also werden sie an solchen örtern / doch mit gewisser maß vnd moderation billig auch behalten.“³⁵⁷

Such statement is also confirmed by Praetorius broadminded support for the use of Latin chorale singing in the church:

“Daher seind die jenigen auch nicht zu loben / thun auch nicht recht / die alle Lateinische Christliche Gesänge aus der Kirchen stossen / lassen sich dünken es sey nicht Evangelisch oder gut Lutherisch / wenn sie einen Lateinischen ChoralGesang in der Kirchen singen oder hören solten [...]“³⁵⁸

The use of words such as “certain measure and moderation” by Sadler, here also in the context of the relation between music and understanding, reminds us once again on one of the most important tenets in Calvin’s music aesthetics.

Lastly, the justification of the use of music instruments is explained courteously, not in a style of polemical writings:

“Daß da der Spielmann auff der Seiten geschlagen / sey der Geist deß HErrn auff ihn kommen / kan noch heutiges Tages ohne Sünd wol geschehen / Das man vnterweilen eine gute motet, vnd Instrumenta Musica mit vnter lauffen lest. Mann sol sich aber befeissen / Das / so viel immer müglich / der Text vnd die Wort auch vernommen werden können.“³⁵⁹

One cannot express more clearly, that the emphasis on the prior importance of the text and the word can be understood as being inherited from Calvin’s music aesthetics and thus as a statement trying to include Calvinist addressees as well.

What can be concluded from the above selected quotations is that the fifth part of *Musae Sioniae* is a work that accommodates not only Luther’s but also Calvin’s music aesthetics, and thus was done with a somewhat ‘ecumenical’ spirit, rather than being published for being a polemical statement. Latin chants of Roman Catholic tradition and compositions suitable for instruments

³⁵⁷ Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae* V, p. VII.

³⁵⁸ Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* I, p. 452; quoted after Möller-Weiser, p. 53.

³⁵⁹ Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae* V, p. VII.

were prepared and taken into account so that a spiritual quarrel might be avoided. Although this volume was in fact dedicated to the “allerreformiertesten” count palatine Friedrich, the spokesman of the Calvinistic – reformed party and was confined itself intentionally to the simple setting of Psalm songs,³⁶⁰ we should not overemphasize the political reason here for the decision made by Praetorius, since he was once educated in an ecumenical atmosphere of Helmstedt under the guidance of Johannes Caselius. Also in his *Syntagma Musicum* Praetorius has quoted from many theological authorities not only from Luther and the Lutherans but also from many theologians whose authorities had been accepted by all Christian confessions, even from a Roman Catholic Pope such as John XXII.³⁶¹ It is a genuine growth to intellectual and spiritual maturity if one is able to do a theological mapping of others’ opinion from different school of thoughts. Indeed, the sixth part (1609), the seventh part (1609), and the eighth part (1610) of *Musae Sioniae* also contain simple settings similar to the Genevan Psalter. Even some numbers of the ninth part (1610) are still composed in a simple setting with strong homophonic tendency such as in psalmody.³⁶²

Although we cannot find a clear delimitation which could explain the psalmody exactly in textual or musical regard in all the 16 chapters of the first membrum “ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ sive Discursus de Musica Choralis sive Psalmodia veterum Sacra” of the *Syntagma Musicum*,³⁶³ a strong association between psalmody and falsobordoni can be assumed through Praetorius’ own explanation on the musical term “Falso bordone”:

“Fürs erste werden die Psalmen / so im anfang der Vesper / als *Nota contra Notam* in einer reihe nach einander in *unisono* gesetzt seyn / *Psalmi Falsi Bordoni* genennet: Wiwol in denselben nunmehr der Baß in der *Quinta* vnter dem *Tenor* allezeit gefunden wird / so die *Harmoniam* gut vnd *Complet* machet.”³⁶⁴

³⁶⁰ Möller-Weiser, p. 15.

³⁶¹ *Syntagma Musicum* I, trans. Fleming, p. 47.

³⁶² See No. 14, 29, 92, 105, 199, 200, 201, 210, 211, 214, and 216.

³⁶³ Möller-Weiser, p. 35.

³⁶⁴ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* III. *Termini musici*, Wolfenbüttel 1619, Reprint, ed. W. Gurlitt, Kassel 1958 (= *Documenta Musicologica*, Vol. 15), p. 9.

Even Rousseau in his *Dictionnaire de musique* (1768) still identified falsobordone with Huguenot psalmody. He differentiated the Calvinistic from the Roman Catholic psalmody by stating: “it is the psalmody of the Roman Catholics sung in many parts [...] the four-part chants of our psalms [of the Goudimel psalter] can pass for a type of fauxbourdon, but these move very slowly and seriously.”³⁶⁵ German falsobordoni are usually conservative in style: they have simple texture, the borrowed psalm tone is being used strictly, the rhythms uncomplicated and they are brief.³⁶⁶ In the fifth volume of the *Musae Sioniae* there are in total seven falsobordoni. All of them are conservative in style, even without a basso continuo part.

Praetorius composed all verses of Psalm 51 and set Luther’s translation of Psalm 51 to music as double choir Psalm in close resemblance to the Roman Falsobordoni examples. It has certain similarity in its style to the Latin settings of Capella Sistina 205-206 as well as its double choir arrangement unless that Praetorius joined several psalm verses together occasionally and eight-part setting is used more than can be found in the Sistine codices.³⁶⁷ Throughout his setting of Psalm 51, Praetorius used plain homophonic texture and simple harmonic rhythm in psalmodic style.

This piece starts with F-Major and the first half of the 1st verse “Gott/ sei mir genädig nach deiner Güte/ und tilge meine Sünde nach deiner großen Barmherzigkeit“,³⁶⁸ ends in d-minor on the last syllable of the word “Güte”. If it is compared with the hard F-Major, the half ending in d-minor sounds

³⁶⁵ “Musique à plusieurs Parties, mais simple & sans Mesure, dont les Notes sont presque toutes égales & dont l’Harmonie est toujours syllabique. C’est la Psalmodie des Catholiques Romains chantée à plusieurs Parties. Le Chant de nos Pseaumes à quatre Parties, peut aussi passer pour une espece de *Faux-Bourdon*; mais qui procede avec beaucoup de lenteur & de gravité” (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique*, Paris 1768, p. 347; see also Murria C. Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone. A Study in Renaissance and Baroque Music*, Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1978 [= *Musicological Studies & Documents*, Vol. 34], p. 126).

³⁶⁶ Only a few examples of 17th century falsobordoni were written by German composers, while most of falsobordoni could be found in Italy. Perhaps the only thing that differentiates them from the tradition of 16th century German falsobordoni is the use of basso continuo. (compare Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone*, p. 104).

³⁶⁷ Compare Bradshaw, p. 104.

³⁶⁸ The verse numbering in this analysis section is taken from the numbering in Praetorius-Gesamtausgabe, Vol. 5, Wolfenbüttel/Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer, 1937.

certainly calmer and resolved. The same word is also the tone with the longest duration in the 1st verse. The second half starts with the same harmony as the beginning. The soprano makes a fourth leap when the word “Barmherzigkeit” is reached and so the 1st verse ends in C-Major.

The range of the 2nd verse “Wasche mich wohl von meiner Missetat und reinige mich von meiner Sünde” which is sung by the second choir is clearly lower than the 1st one. Starting with C-Major, the same harmony with the end of the 1st verse, this verse, together with the 1st verse forms a chiasm-structure:
F – d – C | C – a – F

Both d-minor and a-minor are understood as the parallels of F-Major and C-Major. The smooth fourth scale on the word “Missetat” is a resemblance of the fourth leap on the word “Barmherzigkeit”. Praetorius ends the first half of the 2nd verse not in a-minor but in A-Major and starts the second half of the verse with F-Major. This abrupt harmonic turn is also a typical feature of the Roman Falsobordone-Psalms.³⁶⁹

The next two verses have basically the same harmonic pattern as the first two. Slight modification is done in the rhythm. Especially on the words “ich erkenne” and “meine Sünde” the rhythmical velocity has been doubled. Also the ‘false’ accent on “meine” together with the use of syncopation for “Missetat” help to create the agitation of the soul as clearly stated by the text.

The repetition of the text “An dir allein hab ich gesündigt” of the 4th verse sung by the second choir is noteworthy. Again, this is a segmentation of the “Missetat” motive in the 2nd verse. Three times rests are inserted between the repetitions to express the soul’s anxiety before God. A written out accelerando from the whole note (the first “An dir allein”) to quarter note (“ich gesündigt”) helps to intensify the mood. Being compared with the two times repeated rhythmical pattern on the beginning of the second half, the word “gerichtet” with its long notes seems to appear as a contrast of the dominating restless mood till now. Here, Praetorius gives a musical

³⁶⁹ Magda Marx-Weber, *Liturgie und Andacht. Studien zur geistlichen Musik*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1999 (=Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik, Vol. 7), p. 111.

commentary: The anxious soul of the sinner cannot judge God, who dwells in his perfect peace.

The 5th and 6th verses are principally composed still in the same harmony as the 1st and 2nd as well as the 3rd and 4th verses. This time the use of syncopation is placed on the words “ich bin”, echoing its use on the words “meine Missetat” of the 3rd verse. The second half of this 5th verse “und meine Mutter hat mich in Sünden empfangen” is distinguished by the use of short melisma at the soprano voice on the word “empfangen”.

In the 6th verse “Siehe/ du hast Lust zur Wahrheit/ die im Verborgenen liegt/ du lässest mich wissen die heimliche Weisheit“, the syncopation is placed on the word “Lust”. Dactylic rhythms appear on the second half of this verse.

For the first time, both first and second choirs sing together in the 7th verse “Entsündige mich mit Isopen/ daß ich rein werde/ wasche mich/ daß ich schneeweiß werde“. Praetorius too uses new harmonization other than what has already been used three times for the previous six verses. The second half of this verse is composed as a harmonic sequence confirming Praetorius’ theological knowledge and his sensibility for Hebrew’s poetic parallelism. The melody of the soprano in the first choir shows a certain correspondence with the melody of the soprano in the very beginning of the piece.

In the 8th verse “Laß mich hören Freud und Wonne/ daß die Gebeine fröhlich werden/ die du zerschlagen hast” the soprano’s melody of the first choir basically also moves back and forth from *d* to *c*. After the second half of the previous verse which is sung only by the first choir, this 8th verse includes double choirs to express reasonably the content of the texts. Praetorius thus uses double choirs simultaneously in the first half of the 7th verse for confession and in the 8th verse as an anticipation of praise.

From the 9th verse to 14th verse Praetorius treats the double choir responsorial in the same harmonic pattern also three times as had been used in the first six verses. The first half of the 9th verse “Verbirg dein Antlitz von meinen Sünden/ und tilge alle meine Missetat” is composed rhythmically twice faster compared to the first use at the very beginning of the piece. The

high note *f* in the second half of this verse falls this time on the first syllable of the word “Missetat”.

In the 10th verse “Schaffe in mir/ Gott/ ein rein Herz/ und gib mir einen neuen gewissen Geist”, no syncopation occurs as usually has been the case in all the three times setting in verses 2, 4, and 6. Perhaps the composer does not want to ‘pollute’ the word “rein” by the use of syncopation.

Despite its similarity to the 9th verse, there is a slight modification in the 11th verse “Verwirf mich nicht von deinem Angesicht/ und nimm deinen heiligen Geist nicht von mir”: no syncope is introduced between the 1st and the 2nd measure, so that a natural and long accent falls on the first syllable on the word “Angesicht”. On the contrary, as for the second half of the verse, the phrase does not start begin with a half note but immediately with a quarter note while the long notes fall on the words “nicht von mir”. Such a subtle differentiation helps to create the tension of an intense prayer of an anxious sinner.

The tension of the previous verse is somewhat resolved in the 12th verse “Tröste mich wieder mit deiner Hülfe/ und der freudige Geist enthalte mich”. The first syllable is set in a dotted whole note creating an atmosphere of more relaxation and rest if it is compared with the beginning of the 10th verse. Also the use of two quarter notes should not be regarded only for the adaptation of the numbers of syllables, but also for giving a spark of new energy as this 12th verse may be seen as a foretaste of the soul’s turning point revealed more clearly in the second half of the 14th verse.

The 13th verse “Denn ich will die Übertreter deine Wege lehren/ daß sich die Sünder zu dir bekehren” starts with a two quarter notes which have never been used as the beginning of a verse till now. A sense of confidence and certainty which corresponds very well with the text is achieved. The short melisma on the word “bekehren” is a resemblance of its first use in the second half of verse 5. In both cases the melisma is used in the third time, that is, in the last time before the double choirs sing simultaneously.

In the 14th verse “Errette mich von den Blutschulden/ Gott/ der du mein Gott und Heiland bist/ [...]”, the segmentation of the words “Errete mich” corresponds with the setting in the 4th verse (“An dir allein”). After using the same harmonic pattern three times Praetorius calls the double choirs to sing simultaneously again for the second half of this verse. There are certain connections between the text of verses 14-15 and that of verses 7-8, where the double choirs are used for the first time simultaneously: it begins with a prayer for forgiveness of sin and ends with a statement of doxology.

Just like the setting in the 8th verse, the soprano’s melody of the first choir again moves back and forth from *d* to *c* in the 15th verse “Herr/ tu meine Lippen auf/ daß mein Mund deinen Ruhm verkündige”. From the perspective of the insertion of the double choir, the second half of the 14th verse “Daß meine Zunge deine Gerechtigkeit rühme” forms a unity with the 15th verse “Herr/ tu meine Lippen auf/ daß mein Mund deinen Ruhm verkündige”. This is an example where Praetorius joined several psalm verses together occasionally. It is also not surprising since both phrases are connected through words like “meine Zunge” and “meine Lippen”, as well as “rühmen” and “Ruhm verkündige”.

The beginning of the 16th verse “Denn du hast nicht Lust zum Opfer/ ich wollt dir es sonst wohl geben/ und Brandopfer gefallen dir nicht“ is the same as has been used in the 13th verse. The idea was perhaps inspired from the same first word “Denn” of both phrases.

The first half of the 17th verse “Die Opfer/ die Gott gefallen/ sind ein geängsteter Geist/ ein geängstet und zerschlagen Herze wirst du/ Gott/ nicht verachten” does not end in A-Major as usual but in a-minor, expressing reasonably the word “ein geängsteter Geist”. The second half is characterized by the repeated quarter notes creating a contrast with the more calm and peaceful “Gott (wird) nicht verachten”. The harmonic pattern used from the very beginning of the piece is used here in verses 16-17 for the last time.

The setting of the 18th verse “Tu wohl an Zion nach deiner Gnade/ baue die Mauern zu Jerusalem” corresponds with that of the 7th verse. It is

interesting to note that the use of sequence in this verse – as has been used also before – is again strongly related with Hebrew’s parallelism which is also to be found in this verse.

Finally, the last verse “Denn werden dir gefallen die Opfer der Gerechtigkeit/ die Brandopfer und ganzen Opfer/ dann wird man Farren auf deinen Altar opfern“ is set as a climax of the whole piece. Just as the 18th verse corresponds with the 7th verse, so does this last verse with the 8th verse. Unlike the 8th verse, both choirs sing simultaneously and after one measure Praetorius does not maintain the note *d* but he turns to *c* on the word “gefallen”. He also changes the cadence from F to Bb-Major into the cadence in D-Minor so that there is an alteration in the motive of the first soprano (the text reads: “Gerechtigkeit”). If in the 16th verse the word “Opfer” is seen as problematic, here in this last verse the word has a positive meaning. Praetorius treats the word as the end of each phrase and by setting it in longer note values.

Throughout the piece, Praetorius uses always repeating harmonic pattern verse by verse but he modifies them in rich rhythmic variation thus creating different kind of atmospheres despite its unity and continuity. It can be concluded that this piece could be seen as an integration of different music aesthetics. It is strongly indebted to the (Catholic) Roman Falsobordone-Psalms and polychoralism, as a Lutheran he has used Luther’s Bible translation as its model and has encouraged the use of instruments, and finally the strong tendency to homorhythm and the symmetrical, even geometrical structure reflects the ideal of Calvinistic music aesthetics that stresses the clarity of the word.³⁷⁰

³⁷⁰ In his analysis of Psalm 5 (Geneva 1542), Andreas Marti states that the geometrical severity of the melody refers to the aesthetics of the type “Genevan psalm song melody” with its Renaissance humanistic background (Andreas Marti, “Aspekte einer hymnologischen Melodieanalyse”, in: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 40 [2001], p. 173).

3.2. Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672)

Heinrich Schütz was born on 8 October 1585 near Gera (today Bad Köstritz) and died on 6 November 1672 in Dresden. His quite long life had given him many possibilities and opportunities to experience the development of musical compositions of that period.

In 1609, Landgrave Moritz, who had already converted to Calvinism, offered Schütz a stipend for a two-year period to study under G. Gabrieli in Venice. In Kassel, Moritz authorized the publication of the first Lobwasser psalter: *Psalmen Davids, Nach Französischer Melodey vnd Reymen art in Teutsche reymen gebracht, Durch Ambrosium Lobwasser [...]* (Kassel 1607). In addition to that, he also composed three melodies in the Genevan style as well as twenty-seven four-part settings in simple *nota contra notam* homophony such that, when Schütz started to compose his Becker Psalter settings, he did it in the tradition set by the example of the Landgrave who was his former patron.³⁷¹

In 1613, Schütz returned to Kassel and obtained the office as second organist. No music was published during this time. However, soon a series of polychoral works – SWV36a, 467, 470 and 474, were found in manuscripts copied latest by 1615.³⁷² It is also probably during this time that he wrote *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*.³⁷³

3.2.1. Schütz's music aesthetics

As Schütz did not write any music treatise like in the case of Praetorius with his *Syntagma Musicum*, we could only trace Schütz's understanding of music or his music aesthetics from the writings of his contemporaries, including his response to them; or – though a comprehensive treatment cannot be expected – from the prefaces to his works and his correspondence. Since he also had a

³⁷¹ Robin A. Leaver, "Genevan Psalm Tunes in the Lutheran Chorale Tradition", in: *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004, pp. 154-155.

³⁷² Joshua Rifkin, Art. "Schütz, Heinrich", in: *New GroveD2*, Vol. 22. London 2001, p. 827.

³⁷³ As suggested by Werner Breig in: Heinrich Schütz, *Choralkonzerte und Choralsätze*, in: Schütz – Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Vol. 32, Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1971, p. XIV.

personal relationship with Michael Praetorius, we might hope to get some instructions for Schütz's musical practice from Praetorius' *Syntagma*.

The Preface to the *Geistliche Chormusik* has often been quoted as Schütz's substantial musical answer to the dispute between Scacchi and Siefert.³⁷⁴ In his letter to Christoph Werner, Scacchi distinguished three styles (church, chamber, and theater) from two other styles containing two varying composition techniques (antique and modern).³⁷⁵ Although both styles can be used almost unrestrictedly for church music composition, A-capella-church music must, however, be composed in the old style. Whereas the boundaries between prima and secunda praxis for church concertos are not clear; pieces with large settings are parts of prima praxis while the one with small settings belong to the secunda praxis.³⁷⁶ On the other hand, Siefert stated that the old style was music of the earlier years while the new style was current compositional art, regardless whether it was found in motetic, madrigal or concerto, in sacred or secular pieces. Siefert believed that during their days, the same rules applied to all genres, as corroborated in the compositions of Lasso, Marenzio, Hassler, Finetti, Schein, Scheidt, and Vierdanck.³⁷⁷ In other words, for Siefert there was no such thing as style separation as posited by Scacchi.

Schütz's response corresponded neither to that of Scacchi nor Siefert. Unlike Siefert who summarized all genres under a general term "nova schola", Schütz clearly separated the "schweresten" contrapuntal style without thorough bass from the easier concerto style (with an obligatory basso continuo).³⁷⁸ However, also unlike Scacchi, Schütz seemed to have been more interested in a clear separation between the contrapuntal style (without thorough bass) from the concerto style with an obligatory thorough bass, rather than in a distinction of style according to places of performance

³⁷⁴ Joshua Rifkin, Art. *Schütz, Heinrich*, p. 13.

³⁷⁵ For detailed explanation see Walter Werbeck, "Heinrich Schütz und der Streit zwischen Marco Scacchi und Paul Siefert", in: *Schütz-Jahrbuch 17* (1995), pp. 68-71.

³⁷⁶ Werbeck, "Heinrich Schütz und der Streit", p. 70.

³⁷⁷ *Anticribratio musica ad avenam Schachianam*, Danzig 1645, p. 5; see also Werbeck, p. 71.

(church, chamber and theater styles). In his *Geistliche Chormusik*, Schütz treated the contrapuntal style variably, even with inclusion of the newer style.³⁷⁹ Schütz's reluctance towards an undifferentiated parallelization between his distinction of style and specific genres seemed to reflect Praetorius' reservation to define musical genres exclusively and one-sidedly by the regulation features style and setting.³⁸⁰ What was much more important for Praetorius was the definition of musical genres through text and function. In his *Syntagma Musicum*, Praetorius thus interpreted the word *Concerto* in accordance to the Latin meaning of *concertare* – in the sense of against one another or antagonism:

“Fürnemlich vnd eigendlicher aber ist dieser Gesang ein *Concert* zu nennen / wenn etwa ein niedriger oder hoher Chor gegen einander / vnd zusammen sich hören lassen.“³⁸¹

Nevertheless, what was even more important was Praetorius' reference to the Preface of Viadana's *Concerti*:

“Daß es gar fleissig dahin gesehen / damit nicht gar zu viel Pausen *inseriret* würden / besondern / daß diese *Concerten* mehr Liebligkeit / *Cadentien* / vnd *Passaggien* in sich hetten / Auch ein jegliches Wort / vnd dessen *Syllaben exacte* seinen Noten *respondiren* möge / damit die Zuhörer alle Wort vnd *Sententias* desto leichter einnehmen vnd verstehen köndten.“³⁸²

The idea of continuity and unity was of highest importance for Praetorius for he did not want that too many long rests would cause “der Text *mutiliret* vnd zerstümmelt den *Auditoren* viel Verdruß”.³⁸³ We will see whether Schütz's

³⁷⁸ Schütz, Preface to the *Geistliche Chormusik*, in: Schütz – Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Vol. 6, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003, p. XVII.

³⁷⁹ “Denn es ist nicht der dogmatisch strenge stilus antiquus à la Scacchi, der hier vorherrscht, sondern der mottetische Kontrapunktstil à la Schütz, in den Gestaltungsweisen des Madrigals ebenso eindringen können wie in zwei Stücken sogar ausdrücklich vorgeschriebene Tutti-Solo-Kontraste, d. h. Mittel des konzertierenden Stils. Und auch die Einbeziehung von zwei *Ariae* bedeutet keineswegs einen Stilbruch“ (Werbeck, p. 78).

³⁸⁰ See the article by Carl Dahlhaus, “Über den Motettenbegriff des Michael Praetorius“, in: *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Nordeuropas. Kurt Gudewill zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Uwe Haensel, Wolfenbüttel/Zürich: Mösel, 1978, p. 13.

³⁸¹ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* III. *Termini musici*, Wolfenbüttel 1619, Reprint, ed. W. Gurlitt, Kassel 1958 (= *Documenta Musicologica*, Vol. 15), p. 5.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

compositions of Psalm 51 reflect the understanding of *Concerto* as explained by Praetorius.

3.2.2. Becker Psalter and Kleine Geistliche Konzerte. Musical analysis of Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott and Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz

E. Hegenwaldt's *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* was the most wide spread version of the rhymed songs taken from Psalm 51 (The hymn appeared for the first time in Johann Walter's *Geystlichem gesangk Buchlein*, Wittenberg 1524).³⁸⁴ Schütz's musical settings of Psalm 51 consist of Hegenwaldt's *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* as a simple congregational setting in his *Becker Psalter*, as a little sacred concerto of quite early dating, and another little sacred concerto of later year *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz*.

The Becker Psalter of Schütz version was published in 1628 with the title: *Psalmen Davids, Hiebevorn in Teutzsche Reimen gebracht, durch D. Cornelium Beckern, Vnd an jetzo Mit Einhundert vnd Drey eigenen Melodeyen, darunter Zwey vnd Neuntzig Neue, vnd Eylff Alte, Nach gemeiner Contrapuncts art in 4. Stimmen gestellet* [Psalm of David, heretofore into German Verse by Dr. Cornelius Becker, Now Given with One Hundred and Three Special Melodies, of which Ninety-two are New, and Eleven Old, Set in Four Parts in the General Contrapuntal Style] (Freiberg 1628). The Psalter was intended for use in the Dresden court chapel, where Schütz was "Capellmeister" and its popularity throughout Germany was attested by the fact that it was re-printed in 1640 and revised in 1661.³⁸⁵

In 1605, Calvisius issued his edition of the Becker Psalter, including forty-three of his four-part settings, in Leipzig. It was also re-printed several times, reaching even a fifth edition in 1622. Cornelius Becker, Calvisius' clerical colleague in Leipzig, who was a pastor of St. Thomas church from 1594, was the one who produced this widespread Lutheran psalter.³⁸⁶ His Psalter was intended to compete with the Reformed psalter of Lobwasser: *Der Psalter*

³⁸⁴ Magda Marx-Weber, Art. "Miserere", in: *MGG2*, Sachteil 6, Kassel 1997, col. 324.

³⁸⁵ Robin A. Leaver, "Genevan Psalm Tunes in the Lutheran Chorale Tradition", p. 155.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

Davids Gesangweis, auff die in den lutherischen Kirchen gewöhnlichen Melodeyen zugerichtet (Leipzig 1602, later imprints in 1603, 1605, 1607, 1619 and 1621). Polycarp Leyser, a leading Lutheran theologian of that day, a Saxon court preacher in Dresden who had been actively involved in the process of the *Formula of Concord*, commended the use of Becker Psalter.³⁸⁷

Before Schütz's, Calvisius' or even Becker's own version, another publication of Psalter by Lucas Osiander, court preacher in Stuttgart, *Fünffzig Geistliche Lieder vnd Psalmen. Mit vier Stimmen auff Contrapuncts weise [...] gesetzt, das ein gantze Christl. Gemein durchauß mitsingen kann* [Fifty Spiritual Hymns and Psalms Set in Four-Part Contrapuntal, that the whole Christian congregation can definitely sing along with] (Nürnberg 1586) had already confirmed the growing influence and far-reaching effects of Genevan psalm-singing on the Lutheran chorale tradition at the late sixteenth century.³⁸⁸ Indeed, except that many cadences tend to be more elaborate, Schütz's settings are very similar with *nota contra notam* style of the Genevan psalm motets.³⁸⁹

In the preface to the first edition of the Becker Psalter, Schütz wrote that although his new melodies were not of great artistry and work, yet it had not come off without any difficulties. What he meant were not his own difficulties in composing or publishing the Psalter, but rather the difficulties of Christian congregation to sing it properly. Unlike Osiander, Schütz demanded his congregation more to be edified to the standard of the music at that time:

“In deme ich/ Erstlichen/ nach art der alten KirchenGesänge mich richten/ vnd doch auch nach heutiger Music *accommodiren* müssen/ daher nicht allezeit der

³⁸⁷ Robin A. Leaver, “Genevan Psalm Tunes in the Lutheran Chorale Tradition“, p. 154.

³⁸⁸ In his study, Robin A. Leaver explains that Osiander's involvement as co-author in the preface to Hemmel's psalter of 1569, arguably a Lutheran parallel of the Genevan Psalter, shows at least his awareness of Calvinist psalmody. In fact, his Psalter is pervasively influenced by the simple Genevan psalm motet. The indication “contrapuntal settings” in the title was understood in the technical sense of *punct contra punct*, or *nota contra notam*. This simple chordal setting of chorale melodies, known as the “cantional” style, is largely indebted to the homophonic settings of the Genevan psalm tunes such as by Bourgeois and Goudimel. When Schütz published his Becker Psalter with the indication “Contrapuncts art” in the title, it may copy its previous appearance in Osiander's Psalter (Robin A. Leaver, “Genevan Psalm Tunes in the Lutheran Chorale Tradition“, pp. 150-151).

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

Breven vnd *Semibreven*, sondern meistentheils der *Minimen*, *Semiminimen* vnd *Fusen* gebrauchet/ zu dem ende damit der Gesang nicht alleine lebhafter/ sondern auch die Wort nicht allzulang ausgedehnet/ besser verstanden/ vnd ein Psalm desto ehe ausgesungen werden könnte/ bevorab weil diese geschwindere Noten/ wenn nach heutiger art man sie in einem rechtmessigen Tact singet/ der *gravitet* des Gesanges nichts benehmen/ Ja auch die alten Kirchengesänge selbstn ob sie schon in langsame Noten vbersetzt/ doch mit geschwinderen Tact in Christlicher Versammlung gesungen werden.³⁹⁰

Here again, the difference between Schütz and Osiander can be noticed: regarding tempo, Schütz recommended a swifter beat in congregational singing, precisely for the sake of better understanding of the word and for the “gravity” of church music. Calvin’s teaching on the importance of dignity and gravity in church music was understood by Schütz musically as a compositional style in which the word must not be extended too long without any diminution. This new interpretation of gravity would eventually have a lasting impact on church music in Germany.

The text version of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* from the Becker Psalter (SWV 148/148a) used by Schütz contained the phrase “ob man urteilt dich” (at the end of first verse), as how it had been used in the later version of Saxon hymnbooks. The original version was however “ob du urteilst mich”.³⁹¹ The whole text reads as followed:

³⁹⁰ Heinrich Schütz, *Der Psalter*, in: Schütz – Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Vol. 6, Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1957, p. VIII.

³⁹¹ See the different text versions explained in Chapter 2.2 in this study.

1. Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott,
nach deiner großen Barmherzigkeit,
wasch ab, mach rein mein Missetat,
ich erkenn mein Sünd und ist mir leid,
allein ich dir gesündigt hab,
das ist wider mich stetiglich,
das Bös vor dir mag nicht bestahn,
du bleibst gerecht, ob man urteilt dich.
3. Herr, sieh nicht an die Sünde mein,
tu ab all Ungerechtigkeit,
und mach in mir das Herze rein,
ein neuen Geist in mir bereit,
verwirf mich nicht von deinem Angesicht,
dein Heiligen Geist wend nicht von mir,
die Freud deins Heils, Herr, zu mir richt,
der willig Geist erhalt mich dir.

4. Die Gottlosen will ich deine Weg,
die Sünder auch dazu lehren,
daß sie vom bösen falschen Steg
zu dir durch dich sich bekehren.
Beschirm mich, Herr, mein Heil mein Gott,
vor dem Urteil durchs Blut bedeut,
mein Zung verkünd dein recht Gebot,
schaff, daß mein Mund dein Lob ausbreit.
5. Kein leiblich Opfer von mir heischst,
ich hätt dir das auch gegeben,
so nimm nun den zerknirschten Geist,
betrübt und traurigs Herz daneben.
Verschmäh nicht, Gott, das Opfer dein,
tu wohl in deiner Gütigkeit
dem Berg Zion, da Christen sein,
die opfern dir Gerechtigkeit.

In 1636 Schütz published the first volume of his *Kleine Geistliche Konzerte* in Leipzig. Three years later in Dresden, the second volume followed. The first collection contains 24 concertos while the second 31. A purely German language Opus was presumably aimed for at first, however, shortly before the printing of the second volume, 10 Latin concertos, probably dating from Schütz's second Venetian period and originally composed to form a basis for Latin collection, were concluded.³⁹² The original title reads: "Erster Theil | Kleiner geistlichen Concerten | Mit 1. 2. 3. 4. vnd 5. Stimmen, sampt bey- | gefügtem Basso Continuo vor die | Orgel, | In die Music versetzt | Durch | Heinricum Sagittarium, | ChurF. Durchl. zu Sachsen | Capell-Meister. | Lib. Primus. [bzw.: Lib. Secundus. bzw.: Lib. Tert. & Ult.] | Cum Privileg. Seren. Sax. Elect. | Leipzig | In Vorlegung Gottfried Grossens Buchhändl. | Gedruckt bey Gregor Ritzschen. | Anno MDCXXXVI." That the works were created as

³⁹² Werner Breig, Art. "Schütz, Heinrich", in: *MGG2*, Personenteil 15, Kassel 2006, col. 400.

some sorts of less-than-ideal solutions forced by the hard conditions of the Thirty-Years War could be read from the dedicatory epistle to Part I:

“Welcher gestalt vnter andern freyen Künsten / auch die löbliche Music / von den anhaltenden gefährlichen Kriegs-Läufften in vnserm lieben Vater-Lande / Teutscher Nation / nicht allein in grosses Abnehmen gerathen / sondern an manchem Ort gantz niedergeleget worden / stehet neben andern allgemeinen Ruinen vnd eingerissenen Unordnungen / so der vnselige Krieg mit sich zu bringen pflaget / vor männliches Augen / [...]“³⁹³

From a theological perspective, it is interesting to note that there is a strong relationship between awareness of the talents given by God and the responsibility to use them, both in present time in little measure and greater so later. The glory of God was understood as the *telos* of musical composition:

“Unterdessen aber / vnd damit mein von GOtt verliehenes Talentum in solcher edlen Kunst nicht gantz ersitzen bleiben / sondern nur etwas weniges schaffen vnd darreichen möchte / habe ich etzliche kleine Concert auffsetzen / vnd gleichsamb als Vor-Boten meiner Musicalischen Werck / zur Ehre Gottes anjetzo heraußgeben / [...]“³⁹⁴

Further, Schütz connects his dedication to the glory of God with recreation of man, i.e., he hopes that “diese kleine *Concerten* so weit würdigen / daß sie sich vnter andern *Recreationen* vnd Ergetzungen je bißweilen derselben gebrauchen möge“.³⁹⁵ For Schütz, there is no tension between glorifying God and recreation of man. Both are two sides of the same coin.

Though unlike the *Symphoniae sacrae*, the limited and concise form of *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* offers it own strength in originality and expressive affection. Schütz has, certainly not by accident, used predominantly the psalm poetry in this collection; for they offer both rich affective and syntactic forms.³⁹⁶ The psalm texts in the first volume of *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* include the following numbers: I (Psalm 40:14-18); II (Psalm 29:1-2 with *Alleluja* as Refrain; III (Psalm 111 complete); V (Psalm 145:3-4 with

³⁹³ Heinrich Schütz, *Kleine geistliche Concerte*, in: Heinrich Schütz – Sämtliche Werke, Vol. 6, ed. Philipp Spitta, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1887, p. 3.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Alleluja); VII (Psalm 30:5-6); VIII (Psalm 4:2 and at the end Psalm 5:3); IX (Psalm 1:1-3 with *Alleluja*); X (Psalm 51:12-14); XI (Psalm 14:2-3); XII (Psalm 9:12-13); XIII (Psalm 27:4); to No. XVI (Psalm 118:25-26 with *Hosianna in der Höhe* as appendix).

In the chorale concerto *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*, SWV 447 (arguably 1614) Schütz showed his ability to assimilate Italian music perfectly, both in rhetoric and recitative styles. Despite the Italian influence, he was always able to make use of the bases of his polyphonic education, as was evident in the imitative treatment throughout this work. *Erbarm dich mein* is an isolated work preserved in a manuscript of Royal Library in Uppsala and in the city library (*Stadtbücherei*) in Danzig (the source was destroyed in the 2nd World War). It is a polyphonic composition in five parts. The Uppsala bears the title *â .6. / Erbarm dich mein, ô Herr Gott. / Canto solo Con 5 viole. / 124. / Henric: Sagitt*. The indication of the parts is: *Violin: 1. — Violin: 2. — Viola. 1. — Viola. 2. — Baßus Violon — Baßus Cont.* (the voice-indication is not described). Like in his Becker Psalter, here Schütz has also used the original melody. Concerning its style, this piece is very close to that of “Was mein Gott will, gescheh’ allzeit”.³⁹⁷

In the Sinfonia, the first viol begins with the reversal of the chorale melody (b. 1-7). The chorale melody itself seems to be presented, though partially, by the bass (b. 1-5). In b. 6-7, the bass is following the leading of the first viol, making a cadence in G-Major. The second viol plays a third parallel to the first viol until in b. 4 where it introduces a motive related partially with the chorale melody (b. 4-7), which in turn will come up frequently in the cadences. The third and fourth viols seem to play a more accompanying role. In b. 8-14 we find the repetition of the first viol’s motive set in different rhythms: it begins on ‘false accent’ creating confusion when compared with its first appearance. The repeated motive is then continued with a balancing

³⁹⁶ Comp. Werner Breig, Art. “Schütz, Heinrich“, col. 400.

³⁹⁷ Heinrich Schütz, *Gesammelte Motetten, Konzerte, Madrigale und Arien*, in: Heinrich Schütz – Sämtliche Werke, Vol. 18, ed. Philipp Spitta, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927, p. XI.

descending scale preparing a cadence in E-minor. The second viol's motive in the beginning is taken up by the first viol in b. 21-27. The harmony moves from E-minor to B-minor, in which the beginning is introduced with a cross relation between the second and the first viol. In the last section of the Sinfonia the same motivic pattern is played again by the first viol in a sequence followed by a cadence in E-minor.

After the Sinfonia, the voice takes the place of one instrumental part perfectly integrated into the imitative style of the piece. The chorale melody is mainly presented by imitation of the voice part and the first viol, for most part in stretto. The rest of the strings, as already stated above, play a more accompanying role, though not without motivic pattern at all, at least partially. The chorale melody is first presented completely in the first viol (b. 36-46). The third viol in b. 37-39 begins with the end of the chorale melody of the first viol (b. 44-46), while in b. 44-45 the third viol presents the partial motive of the beginning of the chorale melody of the first viol (b. 39-42) twice faster, so that a symmetrical balance between both viols is established. The chorale is extended through repetition of the small phrase "Erbarm dich" in order to emphasize particular sections of the text (b. 39-44). This small phrase is composed three times in the same rhythmical pattern, before it continues in a rather irregular rhythm to musically express the anxiety of the soul. The fourth "erbarm" is interrupted by a quaver rest. Before being able to finish the phrase, the line continues with shorter note (a quaver) on the first and last syllable, followed immediately by a single word, which is again interrupted by a quaver rest, and finally speaks out its last fragmented prayer. This whole presentation from b. 39-44 is already a partial presentation of the first chorale line. Yet Schütz treats this partial phrase in an even more fragmented presentation. Here, the emphasis on a particular text's section is not done only through repetition, but also through interrupting rests, irregular rhythm and fragmented presentation of the text. It is interesting to observe that (if the interrupting rests are not considered) the rhythmically irregular phrase (b. 42-44) forms a chiasm-structure.

The first complete chorale melody presented by the voice part is found in b. 47-55. Schütz extends the line by adding the phrase “o Herre” three times, each time with suspended notes of the broken chords a-minor (51-53). On the grounds of certain structural weaknesses that cannot be overlooked, W. Breig believes that the date of composition should be about ten years earlier (1614)³⁹⁸ than the date suggested by H. J. Moser (1624).³⁹⁹ The weaknesses Breig means are, among others, the subordinate role of the inner parts of the viol chorus – though the role is indispensable – and the non-motivic bars of transition between the lines of the chorale. Upon a closer look at the bars of transition in 55-56, the first viol is the only part that has a motivic pattern.

The next line of the chorale melody is presented by the voice part in b. 57-61. This time, the chorale is extended in a different way from the former: the whole phrase is subjected to repetition. The first viol imitates and at the same time anticipates the chorale melody sung by the vocal part. There is a resemblance of motivic pattern in the third viol (b. 65-66). After one bar of transition, the vocal part sings the next chorale line in b. 68 followed by the first viol in b. 70, with the first three notes twice faster, so that a canon of one bar distance is established from b. 70-73. Schütz treats the words “mein Missetat” (b. 71-76) almost the same as the previous “o Herre” of the first chorale line. According to Spitta, there is a difference in b. 73-74 between the Danzig and the Uppsala: the Danzig shows the same treatment as the first chorale line, while the Uppsala shows a different version with syncopation, which corresponds more to the text (“mein Missetat”).⁴⁰⁰

Because the next chorale line is identical with the second one, the bars of transition in 55-56 are repeated in 77-78; in fact, the whole chorale line is a repetition of the second line. The next line is first introduced by the vocal part, followed imitatively in *stretto* by the first viol. A small phrase “gesündigt hab” is repeated for the sake of emphasizing this particular section. After this

³⁹⁸ Werner Breig, Preface to Heinrich Schütz, *Choralkonzerte und Choralsätze*, in: Schütz – Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Vol. 32, Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1971, p. XIV.

³⁹⁹ H. J. Moser, *Heinrich Schütz*, 2nd rev. edn. tr. C. F. Pfatteicher, St. Louis 1959, p. 481.

⁴⁰⁰ Philipp Spitta in: Heinrich Schütz, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 18, p. XI.

line, for the first time the inner parts of the viol chorus, which till now play only an accompanying role, take the leading role by playing the beginning of the next chorale line's motive (b. 94ff). When the voice part has finished its line, the bass continues with the similar motivic pattern of the chorale melody, an instrumental echo or extension of the word "stetiglich".

The next chorale line is presented first by the first viol in a 'false' accent followed by the vocal part in one and a half bars distance (b. 99ff). The text reads: "das Bös vor dir mag nicht bestehn." Schütz probably moves immediately to the next chorale line, without bars of transition, because of this text. The section "du bleibst gerecht" in b. 104-105 is the only section repeated which stands at the beginning of a chorale line (the other repeated sections are at the end of the phrases). After the phrase "ob man urteilt dich" has been sung three times, the viol chorus continues with a coda led by the first viol with the opening motive "du bleibst gerecht" and the closing motive very similar to that of "(nach deiner) großen Barmherzigkeit".

Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz, SWV 291 is composed for soprano, tenor, and basso continuo. Schütz treats this piece mostly in imitation or canon between both vocal parts and sometimes, also between the instrumental parts. This piece may serve as an example of a sacred concerto that is not bound to a chorale melody. The text is taken from Ps. 51:10-12 (or V. 12-14 in Luther's 1545 Bible edition):

Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz,
und gib mir einen neuen, gewissen Geist.
Verwirf mich nicht von deinem Angesicht,
und nimm deinen heiligen Geist nicht von mir.
Tröste mich wieder mit deiner Hilfe,
und der freudige Geist enthalte mich.

After the first motive has been introduced by the soprano, the tenor takes over the given motive and begins exactly with the same note. At first, the word "Herz" is harmonized on a suspended bass note resolved in *g#*, while at second time the same word lands on a perfect E-Major. The second ascending motive is presented for the second line (b. 9) followed by its imitation by the

tenor in a distance of sixth. Dominated by second intervals, this motive creates a contrast with the first one, which is dominated by third and fourth leaps. Just like in the first line, the last word of this second line lands first in F#-Minor (b. 13) before it is 'corrected' in E-Minor (b. 16). In the same bar, the note *c#* is naturalized into *c* in the first motive sung by the first soprano so that an expressive interval of minor second occurs. The first motive is presented completely by the bass in parallel with the tenor part (b. 18-22), which imitates in stretto the given motive by the soprano. The same motive is again treated imitatively, this time in three different points of entrance (b. 22-23). After the second ascending motive has been presented by the tenor, the soprano takes over the motive while the bass and the tenor imitate her in parallel (b. 32-36). The first part closes in A-Major.

An abrupt harmonic turn to F#-Major – Christoph Bernhard would call it “*Mutatio toni*” in his doctrine of music rhetorical figure – immediately follows as the second part opens (b. 37). Following the second motive of the first part, the motive of “*Verwirf mich nicht*” begins with second intervals while on the other hand, the motive of “*von deinem Angesicht*” (b. 40-41, soprano) contains third and fourth leaps and thereby corresponds more to the first motive of the first part. A tritone interval that is most suitable to the text suddenly appears after second intervals (b. 38-39). The phrase is then separated by a rest figure, which Bernhard would call “*Tmesis*” later. The phrase “*von deinem Angesicht*” is repeated and closed one tone higher in E-Major. The next phrase “*und nimm deinen heiligen Geist nicht von mir*” is closed with a plagal cadence. It is interesting to notice that the bass motive, which is presented in parallel with the tenor could be seen as somewhat related with the motive of “*schaffe in mir, Gott*” sung by the soprano in b. 15-17.

Although the third last part already starts in b. 57, the new rhythmical drive is not given until b. 59. The lively motive of “*und der freudige Geist*” contrasts with that of “*enthalte mich*” (b. 61-63, soprano). The phrase “*tröste mich wieder*” is presented in total five times (three times by the soprano and

two times by the tenor) while the section “und der freudige Geist” eight times (five times by the soprano and three times by the tenor). That the third part is meant to be a climax is clearly confirmed through the use of extensive diminutions in both vocal parts on the word “enthalte” (b. 72-76), which ‘supposedly’ should be presented in a more devout (*andächtig*) manner. This elaboration is perfectly consistent with what Schütz did with the cadences of his Becker Psalter. Moreover, it is also perhaps an allusion to Praetorius’s warning that too many long notes could make “der Text *mutiliret* vnnd zerstückelt den *Auditoren* viel Verdruß”.⁴⁰¹

In conclusion, Schütz extends the original chorale of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* in a variety of different ways and techniques. Sometimes, several techniques are applied together highly expressively (such as in b. 36-46).⁴⁰² The soprano is connected with a dense strings setting and declaims the text of the penitence song in an expressive and free dissection of the cantus firmus. The technique is developed by splitting-off, segmentation, insertion of rests and melismas. More than just providing the sonorous continuo realization, the instrumental parts are called on for text interpretation by being connected imitatively with the text. In the meantime, this piece anticipates some features that have been decisive to a great extent for the North German composition based on a chorale, as the tension between affectful sonority and formal complexity determines the specifically North German chorale arrangement.⁴⁰³ The concerto *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* reveals another aspect in Schütz’s compositional way, namely his dealing with a composition, which is not bound to a chorale or cantus firmus. The piece is composed in thorough continuity without silly interruption by rests, unless it is intentionally inserted for certain reason. The notes are treated carefully according to the word and its syllables. Long passages are introduced toward the end of the piece. All these features best reflect the ideal of a *Concerto* taught by Praetorius in his

⁴⁰¹ Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* III, p. 4.

⁴⁰² Werner Breig, Preface to Heinrich Schütz, *Choralkonzerte und Choralsätze*, p. XVI.

Syntagma. Like his *Erbarm dich mein*, the little concerto *Schaffe in mir, Gott* will prove to have considerable influence on later musical settings of Psalm 51 in Germany as we shall see in the works of the following composers in this study.

⁴⁰³ Friedhelm Krummacher, *Die Choralbearbeitung in der protestantischen Figuralmusik zwischen Praetorius und Bach*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978 (=Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft, Vol. 22), pp. 119-120.

3.3. Johann Hermann Schein (1586-1630)

J. H. Schein was born on 20 January 1586 in Grünhain bei Annaberg (Saxony) and died on 19 November 1630 in Leipzig. His father was a Lutheran priest and *magister* named Hieronymus Schein (1533-1593). In the year 1584 Hieronymus moved as parish priest to Grünhain, where he proved himself as “ein eyfferiger Bekänner” and advocate of Luther’s teachings; he also signed the *Konkordienformel*,⁴⁰⁴ so that Johann Hermann grew up in an atmosphere of strong confessionalism.

From his first marriage with Sidonia Hösel, Schein lost his three children very early, while from his second marriage four of five children died also very early: in 1626, he lost a child Johanna Elisabeth and in 1627, the year when he published his *Cantional*, he lost another child Johanna Susanna.

According to W. C. Printz, in their time, Schein, Schütz and Scheidt were considered as “die besten drey Componisten in Teutschland”, especially Schein was praised by Printz for his skill of the “Stylo Madrigalesco, in welchem er keinem Italiener / vielweniger einem andern etwas nachgeben doerffen.”⁴⁰⁵

3.3.1. Schein’s music aesthetics

In the motets collection *Cymbalum Sionium* (from the year 1615) Schein already tried to connect motetic and madrigalian writing.⁴⁰⁶ The spreading of Italian music in Germany occurred not only through the Frankfurt and Leipzig masses and the collected works, but also through the *Syntagma Musicum* of Michael Praetorius, an impressive witness in the knowledge of the fullness of Italian music. Praetorius mentioned Monteverdi’s *Marienvesper* from 1610 and the *Scherzi musicali* from 1607. According to Theis, there was a possibility, that through Praetorius, Schein became familiar with the

⁴⁰⁴ Arthur Prüfer, *Johann Hermann Schein*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁵ W. C. Printz, *Historische Beschreibung der Edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst*, Dresden 1690, p. 136.

⁴⁰⁶ This whole paragraph is a summary of the study on Monteverdi’s reception in J. H. Schein by Claudia Theis, “Claudio Monteverdi und Johann Hermann Schein”, in: *Claudio*

composition of Monteverdi, which he interested mostly in *Syntagma Musicum*, namely the *Marienvesper* from 1610. A comparison between Schein's chorale arrangement "Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott", the 23rd concerto of the 2nd part of the *Opella nova* with the Monteverdi's "Sonata sopra Sancta Maria" shows certain correspondence between both pieces, for instance, the motivic dependency of the instruments to the chorale and the parting of the piece by the chorale lines (vocal part). However, at the same time it also shows differences from Monteverdi's "Sonata". Monteverdi's is completely conceived from the instrumental part, as for example showed in the virtuoso part of the instruments, partially also in the sections with few parts. On the other side, Schein prefers the full-voiced setting, in which the instruments submit to the chorale mostly and more or less serve as accompaniment. In the "Admonitio" of his *Syntagma Musicum* Praetorius writes a type as VII-th kind, which Theis believes to be possibly stimulated by Monteverdi's "Sonata sopra Sancta Maria".

However, viewed from the perspective of reformational music aesthetics, Schein's compositional practice and Praetorius' description are echoing Luther's and especially Calvin's thought on the primacy of the word. Praetorius described it as followed:

"Diese Art / ist dahin gerichtet / daß / wenn in einer Stimme der *Choral humana Voce* gesungen wird / die andern alle / es sein nun / 2. 3. 4. 5. oder mehr Stimmen / ihre *Harmony Fantasien* und *Fugen* etc. Darzu führen / und allein mit *Instrumenten* zu den *Choral Musicirt* werden: Do denn der *Choral* in der Menschen-Stimme gar vernemblich und deutlich / gleich als wenn einer gar alleine in eine Orgel / oder *Regal* sünge / gehöret und vernommen werden kann: [...]"⁴⁰⁷

On one side, the Protestant church music should grant the clarity of the word. On the other side, it should be able to incorporate the Italian reception already transmitted by Praetorius. In the context of a piece with *cantus firmus*

Monteverdi und die Folgen, ed. by. Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinheuer, Kassel, etc: Bärenreiter, 1998, pp. 433-455.

⁴⁰⁷ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* III. *Termini musici*, Wolfenbüttel 1619, Faksimile-Nachdruck, ed. Wilibald Gurlitt, Kassel 1958 (= *Documenta Musicologica* 15), p. 190.

arrangement, Protestant church music thus should be able to integrate the chorale style and the concertizing style. Already Friedrich Blume has talked about “a certain solution of the problem ‘chorale and concert style,’” which is reached clearly and visibly in Schein.⁴⁰⁸ We shall see how Schein dealt with this problem, especially in his musical setting of Psalm 51.

3.3.2. *Cymbalum Sionium* (1615), *Opella nova* (1618), and *Cantional* (1627). Musical analysis of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*

The musical settings of Psalm 51 by Schein include *Gott, sei mir gnädig* in his *Cymbalum Sionium* (Leipzig 1615), and the hymn *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* which appears as sacred concerto in the *Opella nova I* (Leipzig 1618), as well as a simple setting in the *Cantional* (Leipzig 1627). *Cymbalum Sionium* (1615) is Schein’s first collection of sacred music printed in Leipzig. It was dedicated to the Count Christian Wilhelm at the end of April. Soon afterwards, Schein did not work in the service of Christian Wilhelm anymore but as a *Hofkapellmeister* in that of the Weimar Duke Johann Ernst Jr.⁴⁰⁹ *Cymbalum Sionium* is a collection of sacred composition, containing 5-12 voices motets Schein composed in the tradition of Lasso.⁴¹⁰ The texts of Psalms, Gospels and Song of Songs stand first in this collection.

In the *Opella nova I* (1618), one can sense the Italian reception that has transmitted through Praetorius. Already the title *Opella nova, Geistlicher Concerten, Mit 3.4 vnd 5. Stimmen zusampt dem General Baß, Auff Italiänische Invention Componiret* has betrayed us the indebtedness of this collection to the Italian manner. In this first collection, Schein still described himself as “*Musicus vnd Cantor zu Leipzig*”, but later on in *Opella nova II* (1626) as “*Director musici chori*“.⁴¹¹ The collection was dedicated to the

⁴⁰⁸ Friedrich Blume, *Die Evangelische Kirchenmusik*, Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1931, p. 105.

⁴⁰⁹ Walter Werbeck, Art. “Schein, Johann Hermann“, in: *MGG2*, Personenteil 14, Kassel 2005, col. 1251.

⁴¹⁰ Blume, *Evangelische Kirchenmusik*, p. 105.

⁴¹¹ Johann Hermann Schein, *Opella nova II*, in: Schein – Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Vol. 5, Kassel, etc: Bärenreiter, 1986, p. X.

“Fürnehmen Herren Bürgermeistern und gantzem Rath der Stadt Leipzig”.⁴¹² Also in this dedicatory epistle, Schein informed us that soon after the beginning of his service he had composed “etliche des Herrn Lutheri vnd anderer Geistreicher *Autorum* Christliche Gesänge *per Concerto* [...]”. That this collection was composed in a somewhat new genre was also stated by Schein: “weil diese Art der *Concerten* in gemein noch nicht allerdings bekandt.”⁴¹³ He had previously wanted to publish this collection but was prevented to do so due to “langwirige Kranckheit”. Feeling responsible to express his gratitude after his recovery, Schein published these *Concerten* to the aim “Gott zu Ehre / der Christlichen Kirchen zu Erbauung / wie auch sonsten ehrlichen der *Music* Liebhabern zu Ergetzung.”⁴¹⁴ The dedicatory epistle was dated on 1 August 1618.

The dedicatory epistle was followed by musical instructions *Ad Musicophilum*, in which Schein explained some instructions to performance practice of his *Concerten*:

“Allhier hast du vielgeliebter Leser [...] ein Wercklein Geistlicher Deutscher *Concerten*, deren beyde Discante, vnd der Tenor, wo er darzu kömpt / mit dem Text *vocaliter*, der Baß aber ohne Text *instrumentaliter*, als mit einer Trombone, Fagotto, Viola grosso, oder dergleichen (welcher auch wol / so man die Baß-Instrumenta nicht haben kann / gar außgelassen werden mag) in die Orgel / Clavecimbel / Tiorba / etc. Gesungen vnnd gemacht werden sollen.”⁴¹⁵

The *Basso instrumento*, consisting of “Trombone, Fagotto, Viola grosso”, is uniquely Schein’s. Such *Basso instrumento* is proposed neither by Scheidt in his *Geistliche Konzerte* (1631 ff.) nor by Schütz in his *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* (1636/39). Perhaps with this special Basso-instrumento-part Schein put into consideration the size of the Leipzig church.⁴¹⁶ In other words, it is necessary for bigger churches. However, if the instruments are not available, they may be left out.

⁴¹² Johann Hermann Schein, *Opella nova I*, in: Schein – Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Vol. 4, Kassel, etc: Bärenreiter, 1973, p. XI.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, p. XI.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. XI.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. XI.

That this collection of vocal concertos is a response to the style of Viadana's *Concerti* with obligatory basso continuo can also be read from this instruction *Ad Musicophilum*. Viadana's *Concerti* had been spread in Germany by the Frankfurt printers Nicolaus Stein since 1609, in which Heinrich Schütz was probably a co-editor.⁴¹⁷ Before Schein, the monodic impact on church music was transferred to Protestant Germany within the following decades through composers such as Michael Praetorius, but also Heinrich Schütz, and after Schein, Samuel Scheidt. Perhaps, Schein can be regarded as the most integrated in his approach of this monodic influence in his composition. Schütz is most interested in the pure Biblical texts, while he does not want to be bound to a cantus firmus. On the other hand, Scheidt tends to be most strongly bound to his treatment of chorale texts together with the melodies belonging to them. With his field of interest more or less evenly spread between chorale-bound and the rather free concerto, Johann Hermann Schein stands between both of them.⁴¹⁸ Already H. J. Moser had emphasized that with his solo concerts *Opella nova* of 1618/26, Schein had considerably stridden ahead from Schütz in his way to *Kleine Geistlicher Konzerte*.⁴¹⁹ Most importantly, with his concert work *Opella nova I* (1618), Schein proclaimed and prophesied the coming of the chorale cantata and the chorale concert.⁴²⁰

In the *Opella nova*, Hegewaldt's version appears as followed:

*Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott,
nach deiner großen Barmherzigkeit,
wasch ab, mach rein mein Missetat.
Ich erkenn mein Sünd und ist mir leid,*

⁴¹⁶ Adam Adrio, Preface to the *Opella nova I*, p. VII.

⁴¹⁷ Rudolf Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, Vol. 1: *Bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat d. DDR, 1909, p. 424.

⁴¹⁸ Søren Sørensen, "Johann Hermann Scheins 'Opella Nova'", in: *Renaissance-muziek, 1400-1600. Donum natalicium René Bernard Lenaerts*, ed. Jozef Robijns, Leuven 1969 (= *Musicologica Lovaniensia*, Vol. 1), p. 275.

⁴¹⁹ "[Schein] zeigt hier soviel Züge echter Innigkeit, ja sogar religiösen Ungestüms, daß ihm selbst bei gelegentlich etwas spielerischem Verweilen abseits soviel Künstlerrecht zugestanden bleiben muß, als bei Schütz für billig und erlaubt gilt" (Hans Joachim Moser, *Die Evangelische Kirchenmusik in Deutschland*, Berlin: Carl Merseburger, 1954, p. 140).

⁴²⁰ Søren Sørensen, "Johann Hermann Scheins 'Opella Nova'", p. 275.

*allein ich dir gesündigt hab;
das ist wider mich stetiglich,
das Best vor dir mag nicht bestahn,
du bleibst gerecht, ob du urteilst mich.*

Principally, there are only two types of composition in the *Opella nova I*: first with the setting for two sopranos and basso continuo, in which the cantus firmus serves as the source of inspiration for the motive carried out in concert style, and secondly, through an extension by a tenor, which presents the chorale melody line by line.⁴²¹ For *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*, Schein chooses the setting of two sopranos without a tenor. The cantus firmus is presented reciprocally by each soprano and is composed in diminution. The first soprano sings the beginning of the chorale melody with an alteration on the third note creating chromatic line from *g* to *a*. Compared with Schein's *Cantional*, the phrase "o Herre" undergoes an extension twice longer, on which Schein begins the first diminution in this piece. The diminution continues in the next chorale line. Instead of with *g*, Schein begins the line with *g#*, a resemblance of the word "dich" on the first line, but also an artistic decision made for the sake of intensifying the holy grief. Except at the beginning (b. 1), which consistently reflects the chorale melody, the basso continuo plays motivic independent line as instrumental support. Like in the case of Heinrich Schütz, certain partial phrase of the chorale line is repeated for the sake of emphasizing the words. In b. 4-5, Schein repeats twice the phrase "nach deiner", before he presents the whole line in the second soprano to be taken over again by the first, so that the entire second line is presented altogether three times. Viewed harmonically, the first and second presentations of the second line end in E-Major, that is, in a more stable plagal cadence than the third one, which ends in A-Major. Perhaps we may interpret them as a kind of musical commentary, through which the composer wants to describe that the hope of the soul is not without doubt and anxiety.

⁴²¹ Walter Werbeck, Art. "Schein, Johann Hermann", col. 1260.

The third chorale line is composed mostly imitatively. Schein divides this line into two phrases. The first phrase is intensified through descending chromatic scale in both sopranos (b. 11-12), while the second phrase is characterized by the longer note's value on the word "Missetat" (b. 13, first soprano) or "rein mein Missetat" (b. 13-14, second soprano). In b. 14, the chorale melody is presented partly by the second soprano and then taken over by the first soprano (b. 15). The motive is repeated in reversed role with obvious modification at the first soprano: the word "mein" is placed as syncopation while the word "Missetat" is set in a rush descending scale (b. 16).

The fourth chorale line starts with the note $g\#$ instead of g so that a leap of diminished fourth is introduced. The note $g\#$ as the beginning has already been used in the second chorale line, but there is no abrupt interval as it does here. Obviously, the musical decision is made with the consideration of the texts. The second line contains hope of forgiveness in God's mercy ("nach deiner großen Barmherzigkeit") while this fourth line is about bitter self-knowledge or painful confession ("Ich erkenn mein Sünd"). In b. 18, Schein interrupts the phrase in both sopranos with rests. Like in the case of Schütz, here Schein uses rests to express the humble confession of the sinner before the presence of God. Such great awareness of sin is effectively described in fragmented and interrupted phrase.

After the fourth line, Schein cites the cantus firmus of the fifth chorale line more freely. The interval diminished fourth, the 'ich erkenn' motive, as has been used in the previous line is kept (b. 19); and because the note g is altered to $g\#$, the harmony filled by the basso continuo falls on E-Major while the next beat is suggested by Karl Hasse to be figured as second, fourth and seventh, so that the note c' is harmonized in C-Major (with the bass on d).⁴²² A cross relation will occur if this harmonization is chosen. A particular section of the text is again emphasized by Schein in this chorale line (b. 21–

⁴²² Johann Hermann Schein, *Opella nova I*, in: Johann Hermann Schein Sämtliche Werke, Vol. 5, ed. Arthur Prüfer, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1914, p. 69.

22). Like in the third chorale line (b. 14–15, first soprano), Schein freely approaches the repeated section from above. From the perspective of word-tone relation, the descending scale might be interpreted as a gesture of worship. Again, the original note *g* of the chorale melody is altered to *g#* (b. 21, second soprano) while the first soprano presents the second half of this fifth line more faithfully to the chorale melody (b. 22-23).

On the contrary, the sixth chorale line is presented rather freely by the first soprano, which leads the other soprano in syncopated rhythm. The ‘ich erkenn’ diminished fourth interval occurs between both sopranos (b. 23). The second half of the chorale line is presented neither by the first nor by the second soprano. Perhaps this line is more conceived from the harmony than from the melody.

The cantus firmus of the second last line is sung by the second soprano, while the first soprano responds freely after the given motive. In a reversed order, the last chorale line is proposed first by the first soprano while the second soprano answers in the same ascending direction. Although the ascending melody on the phrase “du bleibst gerecht” and the descending melody on “ob du urteilst mich” are originally from the chorale melody of Johann Walter, Schein tries to stress this contrast in this concerto by consistently approaching the melody from below and from above in both vocal parts. The only exception is found in the second soprano (b. 31-32), but we have already noticed in previous lines that many times Schein also approaches the cantus firmus from above. In other words, the motive proposed here by the second soprano is not a response to the original motive in the first soprano (b. 31), but can also be considered as a modified cantus firmus. The second half of the last chorale line is mostly presented by the second soprano (b. 30), but its first note is introduced by the first soprano (b. 29). It is interesting to note that at this moment, the special diminished fourth interval appears for the last time. Finally, although both sopranos sing descending motive in the second half of the last line, the cantus firmus cannot be found in both vocal parts; it is exceptionally presented this time by the basso continuo.

Unlike Schütz who uses the later version, Schein uses the version “ob du urteilest mich” as has been used in original version of the Saxon hymnbooks.⁴²³ This version has its certain advantage compared to the later one: theologically the phrase suits the whole picture better if one would like to sing the first verse of Hegenwaldt’s rhyme setting only, as the message is then closed with God’s righteous judgment on a sinner who asks for forgiveness of sins. Theologically interpreted, the ascending motive of this last chorale line might reflect a doxology while the descending motive might symbolize the justification of the sinner by God’s good judgment.

Now we will move to Schein’s setting of the same Psalm in his later work. Schein’s *Cantional* (1627) was his last collection of sacred music. Like Schütz who was encouraged to publish his Becker Psalter in the tradition of Lucas Osiander in 1568 and Calvisius’s *Harmonia cantionum ecclesiasticarum*, Schein, who was the successor of Calvisius, felt rather obliged to continue the tradition set by the example of his predecessor as Thomaskantor.⁴²⁴ In the preface to the *Cantional* 1627 Schein finally described himself as “*Director der Music [...] in beyden Kirchen vnd Gemeinen allhier zu Leipzig*”.⁴²⁵ The first edition of Schein’s *Cantional* contained 286 songs with 228 settings, while the second, which was prepared by his successor Tobias Michael in 1645 was enlarged with 22 more funeral pieces by Schein.⁴²⁶ Five of the 26 funeral songs (no. 245-249) were for members of his family.⁴²⁷ In this collection, Schein included several of 17th century German falsobordoni. Like

⁴²³ Compare Luther’s translation and the original Hebrew text explained in Chapter 2.2.

⁴²⁴ Kerala J. Snyder, Art. “Schein, Johann Hermann“, in: *NGrove2*, Vol. 22, ed. Stanley Sadie, London 2001, p. 463.

⁴²⁵ Johann Hermann Schein, *Cantional Teil 1*, in: Schein – Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Vol. 2, ed. Adam Ario, Kassel, etc: Bärenreiter, 1965, p. X.

⁴²⁶ Walter Werbeck, Art. “Schein, Johann Hermann“, col. 1260.

⁴²⁷ Kerala J. Snyder, Art. “Schein, Johann Hermann“, p. 463.

in Praetorius' *Musae Sioniae*, those pieces in Schein's *Cantional* are also classical and conservative in their style. The text is principally the same as that of Schütz. There are some minor differences though between them:

Schein

Schütz

1. Das Böß für dir mag nicht bestahn,
du bleibst gerecht, ob d'urteilst mich.
2. Sieh Herr, in Sündn bin ich geborn,
in Sündn empfang mich mein Mutter.
Die Wahrheit liebst, tust offenbarn
deiner Weisheit heimlich Güter.
Bespreng mich, Herr, mit Isopo,
rein werd ich so du wäschest mich,
weißer denn Schnee, mein Ghör wird
froh,
all mein Gebein wird freuen sich.
3. der willig Geist enthalt mich dir.
4. Beschirm mich, Herr, meins Heils
ein Gott,
für dem Urteil durchs Blut bedeut,
mein Zung verkünd dein rechts
Gebot;
5. Kein leiblich Opfer von mir heisch,
betrübt und traurgs Herz
darneben

- Das Böß vor dir mag nicht bestahn,
du bleibst gerecht ob man urteilt dich
(The whole second verse is missing in
Schütz – Neue Ausgabe)
- der willig Geist erhalt mich dir.
- Beschrim mich, Herr, mein Heil,
mein Gott,
vor dem Urteil durchs Blut bedeut,
mein Zung verkünd dein recht
Gebot,
- Kein leiblich Opfer von mir heischst,
betrübt und traurigs Herz
daneben.

In Schein's *Cantional*, we can find complete chorale melodies of both parts of the *Opella Nova*. Although the later-published *Cantional* has a more simplified version of contrapunct than the *Opella Nova*, it is perfectly legitimate to investigate how *Opella Nova* has influenced the settings of the *Cantional*. In the first chorale line, an almost identical harmonization as the one in *Opella Nova* is used, with the exception of the sixth chord which is different, hence the melodic alteration to *g#*. The bass in both settings is the

same. Like the first chorale line, the comparison of the second line is characterized by different harmonization at the beginning: E-Major – A-Minor because of the *g#* (*Opella Nova*) and the original melody beginning with the note *g*, hence E-Minor – C-Major (*Cantional*). In *Opella Nova*, Schein has extended the second line by presenting it three times: the first and the second are closed in E-Major (b. 4, 7) while the third time in A-Major (b. 9). In the *Cantional* he chooses to end the phrase in A-Major. The fifth chorale line of the *Cantional* is started with a new chord of E-Minor followed by A-Major sixth chord – D-Major – G-Major, etc, while in the *Opella Nova* the first syllable of the phrase is still in the harmony of the last chord of the previous phrase (A-Major), immediately followed by F-Major (on the second syllable) – E-Major (because of the melodic alteration *g#*), etc (b. 19). In this respect, the *Cantional* uses a more natural harmonic turn than the more expressive of the *Opella Nova*. As already noted above, in *Opella Nova* the sixth chorale line is modified enormously free by Schein. If we look at the harmonization of the sixth line compared with that of the *Cantional*, we can conclude that there is little similarity between both. Even the end of the phrases is not closed with the same chord (E-Major in the *Opella Nova*; A-Major for the *Cantional*). Such an expressive chord like E-Augmented in the *Opella Nova* (b. 23) cannot be found anywhere in the *Cantional*. On the contrary, the harmonization of the seventh line in the *Cantional* corresponds very much with the one in the *Opella Nova*. Finally, the bass used in the *Cantional* setting can be traced back to the *Opella Nova* in b. 27 and 29-30 (with a slight alteration on the note *c#*). Both pieces are closed in the same E-Major chord.

It can be concluded that Schein uses not only more simplified contrapunct in his *Cantional*, but also simpler harmonizations than his treatment in the *Opella Nova*. More chromatic and expressive chords were introduced in the earlier works, strongly associated with its melodic alteration such as the case with the note *g#*. Many harmonizations, even some of the bass settings of the *Cantional* can be found in the *Opella Nova*, so that to a certain extent, the earlier work has served as a model for the later more simplified settings.

Lastly, Schein's uses of more natural, 'older' harmonic turns in the *Cantional* has pointed to the fact that he differentiates two kinds of liturgical music: the one being used for congregational singing, and the other written in the performance concertizing style. They are both distinctive and yet cannot be separated.

3.4. Samuel Scheidt (1587-1653)

Samuel Scheidt was baptized on 4 November 1587 in Halle (Saale) and died on 24 March 1654 in the same town. It is plausible that the young Scheidt visited the famous organist meeting 1596 in Gröningen, so that a contact with Michael Praetorius would have been possible,⁴²⁸ with whom he also closely cooperated from 1614 to 1616 for the reason that Praetorius was a court conductor (Kapellmeister) “von Haus aus” in Halle since about 1615. Also with J. P. Sweelinck, Scheidt had a contact when he went to Amsterdam, probably from 1607 to 1609.⁴²⁹ From 1631 to 1640, four of six intended volumes of his sacred concertos were published (the last two volumes never appeared). During that time, in 1636, Scheidt lost four of his children within a month when a plague hit Halle. Like Schein, who ended his sacred works with the *Cantional*, Scheidt’s final publication was his *Tabulatur-Buch Hundert geistlicher Lieder und Psalmen* (the so-called *Görlitzer Tabulatur*), a collection of four parts chorale settings which were composed to be played on an organ or to be sung. It is a return to the simple four parts setting dedicated for congregational use.

3.4.1. Scheidt’s music aesthetics

Eighty percent of Scheidt’s complete works are cantus firmus arrangement or parodies.⁴³⁰ It shows that for Scheidt the bond to the chorale melody plays an important role. Scheidt seemed to be concerned about how his audience could relate themselves to a piece of music such as a sacred concerto. Although Scheidt followed the style development of his time, his music led to a certain Protestant style of his own, which was mostly dedicated to cover the needs of congregational music. Blume wrote one must accept that music of higher affection content and stronger personal imprint has been intended more for

⁴²⁸ Hendrik Dochhorn, Art. “Scheidt, Samuel“, in: *MGG2*, Personenteil 14, Kassel 2005, col. 1217.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 1217.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 1244.

private devotion than for public service.⁴³¹ Scheidt changed the art of fuguing-concertante motivic setting of chorale-based composition developed by Praetorius to motivic anticipation line by line, which respectively then led to the intact and coherent melody in longer note values of the cantus firmus and in the chordal setting.⁴³² Of the three great S, Scheidt was the least adventurous in his compositional style and the most devoted to the chorale. In his late confession Scheidt stated, “I stay with the pure old composition and pure rules.”⁴³³ His conservative manner can be found in his *Geistliche Concerte*, where an effort to strive for gravity and simplicity stronger than the ones in *Concertus sacri* (1622) and *Lieblichen Krafft-Blümlein* (1635) is noticeable through the preferential treatment of longer note values.⁴³⁴ It should also be noted, that his interest for concerto is mainly as a form and not as a vessel of strong affective expression.⁴³⁵

3.4.2. Geistlicher Concerten Ander Theil (1634). Musical analysis of Miserere mei Deus and Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott

Scheidt’s *Geistliche Concerte* appeared in four volumes, forming the most extensive work area with its 212 numbers. The second volume contains 30 numbers. Also in this second part, we could know that Scheidt originally planned to publish this collection into six volumes. In the appendix of the second part, Scheidt made a remark for the publishers, in which he offered larger versions of these concertos provided with symphonies:

“Diese erzehlte Geistliche *Concerten*, welche also mit wenig *Vocal* Stimmen können *musiciret* werden / seynd auch von mir mit vielen Stimmen *componiret* in vnterschiedene Theil / als nemlich mit 8. 12. Stimen / zwey / drey / vier Choren / mit Symphonien, vnd allerley Instrumenten / auch viel *Tabulaturen* auff der

⁴³¹ “[...] daß Musik von höherem Affektgehalt und stärkerer persönlicher Prägung eher für die Privatandacht als für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst bestimmt gewesen ist“ (Friedrich Blume, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, Kassel, etc: Bärenreiter, 1965, p. 139).

⁴³² Werner Braun, *Die Musik des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Laaber 1981 (=Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft, Vol. 4), p. 198.

⁴³³ “Ich bleibe bei der reinen alten Komposition und reinen Regeln” (letter to H. Baryphonus on 26 January 1651; quoted after Blume, *Geschichte der ev. Kirchenmusik*, p. 137).

⁴³⁴ Doehhorn, Art. “Scheidt, Samuel“, col. 1242.

⁴³⁵ Blume, *Geschichte der ev. Kirchenmusik*, p. 137.

Orgel zugebrauchen / Wer lust hat solche zur Ehre Gottes zuverlegen / vnd zu drucken / kan sie jederzeit von mir mächtig seyn.⁴³⁶

Christhard Mahrenholz interpreted Scheidt's remark above and saw the predominant small setting concertos as reduction forms in war situation.⁴³⁷ In his preface to Scheidt's *Geistliche Konzerte Teil I* edited by Mahrenholz himself it is even said that the published concertos are *Torsi*.⁴³⁸ However, observed from the available choice of setting, it can be concluded that the form of the *Geistliche Konzerte* is a result of the composer's artistic decision: "a large part of these collections is composed for three voices, approximately a third for four to six voices; some musical instruments are even required in *Miserere mei Deus* (SSWV 223) and *Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott* (SSWV 312)."⁴³⁹

The 30 compositions of this second volume consist of 1 ordinarium of the mass service (No. 17); 1 ordinarium of the vesper service (No. 28); 7 biblical pieces which consist of 6 pieces from Psalms (No. 2, 6, 8, 21, 25, 26) and 1 piece from the Gospel (No. 4); 5 other liturgical pieces which consist of 1 thanksgiving (No. 27), 2 pieces for the Lord's Supper (No. 29, 30) and 2 pieces for the burial (No. 7, 24); and in total 16 songs which consist of 2 Passion songs (No. 15, 16), 2 catechism songs (No. 10, 14), 2 evening songs (No. 13, 20), 1 song on life and way of life (No. 5), 3 Psalm songs (No. 11,

⁴³⁶ Samuel Scheidt, *Geistliche Konzerte Teil II*, in: Samuel Scheidts Werke, Vol. 9, Hamburg 1960, p. XI.

⁴³⁷ "Bereits 1631 besetzten die Kaiserlichen Halle wieder, und wenn auch die Schweden bald die Stadt zurückgewannen, so hat doch dieser, ebenso wie ein späterer Überfall der österreichischen Truppen der Stadt Schäden zugefügt, von denen sie sich erst in viel späterer Zeit erholt hat. Erst im Jahre 1634 [...] faßte Scheidt wiederum neuen Mut und sandte in diesem und im folgendem Jahre zwei weitere Teile der Geistlichen Konzerte in die Welt. [...] Die Zeitlage schien so günstig zu sein, daß Scheidt wieder an eine Verlegung der vielstimmigen Urform und damit an eine Fortsetzung der Concertus sacri I zu denken wagte" (Christhard Mahrenholz, *Samuel Scheidt. Sein Leben und Sein Werk*, Leipzig 1924, p. 18).

⁴³⁸ "Die Geistlichen Konzerte in der uns im Druck vorliegenden Gestalt sind Torsi, sowohl was den Umfang wie was die Faktur anbetrifft" (Mahrenholz in: Scheidt, *Geistliche Konzerte Teil II*, p. XIV).

⁴³⁹ Dochhorn, Art. "Scheidt, Samuel", col. 1242.

12, 22), 4 songs on cross and comfort (No. 1, 9, 19, 23), 1 song on Word of God and Christian church (No. 3) and 1 song on death and dying (No. 18).⁴⁴⁰

In the context of the second volume of *Geistlicher Concerten*, the polyphonic psalm setting *Miserere mei Deus* occupies a remarkably special place not only because of its Latin text, but also because of its vocal-instrumental setting. According to church orders of Halle, the use of Latin language in the service was still far more common at that time.⁴⁴¹ Both the vocal as well as the instrumental parts are regulated by the stylistic features of the motetic principle. Even the instrumental parts are provided with text so that it can be concluded that Scheidt composed the instrumental parts as directed by the text with its considerable implication: the instrumental parts can or even must be read as textual statement. Other concertos also composed in motetic style in this volume are *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott, Aus tiefer Not, Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund, Herr Jesu Christ, wahr Mensch und Gott* (1st and 2nd Pars), *Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahn* (1st Pars).⁴⁴²

Besides the two vocal parts (cantus and tenor) Scheidt uses in his *Miserere*, a low-registered gamba quartet, which represents the vocal parts alto, tenor 2, bass and sub-bass (all other pieces mentioned above are composed for cantus, tenor, bass and basso continuo). The cantus firmus in this Latin text setting is borrowed by Scheidt from the chorale melody *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*, at least from its first two lines (b. 1-8, soprano). After presenting the first chorale line in the cantus voice, the alto takes over the cantus firmus, which consistently appears in the form of a counter-subject as the reversal of the first chorale line (b. 3-5).

The second chorale line is presented first imperfectly by the cantus in b. 4-8: first, because of the beginning *g#* (certainly modified for the sake of intensified mood which corresponds fitly to the text), second, through the

⁴⁴⁰ The division on the songs follows essentially Schein's *Cantional* 1627, whose division Scheidt's *Görlitzer Tabulatur 1650* was also based on (Scheidt, *Geistliche Konzerte Teil II*, p. XII-XIV).

⁴⁴¹ Erika Gessner, *Samuel Scheidts Geistliche Konzerte*, Berlin: Merseburger, 1961 (= *Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 2), p. 42.

⁴⁴² Compare Gessner, *Samuel Scheidts Geistliche Konzerte*, p. 41.

interruption of a rest and thirdly by the absence of the note *g*. Its presentation with a closer motive appears one bar later through the imitation in the second viol da gamba (b. 5-8), which is preceded by the entrance of the first motive in the tenor voice. Sometimes both motives are interwoven one after another in a very close sequence such as in b. 7-9. The basso continuo wanders back and forth between the beginning motive of the first chorale melody and the counter-subject. Although the piece is generally obliged to the *stile antico*, the specified distribution of six voices on two (solo) vocal parts and gamba quartet makes the piece at the same time closer to the concerto practice of the *stile nuovo*.⁴⁴³

After its presentations, twice, by the cantus and tenor voice, the first chorale motive appears in b. 10 (bass viola), b. 11 (cantus), b. 13 (second gamba) with its partial repetition in b. 15-16 while the counter-subject is further presented in b. 15-17 (bass viol), b. 16-19 (tenor), b. 18-20 (alto), and partially in b. 19-21 (third gamba together with the continuo). After the polyphonic setting, Scheidt turns to a rather homophonic chordal setting with tone repetitions when the text reaches “*miseriordiam tuam*” (b. 23-25). There is no motivic connection with the chorale melody *Erbarm dich mein*. The same applies to the next phrase “*secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum*”, perhaps with the exception in the melodic line of the cantus (b. 25-28) which can be interpreted as somehow related to the motive “*gesündiget hab*” (harmonically it is the same as what appear in most cantional settings). Through the cross motive sung by the tenor (b. 26-27), Scheidt comments musically, together with Luther and Arndt, that David’s prayer and the forgiveness of his sin is not granted without Christ. The word “*multitudinem*” is repeated, occupying altogether five bars (29-33) and is set in a homophonic setting especially in the vocal parts.

After the cadence is closed in A-Major (in the continuo), Scheidt changes the harmony directly to A-Minor in the repetition of the phrase “*miserationum*

⁴⁴³ Compare Adam Adrio, Preface to Samuel Scheidt, *Geistliche Konzerte Teil II*, in: Samuel Scheidts Werke, Vol. 9, Hamburg 1960.

tuarum” (b. 36). The melody presented by the tenor, though not completely, is somehow related to the motive of the second chorale line (“secundum magnam misericordiam tuam”). The next motive sung by the cantus on the same phrase (b. 38-40) characterized by the leap of diminished fourth ($g\# - c'$) is imitated by the tenor in a more gradual melodic line (40-41).

The last phrase “dele iniquitatem meam” is first presented in homophonic setting. The psalmodic style, the melody of the top voice and even the harmony are very similar to that of Praetorius. After the homophonic treatment, Scheidt continues to polyphonically use special intervals on the word “iniquitatem” ($d'-g\#-c'-e$ in tenor), which also forms a cross motive. Such a difficult motive to sing is not reserved only for the instrumental parts. It is even first introduced by the tenor in b. 45, imitated by all parts and is taken over by the soprano in b. 50. In b. 51-52, the cross motive appears more smoothed compared to the first one, hence its first note ($a-g\#-c'-e$ in cantus) while finally, before the whole piece is closed with the plagal cadence, the cross motive on “iniquitatem” in all vocal parts has already been ‘deleted’.

Another setting of Psalm 51 by Scheidt is Hegenwaldt’s *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*, SSWV 232, in his *Geistlicher Concerten [...] Ander Theil* (Halle 1634). While *Miserere mei Deus* is composed basically in motetic principle with an inclination towards the concerto style, the piece *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* is basically composed also in motetic principle but with a slight tendency to monodic principle. In his writing of the development of monodic principle in the Protestant church music, Blume has already reasonably questioned whether the word *Choralmonodie* is not a self-contradictory term.⁴⁴⁴ Later on he tried to resolve the tension with his own statement, namely that “der Komponist eine ganz persönliche Stellung zum

⁴⁴⁴ On *Spruchmonodie* Blume writes, “es sind nur die in der Gattung der Monodie selbst gegebenen Bedingungen, daß der textliche Gehalt vom Komponisten in eine ausdrucksereifere Linie umgesetzt wird, die sich dann aus ihrem Texte heraus ihre künstlerische Gesetzmäßigkeit schaffen muß. Im übrigen gibt es keinerlei Einschränkungen, weder durch die Form des Textes noch durch einen *cantus prius factus*, noch auch zwingt der Text dem Komponisten irgendwelche Assoziationen auf, die ihn zu einer bestimmten Behandlungsweise nötigen. Er darf das gegebene Schriftwort behandeln, als ob es eine

Choraltext einnehmen und ihn zum Ausdruck seiner persönlichen Affekte und Seelenregungen machen kann.”⁴⁴⁵ We may further ask how Scheidt has made the chorale text the expression of his personal affections.

In the index Scheidt himself notices: “Daß etliche *Dissonantē* in diesem Psalm ist mit Fleiß *componiert* wegen deß Textes.”⁴⁴⁶ From this remark, one can know that the new music conception already started to penetrate into the chorale composition. Although Scheidt’s decision for a conscious interpretation of the text does not transform the piece into a monody, that is, to a complete personalization of contents, it does go in that direction through the composer’s personal addition or modification of the chorale melody. Blume explains: “er ersetzt noch nicht die traditionelle Chormelodie und übergeht noch nicht deren Gliederung, aber er variiert sie, er fügt Neues hinzu, und zwar Neues nicht aus einem rein musikalischen Bedürfnis heraus, wie etwa ein Motettenkomponist der älteren Zeit Kontrapunkte erfindet, um den Satz lebendig zu machen, sondern aus dem Inhalt des Textes heraus.”⁴⁴⁷

The first chorale line is first presented in the cantus voice before being taken over by the tenor, which presents Scheidt’s personal motive taking the form of a counter-subject of the chorale motive. Such a somewhat ‘modern’ treatment makes it possible to express the subjective conception of the text and because the motive is taken or modified from the cantus firmus, the text is not interpreted freely by any outer musical thoughts other than the cantus firmus itself. In other words, for Scheidt, *the text is its own interpreter*. Viewed from the perspective of reformational thoughts, Scheidt’s compositional practice corresponds not only with reformational accent on the prior importance of the word but also with the famous hermeneutic principle *Scriptura sacra sui ipsius interpres*.

Äußerung seiner eigenen Person wäre“ (Friedrich Blume, *Das monodische Prinzip in der protestantischen Kirchenmusik*, Leipzig 1925, p. 110).

⁴⁴⁵ Blume, *Das monodische Prinzip*, p. 111.

⁴⁴⁶ Samuel Scheidt, *Geistliche Konzerte Teil II*, in: Samuel Scheidts Werke, Vol. 9, Hamburg: Ugrino, 1960, p. XII.

⁴⁴⁷ Blume, *Das monodische Prinzip*, p. 116.

The motive of the first chorale line and its reversal are presented consecutively equal in all three vocal parts (b. 1-9). The entrance of the coming vocal part falls always on the word “Herre” (b. 2, 4, 5, 7), with the only exception in the second bass’ entrance which starts immediately in the same bar as the previous tenor entrance (b. 7), so that in b. 8 a rhythmical change occurs in the tenor: the phrase “o Herre Gott” is placed on ‘false’ accent. This ‘confusion’ is even strengthened with an unusual quarter upbeat preceded by a quarter rest. This first quarter upbeat seems to anticipate its next appearance in the following (same) phrase (b. 10). The counter-subject, however, is different: a chromatic ascending scale fills in a fourth interval in the tenor (b. 10-12) before it is responded by another chromatic scale in the opposite direction: a *passus duriusculus* (b. 12-14). Whether the ascending chromatic motive or its reversal that came first in the composer’s mind is not clear: the ascending motive certainly has a strong relation with the original chorale melody of the phrase “Erbarm dich mein” which also extends in fourth interval; on the other hand the chromatically descending motive is the anticipation of the “Barmherzigkeit” motive in the next chorale line (b. 14-15, tenor). Perhaps it is safe enough to assume that through his personal chromatic line addition, the composer wants to highlight the chiasm structure in the melody of the first two chorale lines, especially in the phrase “Erbarm dich mein” and “Barmherzigkeit”. Theologically interpreted, in the prayer for forgiveness of sin there is already hope in God’s mercy.

The second chorale line is first presented by the tenor and afterward imitated by two other vocal parts in *stretto* (b. 13-14). A cross relation occurs in b. 16 between cantus and tenor while the bass repeats the phrase with a quarter upbeat. The quarter upbeat is then enhanced in the simultaneous entrance of tenor and bass, even the cantus starts at the same beat (b. 18). The composer seems to distinguish the rather polyphonic “nach deiner” from the more stable homophonic “großn Barmherzigkeit” (b. 16-20). The musical commentary is obvious: with the transition to homophonic setting, it is preached that the anxious praying soul can rest assured in God’s mercy.

The third chorale line is first introduced by the tenor (b. 20), the phrase is interrupted by a quarter rest and starts again with a quarter upbeat (b. 21). A dissonance between cantus and tenor is created on the word “Missetat” (b. 22). The soprano imitates the given motive by the tenor precisely, except where he has to begin the next line consistently with the note *g#* instead of with *a*. From this point of view we can conclude that the note *a* in the tenor (b. 22) is intentionally composed to emphasize the word (Scheidt could have composed *g#* instead and would have maintained an exact imitation in the cantus afterwards). Besides, starting the next fourth line with *g#* will connect strongly the phrase “ich erkenne” and “mein Missetat” (the move from *a* to *g#* in the soprano will be heard as a reminiscence of the same move in the tenor). That this fourth chorale line starts with *g#*, we might assume that Scheidt could have borrowed the special fourth interval (“ich erkenn” motive) from Schein.

However, unlike Schein, Scheidt’s interweaving treatment of both third and fourth chorale lines has made his composition unique (b. 22-27). Though he never studied theology like Praetorius, such treatment may show Scheidt’s sensibility for poetic parallelism as well. The parallel fifth (cantus – tenor) and seventh (cantus – bass) which appear twice (in A-Minor and E-Minor) in b. 27-28 are noteworthy. The text reads: “und ist mir leid”. After the phrase is closed in E-Major the bass starts with C-Major. As already noted above in the composition of Praetorius, this is a typical feature of the Roman Falsobordone-Psalms. Nevertheless, this harmonic turn is commonly used to start a new phrase while here Scheidt has used it to repeat the same phrase again (b. 29). This time the phrase has the note *g* as its beginning. The falsobordone is clearly presented in b. 32-33 where at the same time the sequence motive “und ist mir leid” already presented in b. 27-28 comes up again in longer note value and in syncopation (b. 32-33 in soprano, 34-36 in tenor). In total, the fourth chorale line occupies 14 bars (b. 23-36).

After the previous chorale line closes in E-Major, the fifth chorale line follows smoothly in A-Minor (b. 36). Again, this line is treated imitatively in

stretto. With a fifth leap, the bass part gives a tonal answer (b. 37-38). The phrase “allein ich dir gesündigt hab” is repeated by the soprano and modulated from G-Major to C-Major (b. 40-41). For the sake of representing certain word insistently, Scheidt does not hesitate to use seventh interval. In the repetition of “gesündigt hab” the note *c* in the soprano creates dissonance intervals both with the tenor and basso continuo (b. 42). Other seventh intervals which are used in relation with the word “Sünde” can be found in No. 14 of this second volume.⁴⁴⁸

The sixth chorale line is first presented imitatively in stretto (b. 43-48), then in homophonic setting (b. 49-51). Scheidt thought of modulation sometimes in modi while other time in Major-minor context. For instance, in b. 45-46, the bass imitates the previous two vocal parts consistently with the note *Bb* instead of *B*, but in b. 47 (tenor) and b. 48 (bass) the soprano is imitated with the note *b*. After the complete presentation in all three vocal parts, the word “stetiglich” is repeated by all parts in the same motive but at different pitch. After the short homophonic section, another repetition occurs. Like in Schein, harmonically viewed, the end of this phrase is closed in A-Major instead of in the more stable plagal cadence of E-Major (b. 53). The reason is surely to be found in the text.

The seventh chorale line is first introduced by the soprano, and then imitated by the tenor and the bass. The different starting notes of the tenor and the bass are interesting: first, the tenor imitates the beginning of the chorale melody *e' – a'* with *b – e'* but the bass imitates with *A – e*. Here again we can note that Scheidt treats the imitation ‘inconsistently’ (read: variably) between modal and tonal answer. The different beginning seems to be guided by the harmony set by the *bassus generalis*. This may serve as another confirmation that in this piece, Scheidt moves back and forth between the old modi and the new Major-minor harmony. Also at the end of this chorale line, the harmony is kept to close in G-Major with its consequence: the soprano has to modify and modulate the chorale motive (b. 60).

⁴⁴⁸ Bar 12 (cantus), bar 14 (tenor).

It seems that the G-Major is aimed for the sake of the coming eighth chorale line, which starts in C-Major (b. 61). Moreover, here the chorale motive is presented unfaithfully to the original: instead of in *b*, the phrase ends in *c'*. Again, the modification seems to be done in favor of the C-Major harmony. Even the imitative motive in the bass is wholly conceived from C-Major chord (as the second inversion of the given motive). The harmonic decision for C-Major is not made without good reason if one looks at the text, which reads: “du bleibst gerecht”. This short phrase is extended by the composer in fourth ascending motive creating a character of doxology just before the next last phrase.

The last chorale line enters best prepared by the treatment of the previous line: first, the fourth descending motive appears as the reversal of the previous fourth ascending motive; secondly, the longer note values counterbalance the four-times-faster movement of the previous line; thirdly, the chordal homophonic setting contrasts with the polyphonic imitative setting. In another context, the fourth ascending and descending motives of the last two lines are reminiscence of the same fourth motive of the first and second chorale lines. Scheidt’s personal addition manifested in his chromatic scales (first chorale line) finds thus its final *re-objectification* in the diatonic scales of these last two lines. The personal struggle for God’s merciful act should finally be brought to face God’s righteous judgment.

Unlike Schein, Scheidt uses the later version “ob man urteilet dich” so that there is certain variance of theological meaning compared to the original version. While from the original version we can understand “ob du urteilst mich” as God’s gracious justification towards the sinner, the phrase “ob man urteilet dich” cannot be interpreted likewise. It is rather a description of God as a sovereign judge, whom no one can accuse for unrighteous judgment. If the theological meaning is to be understood as so, then the composer has to find a way to resolve the problem of a piece that ends in the doctrine of God as a righteous judge rather than a forgiving God. Scheidt seems to be aware of the difficulty of using only the first verse of Hegenwaldt’s paraphrase.

Brilliantly, Scheidt resolves the problem by quoting the motive of “Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott” in the phrase “ob man urteilet dich” (b. 70-71, soprano; the first note of the motive is to be found in the last note of the tenor) before it is closed with a plagal cadence in E-Major (three notes *e* and one *g#*). Theologically speaking, the piece ends with a last plea for God’s mercy in the midst of his righteous judgment before it is positively answered by the final harmony of God the Trinity and the redeemed soul.

3.5. Andreas Hammerschmidt (1611/12-1675)

Andreas Hammerschmidt was born in 1611 or 1612 in Brüx (Bohemia) and died 1675 in Zittau. Three of six children from his marriage in 1637 with Ursula Teuffel died at infancy. It is possible that for liturgical use at the Petrikerche, Hammerschmidt might have composed the first part of his *Musicalische Andachten* (1639).⁴⁴⁹ The last position of his career was his appointment in Zittau at the Johanniskirche, where good possibilities for the realization of the concerted style were offered since the church owned three organs opposite each other.⁴⁵⁰ Although during the Thirty Years War the school and the choir were decimated, Hammerschmidt seemed to be unimpaired to publish new compositions every year, mostly in extensive collections, in whose prefaces among others Johann Rist and Heinrich Schütz contributed their laudatory poems.

3.5.1. Hammerschmidt's music aesthetics

Although Hammerschmidt was one of the most popular composers of sacred music in Germany in the seventeenth century, his life and works had been the focus of controversy within the context of Lutheran theology of music. While the exact nature of the criticism is not known to us due to the lack of extant sources, there is a possibility that the critical voices were directed at Hammerschmidt's compromise in his attempt to integrate the new Italian style in his compositions.⁴⁵¹ On one hand, Hammerschmidt was aware of those voices who criticized the uncritical reception of foreign styles into sacred music. Wolfgang Silber explained for instance:

⁴⁴⁹ Johannes Günther Kraner & Steffen Voss, Art. "Hammerschmidt, Andreas", in: *NGrove2*, Vol. 10, ed. Stanley Sadie, London: Macmillan, 2001, p. 733.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 733.

⁴⁵¹ For this whole section, compare the study by Jack W. Schmidt, "A composer's dilemma: Andreas Hammerschmidt and the Lutheran theology of music", in: *The Choral Journal* 40 (1999), pp. 21-31. Here I try to offer a summary of Schmidt's study, which mostly derived from Irwin's research.

“Nowadays the abuse in figural music is fairly widespread in the churches, namely that everything must proceed in Italian and French manner with hopping and jumping.”⁴⁵²

Other challenges to the uncritical importation of Italian styles into the church service are voiced by a group of Rostock theologians such as Theophilus Grossgebauer, Joachim Lütkemann, and Heinrich Müller. In his *Wächterstimme aus dem verwüsteten Zion*, Grossgebauer expressed his concern:

“And just as the world now is not serious but frivolous and has lost the old quiet devotion, so songs have been sent to us in Germany from Italy in which the Biblical texts are torn apart and chopped up into little pieces through swift runs of the throat.”⁴⁵³

Even Hector Mithobius, who principally supported the incorporation of figured music in the church service and reacted against Grossgebauer’s criticism in his series of sermons published as the *Psalmodia Christiana* (1665), had his own difficulties when he also criticized the improper use of Italian music in the church service:

“The wanton, frivolous, confused, and overly ornate manner of singing and playing, with all too many startling coloratures and strange runs, where everything is fighting and simultaneously laughing and hopping in and through everything else as if one were in a pleasure house or worldly gambling house, has never been praised by honorable people, much less by upright Christians.”⁴⁵⁴

On the other hand, some other musicians who celebrated the new Italian style were not content with more ‘conservative’ musical compositions that were done obstinately in the older musical style such as motet. Of the older motet-style, F. E. Niedt for instance stated that he will “leave the explanation of the motet to those Thuringian peasants who have inherited them from his time,

⁴⁵² Wolfgang Silber, *Encomion Musices: Lob der Edlen Kunst der Musicen*, Leipzig 1622; trans. Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone*, p. 39.

⁴⁵³ Theophilus Grossgebauer, *Drey Geistreiche Schrifften/ 1. Wächterstimme aus dem verwüsteten Zion/ 2. Praeservativ wider die Pest der heutigen Atheisten/ 3. Alte Religion*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1710, pp. 208-209; trans. Irwin, p. 84.

⁴⁵⁴ Hector Mithobius, *Psalmodia Christiana...Das ist, Gründliche Gewissens-Belehrung/ Was von der Christen Musica, so wol Vocali als Instrumentali zu halten?*, Jena 1665, pp. 269-270; trans. Irwin, p. 96.

just as the Altenburg peasant girl inherits her boots from her ancestors, or the Spaniards their short cloaks.”⁴⁵⁵ Beside Niedt, Johann Mattheson also criticized Hammerschmidt of his treatment of articles, prepositions, conjunctions, etc., in which he also commented that “words, in which neither emphasis nor affect lie, must not be subjected to repetition.”⁴⁵⁶ He cited several examples of Hammerschmidt’s poor text setting and concluded, “Hammerschmidt has truly made an annoyance from these.”⁴⁵⁷

Hammerschmidt was fully aware that his works stood as a *via media* between the demands of those who sought for the incorporation of the present style and those who wanted the older devotional pieces. He was aware that such compositions could not please everybody. In his Preface to the *Musicalische Gespräche, über die Evangelia*, Hammerschmidt wrote:

“To Mr. Know-it-all or to fault finders, I recommend that they become acquainted with my *Chor-Music*, and to take the trouble if they can to publish something better. Should, however, another find things about the present style of music in this my *Evangelia* that displeases (sic) him, he should ponder and ask his excessive cleverness if he, I, one or the other, could achieve such that would be correct and pleasing to each and every one in the world.”⁴⁵⁸

However, there were other voices, who highly appreciated Hammerschmidt’s works for their accessibility to the congregation and their devotional characters. Mithobius praised Hammerschmidt for his representative excellence in sacred music:

⁴⁵⁵ Friedrich Erhardt Niedt, *Musicalischer Handleitung Drittel Theil*, Hamburg: Benjamin Schillers, 1717, p. 34.

⁴⁵⁶ “Wörter, darin weder *emphasis* noch Affect lieget, dürffen nicht repetirt werden“ (Johann Mattheson, *Critica Musica*, Vol. 2, Hamburg 1725, p. 376).

⁴⁵⁷ “Auf dieses [...] hat Hammerschmid gar eine Schleiffe gemacht” (Ibid., p. 376); Jack W. Schmidt concludes that the criticism towards Hammerschmidt “highlights the dilemma faced by composers who attempted to compose works that incorporated aspects of the modern Italian style in a manner accessible to the musicians of the small northern German villages” and that such works as Hammerschmidt’s “satisfied neither the demands of those seeking works of great artistic merit nor the demands of those desiring simple devotional songs” (Jack W. Schmidt, “A composer’s dilemma: Andreas Hammerschmidt and the Lutheran theology of music”, in: *The Choral Journal* 40 [1999], p. 26).

⁴⁵⁸ Andreas Hammerschmidt, “Preface, Part One, Sixth Stimme,” *Musicalische Gespräche über die Evangelia*, trans. by Harold Mueller, *The Musicalische Gespräche über die Evangelia of Andreas Hammerschmidt*, 2 Volumes (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Rochester, 1956), Vol. II, p. 152.

“So also examples are well-known to us in this congregation when the music on high festival days has been especially delightful: when Hammerschmidt’s six-part piece, “Who Will Roll Away the Stone?” was sung on Easter, godly women poured out many tears from heartfelt devotion.”⁴⁵⁹

In addition, Johann Bähr, who was perhaps the most dedicated supporter of Hammerschmidt, devoted almost a whole chapter of his *Musicalische Discurse* to an argument of Hammerschmidt’s importance, especially in the context of church music in German small villages. In the case of Hammerschmidt, one of the root problems in church music aesthetics appears to us clearly, namely the tension between congregational music and performance music as has been handed down ever since before the reformation. The concern for the comprehensibility and accessibility of music for the sake of the simple congregation corresponds with the teachings of the Reformers. On the other side, we must ask whether no kinds of figured music can be compatible with the reformational music aesthetics or whether that kind of music can be viewed not only from- but also within the reformational music aesthetics. Hammerschmidt and the previous composers before him too had taken their artistic decisions to solve the problem. The various treatments by different composers give us a glimpse of how rich and diverse a musical work could be in responding within the context of theological debate around the music understanding during that time.

3.5.2. Musicalische Andachten Ander Theill (Freiberg 1641). Musical analysis of Schaffe in mir, Gott and Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott

The most part of Hammerschmidt’s works are represented by his church vocal music accompanied with music instruments. That is the case with the first part of the *Musicalische Andachten* (1639), which contains songs mainly for two or three, some for four solo voices, the first number for one voice. The settings for two equal voices (optional between soprano and tenor) pre-

⁴⁵⁹ Hector Mithobius, *Psalmodia Christiana...Das ist, Gründliche Gewissens-Belehrung/ Was von der Christen Musica, so wol Vocali als Instrumentali zu halten?*, Jena 1665, p. 306; trans. Irwin, p. 96.

dominate this first part. All of them are accompanied by the basso continuo, the so-called *Geistliche Concerten*. These works stylistically stand more closely to L. Viadana's *Concerti ecclesiastici* and Praetorius' Bicinien than to the monody.⁴⁶⁰ It can perhaps be understood as homage to Heinrich Schütz, through whose works Hammerschmidt, who has never been to Italy, primarily has learned about the new Italian manner.⁴⁶¹ Schütz himself had published his *Kleine geistliche Konzerte mit 1–5 Stimmen* in 1636 and 1639. Beside Schütz, Samuel Scheidt had published his *Neue geistliche Konzerte mit zwei und drei Stimmen samt den Generalbaß* in 1631 and 1634. Lastly, two parts of Schein's *Opella nova* were published in 1618 and 1626. It is not impossible that Hammerschmidt knew the works of the last two composers mentioned above so that it can be assumed that *Musicalische Andachten* stand on the tradition of the three great S.

Single part pieces by Hammerschmidt are to be classified as motet rather than cantata because they follow narrowly the technique of the old motet: for every text section, one new motive is invented and carried out briefly; beside that, ongoing melody, which is later described as *arioso*, cannot be found there.⁴⁶² The settings of hymn texts extend to almost a quarter of the second part of the *Musicalische Andachten*.⁴⁶³ This collection contains in total 34 sacred madrigals to German words for four to six voices. The second collection can be divided into two groups:⁴⁶⁴ Numbers 1-12 are four voices (C, A, T, B) and with its stronger word-tone relation, particularly the more frequent use of dissonances and chromatic, correspond rather to madrigal style. The last group (no. 13-34) on the other hand stands out due to concerto style in which Hammerschmidt distinguishes between favorite singers and the

⁴⁶⁰ Diana Rothaug, Art. "Hammerschmidt, Andreas", in: *MGG2*, Personenteil 8, Kassel 2002, col. 489.

⁴⁶¹ Hammerschmidt reports on "Verrichtungen" in Dresden, in which he has heard works of Schütz and Italian masters (Preface, 1671).

⁴⁶² Hugo Leichtentritt, Preface to Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Ausgewählte Werke*, in: DDT, Vol. 40, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910, p. VI.

⁴⁶³ Rothaug, Art. "Hammerschmidt, Andreas", col. 489.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 489.

reinforcement of a small chorus, a “Capella, so nach beliebung gebraucht oder außen gelassen werden kan”.⁴⁶⁵

In *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz*, Hammerschmidt, like Schütz, composes only three verses from Psalm 51. The text reads as followed:

*Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz,
und gib mir einen neuen, gewissen Geist.
Verwirf mich nicht von deinem Angesicht
und nimm deinen heiligen Geist nicht von mir.
Tröste mich wieder mit deiner Hilfe,
und den freudigen Geist erhalte mir.*

Hammerschmidt composed this piece in motetic style. It starts in psalmodic style (tone repetitions) and is set in homophone, creating an atmosphere of fervent prayer. The second half verse “und gib mir einen neuen, gewissen Geist” is set imitatively between the bass and the alto and tenor, who sing in third parallel. Both the beginning bass and alto motives and that of “ein reines Herz” form a symmetrical structure: the ascending fourth leap in the bass mirrors the descending fourth leap while the downward step of the alto reflects the upward step of the first soprano (b. 3-4 and 5-6). When the “gewissen Geist” is reached, the rhythm slows down to half notes (b. 9). The first half verse is repeated two times and the second half verse three times. Viewed harmonically, the closing cadences of this repetition are in C-Minor (b. 10) – G-Minor (b. 19) – C-Minor (b. 25).

The next verse “Verwirf mich nicht” is characterized by third leaps downward which are used to express the casting away.⁴⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that the word “nicht” has the same note as the initial note. Although Hammerschmidt also takes advantage of half rests to separate “verwirf mich nicht” from “von deinem Angesicht” (in alto and second bass), the later phrase is distinguished from the former mostly through a contrast between

⁴⁶⁵ Title page of the *Musicalische Andachten II*.

⁴⁶⁶ The motive with third leaps downward followed by an upward leap can be found in Schütz’s version in the same verse, but Schütz used them in “von deinem Angesicht” (b. 40-41).

polyphonic and homophonic setting as well as between the quarter notes and the slowing down half notes motion (b. 31-35); because standing before God's presence requires a quiet and devout mode. The first half verse is presented two times: the first is closed in the dominant of C-Minor (b. 37), while the second in the tonic of Eb-Major (b. 42). The second half verse is typified by its chromatic line (b. 42-44, soprano) and the pleading ascending slurred motive on the word "nicht" (b. 45-48, b. 66-69).

The application of ternary bar toward the end of the piece, especially at places with joyful excitement can be said as being originated from the motet. If Schütz needed only two bars to present the first half verse "Tröste mich wieder mit deiner Hilfe", Hammerschmidt had used 15 bars (b. 73-87) before he moved to the second half verse. Rather difficult to understand is the insertion of the general rests between "Tröste mich wieder" and "mit deiner Hilfe" (b. 77, 82) but also between the same repeated phrase (b. 85). Viewed from the perspective of the use of rest as a rhetorical figure, to insert a rest in a phrase that utters more continuity rather than discontinuity⁴⁶⁷ could indeed be perceived and experienced as "an annoyance".⁴⁶⁸

There is certain motivic – especially rhythmical – association with Schütz's version in the second half verse "und den freudigen Geist" (Hammerschmidt b. 88-92; Schütz b. 59-61). While Schütz introduced the sequential repetition upward, Hammerschmidt presented the sequence downward. Hammerschmidt emphasized the word "mir" more than "erhalte" by repeating "mir" with melisma (b. 95-96). The complete second half verse is presented in total three times, the first being closed in G-Major (b. 98), the second in C-Minor (b. 108) and the last in C-Minor (b. 119, 125). In the third presentation, the fourth leaps of Schütz's version are for the first time (and for the last time) introduced by Hammerschmidt (b. 111-114, sopranos). As the last comparison with Schütz: if Schütz had used extensive diminutions on

⁴⁶⁷ Compare with the more plausible use of rest in the previous verse between "Verwirf nicht" and "von deinem Angesicht".

“enthalte” to build a climax toward the end of the piece, Hammerschmidt’s most elaborate melisma was also to be found on the same word, but in much simpler version (b. 115-117, second bass). Hammerschmidt chose to end the piece as it was in the beginning, namely with a homophonic chordal setting.

Erbarm dich mein is the only number in the second part of the *Musicalische Andachten*, which is formed as chorale motet with cantus firmus. The chorale melody is presented imitatively, mostly in stretto. The first chorale line is first introduced by the tenor, with an alteration of the third note into *g#* creating chromatic line from *g* to *a*. From this fact, we can assume that Hammerschmidt most probably knew Schein’s and Scheidt’s settings since they both began the first chorale line with the same alteration. Rhythmically, the chorale motive is started with a whole note followed by two half notes, rather than being divided again into two quarter notes so that the motive is presented in a written out accelerando. Hammerschmidt interprets the anxiety of the soul in a fleeing melodic movement. The acceleration is suddenly brought to a halt by a whole note placed on unaccented beat on the word “Herre”. The second soprano imitates the given motive faithfully, before in the third bar the first soprano presents the motive without the second acceleration and the syncopated beat (b. 3-5). The bass seems to present a counterpoint to the chorale motive but only for the first four notes (b. 3-4) while the alto is responsible for filling in the harmony.

The second chorale line has the second soprano already entering (b. 5) prior to three other voices (A, T, B) finishing their presentation of the first chorale line. After the rather unfaithful imitation by the alto (b. 6-7), the bass imitates the given motive more faithfully at a fifth lower (b. 6-8). Hammerschmidt tries to integrate the first and second chorale lines by interweaving the motives of both lines: not only has the second line already been introduced when the first line has not yet completed its course, the second line is also presented imitatively in different voices, while the first

⁴⁶⁸ See Mattheson’s statement above. Although this piece did not belong to the examples which were criticized by Mattheson, in the same section Mattheson also criticized Lasso for the improper use of rests (Mattheson, *Critica Musica*, p. 377).

chorale line is kept present in the first soprano (b. 6-13). The message is quite the same as that which can be found in the previous composers: The prayer for forgiveness of sin stands on the ground of God's great mercy.

For the persistent prayer of the first soprano, Hammerschmidt repeats the small phrase "Erbarm dich mein" variously: first by setting the first syllable with quarter note preceded by quarter rest (b. 6 and 7); secondly through adding a 'personal' chromatic line (b. 8-9 and 10-11). Both practices might be borrowed from- and reflect Hammerschmidt's indebtedness to Scheidt. After her perseverance in singing the first chorale line, the first soprano is finally supported by two other voices (alto and bass) in b. 12. The first soprano and the alto move in a chromatic parallel sixth creating, with other voices, a harmony of B-Major. It is interesting to notice that the composer put the phrase "erbarm dich mein" in the first soprano, alto and bass together with the word "Barmherzigkeit" in the second soprano. Perhaps it is a decision made from his sensibility in recognizing certain rhyme between both phrases.⁴⁶⁹

In b. 13 the third chorale line appears in the tenor while the other voices, again, have not yet completed the previous line, so that both motives (of the first or third and the second chorale line) are interwoven together. In the first soprano's imitation the word "Missetat" is fragmented through an intrusion of a quarter rest (b. 16), a practice that can be found in Schein's version, though it is used in another phrase.⁴⁷⁰

The fourth chorale line comes out in b. 18 with upbeat, just short before the third chorale completes its course. Since the third and fourth chorale lines are parallels, combining both lines as what has been done before will create a redundancy. Therefore, this fourth line is carried out separately with one exception: the consistent first soprano who steadily sings the phrase of the first chorale line (b. 18-25). Her tireless effort reaps its reward when first two other voices (alto and tenor) join her lamentation in b. 24 while the other two voices (the second soprano and bass) follow one or two bars later. It is

⁴⁶⁹ The rhyme is not to be taken for granted as coming from the original chorale melody since the first chorale line ends up with "o Herre Gott".

⁴⁷⁰ Schein uses the intrusive rests in the phrase "und ist mir leid" (b. 18).

certainly not a coincidence that the same B-Major chord in b. 24 is placed in the intersection of the phrases “erbarm dich mein” and “und ist mir leid” that again sound rhymed. In this case, the structure of repetition is naturally guided from the repetition in the original chorale melody. In place where the bass sings “erbarm dich mein” lastly (b. 26), the phrase is composed in chordal homophonic setting as a refrain to the first four chorale lines before it moves to the next two lines.

The fifth chorale line is again presented imitatively in *stretto*. Hammerschmidt musically expresses the anxiety of the soul before God’s presence by setting the text in the rapid movement of quarter notes (second soprano in b. 29 and 31; alto in b. 30 and 34; tenor in b. 30 and 32-33; bass in b. 31 and 33-34). The word “gesündigtet” is repeated in the second soprano (b. 29) and tenor (b. 30-31); the phrase “allein ich dir” is repeated in the bass (b. 30-31); the phrase “allein ich dir gesündigtet” is repeated in the second soprano (b. 31), tenor (b. 32-33) and bass (b. 32-33); the whole phrase of the chorale line is repeated mainly in the alto (b. 30-35) but also in the tenor (b. 33-35) and in the bass (b. 34-35); finally the first soprano sings the phrase only once before she returns to her perpetual phrase of request (b. 31). The overall picture depicted from the different treatment of each voice in this fifth chorale line conveys an impression of isolated and scattered invocations heard from all corners, which form no unity since sins have corrupted. Therefore, there is no true fellowship but rather fragmented plurality. Before it moves to the next chorale line, Hammerschmidt emphasizes the importance of the phrase by treating it in chordal homophonic setting (b. 36). The word “dir” is the first word that the homophonic setting starts with.

The motive of the sixth chorale line is first presented in the tenor (b. 37), then in the first soprano (b. 37), in the second soprano (b. 38), and in the bass (b. 38), while the alto is the only part which does not present the motive completely. The word “stetiglich” is set to music by placing melisma on the first syllable while the last two syllables are set in two shorter notes so that the steadiness of sin is expressed in the prolongation of the first syllable while its

suppressing power is expressed in the rather accented presentation of the last two syllables. The same kind of setting of this word can be found both in Schütz's (b. 97) and Scheidt's (b. 45ff) versions. But unlike Scheidt who needed in total ten bars to set this sixth chorale line, Hammerschmidt used only half of it. It seems that the composer has decided not to invest in a lot of spaces to express certain phrases that could potentially be attractive and important for other composers. On the contrary, Hammerschmidt closes the sixth chorale line with the phrase "erbarm dich mein" which functions as a refrain after the last two chorale lines. A very brief dialogue between the two outer voices (second soprano and bass) and the inner voices (alto and tenor) takes place before the refrain is set homophonically (b. 42-44).

The seventh chorale line starts exactly on the beat where the refrain sings its last word (b. 44). This seventh line, too, needs no more than four bars to finish its course (b. 44-47). The chorale motive is first presented by the first soprano, imprecisely imitated by three other voices (A, T, B) and more faithfully by the second soprano. While the basso continuo plays quarter notes at the beginning (b. 45), it slows down in the next bar to half notes, perhaps as an anticipation to the next motive of the last chorale line presented by the first soprano. Three voices (second soprano, tenor, and bass) close the seventh line with the refrain "erbarm dich mein" (b. 48-49) while the other two do not.

The last chorale line is first introduced by the first soprano who starts the line after two whole rests, while the alto jumps directly into the last line in quarter notes altogether confirming and 'correcting' the cadence in C-Major that has already been reached 'falsely' before (b. 47).⁴⁷¹ The second soprano sings the first half of the last line in whole notes (b. 49-51) while the alto, tenor, and bass sing the same phrase in rapid quarter notes (b. 50-51), creating

⁴⁷¹ The cadence in C-Major in b. 47 has certainly to be viewed first and foremost as the end of the seventh chorale line sung by the four voices other than the first soprano. However, if it is viewed from the perspective of the phrase sung by the first soprano, the C-Major is placed precisely at the beginning of the next phrase.

a character of doxology, although it is not written in ascending motive like in the case of Scheidt.⁴⁷²

Unlike Scheidt, Hammerschmidt used the earlier version for the last phrase “ob du urteilst mich”. However, he seemed to have different understanding from Schein who also used the earlier version. While Schein understood the phrase as God’s righteous judgment in his saving work towards the sinner, Hammerschmidt understood the same phrase as God’s righteous judgment in the sense of Luther’s theological use of the law: from the judgment of God’s perfect law, the sinners are made known that they are under condemnation and therefore if they want to be saved, they need to ask for God’s forgiveness and accept the Gospel of Christ. Hammerschmidt has resolved the inconclusive ending by adding the phrase “erbarm dich mein” which has already been anticipated before as a refrain. Perhaps, even this phrase as refrain occurred in the composer’s thoughts from the fact that he would need a closing prayer for forgiveness to ‘soften’ the inescapable God’s judgment in the previous phrase “ob du urteilst mich”. In this respect, Hammerschmidt’s composition best reflects the use of Psalm 51 as an *enthymeme*.⁴⁷³ The ‘missing premise’, that is, the answer of the last prayer is to be found in the proclamation of the Gospel of Christ’s saving work.

It is evident in the musical analysis that Hammerschmidt stands as a middle way between the newer Italian influenced music style and the older conservative style. The first piece for instance has the formal construction of a motet; however, it has to be performed in solo voices. While in most motets one can set every voice double or triple, this practice is not permitted in the sacred concertos.⁴⁷⁴ Despite written for solo voices, Hammerschmidt has composed with a minimal use of melisma compared with the more extensive elaboration that can be found in Schütz’s version. In such pieces like this, we can actually trace a transition form from motet to cantata.⁴⁷⁵ In the second

⁴⁷² Scheidt’s version in b. 62-63.

⁴⁷³ See Johann Arndt’s understanding of Psalm 51 explained in Chapter 2.5.

⁴⁷⁴ Hugo Leichtentritt, Preface to Andreas Hammerschmidt, in: DDT, Vol. 40, p. VI.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. VI.

piece *Erbarm dich mein* one can see more clearly his position as standing on the tradition of the three great S. This musical setting of Psalm 51 is certainly not as bad as his music critics had uttered. Moreover, may be they overlooked what Bähr had seen as the special strength in Hammerschmidt's music, namely his love to the simple congregation of the small village churches:

“He is also the one (this is largely the reason for his immortal fame) who has maintained the music in nearly all village churches to the present day, which a thousand artists with their leaps and contra-fugues have been unable to do; because they wanted only to be noticed and not heard, their capriciousness could not be understood by the simple country folk as easily as Hammerschmidt's work.”⁴⁷⁶

Perhaps it is not fair to say that Hammerschmidt had failed to please both sides of music lovers for he had to bear the cross of someone who stood precisely where aesthetic flux of music history was just happening.

3.6. Christoph Bernhard (1627-1692)

Christoph Bernhard was born on 1 January 1628 in Kolberg, Pomerania (now Kolobrzeg, Poland) and died on 14 November 1692 in Dresden. During his posting in Danzig he probably studied with the elder Kaspar Förster as well as possibly with Paul Siefert and very likely with Marco Scacchi in Warsaw.⁴⁷⁷ From this fact, we can assume that Bernhard should have known Scacchi's report on the quarrel between Siefert and Förster. Between 1650 and 1657, Bernhard made two journeys to Italy. The knowledge of the double choir technique and the Palestrina's style, which Heinrich Schütz had previously handed down to him in Dresden, were consolidated during the first of the two journeys.⁴⁷⁸ Bernhard's second Italian journey lasted for a shorter period than the first, i.e. three quarters of a year, according to Mattheson. During this second journey, Bernhard undoubtedly furthered his knowledge of the "Stylus theatralis insgemein".⁴⁷⁹ Bernhard's warm relationship with Heinrich Schütz and the benefits he derived from the close acquaintance to the celebrated composer are well documented. However, there are no documents suggesting the nearer character of the teacher – pupil relationship.⁴⁸⁰

3.6.1. Bernhard's music aesthetics

From his three musical treatises,⁴⁸¹ the most detailed and perhaps the best known is the *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, which discusses musical-rhetorical figures. Bernhard might have written this treatise at the end of the

⁴⁷⁶ Johann Bähr, *Musicalische Discourse*, Nürnberg: Peter Conrad Monath, 1719, pp. 72-73.

⁴⁷⁷ Kerala J. Snyder, Art. "Bernhard, Christoph", in: *NGrove2*, Vol. 3, London 2001, p. 438.

⁴⁷⁸ Folkert Fiebig, *Christoph Bernhard und der stile moderno*, Hamburg: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1980 (= *Hamburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 22), p. 53.

⁴⁷⁹ Christoph Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, Ch. 35.

⁴⁸⁰ Wolfgang Horn, "Die Kompositionslehre Christoph Bernhards in ihrer Bedeutung für einen Schüler", in: *Schütz-Jahrbuch 17* (1995), p. 98.

⁴⁸¹ *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier, Tractatus compositionis augmentatus and Ausführlicher Bericht vom Gebrauche der Con- und Dissonantien*, in: *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung seines Schülers Christoph Bernhard*, ed. Joseph Müller-Blattau, Kassel, etc: Bärenreiter, 2003.

1650s.⁴⁸² Scacchi has distinguished three styles (church, chamber, and theater) from two other styles (antique and modern). Bernhard's teaching is highly reminiscent of Scacchi's practice in distinguishing three styles (*stylus gravis* or *antiquus*, *stylus luxuriante communis*, and *stylus theatralis*), whereas Bernhard's generic terms *stylus gravis* and *stylus luxurians* represent *prima* and *secunda practica*.⁴⁸³ In *stylus gravis*, the harmony commands more attention than the text as the harmony is the mistress of the text; in the *stylus luxuriante communis* any of the two (the text and the harmony) can be the mistress; finally, in the *stylus theatralis* there is only one rule: "Oratio Harmoniae Domina absolutissima."⁴⁸⁴ The general rule is that the composer "die Rede aufs natürlichste *exprimiren* solle",⁴⁸⁵ which is aimed at "einen guten Effect in Bewegung der Gemüther".⁴⁸⁶

On the other hand, there are some remarks that surpass the representation of affections to suggest a relation to rhetoric. In his German compositions, Bernhard followed the notation classified by him as *Contrapunctus luxurians*, which consists of "theils ziemlich geschwinden Noten, seltzamen Sprüngen, so die *Affecten* zu bewegen geschickt sind, mehr Arten des Gebrauchs derer *Dissonantzen* (oder mehr *Figuris Melopoeticis* welche andere *Licentias* nennen [...])" and better word-tone relation.⁴⁸⁷ According to Eggebrecht, there are three functions of the music rhetorical figures: as means of structure, as "expressio textus" and furthermore as "explicatio textus".⁴⁸⁸ In other words, certain music rhetorical figures contain not only affective elements, but also intellectual interpretation of the text. Eggebrecht believed that the "explicatio textus" function in particular arose fundamentally from the common conception of Protestant composers in Germany. They comprehend their

⁴⁸² Andreas Waczkat, "Claudio Monteverdi und die deutsche Musiktheorie", in: *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen*, ed. by Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinheuer, Kassel 1998, p. 469.

⁴⁸³ Müller-Blattau, *Kompositionslehre Schützens*, p. 19; Waczkat, p. 469.

⁴⁸⁴ Bernhard, *Tractatus*, Ch. 35, in: *Kompositionslehre Schützens*, p. 83.

⁴⁸⁵ Bernhard, *Tractatus*, p. 83.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

⁴⁸⁸ H. H. Eggebrecht, "Über Bachs geschichtlichen Ort", in: *Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. W. Blankenburg, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970, p. 255 and 257.

office as preaching office to consist in proclaiming the Word of God, a conception handed down by Praetorius. They wanted to declare as well as interpret God's Word as sounding preaching (*praedicatio sonora*) like had been understood by Luther. In this respect, the music rhetorical figures served as tools or means to another end. Although the German Protestant composers used the same means as the Italian composers, the Protestant composers such as Bernhard objectifies the musical means in the doctrine of music rhetorical figures while the Italians were content to include and express the affective aspect of the text.⁴⁸⁹ Effectually, Bernhard enabled a deeper text interpretation.⁴⁹⁰

Before Bernhard, Joachim Burmeister in his *Musica Autoschediastike*⁴⁹¹ had defined the *poeticum decorum* in a sense that the music rhetorical figures is granted by a clarification or explanation of the text.⁴⁹² In his exposition on music rhetorical figures, Ruhnke also clarifies that both the *elegantia* and the interpretation of the word cannot be separated sharply.⁴⁹³ In this regard, the music rhetorical figures had always been connected with the idea of text explication in Protestant Germany. That the "expressio textus" comes second after the "explicatio textus" is also attested in Bernhard's treatise *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier*, where he demands that the comprehension of the words be taken into consideration. He complains about bad singers, who understand no Latin or Italian language and yet sing a passage on the word *Confirmatio* or make a running notes upwards by which he wants to embellish the word *Abyssus*.⁴⁹⁴ Even though there are some eminent affections that one can represent in the music such as joy, anger, sadness, meekness, etc, one has

⁴⁸⁹ Compare Fiebig, p. 134.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 134.

⁴⁹¹ Joachim Burmeister, *Musica Autoschediastike*, Rostock 1601.

⁴⁹² "Poeticum decorum est harmoniae ultra suavissonantem et harmonicam syntaxin ornatum ex textus explicandi exigentia addens" (quoted after Martin Ruhnke, *Joachim Burmeister: Ein Beitrag zur Musiklehre um 1600*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955 (=Schriften des Landesinstituts für Musikforschung Kiel, Vol. 5), p. 95); see also Dietrich Bartel, *Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre*, Diss. University of Freiburg i. Br. 1982, Laaber: Laaber, 1985, p. 23.

⁴⁹³ "Es werden sich nicht nur die meisten Figuren sowohl durch die ‚elegantia‘ als auch durch die Wortausdeutung erklären lassen, sondern man pflegte auch allgemein beides noch nicht scharf von einander zu trennen" (M. Ruhnke, *Burmeister*, p. 148); see also Bartel, p. 23.

⁴⁹⁴ *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier*, in: *Kompositionslehre Schützens*, pp. 36-37.

to produce the affections in accordance with the right understanding of the words.⁴⁹⁵

3.6.2. Geistlicher Harmonien (1665). Musical analysis of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz*

The majority of Bernhard's concertos correspond to the motetic form, with contrasting device for the most part.⁴⁹⁶ Bernhard achieves the contrast effect by an opposition of more declamatory and rather songlike sections, which is usually associated with regularly changing time (usually from binary to ternary time). In the case of *Schaffe in mir, Gott*, the composer likewise utilizes contrast effect to accommodate text structure and its interpretation.

Already at the beginning of the first part, the first phrase "Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz" is set in a syncopated rhythm describing the soul's agony that enters the stage completely unprepared and therefore cannot be structured in certain measurement. The rhythm of the phrase "in mir" is introduced twice as fast as the previous first word. There is certain connection between the dactylic motive on the words "Gott" and "reines" (b. 2) as we can interpret that God is the source of all purity. It is even more interesting that the dactylic motive on "reines" is followed by the note *g* instead of *b*. This 'false' note creates an interval of diminished fourth with the altered sixth of the continuo. The note is then 'corrected' by the note *g#* at the end of the phrase. Theologically interpreted, the uncomfortable diminished fourth on the word "reines" does not describe the actual (pure) condition of the soul; rather it shows how far it has been removed from the true purity. In other words, the musical setting points to the hope of purification that is yet to come.

The following phrase "und gib mir einen neuen gewissen Geist" is presented altogether four times (b. 3-15). The expected fourth interval on the

⁴⁹⁵ "Aus den verstandenen Worten sind die *affecten* abzunehmen, so darinnen fürkommen, die vornehmsten *affecten* aber, so man in der *Musica repraesentiren* kann, sind Freude, Traurigkeit, Zorn, Sanftmuth und dergleichen" (Bernhard, *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier*, p. 37).

⁴⁹⁶ With the exceptions: *O anima mea, Das alte Jahr vergangen ist*, the three *Masses*, the motet *Zur selbigen Zeit* and *Iam mesta requiesce querela*; comp. Fiebig, p. 232.

word “reines” appears many times in this second phrase. The phrase “einen neuen” is offered three times, each time with a fourth leap upward followed by third interval downward, so that there is a motivic connection with “reines Herz”. Within the framework of Hebrew poetry, the first and second petitions constitute parallelism. Again theologically interpreted, the missing fourth interval in the previous phrase described the confession of one’s miserable condition while this second phrase is about the supplication for a renewal or sanctification; they are two parts of the same prayer. The composer utilizes also mediant harmonic turn from E-Major (b. 3) to G-Major (b. 4) though not without transition. The sequence moves in fifth progression up to the phrase “gewissen Geist”, which is set without interval leaps (b. 5). The first and second repetitions are principally the same as the first presentation except for the harmonic context: the second presentation ends in D-Major (b. 9) while the third in E-Major (b. 12), that is, a fourth above and a fourth below the first A-Minor cadence (b. 6). After the two modulations, the last repetition of the second phrase is presented in exactly the same manner as its first appearance and is again closed in A-Minor (b. 15). Compared to the first phrase which spans only 2-3 bars, this second phrase occupies in total 13 bars, suggesting a strong emphasis on the second petition. The four presentations of the phrase from A-Minor back to A-Minor might describe the struggle of the anxious soul unable to grasp “the new certain spirit” at once.

A short instrumental interlude stands between the first phrase and its repetition. The second violin anticipates the vocal motive of the first phrase, which enters one bar later (b. 16). The same procedure is applied to the repetition of the second phrase. Here, Bernhard presents the vocal motive in both violins reciprocally (b. 18-20). The harmonic excursion A-Minor – D-Minor – E-Minor – A-Minor is kept but the motive is again anticipated by the instruments. The phrase “einen neuen gewissen Geist” is repeated with an altered ending in A-Major instead of A-Minor (b. 31). The choice to end the phrase in A-Major is certainly more suitable if one wants to achieve a contrast

between the end of the first two phrases and the beginning of the next phrase, which starts in A-Minor.

The beginning phrase of the second part “Verwirf mich nicht von deinem Angesichte” is separated into two sections by a rest figure, which is called “Tmesis” (b. 32).⁴⁹⁷ The motive of the first section “Verwirf mich nicht” which starts with a fourth leap downward followed by a third interval upward is the reversal of the motive associated with the “einen neuen” phrase. The second section is characterized by the figures “Saltus duriusculus” on the word “deinem”,⁴⁹⁸ twice “Parrhesia”: first on the sixth chord and secondly on the note *d*# (b. 33), and “Mutatio toni” in the unprepared direct succession from the chords B-Major to B-Minor.⁴⁹⁹ From the summing up of the musical and textual interpretation possibilities, Fiebig tries to interpret what Bernhard wanted to say here:

“Die Trennung (‘Tmesis’) von Gottes Angesicht (dieses Wort wird durch die ‘Mutatio toni’ besonders hervorgehoben, da allein die Verbindung zu Gott dem Menschen Erlösung bringt), die durch die Verderbtheit (‘Parrhesia’) der Menschen bedingt ist, führt zu dem ‘harten Sprung’ in die Tiefe (= Hölle).“⁵⁰⁰

Just as in the case of the previous phrase “einen neuen”, the phrase “verwirf mich nicht” is also repeated in sequence. Not only the motive, but also the harmonic shift is reversed: it goes from A-Minor to E-Minor (b. 32), G-Major to D-Major (b. 34), and D-Major/Minor to A-Minor (b. 35), that is, in fourth progression.

There is a strong reminiscence of the motive of “gewissen Geist” (b. 5) and the motive “verwirf mich nicht” in the phrase “und nimm deinen heiligen

⁴⁹⁷ The rest figure “Tmesis” can be recognized as an interruption of an actually going on melody by rest. Usually this case is strongly influenced by the text-music relation.

⁴⁹⁸ That Bernhard uses “Saltus duriusculus” in this piece shows that this Psalm 51 is composed in *stylo luxuriante communi*, because in Chapter 2 No. 6 of his *Tractatus* has been said that one should guard himself from “unnatürlichen Gängen und Sprüngen” (Bernhard, *Tractatus*, p. 41 and 78).

⁴⁹⁹ In Chapter 2 No. 7 Bernhard advised that every voice should be directed according to one of the 12 modes. Not only many composers in Bernhard’s time, but also the older masters, often stride off from such a rule by mixing *authenticum cum suo plagali*, even they jump from an authentic or plagal to another mode in the middle of the composition, the explanation of *Tonorum* should thus be thought together with several other modes; Bernhard, *Tractatus*, p. 41 and 79.

Geist” (b. 37-38) as we can interpret that the “certain spirit” can only be granted by the Holy Spirit and that taking the Holy Spirit from the sinner means casting him/her away. The basso continuo plays half-tone steps downward, a “*Passus duriusculus*”. Bernhard describes it as “unnatürlichen Gängen”.⁵⁰¹ In this case, the figure is used as an expression of the knowledge of self and the knowledge that only God through his mercy can save.⁵⁰² The text contents set with a “*Passus duriusculus*” refer usually to the sinfulness of human beings such as torments, weeping, Christ’s self-sacrifice, the results of transgressions, and the terrible Last Judgment.⁵⁰³

The phrase “nicht von mir” is characterized again by the figure “Tmesis” (b. 40) which is quite suitable since the text speaks about a potential separation between the sinner and the Holy Spirit. The repeated notes motive is again borrowed from “gewissen Geist” (b. 5) which has been echoed in the phrase “und nimm deinen ...” and will appear one more (last) time in the phrase “erhalte mich” (b. 124-126). In a comprehensive survey of the four uses of the motive in the composition, it is evident that through the repeated notes the first and last instances express certainty or steadiness (thus parallel with the text) while the second and third instances provide the antithetical description. The text is about a potential separation between God and man, suggesting that the use of the motive is aimed at expressing the perseverance of the sinner against the definite separation from God. Before the piece moves to the last ternary part, the phrase “nicht von mir” is repeated, making up in total three presentations (b. 44-47), perhaps as an allusion to the Trinity.

The extensive use of instrumental part as interlude in the first two parts allows the instrumental part to play an anticipatory role to the text phrase by phrase. From b. 1-47 there is only 13 bars of instrumental play. In the last part, despite the anticipatory role of the instrumental part, the presented motive (in both violin parts) appears as a summary of the coming vocal

⁵⁰⁰ Folkert Fiebig, *Christoph Bernhard*, p. 221.

⁵⁰¹ Bernhard, *Tractatus*, p. 77.

⁵⁰² See also *Reminiscere*, b. 3-5: “*Reminiscere miserationum tuarum*” (B. c.), *ibid.* b. 144-146: “*propitiaberis*” (Basso continuo).

motives (the first vocal motive by the second violin in b. 48-55; the second motive first by the second violin from b. 55 then taken over by the first violin in b. 57-65; lastly the closing vocal motive in b. 123-126 is presented by the second violin parallel with the closing vocal motive in b. 98-101 presented by the first violin (b. 62-65). Other than in the first two parts, the instrumental section in this last part occupies more spaces (only the first presentation extends in 18 bars from b. 48 to 65). However, this is not to say that the instrumental part has achieved its autonomy for it is essentially inspired by the vocal motives.

As noted above, the composer utilizes the ternary time in the last part as a means to achieve a contrast with the first two parts. If we look at the text, the outer parts deal with positive petition while the inner second part with a somewhat negative request. In other words, this last ternary part serves as a kind of progressive confirmation of the first part while at the same time creating a contrast with the more negative tone of the middle part. The melodic section “mit deiner Hilfe” of the first phrase ends on the third (b. 68) then on the first (b. 72) and shows clearly the periodic structure of the melody. The simple rhythm underlines the natural emphasis in 3/2 time; step melodic pattern is dominating in this first phrase; all these three characteristics refer to a songlike character of this last part.⁵⁰⁴ That Bernhard set the 14th verse in ternary beat might refer to the fact that he knew Hammerschmidt’s version. Even the rhythm of the first two bars is identical and the melodic pattern of the second bar is very similar to each other.⁵⁰⁵ Other similarities are to be found between “deiner” (Bernhard, b. 69-70) and “mir” (Hammerschmidt, b. 95), and lastly in “erhalte mich/mir” (Bernhard, b. 124-126; Hammerschmidt, b. 123-125).

However, Bernhard’s indebtedness to Schütz’s version is perhaps even more obvious than to Hammerschmidt. The motive of the phrase “und der freudige Geist erhalte mich” is a quotation from Schütz’s version with a slight

⁵⁰³ Compare several examples given by Fiebig in Fiebig, *Christoph Bernhard*, p. 200.

⁵⁰⁴ Fiebig, *Christoph Bernhard*, p. 245.

⁵⁰⁵ Bernhard, b. 65-66; Hammerschmidt, b. 73-74.

modification: Bernhard starts the phrase by anticipating Schütz's motive with the same motive a fourth below (b. 91; Schütz's motive starts from b. 93 in Bernhard's version), so that "und der freudige Geist" is presented three times in Bernhard. Schütz set a simple motive on "enthalte mich" (b. 61-63) while Bernhard composes his "erhalte mich" elaborately though we can still notice certain motivic association with that of Schütz.⁵⁰⁶

After the elaborate motive of the section "erhalte mich" is presented twice in sequence (b. 114-123), the piece is closed by a repetition of the same section with a cross motive (b. 123-124) and by stating for the last time the perseverance motive of "gewissen Geist". The cross motive is arguably an allusion to Christ, the only one who can uphold the sinner with a joyful spirit.

⁵⁰⁶ The main notes *f# – g – f# – e* in Bernhard (b. 99-101) echo *c# – d – c# – b* in Schütz (b. 61-63, soprano).

3.7. Johann Kuhnau (1660-1722)

Kuhnau was born on 6 April 1660 in Geising, Erzgebirge and died on 5 June 1722 in Leipzig. His family originated from Bohemia, whence the grandfather had fled because of his Protestant faith during the Counter-Reformation. About 1670, following his eldest brother Andreas and through the arrangement of his cousin Salomon Krügner,⁵⁰⁷ Johann went to Dresden to study. In February 1671 he was accepted as a chorister at the Kreuzkirche, where he profited from the lesson given by Schütz's pupil Alexander Heringk. Only three daughters from the eight children from his marriage to Sabine Elisabeth Plattner in 1689 survived him. His important satirical novel *Der musicalische Quack-Salber* was written and published in Dresden in 1700, one year before Telemann arrived in Leipzig and established his collegium musicum.

Johann Schelle, who had introduced the chorale cantata to be performed and sung before the sermon, preceded Kuhnau as Thomaskantor. Schelle's most important contribution includes introduction of the Gospel cantata to German texts with inserted hymn verses and arias written freely, and the use of yearly cantata cycles as suggested by the Thomaskirche's pastor Johann Benedict Carpzov in the Protestant liturgy in Leipzig.⁵⁰⁸ The chorale cantata is to be performed immediately after the Gospel reading. After the whole congregation sang the chorale, the sermon then took place. Schelle, in close cooperation with Carpzov, effected the placement of music within the Protestant liturgy as a response to the Gospel and especially as spiritual preparation for the sermon, a practice that agrees with Luther's understanding on the relation between music and prophesying/preaching as written in his commentary on Psalm. Beside David, Elisha is a biblical character Luther often favorably cites in arguing for powerful effect of music. The second book of Kings 3:7-17 tells of Jehoram, the king of Israel in Samaria, requesting Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, to join him in battle against Moab. After seven

⁵⁰⁷ Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, Hamburg 1740, p. 153.

days of marching, the combined army found no water for their cattle. Jehoshaphat then suggested looking for a prophet to inquire of the Lord. Although Elisha disdained Jehoram, his regard for Jehoshaphat made him willing to act as prophet. Interestingly, Elisha then asked for a musician before he conveyed the message of the Lord. The Bible records:

“And when the musician played, the hand of the LORD came upon him.”⁵⁰⁹

On this, Luther comments:

“It lies in the nature of music to spur the sad, morose, and blunt mind. So Elisha called after a harp-player, so that he would be spurred on by it for prophesying.”⁵¹⁰

Here we see that according to Luther, music functions as an attunement to the divine emotion. Elisha, whose relation with the king Jehoram was affected by his disdain, is now prepared through the power of music to deliver his message despite his negative emotions. The music thus creates an inner distance towards this bias and enables a pure relation to God.⁵¹¹ Through the power of music, the Word of God can be preached and received freely.

After Schelle’s death on 10 March 1701, Kuhnau was elected his successor. The effect is that Kuhnau’s idea of church music was substantially influenced by the tradition left by Schelle. Despite his illness and all the difficulties concerning the undermining of his authority during his last years, Kuhnau was greatly esteemed by many musicians of his time, including Scheibe and Mattheson, who claimed never to have known his like as organist, scholar, musician and chorus director.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁸ A. Lindsey Kirwan/Peter Wollny, Art. “Schelle, Johann“, in: *New GroveD2*, Vol. 22. London 2001, pp. 470-471.

⁵⁰⁹ 2 Kings 3:15; English Standard Version.

⁵¹⁰ “Sic Helizeus vocavit psalten, ut excitaretur ad prophetiam“ (Operationes in Psalmos [1519/21], WA 3,40).

⁵¹¹ Michael Heymel, *Wie man mit Musik für die Seele sorgt*, p. 54.

⁵¹² “Sein Nahme kann in allen dreien Stockwerken unsrer Ehrenpforte Platz haben: als ein braver Organist; als ein grundgelehrter Mann; und als ein grosser Musikus, Componist und Chorregent. Fürs erste wüste ich, in allen diesen Stücken zusammen, noch seines gleichen nicht“ (Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, Hamburg 1740, p. 158).

3.7.1. Kuhnau's music aesthetics

Already Scheibe in his *Critischer Musikus* had stated an interesting remark on the characteristics of Kuhnau's musical creation. He wrote:

“Kuhnau war in der Ausarbeitung seiner Stücke noch nicht sinnreich und poetisch genug. Er ist hie und da von dem Strome der harmonischen Setzer hingerissen worden; dahero ist er sehr oft matt, ohne gehörige poetische Auszierungen, und ohne verblühte Ausdrückungen, und folglich hin und wieder zu prosaisch. Daß er aber dieses auch selbst eingesehen, und zuweilen überaus sinnreich und poetisch zu setzen gewußt hat, zeigen seine Klaviersachen, und seine letztern Kirchenarbeiten, vornehmlich aber sein Paßionsatorium, das er wenige Jahre vor seinem Tode verfertigte. Wir sehen auch aus diesen Werken, wie deutlich er den Nutzen und die Nothwendigkeit des Rhythmus erkannt hat. Daher ist es auch gekommen, daß er beständig bemühet gewesen, alle seine Kirchensachen melodisch einzurichten, und dieselben fließend und sehr oft recht rührend zu machen; ob es ihm schon mit theatralischer Arbeit niemals geglückt hat.“⁵¹³

The statement that Kuhnau never succeeded with theatrical work could be attested even from Kuhnau's own description. The matter, however, was rather complex. In fact, his novel *Der Musicalische Quack-Salber* was ended with instructions (“Reguln”) to “the true virtuoso and happy musician” from a conservative, religious minister:

“Hierbey nimmt er sich in acht/ daß er an diesem heiligen Orte mit keinen Eitelkeiten/welche etwa auff dem Theatro, oder in lustigen Gesellschaft ihre Grace finden möchten/aufgezogen komme. Ist er ein Capellmeister/ so meidet er so viel er kan/ den luxuriosen Stylum, und setzet hingegen alles fein pathetisch/ andächtig und sonsten beweglich.“⁵¹⁴

The minister also recommends that the music director should not perform only his own works but also the works of other foreign good masters. If he is a vocalist or instrumental musician, he should carry out his manner “daß man keine liederliche Passagien, und Coloraturen / oder sonst was leichtsinniges höre; Wie denn dergleichen Music hin und wieder in den Kirchen nicht ohne

⁵¹³ Scheibe, *Critische Musikus*, p. 764.

⁵¹⁴ Johann Kuhnau, *Der Musicalische Quack-Salber*, Dresden 1700, p. 527.

Aergerniss eingeführet ist / darüber Augustinus, Bernhardus, und nach ihnen andere heilige Männer schon längst geklaget haben.“⁵¹⁵ On the other hand, despite his criticism on the overly operatic church composers of his time, Kuhnau’s church music is indeed full of Italian elements such as passages and coloraturas. One possible explanation is that Kuhnau’s inconsistent criticism arose from his personal dissatisfaction towards the growing popularity of theatrical music in Leipzig to the detriment of his church music performance.⁵¹⁶ If this is the case, the use of passages and coloraturas in Kuhnau’s music after 1701 (the year when Telemann arrived in Leipzig) may be interpreted as an effort to compete with operatic secular music of that time.

Although Kuhnau no longer believes in the miraculous effects of music, he still recognizes the healing and ethical power of music for the human temperament. He wrote that music “restrains all vices and on the contrary stimulates all virtues.” It also produces “charming, soothing effects”; it is a “healing cure for corrupt affections.”⁵¹⁷ In this respect, Kuhnau’s view on music echoes Luther’s conception of music as “a mistress and governess of those human affections”.⁵¹⁸ In another place, however, unlike his contemporaries who believe in the absolute power of music to direct human affections effectively, Kuhnau ridicules an “Affektensonate”, which is able to describe all sorts of affections of a cardinal so clearly, so that the audience can recognize the person meant in the music and calls such a composition “superhuman”.⁵¹⁹ In the Preface to the *Biblische Historien*, Kuhnau extends his criticism of the doctrine of affections, which are manifest in the music

⁵¹⁵ Kuhnau, *Musicalische Quack-Salber*, p. 528.

⁵¹⁶ See the article of Andreas Glöckner, “... daß ohne Hülffe derer Herren *Studiosorum* der Herr *Cantor* keine vollstimmende *Music* würde bestellen können ...’ – Bemerkungen zur Leipziger Kirchenmusik vor 1723 und nach 1750“, in: *Bach-Jahrbuch* 87 (2001), pp. 131-140.

⁵¹⁷ Johann Kuhnau, *Der Musicalische Quacksalber*, ed. Kurt Benndorf (Berlin, 1900), p. 193.

⁵¹⁸ Luther’s Preface to Georg Rhau’s *Symphoniae Iucundae*, 1538, in: *Luther’s Works*, Vol. 53, ed. by Ulrich S. Leupold [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965], p. 323.

⁵¹⁹ Kuhnau, *Musicalische Quack-Salber*, ed. Kurt Benndorf, Berlin 1900, p. 56; see also Rudolf Schäfke, *Geschichte der Musikaesthetik in Umrissen*, Tutzing: Schneider, 1964, p. 297.

rhetorical figures (such as advocated by Christoph Bernhard) and has played a considerable role in the music development in Germany. Kuhnau states:

“Hiernechst ist auch bekandt / daß alle *Virtuosen*, sonderlich die aus der Antiquität / durch die Music fast dasjenige auszurichten bemühet gewesen / was die Meister in der Redner, Bildhauer, und Mahlerey, Kunst vermögen. Nun muß man zwar diesen Künsten einige *Praerogativ* in solchem Stücke vor der Music gönnen.“⁵²⁰

From these arts but music, we can recognize the inward movement of the soul. What is possible for other arts, namely a definiteness of expression, is impossible for music. Kuhnau doubts the effectiveness of music in directing the feelings of the audience according to the will of the musician as far as instrumental music (without words) is concerned.⁵²¹ Proper application of the knowledge of the principles of music such as the propriety of modi, intervals, tempo, and meter can help to improve certain potentialities of expression. However, the musician does not have any power to move all the audience “bald zur Freude / bald zur Traurigkeit / bald zur Liebe / bald zum Hasse / bald zur Grausamkeit / bald zur Barmherzigkeit / und bald wieder zu was anders [...]”⁵²² Kuhnau builds his arguments on the simple fact that human dispositions are exceedingly complex and varied:

“Ein lustiger Geist kan ohne Schwierigkeit zur Freude oder zum Mitleiden gebracht werden / da hingegen ein Künstler grosse Mühe haben wird / wenn er dergleichen bey einem *Melancholico* oder *Cholerico* ausrichten soll.“⁵²³

Therefore, if one wants to affect something particular in the souls, then vocal music is the best choice “since the words contribute much, even the most to the movement.”⁵²⁴ Words are highly valued by Kuhnau for its effectiveness and in his opinion through music words can obtain a complete power to penetrate souls. Luther had praised music so highly because of its close connection with the sonority of the word, while Calvin saw the word-tone

⁵²⁰ Johann Kuhnau, Preface to the *Musicalische Vorstellung Einiger Biblischer Historien in 6 Sonaten. Faksimiledruck*, Leipzig 1973, p. 120.

⁵²¹ Johann Kuhnau, Preface to the *Musicalische Vorstellung Biblischer Historien*, p. 120.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁵²⁴ “weil die Worte zu deren Bewegung viel / ja das meiste / beytragen“ (*Ibid.*, p. 121).

relation as substantially different and could use the picture of the word as the content and the music as the funnel. In this respect, Kuhnau's view of music resonates more with Calvin's thought.

Beside his respect for church music that embodies the penetrating power of music, Kuhnau criticizes certain composers who incorporated inappropriate style such as dancing rhythm in a *Kyrie eleison*.⁵²⁵ If vocal music has power, then it is because of the words. However, when it comes to instrumental music that shall move the affect, certain principles in the mathematical sciences, which have infallible demonstrations, have to be considered. Despite the correctness of the demonstrations of the harmony and intervals, Kuhnau warns against the belief that from certain musical phrase certain affection must arise or that "this tone had precisely that effect or that tone had that effect."⁵²⁶ This is not to say however that there is no difference in the affections produced by the different modes. The difference between major mode and minor mode is indeed very sensitive: the first "etwas vollkommenes / und lustiges" while the second "etwas trauriges / melancholisches".⁵²⁷ Although musical elements such as modulation, tempo, beat, and meter had certain capacity to arouse affections, "Allein wenn das *Temperament* des Zuhörers zur *Motion* nicht geschickt ist [...] so wird die Music fast nicht mehr *operiren*."⁵²⁸

Kuhnau then distinguishes various kind of music expression. The meaning of music lies in the representation or clarification of "certain" – or more precisely – "intended" affection.⁵²⁹ For the composers, principally two compositional ways are available to invoke affections. The first is the direct

⁵²⁵ This criticism can be compared with the writing of Athanasius Kircher where he states that the expression of certain word such as *Kyrie eleison* should be done adequately without leaps and coloraturas. The association between coloraturas and theatrical music as has been criticized by Kuhnau was also advocated by Kircher: "Also diejenige Componisten/welche in der Mess die Wort *Kyrie eleison*, als ein demütiges Bitt= und innigliches Flehungs=Wort exprimiren solten/machen sie lächerliche Sprüng/Coloraturen daher/als wann sie auf dem *theatro* oder Tantzplatz wären" (Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, ed. Andreas Hirsch, Schw. Hall 1662, Reprint Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988, p. 149).

⁵²⁶ Kuhnau, *Biblische Historien*, p. 122.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁵²⁹ For this whole paragraph, compare Volker Kalisch, "Zeichentheoretischer Diskurs und bestimmte Sprache", in: *Musik Theorie 13* (1998), pp. 195-197.

way produced by “imitation“, while the other is the indirect way achieved through an “analogy“. In the imitation, the audience can immediately notice the composer’s intention even in the absence of verbal expression. In the analogy, the split between the sounding music and the represented meaning is mediated associatively. In this case, the words are necessary if comprehension is to be attained. Kuhnau wrote:

“Und dieses letzte geschiehet entweder also / daß der Zuhörer die gehabte Intention des Componisten bald mercken kan / wenn sie auch schon mit Worten nicht angedeutet worden. Wenn man Z. E. den Gesang der Vogel / als des Kuckucks / und der Nachtigal / das Glocken-Geläute / den Canonen-Knall / ingleichen auff einem Instrumente das andere / als auff dem Claviere die Trompeten und Paucken *imitiret*: Oder aber daß man auff eine *Analogiam* ziele / und die Musicalischen Sätze also einrichtet / daß sie in *aliquo tertio* mit der vorgestellten Sache sich vergleichen lassen. Und da sind die Worte allerdings nöthig / wenn es der klingenden *Harmonie* nicht so übel oder schlimmer gehen soll / als denen Stummen / deren Sprache von den wenigsten verstanden wird.“⁵³⁰

In other words, apart from the associative mediation, instrumental music can only present definite meaning with the help of a text (in the case of the *Biblische Historien*: a descriptive program). General affections such as sadness and joy are easily conveyed through music and words are indeed dispensable, unless a certain person is to be indicated. Lastly, through text, the composer aspires “to communicate to the reader and through this the audience to the sought-after affection, or to prepare his mind to the version of my intention.”⁵³¹

What we have here from Kuhnau’s aesthetics on the text-music relation is that on the one side, (instrumental) music cannot be understood clearly, unless it is explained by words, on the other side, words or text can serve as a preparation for the succeeding (instrumental) music. From the first point of view, music serves as an anticipation or preparation for the coming content (the text) in the tradition of Schelle, which places music as a preparation to the

⁵³⁰ Johann Kuhnau, *Biblische Historien*, pp. 122-123.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

sermon. From the second point of view, the text precedes music (instrumental parts), which echoes (and interpretes) the themes espoused by the words (vocal parts). We shall see how far Kuhnau's setting of Psalm 51 corresponds to this idea.

3.7.2. Musical analysis of *Gott sei mir gnädig* (1705)

This Quinquagesima cantata dates from 1705. The textual arrangement follows directly the first eight verses from Psalm 51. Kuhnau opens the piece with an instrumental introduction, which is characterized by two important features: an apparently aimless harmonic progression and repetitions of quavers (b. 1-6). Kuhnau probably uses the quavers to describe the trembling soul before opening the prayer for forgiveness. The dissonances in the harmonic progression are indeed resolved, but the progression to the following chords is unexpected, creating in effect an atmosphere of aimlessness. In b. 6 a cadence in C-Minor might be expected, but instead of closing the instrumental introduction in C-Minor, the composer starts the chorus' cry "Gott, Gott" in G-Major (b. 7). After the short homophonic section, the alto then initiates "sei mir gnädig" answered by three other voices singing the section in homophone. The next section "nach deiner Güte" still retains the homophonic setting. Kuhnau uses the descending lamentation motive for this section (b. 12-13, alto and tenor). Depending on the perspective, the instrumental section in b. 13-14 may be perceived either as an imitation of the previous vocal motive, an anticipation of the following vocal parts, or both.⁵³² The first important cadence is finally reached at the end of this section (b. 17). It is certainly intentional that the cadence is used for the first time in the phrase "nach deiner Güte". The second half of the first verse "und tilge meine Sünde" follows immediately afterwards. The harmonic context moves from G-Minor to B flat Major (b. 17-18). Here, the instrumental interlude (b. 18-19) plays a clearer role in relation to the text, i.e.

⁵³² The instrumental parts are presented in G-Minor context, the previous vocal parts in C-Minor and the following vocal parts in G-Minor too.

as an imitation. The whole procedure repeats sequentially in C-Minor (b. 19-21) before it moves to the last section of the first part. The fugato section, in which the phrase “nach deiner großen Barmherzigkeit” is present, again initiates with the alto (b. 21). There is a connection between both alto motives in this section and in the phrase “sei mir gnädig” (b. 8-9). The motive *g – eb – ab – g*, arguably a cross motive as a reference to Christ, is kept with further extension in the form of an additional third leap to below (the note *c*) before Kuhnau continued with an ascending step motion (b. 22). The motivic extension might serve as a kind of musical commentary, an expression of the depth of God’s mercy, reaching to the lowest condition of the sinner and at the same time His power to elevate and to redeem the sinner by His great mercy.

The second verse of the Psalm is treated as an alto solo, which is composed in the style of a *Strophened* in ternary beat. The first word “wasche” is set in coloratura passage with repeated motive in sequence. After both violins imitates the vocal motive (b. 5-9), the phrase ends in Bb-Major as the dominant of the coming Eb-Major (b. 11). The back and forth mediant turn from C-Minor to Eb-Major context continues until b. 27. In b. 23 the instrumental section can again be seen either as the imitation of the previous vocal motive (b. 21-22) or as the anticipation of the following vocal parts (b. 25-26).⁵³³ Another coloratura passage sets the word “reinige” (b. 29-34). In the perspective of music rhetorical figures, the passages are formed from repeated *Circulatio*, a figure that is commonly used to express wholeness or integrity. In this respect, the composer interprets musically the purification of the soul as the redemption from a fragmented sinful condition. Emphasis on the words “meine Sünde” accomplished by using the note *f#* and D-Major chord on the word “Sünde” (b. 37) and especially by the use of hemiola in the cadence. The following imitative instrumental parts (G-Minor context) stand also in mediant relation with the previous vocal parts. After the *Circulatio*

⁵³³ Compare the ambivalent perspective on the instrumental section in b. 13-14 in the first verse.

figure is presented for the last time by the vocal part in Eb-Major context, this second verse is modulated and closed in C-Minor.

The third verse is set in a short alto recitative containing only 6 measures. The word “Missetat” is emphasized through its uncomfortable fourth leap forming a cross motive. The word “Sünde” is harmonized in sixth-chord creating an ‘open’ atmosphere and finally the word “mir” is set with the note *f#* in altered sixth-chord, creating a painful expression.

The fourth verse is a chorus which is first initiated by the soprano solo (b. 1-8) then followed by tutti sections which are composed in chordal homophonic setting (from b. 11). The phrase “an dir allein” has an ascending motive while the following section “hab ich gesündigt” a descending one. In the homophonic section, “hab ich gesündigt” is repeated in an unexpected way: first, through the last syllable of the phrase which falls in deceptive cadence (b. 14), second, through the chromatic line from *c* to *d* flat in the soprano (b. 14-15), and third, through the modulation from C-Minor to Bb-Minor (b. 13-16). After a short imitation by the instrumental parts, the next phrase “und übel vor dir getan” starts with a tritone leap in the bass (b. 18-19), which is imitated by the soprano three bars later. In fact the longer phrase “übel vor dir” in the soprano forms a cross motive (b. 21-23). Although Kuhnau did not believe in definite tonal characteristics, it does not mean that he did not use the tonal characteristics as other composers did. He just did not believe in its effectiveness *apart from the words*. The phrase in this section for instance is set in F-Minor, a scale that is believed to be one with the remotest distances. The instrumental parts then imitate the phrase in Eb-Major (b. 25-32). The next phrase “auf daß du recht behaltest in deinen Worten” is set to music with repeated notes in psalmodic style. Kuhnau increase the emphasis of this phrase by repeating the motive in sequence. The harmonic succession, if one includes the instrumental section as well, moves in fourth progression (Eb-Major – Bb-Major – F-Minor – C-Minor – G-Major). With the last phrase “und rein bleibest, wenn du gerichtet wirst”, again a coloratura passage in the

form of semicircular melody lines, a *Circulatio* figure, appears for soprano solo (b. 42-50).

The fifth verse is set as a short recitativo accompagnato (in total 8 bars). The first section of the sixth verse “Siehe, du hast Lust zur Wahrheit, die im Verborgenen liegt” is set as an arioso mostly with syllabic declamation. The word “Verborgenen” ends with the lowest tone in the whole piece (b. 15). The second section “Du lässest mich wissen” is characterized by a coloratura passage on the word “wissen” (b. 18-19, 22-23).

The seventh verse of the Psalm is treated imitatively at the beginning. The subject of this fugato is a resemblance of “nach deiner Güte” motive in the first verse (b. 12-13) added with the note *c* at the end. The phrase “daß ich rein werde” is composed in homophonic setting with syllabic declamation (b. 14-15), perhaps as a statement of certainty and assurance. On the contrary, the word “Wasche” is set elaborately.

The first half of the eighth verse “Laß mich hören Freud und Wonne” is first introduced by the soprano solo (b. 1-12). The word “Wonne” is treated in coloratura. The given theme is then repeated by the instrumental parts (b. 13-22, first and second violins). After presenting the theme in G-Minor, Kuhnau increases the “joy and gladness” by moving harmonically to Bb-Major and by setting the phrase in a duet of soprano and tenor (b. 23-34). Again, the instrumental parts imitate this Major section (b. 35-46). In b. 47 the tutti enters. The coloratura treatment on the word “Wonne” is extended into 14 bars in the soprano solo (b. 50-63) which is joined by the alto 8 bars later (b. 58). The other vocal parts (the tenor solo and the chorus) together with the instrumental parts are presented in homophonic setting and serve as a rhythmical counterpart to the coloratura passages. Paradoxically this number is closed with a return to G-Minor.

The second half of the eighth verse “Daß die Gebeine fröhlich werden” is given a fugal treatment. The subject is first presented by the vocal- and the instrumental basses in *tasto solo*. The subject is then taken over by the tenors (b. 8), the altos (b. 15), and finally by the sopranos (b. 22). In this phrase, the

coloratura treatment is given to the word “fröhlich”. The same word is emphasized by treating it in a short chordal homophonic setting in the three upper voices (b. 28-29) before the basses present again the subject for the second exposition (b. 29). The second exposition is characterized by the omitted subject presentation by the alto, a brief opposition between the sopranos and three other lower voices (b. 39-42, 47-51), and a denser texture.⁵³⁴ Kuhnau clearly intensifies the “cheerfulness of the bones” in this second exposition before it is suddenly stopped with a quarter rest, an *Aposopesis* figure,⁵³⁵ which leads to the last section, an eight bars adagio passage with the phrase “die du zerschlagen hast”.

It has been made evident that Kuhnau treats the music sometimes as anticipation to the coming text, sometimes as imitation of the previous text, and both as anticipation and confirmation. Such treatments clearly reflect his understanding of word-tone relations. Despite his criticism on the overly operatic compositions of his contemporaries, he himself had used a lot of coloratura treatment. Some music rhetorical figures, heavily criticized by Kuhnau for inadequacy in connection with the doctrine of affections, is also present in this composition. However, Scheibe’s remark on the lack of witty and poetic arrangement Kuhnau’s work seems unwarranted in the Psalm 51 setting of 1705, especially if one looks at Kuhnau’s ability to accomplish the greatness of expression and peculiarity of text setting in the first opening chorus.⁵³⁶ His recognition of the healing and ethical power of music for corrupt affections confirms his position in the Lutheran tradition while his skepticism toward music without words and his view of music as owing the power of penetration to text places him in the tradition of Calvinistic music aesthetics. All these contradictions – or perhaps rather the riches of his personality – were certainly enough reason to label him “one of the most

⁵³⁴ The tenors present the subject already three bars after the basses (b. 32) while the other voices are still present.

⁵³⁵ *Aposopesis* is a music rhetorical rest figure, which suddenly stops a going on melody.

⁵³⁶ Comp. Arnold Schering in his Preface to Johann Kuhnau, *Ausgewählte Kirchenkantaten*, in: DDT, Vol. 58/59, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1918, p. XLIV.

curious (*merkwürdigsten*) personalities in the German music history of the late baroque”.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁷ “Zweifellos ist Kuhnau eine der merkwürdigsten Persönlichkeiten in der deutschen Musikgeschichte des Spätbarock“ (Clemens Harasim, Art. “Kuhnau, Johann“, in: *MGG2*, Personenteil 10, Kassel 2006, col. 829).

3.8. Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767)

Telemann was born in Magdeburg on 14 March 1681 and died in Hamburg on 25 June 1767. Many of Telemann's forebears had entered the church. His elder brother, Heinrich Matthias, studied theology in Helmstedt from 1664 and later became a clergyman, while Georg Philipp studied in Magdeburg at the Altstädtisches Gymnasium and after that at the Domschule, where he learnt the catechism, Latin and Greek, apparently with the aim of becoming a theologian. In 1701, Telemann registered at the University of Leipzig to study law. Why he studied law rather than theology remains unanswered.⁵³⁸ Despite the friction with Kuhnau later, Telemann remembered having studied fugue and counterpoint from Kuhnau's music: "Die Feder des vortrefflichen Hrn. Johann Kuhnau diente mir zur Nachfolge in Fugen und Contrapunten."⁵³⁹ It is plausible that at least at first there was no rivalry between Telemann and Kuhnau. When Kuhnau wrote the letter to the town council on 4 December 1704, Telemann had hardly organized some music and Kuhnau was ready to give opportunity for exercise to "einem oder dem andern, der selbst was taugliches componiren könnte, wenn er mir seine Arbeit zuvor gezeiget und ich sie vor werth an einem heyligen Orte produciret zu werden, befunden hätte."⁵⁴⁰ By early June 1705, Telemann left Leipzig to become Kapellmeister at the court of Count Erdmann II of Promnitz at Sorau, where he met the superintendent and court chaplain Erdmann Neumeister (1671-1756).

On 18 March 1712, Telemann arrived in Frankfurt to assume his new post at the Barfüsserkirche. In the course of providing and directing music for the church, he wrote several annual cycles of church cantatas. Schelle's effort in Leipzig to place music in the liturgy as spiritual preparation for the sermon received the full support of Thomaskirche's pastor Carpzov. Telemann, on the contrary, found considerable difficulties to do so during his years in Frankfurt. Spener's criticism on figural music in 1687 testified that the use of music in

⁵³⁸ Laurenz Lütteken, Art. "Telemann, Georg Philipp", in: *MGG2*, Personenteil 16, Kassel 2006, col. 589.

⁵³⁹ Arnold Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs von 1650-1723*, Leipzig 1926, p. 203.

⁵⁴⁰ Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, p. 195.

worship could distract the mind, as Augustine already foretold many centuries previously.⁵⁴¹

3.8.1. Telemann's music aesthetics

In 1942 Menke already pointed out that the music collection of the royal school Grimma is a potential location for Telemann early cantatas. Grimma royal school Kantor Samuel Jacobi (1680-1721) is the first Saxon musician, who copied Telemann's music scores and performed his music for he recognized Telemann's importance quite early. Menke believed that for this reason, in Grimma we would have the possibility to find the only source, where we may assume no longer determinable music score material, possibly even Telemann's compositions from his Leipzig period.⁵⁴² 116 Telemann cantatas were found in Grimma music collection. From the number, 20 works were composed from non-madrigalian cantata texts.⁵⁴³ The most part of this Grimma collection shows the basic category "Concerto-Aria-Kantate".⁵⁴⁴ Furthermore, Steude argues that this cantata-corpus must come from Telemann's early years, as the later madrigalian writing such as Neumeister's is not found in the collection.⁵⁴⁵

With his "Geistliche CANTATEN" of 1704, Erdmann Neumeister forms undoubtedly a milestone in the history of Protestant church cantata in the 18th century in Germany. He was a representative of Lutheran Orthodoxy who

⁵⁴¹ See Chapter 1.4.4 in this study.

⁵⁴² "Der Fürstenschule Kantor Samuel ist wohl der erste sächsische Musiker, der, die Bedeutung Telemanns früh erkennend, dessen Partituren abschrieb und die Musik aufführte. In Grimma haben wir aus diesem Grunde wohl auch, neben Mügeln, die einzige Quelle zu suchen, wo wir unter dem zeitlich nicht mehr bestimmbaren Notenmaterial, möglicherweise neben den schon herausgezogenen Stimmen zu Neumeisters Jahrgang Frühwerke, womöglich noch Kompositionen aus Leipzig vermuten dürfen" (Werner Menke, *Das Vokalwerk Georg Philipp Telemanns*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1942, p. 9).

⁵⁴³ Wolfram Steude, "Zum kirchenmusikalischen Frühschaffen Georg Philipp Telemanns", in: *G. P. Telemann: Werküberlieferung, Editions- und Interpretationsfragen*, ed. W. Hobohm & C. Lange, Köln: Studio Medienservice und Verl. Tank, 1991, p. 37.

⁵⁴⁴ Friedhelm Krummacher, *Die Überlieferung der Choralbearbeitung in der frühen evangelischen Kantate*, Berlin: Merseburger, 1965, p. 30.

⁵⁴⁵ "Hauptsächliches, wenn auch nicht einziges Datierungskriterium ist die Antwort des jeweiligen Werkes auf die Frage, ob madrigalische Dichtung zugrunde- und entsprechende Vertonung als Semplice-Rezitativ und Da-capo-Arie vorliegt" (Wolfram Steude, *Zum kirchenmusikalischen Frühschaffen*, p. 37).

demanded not only up-to-date, but also highly developed music for the service. According to Neumeister, such affectionate and appealing music could be found in the contemporary operas with their madrigalian written texts. He explained that the term cantata “möchte vielleicht vielen neu und unbekant seyn / und ist daher nothing / ihn in etwas zuerläutern. Cantata, ist ein Jtaliänisch Wort / welches die Virtuosen dieser Nation ersonnen / und es gewissen Musicalischen Versen beygelegt haben.”⁵⁴⁶ After the model of Song of songs Neumeister gave the first high definition of a cantata as “ein Gesang über alle Gesänge / gleich als ob er seines gleichen weder in der Music noch in der Poesie habe”.⁵⁴⁷ Soon afterwards, a very simple definition follows:

“Soll ich kürztlich aussprechen / so sieht eine Cantata nicht anders aus / als ein Stück aus einer Opera, von Stylo Recitativo und Arien zusammen gesetzt.”⁵⁴⁸

The opinion that only the figural music is able to express and to stimulate emotions is also advocated by Caspar Rüetz, who even though welcomed the congregational singing as valuable in promoting communal praise for God, but believed that the singing is devoid of powerful musical effect because it is too simple, too uniform and too slow.⁵⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that both the Orthodox Lutheran voice such as Rüetz and Pietist Spener aim at the same goal, namely to remove the disturbance and discouragement music produces on church attendants or positively, that music can function as a means of enhancing the quality of worship. Criticism from the more conservative representatives voiced of the new cantata movement is especially aimed at the indiscriminating accomodation of the new Italian style. Friedrich Erhart Niedt for instance wrote that although musical styles change, the fact that Italian

⁵⁴⁶ Erdmann Neumeister, *Geistliche CANTATEN statt einer Kirchen = Music*, 1704, Vorbericht, Bl.)(2a.; see also Wolfgang Miersemann, “Erdmann Neumeisters ‘Vorbericht’ zu seinen ‘Geistlichen CANTATEN’ von 1704“, in: *Erdmann Neumeister (1671-1756): Wegbereiter der evangelischen Kirchenkantate*, ed. Henrike Rucker, Rudolstadt & Jena: Hain, 2000, p. 54.

⁵⁴⁷ Neumeister, *Geistliche CANTATEN*, Bl.)(2b.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Bl.)(2bf.

⁵⁴⁹ Caspar Rüetz, *Widerlegte Vorurtheile von der Beschaffenheit der heutigen Kirchenmusic [...]*, Lübeck 1752, p. 103ff.

style is trendy does not mean that we should accept everything Italian.⁵⁵⁰ However, the supporters of the new theatrical music such as Rütz and Mattheson still believed that there should definitely be some differences between opera and church cantata. They thought of a “vermittelten und gemäßigten Theatral Styl”,⁵⁵¹ which they believed to have served for the communication and expression of sacred oriented affections in worship. Mattheson wrote:

“Ich habe sonst in der Kirche [...] eben die Absicht mit der Musik als in der Oper, nämlich diese: Daß ich Gemütsneigungen der Zuhörer rege machen und auf gewisse Weise in Bewegung bringen will, es sei zur Liebe, zum Mitleid, zur Freude, zur Traurigkeit usw. [...] Hier allein, nämlich bei dem Gottesdienst sind gar heftige, ernstliche, dauerhafte und höchstangelegentliche Gemütsbewegungen nötig.“⁵⁵²

While ease, regularity, and naturalness are attributes ascribed to French music, the Italian aria and concerto are well known for their increased virtuosity and the art of expression.⁵⁵³ In his *Critica musica*, Mattheson translated the *Dissertation de la musique italienne et françoise* of Monsieur L. T. published in 1713, where we can read about “verständigen und wohlwählenden Leuten, sie thun der Französischen Music ihr Recht / nach ihrer Art / und rühmen die Italiänische nach ihrer Weise: geben übrigens ganz gerne zu / daß man etwas recht vollkommenes in der Music thun könnte / wenn das gelehrte und schaffsinnige Wesen der Italiäner / mit dem natürlichen Geschmack der Franzosen vermischt würde.“⁵⁵⁴ Before Mattheson’s translation, in 1662 Andreas Hirsch published Kircher’s *Musurgia universalis*, where style

⁵⁵⁰ Friedrich Erhardt Niedt, *Musicalische Handleitung*, Pt. III, Hamburg 1717; Irwin, pp. 128-129.

⁵⁵¹ Johann Mattheson, *Der neue Göttingische [...] Ephorus [...]*, Hamburg 1727, p. 18; see also Christian Bunnens, “Musiktheologische Aspekte im Streit um den Neumeisterschen Kantatentyp“, in: *Erdmann Neumeister*, ed. Henrike Rucker, p. 46.

⁵⁵² Johann Mattheson, *Der musicalische Patriot*, Hamburg 1725, p. 105.

⁵⁵³ Jean Laurent Le Cerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise*.

⁵⁵⁴ Johann Mattheson, *Critica musica*, Hamburg 1722-25, Reprint Amsterdam 1964, *Teil III: Des Französischen Anwalds Zweyte Supplic*, p. 226f.

mixture was already anticipated.⁵⁵⁵ In the same section,⁵⁵⁶ Kircher also recommends imitation of good composers. Interestingly, he gave theological reason for encouraging such imitations, i.e. humility. A refusal to imitate good composition, on the contrary, is to Kircher a sign of pride and self-love.⁵⁵⁷

Although we do not know whether Telemann read Kircher's *Musurgia* or knew Mattheson's translation of the French *Dissertation*, style mixture features prominently in Telemann's compositions. He distinguished the newer compositional mixed style from the older contrapuntal composition poor at melodic invention in his idea about church music as "die Stücke derer neuern Teutschen und Italiänischen Meister Vorbild in ihrer Erfindungs-vollen / singenden und zugleich arbeitsamen Arth".⁵⁵⁸ The mixture of the old contrapuntal style with the new licentious style is also evident in Telemann's contribution to the canon quarrel, accomplished possibly in the Frankfurt period, where he took a mediating position.⁵⁵⁹ Telemann suggests that the danger of pedantry should be avoided and prospective composers are advised "mehr zu galanten / als dergleichen ernsthaftten Ausarbeitungen".⁵⁶⁰ We should see whether Telemann's setting of Psalm 51 of his Frankfurt period represents the ideal of a mixture style of "singenden und zugleich arbeitsamen Arth" stressed by him.

⁵⁵⁵ Comp. Wolfgang Hirschmann, Art. "Kircher, Athanasius", in: *MGG2*, Personenteil 10, Kassel 2003, col. 148.

⁵⁵⁶ Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* VII, 1, 5, Romae 1650 (IV, 2, 6, Schw. Hall 1662).

⁵⁵⁷ "Der 2. Fehler ist bei den Componisten heutigs Tags / daß sie alle *imitation* guter bewährter Authoren verwerffen / ja zu Rom ist dieser Mißbrauch eingerissen / daß so viel Kir=chen / so viel Capellmeister / so viel Componisten / ieder liebt nur sein einige Composition / hält sie allein hoch / ja würdiget keine andere zu singen / noch zu hören / das ist aber ein schelt=würdige Selbs=Lieb! Wer kan zu einem Poeten werden / der nicht die alte berühmte Poeten lesen und *imitiren* wird? Daher geschichts / daß solche hoffärtige Com=ponisten ihre gantze Kunst in 10. oder 20. Clauseln einge=schlossen haben / welche sie doch von andern heimlich gesto=len / nachgehends für die ihrige mit geringer Verende=rung ausgeben [...]" (Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, Schw. Hall 1662, p. 148).

⁵⁵⁸ Johann Mattheson, *Grosse General-Baß-Schule*, Hamburg 1731, Reprint Hildesheim 1968, p. 171.

⁵⁵⁹ Adolf Nowak, "Der Kanon als musikalischer Syllogismus", in: *Festschrift Walter Wiora zum 90. Geburtstag*, Tutzing: Schneider, 1997, pp. 347-352.

⁵⁶⁰ Mattheson, *Critica musica*, Vol. IV, p. 358ff; compare Nowak, "Die Frankfurter Autobiographie Telemanns als Dokument der Musikästhetik", in: *Telemann in Frankfurt*, ed. Peter Cahn, Mainz, etc: Schott, 2000, p. 247.

3.8.2. Musical analysis of *Gott sei mir gnädig* (anonym, Leipzig ca. 1700) and *Gott sei mir gnädig TWVW 681* (Frankfurt 1720)

The anonym cantata *Gott sei mir gnädig nach deiner Güte* comes from the collection of the formal royal school St. Augustin at Grimma in Saxony, which since 1890 is housed in the Saxon state library Dresden (*Sächsischen Landesbibliothek Dresden*) as deposits of the older music printings and manuscripts collection under the signature Mus. 2-E-558.⁵⁶¹ Telemann's authorship of this work is inferred from the fact that the anonym cantata *Gott sei mir gnädig nach deiner Güte* shares the common features of Telemann's early cantatas, i.e. the absence of elements of the madrigalian cantata of Neumeister's type.⁵⁶²

The opening movement, a sonata, is characterized by gravity and richness of dissonances.⁵⁶³ The main melody is first presented by the first viol before the violin takes over its melodic function in b. 5 and the viol chorus is basically treated for the harmonic framework. The viol chorus gains a certain independence again from b. 15, primarily rhythmically, characterized by the eighth note upbeat. Four times general rests break the melodic line of all parts, casting an atmosphere of doubt before the closing of the sonata.

The first verse is set to music as an imploring lamentation. The importance of the motive "Gott, sei mir gnädig" is evident from its anticipation (somewhat by the first viol at the beginning of the sonata) and imitation (by the violin one bar later). This "sei mir gnädig" motive with two eighth notes followed by two quarter notes can be found also in Kuhnau's version (b. 9). The viol chorus provides the harmonic framework for both solo parts alto and violin. The motive "nach deiner Güte" is again imitated by the violin in the next bar. Kuhnau's version may well be the model of this lamenting motive (comp. b. 12-13 in Kuhnau). In the next phrase "und tilge alle meine Sünden"

⁵⁶¹ Grit Roos, *Gott sei mir gnädig nach deiner Güte (Psalm 51)*, 2 Vols., Dipl.-Arbeit Hochschule für Kirchenmusik Dresden 1999, Computerprinting, p. 1.

⁵⁶² Cf. Grit Roos, p. 33.

⁵⁶³ For a detailed musical analysis of this piece, compare Grit Roos, pp. 15-25. The analysis of this anonym piece in this study is partly a summary of Roos' analysis and partly my own observation.

the composer seems to highlight the word “alle” by setting it to a diminished seventh chord (b. 6) rather than the word “Sünden” which sounds more as a resolution. This melody section is repeated, first a fourth interval higher (b. 7-8), then a second lower (b. 11-12). A long melisma emphasizes the word “großen” (b. 13-17). In this section, a dialogue is enacted between the vocal part and the violin. From b. 18 the viol chorus imitates rhythmically the motive given by the vocal part breaking away from its pure harmonic function. At the end of this movement, the solo violin emphasizes the phrase “nach deiner großen Barmherzigkeit” by imitating freely the vocal motive.

The next movement is one of three movements that contain two Psalmverses in the same number. It begins with the text “Wasche mich rein” and constitutes a duet of the alto and tenor voices. The text is set first in syllabic declamation before the word “reinige” is treated with a whole measure melisma. The rhetorical figure *Circulatio* here denotes the wholeness of God’s purification of a sinner. The new Psalmverse begins in b. 9, where a break is inserted. The composer makes the new section clear by holding the C-Major harmony for the whole measure (b. 9) and by presenting the next phrase by the tenor only. The new soggetto revolves around the note *g*. Roos interprets that the transgressions is permanently in front of the psalmist’s eyes, that it is impossible for the human being to break out of this circle with his own strength.⁵⁶⁴ Such interpretation is confirmed by the next text section, which parallels the previous phrase. In this phrase, the composer utilizes chromatic lines to express the idea of sinfulness.

The next movement “An dir allein” is an aria-like composition. The bass and the violin perform the solo parts while the viol chorus is responsible for the harmonic basis. The violin plays an imitating role to the vocal part and from b. 10 it takes more of an accompanying role by consistently playing broken chords in eighth notes. In the phrase “hab’ ich gesündigt” a diminished fourth and a tritone have been used to express the sinfulness.

⁵⁶⁴ Grit Roos, p. 17.

The next number “Siehe, ich bin aus sündlichem Samen gezeuget” is the first number where all participants are involved. In contrast with the more personal prayer of the previous numbers, the present movement may refer to the doctrine of original sin, which affects all human beings in general, signified by the involvement of the entire ensemble. The ripieno choruses are presented independently of the solo voices. The composer inserts three powerful shouts to stress the importance of the word “Siehe”. The motive of the solo quartet is in psalmody style (with tone repetitions). In b. 6 the affect is intensified through chromatic steps. After a syllabic word-tone relation, the word “gezeuget” is treated with a melisma. The instruments and the ripieno chorus imitate the solo parts motive (b. 10ff). In b. 13 a climax and the end of the middle section is achieved. The composer differentiates the motive of the next phrase “und meine Mutter” set in quarter notes and “hat mich in Sünden empfangen” characterized by a dotted rhythm (b. 14-15). Interestingly, a few bars later the dotted rhythm motive is also applied to the phrase “und meine Mutter” in the alto (b. 18) but not in the tenor and bass (consistently in quarter notes). From b. 21 the texture is condensed and increased to prepared the end of the movement. The tension is increased through the insertion of the general rest and hidden octave parallels (between the bass and the violin) to *Ab* which falls on the word “Sünde” (b. 26).

The next number “Siehe, du hast Lust zur Wahrheit” begins with the same word as the previous number. The composer creates this movement as a contrast with the previous one. While the previous number had a tutti character, this movement is a duet of alto and tenor voices; it is also the first movement that is written in ternary time with more dancing characteristic. The structure of the first half of this verse is three times six-bar sections. The alto sings her phrase in six bars and on the last bar the tenor sings the phrase in a fourth lower (b. 6-11); finally both voices present the phrase together. Like in Kuhnau’s setting, the text “im Verborgnen liegt” ends (at least in the alto) with the lowest tone of her vocal range. The second half of the verse (b. 17) begins a new section: the motive is characterized by interval leaps (in contrast

to the more linear melodic line in the first motive) and by the use of eighth notes (absent in the first motive). The rather dull and mindless melisma on the word “heimlich” can be understood as a (secret) search for divine wisdom.

The next number “Entsündige mich mit Ysopen” revisits to the original affect of penitence. Gravity is achieved with dotted rhythms. The viol chorus participates in the motive and not only provides harmonic framework but also forms the rhythmical structures. The soprano’s motive is characterized by a fourth upbeat (b. 4, 6). The second half of the verse begins formally the second part of this movement (b. 10-24) which is obvious from the absence of all instrumental parts but the basso continuo. The phrase “wasche mich” repeats three times in a step higher and is called *Climax* in the baroque doctrine of rhetorical figure. Here in this case it might serve as intensification of the hope for forgiveness of sins. Despite the partition into two sections, the unity of this movement is accomplished through the maintenance of the initial dotted rhythm motive by the string instruments. The violin part even anticipates what the soprano sings (b. 17-20). The permanent repetition of the phrase “wasche mich” in this movement emphasizes the point Calvin made in his commentary that the sinner does not satisfy himself with one petition.⁵⁶⁵

The next movement is arguably the center of this cantata. It is formed in three parts: the initial part (b. 1-19) – fugue (b. 19-72) – last part (73-80). Here, the composer moves to completely different atmosphere. The joyful affect is expressed musically through the choice of three-four time. The phrase is introduced by the bass. A long melisma is applied to the word “Freude” which is also supported by the dactylic motive of the violin. The whole chorus enters in b. 9. The rhythmic bass motive of two quarter notes upbeat followed by half note and a quarter is retained. The four bars motive is repeated in a fourth lower and this repetition forms a symmetrical structure especially if one looks at the first ascending motive and the later descending motive of the soprano. The general rest inserted before “Freud und Wonne” helps to intensify the expectation of what is to follow. The phrase “daß die Gebeine

⁵⁶⁵ See Chapter 2.4 in this study.

fröhlich werden” begins with a fugue. The beginning of the subject with six tone repetitions in C-Minor for two bars did not move until the word “fröhlich” appears. This dull beginning seems to serve as a musical expression of the unmoved “broken bones”. This motive too is derived from Kuhnau’s version (comp. b. 1-8 in Kuhnau). The difference is that in the melodic line assigned to the word “fröhlich” goes downward in Kuhnau’s version and upward in the anonym composer’s. The exposition of the fugue is completed in b. 38. The motive of the episode (b. 39-47) expounds from the subject and the counter subject. The motive “fröhlich, fröhlich” (b. 38-39, bass; 39-40, soprano) is a reminiscence of the similar motive in b. 22-23. The violin presents the subject partially (b. 44-46). In b. 48, the second exposition begins. The ripieno chorus strengthens the solo voices by doubling them (b. 48ff). The instrumental parts play mostly *colla parte* with the vocal parts. The last part “die du zerschlagen hast” is composed as a contrast with the previous part: it is set in four-four time with a heavy tempo and characterized by its burdensome eighth notes.

The next number is a short recitative for tenor on the text “Verbirge dein Antlitz vor meinen Sünden”. The phrase “und tilge alle meine Missetat” repeats. This implies that the composer encountered difficulties in following the language flow due to his lack of prior experience in composing opera.⁵⁶⁶

The phrase “Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herze” is set to music in vocal trio between alto, tenor, and bass. Two Psalmverses are included in this movement. The first verse is homophonic. The first half of the first verse is interrupted by a quaver rest (b. 3) and before the next verse a greater caesura takes place (b. 5-6). The word “reines” is emphasized by its melodic impetus and the melisma in the alto, which forms a *Circulatio* figure. Similarly, the second verse consists of two sections. In both sections the motive is first introduced by each voice then sung together to form the final cadence. Here likewise the composer separates the phrase “Verwirf mich nicht” from “von deinem Angesicht” not only through rests but also through the contrast

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. Grit Roos, p. 21.

between polyphonic and homophonic setting. An uncomfortable seventh interval is utilized in “Verwirf mich nicht” (b. 6-7, all three voices). The phrase “und nimm deinen heiligen Geist nicht von mir” is first set in a descending melodic line followed by a sudden fourth leap (b. 8-9) as if the Holy Spirit is both given- and can be taken away from above.

The next number is a chorus on the text “Tröste mich wieder”. As is common in the work of various composers, this text is set to music in ternary time, chosen to signify joyfulness. While the vocal parts start down-beat, the continuo begins on the second beat. First, three upper voices are supported by the instrumental continuo then the motive is taken over by the instrumental parts supported by the vocal- and instrumental bass. The next phrase “und der freudige Geist” is set in a fugue. The subject is characterized with natural accents on the second beat due to the longer note values (b. 8-10) and a melisma on the word “freudige”. It is not a coincidence that the composer had chosen the alto to begin this phrase. As it is evident in the writings of Johann Saubert on the symbolism of voices, the alto strongly correlates to the guidance of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁶⁷ The joyful spirit (*der freudige Geist*) can only be given by the Holy Spirit. The subject sung by the alto is then answered by the *comes* sung by the soprano (b. 12-16). The phrase “enthalte mich” did not appear until the soprano almost finishes the subject (b. 15). The bass continues with the *dux* again and at the same time, the string instruments enter (b. 17). The viol chorus plays mostly in *colla parte*, while the violin obtains an independent voice. Four bars later (b. 21) the *dux* is answered by the *comes* sung by the tenor, who is supported by the ripieno voices. Despite the complete presentation by each voice, the composer extends the exposition by adding two more entries (b. 24, alto; b. 26, soprano), perhaps to emphasize the overflowing joy. The word “enthalte” is sung in third parallel with long melisma by the solo alto and solo tenor while the solo soprano, supported by the ripieno and together with the continuo, presents the pedal point on g (b.

⁵⁶⁷ For more detailed explanation, see the musical analysis of the same name cantata by Telemann (Frankfurt 1720) below.

31-33), which shall describe God's providence in upholding the sinner. After all participants entered in b. 34, the pedal point is again presented from the highest to the lowest parts protecting the inner parts which potentially can go astray if not kept by the goodness of God's faithfulness.

The next number is a recitative for soprano. Like the previous recitative, here we can find also word repetition atypical of a recitative. Even the initial sounds more like a melody of an aria. At the end of this number, to express the word "bekehren" the composer changes the harmonic context from G-Minor to a sudden cadence in Bb-Major (b. 6).

The next verse "Errete mich, mein Gott" is set in an aria-like movement. The solo violin plays a characteristic motive, which expresses the affect of the plea while the viol chorus plays in eighth notes motion from the beginning to the end. This viol chorus accompaniment serves also as an anticipation and preparation for the solo tenor, which also sings the first half of the first mostly in eighth notes (b. 5-11). The use of eighth notes accompaniment is rather ambiguous in this movement. In the case of many other works, such harmonic accompaniment expresses the fear and trembling of the anxious soul before God. This is true only for the first half of this movement. As for the second half, an examination of the text indicates a description of the contrary notion, i.e. consolation and trust in God's righteousness in His forgiveness. The turning point of the atmosphere should take place in the short instrumental interlude (b. 12-13), where it comes to an expansion of tone ambitus and harmony.

The next number is a solo quartet on the text "Herr, tue meine Lippen auf". The movement is set without instrumental parts except for the continuo. The first motive is characterized by the insertion of a rest after the word "Herr" followed by fourth leap and the subsequent dotted rhythm. After separate callings of each voice, three voices sung and end the first phrase in homophonic cadence. The next motive "daß mein Mund deinem Ruhm verkündige" is characterized by the syncopated accent falls on the word "deinen". The composer relates "tue meine Lippen auf" and "deinen Ruhm

verkündige” by applying motivic association of the fourth leap and the dotted rhythm in both phrases. In b. 11 the first phrase is presented without the word “Herr” and enters before the previous phrase finishes its course, so that in this way continuity is granted. The same is true in the transition to the repetition of the second phrase in b. 13. At the end of the movement, at least three voices present “deinen Ruhm verkündige” in homophony.

The next number “Denn du hast nicht Lust zum Opfer” is a short composition done in the manner of a recitativo accompagnato. The instruments do not present any specific motive and function as the harmonic framework for the solo bass. The bass utters a merry dance-like expression. There are two words with a melisma treatment: the strongly related words “Lust” and “gefallen”. The figure *Circulatio* is applied on the first word while the second one gains a longer melisma that is closed also with *Circulatio* (b. 6). What is rather unclear in this movement is the negative character of the text: the more or less dancing character contradicts somehow the negation of what is pleasing to God. A probable explanation is that the dance-like character of this number is chosen consciously by the composer to parallel the next number.

The next number “Die Opfer, die Gott gefallen” is set again as a solo quartet. While the text describes God’s pleasure, the composer chooses on the contrary a more serious character for the music. This suggests that the dancing-character of the previous movement does not represent the joy of sacrificing a burnt offering but expresses the recklessness or thoughtlessness of the sinner. There is a strong motivic and harmonic connection between the second bar of this movement and the first bar of the sonata. It is certainly difficult to claim that the beginning motive of the sonata anticipates this number, for it would be much too early. Retrospective view suggests that the textless sonata obtains content and meaning in this number and furthermore, in this way this verse is indirectly related to and interpreted by the first phrase “Gott, sei mir gnädig nach deiner Güte”, which similarly represents penitence and sorrow. This basic affect is given further emphasis by the melisma on the

word “geängster”, which moves in a hesitant downward melodic line. To increase the tension as well as assure the continuity to the next last movement, this number ends with the dominant chord G-Major.

The closing chorus “Tue wohl an Zion” starts with a Tutti entrance in upbeat. This number is the third one containing two Psalm verses in a movement. The most important word in this first half of the first verse is “wohl”, which is repeated four times and embedded in the vacuum of the rests. The instrumental parts confirm the petition by imitating the rhythmic motive in major key. After the four bars instrumental interlude, all vocal parts enter with the second half verse “baue die Mauern zu Jerusalem” (b. 13) so that we have a bar structure of 8 + 4 + 4 (+1) in this opening chorus. The last verse of this Psalm is set to music in four-four time and begins with the solo quartet in polyphone accompanied by the continuo. The first half of this last verse begins with a fugato and closes with a homophone section (b. 18-24). The second half verse “dann wird man Farren auf deinem Altar opfern” has a more demanding setting as a great closing fugue. Compared with the already joyful motive of the fugue subject “daß die Gebeine fröhlich werden”, it is safe to claim that the composer has managed to create a more joyful and expressive moving climax here. Three eighth notes upbeat held back by a half note before continuing with its dynamic melodic line accomplishes this. It is noteworthy that the hesitant melisma motive of “geängster” in “Die Opfer, die Gott gefallen” has been transformed and ‘redeemed’ on the “Altar” for the expression of joy. The subject is first introduced by the bass and given a tonal answer by the tenor (the fifth leap *c-g* in the bass is answered with a fourth leap *g-c* by the tenor in b. 27). The complete exposition of all voices is achieved in b. 32. After a short episode of three bars, the first viol presents the subject in the form of a *comes* imitated by the violin who presents the *dux*. The subject is not always presented in completeness, but the continuing presence of its beginning motive helps create the density of the fugue.

Now, we will turn to another same name cantata composed later by Telemann. The score of the five-movement cantata *Gott sei mir gnädig nach*

deiner Güte for the 11th Sunday after Trinity is based on a set of parts preserved in the Municipal and University Library in Frankfurt am Main, under the signature Ms. Ff. Mus. 1071.⁵⁶⁸ The text of the first movement is taken from Psalm 51:1 while the text of the other movements is the work of Erdmann Neumeister.

In the opening choruses, the instrumental parts double the vocal parts at the unison. Telemann utilizes cantus firmus style in the soprano part as well as interpolates lines in a fugato motet style. The tenor opens this first movement by anticipating the cantus firmus motive presented one and a half bars later by the soprano. The alto imitates the motive rather freely while the bass more faithfully to the cantus firmus (b. 3). In b. 6, the motive of the tenor serves as a mediating point between the previous and the next cantus firmus motives. The range extends from *f#* to *b* and contains the same notes as in the motive of “Gott sei mir gnädig” (b. 3-6, soprano); at the same time the interval leaps (a third leap followed by step progression downward) anticipates the cantus firmus motive of “nach deiner Güte” (b. 7-10, soprano). Through this pivotal point in the tenor voice, the cantus firmus of the first phrase is connected. There is also a striking correspondence between “nach deiner Güte” motive in this present cantata and the motive of “nach deiner großen Barmherzigkeit” of the chorale melody *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* at least partially. The word “Güte” is given a coloratura treatment in all three lower voices (b. 8-10). In rhyme with it, the word “Sünde” is also in coloratura (b. 14-16, alto). The cantus firmus of the phrase “und tilge meine Sünde” is anticipated by the tenor and followed imitatively by the alto (b. 11). The alto begins with another note but ends with same note as the soprano while tenor begins with the same note as the soprano but ends up in *b* (b. 12), that is, the same note as the last note of the last cantus firmus (b. 21, soprano). It is likely to be meant as another mediating point that contains both motives of the phrase “und tilge meine Sünde” and “nach deiner großen Barmherzigkeit”. This last phrase (b.

⁵⁶⁸ Traugott Fedtke, Preface to Telemann, Kantate *Gott sei mir gnädig*, ed. Traugott Fedtke, Frankfurt: C. F. Peters, 1987.

16-23) is characterized by coloratura passages on the word “Barmherzigkeit” in all three lower voices, third leaps on the word “großen” in the bass (b. 18), and finally a reminiscence of “nach deiner Güte” motive in the ‘coda’ of the phrase “nach deiner großen Barmherzigkeit” (b. 20-21, bass).

The second movement is an aria for soprano (or tenor).⁵⁶⁹ Like the first movement, this second movement contains precisely 23 bars. The first and the second oboes are unison in both arias, contain no independent parts but are written to conform to the unison first and second violins. Dotted rhythms in the lower instrumental parts dominate and create an expressive (*pathetische*) atmosphere that strengthens the content of this movement. The text contains a petition to God for the forgiveness of sins and the pains of hell caused by the sinner’s accusing conscience. The first line “Ach großer Gott erbarme dich bei meinen großen Sünden” is set in a sequential descending motion picturing the humble prayer of the sinner. While the first line is composed in B-Minor tonality, the second line “Laß deine Gnadenhände mich der schweren Last entbinden” is treated in D-Major. A dominant seventh chord is used to express the word “schweren” in b. 8. In b. 9, the same word is repeated in ascending melodic line preparing and confirming the word “entbinden”. After a short interlude, the sinner moves from a prayer to a narration of his soul’s condition when he laments: “Ach mein Gewissen klagt mich an und schreiet in dem Herzen”. A short chromatic line appears in the beginning of the phrase (b. 12). The word “schreiet” reaches the highest note *g* followed by an eighth leap (b. 13). The last phrase “du hast dies und das getan! Das macht mir Höllenschmerzen” is characterized by a repetition of the word “du” in a fourth leap (b. 14, 17), a short coloratura on the word “Hölle” and a chromatic ascending line in the bass (b. 14). Towards the end of the movement (b. 20-21), the bass part presents again the same chromatic line while the last melodic line played by the oboes has a motivic connection with the melodic

⁵⁶⁹ The music collection in Frankfurt Library includes a tenor part, which is identical to soprano part but notated in tenor clef. According to Fedtke, it is obviously designed “for use depending of forces available”, while “Berlin MS gives notation in soprano clef only” (Fedtke, Preface to Telemann, Kantate *Gott sei mir gnädig*).

line of “Höllenschmerzen” suggesting a closing instrumental postlude that revisits the accusations of the conscience and the pains of hell it causes.

The third movement as a whole is a recitativo secco for alto and bass. However, there is an exchange between recitative section and aria-like section, which is characterized by small ambitus without leaps (b. 4-6, 23-25, 33-36). Casting the whole cantata as a chiasm, this third movement constitutes the central movement. This recitative contains two equal parts with 18 bars each: the first part presented by the bass (b. 1-18) and the second part by the alto (b. 19-36). Regarding the content, the first part bespeaks the utter helplessness of the sinner caused by his transgression, for which God condemns him in righteous anger and the earth, the heavens, and the angels forsake him. The second part begins with a rhetorical question on the impossibility to escape from God, so that the only resort the sinner has for salvation is God alone who reveals his Gospel of forgiveness in Christ Jesus. The text corresponds strikingly with Luther’s theological use of the law. Since the turning point of the sinner’s soul takes place in the present movement, this recitative must be the center of the whole cantata. The first phrase “Ich weiß sonst weder Trost noch Rat” is typified by an unpleasant diminished fourth leap to illustrate a dreariness of soul. A diminished seventh chord is used for the second phrase “Mich martert meine Missetat”. The phrase “Wer will mich von dem Bösen befreien” is composed in walking bass, in probable allusion to the word “befreien”. The same word is repeated in b. 5, this time on a long minim *g* stating that the freedom has not yet come. The plagal cadence suits the unanswered question best. Three semiquavers accompany the words “Der Teufel” while a diminished seventh chord falls on “(Gottes) gerechter Zorn” (b. 6-7). Harmonically, a D7 chord after F#-Minor may sound sweet (b. 8) but the composer’s interpretation is probably the tritone interval between *f#* in the instrumental bass and *c* in the vocal part. The text reads: “so muß ich zur Verdammnis fort”. Telemann also utilizes rhetorical figure such as *Circulatio* in the phrase “Der Himmel ist zu rein“ and “und nimmt kein unrein Volk der

Sünden ein“ though in the latter one the broken chord used is different.⁵⁷⁰ A *mutatio toni* from D-Major to D-Minor also appears when the text reads: “Die Engel stehn betrübt” (b. 14). Another tritone interval occurs paradoxically in the phrase “Darum geschieht mir recht” (b. 17). It is a musical commentary on God’s righteous judgment in letting the sinner to be forsaken (“daß ich verlassen bin”). In the second part, the phrase “Gott sei mir Sünder gnädig” is presented together with a military motif in the continuo (b. 23). It could serve as a signal for the most important phrase in this movement, or as an allusion to the Last Judgment.

The second movement, as already have been mentioned above, is presented by the alto. Whether there is any indication for this change from the perspectives of Lutheran theology of music is subject to discussion. Steiger has shown in her article that J. S. Bach still knew the symbolism of voices and has made use of it.⁵⁷¹ Although she does not claim to have found the key to an overall plan for Bach’s disposition of the vocal setting, such study may contribute to a general conception about the choice of voice in relation to the theological symbolism in the first half of the 17th century. The continuation of Lutheran theology of music in that period can be found among others in the writings of the Nürnberg theologian Johann Saubert (1592-1646). In his sermon on Cantata Sunday of the year 1623, Saubert tried to show the rank of music for the individual piety, wherein he interpreted the four voices allegorically. Of the alto he explained:

“Den Alt führet der H. Geist: der ist für sich selbst Altus, ja altissimus, der höchste GOtt/ Act. 5. Welchem kein Ort zu hoch ist. Dann wo sollen wir hingehen für Gottes Geist? Führen wir gen Himmel/ so ist er da/ Psal. 139.”⁵⁷²

It is unclear whether Telemann was acquainted with the writings of Saubert but it is possible Saubert influences the choice of the alto voice in this

⁵⁷⁰ A broken diminished chord is used on the words “unrein Volk der Sünden” (b. 13).

⁵⁷¹ Renate Steiger, “SVAVISSIMA MUSICA CHRISTO. Zur Symbolik der Stimmenlagen bei J. S. Bach“, in: *Musik und Kirche 61* (1991), pp. 318-324.

⁵⁷² Johann Saubert, *SeelenMusic/ Wie dieselbe am Sontag CANTATE im nächstverwichenen 1623. Jahr in der Kirch zu unser L. Frawen gehört worden*, Nürnberg: Simon Halbmayern: 1624, p. 15.

movement. The text of the second part of this central movement embodies a striking similarity with Saubert's interpretation on the alto voice:

“Ach nun, wo flieh ich hin, ich kann unmöglich von dir gehen, ich fahre fort, mit Bitten und mit Flehen. Gott sei mir Sünder gnädig. Nur blicke mich in Christo Jesu an. So siehst du nichts an mir, das mich verdammen kann. Und nun, ich glaube dies, und glaub es ganz gewiß, und bleibe fest dabei, daß ich von dir gerecht in Christo Jesu sei.”⁵⁷³

In a larger context, it is the role of the Holy Spirit to lead the believer to accept the forgiveness offered in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In a more specific context, it is even more striking to note that the message of the text speaks about the impossibility of escaping from God's presence and about the necessity to draw near to God as the believer's only choice (Neumeister's text is certainly also inspired from Ps. 139).

With the length of 101 bars (incl. the A' part of this da capo aria), the fourth movement is the longest movement in this cantata. It is sung by the soprano and set in a sixth-eight time. One cannot overlook the dancing-character of French influence in this movement. The structure is two-bar period but Telemann sometimes slides in an extra bar (comp. b. 8, 13, 17, 36) which is hardly French. What is present here are thus tradition and transformation. The text of part A moves between testimonial statement (“Gott öffnet sein erbarmend Herze”) and a thanksgiving to Jesus (“dein Blut mein Jesu schließt es auf”). The B part consists of 13 bars and deals with a statement of faith that contrasts with the first aria in the second movement. Certain parallels between the first and the second arias can be drawn in confirmation of the chiasm-structure of this cantata:

⁵⁷³ Telemann, Cantata *Gott sei mir gnädig*, third movement, b. 19-35.

Second movement

Ach grosser Gott erbarme dich
bei meinen großen Sünden!

Laß deine Gnadenhände mich
der schweren Last entbinden.

Ach mein Gewissen klagt mich an
und schreiet in dem Herzen:

du hast dies und das getan!

Das macht mir Höllenschmerzen.

Fourth movement

Gott öffnet sein erbarmend Herze,

dein Blut Jesu schließt es auf.

Daß ich von aller meiner Sünde
gewünschten Trost und Rettung finde.

Mein Glaube siehet freudig drauf.

The words “Herze”, “Sünde”, and “finde” are rhymed in Neumeister’s libretto. There is also motivic relation on those three words in Telemann’s composition (comp. b. 25, 46, and 48). The second rhyme between the phrase “dein Blut Jesu schließt es auf” and “Mein Glaube siehet freudig drauf” is also set to music by Telemann with certain connection: the frequent repeated motive of two semiquavers and two quavers such as on the words “Blut” and “Jesu” (b. 13) is somewhat related with the motive of the words “Glaube” (b. 51) and “freudig” (b. 52). Moreover, in both these sections Telemann gives coloratura passages to the words “auf” (b. 16-17, 35-36) and “freudig” (b. 52-55).

The last movement is a chorus whose melody borrows from the chorale melody *Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten*. This present chorus is a final answer to the prayer expressed in the first movement. Like in the first chorus, the instrumental parts double the vocal parts at the unison. A comparison between the original text by Georg Neumark (1657) and by Neumeister is as followed:

G. Neumark's original text

Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten
und hoffet auf ihn allezeit,
den wird er wunderbar erhalten
in aller Not und Traurigkeit.
Wer Gott dem Allerhöchsten traut,
der hat auf keinen Sand gebaut.

E. Neumeister's text

Ich zweifle nicht ich bin erhöret,
erhöret bin ich zweifelsfrei.
Weil sich der Trost im Herzen mehret,
drum will sich enden mein Geschrei.
Erbarme dich, erbarme dich,
Gott mein Erbarmer über mich.

A comparison of the above shows a perfect maintaining of the rhymes created in the original text in Neumeister's text. The result of the chorale parody is that the relation between text and music has not changed much. Although we cannot compare both texts in details (line by line), certain correspondences between the messages conveyed in both versions are obvious: God as the only hope and answer to the struggle of human beings, God who sustains and comforts the sad, and finally, God whose promise never fails. The repetition of the first and fifth lines in the second and last lines is characteristic in Neumeister's text. It is noteworthy that the multiplication of comfort (gradual assurance of salvation) resonates more with Calvin's than Luther's theology. Finally, the closing prayer for forgiveness of sins – though consistently maintains the chiasm-structure given the opening “Gott sei mir gnädig” – is rather awkward from the perspective of Protestant liturgical flow. In a free composed libretto like this, one would expect instead a thanksgiving prayer or even a doxology.

Whether the composer of the first anonym cantata was Telemann, it gives a clear outline of the aesthetic development in the musical settings of Psalm 51 in Germany. While the first was composed in pre-Neumeister non-madrigalian style, the later is set in the new manner. In the later cantata by Telemann, the style mixture is evident from the German mottetic principle of the cantus firmus arrangement in the first movement, the inflection of speech of Italian affect-oriented aria with its expressive dotted rhythms, and the transformed dancing-like character of French elements in the fourth

movement. From the perspective of a Lutheran theology of music, Telemann's choice for alto might reflect Saubert's allegory of four voices. Neumeister's parody of Neumark's chorale melody *Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten* successfully maintains the word-tone relation by keeping the rhymes. Here, the parody rule is not that both texts should lend themselves to a line-by-line comparison, but that the overall message of both versions correspond to each other, so that a basic character of affection, which undoubtedly is in relation with both texts, can also be corroborated in the comparison of Neumark's and Neumeister's texts.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷⁴ Though not so obvious as in some baroque sacred songs or in Luther, the text's basic character of affection had also been carefully considered in the parody practice of the Genevan Psalters. See Andreas Marti, "Aspekte einer hymnologischen Melodieanalyse", in: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 40 (2001), pp. 167-173.

3.9. Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750)

To close a study with Johann Sebastian Bach in a history of musical settings of Psalm 51 in Germany can be perceived by many as a great cadence in a musical composition. However, this great cadence would be easily disturbed by a choice of a parody instead of an original composition by Bach. Indeed, *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* is the only complete setting of Psalm 51 by Bach which is a parody of another great piece by Pergolesi. The reason for doing this parody practice within Bach's late years in 1746/47 remains a secret till now.⁵⁷⁵ However, we can try to describe a biographical context next to the year when Bach underwent this effort.

Through the publication of J. A. Scheibe's journal *Der critische Musikus* on 14 May 1737, Bach felt involved in a controversy. Although in his criticism, Scheibe praised Bach's extraordinary talent as a keyboard player, he went on to criticize Bach's compositions, stating that Bach could be admired by whole nations if he had more comforts and did not withdraw naturalness in his compositions "by his bombastic and intricate procedures, and obscured their beauty by an excess of art."⁵⁷⁶ The bombast has led both the natural to the artificial, and the sublime to the dark. In Bach's compositions, one can admire both "the arduous work and an exceptional effort which is used in vain anyway, because it fights against nature."⁵⁷⁷ The controversy with Scheibe went on for several more years since 1737. Scheibe seemed to climb down with a conciliatory review of Bach's Italian Concerto written on 22 December 1739 in which he praised that the composition was "set up in the best way"

⁵⁷⁵ Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Die Bach-Kantaten: Einführungen zu sämtlichen Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2006, p. 628.

⁵⁷⁶ "Dieser grosse Mann würde die Bewunderung gantzer Nationen seyn, wenn er mehr Annehmlichkeit hätte, und wenn er nicht seinen Stücken durch ein schwülstiges und verworrenes Wesen das Natürliche entzöge, und ihre Schönheit durch allzugrosse Kunst verdunkelte" (Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus*, Leipzig 1745, Reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970, p. 62).

⁵⁷⁷ "Man bewundert an beyden die beschwerliche Arbeit und eine ausnehmende Mühe, die doch vergebens angewendet ist, weil sie wider die Natur streitet" (Scheibe, p. 62).

and could be considered “as a perfect model of a well set up solo concerto”.⁵⁷⁸ However, the cooling down was temporary only until 1745 when Scheibe reprinted Birnbaum’s *Defense* with 164 polemic footnotes. He had not given up having the last word by refusing to revoke his attack of 1737. He blamed his opponents for their inability to prove that what he had said about Bach was wrong. Moreover, he said that far from being a libel, his writing of 1737 had rather been “praiseworthy than adverse”.⁵⁷⁹ In 1746, Christoph Gottlieb Schröter wrote a summary account of the controversy in which he praised Birnbaum for his “well-conceived *Defense*” that showed his native modesty and thoroughness and at the same time criticized Scheibe for not giving “any special answer” to Birnbaum’s *Defense* and for his injurious stubbornness. Schröter also considered Scheibe’s publication in the Sixth Number more as a shameful libel rather than a permissible satire. He then concluded:

“Since in the face of the anger thus aroused he has not adopted any modest or well-grounded position, but instead has heaped injury upon injury, it is to be feared that with his defamatory style of writing he will bring still more disturbance upon himself, which hardship no one, because of his other good qualities, wishes to see visited upon him.”⁵⁸⁰

It is safe enough to believe that Bach did not remain unaffected by the criticism of J. A. Scheibe. Mizler’s refutations of Scheibe insisted that Bach was not only able to write “the music of twenty or twenty-five years ago”, which had “the inner parts more fully than other composers”, but that he could write music which “was written entirely in accordance with the latest taste,

⁵⁷⁸ “Da dieses Stück auf die beste Art eingerichtet ist [...] Wer wird aber auch nicht so fort zugestehen, daß dieses Clavierconcert als ein vollkommenes Muster eines wohleingerichteten einstimmigen Concerts anzusehen ist?” (Scheibe, p. 637).

⁵⁷⁹ “Denn daß Herr Bach durch die im sechsten Stücke befindliche so genannte bedenkliche Stelle wirklich sollte beleidiget seyn worden, ist wohl nicht zu glauben, weil es klar genug ist, daß sie ihm vielmehr rühmlich, als nachtheilig ist“ (Scheibe on 17 April 1745, in *Bach-Dokumente*, Vol. 2, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969, p. 415).

⁵⁸⁰ Christoph Gottlieb Schröter, “A summary account of the controversy”, in: *The Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, ed. Hans T. David & Arthur Mendel, New York: W. W. Norton, 1945, p. 252.

and was approved by everyone.”⁵⁸¹ There is therefore a possibility that Bach could have been trying to prove his ability in suiting himself to his listeners by incorporating the new style in his compositions. If this is the case, then we can conclude that the Scheibe controversy has played a certain role in the making of *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*. Küster believes that the intensity of Bach’s occupation with Pergolesi’s *Stabat mater* not only shows his intension to integrate elements of the newer style into his composition, but also his ability to do it.⁵⁸² Even more, this arrangement might reveal that Bach was “as anxious to keep stylistically up-to-date as he was attracted by exemplary works of widely varying genres, styles, and techniques.”⁵⁸³ Beside the Scheibe controversy, Bach’s visit at the court of Friedrich II in Potstam on 7/8 May 1747 followed by the printing of *Musical Offering* dated on 10 July 1747 in Leipzig might serve as another ‘encouragement’ for the style galant if this cantata was truly performed on the 11th Sunday after Trinitatis in 1747.⁵⁸⁴

3.9.1. Bach’s understanding of church music

When Bach began his office as the Leipzig *Thomaskantor* in 1723, he must sign the *Revers*, which among other things contains of the maintenance of good order in the church music. The seventh item reads:

“Zu Beybehaltung guter Ordnung in denen Kirchen die *Music* dargestalt einrichten, daß sie nicht zulang währen, auch also beschaffen seyn möge, damit sie | nicht *opernhaftig* herauskommen, sondern die Zuhörer vielmehr zur Andacht aufmuntere.“⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸¹ Lorenz Christoph Mizler, “Refutations of Scheibe”, in: *The New Bach Reader. A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, ed. Hans T. David & Arthur Mendel, rev. Christoph Wolff, New York & London: W. W. Norton, 1998, p. 350.

⁵⁸² Konrad Küster, “Nebenaufgaben des Organisten, Aktionsfeld des Director musices. DIE VOKALMUSIK”, in: *Bach Handbuch*, ed. Konrad Küster, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999, p. 375.

⁵⁸³ Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*, New York: W. W. Norton, 2000, p. 333.

⁵⁸⁴ Compare Yoshitake Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke J. S. Bachs“, in: *Bach-Jahrbuch 74* (1988), pp. 55-57.

⁵⁸⁵ “Endgültiger Revers des Thomaskantors, Leipzig, 5. Mai 1723“, in: *Bach-Dokumente*, Vol. 1, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1963, p. 177.

From this fact, we can conclude that the introduction of the *empfindsam* style into the church music was Bach's own voluntary artistic decision, which also shows certain inclination and interest towards this new style.⁵⁸⁶

The function of music in liturgy as a spiritual preparation for the sermon has also been advocated by Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel (1696–1759), a wellknown spokesman for the Neumeister reform. A faithful adherent of the doctrine of affections, he believes in the power of music that can move the affections of the church attendants from their idle thoughts to the devotional mood: "So long as their affections have been moved just once by well-performed harmony, [...] they can easily last through the sermon because they have already been prepared for it."⁵⁸⁷ Interestingly, in the context of moving the affections in the right direction, Scheibel suggests the use of parody. He explains the procedure of its practice as followed:

"I take a secular composition from a cantata, make a parody of it from religious material and express just the same affection which the composition brings with it. Thus this affection will be moved just as if it had a secular object to which it was directed, and therefore it will not lose its force."⁵⁸⁸

In his belief, the affections in the church and theatrical music are actually the same. The only thing differs is the object of the affections. To support this opinion, he then gives several examples taken from Telemann's opera *Jupiter and Semele* and proposes religious parodies:

Ich empfinde schon die Triebe
Die der kleine Gott der Liebe/
Meiner Seelen eingepägt.
Ach wie kan sein Pfeil erquicken
Und die süße Glut entzücken

⁵⁸⁶ The opinion that Bach has not composed the *empfindsame* music such as the flute sonata from the *Musical Offering* (BWV 1079) with conviction and that he has written it not as his own ideal view but more as a concession for the taste of the young Prussia King Friedrich II has been somewhat established in the Bach-research (comp. Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Bach und der Pergolesi-Stil – ein weiteres Beispiel der Entlehnung?", in: *Bach und die Stile*, ed. Martin Geck, Dortmund: Klangfarben Musikverlag, 1999, p. 149).

⁵⁸⁷ Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel, *Zufällige Gedancken von der Kirchen-Music Wie Sie heutiges Tages beschaffen ist*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1721, p. 29; see also the study by Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone*, pp. 132-134.

Die er in mir hat erregt.

The piece could be ‘converted’ into a sacred aria by some slight content modifications:

Ich empfinde schon die Triebe
Die mein Jesus/ der die Liebe
Meiner Seelen eingepägt.
Ach! wie kan sein Wort erquicken/
Und des Glaubens Glut entzücken/
Den sein Geist in mir erregt.⁵⁸⁹

Scheibel’s parody theory, whether it is a parody from a secular or sacred composition, is build upon a principle that the new content should fit to the affections of the old composition; otherwise, one will have a new text in a total different context. More interestingly, the new *text* becomes now somehow the new *context* while the old *music* with its certain affections becomes now the *text*, or at least one should deal with it as *speaking music*. If for Kuhnau, instrumental music can only present definite meaning with the help of a text, Mattheson believes that since there is a close relationship between music and rhetoric, instrumental music should be able to make the audience understand the meaning of the music as if it were an actual speech.⁵⁹⁰ If a composer is able to turn his intention towards an idea of the inclination of the soul, then music without words could indeed function as speaking music:

“Auch ohne Worte in der bloßen Instrumentalmusik muß allemal und bei einer jeden Melodie die Absicht auf eine Vorstellung der regierenden Gemütsneigung

⁵⁸⁸ Scheibel, *Zufällige Gedancken*, p. 35; quotation is taken from Irwin, p. 133.

⁵⁸⁹ Scheibel, *Zufällige Gedancken*, p. 36; comp. Irwin, p. 132.

⁵⁹⁰ “Wird er aber auf eine edlere Art gerühret und will auch andere mit der Harmonie rühren, so muß er wahrhaftig alle Neigungen des Herzens durch bloße ausgesuchte Klänge und deren geschickte Zusammenfassung ohne Worte dergestalt auszudrücken wissen, daß der Zuhörer daraus, als ob es eine wirkliche Rede wäre, den Trieb, den Sinn, die Meinung und den Nachdruck, mit allen dazugehörigen Ein- und Abschnitten völlig begreifen und deutlich verstehen möge. Alsdenn ist es eine Lust! Dazu gehöret vielmehr Kunst und eine stärkere Einbildungskraft, wens einer ohne Worte als mit derselben Hülfe zu Wege bringen soll“ (quoted after Rudolf Schäfke, *Geschichte der Musikaesthetik in Umrissen*, pp. 303-304).

gerichtet sein, so daß die Instrumente mittels des Klanges gleichsam einen redenden und verständlichen Vortrag machen.“⁵⁹¹

In a parody practice, where the old music is treated as speaking music, the term “text-underlay” as the description of this practice is used most literally and correctly. Difficulties will arise if the new ‘context’ (that is, the new text) does not fit to the old text (the affections of music as speaking text). Should the composer then change the new text? This would be unthinkable if the new text is taken from the Scripture. Nevertheless, if the composer decides to change the old music, would it not betray the parody practice it self? Which rule does it apply in the parody practice: “Harmonia Orationis Domina” or “Oratio Harmoniae Domina”? All those questions show the problematic nature of a parody practice. We should see how Bach has dealt with this problem in his *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*.

3.9.2. Musical analysis of *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* (Leipzig 1747)

The existence of a composition on Psalm 51 connected with Bach was discovered afresh in the music world in the middle of the 20th century. The initial report came from the publication in 1957 of a letter from the emeritus Leipzig Thomaskantor Karl Straube to the philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer in June 1946. Gadamer, at that time the rector of the Leipzig University, had held a speech in March 1946 representing Straubes on “Bach and Weimar” in the Bach town. In his letter Straube wrote among other things:

“Erstaunlich ist, wie der Meister die Werke seiner Berufsgenossen für die eigenen Zwecke veränderte [...] Im Autograph ist eine bemerkenswerte Bearbeitung der Partitur von Pergolesis ‚Stabat mater‘ erhalten, eingerichtet für die Gottesdienste der Thomaskirche. Zunächst gab er dem Werk des Italieners an Stelle der altkirchlichen Sequenz eine versifizierte Fassung des 51. Psalmes in deutscher Sprache [...] Dan veränderte er den Notentext der Singstimmen, indem er größer gehaltene Notenwerte des Originals in reiche Melismen auflöste, um Steigerungen zu erreichen, die er zur Ausdeutung der deutschen Worte für erforderlich erachtete. Endlich veränderte er die Chorfassungen durch

⁵⁹¹ Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Hamburg 1739, p. 127.

Neugestaltungen nach den Regeln des doppelten Kontrapunktes und mit dem Endzweck, erhöhte Wirkungen zu schaffen.“⁵⁹²

Before we see how Bach changed the original music for the better interpretation of the new German text and for creating the increased effects, we should first compare the older Catholic Latin text with the newer ‘Protestant’ German text:

⁵⁹² Quoted after Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Die Bach-Kantaten*, p. 625.

Stabat Mater

- I Stabat mater dolorosa
iuxta crucem lacrimosa,
dum pendebat filius.
- II Cuius animam gementem,
contristatam ac dolentem,
pertransivit gladius.
- III O quam tristis et afflicta
fuit illa benedicta
mater unigeniti!
- IV Quae moerebat et dolebat,
et tremebat cum videbat
nati poenas incliti.
- V Quis est homo qui non fleret,
Christi matrem si videret
in tanto supplicio?
Quis non posset contristari
piam matrem contemplari
dolentem cum filio?
Pro peccatis suae gentis
vidit Jesum in tormentis
et flagellis subditum.
- VI Vidit suum dulcem natum
morientem desolatum,
dum emisit spiritum.
- VII Eia mater, fons amoris,
me sentire vim doloris
fac, ut tecum lugeam.
- VIII Fac ut ardeat cor meum
in amando Christum Deum,
ut sibi complaceam.

Paraphrase

- I Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden,
deinen Eifer laß verschwinden,
laß mich deine Huld erfreun.
- II Ist mein Herz in Missetaten
und in große Schuld geraten,
wasch es selber, mach es rein.
- III Missetaten, die mich drücken,
muß ich mir itzt selbst aufrücken,
Vater, ich bin nicht gerecht.
- IV Dich erzürnt mein Tun und Lassen,
meinen Wandel mußt du hassen,
weil die Sünde mich geschwächt.
- V Wer wird seine Schuld verneinen
oder gar gerecht erscheinen?
Ich bin doch ein Sündenknecht.
Wer wird, Herr, dein Urteil mindern
oder deinen Ausstrich hindern?
Du bist recht, dein Wort ist recht.
Siehe, ich bin in Sünd empfangen,
Sünden wurden ja begangen
da, wo ich gezeuget ward.
- VI Siehe, du willst die Wahrheit haben,
die geheimen Weisheitsgaben,
hast du selbst mir offenbart.
- VII Wasche mich doch rein von Sünden,
daß kein Makel mehr zu finden,
wenn der Isop mich besprengt.
- VIII Laß mich Freud und Wonne spüren,
daß die Beine triumphieren,
da kein Kreuz mich hart gedrängt.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>IX Sancta mater, istud agas,
 crucifixi fige plagas
 cordi meo valide.
 Tui nati vulnerati,
 tam dignati pro me pati,
 poenas mecum divide.
 Fac me vere tecum flere,
 crucifixi condolere,
 donec ego vixero.
 Juxta crucem tecum stare,
 te libenter sociare
 in planctu desidero.
 Virgo virginum praeclara,
 mihi jam non sis amara
 fac me tecum plangere.</p> | <p>IX Schau nicht auf meine Sünden,
 tilge sie, laß sie verschwinden,
 Geist und Herze mache neu.
 Stoß mich nicht von deinen Augen,
 und soll fort mein Wandel taugen,
 o, so steh dein Geist mir bei.
 Gib, o Höchster, Trost in Herze,
 heile wieder nach dem Schmerze,
 es enthalte mich dein Geist.
 Denn ich will die Sünder lehren,
 daß sie sich zu dir bekehren
 und nicht tun, was Sünde heißt.
 Laß, o Tilger meiner Sünden,
 alle Blutschuld gar verschwinden,
 daß mein Loblied, Herr, dich ehrt.</p> |
| <p>X Fac ut portem Christi mortem,
 passionis fac consortem,
 et plagas recolere.
 Fac me plagis vulnerari,
 cruce hac inebriari
 ob amorem filii.</p> | <p>X Oeffne Lippen, Mund und Seele,
 daß ich deinen Ruhm erzähle,
 Der alleine dir gehört.</p> |
| <p>XIIa Quando corpus morietur,
 fac ut animae donetur
 Paradisi gloria.</p> | <p>Xa Denn du willst kein Opfer haben,
 sonst brächt ich meine Gaben;
 Rauch und Brand gefällt dir nicht.
 Herz und Geist, voll Angst und Grämen,
 wirst du, Höchster, nicht beschämen,
 weil dir das dein Herze bricht.</p> |
| <p>XI Inflammatus et accensus
 per te virgo sim defensus
 in die judicii.
 Fac me cruce custodiri,</p> | <p>XI Laß dein Zion blühend dauern,
 baue die verfallnen Mauern,
 alsdann opfern wir erfreut.
 Alsdann soll dein Ruhm erschallen,</p> |

morte Christi praemuniri,
 confoveri gratia.
 Amen.

alsdann werden dir gefallen
 Opfer der Gerechtigkeit.
 Amen.

Although regarding the content, the two poems are related only peripherally, the development of the thoughts show striking correspondences in the verse structure:⁵⁹³

	Stabat mater		Psalmparaphrase
1-4	Description of the painful mother	1-4	Confession of the repentant sinners
5-6	(Rhetorical) question	5-6	(Rhetorical) question
9-16	Invocation and supplications	9-15	Supplication for the forgiveness of sins
17-20	Supplication for the saving grace	16-20	Confidence in answer, praise proclamation

The opening movement of the first verse does not start with the plea for God's mercy, but immediately with the second half of the first verse "Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden".⁵⁹⁴ This phrase is underlaid in a chain of dissonances and resolutions (b. 12-16) and finally ends with third parallel (b. 17). Through this new phrase, the dissonance and resolution chain gets a new meaning of struggle for forgiveness and its redemption. "Deinen Eifer laß verschwinden" occupies sequential musical sentence of four bars (b. 18-21), first in Bb-Minor tonality, and then in Ab-Major. "Laß mich deine Huld erfreun" is perhaps the only phrase of the first verse, which does not go together with the older content ("Dum pendeat filius"). The tonality is in F-Minor (b. 22-23) and C-Minor (b. 24-26). Toward the end of the movement (b. 42) Bach has added a fermata over a rest that cannot be found in

⁵⁹³ This comparison is showed in the article of Emil Platen, "Eine Pergolesi-Bearbeitung Bachs", in: *Bach-Jahrbuch* 48 (1961), p. 38.

⁵⁹⁴ Comp. Martin Petzoldt, *Bach-Kommentar*, Vol. 1: *Die geistlichen Kantaten des 1. bis 27. Trinitatis-Sonntages*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004 (= *Internationale Bachakademie*, Vol. 14, 1), p. 296.

Pergolesi.⁵⁹⁵ It is a *Tmesis* figure, which separates the phrase “meine Sünden, laß verschwinden” and “deine Huld laß mich erfreun”.

The second verse repeats the same content as the previous one as it is called *parallelismus membrorum* in Hebrew poetry. In b. 83 ff., Bach modifies Pergolesi’s simple succession of repeated notes into a broad tensional arc.⁵⁹⁶ The text reads: “ist mein Herz in Missetaten und in große Schuld greaten”. Bach leaves the original vocal part in Pergolesi to the first violin alone, which also played the same notes. Through this transformation, new interval leaps appear for the sake of emphasizing certain words: a diminished fourth (b. 84-85), a tritone (b. 87) and a broken diminished seventh chord (b. 89). It is interesting to observe that despite this melodic elaboration in favor of the text, this phrase is somehow placed just in the right place where the continuo played a pedal point (b. 83-89). The phrase then can also serve as a kind of musical commentary to the text: though it is filled with evil and burdened with great guilt and peril, the heart of a believer is kept secure in God’s providence. The last phrase “wasch es selber, mach es rein” is then presented for the last time. The special diminished fourth interval on the words “in Missetaten” (b. 84-85) is inverted (read: redeemed) on the words “mach es rein” (b. 98, 103) and echoed by the instrumental parts (first and second violins).

The somewhat brash character of the fourth verse matches very well the new German text. The syncopated rhythmic of both the vocal and the instrumental parts is characteristic in this movement (b. 25 ff.). Sometimes the vocal part joins the bass in downbeat against the string instruments (b. 35-38). Bach seems to maintain the syncopated rhythmic more consistently than Pergolesi. So for instance he modifies the simple uniform rhythmic of the *Stabat mater* by inserting the syncopated rhythmic on the word “Sünde” (b. 44). This word is specially emphasized by Bach in this movement. In b. 36,

⁵⁹⁵ Comp. Petzoldt, *Bach-Kommentar*, p. 296.

⁵⁹⁶ Comp. Platen, “Pergolesi-Bearbeitung”, p. 44; see also Diethard Hellmann, Preface to Johann Sebastian Bach, *Psalm 51*, Kirchheim/Teck: Hänssler Musik, 1990 (= *Stuttgarter Bach-Ausgaben*, Serie C, Supplement: Von Johann Sebastian Bach bearbeitete Werke), p. vii.

the word is best placed in a descending minor second interval, followed by a sequence in a fifth lower where the text reads “mich geschwächt”. The last note *d* of the vocal part creates dissonances with the *eb* of the first violin and the *c* of the second violin (b. 38). In b. 45-46 and 55-56, the word is presented in embellishment, replaces the more declamative presentation of the old text. A more extensive embellishment is added in favor of this word, creating a light musical variant on the original (b. 84-85, 94-95).⁵⁹⁷ As in the second verse, the short motive *d – f – ab* of the word “Sünde” (b. 84, 94) is inverted in the violins parts (b. 101-102). In other words, Bach invented the motive for his embellishment from the instrumental parts, so that the end of this fourth number may sound as being closed by an implied resolution.

The fifth and sixth verses are composed together in one movement. As already noted above, the fifth verse contains rhetorical questions, which at the same time reveal the humble confession of sins. The first line is strongly associated with Ps. 32 (verse 5), another Psalm which belongs to the seven penitential psalms. The second line is a reminiscence of Rom. 3:10.⁵⁹⁸ The third line, the self identification as a slave to sin, is taken from Joh. 8:34.⁵⁹⁹ Lines in this sixth verse originate from Ps. 51 are the first (51:4b), the third (51:6b) the second line is probably inspired by Col. 2:14; in the seventh verse, Ps. 51 appears in the first (51:5a), and the third line (51:5b) while the second line can be compared to Joh. 1:13; 3:6.⁶⁰⁰ If we compare the present text with the original, we can see certain correspondence between both: both verses begin with the question pronoun “Who” and ends with a statement that implies humility. The eighth notes violins accompaniment too is suitable to the affect of humble confession in this verse. In b. 5, Bach modifies the long note *g* by embedding two eighth rests to emphasize “ich bin” whose melodic line is borrowed from the second violin. Another breakdown of the long note can also be found in b. 11. Bach does not begin the sixth verse in b. 7 where

⁵⁹⁷ Comp. Petzoldt, *Bach-Kommentar*, p. 297.

⁵⁹⁸ Comp. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁶⁰⁰ See the biblical basis of each line listed by Petzoldt, *Bach-Kommentar*, p. 293.

the new question of the original text begins, but in b. 13 where the first question of the original text is repeated. Here, Bach gives up the rhetorical rest figure intentionally and instead he bridges the frequent interruptions by rests in the melodic form.⁶⁰¹ In this way, he decides for greater continuity rather than maintaining the tension. The same melodic continuity is added in b. 18-19 where the repeated question “quis“ is replaced by the last line of the sixth verse “du bist recht, dein Wort ist recht“.⁶⁰²

The seventh verse “Sieh, ich bin in Sünd empfangen” is connected with the original text through the word “peccatis”. The doctrine of original sin was also advocated by Olearius, who had interpreted Ps. 51:7 clearly, that David lamented his own sin and the innate original sin.⁶⁰³

The original text of the eighth verse talks about Mary who saw her beloved son who was desolated in dying until he gave up his spirit. If we assume that the original text was wellknown to the German audience in Bach’s time, then the original text might serve as another text that interprets what is now said in the new German text, namely that “die geheimen Weisheitsgaben”, die “du (Gott) selbst mir (David) offenbart hast” is no other but Jesus Christ the crucified (the content of the old text). This interpretation can be confirmed through Col. 2:2-3 which talks about “Christ, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge”.⁶⁰⁴ Also Olearius spoke about

“**heimliche Weisheit** und Erkänntnis; (Die *Theologia, Anthropologia* und *Christologia* [die Erkenntnis Gottes, die Erkenntnis des Menschen und die Erkenntnis Christi].) so wol deß angebohrenen Erbschadens / als der himmlischen Artzney in Christo.“⁶⁰⁵

It is a way of listening to the Old Testament verses in the light of the New Testament.

⁶⁰¹ Comp. Platen, p. 43.

⁶⁰² Comp. Petzoldt, *Bach-Kommentar*, p. 297.

⁶⁰³ J. Olearius, *Biblische Erklärung. Darinnen / nechst dem allgemeinen Haupt=Schlüssel Der gantzen heiligen Schrift*, Vol. 3, Leipzig 1678, 298b; see also Petzoldt, p. 297.

⁶⁰⁴ English Standard Version.

⁶⁰⁵ Olearius, *Biblische Erklärung III*, 298; quoted from Petzoldt, p. 298.

The ninth verse shows clearly Bach's own process of arrangement. The last line *fac ut te cum lugeam* in Pergolesi is the end of the whole content, in which he sets the phrase like in a psalmody with simple repetitions notes for every syllable and measure (b. 50-56, 73-79). Bach transfers this long sustained tone to the first violin, while the vocal part is extended into independent new melody with melismas.⁶⁰⁶ The sustained note in the first violin can be interpreted as the certainty of God's promise while the new vocal melody describes the soul's struggle for God's cleansing. While in Pergolesi, the vocal parts sing in unison with the instruments, Bach creates independent vocal lines (comp. b. 61-72).⁶⁰⁷ Later on in b. 80 ff., instead of reproducing faithfully Pergolesi's original line note by note, Bach intensifies it with secondary notes by compressing the intervallic sequence.⁶⁰⁸ In this movement the original text which expressed the solidarity to mourn with Maria is replaced by the new text which describes the yearning to be forgiven by God.

In the tenth verse "Laß mich Freud und Wonne spüren" one can sense that apart from the text, Bach takes seriously Pergolesi's music as speaking music, while in Pergolesi this verse made an impression of a temporary end.⁶⁰⁹ Bach uses this impression to place the turning point of the prayer in this movement. It is the beginning of a 'second' part. However, for the better word-tone relation Bach changes the four-four time into an *Alla breve*.⁶¹⁰ On one hand, Bach considers the music itself as a kind of sounding text while on the other hand he confidently makes some changes in the music for the sake of the new text. The original melodic line interrupted by rests is now given new text-underlay with the word "gedrängt". At first the new text-underlay seems to contradict to the old content "ut sibi (Christum) complaceam" since "da dein Kreuz mich hart gedrängt" hardly means a positive joyful statement. But indeed, Bach knows well that such statement can be understood in the context

⁶⁰⁶ Comp. Diethard Hellmann, p. vi; see also Platen, p. 43.

⁶⁰⁷ Comp. Hellmann, p. vii.

⁶⁰⁸ Comp. Platen, p. 44; see also Hellmann, p. vii.

⁶⁰⁹ Comp. Petzoldt, *Bach-Kommentar*, p. 298.

of Luther's theological use of the law that leads a believer to the Gospel. That this verse can be interpreted likewise is confirmed from Olearius' commentary:

“**Laß mich hören** ferner durch deinen Propheten / wie ich bißher sanfft und wehe / Gesetz und Evangelium gehöret habe *NB.* 2.Sam.12. deine heimliche Weißheit. droben v.8 [Ps 51,8]. Denn der HErr redet sein Wort durch seine Diener / *NB.* Psalm 85. und heutiges Tages gilt allein Moses und die Propheten / Luc.16. und keine neue Glaubens Offenbarung / Hebr.1.“⁶¹¹

Thus, the phrase “da dein Kreuz mich hart gedrängt” understood in the context of the way to salvation has the same basic character of affection with “ut Christum complacem”.

The 11th to 15th verses are set together in one movement. The syllables of the new German text are often grouped differently than in the original text so that sometimes there are some rhythmical modifications (b. 33-34).⁶¹² Such modification belongs to modifications conditioned by the declamation of the new text.⁶¹³ In b. 67-72, Bach also intrudes the original music by changing the mere alternation of two voices into real two-part vocal polyphony.⁶¹⁴ Whereas in b. 77-79, homophonic two-part textures are transformed into polyphonic.⁶¹⁵ If we compare the original with the new text, we can see that this transformation is highly necessary for we have here two contradicting basic character of affection: “fac me tecum plangere” is a lament while “daß mein Loblied, Herr, dich ehrt” is a song of praise. What we have here is a modification of voice leading which is intended to suit the affection of the new content of meaning.

The sixteenth verse is set to music in one movement. While Pergolesi combined two verses in this movement, Bach offers twice-repeated underlay of the same (16th) verse. Here again in this movement we have a new song of

⁶¹⁰ Comp. Petzoldt, *Bach-Kommentar*, p. 298.

⁶¹¹ Olearius, *Biblische Erklärung III*, 300; quoted from Petzoldt, pp. 298-299.

⁶¹² Comp. Platen, pp. 40-41.

⁶¹³ In his article, Platen has distinguished Bach's modifications in three different natures. See Emil Platen, “Eine Pergolesi-Bearbeitung Bachs”, pp. 40-41.

⁶¹⁴ Comp. Emil Platen, p. 45; see also Hellmann, p. vii.

⁶¹⁵ Comp. Hellmann, p. vii.

praise which replaces the old lament text. Perhaps the change of the tempo indication from *Largo* to *Adagio* should be understood as Bach's effort to adapt the movement as song of praise. The word "plagas" (sorrows) which was treated most extensively with melismatic coloratura by Pergolesi is replaced by the word "alleine" (*Soli Deo Gloria*) in b. 11-12.⁶¹⁶ Interestingly, here Bach simplifies excessively intricate rhythms of Pergolesi.⁶¹⁷ On the contrary, Bach improves Pergolesi's simple voice leading, which leaves the twice-repeated upward slides unfulfilled and sinking back, into a logically increasing melodic line.⁶¹⁸ Here again, Bach decides for better melodic continuity rather than keeping a naïve sequence. However, this modification cannot be said as being inspired from musical-stylistic reason only, but also from the new Psalm text: Bach does not want to repeat "Mund und Seele" only but he wants to include the verb "öffne" as well.

The next movement contains both the 17th and 18th verses. In b. 8-16 in the 17th verse "Denn du willst kein Opfer haben" Bach works out Pergolesi's homophonic setting more thoroughly into an independent two-part vocal polyphony, which shows rudimentary motivic arrangement.⁶¹⁹ This modification is more determined by musical-stylistic reason.

The last verses 19 and 20 are set together in one movement. Through its syncopating rhythm already resounded repeatedly in other movements (v. 4, 8, 11-15), this movement has a dance-like character.⁶²⁰ In the 19th verse, Bach enlivens the rather monotone regularity of the multiple sequences by accelerating the rhythm and by triggering of movement impulses such as syncopation and figurative work (b. 20-23).⁶²¹ The 19th verse is first presented by the soprano while the in b. 30 both vocal parts sing the 20th verse. After the presentation of the 20th verse is completed, the alto sings again the 19th verse

⁶¹⁶ Petzoldt connects this "allein" of the *Soli Deo Gloria* with other "sola" such as *Solus Christus*, *sola gratia*, *solo verbo*, and *sola fide* in Luther's theology as well as in later Lutheran Orthodoxy (Petzoldt, *Bach-Kommentar*, p. 300).

⁶¹⁷ Comp. Hellmann, p. vii.

⁶¹⁸ Comp. Platen, p. 44.

⁶¹⁹ Comp. Platen, p. 45; see also Hellmann, p. vii.

⁶²⁰ Comp. Petzoldt, p. 301.

⁶²¹ Comp. Platen, p. 42.

while one bar later the soprano begins with the 20th verse (b. 37). Here, where two different textual concepts appear simultaneously in both vocal parts, a more distinctive musical contour is given to both each part with the help of contrasting motives by Bach.⁶²² This is a typical baroque arrangement, which obviously moves further from the *empfindsam* style of Pergolesi. At the end of the movement, both final lines “alsdann opfern wir erfreut” (v. 19) and “Opfer der Gerechtigkeit” (v. 20) are combined in a single sentence “alsdann opfern wir erfreut Opfer der Gerechtigkeit” (b. 45-48). The resulting connection is again can be found in Olearius’ commentary:

“David habe im Geist / als ein Prophet zuvor gesehen / daß Jerusalem samt den Tempel umb der Sünde willen zerstöret werden sollte NB. 2.Kön.25. *Messiae vero temporibus grata erunt sacrificia*. Aber zur Zeit des *Messiae* würden die Opfer angenehm seyn / nemlich / die geistlichen Opfer / davon Ps.110. und Mal.1. NB. Es.1/13.”⁶²³

In Pergolesi’s order of movement, the last movement “Amen” is preceded by a slow duet movement in *Largo*, which creates a contrast to the *Presto assai* while in Bach’s order the second to last movement serves as a kind of retarding element to prepare the real climax of the “Amen” movement. According to early church and to Protestant tradition, a *Gloria patri* should actually take place at the end of a Psalm.⁶²⁴ Instead of a *Gloria patri*, Bach repeats the F-Minor Amen fugue in an almost unchanged transposition to F-Major (b. 66 to the end). Perhaps the F-Major repetition should be listened to as the doxology in a speaking music.

How Bach has dealt with the problematic nature of a parody practice in his *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden* is explained in the musical analysis. Some of his modifications are made for the sake of better text declamation, while other for better adaptation in a baroque church cantata.⁶²⁵ Bach certainly has carefully considered the basic character of affection of the original text.

⁶²² Comp. Hellmann, p. vii.

⁶²³ Olearius, *Biblische Erklärung III*, 305; quoted from Petzoldt, p. 301.

⁶²⁴ Petzoldt, *Bach-Kommentar*, p. 301.

⁶²⁵ Comp. Platen, p. 40; see also Alfred Dürr, “Neues über Bachs Pergolesi-Bearbeitung”, in: *Bach-Jahrbuch 54* (1968), p. 100.

However, there are places that force him to make extensive modification of voice leading where the basic affections of both text are so different (such as from lament to song of praise). On the other hand, he also simplifies Pergolesi's excessively intricate rhythms. Although the new German text seems to be the mistress of the music, evident from many modifications he made for better text expression, there are strong hints that Bach understands music as having its own structure that we should respect. In this respect, not only the content is important, but also the musical structure. In some movements, we see that Bach receives Pergolesi's music as speaking music, apart from its text. This might help to explain the missing *Gloria patri* in the last movement.

3.10. Conclusion

In this study, I have tried to demonstrate that the music aesthetic flux in Germany is evidently reflected in the development of concrete musical settings of Psalm 51 in Germany selected here. The setting of Praetorius shows his indebtedness not only to the Roman Falsobordone-Psalms but also his commitment to Lutheran music aesthetics such as the use of many musical instruments and even to Calvinistic music aesthetics to some extent due to the emphasis of text comprehensibility and geometrical structure in his setting. This integration seems to be affected by the tolerant atmosphere he learned from his teacher Caselius in Helmstedt University. As early as Praetorius, it is evident that the differences of music aesthetics in the internal Protestant debates in the age of confessionalism had not restricted the freedom of the composer in their musical treatment of the text. On the contrary, the plurality of opinions had encouraged artistic freedom in dealing with music styles and composition techniques. Praetorius represented the way of eclecticism in his setting of Psalm 51.

Schütz's setting of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz* reflects not only the understanding of *Concerto* explained by Praetorius, but also Praetorius' reference to Viadana where concerto should have loveliness, cadences, and passages. Despite the different meaning and application of the idea of "gravity" for church music – Schütz understands gravity as a compositional technique in which the word must not be extended too long without any diminution – by emphasizing gravity as a quality for church music, Schütz's music aesthetics has interpreted afresh one of the central tenets in Calvin's theology of music. If for Viadana and Praetorius, inserting too many rests can obscure the meaning of the words and sentences as well as "zerstümmelt den *Auditoren* viel Verdruß", Schütz has used precisely this means for better text expression in his setting of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*. This piece not only anticipates some features that have been decisive for the North German composition based on a chorale, which is well known determined by the tension between affectfull sonority and formal complexity (Krummacher), but

also has considerable influence on later settings of Psalm 51 through the role of the instrumental parts that are called on for the text interpretation by being connected imitatively with the text. Placing the music as preparation for the text corresponds with Luther's understanding on the relation between music and prophesying/preaching as it is written in his commentary on Psalm where Elisha was mentioned. Viewed from the perspective of reformational music aesthetics, the tension between affectfull sonority and formal complexity anticipated in Schütz's compositions reflects not only Italian influences but also Luther's identification of music as a mistress and governess of human affections on one side and Luther's understanding of formal structures as part of the nature of the content on the other side. Luther did not consider the relation of content and form to be a dualistic tension but a complementary integration; in the similar way, Schütz who determined later chorale arrangements in the Protestant North Germany had successfully integrated affectfull sonority and formal complexity in his setting of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*. Calvin's emphasis on dignity and gravity as features of church music was accepted while at the same time transformed by Schütz. Gravity indicated no longer simple homophonic rhythmical pattern as in the setting of Praetorius but the special treatment of the word that cannot be extended too long without diminution precisely for better text comprehensibility. The best text comprehensibility was offered however in his setting of Psalm 51 in the Becker Psalter, which shared Osiander's concern to maintain both the practice of polyphonic singing and a realistic inclusion of congregational singing in worship. The Becker Psalter is undoubtedly encouraged by Calvinistic music tradition even though Schütz tended to embellish many cadences in his settings, thereby maintaining his idea of the gravity of church music through diminution.

With his setting of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*, Schein is proven able to integrate chorale style and the concertizing style. Schein's choice for two sopranos has made his setting more demanding than both settings of Schütz. While in Schütz's setting for two voices, the composer was not bound to a

cantus firmus, Schein let the cantus firmus appears reciprocally in both voices. Already the band with the cantus firmus not only in one-voice setting (Schütz) but also in two-voice setting has made Schein's setting more obliged to Lutheran music aesthetics. Despite this 'restriction', in his setting Schein is fully able to incorporate the Italian reception already transmitted by Praetorius while at the same time granting the clarity of the word. Viewed from the perspective of reformational music aesthetics, Schein's original solution of the problem "chorale and concert style" (Fr. Blume) already offered a visionary answer to later polemics such as propounded by Theophil Großgebauer and Hector Mithobius. Certainly may his setting of Psalm 51 serve as a model of a balance treatment between the demand of the incorporation of the new Italian style and the use of a cantus firmus. Schein's reciprocal and imitative composition technique for each voice and his moderate use of diminution cannot be accused as a singing competition, which later disturbed a Pietist like Großgebauer. Instead, his concertizing style was heard more like a reciprocal dialogue between two persons that encourage each other to sing before God, a theological idea of *Concerto* that was already developed by Praetorius in his *Syntagma Musicum*. The inclusion of Italian reception was manifested for instance in the minimum chromatic alterations for intensifying the affect of the text. In all these treatments, Schein did not elaborate his madrigal style at the expense of the text comprehensibility. Rather, he maintained the music to be 'moderated' to the text as had been taught in Augustinian and Calvinistic music aesthetics.

Further than Schein, Scheidt sets his *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* for three voices wherein each voice is strongly bound to the cantus firmus. It is generally observed that Schütz hardly likes to be bound to a cantus firmus. Instead, Schein stands moderately with his field of interest more or less even between the chorale-bound and a rather free concerto, while Scheidt tends to be bound most strongly to his treatment of chorale texts together with the melodies belong to them (S. Sørensen). This holds also in their settings of Psalm 51. Due to his conservative manner, Scheidt's setting could be said as

the most mechanical of the three great S. This does not mean that Scheidt did not have personal touch at all for the expression of his personal affections. This is obvious when already in the beginning Scheidt has presented his personal motive taking the form of a counter-subject of the chorale motive. However, far from transforming the piece into a monody, that is, to a complete personalization of contents, this treatment does not let the text be interpreted freely by any outer musical thoughts but the cantus firmus itself. In this respect, Scheidt's compositional practice corresponds with the famous reformational hermeneutic principle *Scriptura sacra sui ipsius interpres*. Viewed from the perspective of reformational music aesthetics, Scheidt's setting of Ps. 51 echoed Augustinian and Calvinistic music aesthetics which called for 'moderated' music by the rule of the text. In his setting of *Miserere mei Deus* Scheidt even provided the instrumental parts with text so that they must be read as textual statement. In the discussion of Luther's unique understanding of the relation between form and content (see 1.3.6.), it was posed that the content can possibly make room for the formal structures of music. Scheidt's formal structures are highly regulated by the text. In this respect, Scheidt already anticipated later concept of music as speaking music (even without a text). Such liberation of music from the text is usually ascribed to the idea of enlightenment. However, this move was made possible through Luther's view of music (formal structures) as part of the true nature of the word/text (content). Scheidt's symmetrical structure also reminds us to the ideal of geometrical structure present in Genevan Psalters. His settings include ideas of the soul's transformation as well as doxology as had been taught in Calvin's understanding on psalm singing.

If Scheidt was well known for his conservative manner in dealing with the chorale text, Hammerschmidt's music is famous as a focus of controversy due to his 'indecisiveness' concerning the style of composition he chooses. Schütz, Schein, and Scheidt had set Psalm 51 both as concertizing music and as congregational songs. Hammerschmidt does not follow the three great S especially when he wants to compose music more suited to the need of

congregation. If this is not true for his setting of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*, which noticeably stands in the tradition of the three great S, it is true for his *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz*. Though this later piece shows certain influence from Schütz's setting of the same name little concerto, it has the formal construction of a motet, which in Hammerschmidt's time was already considered obsolete (F. E. Niedt). However, even if this piece cannot please those seeking works of great artistic merit such as the new Italian style, it should be noted that the devotional character of this music arises from a genuine concern for the simple congregation of the small village churches (J. Bähr). The concern for the comprehensibility and accessibility of music for the sake of the simple congregation belongs certainly to the concerns of the Reformers. From the perspective of reformational music aesthetics, Hammerschmidt's setting reflected not only the reformational emphasis on the importance of congregation's participation in worship, but also shared pietistic criticism especially that of Spener, who warned that the beauty of (great artistic) figural music could not be understood by the majority of simpler worshippers but by certain cultural elites. That the power of his music was praised by Johann Bähr had proved its strong devotional character: a feature that had been emphasized by Augustine, Calvin, and the Pietists. In his setting of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*, Hammerschmidt's choice of the phrase "ob du urteilst mich" had inspired him to insert the phrase "erbarm dich mein" as a refrain which also serves as the last petition in the whole piece. Such treatment revealed Hammerschmidt's knowledge of the enthymematic potential of Ps. 51 as had been explained in the writing of Johann Arndt. The 'missing premise', i.e. the answer found in the Gospel of Christ, could be offered in the preaching in that the liturgical position of music as a preparation for the sermon is secured.

With Bernhard's setting, we note that the reformational music aesthetics in Germany has distanced itself from the new Italian style. If for the Italian composers it is enough to include and to express the affection content of the text, Bernhard who comes from the Protestant Germany objectifies the means

of expression in his doctrine of music rhetorical figures. Even if the “*expressio textus*” is one of the functions of the music rhetorical figures (Eggebrecht), it is second-rate after the “*explicatio textus*”, which includes intellectual interpretation of the text. Likewise, in his setting of *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz*, Bernhard utilizes many kinds of music rhetorical figures to explicate the Bible text such as the separation of the phrase “Verwirf mich nicht” from “von deinem Angesichte” with a *Tmesis*, the fall from God’s presence on the word “deinem” with a *Saltus duriusculus*, the lamenting character of “und nimm deinen heiligen Geist” with a *Passus duriusculus* to name a few. In utilizing music rhetorical figures as a means for “*explicatio textus*” rather than “*expressio textus*”, Bernhard’s music aesthetics has proven itself to be obliged to Luther’s music aesthetics which understands the office of sacred vocal music as *praedicatio sonora*, that is, through music God’s Word is not only declared but also interpreted. However, the objectivity of the *explicatio textus* did not stand in contrast with the subjectivity of the *expressio textus*. Rather, with his doctrine of music rhetorical figures, Bernhard was proven a supporter for the intellectual aspect of the text rather than the text expression for affection’s sake alone. What we have in Bernhard’s music aesthetics is thus a fusion of Lutheran and Calvinistic theology of music. Influential for his music aesthetics was certainly also Praetorius’ justification of the double aspects *Cantio* and *Concio*, through which Lutheran music aesthetics had been handed down. Through Praetorius, Bernhard received the impulse to understand the office of music as a means to preach and interpret (with musical commentaries) the Word of God.

If Bernhard has objectified the means of expression in his doctrine of music rhetorical figures, Kuhnau’s critical stance towards the doctrine of affections could be seen as having both continuity and discontinuity with Bernhard’s music aesthetics. The discontinuity lies in the fact that Kuhnau does not believe that even certain (music rhetorical) figures can offer definiteness of expression, something that could be possibly offered in other arts. On the other hand, the priority of *explicatio textus* over *expressio textus*

in Bernhard's music aesthetics offers a potential for development for Kuhnau's music aesthetics, which stresses more on the movement in the souls through the words rather than through (instrumental) music alone. Thus in this respect, the link between Bernhard's and Kuhnau's music aesthetics is granted by the fact that they are both influenced significantly by reformational music aesthetics. Another aspect in Kuhnau's music aesthetics is the function of music as an anticipation or preparation for the (coming) text. This is an understanding of music closely linked with Schelle's contribution on the role of music in the Lutheran liturgy. The role of music as spiritual preparation for God's Word has also been taught by Luther in his commentary on Psalm. In Kuhnau's setting of Psalm 51, we can find both music (instrumental parts) that echoes the text (vocal parts) and music that has as an anticipative role (to the text). Kuhnau's inconsistent criticism towards the overly operatic church music, attested by his use of Italian elements such as passages and coloraturas, could perhaps be understood as an effort to compete with operatic secular music in his time. Thus, his criticism did not reflect a true opinion of his music aesthetics; it showed rather his complex personality in dealing with the decline of his authority during his last ministry in Leipzig. Following Lutheran music aesthetics, Kuhnau believed in the healing and ethical power of music. However, he was an obvious supporter for the primacy of the word over instrumental music, a practice that reflects Augustinian and Calvinistic music aesthetics. The effectiveness of (instrumental) music in ruling the audience's feelings was doubted by Kuhnau. Therefore, he pleaded for definite comprehension with the help of a text such as in the case of a descriptive program in his *Biblische Historien*. Similar to Scheidt, Kuhnau wanted his music to be read as textual statement. The text for the (imitative) instrumental parts is provided before. In his setting of Ps. 51, Kuhnau treated the music both as an anticipation and confirmation of the text.

If the anonym cantata *Gott sei mir gnädig nach deiner Güte* (Leipzig, ca. 1700) was truly composed by Telemann, then we can see the development of the musical settings of Psalm 51 not only from Praetorius to Bach, but also

even from early to later Telemann. The first piece is to certain extents indebted to Kuhnau's setting while it has no elements of the madrigalian cantata of Neumeister's type. In the later and shorter same name cantata, one can recognize the style mixture of a German mottetic principle with cantus firmus arrangement, of an Italian inflection of speech with its affect-oriented aria, and of French elements with its dancing-like character. Though we do not know for certain, there is a possibility that Telemann might have read Mattheson's translation of *Dissertation de la musique italienne et françoise* (1713) in which style mixture of the erudite nature of the Italians and the natural taste of the French were encouraged. Style mixture was also anticipated by Andreas Hirsch in his 1662 publication of Kircher's *Musurgia universalis*. For Kircher, there is a theological reason for such eclectic approach, i.e. humility. Thus, a composer who refused to imitate good composition was ruled by self-love according to Kircher. More obvious influence from the continuation of the Lutheran theology of music in Germany is especially reflected in Telemann's choice of voices in his Ps. 51 setting. As an example, his choice for an alto voice for the text of the second part of his *Gott sei mir gnädig nach deiner Güte* (Frankfurt, 1720) was most probably influenced by the allegorical interpretation of four voices by Johann Saubert. One last point is concerning the parody practice of Neumark's chorale melody *Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten* through a new text by Neumesiter. Here, Telemann has successfully maintained the word-tone relation by keeping the rhymes of both texts. Although both texts cannot be compared line by line, we can confirm a basic character of affection from the comparison of both texts. That the text's basic character of affection has always been carefully considered in the parody practice is not only obvious in some baroque sacred songs but also in the parody practice by Luther as well as in the Genevan Psalters (Marti). Thus, the parody practice in the last movement of Telemann's later setting of Ps. 51 corresponds with the tradition of both Lutheran and Calvinistic music aesthetics.

Much more challenging than Telemann's little parody practice is Bach's setting of *Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden*. In this setting, Bach has tried to deal with the problematic nature of parody practice, namely the tantalizing question of which rule applies in the parody practice: *Harmonia Orationis Domina* or *Oratio Harmoniae Domina*? Certainly, Bach has not only done a naïve text-underlay to replace the old catholic *Stabat mater* text by Pergolesi. Rather his parody practice shows not only his intension to integrate elements of the newer style into his composition but also his ability to do it (Küster). Scheibel's parody theory might serve as a model for Bach's parody practice (Irwin). This parody theory too is based on a principle that the new content should fit to the affections of the old composition. Thus, the music of the old composition becomes now somewhat the 'text' or at least speaking music. The new text (Psalm 51) should be adapted to the music. However, in the concrete practice, it is certainly almost impossible to make the text completely submit to the music. Thus in his setting, Bach also makes some modifications on Pergolesi's composition here and there for the sake of better word-tone relation. As early as in the study of Emil Platen, Bach's modifications were distinguished in three different natures: first, modifications conditioned by the declamation of the new text; second, modifications conditioned by the intension of a musical expression that corresponds to the new content of meaning; third, changes for musical-stylistic reasons. The third nature was typical phenomena during the heyday of rationalistic music aesthetics that encouraged the independency of music such as advocated by the Lutheran music theorist Johann Mattheson in his *Vollkomener Capellmeister*. Against Kuhnau, Mattheson argued that (instrumental) music made a speaking and comprehensible presentation. Such music aesthetics could hardly find any support from Augustinian and Calvinistic theology of music; however it finds a room to flourish in the Lutheran music aesthetics regarding the conception of formal structures (of music) as part of the true nature of content (the text). Despite Bach's treatment in his modification for musical-stylistic reasons highly encouraged by Mattheson's widespread music aesthetics, it is

impossible to wholly apply the rule of *Harmonia Orationis Domina*. Therefore, the first and the second natures of Bach's modifications were considerations of the older Augustinian-Calvinistic music aesthetics that stresses the importance or priority of the word over music. Bach's parody practice of his Ps. 51 setting reflects thus a fusion of Lutheran, Calvinistic, and enlightenment music aesthetics.

This study begins with Praetorius' setting, which is a clear supporter for the priority of text comprehensibility and ends with a parody by Bach, which shows largely the dominance of music over the text. In between, we have seen how various composers have responded to the plurality of music aesthetic currents in their times. Certainly, the continuation of reformational music aesthetics in Germany was not the only music aesthetic current of thought in Germany. There are other influences such as those coming from Italy. Of no lesser significance were other factors like the political, economical, psychological, biographical, etc., which also had played considerable roles and helped to shape the compositions of Psalm 51. These cannot be adequately discussed in this study. However, we can still view their compositional practice, attested in their settings of Psalm 51, more or less as responses to the diversity of reformational music aesthetics spread all over Germany. The composers did not see the confessional divergences to be restrictions for their compositional techniques. Rather, with broadmindedness they saw them as potentials for a unique personal integration of diverse music aesthetical concepts. Their compositions reflect the approach of eclecticism such as advocated by Johann Valentin Andreae. Their musics are perhaps a foretaste of the ideal Christian society described in Andreae's utopian writing *Christianopolis*.

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